

Urban Dreams and Realities in Antiquity

REMAINS AND
REPRESENTATIONS
OF THE ANCIENT CITY



Edited by
ADAM M. KEMEZIS

BRILL

ΜΝΕΜΟΣΥΝΕ ΣΥΠΠΛΗΜΜΑΤΑ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΚΥΤΗΤΑΣ

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Remains and Representations of the Ancient City

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Contents

Acknowledgements IX

List of Contributors X

Introduction 1

Adam M. Kemezis

PART I

City as Space I: Remains on the Ground

- 1 In Defense of Arkadia: The City as a Fortress 15
Matthew Maher
- 2 The *Mundus* of Caere and Early Etruscan Urbanization 46
Fabio Colivicchi
- 3 “Fighting Over a Shadow?": Hellenistic Greek Cities and Greco-Roman Cities as Fora and Media for Multi-Level Social Signaling 69
LuAnn Wandsnider
- 4 Constructing an Oscan Cityscape: Pompeii and the *Eítuns* Inscriptions 99
Tanya K. Henderson
- 5 Unraveling the Reality of a ‘City’ on the Deccan Plateau 121
Aloka Parasher-Sen
- 6 Monumentalising the Ephemeral in Ancient Rome 144
Steven Hijmans

PART 2

City as Space II: Landscapes in Literature

- 7 **Future City in the Heroic Past: Rome, Romans and Roman Landscapes in *Aeneid* 6–8** 165
Eric J. Kondratieff
- 8 **Reading the Civic Landscape of Augustan Rome: *Aeneid* 1.421–429 and the Building Program of Augustus** 229
Darryl A. Phillips
- 9 **The Predatory Palace: Seneca's *Thyestes* and the Architecture of Tyranny** 246
Daniel B. Unruh
- 10 **Imperial Roman Cities as Places of Memory in Augustine's *Confessions*** 273
Owen M. Ewald

PART 3

City as Identity I: Cultures in Stone

- 11 **Sacred Exchange: The Religious Institutions of *Emporia* in the Mediterranean World of the Later Iron Age** 297
Megan Daniels
- 12 **Greek *Poleis* in the Near East and Their Parthian Overlords** 328
Josef Wiesehöfer
- 13 **Civic Identity in Roman Ostia: Some Evidence from Dedications (Inaugurations)** 347
Christer Bruun
- 14 **Chariot Racing in Hispania Tarraconensis: Urban Romanization and Provincial Identity** 370
Raymond L. Capra

PART 4

City as Identity II: Communities on Paper

- 15 **The Seat of Kingship: (Re)Constructing the City in Isaiah 24–27** 395
Ian Douglas Wilson
- 16 **Remembering Pre-Israelite Jerusalem in Late Persian Yehud: Mnemonic Preferences, Memories and Social Imagination** 413
Ehud Ben Zvi
- 17 **Memory and the Greek City in Strabo's *Geography*** 438
Edward Dandrow
- 18 **The *Ekklēsia* of Early Christ-Followers in Asia Minor as the Eschatological New Jerusalem: Counter-Imperial Rhetoric?** 455
Ralph J. Korner
- 19 **From Kinship to State: The Family and the Ancient City in Nineteenth-Century Ethnology** 500
Emily Varto
- Index** 525

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Introduction

Adam M. Kemezis

The fact that some number of ancient peoples lived, or thought of themselves as living, in cities creates odd problems of perspective for the moderns who study them. We identify cities above all with modernity, and the modern academic is for the most part an urban creature. So when we encounter the ancients in urban environments, it is not so much that we are stepping into their world as that they are unexpectedly visiting ours. This is the feeling that one gets at those few sites (Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia above all) where the fabric of ordinary city streets has survived in recognizable form. Suddenly the inhabitants are no longer people who gathered before colonnaded temples to slaughter large animals or in cavernous theatres to experience mass *katharsis*; they are people who paid rent, went to the shops and ate fast food. There are similar moments in literature, such as Theocritus' *Fifteenth Idyll*, in which two Alexandrian housewives meet for an morning's outing, or the many moments when Juvenal and his fellow satirists complain of the discomforts of living in small apartments on crowded, noisy streets. Where before these authors were idealizing their characters, or caricaturing their decadence, suddenly we find ourselves among people we know. These people are not especially admirable, or even intrinsically interesting except inasmuch as they are unexpectedly familiar to us. We are tempted to suspend our interpretive faculties so that instead of having to try and imagine what this strange ancient world must have been like, we feel entitled to project the ancients into a familiar modern world and to be astonished at seeing them do and experience things that we consider banal when we come across them in our own world.

Even excluding these rather special cases, there remains a radical difference between studying pre-modern cultures that "had cities" and those that did not. The former are largely studied by a different set of scholars from the latter. They produce a much wider range of data (physical remains of buildings, but also in many instances textual sources) that allow us to know, or believe we know, things about them that we cannot even pretend to know about their less socially complex counterparts. This remains true even though most of the people in these "urbanized" societies actually lived in the country, and their economies and societies seem decidedly agrarian if compared with the modern industrial west. They can become present to us in all kinds of ways that may not be directly related to the fact of urban life (cities are not an

inherent requirement for literary culture after all) but in practice are seldom found without cities.

This apparently enhanced presence, however, is not an unmixed gift. It creates a new range of potential mysteries and misinterpretations, which is why the phrase “had cities” is placed in quotation marks above. Both the noun and the verb are problematic. In the latter case, the problem is fairly intuitive. It is not self-evident what a “city” is. If we stipulate to a sociological or anthropological definition of one, it is likely that that definition will fail to cover many archaeological sites that seem quite impressive, or many places that are referred to in ancient writings by words that one would usually translate as “city.” But even assuming we can be sure something is or is not a city, there remains the question of what it means to “have” one. How were the physical, environmental, economic and demographic realities of a city understood and processed by ancient cultures? A couple of examples from the chronological extremes of Greco-Roman civilization may illustrate the possible confusion.

When the poet of the *Odyssey* wanted to express his hero’s uniquely wide knowledge of humanity, he claimed that Odysseus had “seen the cities and learned the minds of many people” (*Od.* 1.3). He is looking for a term to express all that is worth knowing and seeing about humans as communal beings, and he speaks of the “city” (*astu*). He sees cities as the communal analogue of what the mind is for the individual. All civilized societies, in his view, possess them, indeed they are a defining characteristic of that category, but in each society they are interestingly different, and indeed it is those differences that distinguish one society from another. This seems intuitively reasonable to us. If we encounter people who have visited Paris, or Cairo, or Mumbai, we suppose that, like Odysseus, they have a perspective on the diversity of human society and culture that their less well travelled fellows lack, and which is most readily obtainable in urban settings. But Homer lived in an Iron Age Aegean world whose largest settlements would look like small towns to us. Whatever things our modern tourist experienced differently in the various cities (architecture? cultural amenities? restaurants and night life? the spectacle of thousands of people going about their lives?) are unlikely to have easy analogues for Homer’s listeners. Does this mean we were simply wrong to suppose we knew what the poet meant and to identify with it? Not necessarily, but in order to find out, we need to consider the descriptions of cities in the *Odyssey* and ask ourselves not only what they can tell us about Iron-Age social reality, but also what features of cities strike the poet as interesting and possibly contributing to the sort of knowledge that made Odysseus so special.

Augustine of Hippo wrote more than a thousand years later, at the other end of Greco-Roman antiquity. He lived in several places (Carthage, Rome, Milan)

that had hundreds of thousands of inhabitants and would be immediately recognizable to us as cities. His authorial voice, as demonstrated by Owen Ewald in this volume, is a distinctly urban one. Yet his most famous reference to a city is not to an urban settlement at all. In what sense is the City of God (*Civitas Dei*) a “city”? It naturally has no fixed spatial definition at all, and although it is made up of human beings and angels, it seems to exist independently of them and to be defined only by its relationship to God. Even if one reduces it to the status of an extended metaphor, it is still an odd one. If a scholar of a later period had wanted to describe all of humanity as divided into two groups based on their spiritual status, what would he or she have called those groups? In the nineteenth or early twentieth century “nations” or “races” would have come easily to mind. Our own era would not be comfortable with those terms, and perhaps it would be harder for us to find an equivalent. At all events it seems unlikely we would settle on “cities,” even though our own world is by any index much more urban than Augustine’s. Nonetheless, he and his readers thought of the city as the fundamental unit into which human beings came together to relate to their gods. In doing so, Augustine was not simply drawing on the social reality of his own day (in which the Roman west was in fact becoming less urban all the time), but also on several discursive traditions, going back through the New Testament to the Hebrew Scriptures, and through Cicero to Plato.¹

In short, it is one thing to study how ancient peoples lived in cities, it is another to consider how they thought with them. It is to this dual problem that the title of this collection refers. The essays in it are intended to address the broadest possible spectrum of questions about cities in antiquity, from the most concrete (literally) to the most figurative or conceptual. The contributors come from several disciplinary backgrounds: Archaeology, History, Anthropology, Philology, Epigraphy and Religious Studies are all represented, with a corresponding diversity of methodological background. When my colleagues and I organized the 2011 conference in Edmonton on which this volume is based, we hoped to bring together scholars who shared an object of study but varied greatly in their approaches to that object. Speaking personally, as a Roman historian who works on cities primarily as political communities and constructs in political rhetoric, I have gained (and continue to gain) an invaluable perspective by seeing them considered as physical structures, as poetic metaphors, as mnemonic constructs and so forth. We flatter ourselves as organizers that others shared this experience, and that this volume will pass the same sense on to the reader.

1 Cf. O’Daly 1999, also Korner in this volume.

Naturally, there are other ways of approaching the ancient city, and there are many important recent studies that address questions that are beyond our scope here. These include comparative chronological surveys of the varieties of urban sites encountered by Old World archaeologists from Çatal Höyük to Constantinople;² unitary studies of particular culturally specific forms of urbanism;³ collections of essays from similar disciplinary perspectives, but on a very wide range of ancient cultures.⁴ The range of this book is somewhat narrow by comparison, consisting of West and South Asia and (in the majority of articles) the Greco-Roman Mediterranean. Our hope is that the tighter geographical focus will create common ground for readers to appreciate the breadth of disciplinary perspectives. Thus those readers drawn to a discussion of relationships between Parthian Kings and their urban Greek subjects (Wiesehöfer) may consider also how the relationships of kings, cities and gods were conceived of by one provincial population in an earlier Iranian empire, namely the community that produced the Book of Isaiah (Wilson). Similarly, those looking into Augustine's conception of urban spaces (Ewald) will, we hope, profit from an examination of the very different evidence for the mental maps that Oscanspeaking Pompeians constructed of their city (Henderson).

Bearing in mind this diverse approach, the essays in this volume are presented in four groups, arranged in two pairs based on subject matter and methodology. The first pair looks at urban spaces, and the second at cities as expressions of cultural identity. Within each pair, the first group looks primarily at material and/or epigraphic remains, while the second looks at literary texts. The first of the four groups, then, looks at "Remains on the Ground." These essays are primarily archaeological and anthropological in their approach, and address how particular features of sites can be extrapolated to tell us about the larger urban fabric of which they were a part.

For Matthew Maher the physical remains of a city are a key to its strategic significance. Maher looks at the surviving fortifications of two Arcadian cities, Stymphalos and Alea, and places them in the context of events around 370 BCE, when the Arcadian League was forming in the wake of Sparta's defeat at Leuktra. Both cities are known to have been members of the league, and Maher points to significant similarities in their fortification structures. The two cities also shared a strategic location between Orchomenos and Phlious, two hostile

2 E.g., Gates 2011.

3 E.g., Hansen 2006 on the *polis*.

4 E.g., Marcus and Sabloff 2008, whose contributors are overwhelmingly anthropological in background but work on cultures from China to Mesoamerica.

neighbors of the new league. In light of these facts, Maher argues, the fortifications should be seen as part of an overall defensive strategy for the league that involved not only the fortifying of cities on a scale previously unknown in Arcadia but also the relocation of settlements, including Stymphalos, in response to a changed military reality.

In Fabio Colivicchi's case the feature in question is small but very suggestive, being a single excavated chamber and its associated complex in the Etruscan city of Caere. This underground chamber was, Colivicchi argues, a *mundus* or subterranean religious site used for ancestor worship and other chthonic rituals. By analogy with the *mundus* located in the Roman Forum such a site could provide a symbolic focal point for the sacred space of the entire city. The structure in Caere turns out to have a significant solar orientation, and Colivicchi sees it as a key feature of the sacred topography that was used to establish the city's physical layout in the late Iron Age and that persisted in significance into at least the Severan period.

LuAnn Wandsnider's essay reads the physical structures of cities, specifically monumental buildings, not as functional structures in the usual sense, but as communicative acts. She examines the civic monuments of Hellenistic and Roman-era Asia Minor from the perspective of "costly signaling" theory. Elaborate public buildings identify those who erect them as possessing a certain level of resources and wherewithal, a level that corresponds to a high position in a hierarchical structure. This applies both to individuals in their community, who proclaim themselves to both neighbors and foreign powers as leaders of the elite, and to cities, which identify themselves as highly functional communities capable of large-scale collective action.

Tanya Henderson's contribution takes us into textual material, specifically a small corpus of epigraphic texts (the so-called *étuns* inscriptions from pre-Roman Pompeii), but she treats the inscriptions as components of their physical setting, and asks what they can tell us about how their original authors and readers conceived of the space in which they were located. The inscriptions appear to have been instructions telling members of an urban militia where their assembly points were located, and as such they identify and characterize principal landmarks and other points of significance within the city. Henderson uses these as clues in reconstructing the landmarks and internal divisions that comprised the Oscan Pompeians' mental map of their own city.

The last two essays in this section pose broader methodological questions about what tools we should use to turn remains on the ground into models of urban reality. Aloka Parasher-Sen asks how we even begin to attribute significance to material remains, and in particular what we mean by saying that they constitute a city. She looks at the site of Kondapur, a location in the Deccan

plateau of Central India that contained a considerable settlement for a relatively short period in the first few centuries CE. The standard approach to the site has been to fit it into larger categories, most often as either a Buddhist community or as a community within the larger Sathavahana polity that dominated the region at the time. In Parasher-Sen's view, such categories fail to clear up the most important questions about the site and what makes it distinctive. She suggests that any classification of such a settlement as a "city" must fully take into account its distinctive environmental and economic situation, and the diverse strata of cultural activity that may have co-existed at any one time. In particular, the site is very rich in certain kinds of artifacts (beads, traces of iron-working), while others are significantly absent (monumental public buildings), and there are also the questions of its location far away from other settled areas and its relatively short period of settlement.

In Steven Hijmans' case, the question is how one reconciles our own view of ancient art with that of its original audience. He addresses the question of urban art that is "invisible" or "unreadable," such as reliefs set high above ground level, or inscriptions written in tiny or crowded characters, such that no ancient viewer could have apprehended them in the detailed fashion that moderns do with the aid of museum installations, photographs and epigraphic editions. Starting with the famous example of Trajan's Column, Hijmans illustrates the impossibility of what to us would be a "conventional" sequential reading of the panels. He looks at the Column against a reading of Philostratus' early-third-century *Imagines*, a set of literary prose *ecphraseis* of paintings that are likely fictional creations of the author's. Whereas the Column is present but cannot become fully visible, Philostratus' paintings have no real existence but are nonetheless made visible by verbal means; indeed Philostratus invites the reader to create images that could never have existed in the real world of Roman art. Hijmans attempts to re-create the aesthetic sense that Philostratus is subverting, one in which the physical art object is much more strongly identified with its referent than is the case for us. For the Roman viewer Trajan's Column (or Augustus' *Res Gestae* stelae) would not simply have represented the emperors' victories in our sense, but would have caused those victories to become and remain actually present in the urban spaces that housed them.

Our second section, "Landscapes in Literature," presents a sort of case study of how a single literary culture (Imperial-age Latin literature) can make use of a shared urban material culture. Virgil, Seneca and Augustine were writing for people who were familiar with Rome or Roman-style urban environments, and they use that knowledge as a shared frame of reference to lend a spatial dimension to the literary worlds they create.

The first of two essays on the *Aeneid* is by Eric Kondratieff, who looks at the various scenes, especially in Book 6, where Aeneas gets glimpses of what is for him the Roman future. Kondratieff gives to this chronological anticipation an added spatial dimension. He proposes in particular that the underworld landscape of Book 6 parallels the topography of the Capitoline, Palatine and Campus Martius, and that the series of heroes that Anchises presents (the so-called *Heldenschau*) is keyed to this topography. Thus the language used of Anchises identifies him with the duties of a censor, and he is portrayed in locations analogous to those in which the censors carried out those duties. The heroes that appear are selected and posed in ways that suggest particular physical locations, especially on the Capitoline, and sometimes specific pieces of public art; their sequential narration can be read as Anchises and Aeneas moving through a didactic cityscape and as the heroes making a ceremonial procession (*travectio*) as the Roman elite did before the censors. This co-ordination of space and time echoes that seen in Augustan monumental architecture, and will be further enriched later on in the poem, as Kondratieff shows in readings of Latinus' palace, Evander's Pallanteum and Vulcan's shield.

Darryl Phillips' contribution focuses on an earlier section of the *Aeneid* (1.421–429), but links it to a later version of Rome. The passage in question shows Dido's colonists at work establishing the fabric of their new community. Phillips notes the close connection Virgil makes between physical building activity and the founding of political institutions, and he further observes that the specific political activities Virgil cites were in his own day being transformed by new buildings. These constructions in the Forum Romanum and Campus Martius simultaneously housed the traditional political institutions of Rome and proclaimed the new dynasty that would radically transform those institutions. Phillips uses these lines of Virgil as a snapshot of a transitional moment in the late 20s BCE, when Augustus had embarked on his political and building activities, but was not yet the sole builder of monuments and celebrator of triumphs in Rome. Virgil's Carthage can be read as his version of a Roman cityscape in transition, from a stage for aristocratic competition to one for monarchical self-representation.

Daniel Unruh looks at a very different portrayal of imperial building projects, namely the Palace of Atreus as depicted in Seneca's *Thyestes*. The palace receives several vivid descriptions in whole or in part, and Unruh reads these as comments on the nature of Atreus' tyranny and its relationship to the city he rules. In particular, the palace exhibits a dire combination of elaborately planned artificiality and a core of primitive, chaotic nature. This reflects Atreus' own duality as a cool, logical plotter and a mass of insane tyrannical desires and fears. Unruh further argues for seeing in Atreus' palace a reference to Nero's

Golden House, the immense private residence he was then building on the ruins of city neighborhoods lost in the Fire of 64 CE. Both buildings constitute artificial, even perverted, departures from the natural environment and from the nature of a city as human community, but both, like totalitarian architecture in more recent times, are nothing more than immensely inflated representations of a ruler's ego.

Owen Ewald's contribution follows Augustine of Hippo on his journey, in the *Confessions*, through the cities of Thagaste, Carthage, Rome, Milan and Ostia. Ewald aims in particular to place key events of Augustine's spiritual life in their proper urban context, and to relate Augustine's physical motion to his journey away from and back to God. In the earlier books of the *Confessions*, Ewald argues, cities are places of motion whose busy secular activity parallels Augustine's distancing of himself from God. As he moves to Ambrose's Milan and towards his eventual conversion, however, Augustine remains in busy environments, but is nonetheless increasingly able to find rest through his increasing closeness to God. Thus two key later moments, Augustine's conversion scene in a garden in Milan and his final scene with Monnica in another garden in Ostia, should not be read against a contemplative philosophical background, but against the quotidian activity that characterized the urban Roman garden. God is capable of bringing his peace even to these unpromising locales, as he continues to do for the narrator Augustine even amid his pastoral duties in Hippo.

The third section, "Cultures in Stone" returns our focus to material remains, although epigraphic sources now come to the fore along with the buildings among which they were set. These essays all explore how physical and epigraphic sources allow us to reconstruct how the people who lived in cities used urban space and the nature of urban life to express their sense of themselves as communities, through their common participation in religious cults, festivals and civic ceremonies, and in their relationships with the larger polities of which they were part.

Megan Daniels looks at a class of settlement, the *emporion*, that ever since Plato has been viewed as a by-product of trade rather than a true civic community. Recent scholarship has tended to blur these lines, however, seeing the *emporion* as one of the many urban settings in which people from different cultures met to exchange goods and ideas. Daniels focuses on the role of religion in these interactions, specifically the various cults that were present during the late Iron Age on the site by the Tiber that would later be integrated into the city of Rome as the Forum Boarium. The temples and devotional art found on the site can be viewed as points of cultural common ground between the local inhabitants and Greek and Levantine traders whose gods could be assimilated

to their own. Conversely, Daniels argues, they can also be read as evidence for a heightened potential for conflict that required the establishment of new common institutions whose significance would be acknowledged by all the diverse groups involved.

A formidable range of historical sources, from material remains to inscriptions to Greco-Roman and Iranian literary texts, are used by Josef Wiesehöfer to illuminate the place of Greek *poleis* within the Arsacid Parthian realm. Wiesehöfer rejects any essentialist idea of the Greek cities as ethnic islands in a hostile sea of Iranian conquerors. Based on the evidence of nomenclature, the identities of the cities' inhabitants were layered and complex, and as such they presented a range of problems and opportunities for the kings who ruled them. The cities were political agents that needed to be conciliated and punished, but also cultural signifiers that affected a king's entire approach to his subjects and indeed his lifestyle and overall self-presentation. The idiom of Hellenistic kingship had elements that Parthian monarchs found useful in constructing their own model of rule, and their relationships with Greek cities, while sometimes contentious, could at other times provide them with useful opportunities for positioning themselves as enlightened supporters of Hellenic culture.

The civic mentality of urban communities within much larger polities is also the focus of Christer Bruun's contribution, in this case as expressed in the inscriptional record of Ostia. Bruun is interested in the manifestation (or non-manifestation) of a specifically Ostian consciousness in an epigraphic record that, while ample, does not contain explicitly ideological texts comparable to those seen most famously in Greek communities of Asia Minor. Bruun looks specifically at Ostian practices of commemorating the dedication of civic monuments. These often make reference to the dedicator's social standing and to the manner and date on which he inaugurated his benefaction. The dates in particular can on closer examination suggest the ideological orientation (towards local institutions, toward the imperial family) that the dedicator meant to give to his action.

The last essay in this section focuses on how sport and spectacle, and the buildings in which they took place, can be read to reveal the dynamics of imperial and local identity in the Roman provinces. Raymond Capra looks specifically at the first-century CE Circus structure in Tarraco, which housed what was at that time one of the most prominent chariot-racing events in the empire outside Rome. Capra examines the prominence of equestrian sports in Roman Spain more generally; while having these kinds of races in purpose-built structures was a Roman institution that made reference to a specific building in Rome, that institution flourished especially in Spain because it tied in with

a pre-existing horse culture and an emphasis on equestrian performance as an aspect of identity. Capra looks at how the particular structure of the Tarraco circus, and its position between the monumental center of the town and its other neighborhoods, reflects this uniquely Hispano-Roman significance of chariot racing.

Our last section, “Communities on Paper,” addresses many of the same questions of cultural identity as the previous one, but as they emerge from the literary record. All of the texts in question are concerned with conceiving or remembering author and audience as a certain kind of community, and they use the vocabulary of urban life in their particular cultural moment to help create that community.

Few cities indeed have been the object of as much memory and prophecy as Jerusalem, as seen in the first two essays in this section, both on texts from the Hebrew Bible. Ian Wilson’s aim is to place a quite specific text (Isaiah 24–27) within a very broad range of discourses about how kings and cities function in relation to the divine. With this in mind, Wilson surveys sources from Bronze Age Ugarit through the Anatolian Iron Age to Assyria and traces a progressive emergence of tensions over how political realities could be portrayed alongside expressions of the benefits of a city’s favorable relationship with benevolent deities. By the time we get to the author of Isaiah 24–27, Jerusalem and the Davidic monarchy have been destroyed and remain only as memories. But those memories are powerful enough that the prophetic speaker can still conceive of YHWH as a god who relates to his people as a king to a city, thus becoming a perfect realization of relationships that in political reality had ceased to function at all in their traditionally remembered form.

Ehud Ben Zvi examines Jerusalem as object of social memory in late-Persian period Yehud, but in particular he looks at a significant absence in that memory. The community that produced the historical books of the Hebrew Bible had important memories of Jerusalem, of King David, and of the conquest of the Promised Land from its previous inhabitants. This did not, however include a detailed version of how David conquered or otherwise acquired the site of Jerusalem from its Jebusite inhabitants, nor of Jerusalem’s existence as a Jebusite city before that point: all of these topics are dealt with only cursorily in biblical writings. Ben Zvi argues that this is because Jerusalem had a mnemonic significance quite distinct from that of the conquered land around it. For the literati of Yehud, he argues, Jerusalem always had been and always would be the place chosen by YHWH as the sacred center of the world. As such it was not to be imagined as subject to the vicissitudes of war and violent conquest, nor as inhabited by the negatively characterized peoples that inhabit “the Land” as conquered by Joshua. Rather it is remembered as a place of peace that

changes hands in orderly fashion, and whose previous inhabitants, such as Melchizedek, are positively characterized and even assimilated to the holiness of David and the First Temple.

Memory as the defining characteristic of cities is also the focus of Edward Dandrow's contribution, in his case as seen in the massive geographical work of Strabo. That Augustan-era Greek author lists hundreds of cities all over the Mediterranean world and comments on their status as Hellenic or otherwise, but what criteria does he use to determine that status? As Dandrow shows, the criteria are frequently memory-based, because for Strabo Greekness is located less in a diminished present than in a past that needs to be continuously remembered. Thus places are mentioned and accorded significance based on what characteristics they have that are remembered in Greek literature (above all Homer) and on how well they maintain those memories in their physical structures and institutions. Thus for Strabo, geography is less a descriptive exercise than a self-reflexive one in which he shares with Greek communities the task of ensuring the preservation of their identity.

Ralph Korner continues our focus on city as communal identity, but in his case the community has no literal civic existence: it is the entirely textually created community of Christ-followers imagined by the author of the Apocalypse of John (the New Testament Book of Revelation). In particular, Korner looks at John's characterization of Christ's people as an *ekklēsia* (assembly) and a *polis* (city-state). After surveying recent scholarship on the civic political culture of the Roman East, Korner concludes that the usage of *ekklēsia*, while not devoid of political significance, does not function as straightforwardly anti-imperial discourse in the way that it has often been read. Rather, it is the use of *polis*, which is unique to John and expressed through gigantesque spatial imagery (a cube-shaped "city" more than 2000 km on each side), that marks out the People of Christ as an alternative and successor to the *Imperium Romanum*.

In Emily Varto's contribution, we see how ancient ideas of civic community and its origins remained salient in the late nineteenth century, as the modern social sciences were developing. She looks at the works of three prominent late-nineteenth-century ethnologists: H.S. Maine, N.D. Fustel de Coulanges, and L.H. Morgan. All three men drew on the versions of early Greek and Roman society presented by Grote and Niebuhr, both of whom saw early descent-based groups, the *genos* or *gens*, giving way in the historical period to city-state structures. This suited the progressivist models of the ethnologists, but Varto stresses the very different ideological emphasis that each man places on what is in outline the same story. These range from a positive trend toward contractual relationships promoting justice (Maine) to the decline of aristocratic good government (Fustel) to a triumph of property-based relationships over an

idealized primitive democracy (Morgan). Different as these views are, Varto argues that they combine to turn the origin of the ancient city into part of the founding myth of modern anthropology.

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PART 1

City as Space 1: Remains on the Ground



In Defense of Arkadia: The City as a Fortress

Matthew Maher

Introduction

The Spartan defeat at the Battle of Leuktra in 371BCE not only saw an end to their centuries-old hegemony in the Peloponnese, but this event also had far-reaching consequences for the cities of Arkadia.¹ In an attempt to limit any future Spartan aggression, a confederation of Arkadian cities was established and several of them came together in defensive consolidations, likely under the guidance of the Theban general Epaminondas. Besides providing local centralized habitation, the locations of these new cities show that they functioned primarily as a system of fortresses. Extending across the Peloponnese from Messene to the Argolid, these synoikized communities were established specifically to control the major routes from Lakonia into neighbouring Arkadia. While two of these Arkadian cities—those of Mantinea and Megalopolis—are especially well documented in the ancient literary and archaeological records, this paper argues that the cities of ancient Stymphalos and Alea, among others, were also almost certainly part of the same overall defensive strategy.

After a brief introduction summarizing the main historical developments in the aftermath of the Battle of Leuktra (including the creation of the Arkadian League, the synoikism of Mantinea, the foundation of Megalopolis, and the larger defensive strategy behind these initiatives), this paper presents the argument for the inclusion of both Stymphalos and Alea in this defensive strategy, in the light of the archaeological evidence and historical probability. This argument is based on the evidence and new considerations provided by the local comparanda gathered during a detailed field study of the surviving fortifications of every Arkadian *polis* carried out by the author between the fall of 2009 and spring of 2011.

1 I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Adam Kemezis and the conference organizers for giving me the opportunity to present this paper. Thanks also to both the 4th (Nafplio) and 39th (Tripoli) Ephorates of Prehistorical and Classical Antiquities for the numerous study permits that they provided me during the course of my field research.

Synoikism and the Rise of the Arkadian Confederacy

Xenophon tells us that in 385 BCE, the Spartans, concerned that their Peloponnesian League ally Mantinea was “more favourably inclined toward the enemy than toward Lakedaimon ...ordered them to tear down their city wall.”² When the Mantineians refused, the Spartan king Agesipolis laid waste the land and prepared to lay siege to the city. As the king did not have the time, resources, or patience for a traditional siege, and knowing that the inhabitants were well supplied with food from the recent harvest, the Spartans proceeded instead to dig a trench around the city’s mudbrick fortifications, into which the adjacent Ophis River was diverted. As the trench filled with water, again Xenophon records that, “the [water] level rose not only above the foundations of the houses but above those of the city wall. Then as the lower bricks became soaked and failed to support those above them, the wall began first to crack and then to give way.”³ As the walls melted, so to did the inhabitants’ hope of deliverance, and the city was forced to yield. The tearing down of their walls and the banishment of its inhabitants to their ancestral villages were among the conditions imposed on Mantinea by the Spartans.⁴ Their forced exile, however, would last only fifteen years.

The Spartans, concerned with rising tensions in central Greece (and Theban expansion), convened a peace conference with Boeotia in 371 BCE.⁵ When it came to swearing an oath to respect the treaty, Sparta swore on behalf of herself and her allies. But when Epaminondas of Thebes came forward asking to swear on behalf of the whole Boeotian League, the Spartans refused, saying he could swear as the representative of Thebes or not at all. This Epaminondas refused. In this act the Spartans saw an opportunity to defend their shaky authority in central Greece, and they immediately ordered the Spartan King Kleombrotus to march to war. The Spartan army met the combined Boeotian army at Leuktra on July 6, 371 BCE, and suffered an astounding defeat.

The news of the Spartan defeat at Leuktra shocked the whole Greek world, but it was in Arkadia that the results of the battle were especially important and where we can trace three separate (but related) consequences: the foundation of the Arkadian League, the synoikism of Mantinea and Megalopolis, and the fortification of several strategically located cities. In many of the *poleis* of Arkadia, the Spartan defeat was the signal for fierce democratic reaction

2 Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.1 (Brownson trans.).

3 Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.5.

4 Pausanias (8.8.9) maintains that the Spartans left a small part of the city inhabited.

5 Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1 ff.

against Lakedaimonian influence. In Mantinea this took the form of a political resurrection, and we see that the populations of the villages into which the Mantineians had been dispersed in 385 BC, reunited and, perhaps with Theban assistance,⁶ the inhabitants began to refortify their old city so recently destroyed by the Spartans.

Around the same time, the Arkadians were collectively moving towards the foundation of a defensive alliance, a process in which Mantinea and Tegea performed leading and instrumental roles. Although it is unclear who exactly suggested that the Arkadians form a league with a common council—since Xenophon ascribes the formation of the League to Kallibios and Proxenos of Tegea,⁷ while Diodorus gives the credit of the proposal to Lykomedes of Mantinea⁸—it is clear that a unified Arkadian Confederacy fell in with the anti-Spartan policy of Thebes, or more specifically, the policy of Epaminondas, to whose military aptitude most attribute the site chosen for the city of Megalopolis—the League's centre and meeting place. Although we have seen that the people of Mantinea returned to the site from which they had been expelled by the Spartans in 385 BCE, the establishment of Megalopolis was a new and totally artificial foundation.

According to Pausanias this new city was settled by Arkadians from 39 different communities—communities that the League convinced to abandon their ancestral homes and to participate in the synoikism of Megalopolis.⁹ Perhaps not surprisingly, the command to surrender their autonomy to form a political collective met with opposition from some of the village communities. Still, it appears that the League forces secured obedience from all of the dissenting communities, with one notable exception. We are told that the people of Trapezous preferred to seek a new home by the shores of the Black Sea rather than to surrender their sovereignty to Arkadian League interests.¹⁰ It is important to keep in mind, however, that even if the choice of the site for Megalopolis (so important strategically) was the contribution of the Theban general to the movement, the proposal for political and defensive union seems to have come from the Arkadians themselves. Yet it should also be noted that in addition to Trapezous, there were other Arkadian *poleis* that were also not enthusiastic about joining the League (even if they were

6 For the argument against Theban involvement in re-synoikism of Mantinea, see Demand 1990 109–110.

7 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6.

8 Diod. 15.59.

9 Paus. 8.27.3 ff.

10 Paus. 8.27.5–6.

not asked to move their population to Megalopolis); and the most notable holdout in this regard was the *polis* of Orchomenos. Similarly, outside of Arkadia, we see the *poleis* of Sparta and Phlious (allied with Orchomenos) acting against League interests from the very beginning.¹¹ All of these *poleis* still have a part to play in our story. Despite both internal and external dissention, however, it was not long after the battle of Leuktra, that, while the foundations of Megalopolis were being laid under the protection of a thousand chosen troops sent by Thebes, the first meeting of the Confederacy was held at nearby Asea.¹²

Once the foundation of Megalopolis was completed, the city served two main purposes: first, it was both the meeting-place of the Arkadian League representatives (i.e., the Ten Thousand) and the new home for the Arkadians that participated in the synoikism; second, as mentioned, along with Mantinea and Messene, Megalopolis was one of a number of fortified *poleis* that extended across the Peloponnese, designed to restrict Spartan incursion into Arkadia. In his study of Messenia, C. Roebuck describes the logic of this defensive system; he writes:

The communications of Sparta with the northern Peloponnesus, Attica, and Central Greece were necessarily through Arcadia and the Argolid [and a] great part of its economic resources consisted in the fertile plains of Messenia. Thus, if its routes of communication were closed and its economy impaired, Sparta would be broken as a first-rate power in Greece. Epaminondas already had the support of Argos and Arcadia. The foundation of Messene was the next step in the process, and after it was made, there remained only the consolidation of Arcadia which was brought about by the foundation of Megalopolis [and the Arkadian League].¹³

The Arkadian *poleis* of ancient Stymphalos and Alea were also almost certainly part of the same overall defensive strategy. The strategic location of these two cities, their recognized membership in the Arkadian Confederacy, the similarities of their fortifications with both each other and with those of Mantinea, as well as the question of historical probability, all add considerable support to this supposition.

11 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.13 ff.

12 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11.

13 Roebuck 1941 32.

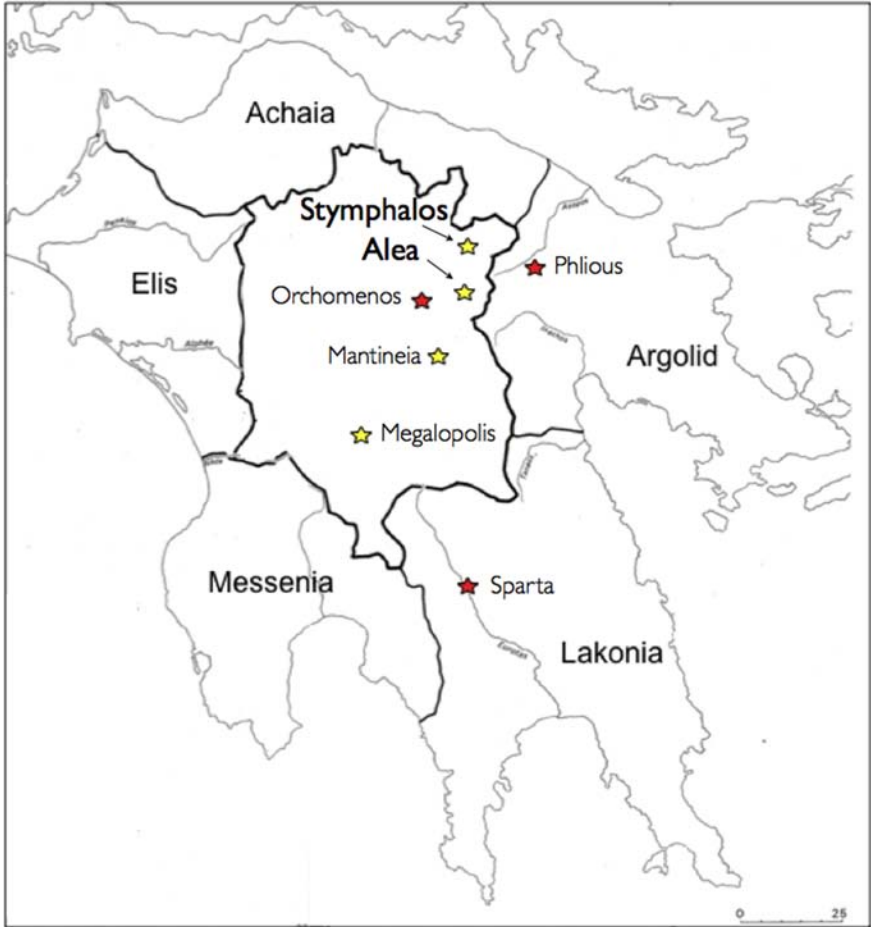


FIGURE 1.1 *Map of Arkadia*

Stymphalos and Alea: A Brief History of Scholarship

The city of Stymphalos, famous in antiquity as the location of Herakles' sixth labour, is located in a narrow mountain valley in northeastern Arkadia [See Figure 1.1]. Strabo counts Stymphalos among the cities of Arkadia that no longer existed in his day.¹⁴ This account is somewhat corroborated a century and a half later by Pausanias, who, besides noting a temple to Artemis and Hadrian's

14 Strab. 8.8.2.

aqueduct, finds little else in or around the city worth mentioning.¹⁵ As evidenced by a considerable digression, it appears Pausanias was more concerned with a taxonomic identification of the Stymphalian birds. Indeed, as maintained by Williams, it would appear that Stymphalos' celebrity, "then as now, mostly depends on the infamous birds whose destruction comprised Herakles' labour."¹⁶ Still, in the nineteenth century, a renewed interest in the site itself is suggested by the uninterrupted stream of European travellers and scholars who visited Stymphalos and left behind accounts of their observations.¹⁷ Taken together, these accounts form an interesting picture of the changing appearance and visibility of the remains over time.

While the history of scholarship on various aspects of the site continued into the twentieth century,¹⁸ the actual archaeological history of the site began with A. Orlandos, who, between 1924 and 1930, conducted seven seasons of excavation at Stymphalos under the auspices of Greek Archaeological Service.¹⁹ Although he worked to uncover several important architectural constituents—including three of the city's gates and the sanctuary on the acropolis—his excavations were brief and the summary of his findings even more so. After Orlandos, archaeological investigation of the site would not resume for over half a century.

In the summer of 1982, under the direction of Hector Williams, Stymphalos was designated as the inaugural project of the Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens.²⁰ In that year, geographical and topographical studies at the site began and the University of British Columbia (UBC) has carried out excavations since 1994.²¹ While excavations have been conducted in numerous areas across the site, the primary areas of investigation include a sanctuary

15 Paus. 8.22.1–9.

16 Williams 1983 194.

17 E.g. Gell 1817 1.168; Dodwell 1819 2.432–435; Cramer 1828 3.308–314; Leake 1830 3.108–115; Boblaye 1836 147–148; Curtius 1851 1.202–207, pl. IV; Rangabé 1857 122–127, pl. XII; Clark 1858 319–323; Bursian 1862 2.194–198; Frazer 1898 4.268–275. On the archaeological and topographical contributions of some of these early modern scholars to our knowledge of ancient and modern Stymphalos, see Maher 2012a.

18 E.g., Hiller von Gaertringen 1915; Howell 1970 97–98; Jost 1985 99–106; Papahatzis 1994 257–264.

19 Orlandos 1924; 1925; 1926; 1927; 1928; 1929; 1930.

20 Williams 1983 195. The Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens has been renamed the Canadian Institute in Greece.

21 For a summary of the findings, see Williams 1983; Williams 1984; Williams 1985; Williams and Cronkite-Price 1995; Williams 1996; Williams et al. 1997; Williams et al. 1998; Williams et al. 2002.

on the acropolis, parts of the orthogonally planned lower city, and of considerable interest here, several components of the fortifications. Consequently, the fortifications of Stymphalos remain one of but a small handful of Arkadian *poleis* to have received detailed excavation and study. Thus, not only do the following analyses necessarily draw heavily upon the published findings,²² but because these investigations have provided “real insights into the changing practical requirements of defense of a fourth-century [Arkadian] *polis*,”²³ they are also utilized throughout the present work as appropriate comparanda for the defensive works employed at other nearby Arkadian settlements. Unfortunately, the ancient site of Alea has not received the same amount of scholarly attention, and has never been excavated. Indeed, although small and relatively unknown, the *polis* of Alea possesses the best preserved fortification circuit in all of Arkadia, and with Messene, among the best in all of the Peloponnese. Yet neither this site nor its considerable walls has ever been studied in significant detail.

The fortified site of Alea is located in eastern Arkadia, approximately 3 km. east of the modern village that bears its name and ca. 15 km. south of Stymphalos [See Figure 1.1].²⁴ The first surviving account of a visit to the site is by Pausanias, who, in his standard treatment of small settlements, provides only passing references to the most important sanctuaries in its territory.²⁵ In the early nineteenth century, both Gell and Dodwell discovered, or more accurately, thought they had discovered, the remains of the city.²⁶ In fact, the site was not actually rediscovered until the late 1820s by Captain Peytier in the course of his duties with the *Expédition de Morée*.²⁷ While the decades following this discovery witnessed short superficial observations of the site compiled by Leake, Curtius, Rangabé, and Bursian,²⁸ it was not until the end of the century that significant descriptions of the fortifications were published.

22 Williams and Gourley 2005.

23 Williams and Gourley 2005 220.

24 Formerly the village of Bougiati. Although originally part of Arkadia, Pausanias (8.23.1) mentions that Alea, like Stymphalos, belonged to the Argives in his day. Today the site and nearby village continue to belong to the Argolid prefecture.

25 Paus. 8.23.1.

26 Gell 1817 168 and Dodwell 1819 2.432 wrongly identified Alea as a site on the southern side of the ridge which bounds the valley of Stymphalos on the southeast, 11 km. north of the real site of Alea.

27 Boblaye 1836 147.

28 Leake 1846 383; Curtius 1851 1.208–209; Rangabé 1857 119–122; Bursian 1862 2.198. With the exception of Rangabé, all are based largely on Pausanias' and Boblaye's accounts.

One of the few Arkadian examples in his work, the city walls of Alea do receive brief mention in de Rochas d'Aiglun's *Principes de la fortification antique*, published in 1881.²⁹ By the end of the century Frazer's firsthand account of Alea and its walls had surpassed all previous descriptions in terms of accuracy and topographical detail.³⁰ The last, and arguably the greatest scholarly contribution to the study of Alea's fortifications, however, was made by Meyer in his *Peloponnesische Wanderungen*, published in 1939.³¹ In this work, an entire chapter is devoted to Alea, the majority of which is given to the fortifications and includes for the first time precise measurements, an accurate site plan, as well as discussions regarding the masonry style and chronology.

The Fortifications of Ancient Stymphalos

At the highest point of the acropolis is the Acropolis Bastion, from which the circuit proceeds northeast down the slope of the hill, before gently curving eastwards [See Figure 1.2]. After this curve the wall moves along a southeast course toward the edges of the lake where it bends westwards.³² The southern section of the lower city circuit runs almost due west before making a 90° turn north and continuing up the southern slope of the acropolis. After a short stretch the circuit makes another 90° turn, this time toward the west, after which it proceeds in a straight line up the hill, meeting the Acropolis Bastion at its southeast corner. In total, the fortifications surrounding ancient Stymphalos are approximately 2.5 km. in length. The circuit is reasonably uniform in its composition and contains 45 regularly spaced rectangular and semicircular towers (including those at the gates), seven gates, as well as one postern.

Archaeological investigations have demonstrated that the curtains and towers were built of mudbrick on a polygonal foundation of local limestone. The thickness of the curtain varies from 4.50 m. in the flat sections surrounding the lower city on the east and west, to 2.50 m. for the curtains on the south side of the acropolis.³³ Although no bonding courses were uncovered, header blocks were found distributed at fairly regular intervals in order to bond the faces with

29 See de Rochas d'Aiglun 1881 58–59. It should be noted, however, that most of his description of the circuit (and the plan) is taken from Rangabé 1857 119–122, and in some cases whole passages are taken word for word.

30 Frazer 1898 4.275–278.

31 Meyer 1939 19–29.

32 For the original plan of the site and its fortifications, see Williams and Gourley 2005 Fig. 1.

33 Williams and Gourley 2005 222.

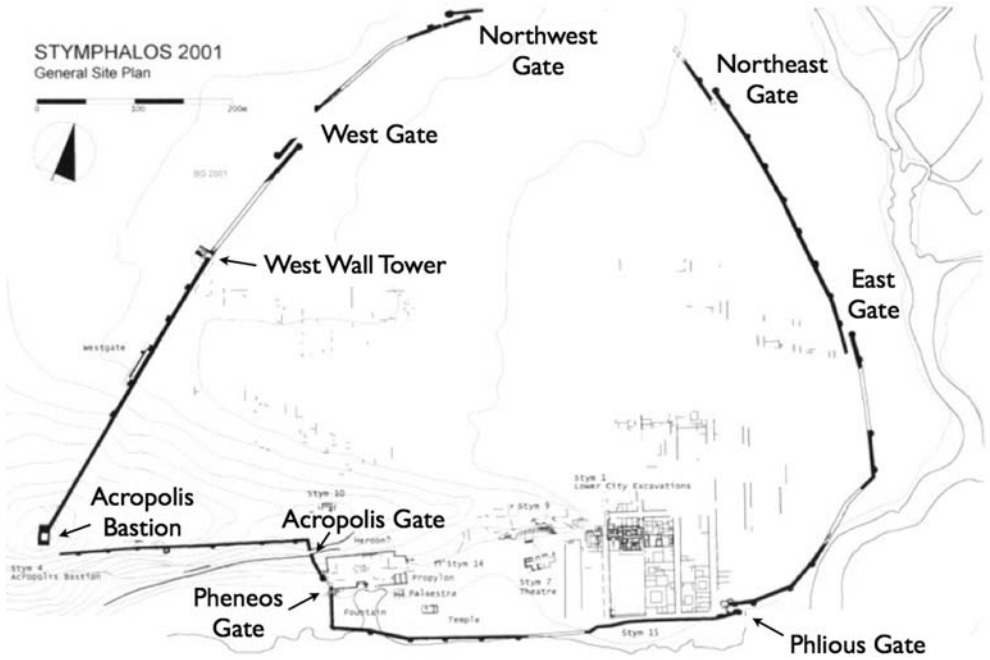


FIGURE 1.2 *Plan of Stymphalos* (FROM WILLIAMS AND GOURLEY 2005: FIG. 1)

the earth and rubble core.³⁴ Finally, the deepest excavations revealed that the lowest foundation blocks were carefully cut to complement the shape of the natural bedrock on which they rested.³⁵

Both the towers and the gates of the Stymphalian circuit can be divided into two basic chronological categories: those belonging to the original circuit, and those built or modified at a later date. The vast majority of the towers and most of the gates appear to belong to the original system. Interestingly, the rectangular towers are found exclusively on the northeast stretch of the circuit, where six existed on the flat ground south of the West Wall Tower, and at least one just outside the Northwest Gate.³⁶ The semicircular towers are much more frequent, and twenty examples can be found distributed evenly along the lower eastern and southern sections of the trace.

34 Williams and Gourley 2005 222.

35 Williams and Gourley 2005 222.

36 The West Wall Tower was a later modification of one of these rectangular towers. On the reasons for their use in this section of the wall only, see Williams and Gourley 2005 241 n. 42.

Of the circuit's seven gates, four are of the overlap type and appear to belong to the original phase of construction. Whereas the overlap gates of Mantinea display considerable variation, the Stymphalian examples "are all virtually identical."³⁷ For example, all four contain a ca. 20 m. long corridor formed by overlapping sections of the curtains and are protected by both a tower outside the approach and by a circular tower at the start of the corridor (on the attacker's left). Both the West and Northwest Gates contain a second circular tower protecting the intramural end of the corridor. As noted by Williams and Gourley, it is not clear why these gates were left in their original form while others were modified, although certainly they must have satisfied the defensive requirements in the areas of the circuit in which they were located.³⁸

The Acropolis Gate is another feature likely belonging to the original circuit.³⁹ Located about 50 m. north of the Pheneos Gate and approached by a ramp, this is the only gate in the circuit not located on the flat plain. It is a simple frontal gate—the lower parts of the flanking uprights are preserved—with an opening about 5 m. wide.⁴⁰ The Phlious Gate, located in the extreme southeast of the city, was first partially excavated by Orlandos in 1926.⁴¹ The excavations by the team from UBC in the summer of 1999 added considerably to what is known of this interesting architectural feature.⁴² Most significant was the discovery that this gatecourt was not original to the circuit (as initially believed), but had been modified, having replaced an earlier simple overlap type gate.⁴³ This modification had been performed by constricting the corridor to 3 m. in width at either end with the addition of a circular courtyard, ca. 7 m. in diameter in the space between.⁴⁴ The final gate of the circuit is the Pheneos Gate, located below the acropolis on the flat ground in the southwest corner of the city. Like the Phlious Gate, this structure was excavated in 1926 by Orlandos and subsequently by UBC in 2001.⁴⁵ This gate, oriented east-west and comprised of

37 Williams and Gourley 2005 228.

38 Williams and Gourley 2005 227.

39 Although Williams and Gourley 2005 239–240 do not provide a date for this gate, its form and more importantly, its location, suggest it was built at the same time as the general circuit.

40 Williams and Gourley 2005 240.

41 See Orlandos 1926.

42 See Williams et al. 2002 167–168 and Williams and Gourley 2005 232–235.

43 Williams and Gourley 2005 232.

44 The original circular tower flanking the right of the corridor was maintained in the new arrangement, Williams and Gourley 2005 233.

45 See Orlandos 1926 and Williams and Gourley 2005 236–239.

a simple opening in the western stretch of wall, provided access to the lower city on the southern side of the acropolis. Although the confused stratigraphy in the area resulting from the earlier excavations has prevented the establishment of a precise chronology for the gate, this structure, as noted by Williams and Gourley, “is not consistent with the original defensive requirements of such a gate.”⁴⁶ Consequently, it has been suggested that the original gate took the form of a simple opening and was later modified to its present form.⁴⁷

The modification of existing structures was not limited to the gates, and at least four structures have been identified which also correspond to a second phase of construction designed to exploit the powerful new torsion machines to a defensive advantage.⁴⁸ Reflecting the perceived defensive concerns dictated by the topography of the site, these structures are found largely in the western part of the city. On the highest point of the acropolis and westernmost part of the circuit lie the ruins of a large tower. From the accounts of early travelers, it appears that the foundations of this, the so-called Acropolis Bastion, have always been visible.⁴⁹ Even today, the northwest corner of the tower stands to a height of 3 m., and represents an excellent example of uncoursed polygonal masonry [See Figure 1.3]. Excavation of the tower in 1997 revealed much about the internal layout, the relative chronology, and the superstructure of this impressive specimen. For example, it was discovered that the Acropolis Bastion, measuring 21 m. × 11 m. with walls 3 m. thick, had replaced an earlier smaller rectangular tower, the remains of which were encapsulated by the later structure.⁵⁰ The other modified artillery installation on the acropolis is the Hexagonal Tower. Ideally located on the heights of the acropolis commanding the approach toward the Pheneos Gate, this tower was initially believed to have been part of the original circuit. Later excavation, however, soon demonstrated the presence of an earlier, semicircular tower, bonded to the curtain behind.⁵¹

46 Williams and Gourley 2005 237.

47 Several structures located just inside the gate appear to have been later (first century CE) additions to the city, and it is possible that the Pheneos Gate was also modified and embellished at that time, Williams and Gourley 2005 237.

48 In order to house higher caliber artillery and to support the increased recoil produced by these new machines that appear in the second half of the fourth century, the towers built (or rebuilt) in the late fourth and early third century BCE were most often larger than the early fourth century BCE examples. See Ober 1987.

49 Curtius 1851 1.204; Rangabé 1857 125; Clark 1858 321; Bursian 1862 197; Frazer 1898 4.271. See also Williams and Gourley 2005 246–250.

50 Williams and Gourley 2005 246.

51 Williams and Gourley 2005 245.



FIGURE 1.3 *The Acropolis Bastion at Stymphalos (facing SW)*. PHOTO BY M. MAHER.

The final two structures that were not part of the original trace are found on the plain north of the acropolis, concentrated on the western part of the circuit. The West Wall Tower, located in roughly the middle of the western city wall, was excavated in 1999 and again in 2005. These excavations not only exposed the foundations of an earlier rectangular tower, with dimensions identical to those directly to the south, but also a hoard of coins of the fourth and early third centuries BCE which represents the most conclusive evidence for the date of its subsequent modification.⁵² Specifically, because these coins were found next to the foundations of the enlarged tower in an area that was to the north (and thus outside) of the original tower, it is clear that they represent the earliest possible date for the tower's modification. The stone foundation of this second, larger tower measures 15 m. in length by 9 m. in width, and survives for its entire height.⁵³ While the remarkable size of this tower and its

52 The latest coins issued are those of Demetrios Poliorketes (Williams and Gourley 2005 250).

53 The foundations themselves are 3 m. thick and are constructed of massive polygonal blocks laid in three courses. Excavation of the tower in 2005 supervised by the author,

strong foundations suggest it would have housed a number of torsion artillery machines, its location and orientation reflect a concern for protecting the open and flat ground west of the city.⁵⁴ Indeed, as this area is the only section of the city not provided with some form of natural defense (e.g., a river, the lake, or elevated terrain), the overall security of the system is compensated in this flat area by an increased reliance on the size and deployment of towers. Specifically, the placement of the West Wall tower in the middle of the stretch of wall indicates its primary function—namely, to command and dominate both the area immediately in front, and the adjacent curtains.⁵⁵

Such a concern is also manifested in the final addition to the circuit, the West Wall Structure, located 130 m. south of the West Wall Tower. This enigmatic structure is represented on the ground by “a [50 m. long] wall about a metre wide running about 2 m in front of the line of the west wall.”⁵⁶ Originally thought to correspond to later repairs, it is now held that these remains may be better explained as a possible emplacement for a battery of artillery. Although such an interpretation is speculative, an outwork in this location is completely in keeping with both the appearance of the extant remains and the larger defensive considerations given to this area of the Stymphalian circuit. In other words, if the remains of this structure have been interpreted correctly, and it does indeed represent an artillery platform, it only further reinforces the defensive significance of this part of the circuit. As the flanking artillery from the West Wall Tower may not have been able to cover all of the curtain to the south toward the lower slope of the acropolis, perhaps this section was perceived as a weak-spot in the circuit. The West Wall Structure was likely part of the same building program of the late fourth or early third century BCE that witnessed the modifications of the other prominent defensive installations on the circuit.

The Fortifications of Ancient Alea

The extant remains consist of three main elements, which together form a rough triangle: the west wall, the northeast wall, and at the highest point,

showed that the lowest course of the foundations were built directly onto the bedrock, which had been carefully cut to receive them.

54 Williams and Gourley 2005 250–251.

55 Moreover, because of its location and alignment, the West Wall Tower would have also been able to provide lateral fire to the north toward the entrance corridor of the West Gate.

56 Williams and Gourley 2005 253.

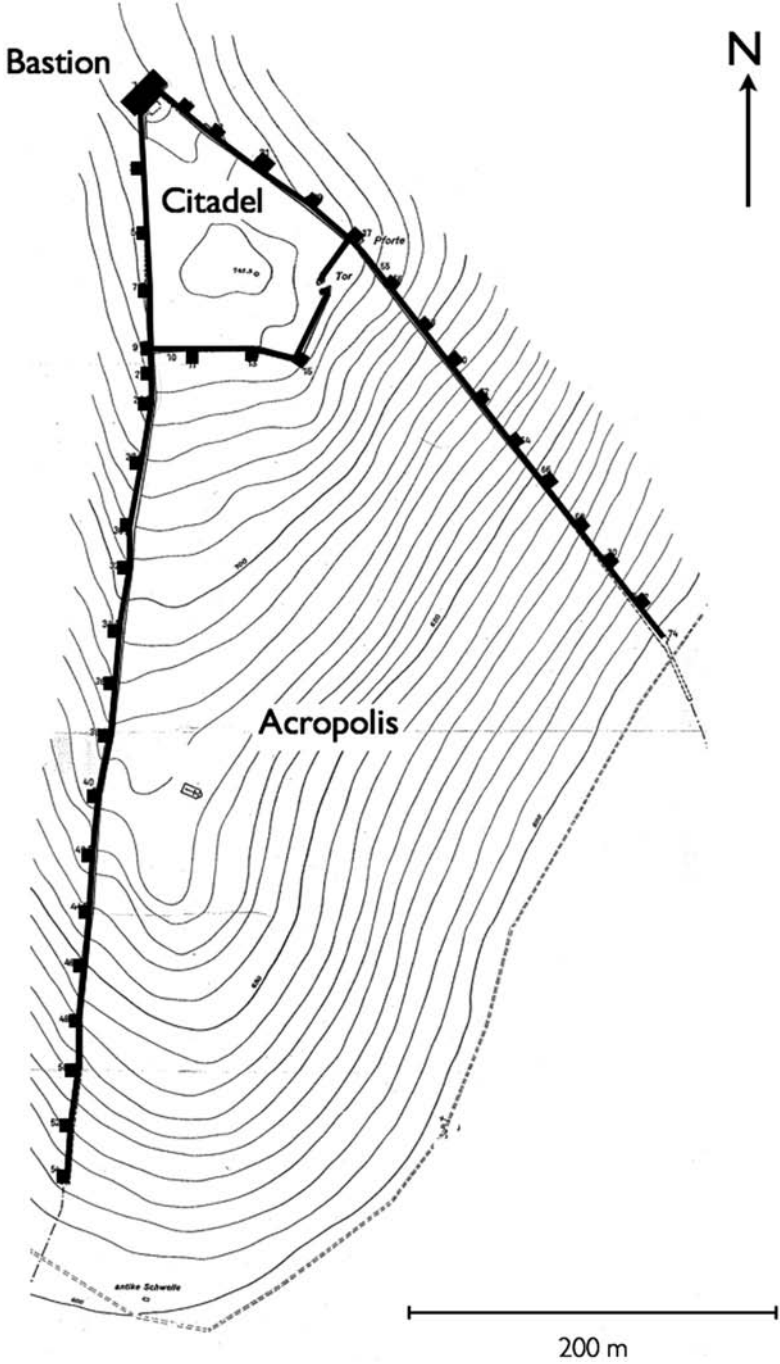


FIGURE 1.4 *Plan of Alea* (AFTER MEYER 1939: PL. II)



FIGURE 1.5 *The Acropolis Bastion at Alea (facing E)*. PHOTO BY M. MAHER.

the separately fortified citadel [See Figure 1.4].⁵⁷ Like all Arkadian circuits, the walls of Alea are comprised of limestone foundations, on which undoubtedly once rested a mudbrick superstructure.⁵⁸ Although such perishable materials no longer survive, that this was the case is suggested by the fact that the stone curtains and lower tower chambers appear so well and relatively uniformly preserved to a height of about 4 m. The foundations themselves are constructed predominantly in the fully developed uncoursed polygonal style of masonry, although there are two exceptions: the large Acropolis bastion and the adjoining curtain on the west, which are comprised of isodomic trapezoidal blocks [See Figure 1.5]. Between the inner and outer curtain walls, is an internal fill of rubble and presumably at one time, packed earth as well.⁵⁹

57 For the original plan of the site and its fortifications, see Meyer 1939, Pl. II.

58 Maher 2012b 601–602. Owing to the state of preservation, I was unable to determine if the towers had ground storey chambers. Meyer 1939 26 maintains that they did.

59 Because of the nature of the remains and a lack of excavation, it cannot be determined at this time whether the internal structure of the wall was comprised of compartments. There is also no evidence of stretchers.

The west wall of the circuit departs the southwest corner of the citadel and follows a relatively straight southward course for about 485 m.⁶⁰ This section of the circuit contains fifteen rectangular towers, evenly spaced at intervals between 28 and 30 m.⁶¹ The width of the curtains between the towers is also basically uniform, averaging around 2.90 m. In the dimensions of the towers too, we see further regularity, as they typically measure 5.10 m. in width and project an average of 2.50 m. from the walls.⁶² The northeast wall is both shorter and steeper than its western counterpart, descending 296 m. in a straight line from the southeast corner of the citadel to the plain below. This stretch of wall is furnished with ten towers—again, all rectangular—regularly spaced at intervals comparable to the west wall. While the curtain thickness here also averages 2.90 m., the dimensions of the towers on this side are not as uniform, although the majority are similar to those on the west.

Interestingly for a circuit of this size, there is only one postern. Located at the northern terminus of the northeast wall, it is flanked by the large southeast acropolis tower. When Rangabé visited the site in the mid-nineteenth century, the lintel above the door was still intact, comprised of “deux pierres penchées, et se servant mutuellement d’appui.”⁶³ Although in a ruinous state today, the small 1.25 m. wide opening can still be observed.

The separately fortified citadel occupies the relatively flat area on the top of the hill and its crowning feature is the bastion. Measuring an impressive 23.30 m. in length and 8 m. in width,⁶⁴ it occupies the highest and northernmost point of the citadel. The southern limit of the citadel is defined by a series of three walls that link its western and northeastern walls, and includes the circuit’s only gateway. This gateway, 3 m. wide with a 7 m. long passage, is the only extant gate in the whole circuit, and it does not wholly conform to the established types. Although it more closely resembles a frontal gateway than an overlap type, the opening itself is neither flanked by towers nor set perpendicular to the curtain. Instead, we see an oblique opening formed by small returns in the adjoining curtains.

60 Meyer 1939 23.

61 The exceptions are Towers 28 and 30 which are 39 m. apart, and Towers 30 and 32 which are separated by only 18 m., Meyer 1939 24.

62 Meyer 1939 24. Excluding the inexplicably small Tower 40 (4.70 m. wide and projecting 2.0 m.).

63 Rangabé 1857 121. For a sketch of the postern illustrating how it appeared in the mid-nineteenth century, see Rangabé 1857, Pl. 11.

64 Meyer 1939 22.

Although there are no visible remains of the lower city walls in the plain below, some thoughts may be considered. Over a century ago both Frazer and Rangabé argued that a third wall likely existed at the foot of the hill, completing the triangle by connecting the western and northeastern walls.⁶⁵ Meyer is undoubtedly correct in his assertion that this idea is mistaken, even if the logic on which his assertion stands is questionable.⁶⁶ In other words, Meyer was correct in his belief that there was not a third wall at the bottom of the hill closing the triangle, but for the wrong reasons. For example, he maintains that the slope of the hill is too steep to accommodate houses, which must have instead been located in the plain below implying, there would have been no need for a fortification wall at the bottom of the acropolis. Adjusting to a steep terrain, however, has never been a problem for Greek architects—neither today nor in antiquity.⁶⁷ In any case, it is clear that there was no wall at the bottom of the acropolis, but instead, the fortifications of Alea extended into the plain below and enclosed a lower city—a fact that can be plausibly inferred based on the available evidence and probability.⁶⁸

The remains of the fortifications on the acropolis discussed above are so well-preserved because of their location—on a rocky hillside appropriate only for the grazing of sheep and goats. If there was a similar wall on the base of the hill on terrain equally unsuited to agriculture, then it is likely that they too would have survived to some degree. If, on the other hand, the fortifications extended into the plain, then their disappearance could be explained as both a consequence of intensive agriculture and as a convenient accessible source of stone blocks for reuse in the surrounding villages. Finally, although the full and exact course of the lower city circuit is impossible to trace today, an examination of the partitioning of different tracts of land provides some clues.⁶⁹

65 Frazer 1898 4.276; Rangabé 1857 121.

66 Meyer 1939 26.

67 It is interesting to note that in response to the steep terrain, many of the blocks comprising the northeast wall were laid not horizontally, but obliquely. In this way, gravity directed and redistributed their collective weight into the hillside itself, thus increasing the overall cohesion of the structure.

68 It should be noted that the plan of the fortifications of the city of New Halos, remarkably similar in its overall layout to that of Alea, shows that an independently fortified triangular acropolis with an attached fortified lower city was not unknown on the Greek mainland in the fourth century BCE.

69 Although only excavation or survey will answer the question conclusively, the lack of any remains did not prevent Meyer 1939 28 from estimating the length of the lower city circuit to be 1220 m.

Satellite images and photos of the plain below the acropolis reveal a clearly discernible oblique field boundary extending in a curved line from the point where the northeast wall meets the modern road on the plain below [See Figure 1.6]. Not only is such a boundary apparently at odds with the surrounding rectilinear land partitions, but its alignment with the northeast fortification wall is certainly suggestive and may represent the lower city wall's eastern course.

The Case for Stymphalos

In presenting a plausible argument for the participation of Stymphalos and Alea in the larger defensive strategy of the Arkadian League, the evidence must satisfy a number of conditions. First, it must be shown, of course, that both cities were participating members of the Arkadian League; second, that their fortifications were constructed at the same time as those of Mantinea and Megalopolis (i.e., around 370 BCE); and third, that their geographic locations were strategically significant to the League's larger defensive interests. How Stymphalos and Alea satisfy this last condition is discussed jointly below.

The first point is fairly straightforward, and we can be fairly certain that Stymphalos was indeed a member of the Arkadian League, since Xenophon tells us that the general elected to lead the League in 366 BCE was a man named Aeneas from Stymphalos.⁷⁰ Fortunately, owing to careful excavation and detailed study of the site, discerning a chronology for the walls of Stymphalos also presents few difficulties. The Greek travel writer Pausanias, who visited the site in the mid-second century CE, tells us that Stymphalos "was originally founded on another site, and not on that of the modern city."⁷¹ The location of the earlier Archaic and Classical period settlement, the one mentioned by Homer and Pindar, remains unknown.⁷² What is known, however, is that although some earlier material (coins, pottery, sculpture, etc.) has come to light during the three decades of investigation at the site, the preponderance of the architectural and ceramic evidence suggests that the city of Stymphalos was developed at its current location during the early fourth century BCE.⁷³ At

⁷⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.1.

⁷¹ Paus. 8.22.1. (Jones and Ormerod trans.)

⁷² Hom. *Il.* 2.608; Pind. *Ol.* 6.99. Somewhere in the western end of the valley, near modern Lafka, is the best candidate for the location of the earlier settlement according to B. Gourley (in a personal communication).

⁷³ Williams and Gourley 2005 233.



FIGURE 1.6 *Photo of Alea from top of East Acropolis Wall (facing SE).* PHOTO BY M. MAHER.

that time, the settlement was laid out on a grid plan and fortified by the extensive circuit of walls, towers, and gates.

Thanks to the accounts left to us by Xenophon and Strabo, moreover, the specific date of the re-foundation of Stymphalos may be narrowed down even further. Xenophon, for example, records that in 392/91 BCE, the Athenian general “Iphikrates and his troops invaded many districts of Arkadia, where they plundered and made attacks upon the walled towns.”⁷⁴ That Stymphalos was one of those ‘walled towns’ is perhaps supported by the testimony of Strabo, who provides a detailed account of the Athenians’ unsuccessful siege of Stymphalos. Strabo maintains that “when besieging Stymphalos, and making no progress, [Iphikrates attempted] to obstruct the descent of the river into the ground by means of a large quantity of sponges, but desisted in consequence of some portentous signs in the heavens.”⁷⁵ Strabo, however, does not provide a date and since we know, thanks to Xenophon,⁷⁶ that in 370 BCE Iphikrates was again in Arkadia, this time harassing the Theban army on their return to Boeotia, it is not inconceivable that Iphikrates’ siege of Stymphalos (a Theban ally) actually occurred at that time and not in 392/91 BCE.⁷⁷ In any event, these complementary accounts are of particular importance for our understanding of the history of the city and its fortifications, as they suggest that the city was both in its current location and walled by 370 BCE, if not earlier.

Not only has excavation of certain parts of the fortifications suggested an early-fourth-century BCE date, but architecturally the similarities between the fortifications of Stymphalos and the ca. 370 BCE walls of Mantinea in terms of building material, layout, and tactical components, again, seem to point to a comparable date for the walls of the former.⁷⁸ For example, of the Stymphalian circuit’s seven gates, as mentioned above, four are of the overlap type and appear to belong to the original phase of construction: the so-called West,

74 Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.16.

75 Strab. 8.8.4 (Falconer trans.). As noted by Williams and Gourley 2005 219, n. 11 such a tactic is reminiscent of the stratagem employed by the Spartans on the walls of Mantinea in 385 BCE. Moreover, they accurately point to the fact that it “seems a ‘chicken-and-egg’ argument to consider whether Iphikrates tried this tactic in 392 BC, which suggested it to the Spartans in 385 BC, or vice versa.”

76 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.49–51.

77 Of the two options, based on the similarities with the ca. 370 BCE fortifications of Mantinea (discussed below), I believe the fortifications of Stymphalos are more likely to have been built in the years around 370 BCE rather than earlier in the century.

78 For the architectural details of the walls of Mantinea, see Fougères 1890; 1898 130–161; Winter 1989 189–192; and Maher 2012b 147–171.

Northwest, Northeast, and East Gates. Not only do these gates resemble those of Mantinea in basic form and function, but more significantly, in all of Arkadia, the fortifications of Stymphalos and Mantinea are the only two circuits to possess these type of overlap gates.⁷⁹

Like these gates, excavations have also revealed that the vast majority of the Stymphalian towers (both the rectangular and semicircular examples) appear to belong to the original circuit, and that their general form and distribution are “firmly entrenched in the early-fourth-century defensive practice.”⁸⁰ Indeed, the use of differing tower types in the same circuit was not unusual, and the form and dimensions of both the rectangular and semicircular towers resemble other fourth-century examples, most notably, those of Mantinea. In short, we see that the rectangular towers at Stymphalos, with an average width of 6.50 m., and a projection from the walls of 2.50 m., are remarkably similar to those at Mantinea, which also average 6.50 m. wide, although they project slightly more. Furthermore, although just over half the size of Mantinea, the Stymphalos circuit possesses around 45 towers in total, compared to Mantinea’s 120. For what it is worth, Mantinea and Stymphalos contain the most and second most towers of any Arkadian fortification circuit respectively.⁸¹ Finally, parallels can also be drawn in terms of tower spacing and deployment. Not only do both circuits display the regular rather than strategic deployment of towers (a development that can be traced to the early fourth century in Arkadia),⁸² but spaced ca. 30 m. and 26 m. apart respectively, the deployment of towers in the Stymphalian and Mantineian circuits, again, display very similar characteristics.

The Case for Alea

Like Stymphalos, in order to present a plausible argument for Alea’s participation in the larger defensive strategy of the Arkadian League, the evidence must also demonstrate that Alea was both a member of the League and that its walls

79 Maher 2012b 613–614. Although the circuits of the Arkadian *poleis* of Nestane and Theisoa (at Lavda) each technically possess an example of an overlap-type gate, neither represents the fully developed form characteristic of the Mantineian and Stymphalian circuits.

80 Williams and Gourley 2005 241. On the evolution of artillery towers in Greek fortifications in general, see Winter 1971a 152–204; Ober 1987; Lawrence 1979 376–398. On the use, evolution, and chronology of towers employed in Arkadian fortifications specifically, see Maher 2012b 602–611.

81 Maher 2012b 602 ff.

82 Maher 2012b 602 ff.

can be seen to be contemporary with those of Mantinea, Megalopolis, and Stymphalos (i.e., ca. 370 BCE). As was the case with Stymphalos, confirming that Alea was indeed a member of the Arkadian League is a pretty straightforward task. In his description of Megalopolis, Pausanias lists the league members who were said to have participated in the synoikism of the Great City, and Alea is mentioned first among “the cities that the Arkadians were persuaded to abandon through their zeal and because of their hatred of the Lakedaemonians, in spite of the fact that these cities were their homes.”⁸³

Although in this comment Pausanias is telling us that Alea was one of the settlements persuaded to participate in the synoikism of Megalopolis, the city does not seem to have been abandoned, or at least not completely so, as an inscription dated to ca. 330 BCE records that an Argive *theorodokos* resided in Alea.⁸⁴ Still, as it is commonly held that Pausanias’ description of the participating cities is derived from an inscription he had personally read, the idea cannot be dismissed completely.⁸⁵ Because coins have been discovered dating to ca. 430 BCE, as well as a *proxenia* inscription from 450–400 BCE, it is clear that the settlement existed during the second half of the fifth century BCE.⁸⁶ But when exactly was it fortified? Whether all or only some of the population left to join Megalopolis, it follows that a construction project on the scale of Alea’s fortifications would demand the full economic resources and labour force of a unified settlement, and thus should pre-date ca. 370 BCE.⁸⁷ As was the case for Stymphalos, the best evidence for an early fourth-century date, comes from both the fortifications themselves and comparanda from the surrounding sites.

One of the most obvious architectural features (or lack thereof) that speaks to an earlier date is the paucity of posterns in the Alean circuit. As a rule, from the later fourth century onward, posterns (in the curtains) became increasingly

83 Paus. 8.27.3.

84 *SEG* 23 189.25.

85 See Nielsen 2002 573.

86 One grant of *proxenia* (*IvO* 30) was to an Athenian and is the oldest known public enactment of Alea (ca. 450–350 BCE). The other is a fifth-century BCE grant (*IG* I³ 80) by Athens of *proxenia* to a man from Alea. Alea appears to have produced its own coinage by the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, Head 1963 446.

87 Lawrence 1979 396 takes the opposite stance, maintaining that the walls were built after the Arkadian League collapsed and people returned to their cities. He goes on to say, somewhat inexplicably, that the walls were built and paid for in the late fourth century by Alea’s “overlord” and that the citadel “was, no doubt, reserved for his mercenaries.”

common,⁸⁸ (especially in large circuits incorporating a lower city like Alea) and the deficiency of such features at Alea (as at Stymphalos, which also has only a single example and at Mantinea which has none), may suggest an earlier date in the fourth century. Although the presence of only a single extant postern, and one that functioned more to provide access to the citadel rather than for offensive sorties, may suggest an overall passive approach, the number of towers employed in the circuit points to the opposite conclusion.

Indeed, the existence of 37 acropolis towers demonstrates an active defensive policy, one in which the use of mounted artillery (probably small caliber tension, not the larger torsion machines) played a significant role in the plan to keep the enemy at a distance from the walls. Ultimately, such a policy of employing towers placed at regular intervals is also paralleled at Stymphalos and Mantinea. The towers at Alea, for example, are deployed every 28 to 30 m., compared to the 30 m. and the 26 m. intervals found at Stymphalos and Mantinea respectively. Conversely, Winter (presumably following Meyer's belief in a Hellenistic date) mentions in passing that the "close-set towers of Alea obviously belong to the Hellenistic age."⁸⁹ In the same article, however, he also states that the "numerous close-set towers [are] characteristic of the period in which the new Mantinea was founded and fortified [i.e., 370 BCE]."⁹⁰ Indeed, as mentioned above, the regular deployment of towers (as opposed to grouping them strategically at weaker points in the circuit) is a defensive strategy that appears in the circuits throughout Arkadia in the early fourth century BCE and need not be indicative of a Hellenistic date. The average dimensions of the towers at Alea also have parallels, and averaging 6.60 m. wide and projecting 4.50 m. from the walls, the towers at Alea have almost the exact same average dimensions as those of Mantinea and Stymphalos. Moreover, with a total of 37 towers, Alea ranks third, behind Mantinea and Stymphalos for the most towers of any Arkadian circuit.

The style of masonry is, unfortunately, less persuasive, as Scranton and Winter have both commented on the difficulties in establishing the chronological limits of polygonal masonry.⁹¹ Nonetheless, Winter argues that polygonal was chiefly employed in the Peloponnese in the early fourth century BCE, and Scranton maintains that by the late fourth century BCE the style had all but run its course.⁹² By way of comparison, on the polygonal circuit of Oiniadai, Winter

88 Winter 1971a 239, 305.

89 Winter 1989 195.

90 Winter 1989 191.

91 Scranton 1941 50; Winter 1971a 83 ff.

92 Winter 1971a 90; Scranton 1941 50, 69.

maintains that it is “unlikely that so vast a circuit would have been built in the polygonal style during the Hellenistic period.”⁹³ The same argument holds true for Alea. Although masonry type as a stylistic chronological marker is not without its problems, I think it is significant that of all the fortifications constructed in Arkadia in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, only two were constructed predominately in uncoursed polygonal masonry: one of these is Alea, and the other is Stymphalos.

Another point in which the Alean fortifications are similar to its Stymphalian counterpart, and thus would seem to hint at a comparable early fourth-century date, is the layout of the respective circuits. Both circuits incorporate an acropolis that is enveloped by two almost perfectly straight stretches of circuit, which meet at the highest point of the hill, forming an approximate 45° angle. Not only is the use of straight uninterrupted curtains comparatively rare in Arkadian fortifications in all periods, but Stymphalos and Alea represent the only two examples in all of Arkadia, in any period, in which an uninterrupted stretch of curtain is employed in a system that includes a fortified lower city.

Finally, another feature held in common by both Stymphalos and Alea is the existence of large bastions as the focal point of the fortifications. Although they are constructed differently, it is unlikely that their position in relation to the rest of the circuit and their almost identical dimensions are coincidental.⁹⁴ Excavation has demonstrated that the bastion at Stymphalos was adapted into its present state early in the third century BCE, perhaps under Macedonian influence.⁹⁵ Furthermore, excavation at Stymphalos has also determined that, like the bastion, during the late fourth and early third centuries BCE several other components of the fortifications were modified in response to advances in siege warfare.⁹⁶ A similar scenario at Alea involving the adaptation of existing features in response to advances in siege warfare, may explain those tactical features not easily reconcilable with an early-fourth-century BCE date.⁹⁷

93 Winter 1971a 236.

94 Alea's bastion measures 23.30 m. × 8 m., Meyer 1939 22 and Stymphalos' measures 21 m. × 11 m., Williams and Gourley 2005 246.

95 Williams and Gourley 2005 249.

96 Williams and Gourley 2005 249.

97 For example, the ground-storey tower chambers, which Winter 1971a 162 notes were relatively uncommon before the time of Epaminondas and the Macedonians. Lawrence 1979 396 believes the bastion is contemporary with the rest of the circuit (late fourth century BCE).

The Strategically Important Locations of Stymphalos and Alea

Having established that both Stymphalos and Alea were members of the Arkadian League, and the similarity in their fortifications with each other and with Mantinea, suggest that their walls were almost certainly erected in the early fourth century (likely around 370 BCE), it remains to determine if these two *poleis* meet the final condition: are their locations strategically significant to the League's larger defensive interests?

Located at the crossroads of Arkadia, Achaia, the Argolid, the Sikyonia, and the Corinthia, the cities of Stymphalos and Alea controlled valleys of considerable strategic, political, and economic importance. Nevertheless, situated some 50 km. from the border with Lakonia, it might at first appear that the locations of both of these settlements are too far north to be of any practical strategic importance in Arkadia's centuries-old struggle against their Spartan nemesis. While conceding that point, it is important to remember that, as alluded to above, there are two cities whose interests need to be taken into consideration. These two cities shared a border with Stymphalos and Alea; these two cities were both allied with Sparta and enemies of the Arkadian League; these two cities were Orchomenos and Phlious [see Figure 1.1].

It is well known that Mantinea was a leading and influential member of the League, one whose opinion held considerable sway. Not only did the foundation of the League probably begin there, but it was also the home of the important federal leader Lykomedes, who was one of the two *oecists* provided by Mantinea for the foundation of Megalopolis.⁹⁸ Located just 16 km. to the north of Mantinea and separated by only a series of low hills, stood Orchomenos—a city that Xenophon tells us, “refused to be a member of the Arkadian League on account of their hatred toward the Mantineians.”⁹⁹ This hatred manifested itself in 370 BCE when Orchomenos began to raise a mercenary force, the perceived threat of which was so great, that when the rest of the Arkadian League assembled at Asea (as touched on above), the people of Mantinea decided to remain at home to “keep watch upon them.”¹⁰⁰ Such concern was justified, for shortly after raising this army, Orchomenos joined forces with Sparta, whose soldiers they “recognized as friends.”¹⁰¹

98 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23–24, 7.1.39, 7.4.2; Paus. 8.27.2.

99 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11.

100 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11.

101 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.17.

Xenophon recounts the events of 370 BCE which saw Orchomenos, as well as the Arkadian city of Heraia, allied with Sparta in several skirmishes against the army of the Arkadian League and their Elean allies.¹⁰² Consequently, as soon as the Spartans departed on their invasion of Arkadia in 370 BCE, the League army “made an expedition against the Heraians, not only because they refused to be members of the Arkadian League, but also because they had joined with the Lakedaimonians in invading Arkadia.”¹⁰³ Although the fate of Orchomenos is not recorded by Xenophon, as it too refused to join the League and took up arms with Sparta, the city may have received similar treatment at the hands of the Arkadian army.

In the earliest days of the Arkadian League, therefore, it is clear that Orchomenos was an ally of Sparta, but also, as Xenophon maintains, of Corinth and Phlious.¹⁰⁴ It is equally clear that Orchomenos and its allies were attending interests contrary to those of Mantinea and the Arkadian League, and they constituted a serious threat to the League’s security. It is conceivable that at the urging of Mantinea specifically, or the League as a whole, a defensive strategy was established to protect the settlements surrounding Orchomenos and their allies. Indeed, it cannot be a coincidence that at this time we see the fortification of Alea and Stymphalos—*poleis* that border both Orchomenos on one side and their Phliasian allies on the other.

Although it is likely that the city of Alea already existed in its present location in the early fourth century, that Stymphalos represented a completely new and artificial foundation suggests it was part of this new Arkadian defensive policy. Its new location within the valley is also telling: instead of being tucked away in the far western end of the valley (where it is believed the earlier city stood), it was now confidently situated directly across from the main road leading to Phlious. Finally, having visited Stymphalos early in the nineteenth century, Sir William Gell observed that “the pass between the mountain and the lake had also been fortified by two walls.”¹⁰⁵ As all traces of these walls have been obliterated by modern road works—ironically, connecting Stymphalos and Phlious—Gell’s account is especially important and further demonstrates that the Stymphalians were indeed concerned with the defense of their territory, especially with regards to limiting access from the direction of Phlious.

102 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.13 ff.

103 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.22.

104 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.30.

105 Gell 1823 384.

Conclusion

Historical probability would suggest the following: the fact that Stymphalos and Alea were fortified around the same time that Mantinea and Megalopolis were also established and fortified, cannot be coincidental. Indeed, that these cities were neighbours and both were members of the Arkadian League, that their walls should share so many architectural affinities, and that they occupied strategically important geographical locations speaks volumes against such a chance occurrence. The likelihood of a coincidence decreases considerably when we look at the patterns exhibited by the fortifications of other Arkadian cities at this time. The synthesis made possible by the data gathered from the published literature and collected during the pedestrian reconnaissance of every fortified Arkadian *polis* has demonstrated a number of interesting and noteworthy regionally specific patterns which have a direct bearing on the question at hand.

Taking a step back in time, it is significant that there is no evidence for the fortified *poleis* in Arkadia during the Archaic period. That is not to say that *poleis* did not exist in this period, only that they were not yet fortified.¹⁰⁶ This point accords with R. Frederiksen's recently published survey of Greek fortifications of the Archaic period, which establishes that although there are numerous examples of Archaic city walls on the Greek mainland, none is to be found in Arkadia.¹⁰⁷ Both the lack of archaeologically attested settlements of significant size and the lack of fortifications in the Archaic period seem to affirm "the general opinion that the development of 'true urban centres' in Arkadia was a development of the Classical period."¹⁰⁸

When the *poleis* of Arkadia were eventually fortified in the Classical period, the fact that most appeared in the early fourth century, strategically distributed in limited geographic areas (like Stymphalos and Alea), suggests that these cities were envisioned as fortresses and that the larger defensive concerns of the Arkadian League were a factor. Effectively, the majority of these new for-

106 For a chronological summary of the fortifications of Arcadian *poleis*, see Maher 2012b 622 ff.

107 Although Frederiksen 2011 176 does include the Arkadian *polis* of Oresthasion in his catalogue of Archaic fortifications, I do not count it here because it is presumably based, not on personal observation, but solely on Pikoulas' 1988 102 ff. opinion that a small fragment he observed was Archaic. No rationale beyond this opinion is presented, nor to the best of my knowledge, has any plan or photograph of this wall fragment been published. I could find no trace of this wall when I visited the site.

108 Nielsen 2002 171.

tifications appear to have been erected as defensive bulwarks, specifically in areas in the south and northeast where they could both observe and limit the movement of troops from Sparta, Orchomenos, and Phlious—the League's enemies. Specifically, around the same time that the fortifications were being built around Mantinea, Megalopolis, Stymphalos, and Alea, we see that Nestane, Gortys, Dipaia, Asea, Halous, and perhaps Pheneos, also received city walls.¹⁰⁹ As these cities are located on important communication routes linking central Arkadia to the southern and northern parts of the region, their fortification in the early fourth century perhaps reflects a desire to curb the mobility of not only the Spartans, but also the Orchomenians into central Arkadia, where they traditionally held a lot of influence.¹¹⁰ At the same time, it is significant that not a single city in western Arkadia was provided with a fortification circuit at this time; a fact likely explained by the peaceful relationship with Elis—who was an ally of the Arkadian League. Xenophon tells us that around 370 BCE, the cities of Elis “made a contribution of three talents [to the Mantineians] toward the expense of the wall,”¹¹¹ suggesting that they were allied with the Arkadians and united against their common enemy Sparta.

Ultimately, we may never know whether the explosion of fortification building witnessed in early-fourth-century Arkadia was conceived as one inclusive grand defensive strategy or whether such a strategy arose from that envisioned by the foundation of Megalopolis and Mantinea. What is certain, however, is that based on historical probability, the establishment of the Arkadian League and the threat to its security from the very beginning, represented by Orchomenos, Sparta, and their allies, were certainly catalysts in this process.

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109 On the walls of Nestane see Lattermann 1913, Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981, Maher 2012b 132–147; for Gortys, see Martin 1947–1948, Winter 1971b, Maher 2012b 455–499; on Dipaia, see Maher 2012b 562–581; on Asea, see Holmberg 1944 132–142, Dogan and Papamarinopoulos 2003, Forsén et al. 2005, Maher 2012b 424–455; on Halous, see Meyer 1939 78–82, Maher 2012b 367–387; and for the walls of Pheneos see Maher 2012b 193–213.

110 Pausanias (8.27.4) tells us that before the foundation of Megalopolis, Orchomenos was at the head of an organization which included the central Arkadian *poleis* of Teuthis, Methydrion, and Theisoa (Karkalou).

111 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.5.

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The *Mundus* of Caere and Early Etruscan Urbanization

Fabio Colivicchi

Introduction

The organization of space is a fundamental aspect of the process of development and definition of the ancient city. The study of the criteria that guided it may allow modern scholars to reconstruct a picture, even if largely incomplete, of the mind-set and cultural background of the developing urban communities. In the case of the Greek polis division and organization of space, along with the rigorous definition of concepts such as inside and outside, private and collective space, that is evident in the Homeric description of the shield of Achilles¹ and the early phases of the urban history of the Greek colonies of South Italy,² has been considered by many a veritable ‘act of birth’ of the polis.

In the case of the urbanization of central Tyrrhenian Italy, the picture is still largely incomplete within the bounds of both the literary and the archaeological record.³ The investigation of the earliest phases of the settlement history of Rome is limited by the problems typical of research in urban sites with an uninterrupted history, but many of the great cities of Etruria and Latium could be open to extensive exploration. As is well known, the cemeteries with their spectacular finds have attracted much attention, and research on urban areas has been long neglected. The trend has changed in the last few decades and important results have been achieved, especially in smaller sites that did not see significant occupation after the archaic period, but much work is still to be done. This deficiency is especially regrettable since literary sources stress the importance of religion in the procedures of the definition and organization of Etruscan and Roman urban space. The prestige of the Etruscan religion in the field of foundation rituals was so high that according to the Roman tra-

1 See, e.g., Hölscher 1998 15–23; Hölscher 2005 211–238.

2 See, e.g., Malkin 1994; Fisher-Hansen 1996.

3 See, e.g., Gros, Torelli 1992 5–126; Torelli 2000a; Cornell 2000; Riva 2009; with previous bibliography.

dition the Urbs itself would have been founded following “the Etruscan rite”.⁴ Thus, the discovery of the so-called hypogaeum of Clepsina in the urban area of Caere is a most valuable case study not only for the investigation of actual urban planning, but also in its connection to its religious premises.

The Hypogaeum of Clepsina: Initial Interpretation

The monument in question lies in a central area of the Etruscan—and later Roman—city. Foundations of monumental buildings and finds of architectural terracottas show that this was a public area of the Etruscan city.⁵ A theatre and a group of sculptures and inscriptions found in the nineteenth century confirm that the Roman forum was also near.⁶ The underground room known as the hypogaeum of Clepsina was first presented to the scientific community by M. Cristofani and G.L. Gregori in 1987.⁷ The presence of inscriptions immediately set this building apart from the usual rock-cut utilitarian structures. The earliest inscription is that of C. Genucius Clepsina, consul at Rome in 276 and 270 BC. As is clearly visible,⁸ the second part of the inscription was traced on still soft plaster, while the first was added on a hardened surface by a different hand, as indicated by the different form of some letters, especially c and o. The earlier text reads *CLOUSINO(S) PRAI*, stating who was responsible for the construction—or rather renovation, as we will see—of the building. The text is probably in the nominative case, since Latin inscriptions of this period still use the ablative ending in -d.⁹ His name was later completed as *C. GENU-CIO(S) CLOUSINO(S) PRAI*. The cognomen is here written in its more “regular”

4 On the role of religion in Etruscan and Roman urbanization see, e.g., Gros, Torelli 1992 19–23; Torelli 2000a 197–199; Colonna 2004.

5 See, e.g., Nardi 1989 52–57; Cristofani 1991; Boss, Burkhardt and Cristofani 1992; Cristofani 2000 399–409; Nardi 2001 nos. 4–6; Cristofani et al. 2003, with bibliography; also see Romizzi 2003; Lulof 2008; Guarino 2010; Bellelli 2011.

6 See Santoro 1986; Santoro 1989; Liverani 2005. On the location of the forum see Torelli 2000b 141–142; Nardi 2001 2 f.

7 Cristofani, Gregori 1987; earlier shorter reports in Cristofani 1986a; Cristofani 1989. The room had been accidentally discovered already in the 1950s and 1960s and was included in the unpublished Tesi di Laurea of E. Camerini (Università di Roma-La Sapienza 1975–1976).

8 The image was produced by Alexander Gabov of the Queen's University using the RTI technique.

9 Cristofani, Gregori 1987 4; Torelli 2000b 151–153.



FIGURE 2.1 *The urban area of Caere with the finds of architectural terracottas (circles) and votives (triangles). The hypogeum of Clepsina is no. 2 (G. NARDI/CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE RICERCHE, ROMA)*

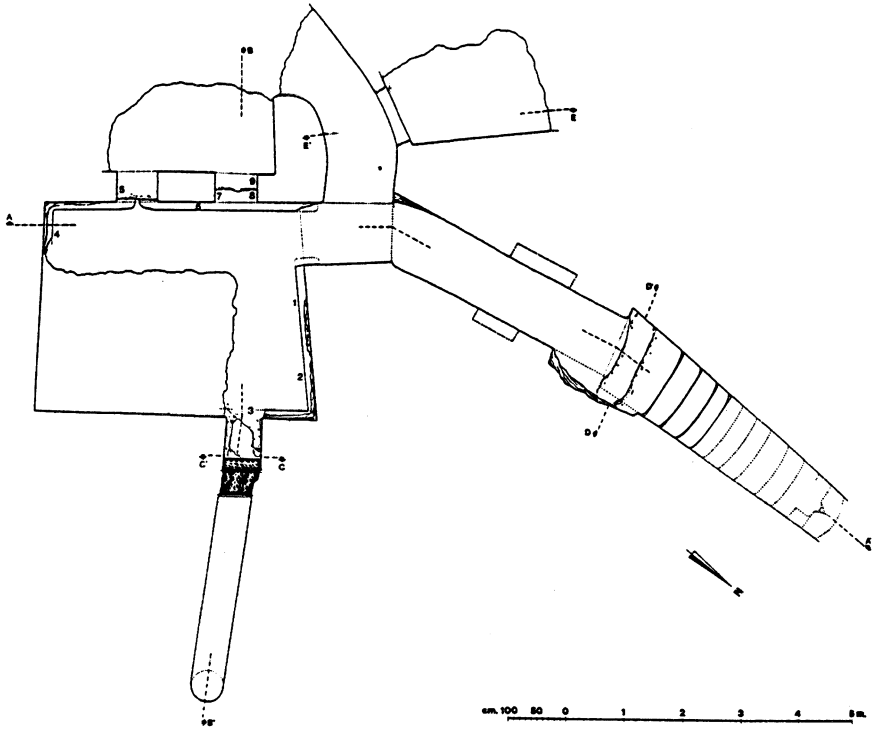


FIGURE 2.2 *The hypogeum of Clepsina before the excavations of the University of Perugia*
(CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE RICERCHE, ROMA)

Latin form, while in other sources it is spelled *Clepsina*.¹⁰ Both are renditions of the same Etruscan gentilician *Clepsina*, probably meaning ‘originally from Clusium’. This man was of Etruscan origin, either on his mother’s side, who may have married a Roman *Genucius*, or after the adoption of his father or himself into the *Genucii*, one of the most prominent plebeian *gentes* of this period. The Roman Clepsinas were either from Tarquinii or from Caere, in spite of their ancestral origin from Clusium preserved in their family name.¹¹ The

10 On the identification of C. Genucius Clepsina see Cristofani 1986a 24–25; Cristofani 1989 167; Torelli 2000b 151; Smith 2006 19. The doubts of Brennan (2000 652–655), who suggests that he could have been a later namesake—about whom we know nothing—appear to be unnecessary. Given the function of the building, it is precisely in or about 273 BC that its construction makes sense.

11 On the origin of the family see Torelli 2000b 155–156 (Tarquinia); M. Cristofani, in Cristofani, Gregori 1987 4, (Caere). G. Colonna (1994) suggests that the family spread to Tarquinia and Caere from Tuscania. On the Etruscan Clepsinas see also Morandi Tarabella 2004 135–137.



FIGURE 2.3 RTI image of the inscription of Clepsina (A. GABOV/CAERE PROJECT)

inscription can be safely dated to 273 BC or shortly after, since the intervention of a Roman magistrate in the heart of the Etruscan city and the use of Latin in a public inscription can be justified in this period only. Caere, which already enjoyed the status of *ciuitas sine suffragio*, was transformed into a *praefectura* of Roman citizens without right of vote, a punitive measure adopted in 273 BC probably after the city had been involved in a rebellion.¹² As such, Caere lost its autonomy and local magistrates ceased to be appointed, while for the administration of justice a magistrate, a *praefectus iure dicundo*, was sent by the Urban Praetor of Rome. Therefore, the suggestion of M. Torelli and T.C. Brennan, who read the abbreviation *prai-* as *praifectos*,¹³ is preferable to that of M. Cristofani, who completed it as *praitor*.¹⁴ In the specific case of the first *praefectus* of Caere, he was in charge of the re-organization of the civic community and its re-foundation with different status, a task which made him a veritable new founder. The fact that the delicate mission was entrusted to a senator of Etruscan origin fits into a well-known practice of the Roman

12 Cass. Dio fr. 33 Boissevin; Zonar. 8.6.10; Schol. Acronis et Porphirionis, in Hor. *Ep.* 1.6.62 (ed. Hautal II, 404 no. 1); Ps.Acron. Schol. In Hor. *Ep.* 1.6.62 (ed. Keller II, 235); on the reconstruction of the events see Sordi 1960 123–134; Humbert 1972; Torelli 2000b 154–155.

13 Torelli 2000b 153; Brennan 2000 654.

14 Cristofani 1986a; Cristofani 1989; M. Cristofani in Cristofani, Gregori 1987 4.

senate, which valued the expertise of its members.¹⁵ When the chamber with the inscription of Clepsina was discovered, it was only partially explored. The room had a long access corridor with stairway, two tall openings in the sw wall—believed to be doors—and a niche in the NE wall, which was connected to a narrow tunnel ending in an obstructed well. A short corridor led from the main one in front of the door of the chamber. The focus of the room was the niche, which was decorated with high quality frescoes, a palm tree on the two sidewalls and almost indecipherable figures on the back wall. In the centre of the niche is a small rectangular opening, and in its lower part was a small platform, now completely missing.

The identification of the building has been a matter of debate between M. Cristofani, who suggested a sort of underground *nymphaeum* for nuptial rituals, and M. Torelli, who proposed a theory more complex and articulated.¹⁶ A series of inscriptions traced with lampblack is evidence for the use of the room in the Severan period for the celebration of the *Rosalia*, a festival both private and public in which ancestors were honoured with the offering of crowns of roses, and anniversaries of the collective and familiar tradition—death of individuals, birth of *collegia*, deities and emperors—were celebrated.¹⁷ G.L. Gregori proposed that the festival was in some way related to the Isiac cult and that there was a later re-use of the room for mystic rites.¹⁸ M. Torelli, instead, considers the *Rosalia* the continuation in renewed form of the original cults of the complex. The analysis of the structure has shown that after the building phase of Clepsina the monument was not altered, while there were numerous restorations which are evidence for its continued use and the need to keep it in good working order. It seems clear that the late ritual activity is more likely to be the arrival point of an ancient religious tradition, even if substantial modifications may have occurred in almost five centuries. As such, it may be a valuable source for understanding the original purpose of the complex. Because of the official character of the building, the *Rosalia* was surely the public festival. In the Imperial period this festival became one of the many forms of the cult of the emperor, which might account for the presence a sketch of a figure with solar features. The layout of the building has been compared by Torelli to a *templum*, the rectangular enclosure being for augury, because of its shape and orientation, with the corners corresponding to the cardinal points, the access corridor oriented NS, and the door of the chamber opening in a corner, a significant location for augural doctrines. In this light

15 See, e.g., Clemente 1976.

16 M. Cristofani in Cristofani, Gregori 1987 9 ff.; Torelli 2000b.

17 On the *Rosalia* and their meaning see Nilsson 1914; Nilsson 1951; Torelli 2000b 157–159.

18 G.L. Gregori in Cristofani, Gregori 1987 11–13.



FIGURE 2.4 *Photo-mosaic of the palm tree on the right wall of the niche*
(A. GABOV/CAERE PROJECT)



FIGURE 2.5 *Sketch of figure with radiate head* (A. GABOV/CAERE PROJECT)

the location of the niche is significant, since it points towards NNE, according to those doctrines a celestial region with chthonic character. If this is correct, the hypogaeum of Clepsina would find a close comparison in a passage of Varro,¹⁹ who distinguishes between three types of *templum*: the natural one, the heavens; the one on the earth, which replicates its shape and orientation for taking auspices; and the one under the earth, which is similar to the other two. As a *templum sub terra*, the chamber would be the underground equivalent of the augural *templum*, and, like it, the reproduction of the celestial *templum*. This structure may be compared with famous underground cult places of Rome, and especially the *mundus* of the Forum, which included the *umbilicus Urbis* and the altar of Saturn,²⁰ and was the centre of the city of Rome, or, at least, one of the places that played the role of symbolic centre of the city.²¹ Access to

19 *Ling.* 7.6: *Templum tribus modis dicitur, a natura, ab auspicando, a similitudine: a natura in coelo, ab auspicis in terra, a similitudine sub terra.*

20 The identification of *mundus*, *umbilicus urbis* and *ara Saturni* is a proposal of F. Coarelli (1983 199–226)

21 On the *mundus* of the Roman Forum see Coarelli 1983 199–226 with previous bibliography; Coarelli 1996; on its religious significance see also Calisti 2007, where the issue of the symbolism of the centre is investigated.

this space was limited to three occasions, when direct communication with the Underworld was established and public business was suspended.²² The building, which is said by our sources to be the reproduction of the heavens,²³ consisted of a lower part sacred to the *Manes*—the ancestors—²⁴and of a circular well that was used for the descent of a boy for a rite of divination of the year to come.²⁵ This expedient was likely used to access the *mundus* without opening it, an action that would have caused a religious and political crisis. The *mundus* of the Forum is also mentioned by Plutarch,²⁶ who writes that Romulus built it following the instructions of Etruscan experts in religious matters, threw in it first fruits together with samples of soil of the lands from where the original inhabitants had come, and finally traced around it the furrow which marked the limit of the new city. The account of Plutarch probably merges two different things, the *mundus* of the Forum and the foundation trench of Romulus on the Palatine Hill—the so-called *Roma quadrata*. The Greek author felt the intellectual need to make the *mundus*, hub of the communal space and “centre of the world”, but located outside of the *pomoerium* of Romulus, coincide with the geometric centre of the original city, the foundation trench in the middle of the *pomoerium*.²⁷ The rituals performed at the *mundus* were chthonic, agrarian and funerary—in the form of the cult of the ancestors: the literary sources cite the *Manes*, establish connections with Ceres, Saturn, Dis Pater, Proserpina, and mention a divination practice to foresee the harvest.

Even if its complete layout is still unknown, it appears that the building of Clepsina shares some features with the descriptions of the Roman monument: the underground room of Caere might correspond to the lower part of the *mundus*, the round well with tunnel opening into the niche might be the equivalent of the Roman well, through which it was possible to access the *templum* and especially the niche without opening its main gate. The decoration of the niche can also be interpreted in this light. Palm trees live long and on their trunks show visible traces of each growth season. In ancient art, they are frequently used as symbols of long genealogy, prosperous descendance, and

22 Fest. 125.21 L; 145.12 L; Ateius Capito apud Fest. 144.14 L; also see Schol. Bern. in Verg. *Ecl.* 3.104; Macrobius *Sat.* 1.16.16–18.

23 Schol. Bern. in Verg. *Ecl.* 3.104; see also Plut. *Rom.* 11.2.

24 Cato apud Fest. 144.14 L; Fest. 145.12 L.

25 Schol. Bern. in Verg. *Ecl.* 3.104

26 *Rom.* 11.1–2.

27 On the *mundus* and its relationship to the *Roma quadrata* see Calisti 2007, with review of previous scholarship.

victory.²⁸ Palm trees would be perfectly appropriate in a shrine of the public ancestors used to celebrate the collective identity and intercede for the future well-being of the city. If this is a *mundus*, the intervention of Clepsina was intended to mark the re-foundation of Caere after its traumatic transformation into a *praefectura* and to send a message of continuity, prosperity and safety to a civic body that was experiencing a collective identity crisis.

Recent Investigations

After the publication of the work of Torelli three excavation campaigns were organized, which have further enlarged our perspective.²⁹ It was found that the two supposed doors are actually windows, through which the underground room opens onto a deep square court with a complex system of access and circulation. The short corridor that turns before the access to the room ends in a wide door on the NW side of the court. A stairway enters the court in its W corner and descends along its side until it meets the door. At this point, one can either turn left and reach the NS corridor or continue the descent. From the stairway there is an unobstructed view of the niche through one of the windows. This was surely an intentional and important feature, as confirmed by the concentration of inscriptions in this part of the chamber and the presence of a large painting, regrettably very damaged, on the wall of the court just beside that window. Moreover, the axis is oriented NE-SW, which means that on the day of the Winter Solstice the niche might have been lit by a direct ray of the setting sun.³⁰ Since on the walls of the chamber there are clear marks left by torches or lamps, sunset may have marked the beginning of rituals which were held overnight, an appropriate time for chthonic and funerary cults. Accurate measurement and calculations are necessary, but this tantalizing suggestion is worth exploring. It should be stressed that in Rome there was an important series of festivals leading to the Winter Solstice and the end of the year. They were dedicated to deities belonging to the earliest Roman religious tradition,

28 Torelli 2000b, 170–173.

29 The excavation was organized by the University of Perugia under the scientific direction of Mario Torelli as a part of the activities of the national ‘centre of excellence’ SMAArt. On the campaigns of 2001–2002 see Colivicchi 2003; on the campaign of 2003 see Torelli and Fiorini 2008.

30 The position of sunset on the horizon appears to be the same for three days before its movement can be visibly appreciated on December 25, the conventional day of the Winter Solstice of the calendars.

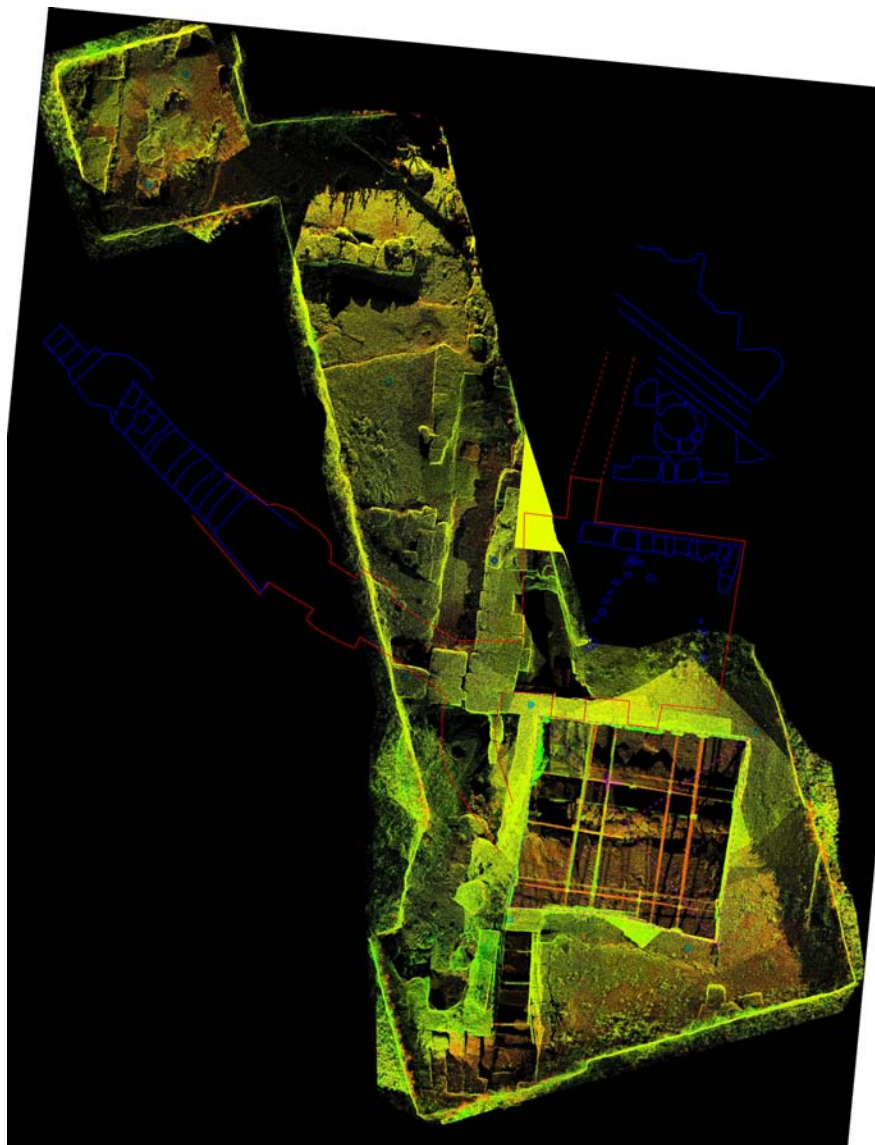


FIGURE 2.6 *Plan of the hypogeum complex after the excavations of the University of Perugia*
(ARCH. LUCA TARANTINI/CENTRO DI ECCELLENZA SMAART, UNIVERSITY OF PERUGIA)

and had agricultural, chthonic and funerary significance, much in keeping with the religious character of the *mundus*.³¹ The Winter Solstice, a crucial passage of the annual cycle and the beginning of the 'rebirth' of the Sun, calculated as December 25 in the Julian calendar, was later chosen as the *dies natalis* of *Sol Invictus*,³² when, according to the Calendar of 354, thirty chariot races were held in celebration.³³ So regarded, the image with radiate head sketched by the window aligned with the niche assumes a special importance. It is also relevant that in Rome the Sun has a special connection with the figure of Romulus/Quirinus, the founder and first heroicized king, and with the other founder hero Aeneas/Indiges.³⁴ The existence of a chthonic aspect of the cult of the Sun is apparently paradoxical but totally coherent with the earliest conception of the sun: not only in the Roman religion, but also in Greece and in a number of other traditions, the sun is thought to travel underground from the sunset to the sunrise of the next day.³⁵ It is also interesting that another *mundus* of Rome that was similar to the one of the Forum in many regards, the *Ara Consi* in the Circus Maximus, also had a strong relationship with the sun.³⁶

The court has not been fully explored because of safety issues, but it is sure that the stairway continued along the NE side and reached the ground level of a still unexplored corridor in the E corner. It was also found that the tunnel of the niche ends with a narrow circular well and a spiral staircase. The fact that both the stairway and the unexplored corridor enter the open court in its corners is further confirmation of the suggestion of M. Torelli about the access to the underground chamber.

In the area above and around the underground room, a sequence of building phases was found, the earliest of which consists of floors of beaten ground, post holes and remains of walls covered by layers of debris that contain fine pottery of the first quarter of the seventh century BC, mostly wine vessels

31 The *Consualia* on December 15, the *Saturnalia* on December 17, the *Opalia* on December 19, the *Divalia* on December 21, the *Larentalia* on December 23. On the religion of the *mundus* see Calisti 2007, with previous bibliography.

32 On the cult of *Sol Invictus* see, e.g., Halsberghe 1972; Hijmans 1996, with bibliography.

33 Stern 1953 108, 110, 254, 285; Salzman 1990, 149–153. Hijmans (2003) argues that this solemn celebration of the Winter Solstice is a late development.

34 On Romulus/Quirinus and his relationship with the sun see Marcattili 2006b; on Aeneas/Indiges and the sun see Torelli 1984 esp. 173–179.

35 See, e.g., Burkert 1977; Ballabriga 1986; Marcattili 2006b 299–211.

36 See Marcattili 2006a; Marcattili 2006b. The structure identified by F. Marcattili as the *ara Consi* in the representations of the Circus Maximus is somewhat similar to the building of Caere.

including four-handled cups, a ceremonial shape.³⁷ The exceptional nature of these structures is confirmed by fragments of painted plaster very similar in patterns and colour to the earliest painted tombs of Caere.³⁸ Near the open court some offering pits dug into the bedrock were also excavated, one of which still contained its original fill with fragments of impasto pottery and a votive bronze figure of the early seventh century.³⁹ Subsequent building phases are difficult to date because of the disturbance of the associated layers, but all structures were strictly orthogonal and had the same orientation. It seems that the general criteria of organization of this space were already defined in the first phase. Stone structures were also built directly above the underground room, which corresponds to it in size, shape and orientation. Above the chamber an earlier floor of beaten ground was uncovered, featuring post holes of a very small wooden structure.

Finally, in the late 270s BC the *praefectus* Clepsina was responsible for the construction of the open court with the stairway, the final section of the NS corridor, the plastering of the structures and the paintings of the niche, and possibly other works. It is not clear if the rock-cut spaces were built at the time or only renovated, but the earlier structures corresponding to the chamber might support the latter option. The Roman magistrate did not build a totally new structure, but intervened in a context which had a very long history, was already a sacred place, and whose structures were already oriented according to a regular master plan. The complex was in active use until the Severan age at least and underwent some repairs that did not alter its layout.

Observations on the New Finds

In the light of these new finds, I would like to make some short and preliminary comments on the interpretation of the new evidence, confined, however to the issue of the organization of urban space which is the object of this conference. The resumption of the excavations⁴⁰ will certainly add new data to verify, clarify and expand these suggestions.

37 Zaccagnino 2003 51–53.

38 Colivicchi 2003 22, with comparisons. On the technique of the wall paintings see Miliani et al. 2003.

39 Colivicchi 2003 21 fig. 16.

40 The next campaign is scheduled in June 2012. The project is funded by a Standard Research

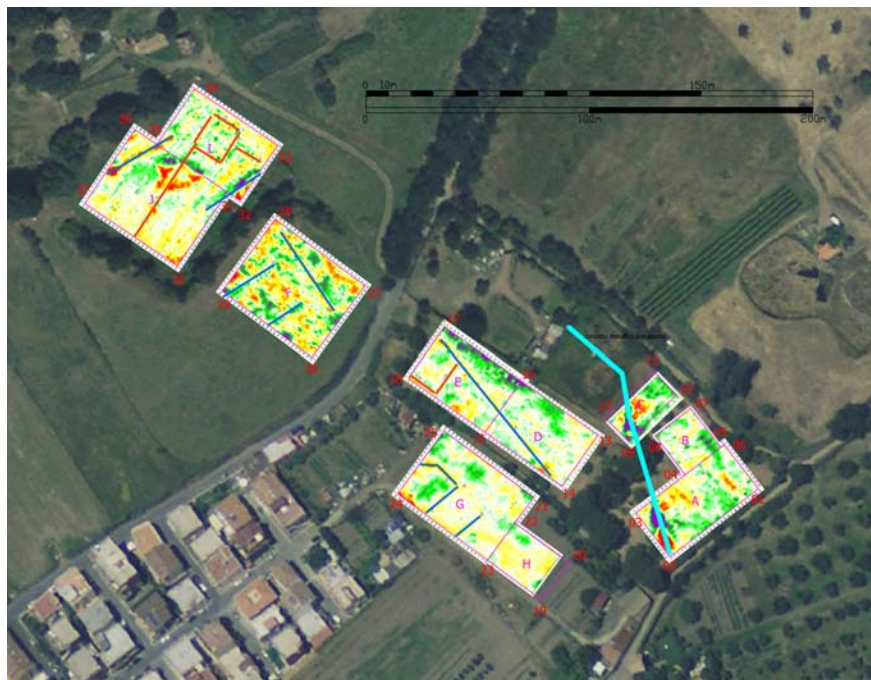


FIGURE 2.7 *Linear anomalies detected by the magnetometry* (DI LIETO & C./CAERE PROJECT)

The extensive investigation of the urban plan of Caere is still at the project stage, but it is already interesting to notice that the other monuments excavated in the area of the hypogaeum of Clepsina actually fit into the same grid with its very specific orientation.⁴¹ Furthermore, the recent magnetic survey of a large area between the hypogaeum and the sanctuary of Manganello, on the margin of the city plateau, has detected linear anomalies at a regular distance and parallel or orthogonal to each other.⁴² Two systems are visible: one is found only in a small area near the slope of the plateau, and it is likely to be modern

Grant of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and SARC grants of the Queen's University; research has been authorized and supported by the Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale; Mario Torelli is acting as scientific consultant.

41 See the orientation of the buildings in the Vigna Parrocchiale area, namely the theatre, the temple, the oval building and the "temple of HPA" (for a general plan of the area see Cristofani et al. 2003 12 fig. 1). M. Cristofani suggested that the area had been regularly planned in the late archaic period (Boss, Burkhardt, Cristofani 1992 57).

42 The survey was carried out in the month of September 2010 by a team of the Di Lieto & Co.

because of its alignment with a modern land division; the other extends over all of the surveyed area. The orientation of the larger system, once again, is the same as the hypogaeum and the other buildings excavated in the area. The nature and chronology of these systems—especially the larger one—and their actual extension have yet to be directly verified, but this is a very stimulating find and opens a series of scenarios that call for further investigation.

Caere is a settlement whose formation dates back to the earliest phases of the urban phenomenon in Etruria, and the surface finds, though very incomplete, appear to confirm that in the Iron Age, like the other large sites of Etruria and Latium, it was made of multiple separated nuclei with their respective cemeteries located on different parts of the plateau.⁴³ For evident reasons, regular urban planning is usually found in colonial sites, or at least settlements which were built *ex novo* in a context where the pre-existing situation was not a consideration.⁴⁴ The earliest wave of urban formations in Central Italy resulted almost invariably in irregular layouts. Exceptions are very few and often ill-documented.⁴⁵ The case of Gabii, currently under investigation, shows that an ancient settlement could also, at a certain point of its history, assume a fairly regular layout, even if not a fully orthogonal plan.⁴⁶ This, however, must have happened in a phase of strong discontinuity, when it was possible to carry out an extremely ambitious and disruptive operation such as the radical re-organization of the communal space. In the case of Caere, the earliest structures oriented like the traces visible in the magnetic survey belong to the first building phase identified in the excavation of the hypogaeum, dated to the early seventh century BC—if not earlier—still a very early phase of the process of urban formation in Central Tyrrhenian Italy. Data are still too incomplete for a full evaluation: we do not know much about the settlement pattern of this sector of the plateau in the Iron Age, except through surface finds, and we cannot estimate to what extent it may have conditioned later development. But

43 The map of the Iron Age surface finds is published in Cristofani 1986b. On the process of early urbanization at Caere see Bonghi Jovino 2005 esp. 38–39, with bibliography.

44 This is the case of the city of Marzabotto, which was founded ca. 540 BC in a site where previous occupation was minimal. On the important results of recent research at Marzabotto see, e.g., Vitali, Brizzolaro, Lippolis 2001; Sassatelli, Govi 2005; Bentz, Reusser 2008; Sassatelli, Govi 2010.

45 Veii-Piazza D' Armi (see, e.g., Bartoloni, Acconcia, Ten Kortenaar 2005 73–85, with bibliography); Capua (Castagnoli 1971 46–51); Doganella (Perkins, Walker 1990), Pompeii (Nappo 1997).

46 Becker, Mogetta, Terrenato 2009. The team led by Nic Terrenato is investigating the dating of the regular plan.

between the late Iron Age and the Orientalizing period in Etruria and Latium there is clear evidence for a general process of radical reorganization of the settlements as the result of great social and political transformations.⁴⁷ It is possible that the general guidelines of the urban plan of Caere were laid out in the context of these historical phenomena, even if we should expect that it took quite a long time for the full development of that plan. Later radical reorganization of the central sector of the city appears less probable, even though not impossible. If confirmed, the use of a regular grid for a rather large sector of the plateau would date to almost the same period as the earliest cases in the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia and Sicily, such as Megara Hyblaea⁴⁸ and Naxos.⁴⁹ The organic participation in the trends that were developing in the Greek world would not come as a total surprise at Caere, at this period one of the most vital centres of the Mediterranean, where elements of Greek culture were largely used and re-elaborated, as shown for instance by the concentration of representations of Greek myths on the local and imported pottery of the seventh century BC.⁵⁰

It should be also taken into account that in the polycentric space of the Iron Age phase the site of the hypogaeum is located near scatters of Iron Age finds, probably habitation nuclei. There is also good evidence that a small valley once ran from the centre of the plateau to its margin, and the site of the hypogaeum was on the edge of its sloping sides.⁵¹ Therefore, the cult place that was established here did not originally stand in a central place, but a liminal space, as it is appropriate for a chthonic and funerary cult. When Caere developed into a large city, this cult place, which may have originally been pertinent to only one of its constituent nuclei, became its religious centre.

The fact that what might be the earliest evidence of a regular urban plan is found in a cult place that appears to be related to augural practices, and the religious symbolism of the centre, may raise questions on the role of religion. The *mundus* would be the perfect centre and origin of the grid of streets, the orientation of which might have been determined, or at least conditioned, by

47 See, e.g., Gros, Torelli 1992 5–19; Torelli 2000a; Bonghi Jovino 2005; with bibliography.

48 See Gras, Tréziny, Broise 2004.

49 See Lentini, Blackman 2009.

50 On the introduction of Greek myth in Etruria see, e.g., Menichetti 1994, with bibliography and discussion of evidence; also see Rizzo, Martelli 1993, with the first edition of a buccero jug from Caere with the most ancient representation of Medea and the Argonauts; Caere is also the recipient of the more than 40% of all exported Corinthian craters, among which the famous crater of Eurytios (see, e.g., Menichetti 2002, with bibliography).

51 See Colivicchi 2003 32–34.

religious considerations, so that the whole city space might appear to be the reproduction on earth of the heavenly order. But as suggestive as this picture may be, it is more likely that practical considerations also played an important role. The importance of the augural religion in urban planning could not possibly result in the strict requirement that all actual city plans follow a standardized set of detailed prescriptions on their orientation and shape, which would have been inapplicable to the settlements of ancient origin, and problematic even in the case of new foundations. Rather, we should expect a much more flexible approach, with the continued dialectic between different factors that were not static and that developed in a constant mutual relationship: the religious and cosmological beliefs, the idea of city, the practical trends of urban planning, and the unique historical and environmental context of each settlement. In the case of Caere, we cannot help noticing that the orientation of the religious complex and of the linear anomalies fits very well into the shape and orientation of the plateau. The urban plan may well be the result of compromise between practical need and religious principles. There is no doubt, however, that the city space was also perceived in its sacred dimension, and that the “sacred topography” of the city and the surrounding territory had a very important ideal significance. The inhabitants perceived the city space as well ordered and responding to religious criteria, even if this did not translate into a master plan that was geometrically regular and oriented in a specific way. The Etruscans marked as sacred through specific rituals all crucial spaces of their cities along with their political institutions,⁵² yet in Etruscan urbanization regular urban planning appears to be by no means the rule.⁵³ In the perception the Romans had of their *Urbs*, a perception that we have strong reasons to believe to be close to that of the Etruscans, the space was structured by the boundary of the *pomerium*, the walls, the gates, and by sacred places that had a special significance such as the *mundus* of the Forum that played the role of centre, and the sanctuaries that marked the first mile around the city.⁵⁴ This was not a geometrically regular space; nonetheless it was perceived as “sacred” because it was articulated and organized following the augural religion and thus reflected on earth the heavenly order. Only in areas that were settled relatively late does the conscious effort to follow precise orientations become visible, in particular the N–S axis in the sector of the Campus Martius around the *Saepta Iulia*, the enclosure for voting operations that was also a *templum*.

52 Fest. 238 L.

53 Notable exceptions are Piazza D' Armi, Doganella, Capua, and Marzabotto, on which see *supra* n. 45–46.

54 See Colonna 1991; Coarelli 2000.

A specific case is that of the Roman colonies founded in Italy in the Republican age, where one may see a clear allusion to the ideal of the ancestral city of Romulus, replicated by these small settlements of citizens.⁵⁵ Their rectangular and quadripartite plan likely alludes to the ideal and the abstract model of the *Roma quadrata* as it was conceived by the Roman culture of the time. It is interesting to notice that their orientation is variable and without any doubt conditioned by practical considerations.

In general, looking for evidence of religious and augural prescriptions that determined rigidly and in detail the concrete reality of the urban development of a city is not a highly productive approach, and should be limited to very peculiar cases. Rather, those doctrines and prescriptions were used by the Etruscan and Roman elite that had the privilege of the exclusive control of the augural lore to sanction and give an ordered and “rational”—and therefore manageable—appearance to the great social and economic processes that developed in Central Tyrrhenian Italy, of which urbanization is only one aspect. The pervasive role of *Etrusca disciplina* in the regulation of matters pertaining to both political institutions and urban planning is the result of the distinctly aristocratic fabric of the Etruscan social structure. The Roman story of the legendary augur Attus Navius,⁵⁶ who opposed the plans of the king about a reform of the citizen body and miraculously moved the *Ficus Ruminalis* from the Palatine to the *Comitium*, is also a powerful statement in defense of the leading role of the elite who monopolized that priesthood in the related fields of institutional and urban planning.

Conclusion

At Caere, as in other cases, the construction of an idea of the city as a sacred and ritually defined space was much more important than the actual planning of a city as an augural *templum* which was almost always impossible. The *mundus* played a major role in the construction of this idea, probably from a very early phase. It is difficult to say whether its orientation and that of the area around it were based on religious or practical criteria, or rather a combination of the two, and whether the visual axis was an original feature or rather—more likely—a later addition. In any case, the community of Caere must have considered it as one of the most emotionally charged landmarks of the city space, the ideal

55 M. Torelli, in Gros, Torelli 1992 130–132; Coarelli 1995; Coarelli 2000 287–289.

56 Liv. 1.36.2–6.

centre of the city space, a real symbol of community identity and possibly the stage of a solar hierophany. It is natural that the new founder of the city, the Roman *praefectus* of Etruscan origin C. Genucius Clepsina, put his mark—and his name—on this crucial place.

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“Fighting Over a Shadow?”: Hellenistic Greek Cities and Greco-Roman Cities as Fora and Media for Multi-Level Social Signaling

LuAnn Wandsnider

Introduction

Historical accounts emphasize intra-individual competition among the citizenry of Hellenistic cities and Greco-Roman cities of Anatolia.¹ These and other historical accounts emphasize the strife and rivalries occurring between cities.² Aelius Aristides labelled this intra-city strife a “madness,” representing “fighting over a shadow” that annoyed the emperor.³ Subsequent analysis has demonstrated, however, that these intra-city competitions were much more substantial and consequential.⁴ In this chapter, I use signaling theory to link rivalries at the citizen and city levels and explore the role played by monumental civic architecture as employed by citizens and cities to communicate with their rivals. Citizens signaled to other citizens their prosocial orientation as well as their oratorical ability and wealth with which they could act on this orientation. Cities signaled to their peers and superiors their pro-superior inclination and their abilities to mount significant collective action.

This chapter presents signaling theory as a higher-level body of evolutionary theory that sees early urban formations, i.e., cities, as both the fora and media for emergent complex social interactions, allowing both citizens and cities to be differentially “successful.” I first introduce multi-level social signaling and then attempt to argue for the public architecture seen in the Greek cities of Hellenistic western Anatolia (third through first centuries BC) and Greco-Roman cities of Roman Asia Minor (first through third centuries AD) as a conjoined costly signal emitted by both citizen and city. Finally, I reexamine several propositions about the complex social interactions in these cities,

1 E.g., Greek and Roman overview in Veyne 1976; see also Price 1984.

2 Gleason 2006; Mitchell 1993.

3 Aelius Aristides, *Oration* 23.59, 62–64.

4 Burrell 2004; Millar 1993.

adding, I hope, to current efforts to construct a broader yet nuanced understanding of ancient cities.

Multi-Level Social Signaling

Signaling theory refers to a subset of Darwinian thinking that describes the non-lethal communication that occurs between entities (i.e., individuals and groups), with the communicative act itself linking observable and unobservable traits. In the case of human actors, a material act communicates some hidden aspect of an individual or group, and, with this signal, other discerning entities (or receivers) can make decisions about whether to engage with, ally with or avoid the signaler. Indeed, the allegiances and alliances constitute one kind of acknowledgement of the signal quality by other individuals (in the case of an individual signaler) or by other groups (in the case of a group signaler). Decisions about with whom to ally have immediate consequences for success in reproduction, production, and social production. Families make decisions about whether to ally their families by marrying sons and daughters, by agreeing to farm together, and by agreeing to defend their community, thus affecting their mutual survival. Within an evolutionary framework, a good decision is one that leads to success for allied senders and receivers, where success is defined as persistence and perhaps even expansion. By definition, a bad decision may lead to familial or group extinction.

Anthropologists Bleige Bird and Smith (2005) reviewed signaling theory, finding it useful for incorporating disparate concepts—Thorstein Veblen's (1994; first published 1899) notion of conspicuous consumption and Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) notion of social capital—into a single evolutionary framework. By doing so, behaviors that at first glance seem to serve no functional end and appear irrational now have a rational basis. In this way, social science investigative tools can be brought to bear on the seemingly irrational.⁵

Fraser Neiman (1997) was the first to apply this approach in anthropology, with his analysis of Classic Mayan pyramids and stelae⁶ as *costly* signals emitted by lords and would-be lords. He argues that the so-called Maya collapse, that is, the cessation of pyramid building and stelae erection seen in the Maya

5 Costly signaling, a flavor of signaling, was first discussed in the biological literature as the handicap principle. See Grafen 1990, Zahavi 1975, Zahavi and Zahavi 1997. See Cronk 2004 and Higham 2014 for recent correctives. See also Smith and Bleige Bird 2000.

6 Stelae (singular stela) are intricately carved upright slabs of stone found both within communities and at borders and used to project political messages, Borowicz 2002.

heartland about AD 900, is best interpreted as a cessation in signaling as the potential audience for these costly signals fled to areas where agricultural potential had not been reduced by locally high rainfall levels. Signalers had too few receivers to whom to send, he contends.

Shortly thereafter, James Boone (1998, 2000) focused analytic attention on magnanimity, that is, generous community feasts sponsored by specific kin groups, as another kind of costly signal. He argued that these constituted a way for middle-range groups with dynamic kin groups (his examples came from ethnographically known American Northwest Coast complex hunter-gatherers and American Southwest agriculturalists) to build status. In turn, this status was used to establish priority access to resources when times were bad.⁷

Why the term, “costly signaling?” What is “costly” about a costly signal? In Zahavi’s (1975) earliest conceptualization, the idea was that low cost signalers emitting a high cost signal were more handicapped than a high quality signaler sending the same signal; this marginal cost ensured an honest signal, Zahavi argued.

This initial conceptualization has not stood the test of time. More recent analyses⁸ have recognized that Zahavi’s costly signals need not be honest. This scholarship recognizes that some honest signals may simply index a scalar quality of the signaler. In Neiman’s Mayan case, only an individual with the skills, charisma, connections, and resources can actually put up a pyramid. Pretenders would soon be exposed. Similarly, in Boone’s case, the feast is an honest index of kin network size and organization. In addition, signals passed between senders and receivers may expose the circumstances under which their interests are aligned or misaligned, as seen in the intra-citizen and intra-city analyses below.

For the purposes of this discussion, I focus on costly ‘indexical’ signals; that is, costly expenditure that acts as an index of hidden assets, like social network size, in the case of an individual, or ability to mount collective actions, in the case of a group. In addition to quality, signals have other properties. Like the Olympian games, they may occur intermittently, showcasing a signaler’s strength and adeptness. Or, like religious festivals, they may be

7 In archaeology, other applications of this thinking have followed. See McGuire and Hildebrandt (2005) and Plourde (2008) for application to prehistoric hunter-gatherers; Glatz and Plourde (2011) use Costly Signaling Theory in their analysis of Hittite frontier stelea. Elsewhere, I (Wandsnider 2013) have used this approach to look at public benefactions in Roman Western Rough Cilicia.

8 Summary in Higham 2014.

broadcast annually, allowing families to reassert their claims to status.⁹ Or, like fortification walls, they may be broadcasting continuously.¹⁰ Signals may be transmitted over short distances, requiring person-to-person interaction,¹¹ carry well within the community (as within the amphitheater, see Gleason's [2006] and van Nijf's [1997] discussion of social interactions in the amphitheater), or travel well over large distances as seen for the almost monumental circuit wall at Heraklea under Latmos.¹² Other aspects of material signals are presented in the section that follows.

Finally, as already alluded to above, signals may be emitted by individuals or by groups. To date, most of the costly signaling literature has focused on signaling by either individuals to other individuals or between groups, such as kin groups. In a critical recent treatment, however, Paul Roscoe (2009) offers a compelling analysis of what he terms social signaling that links signaling at the individual and group levels. His analysis mines ethnographic accounts for contact-era New Guinea, where the competition for territory and organization of defense rivals that described for Hellenistic Anatolia.¹³ Individuals signal their capacities within social groups through ritualized competitions that put on display the qualities—stamina, courage, strength, mental agility—needed for successful competition at the group level. All contestants survive the contest and live to fight for the group another day. And individuals and families accordingly decide whom to support.

At the group level Roscoe recognizes social signaling in three forms: conspicuous distributions (lavish feasts), conspicuous performances by well-choreographed, intricately costumed performers, and conspicuous constructions (gigantic clan cult houses). Importantly, in both performances and the massive cult houses, the contributions of the individual are masked. All three media, however—material, performance, and architecture—communicate honest signals of the number of kin and allies supporting collective projects, the abilities of contributing individuals, and the fact that individuals are willing to bend their interests to a larger communal effort. That is, they are an index of collective action.¹⁴ In this manner, individual clans composing a village

9 Boone 1998.

10 Van Dyke and Alcock 2003.

11 As in daily bathing, for example; see Fagan 2002.

12 Camp 2000, 43.

13 Ma 2000.

14 Roscoe 2009, 98 also recognizes another kind of non-indexical signal that may allow for prevarication. Some groups may be so effective in manipulating their media that through aesthetics, they can present an image of power and danger that is not matched by actual strength.

communicated with each other and villages communicated with other villages, especially important for maintaining territory in contact-era New Guinea.

This multi-level aspect of costly or social signaling is not insignificant. It helps resolve a paradox of social living that has long been recognized and commented upon by thinkers as diverse as Plato (*The Republic*), Aristotle (*The Politics*),¹⁵ Ibn Khaldun (1958), and Charles Darwin (1922). That is, in a group of individuals with no other constraints, the selfish individual will outcompete the individual who thinks of others, that is, the altruist or, more aptly, the solidarist. But, in a world consisting of other groups competing for territory or other scarce resources, the group composed of solidarists (who are rewarded for their solidarity) will outcompete the group composed of selfish individuals.

Several points are critical here. Signaling between individuals occurs in a group that includes multiple signalers and also many receivers. Similarly, signaling between groups only matters if there are groups jockeying for position with a region of groups. That is, signaling is always a multi-level phenomenon. Second, signaling theory helps us to understand the individual-group-region dynamic. It helps us understand how competent individuals and groups are identified. Most importantly, it helps us understand the existence of large groups of unrelated but prosocial individuals, which challenges the conclusion reached through kin selection thinking¹⁶—that we help the people to whom we are related and, in so doing, help ourselves.¹⁷ On a competitive stage (and all of the world is such a stage), groups composed of solidarist individuals prevail.¹⁸

Public Architecture as Costly Signals

As mentioned above, social signals have various properties and here I focus expressly on public architecture as a material signal. More specifically, I suggest that public architecture seen in urban Hellenistic Anatolia and Roman Asia Minor, constructed through individual munificence as well as with city revenues, may usefully be viewed as a conjoined costly signal, emitted by both individuals, i.e., citizens, and the group, i.e., the polis or city.¹⁹

15 See Simpson 1997.

16 See Trivers 1971.

17 Much ink has been spilled on this issue in evolutionary biology. See Bowles and Gintis 2003, Boyd and Richerson 1992, Gintis et al. 2001, Heinrich 2006, Richerson et al. 2003, and Smith 2003.

18 O’Gorman et al. 2008; Wilson and Wilson 2008.

19 So, as Alcock (2002, 19) notes, architectural materials already reported by archaeologists

Certainly others have appreciated the signaling capacity of architecture, as Smith (2011) reviews. Bruce Trigger (1990), for example, focuses on monumental architecture, defined as those structures that exceed in scale and degree of elaboration that required by their functional role. He sees monumental architecture as a symbol of power, in that it is an egregious “expense of energy, especially in the form of other people’s labour, in non-utilitarian ways.”²⁰ For him, the larger or more elaborate the structure, the greater the display of power, although Marcus (2003) cautions against taking this generalization as law. Trigger and also Abrams (1989) note that public architecture is particularly potent in conveying messages to linguistically and ethnically diverse groups, such as those commonly making up the populace of early and later states, and, as in the case here, Greek (and Greco-Roman) cities from the late Hellenistic period onward.

Several researchers²¹ have observed that public architecture seems often to have been constructed in stressful (but not catastrophic) times, such as in the initial phase of a new social, political, or economic formation. Abrams interprets this pattern in terms of the deliberate formation of a group identity; a signaling interpretation emphasizes that individuals, sub-groups, and groups are asserting not only identity so as to differentiate “us” from “them,” but, as importantly, materially signaling their competence and capability to attract and maintain continuing support. And commenting on public architecture in the Valley of Oaxaca, archaeologist Richard Blanton notes: “As communications media, monumental architecture is actually relatively efficient. The initial costs of construction may be great, but once built a massive building or plaza can be seen by thousands of people over great lengths of time, broadcasting continuously for even thousands of years.”²² Elsewhere, Blanton (1994) recognizes different kinds of communication or signals: indexical, to indicate relative status (communicating with peers), and canonical, to indicate participation in a broader cultural tradition (a supra-ordinate audience).

Architecture as a signal is specifically referenced in the literature on costly and social signaling. Neiman (1997) argues that potential lords incurred personal costs in the construction of pyramids and stelea, which informs non-kin

and others become the grist for various interpretative efforts. Where Alcock emphasizes assertions of social memory through architecture, I shift focus to a more general communicative aspect of public architecture.

20 Trigger 1990, 125.

21 Abrams 1989; Childe 1945.

22 Blanton 1989, 413.

especially on their leadership qualities. Where for Neiman buildings are used as indices of personal abilities, Roscoe (2009) sees them, in the case of the cult houses constructed by southern lowland New Guinea clan groups, as a means for indexing effective collective action, wherein actions of individuals are sublimated to the group cause.

It seems potentially useful, then, to consider public architecture as a signal, but important questions remain: who is the signaler? whom is being signaled? is the public architecture signal indeed a costly signal? what message is being conveyed? To answer these questions for the Greek cities of Hellenistic Anatolia and the Greco-Roman cities of Roman Asia Minor, I rely on several recent treatments of civic benefactions as known through epigraphic inscriptions.

Public Architecture as an Individual Costly Signal

In the case of the Greek cities of Anatolia during the Hellenistic era, public buildings were one of several kinds of civic benefaction made by the dynasts and Successor kings vying for control of territory and tribute in the power vacuum left by Alexander.²³ As wealth increased during the later Hellenistic period, wealthy citizens replaced dynasts and would-be dynasts as the civic benefactors. In a recent thesis on aedilitian²⁴ euergetism for Hellenistic western Anatolia, Marest-Caffey (2008) notes the transition from short acknowledgements of civic benefactions to, in the late Hellenistic era, lengthy detailed accounts of the grooming and benefaction histories of individuals from wealthy families. These polis notables, we learn, underwrote city deficits, ensured the availability of grain in times of scarcity, built or repaired city buildings, and headed up diplomatic missions to other cities, local dynasts, or the Roman Senate itself.²⁵ In some cases, the wealthy notables assumed various city offices or magistracies, which were at this time undergoing a transition from democratically elected offices to offices bought and held for life by the wealthy.²⁶

The perspective emphasized in the literature on euergetism or public benefaction is that of individuals performing and having acknowledged in inscriptions their virtuous qualities.²⁷ The costly signaling perspective would regard

23 Veyne 1976.

24 Following European scholarship, Marest-Caffey (2008, 10) distinguishes aedilitian euergetism as that involving benefactors who restored, repaired, embellished, and erected public buildings, among the most costly and visible of benefactions.

25 Gauthier 1985; Migeotte 1997.

26 Dmitriev 2005; Quaß 1993.

27 Gauthier 1985; Migeotte 1997; Veyne 1976; Zuiderhoek 2009.

these acts as signals with a larger purpose. That is, these acts convey information about individual qualities that assists others in making good decisions about potential leaders and allies. What might some of these qualities have been? One might be effectiveness as a member of the many diplomatic embassies sent first to the Successor kings and local dynasts as well as to other cities,²⁸ potential Roman patrons,²⁹ to the Roman Senate and still later to the Roman governors and emperors.³⁰ That is, an individual who is able to negotiate with various forces and factions within the city for the placement of a building or the organization of a festival likely also possesses the oratorical and persuasive skills to be effective in Rome. A second quality conveyed is that of being able to organize and finance the religious festivals that were the life of the Anatolian city.³¹ Again, the individual citizen is communicating in deed their prosocial orientation as well as their financial ability. A final quality might be that of being able and inclined to pay ransom for kidnapped citizens, especially when pirates and brigands were active, as they were during the late Hellenistic period in the Mediterranean.³²

Where for the later Hellenistic Period individuals may be seen as signaling their prosocial orientation to the demos and the oligarchs, in Imperial times wealthy citizens appear to be signaling other oligarchs for entrance into the ranks of the bouletic order (*à la* Veblen's analysis of the *nouveau riche* in the late-nineteenth-century United States). In a recent masterful treatment for Roman Asia Minor Arjan Zuiderhoek examines the institution of civic benefactions using a database compiled from inscriptions acknowledging more than 500 acts, including constructing whole or portions of public buildings, underwriting the distribution of food, and sponsoring religious festivals and games. By this time, Asia Minor cities were governed by an oligarchy, with elite families dominating the council and other political offices.³³ As well, the composition of council was likely very dynamic, owing to simple demographic factors.³⁴ City councils, composed of hundreds of people, undoubtedly lost many people each year through natural causes. Who should replace them? In this situation, Zuiderhoek contends that the benefactions of the potential office-holders were used by the elites in power to identify whom to grant entrance.

28 Ma 2003.

29 Ferrary 1997.

30 Mitchell 1993; Price 1984.

31 Billows 2003; Gleason 2006; Millar 1993.

32 E.g., Teos, *SEG* 44:949; de Souza 2000; Gabrielsen 2003; Rauh 2003.

33 Burrell 2004; Dmitriev 2005.

34 Zuiderhoek 2009, 133.

Public Architecture as a Group Costly Signal

In addition to being viewed as an individual signal, public architecture is also usefully seen as a signal emitted by “the city.” The polis assembly and council, usually in tandem, are making decisions about the location, nature, and scale of public building.³⁵ While the benefactions of wealthy individuals are responsible for some of these buildings, recent scholarship³⁶ emphasizes that city institutions also called upon revenues from rent, liturgies, and indirect taxes to finance public building. And, importantly, the city may have solicited subscriptions from citizens and others (women and foreigners, for example) to finance the construction of large buildings.³⁷ This latter is important for it conveys that individuals, either under duress or willingly, sublimated their individual effort to a communal effort.

The messages and audiences for the city signal are several. City residents, both citizens and non-citizens, are receiving messages about the differential power of different city and, later, imperial institutions. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994), writing on Greek cities in Greece, note the changes in monumentality that occur over time, with monumental palaces and temples seen in Archaic and Classical times, and, by the Hellenistic period, monumental bouleuteria and prytaneia, i.e., monumental buildings associated with republican institutions. The presence, location, and scale of solidaristic public architecture—agoras, baths, gymnasiums, bouleuteria, odea, and theaters—communicate to citizens and potential citizens the solidarist orientation of the city; such messages may be especially important to the recruitment efforts of cities during the Late Hellenistic period when geographic mobility seems to have been quite high.³⁸ Into the Imperial period, triumphal arches, statues and temples to the Imperial cult, as well as massive bathing complexes fed by aqueducts, signaled the presence and influence of emperor and, as importantly, the city’s acknowledgement of the emperor.³⁹ And, at least at Sagalassos, “[t]he open agoras and fora became enclosed, monumentalized spaces were designed to exclude rather than include and were dominated by buildings geared to

35 Raja 2003. The revised understanding of the council-assembly relationship sees the assembly, while perhaps with diminished power compared to earlier times, as more than a rubber stamp for council decisions and actions, even into the Imperial period. See Gauthier (1985), van Nijf (1997), and Zuiderhoek (2008).

36 Migeotte 1995; Reger 2003; Schwartz 2001; Zuiderhoek 2009.

37 Migeotte 1992, 1997.

38 Pomeroy 1997, 108.

39 Burrell 2004, 359–371; Mitchell 1993, 80; Price 1984.

elite activity,” as the oligarchic order was established and reified in architecture.⁴⁰

Certainly, the residents of cities are paying attention to the cityscape, both form and upkeep, of potential polis allies (for the Hellenistic period) and competitors (for the Imperial period).⁴¹ It is clear that at least in some instances, outside observers and decision-makers, such as agents of the Empire, paid careful attention to the constructions found in cities when deciding which city was worthy of being awarded the title of “neokoros.”⁴² It remains to be established how the potential Successor kings of the Hellenistic era, pirates and brigands, and wealthy Roman patrons regarded and reacted to cityscapes of differently arrayed public splendor.

Indeed, the public architecture of the Hellenistic Anatolia and Roman Asia Minor appears to be a textbook example of what Bliege Bird and Smith⁴³ refer to as “piggybacking,” with costly signals of the city being deliberately assembled from the costly signals of individual citizens to the benefit of both. The citizen benefactor contributed (monumental) public buildings to the city, enhancing the signal emitted by the city. At the same time, the citizen is also rewarded by the polis in being named a *euergetēs*, with other difficult-to-assess rewards—access to the civic machinery or important social connections—presumably following. And, of course, the individual and his or her family benefits by virtue of being part of a successful communal unit, such as a city named first city, or to which the governor brings his assize, or that is excused from paying tribute.⁴⁴

Were Public Buildings “Costly Signals?” Do They Index Abilities?

Public buildings constructed in Hellenistic and Roman times were certainly expensive.⁴⁵ Do they in fact constitute an honest, costly signal, emitted by either the citizen or the city? That is, can they serve as a reliable index of collective action?

40 Waelkens 2002, 66.

41 “One could hold one’s head up higher visiting another city if one’s native city were known for its fine public buildings; it was painful to blush for ramshackle shops and dilapidated bathhouses when the governor came to towns” (Dio Chrysostom 40.9; translation in Gleason 2006, 231).

42 Summary in Burrell 2004, 355–356.

43 Bliege Bird and Smith 2005, 235.

44 Millar 1993.

45 Duncan-Jones 1990, 177 gives the cost of a single medium-sized temple in North Africa in the second century AD as 60,000–70,000 sesterces, which equates, using figures given by Zuiderhoek 2009, 25, to the annual subsistence for some 500 people.

Focusing on the individual level first, interpretation is mixed. On one hand, Zuiderhoek (2005, 2009) emphasizes for Roman Asia Minor, first, that cities are being outfitted not solely through individual beneficence, but also, and possibly even primarily, through the deployment of city resources coming from indirect taxes and liturgies. Second, using estimates of productivity and income, he argues that at most, on average, 5% or less of the annual aggregate elite income was devoted to public building.⁴⁶ But, it must be emphasized that Zuiderhoek is here talking about averages and aggregates. As Neiman (1997) emphasizes, it is in actual competitive matchups where signal quality is assessed; one need be perceptibly better than one's closest rival to win the contest at hand.

On the other hand, it is clear that only the very wealthy could afford to make benefactions of entire buildings. Certainly, such benefactions seem to be very rare⁴⁷ and they often were made by the same individual or family. This pattern is seen in Marest-Caffey's (2008) work on benefactions for late Hellenistic Anatolia, Duncan-Jones' (1990) comparative analysis of Thugga and Thamugadi in Roman North Africa, and Zuiderhoek's (2005, 2009) sample of 44 inscriptions from his larger database, focusing on second-through-third-century Imperial western Asia Minor (primarily Lycia).

For Asia Minor during the high Imperial period, Zuiderhoek⁴⁸ reports that, excluding gifts of entire buildings, 60% of the public benefactions attested to by inscription in his database are “small,” 1000 denarii or less. By Zuiderhoek's reckoning (2005, 2009), 1000 denarii represents 80% of the annual income that would come from rent on land valued at 25,000 denarii, the minimum wealth requirement for a citizen seeking a position as a councilor. Thus, even these “small” benefactions are being made by a class of families we might call almost wealthy or peri-wealthy.

All the same, even with this information we do not have contextual information to know how wealthy the peri-wealthy are and if in fact a particular benefaction constitutes a real cost to them and their families. It would be useful, for example, to have a complete distribution of benefaction sums and compare this distribution with distributions of wealth as attested to by mortuary or domestic materials. If our signaling hypothesis holds water, then we would expect to see an exaggerated mode of benefactions for the almost wealthy and peri-wealthy, those striving to establish their status in a dynamic social structure.

46 Zuiderhoek 2009, 35.

47 Migeotte 1997.

48 2009, 29.

Other textual evidence exists, however. For Classical Greece⁴⁹ we know strategies existed whereby wealthy individuals would attempt to shift their imposed liturgies to another and the same is documented for the Roman period.⁵⁰ For the Imperial period, we know that civic obligations might ruin a family and had to be managed very carefully,⁵¹ suggesting that real costs are being incurred by at least some of the wealthy. And, finally, sumptuary laws were enacted during the period 100 BC to AD 50 to rein in the incredible displays of wealth being made by individuals. One interpretation of these laws is that they provided cover so that aristocrats could avoid bankruptcy.⁵²

On balance, then, it seems as though public buildings and the adornments and embellishments also donated, with benefactors' names advertised, do indeed represent a costly display by individuals and families. But, moving now to the group level, does the public architecture of the polis represent a *costly* group signal? Echoing Roscoe (2009) regarding New Guinea villages at contact, failure to compose a strong group signal that reflects effective collective action is to invite disaster within the hyper-competitive arenas of either Hellenistic peer polities⁵³ or the Imperial world in which first citizens, first cities, and first provinces were recognized and rewarded.⁵⁴

Textual evidence shows that cities could to be accused of engaging in building viewed as too costly. Thus, that too much wealth was being devoted to the construction of a monumental cityscape became of concern during the high Imperial period. “[Public buildings] had to be restricted, in the interests of preventing wasteful expenditure and unhealthy inter-city rivalry.”⁵⁵ If city building plans were deemed too grand, Rome might send a *corrector* or auditor to reorganize city finances.⁵⁶

Citizen and City Costly Signaling

In the preceding paragraphs, I have attempted to make the case that the public architecture of the polis can be viewed as the costly signals of individuals

49 Carmichael 1997; Veyne 1976.

50 Gleason 2006; Price 1984.

51 Price 1984; Veyne 1976; Zuiderhoek 2009.

52 Parkins 1997, 90–91; Zanker 1990, 25.

53 Ma 2000, 2003.

54 For “neokoroi” see Burrell 2004; Price 1984.

55 Mitchell 1993, 81.

56 Burrell 2004; Gleason 2006, 246.

upon which are piggybacked the costly signal being constructed by city. The individual signals allow for decisions about whom to admit to the council or to hold city offices (at least for males), with decisions made at first by the demos (in Hellenistic times) and then later by the oligarchy (in Imperial times and possibly earlier). Those office holders often had the multi-faceted responsibility for negotiating the place of the city (and its citizens) in the complex and competitive world of the eastern Mediterranean. The cityscape itself—the sets of buildings, their location, and their ornateness—provides an overall index of collective action. Moreover, the manifestations of city institutions in the form of monumental stone within the cityscape sends a signal about city values and power structures to residents and visitors, citizens and non-citizens, that might be effective in repelling foes and recruiting new members.

From the above, we might expect material signals to become especially important as city size increases and as city populations include more foreigners who transact social matters using more than one language. Such signals should also be important when stressful conditions prevail, creating opportunities for signalers, both individuals and groups, to display both their prosocial orientation and their effectiveness. The Hellenistic period for western Anatolia and early Imperial Asia Minor saw exactly these conditions.

Citizen and City Signaling in Late Hellenistic Anatolia

The Hellenistic period of the eastern Mediterranean was, as Ma notes, the “age of the city-states [or] *poleis* ... of kings ... and of elephants, gigantic warships, imperial processions, and stupendous feasting and drinking.”⁵⁷ During this time Greek city culture expanded both within the greater Mediterranean basin and also to the east and beyond through colonization and other means. Whereas the hundreds of colonies established during the heyday of early Greek colonization (750–550 BC) had been confined to coastal areas around the Mediterranean and Black Sea, during the Hellenistic period new cities (perhaps as many as 150) appeared in the wake of Alexander throughout Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia.⁵⁸ These cities likely represented previously existing cities that now included a Greek population, a new Greek name and, critically, Greek civic institutions.⁵⁹ Simultaneously, some non-Greek cities in Anatolia, e.g., Alabanda, came to adopt Greek political language and civic apparatus.⁶⁰

57 Ma 2003, 13.

58 Billows 2003; Cohen 1995.

59 Billows 2003, 198.

60 Ma 2003, 25–26, 38.

During the early Hellenistic period (fourth and third centuries BC), the location of western Anatolia, at distance from the centers from which the various Successors to Alexander operated, meant that cities, depending on strategic location and resources, variously received the welcome and unwelcome attention of multiple vying Successor kings.⁶¹ Thus, cities here were inadvertent participants in the big wars of the Successors for tribute but also inveterate contestants in the small wars fought by the cities themselves for territory.⁶²

During the later Hellenistic period, as the influence of Alexander's Successors waned, piracy and predation by land-based brigands increased. At this time, then, captured citizens might be sold into slavery if not ransomed by kin or by civic benefactors.⁶³ A Roman presence in the area was initially limited but, for several interrelated reasons, gradually increased during this time. In exchange for their support, Mithridates VI of Pontus (echoing earlier tyrants) offered Anatolian Greek cities autonomy and escape from Roman subordination. To deal with piracy as well as Mithridates and the usurper Aristonicus, who attempted to hold the Attalid bequest to Rome, Rome increased its involvement in the area.⁶⁴ Subsequently, the civil wars of the late Roman Republic spilled over into western Anatolia, with Anatolian cities forced to garrison and support Roman troops.

Over the course of the Hellenistic period, then, the cities of western Anatolia endured stresses and strains that varied by location, intensity, and the degree to which relief could be sought via an embassy. While interpretation of population levels is mixed,⁶⁵ on balance it seems reasonable to postulate an increase in population for western Anatolian cities, in spite of these stresses. Assuming Classic era Anatolian cities were similar in size to those in Greece, cities may have been the residence for 1,000–2,000 (more rarely 5,000–10,000) inhabitants.⁶⁶ In the later Hellenistic era, population is estimated at 2,600–3,000 (e.g., Priene) with some cities (Ephesus, Smyrna) approaching or exceeding 100,000.⁶⁷ Individual wealth also increased.⁶⁸ Finally, we see in Hellenistic times an increase in the proportion of foreigners—Greek and non-Greek,

61 Gauthier 1993; Ma 2003; Millar 1993.

62 Chaniotis 2005; Ma 2000.

63 De Souza 2000; Gabrielsen 2003.

64 Sherwin-White 1977.

65 See Reger 2003 334–335 for summary.

66 Hansen 2000.

67 Billows 2003, 201.

68 Rostovtzeff 1941. And, extending Zuiderhoek's (2009 53–60) neo-Ricardian analysis into the late Hellenistic era, limited agricultural land along with an increasing population

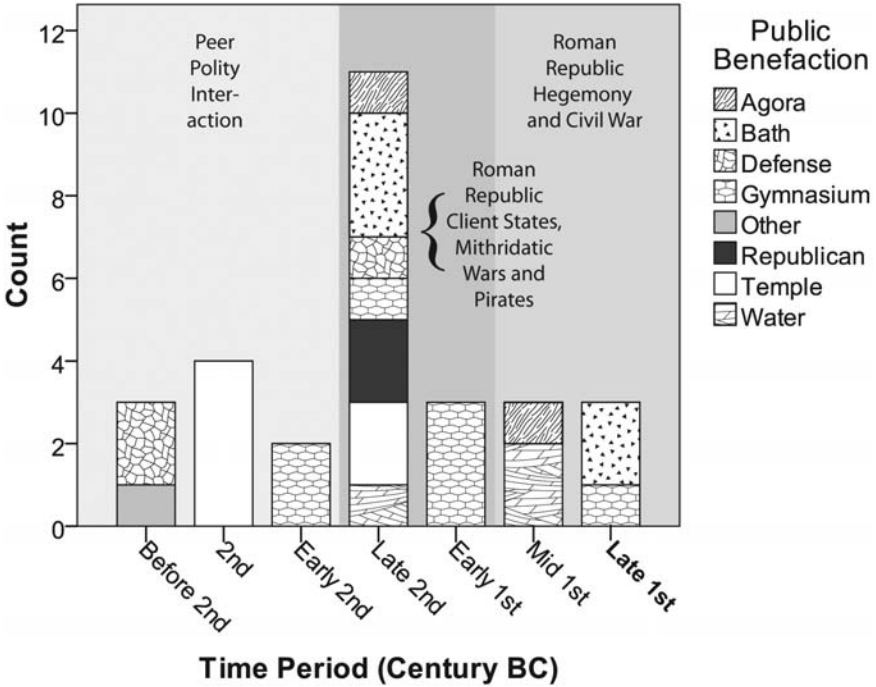


FIGURE 3.1 *Thirty Accounts of Aedilitian Public Benefactions Compiled by Marest-Caffey (2008) for Late Hellenistic Anatolia. Note that time periods are unequal and benefaction frequencies have not been standardized by number of years in each time period.*

transient and resident, later including Romans—in Greek cities.⁶⁹ All of these aspects are important because they are precisely the conditions in which an expensive multi-lingual material signal, such as a monumental public building, might be most effective in conveying individual prosocial talent and group competence.

The records of building benefactions compiled by Marest-Caffey (2008) for western Anatolian cities allow for a preliminary examination of this thesis.⁷⁰

meant that land, owned by the wealthy, became even more valuable, allowing the wealthy even more surplus to be used for display purposes.

69 Chamoux 2003, 197–200; Mitchell 2000.

70 Marest-Caffey’s thesis explores the content and context for epigraphic inscriptions mentioning building benefactions, usually portions of buildings, by very wealthy members of the cities, including women, of western Anatolia. She works with inscriptions describing thirty benefactions that range in age from before the second century BC until just prior to the Roman Imperial period.

This evaluation is limited by the fact that the inscriptions are drawn from a restricted time period (especially the middle to late Hellenistic period) and the total number is quite small. Nevertheless, Figure 3.1 shows trends consistent with the expectations given above. That is, during the late second century BC, precisely when cities are in need of citizens to lead embassies to other cities or to the Roman Senate to argue for leniency, civic benefactions involving public buildings peak. For example, Marest-Caffey (2008) reviews the record of the career of Menippos of Kolophon. He engaged in many acts of civic beneficence, included providing money for the construction of the doorframe for the pronaos of the temple to Apollo (*Claros* 64–65, col. II, ll. 24–33) and paying for the quartering of the governor Quintus Mucius Scaevola and his troops at Kolophon (*Claros* 65, col. II, ll. 42–46). Of note here, Menippos was sent to the Roman Senate on five occasions to speak on behalf of Kolophon. And, the decrees also indicate that benefactors like Menippos often held some sort of city office, sometimes quite prestigious. For example, Menippos was twice elected as *strategos* (general; *Claros* 64, col. II, ll. 7–18), held the office of *prytanis* (the eponymous office of Kolophon) and served as *agonothetēs* (superintendent of sacred games; *Claros* 65, col. II, ll. 33–44).

Marest-Caffey's compilation also allows for analysis of architectural signals with multiple audiences.⁷¹ That is, we can dimly see the political or social messages being conveyed by the erectors of particular architecture, as exemplified by Hansen and Fischer-Hansen's (1994) interpretation of the changes seen in monumental architecture over time. As Figure 3.1 shows, fortifications are mentioned in honorific decrees early on, when intercity warfare and negotiation were elevated; gymnasia and baths later on, as new citizens and Roman sponsors were recruited. Temples, critical to the definition of a unique city identity, feature prominently during the second century and the late second century. Bouleuterion and prytaneion construction and repair, i.e., work on public buildings associated with increasingly oligarchic but nevertheless republican institutions of the council and magistracies, was acknowledged in the later second century, as various pressures (indirect Roman Republican presence and resistance to that presence, piracy) were felt by the cities.

In sum, this latter time period was especially stressful for cities and, thus, opportunities for acts of solidaristic civic benefaction abounded. Second, there existed various stable targets for embassies from the cities to seek relief, including other cities and the Roman Senate. Given this situation, a means for identifying (and rewarding) individuals with diplomatic skills, charisma, a prosocial

71 I.e., à la Rapaport's 1990 architectural communication theory; see also Smith 2011.

orientation and other resources that might lead to a successful mission was critical; the behaviors usually glossed as civic benefactions, and here referred to as social signals, served in this capacity. Third, a combination of economic factors and simple scalar factors contributed to inter-individual competition. Wealth appears to have increased as did city population (in spite of plagues and warfare). But given that polis institutions had preset restricted sizes (e.g., council size of 100), a mechanism for sorting out the crowd at the gate, via culturally condoned social signaling, became inevitable. Veayne’s “rise of the notables,” who deployed public benefactions enhancing self and city, should not be seen as an exceptional event, but, rather an expectable trend.

Citizen and City Signaling in Roman Asia Minor

Troops, wealthy patrons, and publicans of the Roman Republic were active in portions of western Anatolia beginning about 200 BC. The Roman province of Asia was organized in 133 BC by Manius Aquilius and subsequently, but especially just before the Imperial period, Roman involvement in the area accelerated. Then, population centers of indigenous peoples along with resident Greeks and Romans (especially in interior Asia Minor) were deliberately organized into communities by agents of Rome. At this time, a city government based on a modified Greek model was installed. Towns and other units were formally designated and made subordinate to nearby cities.⁷²

In general, population levels increased for the circum-Mediterranean from the Late Republic into the early and High Imperial times⁷³ and certainly population reorganization, through top-down and local bottom-up forces,⁷⁴ occurred. For Greek and newly organized Greco-Roman cities in Asia Minor, population estimates range from 180,000 for major cities like Pergamum (western Asia Minor) to 25,000 for few large urban centers, to 5,000–15,000 for most communities.⁷⁵

In such cities, the local indigenous language was spoken but Greek was used in civic discourse, performance, and even by agents of Rome in their communications with the city.⁷⁶ In other words, not only are multiple kin groups co-residing in these communities, but so too are speakers of multiple language groups.⁷⁷

72 Mitchell 1993, 176–179.

73 See Zuiderhoek 2009, 42–43 for summary.

74 See discussion by Alcock 1993.

75 Mitchell 1993, 243–244.

76 Gleason 2006, 229.

77 The definition of “individual” should also likely be adjusted. In Classical times, the “effec-

The populace of Asia Minor benefited from its incorporation into the empire in several ways. *Pax Romana*, an expanding network of roads, and a consistently applied legal system led to a general increase in circulating wealth even as wealth disparities were magnified. Mentioned above, Zuiderhoek⁷⁸ highlights the confluence of increasing population and limited agricultural land, leading to the relative scarcity and, hence, increased value of the latter. Thus, the holders of agricultural land became relatively wealthier over this interval.

For the Late Hellenistic period, poor decisions by cities, for example, to support Aristonicus or Mithridates, led to significant sanctions imposed by the victorious Romans. Also, piracy and brigandage meant that citizens were exposed to real personal threats. While actual peril to citizens and cities of Asia Minor diminished in the Imperial period, this does not mean that competition ceased. Rather, it assumed new forms with different dynamics.

At the individual level, the competition for reputation that occurred among elite individuals and families of Asia Minor soared to new heights.⁷⁹ Zuiderhoek's (2009) recent analysis of civic benefactions testified to in inscriptions for Asia Minor shows a major peak for the second century AD falling off into the third and fourth centuries. Zuiderhoek reviews and critiques the various reasons given for this increase, and he finds them all wanting. He argues, instead, that these acts of civic benefaction, which, importantly, are acknowledged in stone by city institutions, are acts of legitimation both on the part of the benefactor elite citizen and the citizen recipient. To maintain the stability and internal cohesion of the city when new levels of wealth inequality had developed, to mask the decline in the power of the democratic assemblies (by which cities still presented themselves to the world, as seen in inscriptions) and to naturalize the ongoing ideological transition from that of Classical *isonomia* (equality of rights for all) to the extant hierarchical order, this mechanism was critical and, hence, prolifically enacted, he argues.⁸⁰

But Zuiderhoek⁸¹ also offers another explanation, to which I have alluded to above. That is, these acts of civic benefaction may also be seen as signals to the members of the new, exclusive, and dynamic bouletic order. They are

tive individual" was a citizen of a specific polis. Citizenship was limited to males. By Late Hellenistic times, females, foreigners, and freed slaves, in addition to male citizens, are operating as "effective individuals," (Pomeroy 1997) further exacerbating the scalar effects described herein.

78 2009, 53–60.

79 Gleason 2006; Price 1984; Veyne 1976; Zuiderhoek 2009.

80 See also Gleason 2006.

81 2009, 133.

demonstrations of the prosocial competency of individuals (and their families) to operate in this order.⁸²

Zuiderhoek offers proximate explanations. Ultimately, this inter-individual competition may have been driven by the same factors mentioned for the Hellenistic case: opportunity for signaling, simple scalar issues, and available wealth. Envoys dispatched by the cities to the Governor or to Rome were instrumental in securing privileges as well as the commitment from the emperor to provide the splendid set of public buildings to which contemporary writers frequently refer.⁸³ According to my argument, costly signaling, i.e., civic benefactions, by individuals, would help identify those individuals best able to take the city’s case to the Governor. In terms of scale, take two cities—one small, one large, both with the same civic institutions—the opportunities for individual access to those institutions will be more limited in the case of the city with a larger body of citizens. Newly available wealth exacerbated this situation, leading to magnificent ostentatious displays in monumental architecture.

For the newly founded and refounded cities of Lycia, however, the story may be different. Given the complex history of Lycia, especially interior Lycia,⁸⁴ the Classic Greek ideology of *isonomia* may have been less significant. In addition to the factors mentioned above, communicating their status, i.e., indexical signaling, and their commitment to the new Roman order, i.e., canonical signaling, may have been even more important to the members of the new urban elite.

On the level of cities operating in competitive provinces, indexical signaling by city institutions seems evident. By Imperial times, a city was defined in terms of civic buildings (rather than the autonomy valued by earlier Classic and even Hellenistic cities; Mitchell 1993, 80). Cities made proposals to the emperor to initiate a cult in his name and/or build a temple to him. Funds for the temple and culture came from the emperor, the city, the province, or local wealthy individuals and “provincial cities all but bankrupted themselves (and sometimes did) in competition with each other.”⁸⁵ Imperial cult temples became

82 Here it would be useful to be able to better resolve sequence and also follow the careers of the “also rans.” Are public benefactions being made especially in the early portion of the careers of the notables, that is, before they have been elected to the boule? Inscriptions acknowledge successful transactions between individual and city institutions; we are ignorant about those who attempted to join the ranks of the bouletic order but were not successful.

83 Burrell 2004, 331–334.

84 Colvin 2004; Keen 1998; Ten Cate 1965.

85 Ratté 2001 123.

the sites of cult festivities attended by representatives from cities throughout the province and also were where honorific statues of local dignitaries were put up.⁸⁶ Cities making (and being granted) such requests also put themselves on the map in terms of being considered for the site of an assize, or to the claim of First City, for which competition was fierce, and Rome was adept at playing cities off against each other.⁸⁷

But canonical signaling, that the city is part of the new Imperial world order, is also evident. Notes Millar: "It is not too much to say that the public self-expression of the 'Greek-city' in the Empire embodied at every level an explicit recognition of the distant presence of the Emperor."⁸⁸ And, writes Ratté:

At Aphrodisias, as elsewhere, these monuments served paradoxically both to advertise through status and inscriptions the generosity of their individual donors, and to clothe the city in that homogenous 'international style', instantly recognizable at archaeological sites throughout Turkey and to a lesser degree throughout the eastern Mediterranean world.⁸⁹

That the materiality of the citizen and city signal was important, especially in the earlier part of the period,⁹⁰ is supported by epigraphic data on civic benefactions compiled by Zuiderhoek. Zuiderhoek reports that for 399 inscriptions from Imperial Asia Minor, 58% of these acknowledge benefactors for contributing to public buildings, while distributions of food and oil are named in 17% and 13% refer to games and festivals.⁹¹ ("Miscellaneous" comprises the remaining 12%). He offers a longitudinal depiction for each of these classes of benefactions,⁹² which, using figures in his Figure 5.1,⁹³ I have recalculated to present in terms of frequencies rather than percentages. Figure 3.2 shows that public building benefactions always exceed other forms of benefaction in Asia Minor. Benefactions in general are lower in the first and third centuries, peaking in the second. In the first century public buildings comprise the bulk of

86 Price 1984 118–129.

87 See Gleason 2006.

88 1993, 246.

89 2001, 123.

90 As Abrams 1989 and Childe 1945 find.

91 2009, 77.

92 Zuiderhoek 2009, Appendix 3.

93 Zuiderhoek 2009 77.

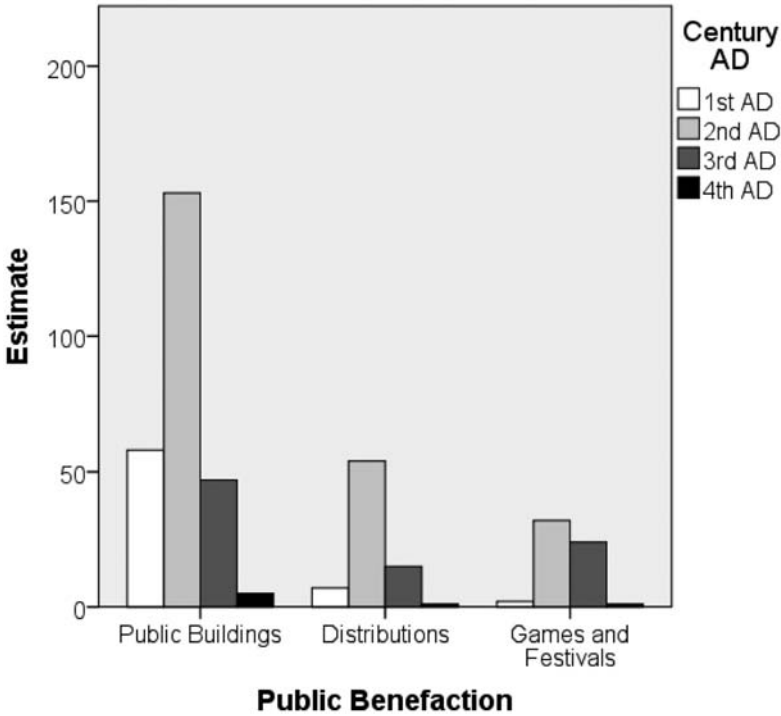


FIGURE 3.2 *Estimated Public Benefactions Documented in 399 Inscriptions from Imperial Asia Minor (Zuiderhoek 2009 Appendix 3) as calculated using Figures given in Zuiderhoek 2009, Figure 5.1.*

the benefactions, 85%, while in the second and third centuries other forms of benefactions are acknowledged; public building benefactions amount to 65% in the second and 55% in the third centuries. Thus, while from the time of Septimius Severus (AD 193) to the mid-third century there was a major expansion of inter-city agonistic competition (i.e., competitions in sports, music, and theatre embedded within the framework of religious festivals),⁹⁴ civic benefactions of public buildings still remained high.

Some of that high frequency of public building civic benefaction seen in the Imperial period, then, is owed, almost mechanistically, to the formation and outfitting of new cities. Given the cosmopolitan and likely multi-lingual nature of these communities, we would expect public architecture to feature prominently in signaling both community identity and also allegiance towards the

94 Mitchell 1993 198–199.

emperor, following on observations by Childe (1945), Abrams (1989), and Trigger (1990) on the effectiveness of architecture as a trans-lingual communication device. Analysis of epigraphic evidence⁹⁵ at the macro-scale, and more micro-scale analyses, like that described by van Nijf (2011), are well poised to explore this matter further.

Signaling and Polis Viability

Signaling theory may help us to appreciate differential city endurance and growth as well as the post-disaster fate of a polis. That is, do poleis for which we can demonstrate early and/or continuing investments in public architecture (signaling coherent and effective collective action) persist better than those poleis without such architecture? Do cities rich in dynamic and well-maintained public architecture grow faster than their sister cities?

Cities in Anatolia and Asia Minor were subject to many different kinds of assaults, both internal and external. During Hellenistic times, for example, cities were often divided by factionalism, with some factions supporting Aristonicus or Mithridates in their local efforts to assert claims to territory and tribute and other factions supporting the Roman responders.⁹⁶ In Imperial times, cities that did not maintain harmonious social relations across lines of privilege courted Roman scrutiny and the presence of troops;⁹⁷ the strife ensuing when Paul spoke in Ephesus was to be avoided. In addition to the threat of exorbitant tribute requirements or predation by publicans and pirates, external threats included earthquakes, small and large, which rocked this part of the world on an almost routine basis,⁹⁸ as well plague, crop failure, and pests.

Some cities survived these disasters, others did not.⁹⁹ Cities were enmeshed in a network of social and kin relations.¹⁰⁰ On what basis did kin and friends assist threatened cities? Did assistance come no matter what or was it preferentially lent to those groups that had demonstrated prosocial behaviors? Was survivorship or persistence correlated with the presence or number of prosocial actors, i.e., civic benefactors, as manifested in donations of public architecture to the city? When Rhodes was devastated by earthquakes in 228/227 BC, help

95 E.g. Zuiderhoek 2009.

96 Marest-Caffey 2008.

97 Gleason 2006; van Nijf 1997.

98 Guidoboni et al. 1994.

99 And some cities were re-founded elsewhere following disasters, as reviewed by Mackil 2004.

100 Ma 2003; Mackil 2004; Rigsby 1996.

was quick to come from several monarchs,¹⁰¹ and here the strategic situation of Rhodes was likely instrumental. Similarly, when Ephesus, now the seat of the Roman proconsul, was struck in AD 23, its status likely contributed to its rebuilding.¹⁰² For other smaller cities, such as Cnidus¹⁰³ and Priene,¹⁰⁴ their post-earthquake reconstruction histories may comment on this notion. The rich corpus of textual, archaeological, and numismatic evidence for western Anatolia and Asia Minor almost uniquely allows us to entertain these questions of differential persistence over the medium term.

Concluding Remarks

Signaling theory stipulates that particular signals convey information closely linked to otherwise difficult-to-assess capabilities of individual and groups. At the individual level, the construction of an acknowledged public building visibly communicates something important about the capabilities of the individual: that they possess the ability to negotiate a complex situation, i.e., the nature and size (and location of a building or timing of a festival) of the gift to the citizens; that they have received an elite education received by many of the benefactors,¹⁰⁵ especially from the later Hellenistic period onward. Presumably, the social network available to such individuals is also critical.¹⁰⁶ Presumably, some elites were more interested in and excelled at complex negotiations than others. And, presumably, these same diplomatic talents were useful when dealing with a neighboring city or a Roman governor, although this question should be examined empirically.

At the community level, the effectiveness of city institutions and the prosocial orientation of its citizens is indexed by its public buildings. That is, the public architecture of the city materially represents the successful negotiations of various polis institutions—the council, the assembly, and, in Imperial times, *collegia*¹⁰⁷—as well as the presence of wealthy individuals and families. And, even if euergetism was responsible for a small portion of public building, that the polis is able to harness resources from multiple disparate sources,

101 Cohen 1995, 25.

102 Scherrer 2001.

103 Altunel et al. 2003.

104 Altunel 1998.

105 Watts 2006.

106 Zuiderhoek 2008.

107 van Nijf 1997.

including subscriptions, is further testament to its proficiency in collective action. Presumably, cities with dysfunctional institutions or more selfish citizens were more poorly outfitted than cities with institutional accord. Again, this is an empirical question that the record from Anatolia/Asia Minor is well suited to address.

The cities of western Anatolia and Asia Minor were the fora within which complex social, economic, and political transactions and negotiations occurred. Citizens and cities were not merely “fighting over a shadow.” Rather, these “fights” had consequences for individual citizens and their progeny and also for individual cities. Here, I have focused on one class of these transactions, public benefactions and public architecture, and, deploying signaling theory, have characterized them as social signals. Moreover, I have emphasized the materiality of signals, arguing that the city, more specifically, public buildings or the city fabric, was also the medium (although, likely not the sole medium) employed in these transactions. This approach lays a foundation for future work exploring the differential success of citizens and cities.

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Constructing an Oscan Cityscape: Pompeii and the *Éituns* Inscriptions

Tanya K. Henderson

Introduction

The six Oscan graffiti that survived by chance and were discovered between 1797 and 1916 in Pompeii, and which all have the same formulaic beginning, *eksuk amvianud éituns*, translated as ‘from this area go to’, are conventionally referred to as the *éituns* inscriptions. These inscriptions, painted in red above eye-level, approximately 10 feet up on pillars and walls facing the street, are interpreted as announcements communicating where the militia should muster and date from the Social War.¹ Although their function is an important component of their significance, what is more informative is the landmarks they identify, how they communicate directions, and how they provide insight into the ancient ideological construct of Oscan Pompeii in the early first century BCE. Within these six inscriptions no less than eleven landmarks, seven individuals, and one road are identified.

The words *éituns* and *amvianud*, in the formulaic phrase that characterizes these inscriptions, are not found in any other Oscan inscriptions. *Éituns* is understood as an imperative form of the verb “to go.” Before the discovery of the sixth inscription, Vetter 28, *amvianud* was interpreted as the adverb “around.”² The inscriptions, based on this early interpretation of *amvianud*, functioned as notices to the militia on how to get to the muster points. Early commentators envisioned streets barricaded during the Social War with the inscriptions announcing the quickest routes around the barricades³ and providing directional information to allied soldiers not familiar with Pompeii.⁴ *Amvianud* has since been understood to function similar to the Greek word ἄμφοδον—a block

1 Buck 1922 112–113.

2 Zvetaieff 1878; Conway 1897; and Buck 1904. This and subsequent inscriptions are cited from Vetter 1953.

3 Buck 1904 242.

4 Mau 1902 240.

of houses surrounded by a street.⁵ It is this slight change in meaning that allows insight into the ideological construct of the Oscan cityscape.

The changed nuance of *amvianud* implies that the inscriptions were placed in specific areas dividing Pompeii into conceptual districts. These districts, if not immediately discernible in the extant archaeological context, were at least familiar to the citizens and part of their ideological construct of Pompeii in the first century BCE. Much time has been spent developing theories and methodologies to identify neighborhoods within Roman cities using epigraphy, literary sources, and the material culture.⁶ Many of these studies focus on Roman Pompeii because of its state of preservation, but the pre-Roman cityscape of Pompeii has not received the same consideration. Instead, studies on the urban development of pre-Roman Pompeii focus on contextualizing the evidence below the 79 CE levels, less than 2% of the site according to a recent analysis,⁷ within larger frameworks such as the urban development of all settlement phases,⁸ specific regions of the city,⁹ or periods of settlement.¹⁰

Drawing upon the work in studies analyzing evidence for neighborhoods in Roman Pompeii, I examine the location of the inscriptions, the landmarks they identify, the personal names they include, how they communicate directions, and where they inform the troops to mobilize. I then offer some observations on how the Oscan Pompeians defined, communicated routes through, perceived, and interacted with their urban landscape to construct an Oscan cityscape of Pompeii in the early 1st century BCE. Finally, I consider how this information relates to the possible existence of districts in the final Oscan phase of the city.

Urban Development of Pompeii

The urban development of Pompeii is briefly considered to contextualize the inscriptions and substantiate that both the street system and towers of the final 79 CE phase were developed by the 1st century BCE.

5 Buck 1922, 113–115.

6 Laurence 1994 38–50; Favro 1996; Lott 2004; and especially Kaiser 2011a 3–6 for a more extensive bibliography.

7 Coarelli and Pesando 2011 37.

8 Geertman 1998 and Coarelli 2002.

9 Arthur 1986; Geertman 2007; Pedroni 2011; and Coarelli and Pesando 2011.

10 Cristofani 1991; Guzzo 2000; and Robinson 2008.

The academic debate surrounding the urban development of Pompeii has a long history beginning with the identification of the so-called *Altstadt*, old city, by Haverfield.¹¹ Haverfield noted that the streets in the southwest corner of Pompeii were aligned on a different axis from the rest of the grid and argued that this represented the earliest period of urban settlement dating from the sixth century BCE. This theory contended that the extant wall circuit was built at a later date after Pompeii had expanded. The *Altstadt* theory was the leading theory until the 1980s when excavations by C. Chiaramonte Treré and S. De Caro revealed that the outer fortifications of Pompeii were constructed on a base of *pappamonte* blocks dating from the first half of the sixth century BCE.¹² With physical evidence demonstrating that the area demarcated for the site dates from the sixth century BCE various new theories were put forth to explain the urban development incorporating new evidence from stratigraphic levels below the visible remains.

Excavations below 79 CE levels first began under the aegis of Amedeo Maiuri as Superintendent of Antiquities of Campania in the 1920s. The methodology used is now outdated and P. Arthur considers this problematic because some studies still continue to repeat Maiuri's findings without re-evaluating them.¹³ In the early 1980s excavations were conducted with the purpose of updating the infrastructure of Pompeii. P. Arthur led the excavations and conducted soundings along the areas where the cables were to be laid.¹⁴ These early substratigraphic excavations expanded the current understanding of the various urban phases but questions still remained. Arthur, for example, based on his 1980–1981 excavations, did not believe that the dating of the street system could be determined.¹⁵

Current understanding of the development of the site has progressed from the 1980s but as excavation continues below the 79 CE surface more will likely be learnt about the pre-Roman development of Pompeii increasing our knowledge of the urban development. A basic outline based on the current archaeological evidence follows.

The earliest evidence for settlement dates from the Bronze Age and is located outside of the *Altstadt* in Region 5.¹⁶ By the end of the seventh century BCE the first evidence for habitation in the *Altstadt* region appears, and not

11 Haverfield 1913.

12 Chiaramonte Treré 1986 and De Caro 1985.

13 Arthur 1986 29.

14 Arthur 1986 29.

15 Arthur 1986 41.

16 Robinson 2008.

long after monumental building projects occur such as the perimeter wall and the monumentalization of the Temple of Apollo and the Doric Temple in the Triangular Forum.¹⁷ From the end of the seventh to the fifth century BCE there is evidence of continued habitation.¹⁸

The fifth century BCE is marked by a noticeable lacuna of material culture.¹⁹ There is renewed settlement in the fourth century BCE archaeologically similar to other settlements in the area, such as Poseidonia.²⁰ In the third century BCE there is evidence of revitalization with even further development in the second century BCE.²¹

The next archaeologically identifiable context dates to the Sullan colony when the arrival of the colonists brought about changes in the urban fabric of Pompeii. Most scholars however contend that the street system was in place by the second century BCE at the latest²² with some dating it earlier.

I would like to address a final facet of the urban fabric of Pompeii that is central to this study, the towers. There are in total thirteen watchtowers inserted into the defensive walls. L. Richardson Jr dates the towers from some time after the arrival of the Roman colonists. He argues that had they been operational during the Social War there would be clear evidence of use, such as scarring from the missiles and soldiers' graffiti covering the walls.²³ A more recent study, however suggests that the towers were built before the Social War and constructed of limestone and lava stones in *opus incertum* and faced with white plaster emulating *opus quadratum*.²⁴ Thus the towers referred to in the inscriptions are the extant towers and not an earlier, no longer archaeologically visible, system of defensive towers.

What follows is first an introduction to each of the six inscriptions in chronological order based on Vetter's numbering system²⁵ with references to M. Crawford's recent (2011) publication of Italic inscriptions *Imagines Italicae* (abbreviated *ImIt*), which contains drawings and photographs of all the inscriptions, many of these reproduced from Zvetaieff (1878). I then analyze the evidence to formulate an Oscan mental construct of Pompeii. Finally, I propose an argument for the existence of districts within Oscan Pompeii.

17 Coarelli and Pesando 2011 39.

18 Carafa 2007 63 and Coarelli and Pesando 2011 41–46.

19 Arthur 1986 40; Pesando and Coarelli 2011 47–48; and Pedroni 2011 161.

20 Coarelli and Pesando 2011 48.

21 Pedroni 2011 166.

22 De Caro 1985; Ling 2007 119; Geertman 2007 87; Coarelli and Pesando 2011 50.

23 Richardson Jr. 1988 49.

24 Chiamonte 2007 143.

25 Vetter 1953.

The Inscriptions

Vetter 23/ImIt Pompei 2

The first inscription, Vetter 23, is no longer visible. It was discovered in 1797 and was already illegible when R.S. Conway observed it while researching his 1897 publication *Italic Dialects* (1.69). Located at VI.2.4 near the corner of *vico del Narcisso* and *strada Consolare* (figure 4.1) it begins with the same phrase that characterizes all six inscriptions:

eksuk.amvíanud.eítuns
anter.tiurrí.XII.íní.ver(u)
sarínu.puf.faamat
*mr.aadíriis.v*²⁶

From this area go
 between the 12th tower and the
 Sarina gate where
 Maras Atrius, son of Vibius is stationed²⁷

This one inscription reveals the names of two landmarks, and one person. The Sarina Gate, which is one of only two named gates in the pre-Roman city, is identified as the current Herculaneum Gate. Tower 12 is located directly to the east of the gate. The collapsed remains of tower 8 reveal that all the towers were numbered starting at the current Stabian Gate and continuing counterclockwise around the wall circuit.²⁸

The commander in charge of this location is identified as Maras Atrius the son of Vibius, by the phrase *puf faamat*, which translates as “where ... is stationed.” This is the only occurrence of the *nomen* Atrius in the Oscan epigraphic and literary record.

The only directional information in Vetter 23 is the Oscan word, *anter*, for “between.” There is an implied assumption that the intended audience of the inscriptions were intimately familiar with the cityscape and that the landmarks referred to in the inscription were easily identifiable and part of the Oscan cityscape.

²⁶ Note that all inscriptions follow Vetter's transcriptions.

²⁷ All translations by author.

²⁸ Chiamonte 2007 143.

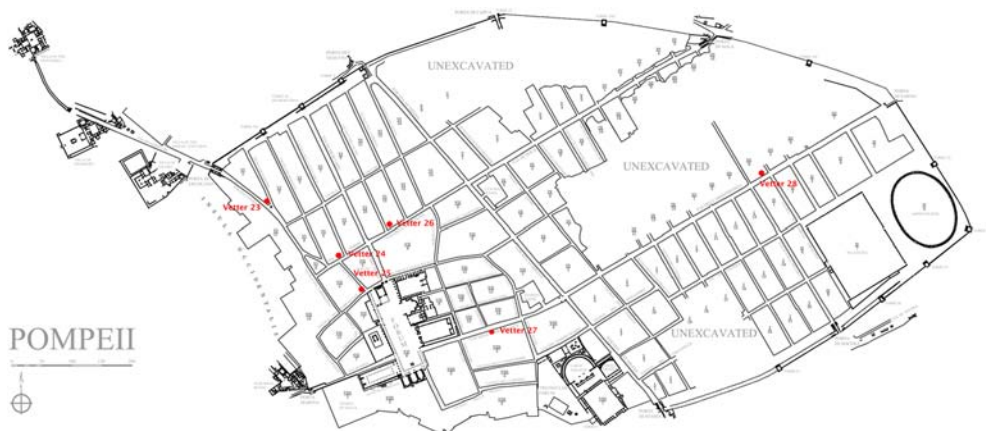


FIGURE 4.1 *Location of éituns inscriptions*

The muster point referred to in the inscription is located between these two landmarks (figure 4.2). Further information on the location of the inscription and its muster point is discussed below once all the inscriptions are introduced.

Vetter 24/ImIt Pompei 3

Vetter 24 was first read in 1840.²⁹ It is located at VI.6.3 on the second pillar to the west of the corner of the *vico della Fullonica* on the *strada delle Terme* (figure 4.1). Vetter 23 and 24 contain the same information. The differences between these inscriptions include an abbreviated form of *éituns* in Vetter 24 consisting of only the first three letters, which is due to the limited space of the tufa pillar and an Oscan epigraphic convention where a word is never split between two lines. Vetter 24 also has the full form of the Oscan word for gate, *veru*, which in Vetter 23 is abbreviated as *ver* again because of space constrictions.³⁰

eksuk.amvían(n)ud.eít(uns)
anter.tiurrí.XII.í ní.
veru sarinu.puf.
faamat.mr.aadiriís.v

²⁹ Conway 1897 1: 70.

³⁰ Conway 1897 1: 70.

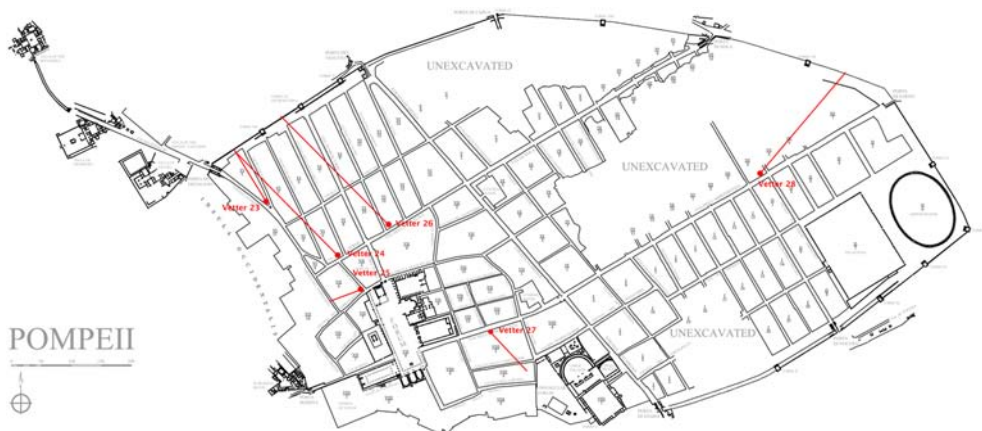


FIGURE 4.2 *Muster points of etuns inscriptions*

From this area go
 between the 12th tower
 and the Sarina gate
 where Maras Atrius, son of Vibius is stationed

Vetter 25/ImIt Pompei 4

Uncovered in 1820 and first read in 1873, Vetter 25 is located at VII.7 along the *vicolo dei Soprastanti* and the corner of the *vicolo delle Terme* (figure 4.1) just north of the Roman forum.³¹

*eksuk.amv[í]anud.
 eituns.ante[r.tr]úbu
 ma.kastrikíeís.iní
 mr.spuríeís l.
 puffaamat
 v.sehsímbríús.l*

From this area go
 between the houses of
 Mamercus Castricius and
 Maras Spurius son of Lucius
 where Vibius Sexembrius son of Lucius is stationed

31 Conway 1897 1: 71.

Vetter 25 identifies two landmarks, domestic structures, by naming the owners of the houses: Mamercus Castricius and Maras Spurius, son of Lucius. The *nomen* Spurius is found in Vetter 17, which was broken into two fragments and discovered in 1831 and 1841 in rooms off of the *atrium* in the House of the Faun.³² A Spurius son of Mamercus, whose first name does not survive in the inscription, is named as *kvaísstur*, an Oscan magisterial title roughly equivalent to the Latin *quaestor*.³³ The relationship between the two individuals cannot be determined based on these two inscriptions alone but the shared *nomen* and the civic magisterial title of the only other known member of the Spurius family indicates that the family was part of the Pompeian elite ruling class. No other information exists on the Castricius family nor the Sexembrius family within the corpus of Pompeian inscriptions, Vetter 25 containing the only known occurrence of their respective *nomen*.

Just as in the previous inscriptions the directional information is limited with only *anter* to identify the mobilization location between the two named landmarks. The implied assumption is that the intended audience was intimately familiar with the city and would immediately be able to identify where they were to report.

The exact location cannot be determined but I. Sgobbo, based on this inscription, tentatively assigned Mamercus Castricius' house to VII.16.17 and Maras Spurius' to VII.16.12–14³⁴ in the *Insula Occidentalis* (figure 4.2).³⁵ The *Insula Occidentalis* occupies the space between the Herculaneum Gate to the north, the city walls to the west, the *vico dei Soprastanti* to the south, and the *via Consolare* to the east.³⁶ This area was originally excavated in the mid 1700s but was not fully excavated until the 1960s by A. Maiuri.³⁷ It has recently been re-examined³⁸ focusing on the House of Marcus Fabius Rufus to clarify the development of the *Insula Occidentalis* in relation to the rest of the city.

32 Conway 1897 1: 64 and *Imlt* Pompei 20.

33 La Regina 1981 134 and Campanile and Letta 1979 29–32.

34 Sgobbo 1942 10–11.

35 Note that Mamercus Castricius is referred to as Maius Castricius in the naming of the house. No plausible explanation for this is put forth and is likely based on transcribing the *ma.* as Maius rather than Mamercus, although Vetter provides Mamercus as the praenomen in his translation of the inscription.

36 Grimaldi 2011 142.

37 Grimaldi 2011 139.

38 Benefiel 2010 and Grimaldi 2011 141 n. 10.

The houses in this area date from the end of the second century BCE to the first century BCE.³⁹ They encroached upon the north west wall, where the topography of the site provides natural defenses, making use of the prime real estate providing vistas of the sea. The defensive circuit was not as critical for the protection of the town in this area because of the natural defense of the coast, although still deemed necessary as is evident by the inscription mobilizing the militia to this area.

Vetter 26/ImIt Pompei 5

Vetter 26 is located at VI.12.23–25 on the exterior south wall of the House of the Faun along the *via della Fortuna* (figure 4.1). It is no longer visible and even by 1894 had deteriorated to the point where only the name of the commander was still visible.⁴⁰ It contains the standard *eksuk amviannud éituns* phrase as well as *puf faamat* naming the commander.

ek[s]uk.amvianud[.]éitu[ns]
[anter.tiurr]í.X. íní XI. puf
[faama]t. t. fisanis ú

From this area go
 between the 10th and 11th tower
 where Titus Fisanius son of Ovius is stationed

It orders the troops to mobilize along the north wall between towers 10 and 11 (figure 4.2). The commander in charge is named as Titus Fisanius, son of Ovius, which is the only surviving reference to Fisanius as a *nomen*. It is similar to Vetter 23 and 24 providing only the towers as landmarks and naming the commander.

Vetter 27/ImIt Pompei 6

Located at VIII.5.19–20 at the corner of what was a blind alley at the time of the eruption in 79 CE but likely led through to the Triangular Forum when the inscription was first painted, Vetter 27 is the only inscription that does not have the *puf faamant* phrase indicating whom the troops should report to at the muster point (figure 4.1).

39 Grimaldi 2011 142.

40 Conway 1897 1: 71.

eksuk.amvíannud
eítuns.amp(er)t.tríbud
tív(tikad).amp(er)t.mener(vas)

From this area go
 to that *domus publica*
 by the temple of Minerva

As in the previous inscriptions specific landmarks are named: a *domus publica*, *tríbud tív(tikad)*, and the temple of Minerva, *mener(vas)*, likely the Doric temple in the Triangular Forum.

Reference to a *domus publica* is intriguing and I. Sgobbo originally associated it with the Samnite Palaestra.⁴¹ F. Pesando, however argues that Vetter 11 (*ImIt* Pompei 24) clearly identifies the Samnite Palaestra with the *vereiia*, a military association for training elite young men.⁴² He raises the question of why the *eítuns* inscription would apply a generic name, *domus publica*, to the landmark in Vetter 27 when the epigraphic record confirms that the Samnite Palaestra was referred to by a specific name, associating it with its function.⁴³

Based on the discovery of fragmentary pieces of wall paintings depicting battle scenes, one with a cavalry and the other with foot soldiers, Pesando argues that the *domus publica* was located at VIII.6. He ascertains, based on the size of the fragments, that they originally decorated a trabeated portico and date to the 3rd century BCE.⁴⁴ He also proposes a possible function for this landmark based on comparative evidence. Fragments of battle scenes have been found at other sites, most notably at Fregellae. The fragments from Pompeii, however are generic rather than specific. Pesando explains that this generality served to promote communal participation in battle rather than individual success and hence would be an appropriate scene in a clubhouse for a military association.⁴⁵

As in the other inscriptions there is no navigational information informing the militia on how to arrive at the muster point only where to go. Two specific landmarks are identified within the inscription, one of which, the *domus publica*, from an etic perspective appears non-specific. The inscription mobilizes the militia in an area where important structures associated with the Oscan

41 Sgobbo 1942 25.

42 Tagliamonte 1989.

43 Pesando 1997 52.

44 Pesando 1997 55.

45 Pesando 1997 62.

elite were located, such as the Samnite Palaestra, the theatre, and the Republican Baths (figure 4.2). It is located close to the wall in the NW corner of the city in an area where there are few towers but many important public buildings. The muster location is not far from the walls and thus is congruent with the musters in the previous inscriptions and would be a logical location for gathering the militia and then dispersing them where needed along the circuit of the wall.

Vetter 28/ImIt Pompei 7

Of all the *étuns* inscriptions the final inscription uncovered so far, Vetter 28, contains the most navigational descriptors and landmarks and is the longest inscription. It is located at III.4.1–2 (figure 4.1). It was first published by Della Corte in 1916 and hence not included in early handbooks on Oscan inscriptions such as Conway (1897) and Buck (1904). At some point after it was painted a window was cut through the right side of it.

*eksuk.amví[anud ----]
set puz.haf[iar.trib.tú]v
íní.víu.mef[iu.íní.tiurr]is.
nertrak.ve[ru.urublan]u
píís.sent.eí[seíc.nert]rak
veru.urubla[nu.ant.tiu]rrí.
mefira.faa⟨m⟩mant.
l.púpid.l.mr.puríl.ma*

From this area go ...
in order to hold the *domus*
publica, by the Mefira [or possibly middle] road, and the tower
to the left of the Urbulanese gate.
Where between the left of the Urbulanese gate
and the Mefira tower
Lucius Popidius son of Lucius and Maras Purellius
son of Mamercus are stationed

Vetter 28 has the beginnings of the standard *eksuk amvíanud* phrase. Although *étuns* is missing from the formulaic expression, it is generally included in earlier translations.⁴⁶ In comparison to the other *étuns* inscriptions however,

46 Buck 1922, 111.

it provides the most information. It mentions a *domus publica*, though most likely not the same one as in Vetter 27. It provides the name of another gate, the Urbulanae gate, as well as the name of a tower, Mefira. It includes the only reference to a road in the inscriptions, which because of the state of preservation of the inscription the name of the road has been interpreted as either Mefira or middle.⁴⁷ It provides directional navigational information using the Oscan term for “left,” *nertrak*. And finally, it names two commanders, Lucius Popidius son of Lucius and Maras Purellius son of Mamercus.

The Urbulanae gate is identified as the Sarno Gate and the Mefira Tower with tower 7. Anniboletti⁴⁸ questions the identification of the Mefira Tower with tower 7 drawing upon the work of Chiaramonte Treré⁴⁹ who instead identifies it with tower 8. Further Anniboletti identifies the Urbulanae gate as the Nola Gate, but does not provide an explanation of how she arrived at this identification. Fragmentary inscriptional evidence associated with tower 8 confirms that the towers were numbered; yet Vetter 28 provides evidence that towers were also named.

The identification of the Mefira Tower with tower 7 within this article is based on the fragmentary Oscan inscription excavated from tower 8 providing it with a number rather than a name and working under the assumption, based on the naming conventions of the other *étuns* inscriptions, that a tower would not possess both a name and a number.

Vetter 28 is also located in an area where later Roman electoral notices have been found using the same name, Urbulanae,⁵⁰ which is explored in more detail below. It orders the militia to mobilize along the west wall between the Sarno Gate and the 7th tower (figure 4.2). The identification of the Urbulanae Gate with the Sarno Gate is based on Vetter 28’s proximity to the Sarno Gate and the later Latin electoral notices with the same name, Urbulanae, located on the street leading to the Sarno Gate.

The final line provides the names of two commanders. The first commander, Lucius Popidius son of Lucius, is a member of an established Oscan family, the Popidii. They have a long and distinguished political career in Pompeii dating from the pre-Roman city. Vetter 13, 14, and 71 (*ImIt* Pompei 9, 8, and 10) name a Vibius Popidius son of Vibius as *meddix*, an Oscan magisterial title. Vetter 14 was originally found in the inner arch of the Nolan Gate indicating Vibius’ role in its construction. A Latin inscription, tentatively dated to the late 80s

47 Anniboletti et alii 2009 5 and Chiaramonte Treré 1986 26.

48 2009 5.

49 1986 26.

50 *CIL* 4.7676, 7706, and 7747.

BCE, *CIL* 10.794, names a Vibius Popidius son of Epidius in association with building porticoes. The inscription was originally found near the Basilica and is interpreted as referring to the portico in the Forum. A roof-tile stamp from the Basilica,⁵¹ names a Numerius Popidius, and in the later Augustan and Flavian period there is ample inscriptional evidence on freedmen of the Popidia family, such as *CIL* 10.846, publicizing the euergistic inclinations of the six year old Numerius Popidius Celsinus, son of Numerius in rebuilding the foundations of the Temple of Isis. Nothing is known of the other commander, Maras Purellius son of Mamercus.

The names of seven individuals are listed in the inscriptions, five commanders and two property owners. Of these seven only two can be linked to other Oscan families based on the epigraphic evidence and of these two only one family is still epigraphically visible in the Roman period.

The commanders, based on their positions as military commanders, were members of the elite, and the absence of their *nomen* in the surviving inscriptional documentation of the Roman period, except for one family, demonstrates the socio-economic changes in Pompeii after the Social War due to its changed status as a *municipium*. Textual evidence from the Roman period further supports this. Cicero refers to the privileged position of the colonists over the Pompeians⁵² and Pliny the Elder mentions how Marcus Herennius, from an old Oscan family, was believed to have sided with Catiline during the Catiline conspiracy⁵³ possibly in response to the conditions Cicero discusses in the *Pro Sulla*.

Oscan Mental Construct of Pompeii

The modern geographer, K. Lynch, has influenced archaeologists in applying a structuralist framework to interpret how ancient peoples may have interacted with and viewed their urban environment.⁵⁴ Lynch's concept of "imageability," defined as "that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer,"⁵⁵ aptly describes the function of the *étuns* inscriptions.

51 *CIL* 10.8042.154.

52 *Pro Sulla* 60–62.

53 *NH* 2.137.

54 See Kaiser 2011a 3–6 for an overview of these studies.

55 Lynch 1960 9.

First, the location and height of the inscriptions have specific meaning. They are not located at eye level, as previously mentioned, but rather force the observer to gaze up. There is also consistency in their location on pillars and walls facing streets. They are located either at the corner or second from the corner. This consistency in placement implies planning and the intentional creation of meaning through uniformity. This further serves to order the mental construct of the city. A. Amin states that, “the ordering of space is a tool of social regulation, assurance, and delegation.”⁵⁶ The imposition of order upon space within these six inscriptions is significant, as it would serve to calm the inhabitants during an attack.

Second, the landmarks named in the inscriptions have a strong potential to evoke imageability. Landmarks are directly related to Lynch’s concept of environmental images, which developed out of his study analyzing the mental image of three American cities by interviewing people in the city.⁵⁷ He classified these mental images of the city into five physical forms: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks.⁵⁸ Within each of these categories a physical form possesses an environmental image that has identity, structure, and meaning constructed by individuals based on their familiarity with the physical form.⁵⁹

The *étuns* inscriptions name eleven landmarks: tower 10, 11, and 12 and the Mefira Tower; the Sarina Gate and the Urbulanae Gate; the Temple of Minerva; two *domus publicae*; and two domestic structures. All of these would have possessed identity, structure, and meaning to an ancient Oscan viewer. The analysis of the individual inscriptions above has already discussed the identity and structure of these landmarks.

Identity, as defined by Lynch, refers to an image’s identification as separate from its surroundings. Each of the landmarks fulfills this requirement. The simple act of naming them, even with generic adjectives as descriptors, sets each landmark apart from its surrounding environment. Lynch’s definition of structure is not equivalent to an architectural structure but rather spatial structure. He defines an image’s structure as “includ[ing] the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects.”⁶⁰ The inscriptions provide structure in a number of ways. First, the act of reading the inscriptions and mentally constructing routes to the muster points creates a spatial pattern

56 Amin 2010 35.

57 Lynch 1960.

58 Lynch 1960 46–48.

59 Lynch 1960 8.

60 Lynch 1960 8.

for the ancient viewer. Second, the muster points are identified in relation to other objects further enhancing their ability to generate a spatial pattern.

Imagine it is the middle of the night. Shouts in the streets call men to arms. Mayhem ensues. The citizen militia pour into the streets, immediately run to the street corners, look up and read the notices telling them where to mobilize. While reading they form a mental image of where they are standing and where they need to go, thus situating themselves within the spatial context of the city. In this process they have created a mental image of both identity and structure according to Lynch's definition of these concepts.

It is only meaning that cannot be reconstructed. Individual citizens would have endowed these landmarks with meaning based on their own personal experience with the cityscape but unfortunately this information cannot be recovered.

The language of the inscriptions, Oscan, is also significant in constructing the Oscan cityscape. First, it firmly places them in the pre-Roman period of Pompeii's history as indigenous languages virtually disappear by the end of the Augustan period.⁶¹ Second, it limits the information to an Oscan-speaking populace implying that Latin was neither widely used as a public language nor understood by all occupants of Pompeii when the inscriptions were first written. Other cities in the area, such as Cumae, petitioned Rome for the right to use Latin as the public language as early as the second century BCE.⁶² Alternatively, if Latin was widely known the use of Oscan was a conscious choice in expressing non-Roman identity through the use of indigenous language. Third, it further limits the information to people who already have a mental construct of the city. Some of the landmarks, such as the houses of Mamercus Castricius and Maras Spurius, would not immediately conjure a mental image to someone unfamiliar with the Oscan cityscape. The convention of describing locations by using the owners or conventional designations as descriptors implies that these inscriptions were intended for inhabitants of Pompeii.

The link between city and language is greater than a casual observation of these two concepts may first imply. Both are cultural constructs. A. Fuentes-Calle argues that languages "can be perceived as places in which people reside, whereas cities can be seen as mental states that filter the world through a particular code. In this sense, the frequent experience of projecting both our perceptive and physical movement patterns—those acquired in our 'default

61 Farney 2011 224.

62 Livy 40.43.1.

city’—may be our way of looking and moving through the world.”⁶³ She further explains the significance of discussing both cities and language by stating that, “they are tools for creating referential models that make sense of the environments that human beings inhabit, as well as generators of multiple versions of human knowledge, for they mirror conceptual mappings unique to each linguistic system. Linguistic loss is not only a sentimental issue; it also implies the loss of the irreplaceable epistemic potential encoded in language, including various ways to conceive and experience the relationships among language, humanity, communication, and community making.”⁶⁴

Fuentes-Calle’s work, focusing on contemporary societies, is relevant to the argument presented here as it emphasizes the relationship between the city and language. Intrinsic meaning on location and movement can be encoded in linguistic terms that do not easily translate from one language to another. The significance of language in developing a better sense of the urban cityscape can be seen in the work of A. Kaiser (201b). Kaiser analyzes the meaning of various Latin terms used to describe streets and their function based on a close analysis of these words in the literary sources. He identifies a difference between *via* and *platea* on the one hand and *semita* and *angiportum* on the other hand. *Via* and *platea* functioned as public streets where political and social activities such as triumphal processions and weddings occurred. *Semita* and *angiportum* were where more clandestine activities such as prostitution and the abandonment of babies occurred.⁶⁵ His analysis demonstrates that the use of these words contained inherent meaning, which may not be understood by non-indigenous speakers. Use of such terminology within directional inscriptions would contain meaning not immediately apparent to someone unfamiliar with the nuances of the language.

The dearth of Oscan literary texts means that a similar analysis cannot be applied to pre-Roman Pompeii. Within the *étuns* inscriptions there is only one occurrence of a word for road, *vúu*, and only two other examples in the corpus of Oscan inscriptions.⁶⁶ Looking at where the *étuns* inscriptions are located, however and keeping in mind Kaiser’s work, there is one interesting observation. All the inscriptions except for one, Vetter 25, are located on a road that leads to one of the city’s gates.

63 Fuentes-Calle 2010 227.

64 Fuentes-Calle 2010 230.

65 Kaiser 2011a.

66 Vetter 8 and 10/*ImIt* Pompei 13 and 12.

Districts

Lynch includes the category of districts within his five categories of physical forms that construct the mental image of a cityscape. He defines districts as “medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of as having two-dimensional extent, which the observer mentally enters ‘inside of,’ and which are recognizable as having some common, identifying character.”⁶⁷

The concept of districts is more familiar to studies on the urbanization of the Roman city of Pompeii.⁶⁸ Rome itself was organized into districts referred to as *vici* in the literary sources and epigraphical evidence preserving lists of *magistri vici*. One similar list has been found in Pompeii dated from 47/6 BCE⁶⁹ implying that similar administrative units were established in Pompeii after it became a Roman *municipium*.

There is no similar evidence for pre-Roman Pompeii but the location of the *étuns* inscriptions and some of the landmarks named in the inscriptions indicate that districts, as defined by Lynch, existed at least by the first century BCE. First, the locations of the inscriptions and the places where they inform the militia to muster are all within a few blocks of each other. This provides some insight into how the Pompeians mentally conjured up an image of their cityscape and how they divided the city into defensive areas, possibly using pre-existing districts.

Second, Vetter 23 and 24 list the same location for mobilization implying that districts existed and that certain districts were responsible for the defenses nearest them. Looking only at the location of the inscriptions and not where they inform the militia to muster, it would be more logical to have Vetter 24 and 25 muster at the same point because of their proximity to each other (figure 4.1). This is not, however the case (figure 4.2). One plausible explanation for this is that the *étuns* inscriptions used pre-existing divisions within the Oscan cityscape, the *amvianud* referred to in the inscriptions.

The *domus publicae* mentioned in Vetter 27 and 28 also provide evidence for districts in the Oscan cityscape. In Vetter 27 the *domus publica* is identified as that one by the Temple of Minerva implying that there was more than one *domus publica* in the city. The discovery of Vetter 28 appears to substantiate this as it also mentions a *domus publica* and the distance of the inscription from Vetter 27, on the other side of the city, cannot logically refer to the same struc-

67 Lynch 1960 47.

68 Laurence 1994 38–50.

69 *CIL* 4.60.

ture. Pesando's theory that the *domus publicae* functioned as meeting places for military associations is intriguing and appears to fit with the evidence.⁷⁰ The distribution of the military associations throughout the city and their inclusion in the *éituns* inscriptions implies that each district had its own military association.

All the other landmarks in the inscriptions have at least one descriptor serving to further identify where the musters are located. The generic name of these landmarks, *domus publica*, indicates that this specific term had meaning and that meaning was directly related to its function, which would be immediately apparent to an Oscan speaking Pompeian who was the intended audience of the *éituns* inscriptions. If the Oscan term *tribud tív(tikad)*, translated as *domus publica*, had cultural significance and these structures were dispersed throughout the city there would be no need to further identify them as it would be immediately apparent to Oscan citizens where these structures were located.

One last point I would like to address regarding districts is the persistence of names in specific locations. The Urbulanae Gate is located in an area where Latin electoral notices identifying the Urbulanenses as a district were found.⁷¹ Three other districts of Roman Pompeii have been identified based on the electoral notices, the Salinienses,⁷² the Forenses,⁷³ and the Campanienses,⁷⁴ but only one, the Urbulanenses, can be traced back to the Oscan phase of Pompeii. The implications are that districts from the Oscan period continued unchanged into the Roman period of occupation and that the transformation of Pompeii from an independent Oscan city into a Roman *municipium* did not affect the cityscape.

R. Laurence's work on ethnonyms and ethnicity in the Roman world provides an alternative explanation for the persistence of names with place. Laurence analyzes the texts of ancient geographers, such as Strabo, and argues that ethnonyms were not necessarily significant in locating specific ethnicities but that once they are applied they become standard and were still used by Procopius five hundred years later.⁷⁵ Once a geographical location is associated with a specific name, as long as this is retained within the collective memory, the association persists even if it is no longer reflective of contemporary cir-

70 Pesando 1997.

71 *CIL* 4.7676, 7706, 7747.

72 *CIL* 4.128.

73 *CIL* 4.783.

74 *CIL* 4.470, 480.

75 Laurence 1998.

cumstances. The same process could be argued for the naming of districts in Pompeii.

Conclusions

In conclusion the *étuns* inscriptions provide a unique insight into the ideological construct of Oscan Pompeii. They reveal Oscan landmarks such as city gates, streets, public buildings, temples, and even individual houses. In the process they transform the cityscape from its more familiar Roman and modern place names and permit an understanding of how Oscan Pompeians perceived, defined, communicated routes through, and interacted with their urban landscape.

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Unraveling the Reality of a ‘City’ on the Deccan Plateau

Aloka Parasher-Sen

And the “Roman artist asked: ‘Can I have letters of introduction to the brother Shilpins (artists) in all those places!’

The young monk from Nagarjunakonda ironically commented: ‘You do not need letters of introduction to the areas of silence’”

MULK RAJ ANAND¹



In this fictive account, Mulk Raj Ananda imagined a ‘Conversation’ between a Roman artist who traveled with his Ethiopian slave exploring the various ‘cities’ of the Deccan and the indigenous people against the setting of Nagarjunakonda. This place is characterized as a major urban settlement of the eastern coastal rim of the Deccan during the early centuries CE. Mulk Raj Ananda, a well-known modern Indian writer, has, however, built this account on considerable historical and archaeological research done on the spread of Buddhism and the rule of a dynasty called the Satavahanas over a major part of the Deccan that was concomitant with a period of active trade between its various ports and cities and the Mediterranean around the early centuries CE. There were some among these ‘cities’ ostensibly visited by the Romans and other foreigner traders that today remain “areas of silence” as there is hardly any literary source material for this region and the period under discussion for us to use and reflect upon. At a simple level we could draw on this quote to capture the social and religious milieu of early historic Deccan or perhaps, to highlight that many of the settlements located in the Deccan hinterland either have not been, or, have only recently been excavated and are therefore, in a sense, “areas of silence”.

1 Anand 1965 4–8.

It is legitimate, argues De Certeau,² that since the “real” of the historical past is a consequence of representation, the “breadth of literary imagination” can best convincingly bring out the textures of history, its intricate patterns in symbols, actions, events and lived-in experiences of men and women in times gone by. In the present context, therefore, one is tempted to draw upon this fictive account to reconstruct the ‘reality’ of a city on the Deccan Plateau. But this would mean the replication of a nationalist constructed imagination of the mid-twentieth-century India when the above piece was written and when, flush with the newly achieved Indian Independence, archaeologists and historians were engaged in a ‘discovery’ or, one should say, a recovery of the classical monumentality of ancient Indian art and architecture. In the context of the Deccan, the monumentality of recovering Buddhist art galvanized the imagination of most government run departments of archaeology.³ Apart from describing a monument in all its architectural details, its location in a particular landscape, the archaeological artifact telling its own local story, the intangibles of how the Buddhist monks interacted and lived off the local inhabitants, the opening up of local spaces to traders of all hues and color, and the way local artists, craftsmen, technologists coped with all these changes, were hardly considered the themes that scientifically trained archaeologists were meant to focus on. In the present paper we broaden the discussion on defining a ‘city’ to these larger issues while simultaneously highlighting a difference in the fashioning of local built-in spaces. At the same time we address another issue, namely, the tension between objectified truth and reality. Inherent to an archaeologist’s task is to place in the present, through the most stringent scientific methods of exploration and excavation, what is true about the past and what is clearly tangible, visible and describable in the best objective way possible. Few archaeologists, however, address the question of whether this can lead to a comprehension of the reality of the past. This complicated relationship between what is visible and the contingent absences that arise out of the choices we make is critical to retrieving that reality.

The Deccan was and is a terrain difficult to travel across. Even today traveling across the Deccan Plateau one is confronted with a landscape that in parts is still marked with huge granite rock-formations of what is commonly called the Deccan Trap.⁴ These are considerably older than any human structural

2 De Certeau 1988 xv.

3 As for instance Sundara 1984 13, 18.

4 The Deccan Plateau’s famous granite formations of ‘molten magma’ were formed about 2500 million years ago. *Society of Save Rocks*, Hyderabad website <http://www.saverocks.org/Geology.html> (last accessed January 31, 2012).

interventions on this landscape. This is combined with its primarily red sandy and patches of loamy black soils that are suitable for typical dry farming in the intermittently marked low lying areas watered by natural lakes or small river valleys. The plateau is the vast hinterland of both the eastern and western coastline of Peninsular India. It is also that mass of land through which, over historical times, peoples, products and ideas have traversed from the plains of the north India to the far South marking the southernmost tip of the sub-continent. Thus historical forces of change have converged on this unique landscape highlighting interesting economic trajectories of material change alongside socio-political interactions of confluence while maintaining a distinctness that becomes the aim of this paper to capture.

Kondapur: A Case Study

While reflecting on the urban space of early historical times, in this paper I shall focus on the archaeological site of Kondapur that has been re-excavated recently between 2009 and 2011 by the Archaeological Survey of India. It was first excavated in 1940–1942 before Indian independence under the auspices of the then Archaeology Department of the Princely State of Hyderabad. What marks its location on the Plateau is its relative isolation when compared to the cluster of explored and excavated sites to its north and northeast, all dated to a similar period. Assigning an exact date for Kondapur is a major problem since scientific methods of dating the excavated material have not been applied. Based on related artifacts found at similar sites in the region, especially on the Roman finds like coins and pottery and coins of the Satavahana dynasty, it is broadly placed as a site that flourished during the first two centuries C.E. All the sites with similar material remains have been loosely labeled as cities/urban centers, almost invariably with a Buddhist affiliation, in existing historical studies on the early historic Deccan.⁵ It is often argued that it is because of Kondapur's location in the centre, connecting the Buddhist centres on the east coast with those on the west that it grew as an important junction⁶ in an otherwise hostile and not very fertile terrain characteristic of the Deccan Plateau. Our central concern is to interrogate its particular character in the specific context of its location.

5 Nagi Reddy 2008 35, 42–43.

6 Sarkar 1986 3.

In terms of its specific environs and location the present archaeological mound at Kondapur (17.33' N 78.1' E) is located on a small hillock about one km south of the village of Kondapur in the present day Medak district of the state of Andhra Pradesh. It is roughly 70 km. west-north-west of the capital city of Hyderabad⁷ on a streamlet that in ancient times must of have been an important tributary of the river Mañjira which has today a circuitous course some 12 miles towards the north of the archaeological site.⁸ Locally, the ancient mound is known as Kotagadda (Fort Mound).⁹ Kondapur would mean a 'town' if its suffix *pur* is taken literally, while '*konda*' is understood to mean 'hill' in the local language. The archaeological mound marked for excavation at Kondapur was about 80 hectares and surrounded by fields that continue to be cultivated and in close proximity of an old paleo channel (streamlet). Beyond this, abutting the mound, there is a huge modern irrigation tank; its genesis to the early historic times has yet to be established.

For a long time Kondapur was the only early historical settlement [c. second century BCE—third century CE] that had been excavated on the Deccan Plateau in the present day state of Andhra Pradesh. But when in 1941 Ghulam Yazdani, its excavator, wrote about his work there, he noted that in his endeavor only the crust had been broken and that the lower strata still needed to be dug.¹⁰ Jithendra Das, the superintending archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Hyderabad Circle, who inspected the mound in 2008, found "its upper strata already yielding several antiquities without digging."¹¹ Since then, fresh excavations have been conducted here from the winter of 2009 till the summer of 2011 by the Archaeological Survey of India, Excavations Branch, Government of India, New Delhi, under whose authority this site continues to lie.¹² The structural remains and the diverse nature of the artifacts found

7 Dikshit 1952 i.

8 Yazdani 1941 175.

9 ASI http://asi.nic.in/asi_museums_kondapur.asp (last accessed October 8, 2011).

10 Yazdani 1941 185

11 The late D. Jithendra Das, superintending archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Hyderabad Circle, reported this to journalist M. Malleswara Rao in 2008. <http://www.hindu.com/2008/01/12/stories/2008011254960500.htm> (last accessed October 8, 2011).

12 For two seasons of its re-excavation [2009–2011] by the Archaeological Survey of India, I was able to visit the site and observe its new material configurations. I am grateful to Dr. Gautam Sengupta, the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India of India for granting permission to do so and to Dr. G. Maheshwari, Superintending Archaeologist, Excavation Branch, Bhubaneswar excavating at Kondapur to have provided the congenial atmosphere for discussion of the work under progress.

during the first round of excavations done at the site between 1940–1942 indicated firmly that this was a place where several crafts flourished. There was some technological significance to the metallurgical industry here and the numismatic evidence found here was prolific and varied. Equally rich were the structural and material antiquities, amounting to about two thousand items, that were unearthed here in the more recent excavations of 2009–2011.¹³ A unique aspect of this site is that after the early historic times, it seems to have apparently been abandoned with no evidence at all of any consequent historical strata identifiable either through excavation, or in terms of visible monumental remains in the vicinity of this mound. Against this background we take a closer look at some of these aspects based primarily on Yazdani's 1940–1942 excavations.

Following the traditional lines of enquiry most archaeologists have defined early historical sites as 'urban' if they were adorned with Buddhist establishments and if there was evidence of fortification walls,¹⁴ with the argument that political stability and an apparent ideological uniformity enabled prosperity and peace to prevail that in turn led to the rise of these townships. Thus, Kondapur qualified to be 'urban' because it apparently had Buddhist establishments even though it was felt in certain quarters that these buildings were not "architecturally very imposing".¹⁵ Other interpreters of this 25 ft. high mound covering about 100 acres who officially became responsible for the site after Independence opined that "ancient Kondapur city was larger than Amaravathi (and) skirted by a mud-fort ... the fort's mud-wall is visible even now"¹⁶ and reiterate the existence of Buddhist monuments here. Yazdani and many others who were first associated with the excavations here were convinced, and therefore, continually emphasized that this was one of the thirty walled towns of the Andhras that were mentioned by Pliny.¹⁷ Even before its excavation, H. Cousens when he prepared his 'List of Antiquarian Remains in H.H. the Nizam's Dominions' published by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1900, described it as "the *site of an ancient town* supposed to have been where the dried up lake now

13 As reported by G. Maheshwari to the journalist Avadhani 2011 reporting on the excavation <http://thehindu.com/todays.../tp...vedic-religion/article1496394.ece> (last accessed October 8, 2011).

14 Deo 1985 94.

15 Krishnasastry 1983 123–124.

16 Das 2008 <http://www.hindu.com/2008/01/12/stories/2008011254960500.htm> (last accessed October 8, 2011).

17 Yazdani 1941 184; Dikshit 1952 i. However, no evidence of fortification of walls were found during the 1940–1942 season of excavations.

is, bricks, implements and coins being found in the bed of the lake.”¹⁸ These various views on granting Kondapur a full-fledged urban status did not view its material remains as part of a larger organic whole in an inhibiting natural landscape nor, did they consider or discuss the social and economic dynamics operating behind the rise of this settlement. In fact, as has been candidly admitted by a field archaeologist of long standing, the late Dr. H. Sarkar, “When sites like Amaravathi, Bhattiprolu or Salihundam (all along the east coast of the Deccan) were excavated our emphasis had been individual buildings or groups of sculptures and we had only vague idea about the social and economic dynamics operating behind the rise and decline of a township or settlement We focused all our attention on the Buddhist *stupas* as they yielded fine examples of architecture and sculptural art”¹⁹ The same method has been applied to excavating and interpreting the remains from Kondapur as the focus has been on identifying only major structural remains that were ostensibly meant to most define the character of the site. In our current endeavor we intend to highlight on the particular difference that defined the reality of Kondapur as a settlement—was it indeed a large urban settlement, or, merely, a substantial settlement that acted as a resting point for “transactional” and inter-dependant activity across the various sub-regions of the Deccan Plateau—be it economic, religious, social or cultural activity?

Architectural Remains

As the first excavator of the site, Yazdani noticed foundations of buildings that he labeled as ‘Buddhist,’ although these architectural and sculptural edifices were not strikingly prominent. During the 1940–1942 excavation the structures unearthed here²⁰ were divided into four categories on the basis of the evidence of the remnants of (a) Buddhist religious structures like *stupas*, *chaityas* and parts of *vihara* complexes etc., (b) plain houses built either of brick or rubble, (c) those classified as shops, areas with evidences of furnaces and large earthen basins, and finally (d) some perfunctory indications of old walls. Quantifiably, the excavator’s greatest emphasis was on describing the religious buildings, ascribable to a Hinayana or Theravada sect of the Buddhists as no images of the Buddha were found then. There is a stark absence of any Buddhist images in the more recent 2009–2011 excavations of the site as well. Yazdani’s descriptions focused on structures located substantially in the southwestern and western

18 Quoted by Sreenivasachar in Dikshit 1952 i. Emphasis added.

19 Sarkar 1986 1–2.

20 Yazdani 1941 176 writes these structures emerged after removing “only 20”–“30” of earth from the cultivated surface.”

parts of the mound.²¹ If the identification of these Buddhist monuments is accepted it would entail the most obvious conclusion that these and the body of monks they housed were financially and otherwise supported by a population around this place, some of whom were in all probability the followers of the faith.

After the more recent excavations (2009–2011) conducted here Maheshwari, the excavating officer, did not find merit in labeling the foundation of several buildings excavated under her supervision as 'Buddhist'. In fact after the first season of her endeavors she reported that Kondapur could also be "an important kshetra of the Brahmanical faith".²² Her work here has revealed foundations in the shape of square, apsidal and circular brick structures in primarily the western part of the main mound. Credible evidence of a non-Buddhist sect having lived at Kondapur is suggested by her on the basis of the excavation of "a vast complex having a circular shrine facing south with one entrance and surrounded by rectangular chambers and fire altars—three metres in depth having 37 courses of burnt bricks of different shapes—triangular and *damaru*-shaped—behind the chambers".²³ The labeling of these deep pits as fire altars by Maheshwari is based on, according to her, "significant evidence of fire activities in them along with full pots—five in number (may be *kalasa*) with stamped impressions of a trident, *purnakalasa*."²⁴ She has further reported that "the whole temple complex yielded plenty of animal bone pieces, perhaps for sacrificial purposes and related pottery articles such as bowls, sprinklers, spouted vessels and iron implements like spear heads and knives."²⁵ Of some significance was the discovery of a Lajja Gauri (Goddess of fertility) made of kaolin and a few cult objects made of iron in the same complex in close proximity to the circular structure as reported in a newspaper interview by Maheshwari. A Lajja Gauri and other images of fertility goddesses now housed in the Kondapur Museum at the site were also found during the 1940–1942 excavation indicating clearly the popularity of her worship. In fact, as is well known, her presence was

21 Yazdani 1941 182–183. Those religious structures found on the northern part of the mound are reported to have been badly damaged.

22 Excavation work at Kondapur, District Medak, Andhra Pradesh Thursday August 5, 2010 online at <http://archaeologyexcavations.blogspot.com/2010/08/excavation-work-at-kondapur-district.html> (last accessed October 8, 2011).

23 Avadhani 2011 online at <http://thehindu.com/todays.../tp...vedic-religion/article1496394.ece> [last accessed October 8, 2011 & September 14, 2014].

24 Avadhani 2011 online at <http://thehindu.com/todays.../tp...vedic-religion/article1496394.ece> [last accessed October 8, 2011 & September 14, 2014].

25 Avadhani 2011 online at <http://thehindu.com/todays.../tp...vedic-religion/article1496394.ece> [last accessed October 8, 2011 & September 14, 2014].

common in other early historic sites of the Deccan.²⁶ It is pertinent to point out here that the two archaeologists who have done major excavations (1940–1942 and 2009–2011) at this site have characterized its religious character in diametrically opposite ways.

Though the more recent excavations have raised questions about the location of a substantial Buddhist establishment at Kondapur it is true that the larger role this ideology played in the expansion and promotion of trade and artisanal activity in the immediately contiguous coastal regions of the Western Deccan and Eastern Deccan cannot be ignored.²⁷ The extent of this influence on the Deccan Plateau and the hinterland has hitherto been assessed in terms of the close proximity of the Buddhist institutional establishments with trade routes and market towns. Maheshwari, with data collected under her supervision during the 2009–2011 field-season of excavation suggests that Kondapur must have housed some sort of cult practices that may be have had nothing to do with Buddhism.²⁸ For this, as discussed above, she convincingly cites the excavation of deep pits she calls “fire altars” and the “circular shrine” excavated as evidence to support her views. This is an interesting hypothesis and one would have to wait for her full report on these excavations to fully accept this interpretation. It does, however, throw light on the fact that given the varied economic activity at this site a multiplicity of social groups with different ideological orientations must have visited it or lived here. The capacity of social groups here to maintain the production of certain commodities resulted in their growing strength. They were able to also support the religious establishments located here and ultimately, the new forces of change made it possible for political elites like the Satavahanas to integrate this so-called isolated region into the larger-framework of their empire. Based on the current state of excavations done, Kondapur does not turn out to be a fortified town but more likely developed the character of a manufacturing and trade centre as we argue below. Tentative suggestions were made and orally discussed during the course of the more recent excavations at the site by the excavators that Kondapur could have been a place where Vedic rituals were performed. That people visited it only to participate in such rituals and/or other cultic practices prevalent here cannot be accepted as the only reason for its existence. On the contrary, driven by the material and economic resources that converged here,

26 These images have been found to be fairly well distributed all over the Deccan and other parts of South India. The one found at Kondapur has been classified as one of the first type and its distinguishing marks most clearly visible. Cf. Parasher-Sen 2002 20–21.

27 Ray 1986.

28 Personal communication with author.

the local community had to generate a variety of institutions for worship for the diverse population, including the Buddhists who traveled across the Plateau to visit its innumerable monasteries scattered all over the Deccan region. Considered in the context of its similarity with the sites in the mid-Godavari valley, and also those in the Nalgonda region²⁹ on the Deccan Plateau, it can be said that it had linkages with this dominant ideology of the times but developed its own individual character mainly because of the ecological constraints of its location in the region. This is reflected in the simplicity of the material remains found here and the absence of large public buildings that we describe below. Should this lead us to conclude that it was not an urban centre in the Deccan during this period? Certainly it was not one that boasted of monumental buildings.

It would be worthwhile here to dwell on the social complexity of the people who inhabited Kondapur. The ground plans of the other buildings that Yazdani has referred to were not clearly discernable but these were in all probability the residences of the inhabitants of Kondapur. There are several indications to show that they housed people coming from different social strata. An indication of the economic disparity of the people that inhabited this city is that certain houses, which Yazdani calls shops, had underground chambers. Of six such chambers noted by Yazdani, three had double rooms divided by a partition wall in the centre. Their depth varied anything between 5 and 25 ft. They were built of neat courses of brick laid in mud, and their floors were either laid with bricks or small stones unevenly fixed to the ground. These interesting constructions invariably contained such valuables as coins with their moulds, seals, beads, golden ornaments, terracotta figurines and the like, thereby implying that they belonged to either rich households or were storage spaces for shopkeepers and merchants.³⁰

29 <http://museums.ap.nic.in/phanigiri.htm>. Official website of the State Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad (last accessed September 30, 2011). Some of them like Phanigiri, Vardhamanukota, Gajulabanda, Tirumalagiri and Arlagaddagudem are worth mentioning as early historic settlements with clearly excavated Buddhist monastic structures and which lasted for a fairly long duration. Their architectural monumentality and sculptural remains compare well with the best classical traditions from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, the renowned Buddhist sites of Andhra Pradesh. See discussion in Skilling 2008 96–118.

30 It is opined by Dikshit 1952 ii, n. 3 that in the Deccan and South India underground cells for storing of valuables and grain is a common feature even today. Yazdani 1941 183 had suggested that these are called *chaubachchas* in Hindustani and frequently found in North India as well.

But the overall pattern and style of architecture in these remains strikes one as being plain and simple. In fact, it is observed that it was “not very imposing and grand, nor even beautiful, but quite efficient and skillful ...”³¹ This is evident in the dimension, size and shape of the bricks used which varied according to the type of building. For circular buildings, such as the *stupas* and *chaityas*, wedge-shaped bricks were also used.³² All this undoubtedly implies the existence of a competent group of bricklayers, masons, carpenters and other technicians involved in construction work. An account of the first excavation of Kondapur in the Annual Report of the Archaeology Department further notes that certain structures excavated should be characterized as remnants of ‘industrial buildings’ defined as (i) furnaces (ii) floors and pavements for workmen and (iii) depositories for storing their valuable objects.³³ The last-mentioned we have discussed above as being part of either shops or houses of the rich. Yazdani clearly emphasizes the implications of this find: “In the course of excavation remains of furnaces and of large earthen water-basins for cooling the metal *have been found in large numbers* and it appears that smithy work flourished on an extensive scale.”³⁴

Iron Objects

That metal-working on an extensive scale was indeed possible is evident by the recovery of iron objects like sickles, chisels, nails, knives, spearheads, hoes, forks and in fact a large number of “ploughing and cultivation implements” said to have been found at Kondapur.³⁵ Other iron objects have been identified as weapons and those found in a carpenter’s tool-kit. Furthermore, in the course of these excavations Yazdani had also noticed that the area where he had conducted trial pits was strewn all over with broken stones, pieces of brick, potsherds and iron slag; the last being found in considerable quantity.³⁶ Metal

31 Dikshit 1952 i.

32 Yazdani 1941 181–182. KEAR 1940–1941 notes that the large size bricks measured 22”× 11”×3” and the square ones measured 15”× 15”.

33 KEAR 1940–1941 17.

34 Yazdani 1941 181. Emphasis added. There are, however, other scholars who doubt whether a separate industrial area with metallurgists’ shops could have existed: cf. Dikshit 1952 iii.

35 Yazdani 1941 184. Ray 1983 86.

36 Yazdani 1941 175–176. Writing in the general context of the development of iron technology in India, Bhardwaj has stated that normally “heaps of iron slag recorded during excavations invariably contains a very high content of iron oxide and some reduced metal (and thereby) ... represent unsuccessful or partially successful reductions caused by lack of understanding the role of carbon in reductions.” Bhardwaj 1979 152.

smiths were able to forge the metal “only when a temperature of between 1100 degrees C–1150 degrees C”³⁷ was reached, and thus the level of the working of iron technology was not very high. It required a large amount of fuel and also “furnaces” which have been identified by the excavators, as well as “working floors” for beating the metal to cast and forge it. All this, however, was possible and determined by the availability of iron.

It is pertinent to note in this context that the State Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh had been prolific during the 1980s and 1990s and had conducted very fruitful excavations at several early historical sites in particularly the mid-Godavari region (with special reference to the present-day district of Karimnagar)³⁸ that lie roughly to the north-north-east of the city of Kondapur and which we have elaborately written about elsewhere.³⁹ What is striking for this region as a whole, even during the proto-historic Megalith context preceding the early historic period, is the ability of the economy in these parts to generate iron objects on a large scale. This has been particularly stressed by the excavators.⁴⁰ During the early historic period this tendency is said to have proliferated and it has been pointed out that a “number of ancient iron working spots were located in Karimnagar region” indicated by the discovery of enormous deposits of iron slag and nodules of calcium. Indeed, here it is noted that “the entire hill range is scattered with iron ore.” The above evidence has made Krishnasastry conclude that during the early historical times the iron industry having reached a high watermark “may ... have been practiced as a home industry.”⁴¹ Against this background it is possible to see Kondapur, not as an isolated example of a centre of iron production in the Central Deccan, but as part of a large network of such centres with a common source of iron available on the Deccan Plateau. Considering that many of these settlements on the Plateau were otherwise circumscribed by a limited ecological base with an absence of large river-valley tracts of agricultural land, scholars have emphasized the importance of the role they played in providing raw material and thus stimulating and establishing networks of trade and exchange in necessary items of daily use. It has thus emerged that Kondapur during the early centuries of the Christian era was a substantial

37 Bhardwaj 1979 152.

38 Reported and discussed in detail Krishnasastry 1983.

39 Parasher-Sen 1992 437–477 and more recently while comparing them with those in the lower Krishna Valley Parasher-Sen 2007 231–269.

40 Krishnasastry 1983 107; 153–154.

41 Krishnasastry 1983 153.

settlement with structures housing a definite population involved in metal-lurgy and a plethora of buildings clearly identifiable as religious establishments—their affiliation being multiple.

Beads

With the growth and expansion of internal and external trade on the sub-continent as a whole during the early centuries CE, the existing economic activity at several centres enhanced the production of not only iron objects, but also of other crafts.⁴² Concretely, much has been written about the bead industry at Kondapur.⁴³ It stands out for its bead industry that flourished here on a very large scale. It is said to be a site “unequalled by any other single site in India” where the largest amount of bead materials in hoards have been found in excavation.⁴⁴ Sarkar makes an interesting contrast between this place and others in India where beads for the early historic period have been found. He notes: “the excavations at Nagarjunakonda brought to light 361 beads made, variously of glass, semi-precious stones, terracotta, shell, ivory, coral and faience while Bhir Mound and Sirkap, the two cities of Taxila, yielded 1,763 and 5,534 beads respectively, Kondapur in Andhra Pradesh, accounted for 23,391 beads ...;” and he goes on to explain that the paucity of beads at Nagarjunakonda was partly due to “limited supply and comparatively poorer economic condition of the general people.”⁴⁵ It must be mentioned in this regard that beads in fairly large numbers have been reported from Kosam in Uttar Pradesh and in the Deccan at Paithan in Maharashtra and Maski in Karnataka.⁴⁶ The quantity and variety of beads, however, including beautifully designed earrings, amulets and bangles in terracotta from Kondapur, cannot of course be taken to mean that the industry catered only to the inhabitants of Kondapur and its surrounding areas. Even the local availability of raw material does not explain its thriving here. Perhaps here again the location of Kondapur on an important arterial route, connecting the Krishna-Godavari delta to the Western Deccan via Ter, should be highlighted.⁴⁷ Buddhist monks and merchants may have found this an ideal halting spot on

42 Dikshit 1952 Introduction.

43 A total of nearly 23, 391 beads were discovered here, and many of them were analyzed by Dikshit 1952.

44 Yazdani 1941 179. Dikshit 1952 i.

45 Sarkar 1986 10.

46 Yazdani 1941 177–178.

47 “The system of routes connected Ter with other flourishing indigenous trading centres, viz. Kondapur, Nevasa, Paithan and Nagarjunakonda” according to Chapekar 1969 vi–vii.

their long journeys. Furthermore, it was not simply bead-making that exclusively occupied the craftsmen at Kondapur, the making of terracotta figurines, both animal and human, was another flourishing art practiced here on a considerable scale. Apart from the skill with which these terracottas were modeled, many of their moulds have been discovered which means that this craft flourished as an industry here.⁴⁸ The intricate features and hair styles of the human figurines⁴⁹ not only attest to the artistic skill with which they were made but also give us a fair idea of the ethnic features of at least part of the population that lived here and the fashion styles of the day. Finally, evidence of a highly organized and prolific ceramic industry⁵⁰ is found consisting of ordinary plain pots and saucers for domestic use as well as ornamental pots, urns, incense burners, vases, and so forth⁵¹ for use by different social strata and the occupants of the several religious establishments.

The Ceramics

Some of the ceramics found at Kondapur shows influence of Roman traditions especially in terms of the glazing and shapes of pottery found, apart from pieces of Roman amphorae that have also been reported to have been found during excavation.⁵² Lamps of a certain type attributed to a Roman origin have been written about⁵³ as these were found at many early historic sites including Kondapur.⁵⁴ According to reports of the 2009–2011 excavation the site yielded a “large number of glass vessels indicating Roman influence that indicate the existence of a separate settlement of Romans in Kondapur who had brisk contact and trade with India.”⁵⁵ Certain images too have been identified as having been either brought by foreign merchants or, having been made under influ-

48 Yazdani 1941 176.

49 Based on the features and composure depicted on these faces, Yazdani 1941 Plates VIII, IX and X identifies some of them as Bodhisattava heads.

50 Yazdani 1941 177—They represent several varieties and the report on Kondapur indicates that with their help one can establish a sequence of Indian pottery.

51 KEAR 1940–1941 17.

52 Personal communication from the excavations at Kondapur 2009–2011 by G. Maheshwari.

53 A point first suggested by Deshpande 1963, 603 cited by Margabandhu 2005 24 who writes “they consist of small bowls with straight nozzles, circular holes for oil and circular pipe-shaped horizontal nozzles tapering to a small wick-end.”

54 The lamps of the ‘Ter type’ attributed to a ‘foreign origin’ were of a pan shape equipped with a vertical handle Chapekar 1969 vi.

55 Excavation Work At Kondapur Medak District Andhra Pradesh, Thursday, August 5, 2010. <http://archaeologyexcavations.blogspot.com/2010/08/excavation-work-at-kondapur-district.html> (last accessed October 8, 2011 and September 12, 2014).

ence of the Mediterranean artistic and cultural practices.⁵⁶ By far the greatest impact of this is seen in the clay imitation of coins that were found here. Like at other early historic settlements, “though none of the representations could be identified with specific Roman emperors as depicted on Roman coins, there is striking resemblance in respect to the features and general treatment of the details, indicating that the portraits on the coins were imitated, but not actually copied. Most of them represent imitations of *aurei* or *denarii* of Roman emperors.”⁵⁷ These clay copies of Roman coins have been found in excavated layers called ‘Satavahana’ at Kondapur and other sites.⁵⁸ And finally, a gold coin of Emperor Augustus was also found here during the 1940–1942 excavations⁵⁹ and one of Tiberius during the 2009–2011 excavations.⁶⁰ This Roman-related material found at Kondapur fits in with historiographical dimensions already highlighted as having significant interpretative potential for typifying most of the early historic sites in the Deccan as ‘urban’ especially the coins as they help date many of these sites to tentatively between second century BCE—first century CE. In a general sense Kondapur like other so-called cities of the period was impacted by the economic forces of change and prosperity emanating from the trade and commerce that flourished all over India, including the Deccan, during the early centuries CE. Some of it was generated by early India’s interaction with the Mediterranean and Red sea regions that had been actively involved in trade with the Roman empire during this period.⁶¹ The complex nature of these so-called ‘Roman’ remains, however, raises serious questions about the agency and nature of this contact especially in terms of how these networks of external trade touched hinterland societies (Kondapur being located in one such) and their ability to participate in it directly.⁶²

56 Margabandhu 2005 166, 179–180—There is much discussion on how Indian craftsmen were influenced by Roman techniques and traditions.

57 Margabandhu 2005 177.

58 Dikshit 1949 37.

59 Yazdanin 1941 180.

60 Personal communication from the excavations at Kondapur 2009–2011 by G. Maheshwari.

61 Gupta 2005 140–164.

62 There has been recent interest among scholars in this issue, especially in the fact that many of the early historic sites in the Deccan and South India were still dependent on networks established during the earlier Megalithic context. For instance, even the location of a prolifically excavated site with particularly close contacts to the so-called ‘Roman’ trade like Arikameduis explained in the context of “the local networks within the Indian subcontinent” See Ray 1995 103 for details.

The Coin Finds

By far the most common historiographical assumption about Kondapur handed down to us is it being labeled as 'Satavahana', the name of a family and dynasty that ruled over many parts of the Deccan during the early centuries CE. Undoubtedly, Kondapur during the early historical period was under the influence generated by the formation of the Satavahana state, the first in early India to have a large part of the central, eastern and western Deccan as the nucleus of its power. It must, however, be noted that 'Satavahana/Andhra' came to be adopted by archaeologists as being coterminous with the early historic urban phase in the Deccan.⁶³ However, the simplistic use of this label has to be questioned since it does not enable us to analyze the nature of polity at the local level that must have controlled various activities at Kondapur and other such places.⁶⁴ A critical feature that further helps us identify this character is an unusually substantial quantity of coins of different types that have been found here. First and foremost thousands of punch-marked coins and moulds to which they fitted were discovered,⁶⁵ raising significant questions about their role and circulation in the economy under the Satavahanas as well under the pre-Satavahana rulers. Under the current scope of the data found it is difficult to suggest that they were issued by members of the main ruling family alone. Of significance is the fact that a large number of early Satavahana coins and coin moulds were also found here.⁶⁶ Nearly 2,000 (1,835 to be exact) of the Satavahana coins were reported. Here again, along with their coin moulds during the 1940–1942 excavations,⁶⁷ Yazdani has divided these into three varieties, namely (1) early Andhra issues with well-known symbols but without any writing; (2) some unpublished varieties of the Satavahana dynasty with legends in Brahmi characters; and (3) a large number of other coins of the same dynasty which are identical to those already published.⁶⁸ In 1940 it was of considerable significance that among the Satavahana coins, the one of King Satavahana was used as evidence to indicate that Kondapur could have been their capital. Yet Yazdani concluded that "it appears that the mound was originally the site of

63 Parasher-Sen 2008 316–318.

64 A question extensively addressed by me elsewhere (Parasher-Sen 2007 261–265).

65 KEAR 1940–1941 19–20, Yazdani 1941 180., Dikshit 1952 iii.

66 A total of 1,535 coins were reported at the time of excavation KEAR 1940–1941 16. Along with these, moulds probably used for punch-marked coins were also discovered.

67 Yazdani 1941 180. Similar coins finds have also been reported from the 2009–2011 excavations. Personal communication given by G. Maheshwari.

68 KEAR 1940–1941 19. These coins were considered the most important data for dating the site.

an important Andhra town where coins were minted.”⁶⁹ The discussion of the variety and quantity of coins found at Kondapur cannot be complete unless we also point out the similar features of the coin finds available in the contiguous region from the mid-Godavari sites like Kotalingala, some from a stratified context, and from Peddabankur that have been assessed and analyzed, raising interesting dimensions for a discussion on the early polity of the region.⁷⁰ I.K. Sarma suggests that Peddabankur should also be considered a “mint town” on the basis of a large number of terracotta moulds found here in a stratified context and the existence of hundreds of small die-struck pieces in pots.⁷¹ Krishnasastry, who excavated at this site, locates this mint in Enclosure II, for scores of coins were found in it alongside two hoards of punch-marked coins.⁷² The co-existence and succession of a variety of coin types at these centres leads to one obvious conclusion, namely, that the regional economy was dependent on trade and commercial transactions of a certain magnitude. It also suggests that the social groups involved in this trade were part of heterogeneous polity that operated at different levels of political and economic control—the existence of punch-marked coins clearly indicates this. It is interesting that although Peddabankur and Kondapur stand out as possibly “mint centres” there are so far no clear evidence that they were fortified towns. Dhulikatta and Kotalingala, however, which are situated not very far from each other or from Peddabankur, present substantial evidence of fortified towns. At the former at least some kind of palace complex was located, and at the latter several coins with legends of pre-Satavahana local rulers were found⁷³ Trade in these parts was probably stimulated not so much by an export of agricultural surplus as by the supply of iron objects and other commodities like beads and terracottas.⁷⁴ In contrast to this, Sarkar points out that at Nagarjunakonda, located closer to the coast in the lower Krishna valley, the excavations did not reveal any evidence of iron smelting, and that the iron objects that were found there were probably imported from outside.⁷⁵ It is difficult to determine the exact quantity of such objects exported from Kondapur and other sites, but the existence

69 Yazdani 1941 180.

70 Details of the various views on these discoveries have been analyzed in Sastry 1981 1–16 and Sastry 1979 134–135 and assessed in Parasher-Sen 2007 246–250.

71 Sarma 1980 35.

72 Krishnasastry 1983 139, 200.

73 Krishnasastry 1983 136–138, 125, 132.

74 Krishnasastry 1983 179–185 describes a variety of terracottas found at Dhulikatta and Peddabankur.

75 Sarkar 1986 10–11.

of a large number of coins here indicates definitely the prosperity of the artisan groups located here, who may have also exerted a level of political control.

Conclusions

The data thus far collected from Kondapur reveals complex structural remains along with significant artifacts that sometimes defy the application of a singular convenient label—'Buddhist', 'Roman', 'Satavahana' and, perhaps even 'Urban'—to mark the early historic period at Kondapur. We argue that discourses on the critical relationship between history and archaeology in the south Indian context⁷⁶ have rarely been sensitive to regional contextual situations and local configurations and thus have not posited a viable explanatory model to understand the differentiated urban spaces in hinterland societies like that of the Deccan. As we have shown in detail elsewhere,⁷⁷ sub-regional and local differences begin to get reflected even in the context of the pre- and proto-historic changes in these parts, and so it is erroneous to assume that when archaeological data of the so-called "urban centres" is presented, it proves a uniformity across the Deccan. In having detailed and described urban centres in the Deccan during the early historic period we emphasized that in each case (a) looking at issues of their continuity from the pre-urban stages of their evolution and (b) discussing their spread and nature in terms of the evolution of agrarian growth critically define the character of hinterland societies on the Deccan plateau.

In discussing the wider implications of the case study in this paper, one would concur with Ian Hodder's⁷⁸ concerns that when one is given the task of disseminating the past, the power of theory and method necessarily control and determine the way we depict, interpret and represent the past. These control and support a wide variety of existing explanations on harking back to a past to revel in its essentialized authenticity often to project the glory of the present. Furthermore, to project a high classical and homogenous past has hitherto been done because the celebration of a singular historical identity of a contemporary political state—Andhra Pradesh in the present context—has preoccupied historians and archaeologists alike. Certainly when highlighting an urban landscape there are some features that can be characterized as elite commemorative remains, which are the most visible. But within these there is a divergence and multiplicity that has survived as well. In her introduction to

76 Discussed earlier in Parasher-Sen 2008 313–317.

77 Parasher-Sen, 1992 438–446.

78 Hodder 1986 169.

Archaeologies of the Greek Past Susan Alcock has poignantly elaborated upon how “forgetfulness is as pivotal to this process of remembrance.”⁷⁹ In other words, her essential interrogation of what constitutes relevant data, even at a simplistic level needs attention in a broader material framework so that consequentially one can “examine ... the range of commemorative practices.”⁸⁰ This can only be addressed at a local level of cultural analysis and the pertinent question then is whose or, what cultural remains are being *neglected or left out*.

At Kondapur there was much excavated that was almost automatically and naturally emphasized by the excavators so as to fit the larger conception of what constituted elements of an early urban society. Today the history, art, and culture of the Deccan is historiographically entwined with descriptions of a close association with Buddhism. In the context of the Ganges Valley Anna King points out, “the material remains and their chronologies have often been adapted to fit these descriptions,” impeding our understanding “of the archaeological and cultural materials” themselves.⁸¹ The Museum near the Kondapur mound showcases a varied of stone tools identified as microliths, Neolithic tools, hand axes, copper tools and so on. Did these co-exist with the Buddhist remains? Nobody has asked this question. What were they used for and by whom and most importantly, why have they survived? Archaeologists, however, hurry to explain these as some distant hunting and incipient farming communities that ostensibly disappeared once the early historic period emerged.⁸² In fact, at Peddabankuru, a site lying just north of Kondapur, it was reported that Neolithic ground stone tools, were found at early historic levels suggesting the co-existence of populations with distinct economic identities.⁸³ A survey of the areas around the present day mound of Kondapur has revealed Megalith remains. But blinded by the shine of the ‘rich’ historical data found on the mound, archaeologists have not excavated or studied these. We maintain that apart from the physical configurations of a locality how the nature of the antecedent cultures over-layered or co-existed at particular sites determined their interaction with newcomers and defined the character of their later development. Furthermore, these cultures could persist as ‘non-urban’ forms into the early historical phase, when urbanization is supposed to have reached a

79 Alcock 2002 16.

80 Alcock 2002 2.

81 King 1984 109, 110–111.

82 Krishnasastry 1983 22, 24 points to the existence of microlith tools in abundance from Mesolithic times, through the Neolithic phase and up to early historic times.

83 Parasher-Sen 1992 473.

high-water mark on the sub-continent as a whole between 200 BCE to 300 CE.⁸⁴ We concur with insights provided by other studies done on long-term histories that if there is anything at all that marks out South Asia History it is a “close interaction between groups of people organized in radically different social and economic forms” as in the case of “the sets of relationships between specialized forager-traders, many living in upland environments, and agriculturalists, merchants, and states, many based in the lowlands ... these kinds of relationships have a long history ...”⁸⁵

Kondapur's existence was short-lived and this is something we have to consider in positing tentative interpretations about how the difference and diversity of settlement patterns in hinterland societies should compel us to re-think issues about the permanence and totality of archaeological landscapes. Did it succumb to seismic changes,⁸⁶ perhaps the volcanic activity that is integral to the Deccan land mass?⁸⁷ It is significant to note that no other early historic or early medieval monuments or structures have been found remotely close to it. This absence may be connected to how we define community configurations in a given locality for a given period that could have been, to use Springborg's words, “more transactional”⁸⁸ than the ones we use as models to discuss more concrete manifestations of city life for other regions and zones. In other words, Kondapur apparently had all the given characteristics of an urban environment as delineated by archaeologists but its location defied its solidity and duration of existence. Why have we not been able to retrieve its fortification wall, a common feature of some sites to its north? Why has 'classical' sculptural art intimately connected to the Buddhist ethos of many sites in the Deccan not been found here? These are important questions that should problematize its characterization as a typical urban centre of the Deccan even within conventional scholarship.

Thus it is challenging to deal with the 'realities' revealed by the data to discuss the profile and possible configuration of a 'city' in the larger context of the settlement patterns on the ancient volcanic landscape of the Deccan Plateau. We must begin now to accept that the so-called Buddhist structures lay side by

84 Champakalakshmi 1986 2–3.

85 Morrison 2002 21.

86 Barness 2012 50 informs us that “the landscape of plateaus and cliffs known as the Deccan is the result of a cataclysmic volcanic flooding 65 million years ago (11:39pm).”

87 A point made by D. Jithendra Das, superintending archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Hyderabad Circle, to journalist M. Malleswara Rao, 2008. <http://www.hindu.com/2008/01/12/stories/2008011254960500.htm> (last accessed October 8, 2011)

88 Springborg 1992 6.

side with other material remains that go beyond our conceptions of what we think should be “classical” images of a city only rooted in its Buddhist links, or one that must prove to have “legitimate” origins under dominant supervision of the Satavhanas. The larger materiality reflecting different, less opulent traditions needs to be brought into the canvas so that our understanding of the practice of archaeology and the theoretical burden of incorporating marginal groups can also be addressed while conflating discussions around the ‘city’ in the ancient world. The fundamental question remains. We began this paper with a fictive account. Contemporary debates around De Certeau differentiate between what historians seek to do, namely, to write about what they retrieve as true, which must necessarily be entangled in representation, and the more symbolic realm that concerns the retrieval of reality.⁸⁹ We drew primarily on practicing archaeologists who sincerely pursued their task of retrieving tangible objects and structures at Kondapur, but the reality of Kondapur was also that it was different, its location relatively isolated and yet inclusive. Ironically, its inclusivity can only be retrieved if one raises questions about its absences. This large archaeological mound has yet to be fully excavated, but the enigma of the past hidden underneath hinges on what is not preserved therein. Thus, the potentiality of imagination to retrieve its ‘urban reality’ has a place of in the investigation.

Glossary

Andhras	A term used in the ancient literature to describe the people who lived south of the Vindhya in what we define as the Deccan. The Satavahanas were sometimes known as the Andhra dynasty.
Brahmanical	Referring to the religious practices reflected in early Vedic texts.
<i>Chaityas</i>	A shrine often used to denote assembly or prayer hall that houses a <i>stūpa</i> .
<i>Damaru-shape</i>	Shaped like an hourglass, broad on the top and narrowing as one proceeds below.
Deccan	A majority of the southern part of India that encompasses the present-day provinces of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.
Hinayana	Literally the “lesser vehicle”, a conservative branch of Buddhism, more popularly and preferably referred to as Theravada.
<i>Kalasa</i>	A pot or water-pot used for rituals in Vedic texts.

89 White 2005 147–157.

Kshetra	Literally, 'field' meant to indicate an 'area' or 'region' in this context.
<i>Purnakalasa</i>	An auspicious pot signifying plenty.
Satavahanas	A prominent dynasty that ruled the early historic Deccan and established an empire ca. mid-first century BCE to the third century CE.
<i>Shilpin</i>	Craftsmen/artists.
<i>Stupas</i>	A dome-shaped monument, used to house Buddhist relics or to commemorate significant facts of Buddhism.
Theravada	One of the two great schools of Buddhist doctrine that emphasized the non-theistic ideal for self-purification towards salvation.
<i>Vihara</i>	A Buddhist monastery.

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Abbreviations used in the Bibliography and footnotes are as follows:

- ABORI* *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
- APJA* *The Andhra Pradesh Journal of Archaeology.*
- AA* *Arts Asiatique.*
- ASI* Official website of the Archaeological Survey of India. New Delhi.
http://asi.nic.in/asi_museums_kondapur.asp (last accessed October 8, 2011).
- IESHR* *Indian Economic and Social History Review.*
- IHR* *Indian Historical Review.*
- JNSI* *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
- KEAR* 'Kondapur Excavations', *Annual Report 1940–1941* of Archaeology Department of H.E. the Nizam's Dominions. Hyderabad.
- PAPHC* *Proceedings of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress.*
- PIHC* *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
- RH* *Rethinking History.*

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Monumentalising the Ephemeral in Ancient Rome

Steven Hijmans

In 1988, in his wonderfully meandering article entitled “Conduct without belief and works of art without viewers”¹—an outpouring of erudition so French in style that the English translation rendered it even more arcane—Paul Veyne ranges from the Behistun of Darius to Naples and Madame Bovary as he questions the communicative power of art. In his view

Art belongs to conduct that has no end, no *telos*, that is not understood by its end and not measured by its result. It is not a means of communication, because it is not a means. It is explained by its origin. It expresses itself just in order to express itself, like a fire that burns just to burn and then stops, not when it has obtained a result but when it has exhausted its energy. Expression in itself cannot measure its effects, it can only exhaust itself, from which comes the quantitative importance of art in history, filled with expressions both disinterested and efficacious: pyramids, capitals, ceremonies and tracts. And each one is sensitive to the force expressed if not to the meaning the expressions imply.²

I’m not sure I fully grasp what disinterested and efficacious expressions fill, say, a pyramid—but I take Veyne as my starting point because he is one of the few scholars to have tackled head-on the issue of non-viewing of art in Rome.

Trajan’s Column

I fully agree with Veyne’s assessment of the (in)visibility of the reliefs of the column of Trajan, expressed in the article already mentioned:

Spiraling around [Trajan’s column] is a sculpted frieze whose 184 scenes and one thousand figures illustrate, like a cartoon strip, the conquest of

1 *Diogenes* 36 1–22.

2 Veyne 1988 12.

Dacia by Trajan. Except for the first two spirals, viewers cannot make out these reliefs.³

This is obviously true, as any visitor to Rome knows.⁴ From our modern perspective, it is also surpassingly strange. Why would any artist expend so much energy on intricate imagery if nobody could ever view it? Art that cannot be viewed, one feels, is pointless. Indeed, it is so pointless that many scholars resist the seemingly inescapable fact that almost the whole monotonous frieze on Trajan's column is invisible to the unaided eye (see fig. 6.2). How, then, to reconcile the logical assumption, that the artist's intent was for the images to be viewed, with the empirical fact that a large proportion of the column's images are too small and too high up to be discernable? Sound scholarship demands that assumptions yield to evidence, but in this case much scholarly ingenuity has been expended on attempts to salvage the visibility of these reliefs. The main arguments have been that the use of colour, now lost, made the images stand out more, and that viewing platforms provided a closer view of the upper part of the column.

A combination of colour and higher vantage points would no doubt have improved the visibility of the images, but upon closer examination it is clear that any improvement still fell far short of what would have been needed to render them truly viewable. The viewing platforms, in particular, would not have made as much of a difference as is often thought. If they were built at all (and that is not certain), it would be atop the Corinthian peristyle of 25×20.2 m. that enclosed the column on the East, South, and West sides.⁵ Packer initially concluded that the East and West colonnades supported a coffered ceiling with a timber roof,⁶ but he now accepts that they supported viewing platforms.⁷ The evidence for these balconies remains scant, however, and their existence is predicated to a significant degree on the assumption that

3 Veyne 1988 2.

4 On this difficulty of "reading" the frieze of the column of Trajan, cf. Davies 1997 44–45 (quoting a range of earlier studies) and 58–60, and Veyne 2002. In almost all cases, it has been taken for granted that the inscribed scenes were *meant* to be viewed and an answer is sought to the question *how* that was achieved (Veyne 2002 5–6 n. 10 and 11, gives examples ranging from 1916 to 1996), but cf. Coarelli (2001 145) "In ogni caso la visione completa dei rilievi risultava anche in antico praticamente impossibile".

5 A North side was built initially, but subsequently removed, to integrate Hadrian's temple of Trajan into the complex.

6 Packer 2001 81.

7 Cf. Packer 2008 464 n. 23.

there must have been such platforms, in order to render the upper part of the column viewable.⁸

This argument, in essence circular, does not take into account just how arduous viewing the column would have remained, even if the platforms were in place. Starting at the Northern corner of the West terrace, the viewer could follow the scenes on the scroll until she had reached the Northern corner of the Eastern platform. At this point the absence of a North terrace would force our viewer to retrace her steps to the initial viewing point from where she could repeat the exercise with the next scroll, and so on. To view all scenes in sequence, this would have to be repeated 22 times, bringing the total walking distance to almost 3 km. If that were not exercise enough, there is the added issue that the South platform was 5.70 m. higher than the West and East platforms.⁹ The two staircases needed to connect the platforms would typically have had around 29 steps, further increasing the energy required.

Was this workout worth the effort? That remains very unlikely. The viewer would still have been no higher than the lowest drum of the column, and almost 10 m. away from it. The distance to the upper part of the column was hence still be close to 30 m. At that distance, according to a useful chart of the advertising agency Elliott Design, even well-spaced, coloured *letters*, against a contrasting background, need to be at least 8 cm. high to be visible at all, and should be 25 cm. for real legibility.¹⁰ Elliott Design goes on to stress that size is not even the most important factor. Larger letters with insufficient “white space”, i.e., placed too closely together, are less legible than well-spaced smaller ones, and the difference can be “dramatic”.

A glance is enough to show that the Trajanic reliefs do not meet these legibility criteria. Many of the details—facial features, shield bosses, fortification wall blocks, drapery folds, and so forth—are below the 8 cm. size needed for minimum visibility, and hardly any of the details meet or exceed the 25 cm. benchmark for legibility. Furthermore, the artists were not generous enough with the necessary “white space” to allow the depictions to stand out. Thus significant parts of the column’s frieze remained unreadable even from the rather impractical platforms.

8 Packer (*loc. cit.*) accepts the presence of platforms in view of the “(...) convincing arguments for the legibility of the frieze, and the disagreement by A. Viscogliosi (*JRA* 12 [1999] 605) with my own original reconstruction of the libraries (...)”

9 Packer (*loc. cit.*) puts the floor level of the platforms in front of the libraries at 9.40 m., roughly the same height as the base of the column. The South platform, atop the North aisle of the Basilica Ulpia, was 15.10 m. high.

10 http://www.elliott-design.net/letter_size_chart.htm (last accessed January 6, 2013).

Of course, unviewable imagery was not unprecedented in the Roman world, nor did it apparently trouble ancient viewers. It is noteworthy that none of the later historiated columns (both ancient and modern) that were inspired by Trajan's, had or have viewing platforms.¹¹ It is this latter point that Veyne develops. Drawing on modern parallels—notably the Napoleonic imitation of Trajan's column in the Place Vendôme at Paris—he argues that on all of these columns the reliefs are equally invisible.¹² This invisibility leads Veyne to argue that

it is necessary to sketch out a sociology of art in which the art work, far from conveying an iconography and an ideology, is a decor that we do not even look at, that we can hardly see and that is, however, very important. To any sociological interpretation that makes art an ideology it is legitimate to object: "Who has ever looked at the Vendôme Column? What citizen of Marseilles ever glanced at the reliefs on the Porte d'Aix by David d'Angers?"¹³

I will return to this, but Veyne's point is, essentially, that it does not matter that we cannot see most of the frieze on the column of Trajan because we do not look closely at such art anyway. Such monuments are "made before time, not made before men". In the case of Trajan's column

simply seeing it, everyone felt that space was occupied by a strong power using a language that was not heard but that passed, like the wind, over one's head (...)¹⁴

That ineffable "power" that Veyne highlights, is the power of the column as a whole. He understands its minutely detailed but largely invisible images with reference to our modern reaction to such monuments as the Vendôme column or the arch at Marseille. These images are redundant, he argues, and it is in that very redundancy that their power lies.

11 Besides the column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, there are the columns of Theodosius and Arcadius in Constantinople. Modern imitations include the two columns in front of the Karlskirche in Vienna (early eighteenth century).

12 In the case of the Place Vendôme, those interested in viewing the reliefs could, at one time, arrange to be let down from the top in a basket, this being the only way that they could actually see the details of the carving.

13 Veyne 1988 2.

14 Veyne 1988 11.

From our perspective the images on the Vendôme column are indeed redundant, but we should not project that attitude back to the Romans as easily as Veyne does. We must bear in mind that the redundancy of the images on the modern column is not a nineteenth-century artistic choice. The Vendôme column is first and foremost imperial, endowing the Napoleonic *place* it dominates with Roman insignia of the Empire. Because we recognize it as a copy of a Roman original, we do not wonder what possessed the artists to design and decorate it in this fashion. Roman “design” is so pervasive that we are fully at ease with even its strangest monuments. We are, in fact, stuck in a loop in which strange neo-classical monuments do not faze us because we know them to be inspired by Rome, and conversely strange Roman monuments elicit no surprise because we are already comfortable with their many modern imitations.

Let me illustrate what I mean. When Allen Funt, in an early episode of *Candid Camera*, set up a door in the middle of a sidewalk and filmed people’s puzzled reactions to it, the crowning moment arrived when a gentleman came walking along, so engrossed in his newspaper that he opened the door and passed through it without noticing, walking on another ten or so paces before stopping midstride to stare back in amazement.

Doors in the middle of the sidewalk are strange. Freestanding arches, on the other hand, are Roman and therefore normal. It is their Roman ancestry that legitimizes such strange monuments as the Arc de Triomphe. But what legitimized such arches when the Romans first built them?

Let us turn back, for a moment, from doors and arches without function to art without viewers. Looking back at Trajan’s column, we have already noted that the invisibility of its images presumably did not trouble the Romans—artist and viewer alike—the way it does us, because invisible art was neither rare nor new when the column was erected. Space allows me only one typical example from Rome, but it really is typical: the frieze of *le colonnacce* at the Forum of Nerva (Fig. 6.1). Here the Corinthian columns, placed close to the wall and supporting ressautes, create the illusion of a colonnade, without taking up the space of one (for which there was no room). The columns are 10 m. high, and support an entablature consisting of an architrave (0.775 m.), the frieze (0.775 m.), a cornice (0.98 m.) and a richly adorned attic (3.13 m.). The figures in the frieze are well-spaced and range in size from about 0.30 m. (if seated) to 0.60/0.70 m. Especially if painted, they were no doubt quite discernable, even at a height of 11 m. Smaller details would be indistinguishable, of course, but in general one could expect to see, and recognize, the individual images. But being able to recognize the figures was one thing; viewing the frieze as a whole was another matter. For sheer length this would have been difficult enough, even if



FIGURE 6.1 Rome, Forum of Nerva, section of the South colonnade known as le colonnacce.

the frieze were at eye level. The colonnade itself was over 100m. long on each side, and the frieze was far longer. It meandered from the rear wall along the ressauts to above the columns and then back again to the rear wall, almost doubling its total length to nearly 400m. There must have been between 1000 and 1500 figures in the frieze. Furthermore, one had to stand



FIGURE 6.2 Rome, *Museum of Roman Civilization*. Casts of the reliefs of the Column of Trajan.

quite close to see the resaut-sections, which meant looking steeply upwards. Recent research has shown that the visibility declines rapidly if one has to view at too steep an angle, even without taking into account the strain of craning one's neck.¹⁵ At twice the total length of the scroll around Trajan's column, viewing the whole frieze of Nerva's forum would have been a daunting task even under ideal circumstances. But only a fool would have placed such a frieze at almost 10 m. above eye-level if it was meant to be viewed in any systematic or comprehensive manner. Here too, in any practical sense, viewing the frieze was not possible.

The *Res Gestae*

This problem of invisibility—if it was a problem—is not unique to *Roman* art; the most famous example is perhaps the Parthenon frieze.¹⁶ Nor is the

15 Cai, Green, and Kim 2013.

16 Marconi 2009.

visibility issue a peculiarity of Roman *Art* specifically. We find it in other, ostensibly communicative media as well. As an example, let us turn for a moment to that most famous of all Roman inscriptions: the *Res Gestae* of Augustus. According to the copy in Ankara (*CIL* III, p. 772, line 3), the *Res Gestae* were incised *in duabus pilis aeneis quae su[n]t Romae positae*, i.e., on two pilasters (*stelai* in the Greek version of the inscription) of bronze set up in Rome. Suetonius (*Aug.* 101.4) speaks of bronze *tabulae* (plaques) that were to be placed *ante mausoleum*. Buchner has identified two rectangular foundations to either side of the entrance as the base for the bronze-plated pilasters, which he reconstructs as stelae that were 5 Roman feet (almost 1.5 m.) wide.¹⁷

Is it possible to fit the whole *Res Gestae*—roughly 2600 words totalling over 15,600 letters—onto two such stelae? To calculate how much space easily legible letters would occupy, we need look no further than the *elogia* carved into the marble facing of the mausoleum to either side of the main entrance, honouring other members of the Julian family.¹⁸ A typical letter size for the surviving fragments is about 8 by 7 cm., with around 6 cm. between the lines. That gives us fourteen letters per metre horizontally, and seven lines per vertical metre. Let us assume that the letters covered the stele over almost the full width (1.40 m.) and that both sides of each stele were used for a total of four sides. We can then make the following calculation: $15,600 \div 4 = 3900$ letters per side; 20 letters per line \times 7 lines per vertical metre = 140 letters per vertical metre. $3900 \div 140 = 27.85$. This means that if each line was 1.40 m. long, and the same letter size and proportion was used as for the *elogia*, the inscribed portion of each stele would have to be 27.8 m. high—an obvious impossibility. If we reduce the letters of the *Res Gestae* to a quarter that height (i.e. to 2.3 cm.) and maintain the same proportions, we arrive at 70 letters per line and 30 lines vertically, i.e. 2100 letters per vertical metre. Each inscription would then still be almost 2 m. high on each stele, which means that if one includes a base of about 0.7–1.0 m., the top lines would be a metre or more above the top of an adult viewer's head. Of course we can fiddle more with the parameters. Buchner proposes letters of 1.5 cm. high, leading to an inscribed surface, on each of the four sides, of 1.40 m. high. Whatever proportions one chooses, the end result shows clearly that the decision to restrict the inscription to two stelae significantly limited its legibility. It is worth glancing a moment at the surviving inscriptions in Ankara to get a better sense of just

17 Buchner 1996 167–168.

18 Panciera 1991.



FIGURE 6.3 *Ankara; Monumentum Ancyranum, section of the Latin text of the Res Gestae.*

how remarkable this choice was. The Latin inscription in Ankara is inscribed on the inner walls of the porch of the temple in six wide columns of text, that extend upward far above eye-level, with letters of less than 2.5 cm. height (Fig. 6.3).¹⁹ The Greek translation covers a 30 m. stretch of wall along the side of the temple, and is written in equally small letters. This is far larger than the space allotted apparently to the *Res Gestae* in Rome, but even in Ankara it would be a daunting task to actually read the whole text.

In terms of legibility the modern rendition of the inscription that runs along the base of the Ara Pacis museum in Rome presents the only realistic solution (Fig. 6.4). Why did Augustus not do the same, and have the *Res Gestae* inscribed along the base of the mausoleum? The question is unanswerable so long as we continue to treat the inscription exclusively as *text*, to be read. But perhaps we should not see the stone or bronze slab merely as bearer of words by happenstance and, as such, itself of no consequence. Instead, we could see it as the monument upon which specific meanings are inscribed by the engraved text. That physicality is often lost on us, because we access the *Res Gestae Divi*

19 The lowest lines of the text are about 2.50 m. above the floor-level, and the text-columns are around 2.70 m. high.



FIGURE 6.4 Rome, Ara Pacis Museum, *Res Gestae* Inscription

Augusti as a book that typically devotes 20-odd pages to a transcription of the inscribed text.²⁰ This ensures optimal legibility, but completely divorces the text from its monumentality in the process.²¹

There is nothing wrong, of course, with transcribing, disseminating, and studying the text of Augustus' *Res Gestae*, but we must take care not to project our priorities on the court of Augustus. Reading the text was not a priority when the monument was first erected, for if it had been, limiting the text to two bronze columns or tablets must be the worst possible choice the Romans could have made. There is no compelling reason why the surface area of the text had to be so limited and we can only conclude that the primary function of the inscription must have been something other than making the text of the *Res Gestae* available for literate Romans to read.²²

20 As in e.g. Brunt and Moore 1967 or Cooley 2009.

21 The fourteenth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, held in Berlin from August 27th–31st, 2012, focused on precisely this issue.

22 This does not mean that the text of the *Res Gestae* was hard to obtain in antiquity. Copies, presumably on scrolls, were sent to various cities in the Empire, including of course Ankara, Apollonia, and Antioch, where portions of the locally inscribed copies survive. How many other cities received copies of the *Res Gestae* is hard to say, but it seems to me likely that most major sanctuaries for the cult of Augustus received a copy. If they followed Rome's lead and inscribed the text on bronze tablets for display, that would explain why none of those inscriptions survive. As for the scrolls on which the text was sent to them, they were presumably stored in the local library or archive.

Paul Veyne's rejection of art as a means for expressing *ideology*²³ ("Who has ever looked at the Vendôme Column?") now seems somewhat problematic. After all, who would say—and I paraphrase—that the obvious illegibility of many inscriptions (who has ever stopped to read the whole *Res Gestae*?) shows that it is necessary to sketch out a sociology of text in which text, far from being lexical and conveying an ideology, is a decor that we do not even look at, that we can hardly hear and that is, however, very important? The fact that the monumental *Res Gestae* inscription, like so many inscriptions, prioritized the monument as a whole at the expense of the text's accessibility, does not call into doubt the communicative capacity of language. As for Roman art, its strict, indeed restrictive, iconographic rules, adapted in part from Greek practices and strictly applied for half a millennium or more, are more than ample evidence of its communicative power and, by extension, purpose.

The Response of Roman Viewers

It is precisely for that reason that the Roman cityscape is starting to look rather strange: inscriptions that cannot really be read, detailed friezes too long and too small for viewing, and columns and arches bereft of any architectural function, adorned with a vast number of highly detailed images that nobody could see. This is not the stuff of propaganda, a point Veyne emphasizes, but neither can it be classified as an essential trait of art, as Veyne would have it. In fact, I do not lump these monuments together to suggest that there is a single, unified answer to the questions they raise. What they do have in common is this strangeness, the result of an apparent divergence of our expectations from theirs, that suggests that on crucial points Roman thinking about and viewing of such prominent components of the cityscape, differed from ours.

Exploring and analysing these differences in any detail falls beyond the scope of this article, but in this final part, I will put forward a few suggestions about what Romans may have thought of such monuments. We must ask ourselves first what, in a Roman's mind, an image actually was. Plato, of course, had mounted a frontal attack on mimetic art, notably in the final book of the *Republic*. Paintings are not the real thing, and they lead us away from the realm of ideas. Works of art are a lie, pretending to be something they are not, and hence

23 To be understood in the looser, more conceptual sense of *idéologie*, i.e., "L'Ensemble des représentations dans lesquelles les hommes vivent leurs rapports à leurs conditions d'existence (culture, mode de vie, croyance)" as the Larousse defines it.

cannot contribute to knowledge. But this view did not go unchallenged—art, after all, flourished in Greece and Rome. It comes as no surprise to find that Philostratus, writing under the Severan dynasty (193–235 CE), opens his series of brief descriptions of paintings with what appears to be a direct attack on Plato.

Whosoever scorns painting is unjust to truth; and he is also unjust to all the wisdom that has been bestowed upon poets (...) and he withholds his praise from symmetry of proportion, whereby art partakes of reason.²⁴

A bit further on he describes the purpose of his book

The present discussion, however, is not to deal with painters nor yet with their lives; rather we propose to describe examples of paintings in the form of addresses which we have composed for the young, that by this means they may learn to interpret paintings and to appreciate what is esteemed in them.²⁵

This is followed by a deceptively straightforward series of descriptions, purportedly of paintings in an unnamed villa in what is vaguely described as some suburb of Naples. The descriptions purport to be ecphraseis given on the spot to a group of ten-year-olds (!), but this is not a guide-book to actual paintings—one does not write guide-books to “some collection, somewhere.” In reality these paintings probably didn’t exist, and even if they did, Philostratus did not intend his readership to be viewing actual paintings along with the book. On the contrary, at the very outset of the first description he commands his audience: *Apoblepson!* Look away from the painting(s)!

Have you noticed, my boy, that the painting here is based on Homer, or have you failed to do so because you are lost in wonder as to how in the world the fire could live in the midst of water? Well then, let us try to get at the meaning of it. *Turn your eyes away from the painting itself so as to look only at the events on which it is based.* Surely you are familiar with the passage in the *Iliad* where Homer makes Achilles rise up to avenge Patroclus, and the gods are moved to make battle with each other.²⁶

24 Philostrat. *Imag.* 1 introd. (394K). Translated by A. Fairbanks in the Loeb Classical Library.

25 Philostrat. *Imag.* 1 introd. (395K). Translated by A. Fairbanks in the Loeb Classical Library.

26 Philostrat. *Imag.* 1.1 (396K). Translated by A. Fairbanks in the Loeb Classical Library. Italics indicate my emphasis.

The Greek is actually a bit more sweeping: *σὺ δὲ ἀπόβλεψον αὐτῶν, ὅσον ἐκεῖνα ἰδεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ γράφη*—“But you, now, look away from these things here, in order to see those things there, from which the painting (is derived).” This is the ultimate example of invisible art, when the audience is commanded to avert its gaze from paintings that are absent to begin with. One may be tempted to see this simply as a justification for the book—we can make do without the actual painting because we are to look away from it anyway—but Philostratus’ command is far too unsettling for that. With it he sets the stage for what is in many respects a provocative enquiry into the ontological status of images. It is true that at the surface his *ecphraseis* are straightforward, virtuoso displays of his erudition, and exacting tests of ours: do we recognize enough of the vast array of cultural references and quotes to visualize the image Philostratus wants us to see in our mind’s eye? But in the process, Philostratus subverts the three basic agents that jointly construct an image’s meanings: the artist, the viewer, and the shared social and semiotic codes that allow the former to express, and the latter to apprehend meanings through the shared image. In the *Imagines* there are in fact three ‘artists’. The first is the fictitious artist, never actually named, whose work Philostratus ostensibly describes. The second is Philostratus himself, who in the guise of the expert viewer, provides the elements out of which the third artist, each member of his audience, actually pieces together a virtual image in her mind’s eye. In effect, Philostratus’ art is the exact opposite of the invisible art we dealt with previously, for his paintings do not exist but are meant to be “seen”, whereas the art we have focussed on so far, did exist, but largely out of sight.

However vividly one may be able to visualize these “paintings” that Philostratus evokes, they nonetheless remain products of our imagination. Consequently they lack the restrictions imposed on real paintings. Philostratus exploits that fact by describing how the imagined paintings do things or have properties that in reality paintings lack: he has us hear, smell, touch, even taste elements of the scenes depicted on these paintings as they are evoked in our mind’s eye, while figures move seemingly at will.

This is not the place to explore in greater detail what Philostratus intended to achieve or provoke with these vignettes. For our purposes it is enough to focus on the key issue of the ontological status of the image itself, which in my view is also a key concern for Philostratus. For there *is* no image, and yet the ‘images’ in the mind’s eye that his *ecphraseis* construct are visual, not verbal in nature. This is particularly clear in the fourth of the descriptions in Book 1, on the Nile. This description opens with the reclining river deity, about whom little dwarves or babes are clambering. These *pēcheis* are, in visual shorthand, the personifications of the little streams and rivulets which augur the arrival of

the river's seasonal flooding. As such, they belong to the realm of the visual, not the verbal. The description then subtly moves away from the statue to a more sweeping vista of the river which our gaze follows back to the source, where a divinity stands tall after releasing the flood. There is nothing discordant in the verbal description, but from a visual perspective, in the Roman context, it is an iconographic impossibility. Philostratus has conflated the two well-known, but mutually exclusive modes of depicting the Nile-in-flood in Roman art: the river-god type with babes, which is always three-dimensional, and the two-dimensional panoramic riverscape of which the mosaic in Palestrina is the most famous example.²⁷

In this case the transgression is not against the laws of physics, as with the moving figures and the like, referred to above. This time the description clashes with the strict iconographic conventions and rules that governed Roman art (and on which Philostratus depended). The joke is on those in the audience who "see" the image in their mind as described, without realizing that no such image actually existed.²⁸

Playing with the mind's eye of his audience in this manner, one can imagine the discussions Philostratus provoked. If a text could evoke such vivid images in one's mind, can one then deny their existence, however fleeting? But what type of existence was that? In a world that took a very material view of sight and vision, that was tantamount to asking how the "image" could *be* and *not-be* at the same time. I am not suggesting that Philostratus intended his *Imagines* to be the stuff of serious philosophy; an audience of deipnosophistic dilettanti seems more likely. My point is that his vignettes, through their probing of the *being* of an image, show how unresolved the question was.

It is well known, of course, that Romans felt that some essence of the depicted could reside in the depiction. The ability of art to physically affect viewers fascinated the Greeks and Romans too. Stories abounded illustrating this ability of art to engage. Not surprisingly these tend to be erotic—relating of men seduced by statues of Aphrodite, for example, or sculptures breaking the hearts of their sculptors—for this capacity of (erotic) art to physically arouse must have bowled people over when it was first experienced. But this physical

27 On Nile-depictions in the Roman world, cf. Versluys 2002. On the incompatibility of the two Nile-types in one image, cf. Moffitt 1997.

28 I am relying primarily on an argument from silence here—the absence of any extant images comparable to the one Philostratus describes—reinforced by a sense that combining the two Nile-in-flood types in that manner would be tautological.

agency of art went far beyond the erotic. One need but think of the crosses Christians carved in the eyes of pagan statues to keep the demons locked within.

This brings us very close to what van Eck (2010) calls Living Presence Response, the treating of objects as if they were living beings. It flies in the face of our own, unspoken assumptions concerning what an image really *is*, and how it relates, and is related to, its meaning(s). We routinely think of images as representations, divorced from their material form. That is the point Magritte makes when he writes *ceci n'est pas une pipe* below a painting of a pipe. But that relationship between image and imaged is not self-evident. One need but think of the iconoclast movements in eighth-century Byzantium, which the iconodules did not counter by divorcing the image from its matter. On the contrary, then as now Orthodox Christians insisted that the essence of an icon resides not only in who or what is represented, but also in how the icon came to be. Simply put, an icon cannot be produced mechanically, but must be the outcome of a process of prayer, meditation, and spiritual engagement with the saint to be depicted, because the actual physical object that constitutes the icon is also integral to its meanings. It is not a piece of skilful craftsmanship produced to bear the image; it is a piece of spiritual craftsmanship produced to embody some essence of the saint or saints whose image it bears.²⁹ Object and image are one.

To translate this to the Roman cityscape, let us return one more time to Trajan's column, and this time compare it to Nelson's Column on Trafalgar Square. The latter commemorates Lord Nelson as British naval hero in general, but in particular, through its placement alone, as victor at Trafalgar. In that sense we have here two victory columns, very similar but with a significant difference: the British column is without adornment. To us the notion that Nelson's column is associated with Trafalgar comes easily. But could Trajan's column, if it had been unadorned, still commemorate the Dacian campaigns? That is not an easy question to answer, but I think not. It would require a severing of the connection between message and medium that was foreign to Rome. For if my reading of Philostratus is right, then a major subtext in his work is problematizing this connection, and that would be pointless if nobody assumed it existed in the first place.

29 On current attitudes towards icons, cf. the useful articles in the *Theory* section of the new, online *Orthodox Arts Journal*.



FIGURE 6.5 *Attic red-figured Oinochoe, around 430 BCE, from Locri. Berlin, Altes Museum F2414*

Conclusions

Most Romans, then, tended to see an image and its conveyer as a single whole, that is, as an embodiment of that which it depicted. The column of Trajan, in this view, embodied the victories over the Dacians which were carved into it. It follows that the column of Trajan was not intended to represent, in the sense of “stand for”, the Dacian victories, nor to narrate the events. It *re-presents*, that is to say, it makes present the distant war and thus integrates the victory into the fabric of Trajan’s forum. Likewise the Nerva-frieze is not a long row of figures, intrinsically meaningless until a viewer’s gaze determines what they represent. Rather, it embodies the myths of Minerva and weaves them into the fabric of her forum. In similar vein I would argue that the inscription of the *Res Gestae* integrates Augustus’ deeds into his monument, with the viewer seeing in them not a text to be read, but as one component of the organic essence of the mausoleum, and hence of the fabric of the city of Rome.

This is a shift in emphasis, no more, but one that gives the image or text an independent reality which empowers it to be meaningful without being parsed. It was not what the text said exactly, that determined its role; it was the fact that the text said it that transformed the slabs onto which it was inscribed into an embodiment of all that it narrated. Thus the purpose of incorporating the text of, say, the *Res Gestae* in the mausoleum of Augustus was not to make it accessible and disseminate it among the public. It was to integrate Augustus' deeds and his voice into his memorial.

Is it, then, as Veyne says, that simply seeing that the text was there, "everyone felt that space was occupied by a strong power using a language that was not heard but that passed, like the wind, over one's head (...)"³⁰ I think this underestimates the importance of the content of that language that was not heard, and of the knowledge that with sufficient effort the details of this language could be apprehended, if desired. It was not "a strong power" that occupied the mausoleum, it was Augustus, whose deeds and voice, image, and ashes had been transformed, by the mausoleum complex, into a permanent part of the cityscape.

This notion of embodiment, which removes the separation between depiction and depicted and, like the orthodox icon, considers them to be unified in the physicality of the depicting object, may be a small shift in emphasis, but it has considerable conceptual consequences for the urban landscape. Just like the column of Trajan, any statue erected in the city does not represent, but re-presents the person depicted. The countless statues that dotted Rome, in this view, were then more than memorials. Each transformed the fleeting presence of some *summa femina* / *summus vir* in Rome into a permanent one. Arches, likewise, gave permanent shape and presence to the ephemeral deeds they commemorated.

Sound scholarship demands that assumptions yield to evidence. What I hope to have achieved with this article is to show that there are fruitful lines of enquiry that can lead to insight into the reasons behind Rome's willingness to countenance unviewable art and illegible inscriptions. Further steps along these and similar paths will, I am sure, enhance our understanding of this enigmatic aspect of Roman visual culture.

30 Veyne 1988 11.

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PART 2

City as Space II: Landscapes in Literature



Future City in the Heroic Past: Rome, Romans, and Roman Landscapes in *Aeneid* 6–8

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Arma virumque canō?

“Arms and the Man I sing ...”¹ So Vergil begins his epic tale of Aeneas, who overcomes tremendous obstacles to find and establish a new home for his wandering band of Trojan refugees. Were it metrically possible, Vergil *could* have begun with “Cities and the Man I sing,” for Aeneas’ quest for a new home involves encounters with cities of all types: ancient and new, great and small, real and unreal. These include Dido’s Carthaginian boomtown (1.419–494), Helenus’ humble neo-Troy (3.349–353) and Latinus’ lofty citadel (7.149–192).² Of course, central to his quest is the destiny of Rome, whose future greatness—empire without limit (1.277–278)—Jupiter prophesies to Venus as recompense for the destruction of her beloved Troy, but whose foundation ultimately depends on Aeneas’ success at establishing a foothold in Italy (1.257–296). Although Rome’s (notional/traditional) foundation will occur several centuries after Aeneas’s final victory, Vergil has his hero interact with the future city in several ways, including two well-known passages. In the first (8.95–369) he tours Evander’s Pallanteum, the physical site of future Rome, taking delight in his surroundings and learning local lore (8.310–312, 359), yet he fails to perceive that this

1 Verg. A. 1.1. For Vergil’s *Aeneid*, I have used Mynor’s 1969 *OCT*; all translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated. Portions of this essay have been presented as talks between April 2009 and February 2012 (Rutgers and Temple colloquia, 2009; *Urban Dreams and Realities*, University of Alberta 2011; CAAS 2011; APA 2011 and 2012; Loyola Marymount University 2012; and New England Historical Association 2012). Thanks to Adam Kemezis, his anonymous readers, and friends and colleagues who have provided comments and encouragement on earlier versions: Timothy O’Sullivan, Martha Davis, Lowell Edmunds, Sarah Morris, Robert Gurval, Laura Samponaro, Barbara Gold, Carole Newlands, and especially Joseph Farrell, a gifted scholar and generous mentor in all things Vergilian who set me on my journey through Vergil’s Elysium in his *Aeneid* VI seminar (Upenn, Spring 1998), and has kindly corrected my path here and there since then. Any faults that remain are my own.

2 Morwood 1991 212–216.

place will become *the* imperial metropolis. In the other (8.625–731) he examines a creation of Vulcan, a shield engraved with vignettes of Rome's future history from Romulus to Augustus triumphant, the action-packed imagery of which Aeneas also fails to comprehend (8.730).³ Of course, references to Rome (and its culture) are not restricted to Jupiter's prophecy and the iconic events in *Aeneid* 8: James Morwood cogently argues that, elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, Vergil's descriptions of, or allusions to, structures built or rebuilt by Augustus give Rome a strong presence *throughout* the poem.⁴ The present essay expands upon his concept in significant ways to argue that Augustan Rome—its history, its aristocratic culture, and the city itself—is *completely* present, albeit in palimpsestic form, in *Aeneid* 6–8.

The first section, "Rome in the Underworld," demonstrates that Vergil's description of Elysian topography, combined with Anchises' censorial activities in *Aeneid* 6, characterizes this section of the Underworld as a 'premortal' version of Rome's underlying landscape in which important religious and political activities take place simultaneously. The second section, "A Didactic City-Walk," examines the visual inspiration for the Parade of Heroes (also *Aeneid* 6), and how Vergil's descriptions and groupings of Rome's future leaders allow his audience to visualize Anchises leading Aeneas through key commemorative zones in Rome's (future) historic center, areas heavily populated by statues of great men in Vergil's day.⁵ This section concludes with an examination of the simultaneously chiasmic and linear structure of themes, activities, people and topography through which Anchises, Aeneas and the Sibyl 'travel' on their journey of discovery. The last section, "Palimpsestic Rome," explores the features of Latinus' city (*Aeneid* 7), the terrain of Evander's Pallanteum (*Aeneid* 8), and the cityscapes engraved on Aeneas' shield (*Aeneid* 8) which, when (re-)integrated with the 'premortal' Rome of *Aeneid* 6, comprise a comprehensive vision of Augustan Rome, its aristocratic culture, and its future-perfect history.

3 For a close reading of the shield's scenes: McKay 1998. Additional bibliography on the shield: Vella 2004 6 n. 23.

4 Morwood 1991 218–222. He also notes that these passages celebrate the *Princeps* as builder. Among other prominent Augustan building projects in Rome, Morwood mentions Augustus' restoration of the Temple of Apollo at Cumae and his renewed sanctuary to Apollo at Actium to support his argument that "Augustus the builder is one of the great heroes of the *Aeneid*." For a more recent, and different, view of *Aeneid* 6, Apollo's temples, and Augustan building programs (among other things), see Pandey 2014; also, Bell 2008, who finds these and additional alignments between the activity of Augustus and Aeneas.

5 Austin 1977 232–233 and Leach 1999 126 (quoted in n. 109 below) also draw a brief and general comparison between the *Heldenschau* and a didactic walk among the various groups of statues in Rome.

Part I: Rome in the Underworld

Vergil's account of Aeneas' visit to Elysium (6.638–898)—particularly the *Heldenschau*, or Parade of (future) Roman Heroes (6.703–887)—is rich with overlapping imagery and interconnected concepts. It has stimulated much scholarly discussion about its meaning and sources of inspiration: philosophical, literary, cultural and visual.⁶ For instance, Norden saw the *Heldenschau* as an imitation of Homer's *teichoscopia* (*Il.* 3.121–244), the catalogue of Achaean heroes.⁷ In 1965, Skard argued that Vergil modeled the *Heldenschau* on aristocratic funeral processions (based on eschatological elements in *Aeneid* 6 and a reference to the funeral of Marcellus at 6.860–885).⁸ Some scholars have elaborated on Skard's thesis, arguing that the *Heldenschau* reflects the Roman practice of having actors represent noble ancestors at aristocratic funerals by wearing their *imagines* (ancestor masks) and magisterial robes;⁹ others have noted that Anchises' praise of certain heroes evokes eulogies extolling ancestral achievements delivered at Roman funeral assemblies.¹⁰ Meanwhile, visual and thematic elements that do *not* fit the funereal model are often passed over; reinterpreted as a clever inversion of the aristocratic funeral;¹¹ or used as evidence for otherwise unattested developments in aristocratic funerary practice in the later Republic.¹² Meanwhile, others have focused on the visual sources from which Vergil drew inspiration for his heroes' descriptions, such as works of art on public display and numismatic designs.¹³

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- 6 On aspects of the *Heldenschau* see: Delaruelle 1913; Hurlbut 1920; Camps 1959; Williams 1964; Otis 1964 297–312; Skard 1965; Highet 1972, *passim*; Harrison 1978; Burke 1979; Austin 1986, esp. 202–278; Bacon 1986; Brenk 1986; Feeney 1986; Novara 1987; Grebe 1989; Habinek 1989; Hardie 1990; Bettini 1991; Goold 1992; Braund 1997; Flower 1997 109–114; Zetzl 1997; Bartsch 1998; Gleis 1998; Lefèvre 1998; Leach 1999 125–129; Ahl 2007 372–382; Geiger 2008, esp. 50–51; O'Sullivan 2011 74–76; Molyviati 2011; Kondratieff 2012; Johnston 2012 454–462; and Pandey 2014.
- 7 Norden 1957 312. In Homer's *teichoscopia*, or “viewing from the walls” (*Il.* 3.121–244), Priam calls Helen to his vantage point on the walls above the Skaian Gates to identify the Achaean heroes assembling in the Trojan plain.
- 8 Skard 1965 56 rejects Norden's *teichoscopia* theory in favor of his own *pompa funebris* theory (Skard 1965 53–65). On Roman aristocratic funerals in general: Flower 1997 91–127; Favro and Johanson 2010 recreate the topographic and sensorial context(s) of Roman aristocratic funeral processions.
- 9 Novara 1987; Flower 1996 109–110; cf. Habinek 1989 236; Bettini 1991 142–150; Molyviati 2011.
- 10 Flower 1996 110–114, cf. 128–158 on *laudationes*.
- 11 Burke 1979.
- 12 Flower 1996 122–125.
- 13 Delaruelle 1913; Leach 1999 126; Pandey 2014 focuses on post-Vergilian readings of Augustus' *Summi Viri* monument in the Forum Augustum.

The variety and vigor of modern approaches to Aeneas' *katabasis* is a testament to Vergil's skillful interweaving of multiple themes and ideas in this passage. Indeed, there is an excellent reason for which Vergil has Aeneas depart the Underworld through the Gate of Ivory, the Portal of False Dreams (6.893–898): what Aeneas has experienced cannot be easily categorized, much less replicated in the real world. For instance, he has seen Anchises, like a tone-on-tone tapestry, shift and shimmer through a number of different roles: expounder of eschatology, philosopher of metempsychosis, hellacious tour guide, persuasive *paterfamilias*, mourner for Marcellus and, as recently argued, 'proto-censor' of the *populus Romanus*, a role which helps define the topography of Elysium as a shadowy reflection of Rome's primordial, yet distinctive landscape.¹⁴ Other clues for this interpretation of Elysium's topography come from the heroes, who simultaneously reflect aspects of Roman religious ritual, political and military culture and—through Vergil's descriptions and arrangements of them—call to mind honorific statues and whole commemorative zones in the city.¹⁵ The following discussion will therefore focus on elements of activity, culture and topography in Vergil's Underworld that, collectively, indicate that Rome is 'spiritually present' there, waiting to be born (or reborn?) along with the 'buzzing swarm' of heroes who will take her from small beginnings to *imperium sine fine*, dominion without end.

*Roman Topography in Elysium*¹⁶

Aeneas' personal encounter with Rome begins well before he arrives at Evander's Pallanteum (8.98f.), whether in cityscapes and buildings that evoke Augustus' building program, or through allusions to Romans and their customs.¹⁷ Indeed, enough such references occur throughout the first half of the *Aeneid* that elements of Rome *and* Roman cultural practices are never far from view; even in the hellish environment of Tartarus, the Sibyl points out punishments

14 Kondratieff 2012; on Anchises' discussion of metempsychosis (transmigration of souls), see Harrison 1978.

15 Leach 1999 125–126, with conclusions that I had also come to before reading her work.

16 For the following discussion with different emphases and details: Kondratieff 2012 122 and 128–133.

17 Scholars differ on *where* Aeneas first encounters Rome, especially *Augustan* Rome. Morwood 1991 212–213 and 222 n. 5 argues that—for actual cityscapes—it begins at Dido's bustling Carthage, which appears Roman in layout and recalls Augustus' building program in Rome (for Zanker 1988 147–148, Dido's city evokes Julius Caesar's new colony founded on the ruins of Carthage in 46). Pandey 2014 argues that Aeneas' encounter with Augustan Rome begins at Apollo's Cumaean temple (A. 6.9–41). See also n. 18, below.

for distinctly Roman crimes (6.237–636).¹⁸ But the city itself, and its topography, swiftly comes into focus once Aeneas enters Elysium (at 6.638), and is in full view once Anchises begins to instruct Aeneas via the *exempla* of souls awaiting rebirth as Rome's future leaders (6.703–887, esp. 6.759).

Upon entering Elysium, Aeneas and the Sibyl encounter an assemblage of Trojan heroes who foreshadow the *Heldenschau*, including Troy's founding father, Dardanus, son of Jupiter (6.648–650).¹⁹ These souls have reached a stable, purified state and are therefore not awaiting rebirth.²⁰ Rather, they engage in activities enjoyed in life (6.640–647): exercising, competing in sport, or practicing musical skills, all in a beautiful field (*campus*: 6.640–641) with a grassy *palaestra* (*in gramineis ... palaestris*: 6.642), and an area of golden sand (*fulva harena*: 6.643) nearby.²¹ Aeneas observes in the distance grounded arms, empty chariots, and untethered horses grazing peacefully (6.651–653).²² Surely these verbal-visual cues put Vergil's audience in mind of Rome's Campus Martius, its open areas used for military training and sporting events. These include the *lusus Troiae* (the Trojan Game), an equestrian spectacle frequently performed for Augustus by boys and young men; its performance for Anchises' funeral at 5.545–602, as Andrew Feldherr notes, explicitly connects the epic past to the Augustan present.²³ Thus, Trojans, horses and weapons at rest in Elysium not only represent post-*lusus* relaxation and a reminder of Anchises' recent funeral, but also symbolically link the “fields of gold” in the Underworld to the Field of Mars in Augustan Rome.

18 Berry 1992 notes that, in his visit to the Underworld, Aeneas moves “from Greece to [contemporary] Rome” when the Sibyl shows him denizens of Tartarus tormented for Roman-style crimes, whether generic, i.e., cheating a *cliens* (A. 6.609), or historically significant, i.e., L. Catilina and M. Antonius betraying their *patria* (A. 6.621–624). On Vergil's “inferno,” see Putnam 1988.

19 Verg. A. 6.648–653: *hic genus antiquum Teucrici, pulcherrima proles, / magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis, / Illusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor*. Aeneas is descended from Jupiter as well, from Erechthonius to Capys to Anchises to Aeneas (Jupiter's great-great-grandson); cf. A. 6.123. Venus is presented as Jupiter's daughter in the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*; Aeneas thus boasts a double dose of Jovian blood, making him 9/16ths divine.

20 Leach 1999 124 and refs.

21 Verg. A. 6.640–644: *largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit | purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt. | pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris, | contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena; | pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt*.

22 Verg. A. 6.651–653: *arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis; | stant terra defixae hastae passimque soluti | per campum pascuntur equi*.

23 Feldherr 1995 263–264.

A more direct allusion to Rome's topography occurs when the Sibyl asks the poet Musaeus where Anchises 'lives' using an antiquated legal-sacral formula that evokes the Augustan *urbs* (6.670; Map 7.1): "Which neighborhood (*quae regio*) houses Anchises, and at what location (*quis locus*)?"²⁴ This image of Augustan Rome's cramped and crowded residential quarters rapidly fades, however, when Musaeus gives a reply that defines *his* landscape as lacking houses (6.673–675): "No one has a house (*domus*) you can point to; we inhabit darkling groves (*lucis ... opacis*), and dwell upon the cushions of riverbanks (*riparumque toros*) and meadows freshened by streams (*prata recentia rivis*)."²⁵ To some, Musaeus' response is a typical poetic description of Elysium; but it also redirects Vergil's audience to envision another area of Augustan Rome. The collocation of *luci*, *ripae* and *prata* strongly evokes the sacred landscape of the southern Campus Martius with its ancient groves (*luci*) bounded by the Tiber's curving banks (*ripae*) and the Flaminian meadows (*prata Flaminia*). The last item requires elaboration: although the *prata Flaminia* had been transformed, generations before Vergil's time, into the Circus Flaminius—a venue for plebeian games, general assemblies, and Roman triumphs, all bounded by numerous temples—the district just west of the Capitoline was still known by this ancient toponym.²⁶ Perhaps more significant is that a sacred grove (*lucus*) known as the Apollinar and dedicated to the cult of Apollo Medicus was situated *within* the *prata Flaminia* near the banks (*ripae*) of the Tiber.²⁷ In Vergil's day, the Apollinar was home to the newly rebuilt temple of Apollo Medicus (Sosianus). Although C. Sosius began the reconstruction in the late 30s to commemorate his Judean victories (34 BCE), the temple's interior frieze depicts

24 Verg. A. 6.670: *quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus?* Austin 1986 211 ad loc. with bibliography notes that this derives from an archaic sacral-legal formula, and points to similar phrasing at: Plaut. *Rud.* 227; Lucil. 189M; Lucr. 2.534 and 4.786; and Macrob. *Sat.* 3.9.10 (reporting a *devotio*). See also Ahl 2007 373 ad loc. NB: in Vergil's day, Rome was still divided into four regions; Augustus would divide it into fourteen in 7 BCE.

25 Verg. A. 6.673–675: *nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis, / riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis / incolimus*. See also Johnston 2012 449 ad loc.

26 Livy 3.54.15, referring to the restoration of the tribunate of the plebs in 449 BCE, writes that *ea omnia in pratis Flaminii concilio plebis acta, quem nunc circum Flaminium appellant* ("all these things were done by the Council of the Plebs in the Flaminian Meadows, which now [the Romans] call the Circus Flaminius"); Platner Ashby 1929 432; *NTDAR* 83 s.v. "Circus Flaminius"; *MAR* 86–87 s.v. "Circus Flaminius," noting that the area was just west of the Capitoline Hill.

27 Liv. 3.63: *in prata Flaminia, ubi nunc aedes Apollinis est—iam tum Apollinare appellant ...*

the triple triumph in 29 BCE of Augustus, who may have completed it.²⁸ Cheek by jowl with the temple was the Theater of Marcellus, begun in 44 by Caesar but completed by Augustus, who named it after his nephew and son-in-law, the final hero of the *Heldenschau* (6.872–885) who tragically died in 23 BCE.²⁹

Taking all of this into account, the verbal-visual cues of *campus*, *luci*, *ripae* and *prata* seem intended to draw one's inner eye to a location in Rome saturated with Augustan associations; moreover, this ancient Apolline *lucus* would be a perfectly suitable *locus* where Musaeus, a poet "worthy of Phoebus" (6.662), could "dwell." For Vergil's Roman audience these topographical features may also have conjured a vista of Rome's sacred, extra-mural topography in its primeval state, long before it was built up with temples, theaters, and porticoes (Maps 7.2 and 7.3). While these topographical clues—and interpretations—do not necessarily prove that Vergil intentionally describes Elysium as an underworld twin of Rome's underlying topography, it begins to seem much more likely, given Anchises' activity a few lines later (6.679–683).

Anchises Censorius

Shortly after their request for directions, Musaeus leads Aeneas and the Sibyl up a ridge (6.676: *iugum*) to the summit of a high eminence (6.678: *cacumina*), below which they see "blooming fields." From there they catch sight of the soul they seek:³⁰

At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras 6.680
lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum
forte recensebat numerum, carosque nepotes
fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.

28 Ascon. *Tog. cand.* 70 Stangl locates the temple of Apollo *extra portam Carmentalem inter forum holitorium et circum Flaminium*. For additional details, see MAR 45–46 s.v. "Apollo Medicus / Sosianus Aedes"; Claridge 2010 277–279 on the temple's history, including the late-fifth-c. BCE original, multiple restorations, and Greek statuary by, e.g., Scopas and Praxiteles, relating to Apollo's 'history' housed within the sanctuary.

29 MAR 252–254 s.v. "Theatrum Marcelli"; Claridge 2010 275–277. Caesar began it in 44; Augustus completed and dedicated it in Marcellus' name (*Anc.* 21: *Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis ... feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcell[i] generi mei esset*), either in 13 BCE (Cass. Dio 54.26.1) or 11 BCE (Pliny *HN* 8.65, cf. 7.121). Whether Augustus renamed the project for Marcellus upon his death in 23 BCE, or at least before Vergil's death in 19 BCE, is unknown. NB: Caesar removed a small temple of Pietas to make room for the theater: *NTDAR* 290, 382.

30 Verg. A. 6.677–678: [Musaeus] *dixit, et ante tulit gressum camposque nitentis | desuper ostentat; dehinc summa cacumina linquunt.*

Father Anchises, deep in a hollow green valley,
 Was assessing the souls in confinement, considering with care 6.680
 Those who would ascend to light and air. He was, it happens,
 Holding a census of all his descendants, his dear grandsons,
 Weighing the fates and fortunes of men, their ways and works.

To describe Anchises' assessment of his descendants, Vergil uses the verbs *lustrare* (6.681) and *recensere* (6.682), technical terms typically associated with the work of censors, senior magistrates elected every five years to conduct a census and ritual renewal of the Roman people.³¹ This striking allusion not only helps define the landscape in which Aeneas finds Anchises, but also adds a thematic layer to the *Heldenschau* passage and forges a vital link between Anchises and Augustus, who conducted his first census—with important political ramifications—in 28. Having explored some of the following topics in depth elsewhere, I will discuss here only those elements necessary to firmly contextualize Anchises' activity as censorial, and the topography he works in as reminiscent of Rome's.³²

Censors conducted several types of census in two key areas of the city.³³ They held a general census at the Villa Publica on the eastern edge of the central Campus Martius (also the location for military levies).³⁴ Here they registered and rated free-born citizens of property according to birth/family, status, and wealth to determine their voting rights, tax liabilities, and military obligations.³⁵ They held a separate census for the *aerarii* ("head count" citizens, tax payers without the vote); and another for freed slaves in all wealth brackets.³⁶ The final census was the *recognitio equitum*, a review of the equestrian

31 Ogilvie 1961 discusses the use of *lustrare*, *lustrum*, *lustrum condere*, *lustratio*, etc., as referring to, or in metonymy for, the census; Austin 1986 213 notes that *lustrabat* evokes the work of censors, especially the quinquennial *lustrum*; Ahl 2007 383 relates Anchises' censorial work to Octavian's revision of the senate rolls in 28. None of these authors, however, takes Anchises' and Augustus' censorial connection beyond these few lines.

32 Kondratieff 2012.

33 For an extensive discussion of censors and their duties: Suolahti 1963 32–56. More conveniently, see Lintott 1999 115–120 or Kondratieff 2012 122–125.

34 Dion. Hal. 5.75.3, 4.15.6; Varro, *R.* 3.2.4–5 for the Villa Publica as an assembly place for the census and its location on the edge of the Campus Martius: *haec [villa] in campo Martio extremo* (*R* 3.2.5); cf. Liv. 4.22.7 for its establishment in 435 BCE by the first censors; Ps. Ascon. 213.10–16 Stangl (70 BCE); Suolahti 1963 33–34, 37; Lintott 1999 117; *MAR* 273 s.v. "Villa Publica."

35 Suolahti 1963 38; Nicolet 1980 67–73.

36 Suolahti 1963 37: "First, the tribes were examined, one by one (Dion. Hal. 5.75.3, 4.15.6; Ps.

centuries that, in the Republic, included senators and magistrates. This census concluded with the public spectacle of the *travectio*, a military procession on horseback through the Forum Romanum. Here each man of equestrian or senatorial standing declared his campaigns and commanders; some also surrendered their *equus publicus* ('public horse' financed by the state) if being discharged.³⁷

Another duty of censors was to monitor and shape social and political life through the *regimen morum* (supervision of morals). The very public setting of the *travectio* yields some of the best evidence for this duty. Here they gave praise or reproof to high-status citizens to encourage them—and the general populace—to follow the *mores maiorum* (ancestral customs). Censors also used their coercive powers—applicable to anyone, regardless of rank—to uphold public morals. They could reduce a reprehensible man to *aerarius* status, effectively disenfranchising him;³⁸ compel a physically or morally unfit man to surrender his public horse *during* the *travectio*;³⁹ and, in the *lectio senatus* (revision of the senate roll), eject the unworthy or adversarial man from the senate.⁴⁰ Censors also had the privilege of filling senate vacancies with men of their own choosing. Thus, while 'good' censors might use the *regimen morum* to urge citizens to a higher standard of conduct, ambitious ones could use it to

Ascon. 213.10–16 Stangl (70 BC); *L. Iul. Munic.* 145f.), then the *aerarii* (Liv. 38.27.4 (189 BC); 38.36.5 (188 BC); Mommsen, *St.-R.* 11³ 1.371 n. 3), the freedmen, and finally the equestrians (Liv. 43.16.1 (169 BC), cf. 43.14; Gell. 4.20.11; Mommsen, *St.-R.* 11³ 1.371 n. 4) in connection with the *recognitio equitum*. As they represented the highest property category until 123 BC they could not be called with their respective tribes, but their property had to be registered individually (Mommsen, *St.-R.* 11³ 1.371f.)." See also Wiseman 1969 60 and n. 21. Private citizens acting as *curatores omnium tribuum* could appear on behalf of the *aerarii* and *capite censi* (Var. *L.* 6.86).

- 37 Liv. 43.16.1, cf. 43.14 (169 BCE); Gell. 4.20.11; Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 371 n. 4 and 399 n. 6; Suolahti 1963 37 and 41; Nicolet 1980 83, cf. 69–73. The best known example of the *travectio*: Plut. *Pomp.* 22.4 (70 BCE) in which Pompey, then consul, declared all of the campaigns he had fought, always under his own command.
- 38 Ps.–Asc. 189 Stangl on *Cic. Div. in Caec.* 8; Astin 1988a 15, 1988b; and Liv. 44.16.8 and 45.15.8 on the reduction in 168 BCE of P. Rutilius Rufus, *tr. pl.* 169, to *aerarius*; cf. Val. Max. 6.5.3 ('Popillius' instead of 'Rutilius'); Gel. 4.20 on M. Cato reducing a man to *aerarius* in 184 BCE for making a scurrilous joke in his presence.
- 39 On *equites equo publico*: Suolahti 1963 42; Plut. *Pomp.* 22.4 (70 BCE); Zonar. 10.2 (70 BCE); Cass. Dio 55.31 (7 CE); Liv. 39.44.1 on L. Scipio Asiagenes, *cos.* 190, relieved of his *equus publicus* by censor M. Cato during the *recognitio equitum* of 184 BCE.
- 40 M. Cato, *cons.* 184, removed L. Quinctius Flaminus, *cos.* 192, from the senate roll (Liv. 39.42.5 ff.).

influence politics and policy-making by neutralizing their enemies and changing the composition of the senate.

Censors were also charged with religious duties thought to contribute directly to the wellbeing and prosperity of the Roman people. At the conclusion of their eighteen-month term, they appointed a day for the *inlicium*, or “call to arms”: heralds, sent round the city before dawn, summoned all citizen soldiers to assemble under arms in the Campus Martius.⁴¹ One censor, chosen by lot, would then perform the *lustratio*, the ritual of purification and renewal.⁴² This included an apotropaic procession *around* the assembled citizen-army and a sacrifice at the ancient altar of Mars, followed by an inspection of the victims’ entrails for favorable omens.⁴³ The chosen censor concluded with a formulaic prayer for the Roman people’s increase and vows for the next five-year *lustrum*, after which he took up a *vexillum*, or military flag, and led the citizen army in procession back to the city gates, where he dismissed them.⁴⁴

*The Censorial Work of Augustus and ... Anchises*⁴⁵

The power censors could wield in shaping Roman society and politics led Augustus to undertake censorial duties—not by holding the office of censor, but by virtue of his consular *imperium*⁴⁶—in 29 and 28 to consolidate his new

41 Var. *L* 6.86: *omnes Quirites pedites armatos, privatosque, curatores omnium tribuum ...*; cf. Var. *L* 6.93–94 on the *inlicium*; Ogilvie 1961; Suolahti 1963 45 and nn. 7–8. Suolahti 1963 41: “In accordance with the old formula the censors called the citizens liable to taxation to appear in arms (*armati*) at the *lustrum* (Varro, *LL* 6.9.86). That was a survival from the earliest period when an arms survey actually was carried out in connection with the census [this was abandoned by the late Republic]. Only the equestrian census (*equitum census*) continued to retain the character of a survey of arms”; Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 1.396–400. On the decline of militaristic aspects in the census: Wiseman 1969 *passim*.

42 Var. *L* 6.87, 93; Cic. *Leg.* 3.7, *de Or.* 2.268; Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 412–413; Suolahti 1963 45 and nn. 7–6, 46 and n. 1; Lintott 1999 115, 118.

43 Var. *L* 6.87; Liv. 1.44.2; Dion. Hal. 4.22.1–2 with references to the *suovetaurilia*; Suet. *Aug.* 97.1; Cic. *de Or.* 2.268; Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 352–353.

44 Var. *L* 6.9.93. On prayers for the Roman people’s increase: Val. Max. 4.1.10a; Liv. 1.44.2; Suolahti 1963 46; Lintott 1999 118. See also Liv. 23.35.5; Cic. *Att.* 5.20.2. Deities invoked: Mars (Cato), Ceres (Vergil), Dii Patrii (Tibullus). Aspects of this ceremony appear on the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus which, Ogilvie 1961 37 notes, was created for the Aedes Nympharum where censors kept their census records (Cic. *Mil.* 73).

45 For a more detailed discussion of Augustus’ censorial work: Kondratieff 2012 126–128, 134–135 and notes.

46 Some sources report that consuls conducted the census in the early Republic: Liv. 1.42.5; Dion. Hal. 4.16.1–22.2, esp. 4.21.1. For the creation of the censorship in 443 or 435 BCE to

position as sole ruler. He began by revising the senate rolls to shore up the senate's reputation and viability as his (notional) partner in power. He induced or compelled nearly two hundred men to 'voluntarily' renounce their senatorial status, inducted a few 'worthy' supporters, and increased the number of patricians.⁴⁷ He also revived the *travectio*, the equestrian procession, in all its militaristic glory, to enhance the prestige and cohesion of the Equestrian Order.⁴⁸ In 28 he and Agrippa—as co-consuls, not censors—completed the *census* and *lustrum*, the first in over four decades.⁴⁹ The results—a four-fold increase in Rome's citizen count (thanks to new census-taking methods)⁵⁰—were spectacularly auspicious, heralding a new age of peace and prosperity.⁵¹ Naturally, the all-important *lustratio*, the concluding rite of renewal, fell by sorition to Augustus. This allowed him not only to ritually 'purify' the *populus Romanus*, but also to symbolically and religiously bind Rome's wellbeing to the continued success of his régime.⁵² As Wiseman has noted, Augustus' censorial work was "a necessary precondition of the 'restoration' of the Republic in January 27."⁵³ In other words, it laid essential groundwork for the reformulation of his power through the creation of the Principate.

Given the above, it should not be surprising that Vergil, who frequently makes Aeneas a pattern of Augustus and his public activities,⁵⁴ would also

relieve consuls of this burdensome work: Liv. 4.8.2–7; Dion. Hal. 11.63.1–3; *Dig.* 1.2.2.17; Zonar. 7.19. For the debate on the year of the censorship's creation: Mommsen *St.-R.* II³ 332–335 doubts it was in 443 BCE; Cram 1940 73 rejects 443 BCE in favor of 435 BCE; Broughton *MRR* 1.53–54 and n. 1, Suolahti 1963 676–677, Austin 1982 174 n. 1, and Brennan 2000 55 and 268–269 n. 160 support, in varying degrees, 443 BCE as the year of the censorship's creation.

47 Cass. Dio 53.42.1–5; Hardy 1919; Kondratieff 2012 126–127.

48 Suet. *Aug.* 38–39.

49 Cass. Dio 53.1.3. For the census of 70 BCE and subsequent failed censuses: Cram 1940; *MRR* 2 *sub annis*. For the possibility that Augustus and Agrippa received a grant of *ensoria potestas*: Kondratieff 2012 126 n. 33.

50 Aug. *Anc.* 8; Crawford 1996 377 ll. 142–146 *Tabula Heracleensis*; DeLigt 2012 81–82 and n. 10; Kondratieff 2012 127. Instead of going to Rome, a citizen could declare himself to his local magistrate who would then send his town's compiled census returns to Rome.

51 Wiseman 1969 67–75; Nicolet 1980 65–67; Kondratieff 2012 128.

52 Kondratieff 2012 127–128. See also Aug. *Anc.* 8; Cass. Dio 53.1.3; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 27.10.

53 Wiseman 1969 71.

54 Griffin 1984 214 "Aeneas ... is also a pattern of Augustus. When he celebrates games at Actium (3.274) or delights in the Troy game (5.556), [Vergil's] audience is given obvious hints; but when Aeneas prefers to spare the conquered, when he imposes 'mores', there, too, cherished claims of Augustus show through the mythical dress ...".

incorporate a thematic element reflecting Augustus' censorial work. That he did so is indicated by Anchises' activity in *Aeneid* 6. When he is conducting a census of his descendants (6.680–682), assessing their deeds and assigning praise or blame in a 'public setting' (6.683, 760–848, 855–883), or attempting (in vain) to modulate their (future) behavior with hortatory injunctions (6.826–835), Anchises both evokes the activities of a Roman censor *and* provides an extended allusion to Augustus' censorial activities. Seeing him in this role—which accurately reflects the challenging *regimen morum* of censors—also goes a long way toward explaining the presence of 'problematic' or negative *exempla* in this passage that so often bedevil scholars.⁵⁵ As with any Roman censor, Anchises cannot choose who will come before him, but must assess men of mixed, sometimes disappointing, 'achievements' that will constitute an ineradicable part of Rome's future-perfect history. This element of Anchises' work, therefore, subtly alludes to the uneven quality of those with, or against, whom Augustus would work to create his vision of Rome.

This powerful linkage between Anchises and Augustus is further strengthened by their shared roles, notional or real, as father and father-figure to the Roman people, a role they also shared with censors. One aspect of this paternalistic role exemplified by Anchises is that censors had access to information about the current generation of citizen males *and* their family lines in both directions.⁵⁶ Another aspect is the moral authority censors had over the Roman people, which is most evident in their use of *exempla*, proclamations, and edicts to "exhort the people to follow the customs of their ancestors," the *mores maiorum*.⁵⁷ Augustus did the same, giving numerous speeches urging the upper orders to follow the *mores maiorum*; he also provided them with a permanent museum of *exempla*, the *Summi Viri* monument in the Forum Augustum (dedicated in 2 BCE). This consisted of two porticoes lined with dozens of statues representing Rome's greatest leaders in triumphal dress. In the southern exedra stood a statue of Romulus; in the northern exedra, a statue group of Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius/Iulus accompanied by the Alban kings and more recent Julians (and Claudians); in the central forecourt stood a colossal statue of Augustus in a *quadriga*, with a *titulus* designating him "*Pater Patriae*" (Father

55 See, e.g., Feeney 1986; Zetzel 1989; Reed 2001; and Pandey 2014 (§ "Author, Audiences and Augustus").

56 Kondratieff 2012 137–138. For an incident showing the deep knowledge censors had of elite family genealogies: Val. Max. 9.7.2; cf. App. *B Civ* 1.28; Cic. *Sest.* 101; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 73; *Elogium* in *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.16, 21f.

57 Gell. 4.20.10: *ad maiorum mores populum hortaretur* (142 BCE, cens. P. Scipio Africanus Aemilianus).

of the Fatherland).⁵⁸ To make explicit the moral and motivational purpose of this display, he issued a proclamation declaring that it “had been created so that both he, while he yet lived, and the rulers of subsequent generations might be required by the citizens to live up to the *exempla* set by the men of old.”⁵⁹ Vergil highlights this Augustan theme, but inverts it when he has Anchises use the *exempla* of his future descendants to inspire Aeneas to emulate the *mores iuniorum* (6.781–807, esp. 806–807; 6.885–889).⁶⁰

Censorial and Vergilian Topography, or Why This Matters

The clues that evoke the primordial Campus Martius, Vergil’s use of *recensere* and *lustrare*, and Anchises’ activity allow us to envision him conducting a census of descendants in a shadowy precursor to Rome’s civic landscape. But which part? As noted above, Aeneas and the Sibyl climbed a ridge (*iugum*: 6.676) to a high summit (*summa cacumina*: 6.678), from which they observed Anchises in a deep green valley (*convalle virenti*: 6.679). As they descend to greet him, Aeneas notices in an adjacent valley (*in valle reducta*: 6.704) a secluded, sacred grove (*seclusum nemus*: 6.705) and the River Lethe (*Laethaeumque ... amnem*: 6.706).⁶¹ Here congregate the descendants Anchises will present to Aeneas, in connected valleys separated by a summit from the wider plain they had just left, which recalls the separation of the Campus Martius from the Velabrum and Forum Romanum by the Capitoline Hill (Maps 7.1 and 7.2).

58 For the latest comprehensive reassessment of the *Summi Viri* monument: Geiger 2008; see also Pandey 2014 on readership and reception of the monument. On the statues of Romulus and Aeneas: Ov. *Fast.* 5.563–566 and below.

59 Suet. *Aug.* 31.5: *Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit professus et edicto commentum id se, ut ad illorum vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse dum viveret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a civibus* (“Second only to the immortal gods, [Augustus] honored the memory of leaders who had brought the empire of the Roman people from very small beginnings to the greatest power of all. He therefore restored the works of each man, with its remaining inscriptions, and dedicated statues of them all in triumphal dress in both porticoes of his forum, then declared by edict that [the display] had been created so that he, while he yet lived, and the leaders of subsequent generations might be required by the citizens to attain the standard of those great men of old”).

60 See Pandey 2014 on reading Augustus’ assemblage of Roman leaders in conjunction with the *Heldenschau*. On chronological inversion in the *Heldenschau*: Bettini 1991 142–150, 167–183; O’Sullivan 2011 74–75.

61 On this greeting and its relation to funerary iconography: Molyviati 2011.

An additional topographical clue follows their joyous reunion and brief discussion of death, renewal, and the fate of the soul (6.719–751).⁶² Anchises, eager to show Aeneas their future progeny, “finished speaking and drew his son and the Sibyl toward the noisy throng in the midst of the assembly, and took a position on a *tumulus* whence he might read and clearly discern the faces of all those coming toward him in a long line” (6.752–755, esp. 6.754).⁶³ This *tumulus*, situated within what seems to be a ghostly version of the Forum, could correspond to the Rostra, or speaker’s platform, upon which Roman censors placed their tribunals to view the oncoming knights in a *travectio*.⁶⁴ In Vergil’s day the Rostra stood dead center in the Forum’s west end, facing out over the *septem iugera forensia*, the main plaza where, from the perspective of those standing on it, it would be completely surrounded by the noisy crowds that frequented the Forum; indeed, Vergil’s language describing the crowd of souls bears striking similarity to Cicero’s description of noisy mobs that would surround the Rostra to hear or heckle orators in the last years of the Republic.⁶⁵ Another important point for consideration is Vergil’s use of the verb *legere*, conventionally translated “to read.” This verb is also etymologically related to such words as *lectio*, used in phrases such as *lectio senatus* to signify the reading of the senate roll, or choosing men to be inscribed on the list of senators. Once again we may point to this as an indicator of Anchises’ censorial work, for he shall choose which of the souls will be worthy of inclusion in his ‘roll-call of heroes.’

The sense that all of this is taking place, at least initially, within a ghostly version of the Forum Romanum is confirmed once Anchises’ census of his descendants begins at 6.760, for these are the future kings of Lavinium, Alba Longa and Rome (with the obvious omission of slave-born Servius Tullius), followed

62 Leach 1999 124–125 and notes.

63 Verg. A. 6.752–755: *Dixerat Anchises natumque unaque Sibyllam / conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem, / et tumulum capit unde omnis longo ordine posset / adversos legere et venientum discernere vultus.*

64 On tribunals: Kondratieff 2010 91–92; Bablitz 2007 29–31. For tribunals in the *recognitio equitum*: Plut. *Pomp.* 22.5. The Rostra acquired its name in 338 BCE, when the *suggestum* (speaker’s platform) was decorated with bronze rams (*rostra, rostrum* s.) taken from ships of the Latin League captured at Antium. Habinek 1989 236 and n. 26 likens this scene to a young orator mounting the Rostra to give a funeral eulogy; cf. Flower 1997 109–110.

65 Cass. Dio 43.49.1–2. M. Antonius moved the Rostra from the edge of the Comitium to the center of the Forum’s western end in 45 BCE; this was in the midst of Caesar’s reconfiguration of the Forum Romanum, a project completed by Augustus. Augustus himself rebuilt the Rostra ca. 13 BCE, literally inhuming the Antonian version. For a detailed study of the Rostra, tribunals, and noisy crowds in the Forum Romanum: Kondratieff 2009 *passim*, but esp. 349f. On the *septem iugera forensia*: Var. *R.* 1.2.9.

by Roman imperators and triumphators of consular, even censorial, rank.⁶⁶ The Roman reader would immediately understand that such men would only be assessed, for good or ill, in a *recognitio equitum* rather than a general census. As the scene unfolds, Vergil's descriptions of heroes and his themes of martial *virtus* and *gloria* continue to align quite well with the military character of the *travectio*, the equestrian procession through the Forum.⁶⁷

Collectively, the evidence allows us to (retrospectively) identify Anchises' hollow valley and adjacent vale as unbuilt, but just as crowded, phantom versions of the Forum Romanum and Velabrum, the latter's ancient stream not yet enclosed by the Cloaca Maxima.⁶⁸ This combined space could be accessed from the Prata Flaminia in several ways. Barring floods, one could approach it by going around the southern slope of the Capitoline Hill. Two other routes include the necessary element of Vergil's *iugum*, or ridge (6.676): around the north side of the Arx, with an easy climb over the low saddle linking it to the Quirinal; or, over a high "eminence" reached by a more arduous climb over the saddle between Capitol and Arx (as suggested on Map 7.3).⁶⁹

Part II: A Didactic "City Walk"

The *Heldenschau's* overarching theme, clearly, is the foreordained greatness of Rome brought about by her future leaders and culminating in the promised golden age of Augustus. As noted above, some liken Anchises' presentation to a father teaching his son Roman history using as *exempla* the masked actors in an aristocratic *pompa funebris*. It can also be viewed as representing the

66 And, possibly, officers of the plebs: see LeFèvre 1998 on the Gracchi and Drusi. On the high percentage of heroes of censorial rank or censorial family in the *Heldenschau*: Kondratieff 2012 135–137; also, 131–132 on the absence of King Servius Tullius, whose freedman status would prohibit him—according to Roman law—from participating in the *travectio* despite his later kingship. See *OCD*³ 1558 s.v. "Tullius RE 18 Servius"; Nicolet 1984 96–97 and 99 on *ingenuitas* (free birth) as a requirement for the *ordines senatorius et equester* and on Augustus' strict observance of such status distinctions (hence Vergil's otherwise curious omission of the great reformer).

67 Suolahti 1963 41 on the *travectio* as the last vestige of the old-style "review under arms" that survived into the principate (see n. 41 above). Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 1.396–400; Wiseman 1969 *passim*.

68 Perhaps also the Lucus Capitolinus, Romulus' grove of asylum between the Capitoline's twin summits.

69 The censors' offices were in the *Atrium Libertatis* on the saddle between the Arx and Quirinal: Liv. 43.16.13; Oros. 5.17; *MAR* 59–60 s.v. "Atrium Libertatis."

culminating phase of a Roman census, an underworld *recognitio equitum* or *travectio* in a shadowy landscape described in a way to reflect Rome's underlying topography. Yet Vergil interweaves multiple themes so skillfully that the *Heldenschau* can be both simultaneously, and more besides. A third dimension in keeping with the theme of topographies and cityscapes may now be added: the visual inspiration from which Vergil drew his descriptions of heroes, and the ways in which the *Heldenschau* resembles a didactic walk through Rome's historic center populated by statues of great men.⁷⁰ The following discussion will touch upon physical descriptions, allusions to place and location, the didactic and motivational value of statues, and the bookending of funeral processions and census at the end of the *Heldenschau*.

Vergil and Roman Art

It is not my intention to deconstruct theories that associate the *Heldenschau* with Roman aristocratic funeral processions, as there are obvious, broad similarities in this passage, along with its well-known eschatological and funerary elements. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the comparisons can often be overworked, especially with regard to visual elements in this passage. For instance, the *Heldenschau* lacks most features typical of a stately *pompa funebris*: female relatives in mourning, musicians, professional keeners, pall bearers, and markers of high status, such as lictors dressed in black bearing reversed *fasces*; and those to whom Anchises calls attention seem *not* to be wearing magisterial robes that represent their highest *civil* rank (actors representing ancestors at funerals wore such clothing).⁷¹ Rather, Vergil has Anchises refer to idiosyncratic features that evoke portrayals from a permanent pool of visual references—statues, reliefs, paintings, even coins bearing images of statue groups and the like⁷²—that would have been familiar to his Roman audience, and which tend to be military in character.

70 Leach 1999 126 briefly sketches out a similar idea in relation to a statue gallery; see n. 109 below. O'Sullivan 2011 75 envisions a Roman boy asking his father about aristocratic "bigwigs" processing through the Forum.

71 E.g., consul or censor: Polyb. 6.53.7; on the procession, see Flower 1997 91–107 and Favro and Johanson 2010.

72 Festus 228 L notes paintings of the triumphs of M. Fulvius Flaccus and T. (? L. Sp. f.? or L. Sp. n.) Papirius Cursor (one of five triumphs for two Papirii between 324 and 272). Livy 41.28.10 writes that Ti. Gracchus, *cos.* 177, in the temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium, put up a tablet with an inscription and painting depicting his exploits in Sardinia. Pliny *HN* 35: 22–25 notes paintings of military victories set up by: M. Valerius Maximus on the Curia (264 BCE), L. Scipio Asiagenus on the Capitol (ca. 190 BCE), and L. Hostilius Mancinus

For instance, the first hero, youthful Silvius leaning on a *hasta pura*, or unblooded spear (6.760–766), recalls a popular type of statue found throughout Rome. “In the old days,” Pliny writes, “it used to please [the Romans] to set up nude figures [statues] holding a spear based on examples of *ephebes* from [Greek] *gymnasia* ... which they call ‘Achilles.’”⁷³ These statues may have resembled Polykleitos’ Doryphoros, although the bronze statue known simply as the “Hellenistic Ruler” (third-second century BCE) in the Palazzo Massimo—and a Claudian-era statue of Augustus as Jupiter from Herculaneum—may better reflect the pose Vergil had in mind for Silvius (Figs. 7.2, 7.3). Romulus—represented by *many* statues in Rome, including some from the sixth and fifth centuries⁷⁴—is described as wearing a twin-crested helmet (6.779) and, one must assume, whole panoply of armor. Delaruelle noted long ago that the helmet description conforms to early Italic helmets as seen in a fourth-century BCE painting of Samnite warriors from Nola (Fig. 7.4). Interestingly, this archaic helmet type remained part of the visual vernacular in Vergil’s day, as confirmed by coins of the late Republic and early Principate: one, issued in 113 BCE, depicts Roma wearing an archaic twin-crested helmet (Fig. 7.5); another, issued for the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 BCE, depicts a herald in archaizing costume and twin-crested helmet (Fig. 7.6).⁷⁵ Of course, Vergil may have envisioned a more contemporary helmet with a double-crest of horsehair, as seen on gold coins of the Second Punic War depicting Mars, and on later statues of Mars Ultor (Fig. 7.7). Numa, meanwhile, is distinguished by hoary locks, untrimmed beard, olive wreath, and sacred implements (6.808–809), a combination that matches the image on a denarius of 97 BCE depicting a now-lost statue group, relief, or painting of Numa conducting a sacrifice (Fig. 7.8a).⁷⁶

in the Forum (139 BCE, referring to exploits at Carthage in 146 to support his electioneering efforts).

- 73 Pliny *HN* 34.18: *placuerit et nudae tenentes hastam ab epheborum e gymnasiis exemplaribus; quas Achilleas vocant.*
- 74 Delaruelle 1913 159–161, fig. 3; Dion. Hal. 2.54.2; Pliny *HN* 33.9, 34.22; Plut. *Rom.* 16; Pliny *HN* 34.22–23 notes that the *oldest* statues of Romulus and his Sabine co-king, Titus Tatius, were *sine tunica*, wearing only a toga, a feature that corresponds to other archaic statues of the sixth–fifth centuries BCE. Cf. Delaruelle 1913 159–161, fig. 3.
- 75 Delaruelle 1913 159–161, fig. 3. *RIC* 1² *Augustus* 138, 340. Clearly the Augustan coins appeared after Vergil’s death; nevertheless, Salian priests, among others, likely used such helmets regularly, thus within Vergil’s lifetime.
- 76 Denarius of L. Pomponius Molo depicting Numa holding a lituus and sacrificing before a lighted altar, to the right of which an attendant leads a goat to the altar (*RRC* 334/1, ca. 97 BCE); denarius of Cn. Piso: head of Numa with long hair, beard, and tiania inscribed *NVMA* (*RRC* 446/1, 49/8 BCE).

Another denarius, issued ca. 50 BCE (Fig. 7.9), portrays the *Heldenschau's* penultimate hero, the elder Marcellus, in two ways (6.885–890). On the obverse is Marcellus' bold, veristic portrait; on the reverse he is shown togate and *capite velato*, striding forward with the *spolia opima* captured from a Gallic king that he will dedicate in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.⁷⁷ Vergil's description of Marcellus evokes key visual elements from the coin's reverse:

Look, how Marcellus, distinguished by the “best spoils,”
Strides forth and, as conqueror, towers over all men.
He shall stabilize a Roman state disordered by a great crisis;
This *eques* (knight) shall scatter Punic foes, kill the rebel Gaul in a duel,
And dedicate a third set of captured arms to father Quirinus.⁷⁸

There is no extant literary testimony for a non-numismatic representation of this scene; only the denarius indicates that one *may* have existed.⁷⁹ If, however, the coin design was an original creation of a die-engraver, one might allow that Vergil derived *some* imagery from contemporary coinage. The idea is not far-fetched: Suetonius' commentary on a copper *as* depicting Nero as Apollo *Citharoedus* (Fig. 7.10) indicates that Roman authors noticed and thoughtfully considered coin imagery (and the original artwork it may have represented).⁸⁰

Of course, Vergil's rapid pacing does not allow for detailed descriptions of each hero; but, he clearly expects his audience to visualize a well-known image, statue, or portrait of each hero ‘springing to life’ as Anchises pronounces his

77 *RRC* 439/1, issued in Rome in 50 BCE by P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.

78 Verg. *A.* 6.885–890: *Aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis | ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes! | Hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu, | sistet, eques sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem, | tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.* “Quirino” refers to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius built on the Capitoline, by Romulus, who became Quirinus.

79 Whether a statue resembling the coin image would be installed in front of this small temple—which was in such a state of disrepair that Augustus had to rebuild it less than a generation after the coin was issued—is unclear (*Aug. Anc.* 4.19–20). On Marcellus' portrait in the Temple of Honos et Virtus ad Portam Capenam: *Ascon. Pis.* 11c; Toynbee 1978 17; *MAR* s.v. “Honos et Virtus Aedes (ad Portam Capenam).” On the shrine: Welch 2005 135–144.

80 Suet. *Nero*, 25.2–3: ... *in cubiculis circum lectos posuit ... statuas suas citharoedico habitu, qua nota etiam nummum percussit.* For the coins, medium sized copper and orichalcum asses, see *RIC* I² *Nero* 75, 79, 211, 381, etc. Epictetus 4.5.17 discusses the moral “goodness” of Trajan's coins as opposed to “bad” Neronian money.

name. If Vergil's audience were not yet inclined to think in terms of portrait statues, it would be once Anchises, in the midst of his discourse on future Romans, declares that first among non-Roman arts will be the creation of lifelike statues: "Others will hammer out, with greater delicacy and precision, bronzes that seem to breathe, and draw out from marble truer expressions of life" (6.847–848).⁸¹ Given the dynamic poses of many ancient statues—and the colors artisans applied to enhance their realism—one can see how Vergil might expect his audience to envision already familiar statues as living, breathing souls. Ovid provides a relevant example of this concept when he describes Mars Ultor "reading" the statues of Aeneas and Romulus on display in the formalized *Heldenschau* of the Forum Augustum:

The Avenger himself descends from heaven, his honors
And temple to behold in the august forum
Here he sees Aeneas laden with burden dear,
And many ancestors of the noble Julian line,
There, Romulus bearing off on his shoulders the conquered leader's
arms,
And beneath a procession of great men, their famous feats inscribed.⁸²

Ovid's description of the statues of Aeneas and Romulus is so lively that one may easily visualize them 'in motion.' Indeed, fresco images from a Pompeian shop depicting the statues of Aeneas and Romulus in active poses and vibrant colors—and wearing armor—make it quite clear that in their original state they indeed conveyed a lifelike quality (Figs. 7.11–7.12).⁸³ Moreover, these Pompeian frescoes, unaccompanied by *tituli*, suggest that such images became so iconic, so deeply embedded in the visual vernacular of Roman society, that they could be duplicated and displayed without overt identification in the expectation that viewers would easily recognize *and* identify them on their

81 Verg. A. 6.847–848: *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera / credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus.*

82 Ov. *Fasti* 5.551–552, 563–566: *Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores / templaque in Augusto conspicienda foro hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro | et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos; | hinc videt Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem, | claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.* On Ovid's vision of the Forum Augustum: Barchiesi 2002.

83 Della Corte 1913 144–145, figs. 1 and 2, from the House of M. Fabius Ululitremulus on the Via dell' Abondanza (Pompeii IX.13.5). The images were produced by an anonymous fresco painter of the first century BCE or CE. For Romulus' *elogium* from the Forum Augustum: *Inscr. It.* 13.3.86; cf. Zanker 1988 202–203; in general, Frisch 1980.

own.⁸⁴ This was certainly the case in the 140s when Antoninus Pius had anepigraphic representations of the very same statues distributed via gold, silver, and bronze coinage throughout Italy and the empire to celebrate Rome's 900th anniversary (Figs. 7.13–7.14).⁸⁵ We may reasonably assume that Vergil expected *his* audience—literate, knowledgeable residents of, or visitors to, Rome⁸⁶—to call to mind iconic images of his heroes from the wide array of easily accessible, familiar representations in the city's commemorative zones.

What might the rest of those images look like? With few exceptions—e.g., Numa in priestly regalia (6.808–809) or Serranus (M. Atilius Regulus) “sowing the furrows” (6.844)—heroes described explicitly or via allusive language seem to be attired in military kit or triumphal dress. Some are marked out by a particular ornament related to exploits in battle, such as “the *signa* earned by Torquatus and Camillus.”⁸⁷ As Eleanor Leach rightly observes, “If there is a certain consistency about the details to which Anchises calls attention, it is their significance as tokens of honor.”⁸⁸ Together with the olive branches and *sacra* carried by Numa the Lawmaker (6.808–812), and the kingly *fascēs* taken by Brutus (6.818), these tokens of military honor underscore the theme of Rome's expansion through conquest and her own special “arts”: “to impose the habit of peace, to spare the conquered and make war on the proud” (6.852–853).⁸⁹

84 *Vadimonia* (court summonses) found in Pompeii indicate that Pompeians (and others) would set appointments to meet by such-and-such a statue in the Forum Augustum (where the praetor's tribunal was set up), thus indicating deep familiarity with its layout and figural art. For example: *TPSulp.* 19: ... *in foro Augusto ante statuam Gracci ad columnam quartam proxume gradus* ... See also Camodeca 1999 72; Neudecker 2010 provides an excellent discussion of this practice; see also Carnabucci 1996. On the praetor's tribunal(s) in Rome, see also Kondratieff 2009 and 2010. For a contrary view of the ease (or not) of identifying unlabeled statues: Welch 2005 239.

85 *Aurei* of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE) issued as part of a larger series in gold, silver, and bronze celebrating Rome's foundation legends in anticipation of Rome's ninth centenary include one with a reverse depicting the Aeneas, Anchises, and Iulus-Ascanius group from the *Summi Viri* monument in the Forum Augustum (*RIC III A.* Pius 91; cf. Hill 1989 162, sestertius of 141–143 CE); another depicts Romulus striding along with the *spolia opima*, from the same monument (*RIC III A.* Pius 90; *BMCRE A.* Pius 238).

86 Cicero provides several examples of literacy (or lack thereof) in relation to statues of great men, e.g., *Att.* 16.1.7; for his own “roll-call of heroes,” see, e.g., *Nat. Deor.* 2.166; *Off.* 1.61 (n. 90, below); *Cael.* 17.39.

87 Leach 1999 126; on Serranus, see conveniently Ahl 2007 379 n. to 6.844.

88 Leach 1999 126.

89 Verg. A. 6.852–853: *hae tibi erunt artes: pacisque imponere morem, | parcere subiectis, debellare superbos.*

This leads to the conclusion that heroes whose military achievements Anchises describes (e.g., Tullus Hostilius: 6.812–814)—even those he only names in rapid succession, men famous for distinction in battle—must, by implication, be imagined as attired in military kit or triumphal dress. Of course, one might picture “great Cato” (6.841) in a censor’s purple robe, or the Scipiad as (*Scipiones*: 6.843) in their preferred Greek clothing (see below). Nevertheless, Anchises’ propensity to describe or discuss his Roman progeny mostly in terms of their military achievements reflects an important cultural phenomenon in Roman commemorative art. As Cicero points out, the Roman people’s “passion for military glory ... is shown by the fact that we see statues [of their great men] usually in soldier’s attire.”⁹⁰

Also of importance is Vergil’s *arrangement* of heroes, which strongly evokes the physical context and buildings before, or in which, their statues were placed. His collocation of Rome’s kings (6.677–780, 808–817) calls to mind the well-attested group of regal statues that stood in the *Area Capitolina* before the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁹¹ Nearby, as occurs in the *Heldenschau*, stood a statue of L. Junius Brutus with sword drawn (6.818–823).⁹² Although the Decii, Drusi, Torquatus and Camillus follow Brutus in Anchises’ discourse (6.824–825), only two lines of poetry actually separate Brutus from Julius Caesar, “ablaze in armor” (6.826), which reminds us that Caesar’s statue also stood “among those of the kings” and near that of Brutus.⁹³ Other representations of *Heldenschau* heroes on the Capitol include a statue of P. Scipio Africanus,

90 Cic. *Off.* 1.61: *Contraque in laudibus, quae magno animo et fortiter excellenterque gesta sunt, ea nescio quomodo quasi pleniore ore laudamus. Hinc rhetorum campus de ... hinc noster Cocles, hinc Decii, hinc Cn. et P. Scipiones, hinc M. Marcellus, innumerabiles alii, maximeque ipse populus Romanus animi magnitudine excellit. Declaratur autem studium bellicae gloriae, quod statuas quoque videmus ornatu fere militari* (“When ... we wish to pay a compliment, we somehow or other praise in more eloquent strain the brave and noble work of some great soul. Hence there is an open field for orators on the subjects of ... our own Cocles, the Decii, Gnaeus and Publius Scipio, Marcus [Claudius] Marcellus, and countless others, and, above all, the Roman people as a nation are celebrated for greatness of spirit. Their passion for military glory, moreover, is shown in the fact that we see their [great men’s] statues usually in military attire”). Cf. Pliny *HN* 34.18 on Roman partiality for cuirassed statues.

91 App. *B Civ* 1.16; Pliny *HN* 33.9–10. These included Romulus, Numa, Servius Tullius, and the two Tarquins.

92 Pliny *HN* 33.9–10. Cassius Dio 43.45.3–4 reports that the placement of Caesar’s statue next to L. Junius Brutus Liberator and the seven Kings of Rome provoked M. Junius Brutus to assassinate Caesar. See also Lefèvre 1998.

93 Suet. *Iul.* 76.

whose *imago* (ancestor mask) was also kept in Jupiter's temple;⁹⁴ a statue of L. Scipio Asiagenus depicted in chlamys and sandals, recalling the Scipionic habit of adopting Greek dress (hence Vergil's use of the Hellenizing epithet *Scipiadas* at 6.843);⁹⁵ and an equestrian statue of Q. Fabius Maximus *Cunctator*.⁹⁶ Vergil's reference to L. Mummius Achaicus driving his triumphal chariot up to the Capitol (6.836–837) may allude to one of several gilt bronze *quadriga* groups dedicated in the Area Capitolina.⁹⁷ Clearly, this zone of commemoration—due to its association with Rome's chief god and triumphal processions honoring him—was a highly prized location for self-promotion via portrait statues. In fact, by the late first-century BCE, it had become so crowded with official and unofficial statues of great men that Augustus had to transfer a swarm of *simulacra*, a *Heldenschau* in its own right, to the Campus Martius.⁹⁸

Other historic locations in Rome surely flashed into view as Vergil's Roman audience recalled statues of Cato in the Curia;⁹⁹ Fabricius in the Forum;¹⁰⁰ Camillus on the Rostra;¹⁰¹ or, Marcellus marching—perhaps in a painting—in the Temple of Honos et Virtus *ad Portam Capenam*.¹⁰² While there is evidence that *many* locations in Rome were devoted to the commemoration of great men (Appendix B), Vergil has selected heroes whose names would have evoked public portraits that in turn brought to mind two locales literally saturated with

94 Val. Max. 8.15.1.

95 Cic. *Rab.* 27 on Scipio's chlamys and sandals; Val. Max. 3.6.2. For the elder Africanus' hellenizing tendencies, see, e.g., Liv. 29.19 (Greek clothing and shoes, frequenting gymnasia); Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 3.7; Cass. Dio fr. 17.62.

96 Plut. *Fab.* 22.

97 Verg. A. 6.836–837: *Ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho / victor aget currum, caesis insignis Achivis*. On votive quadriga groups: Pliny *HN* 34.19.

98 Suet. *Gai.* 34.1: *Statuas virorum inlustrium ab Augusto ex Capitolina area propter angustias in campum Martium conlatas ita subvertit atque disiecit ut restitui salvis titulis non potuerint ...* (“[Caligula] so completely overthrew and smashed the statues of illustrious men—which had been transferred by Augustus out of the Area Capitolina, on account of the lack of space, to the Campus Martius—that they were not able to be restored with their complete inscriptions ...”); Cicero *Att.* 6.1.17 notes a “crowd of gilded knights” (Metelli) set up on the Capitol in the 50s.

99 Val. Max. 8.15.2. Plutarch *Cat. Mai.* 19 mentions a statue of Cato in the Temple of Salus, set up by a plebs grateful for his salutary censorship in 184.

100 Pliny *HN* 34.32.

101 Pliny *HN* 34.22–23.

102 On M. Claudius Marcellus' portrait in the Temple of Honos et Virtus *ad Portam Capenam*, see n. 79, above.

civic, sacred and triumphal symbolism: the Forum and Capitoline Hill. In the case of the latter, it seems that he wished his audience to envision not just the statues of heroes, but the entire commemorative landscape they stood in, dominated by the ultimate backdrop, the massive Temple of Jupiter.

The Motivational and Didactic Value of Statues (and Other Art)

Another important consideration is the motivational and didactic value of statues and other portrayals of Rome's great men. Augustus, though not the first, was certainly the greatest proponent of this principle when he created his *Summi Viri* monument, then proclaimed that its main purpose was to inspire and require future leaders to live up to the *exempla* set by worthies of old.¹⁰³ Evidence that observers could gain knowledge and motivation from portrait busts and statues of exemplary men can be found in the correspondence of Pliny the Younger. In a letter to his friend, Macrinus, Pliny discusses the honors voted by the Senate to Cottius, an admirable youth who had died while his father, Vestricius Spurinna, was abroad subduing Bructeri rebels.¹⁰⁴ When the Senate voted to Spurinna a triumphal statue—of bronze, to be placed in the Forum Augustum—it also voted a statue of Cottius, both to honor the son and console his father (*Ep.* 2.7.1). Of the latter statue, Pliny writes:

... it will be a great satisfaction to me to look at [Cottius'] likeness from time to time, to contemplate it, to pause beneath it, to pass before it on my daily rounds. For if *imagines* of the departed set up at home lighten our sorrow, how much more comforting are such likenesses to mourners when, erected in a notable place, not only their form and face are immortalized, but also their honor and glory?¹⁰⁵

Of course, the Senate meant for Cottius' statue to be more than a source of comfort, its location more than a *lieu de mémoire* to contemplate happier times. Pliny remarks that this permanent tribute would not only extend Cottius' exemplary life with a "kind of immortality" (*Ep.* 2.7.4), but also serve an explicitly didactic *and* motivational purpose:

103 Suet. *Aug.* 31.5, quoted in n. 59, above; see also nn. 86 and 90, above, on Cicero's interest in statues.

104 On this letter see, recently, Whitton 2014 128–137.

105 Plin. *Ep.* 2.7.6–7: *Erit ergo pergratum mihi hanc effigiem eius subinde intueri subinde respicere, sub hac consistere praeter hanc commeare. Etenim si defunctorum imagines domi positae dolorem nostrum levant, quanto magis eae quibus in celeberrimo loco non modo species et vultus illorum, sed honor etiam et gloria refertur?*

By this honor provision has been made [by the Senate], as I see it, not only for the memory of the deceased and the grief of his father, but also for an instructive example. Such high rewards having been established for youths—should they prove worthy of them—will incite our young men to noble behavior.¹⁰⁶

This additional purpose for the statue suggests that permanent illustrations of *virtus* (excellence) were understood to be part of a perpetual feedback loop: triumphal statues would inspire young men to earn military glory and public honors through a display of *virtus* in battle; their success in battle would result in the hoped-for decorations, promotions and, eventually, triumphs and commemorative statues on public display; these new statues would then inspire the *next* generation of young men to strive for their share of glory, and so on. This further implies that statues of great men accompanied by *elogia* (laudatory inscriptions) could be as effective at motivating “ambitious and high minded young [men]”¹⁰⁷ to imitate ancestral deeds of valor as were funeral eulogies.¹⁰⁸ Regarding state funerals, it is worth noting that illustrious men of only one or two *gentes* might be represented, whereas the commemorative areas of Rome—with statues representing a great variety of *gentes*—offered a vast array of *exempla* far more extensive than portrayed at any one funeral, and constituted a permanent, conveniently accessible resource for instructive purposes (hence, the efforts Augustus took with his comprehensive, albeit redacted, *Summi Viri* monument). Why not, therefore, imagine that Vergil conceptualized the *Heldenschau*—in part—as a Roman father instructing his son about *bona et mala exempla* while navigating through a crowd of *simulacra* in Rome’s historic center?¹⁰⁹ This view of the passage—a tour through groups of statues

106 Plin. *Ep.* 2.7.5: *Quo quidem honore, quantum ego interpretor, non modo defuncti memoriae, dolori patris, verum etiam exemplo prospectum est. Acuent ad bonas artes iuventutem adulescentibus quoque, digni sint modo, tanta praemia constituta...*

107 Polyb. 6.53.9.

108 See Polyb. 6.54.3–5 extolling the motivational value of Roman aristocratic funerals. See also n. 109 below.

109 Austin 1977 232–233; Leach 1999 126: “... public portraits also carried words to commend their subjects to the viewer: words that, while not always explicit, would fit the subject into place. In this context we might imagine the scene between Anchises and Aeneas as one reenacted many times when noble fathers explained to their sons the deeds behind the faces of marble and bronze.” For the other school of thought, that the *Heldenschau* represents a funeral parade, see, e.g., Flower 1996 110: “... many fathers would surely have been prompted by a funeral procession to explain Roman customs and history to their sons.” See also Flower 1996 111–112, n. 97.

located here and there on the Capitol or in the Forum—would also explain the frustrating disjuncture between the (supposedly) haphazard sequence of heroes in the *Heldenschau* and the well-known chronological organization of funeral processions and, of course, Augustus' *Summi Viri* monument.¹¹⁰

(Inter-)Weaving It All Together

That Anchises' census/*travectio* has elided into something of a didactic "city-walk" becomes clear when references to motion and the Tiber and Mausoleum of Augustus (6.874) indicate that Anchises, Aeneas and the Sibyl have long since left the *tumulus*/Rostra from which they began their census (6.751–755), arriving somewhere in the central Campus Martius. But *when* did they leave it? Several possible points of departure come to mind. Peter Wiseman notes that, in Anchises' excursus on Augustus, the sequence of references—to Romulus, the massive walls of Rome (i.e., Roma Quadrata, on the Palatine), Cybele triumphant (Roma's stand-in), and Augustus himself—is "in correct topographical order," and irresistibly sweeps Vergil's audience "from the Lupercal, up past the Magna Mater temple, to the vestibulum of Augustus' house" (6.777–792).¹¹¹ From there, the reader is whisked off to the farthest reaches of the Roman empire (6.792–805), then suddenly drawn back to the present scene and Numa, now strangely *procul*, far off (6.808), even though his statue stood beside that of Romulus on the Capitol and his spirit *should* be next in line.¹¹² Or, perhaps it was when Anchises exclaimed: "Fabii, where are you taking this tired old man?" (6.845).¹¹³ His sudden declaration—"You're Fabius!" (6.845–846)—indicates that Anchises has been hustled off to stand before the Great Delayer. The little group has certainly wandered far afield by the time Anchises mentions the Campus Martius (*Mavortis ad urbem* / *campus*: 6.872–873), addresses the Tiber (*Tiberine*: 6.873), and refers to the newly built Mausoleum of Augustus (*tumulum ... recentem*: 6.874), where young Marcellus would be buried. But

110 The lack of correlation between the *Heldenschau*'s seemingly disordered sequence and the strict chronology of the *Summi Viri* monument has been frequently discussed (most recently: Pandey 2014 with bibliography).

111 Wiseman 1987 402: "After the Alban kings (6.756–776) we see, in correct topographical order, Romulus the founder, the walls of his citadel, Magna Mater as a simile for Rome itself, and then the Julian line culminating in Augustus ... I think any reader in the twenties BCE would have felt himself unmistakably conducted from the Lupercal, up past the Magna Mater temple, to the vestibulum of Augustus' house."

112 Perhaps we should envision the Regia in the Forum, traditional house of Numa: Beard 1998 n. 12 and refs.

113 Verg. A. 6.845: *quo fessum rapitis, Fabii?*

only after their “hollow oblation” for Marcellus (6.885), which ends the eschatological portion of their tour, does Vergil confirm that they have been traveling *through* these scenes and *among* these souls for some time (6.886–890):

*sic tota passim regione vagantur
aëris in campis latis atque omnia lustrant.
quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit
incenditque animum famae venientis amore,
exim bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda, 890*

Thus they wander through the whole region
In expansive misty plains and survey (or ritually purify) everything.
After Anchises has guided his son around, detail by detail (or scene by scene),
And fired his soul with a love of coming fame,
He then recalls for the hero the wars that must be fought ...

The combination of this last reference to the group’s wandering “through the whole region,” the *Heldenschau*’s visual elements, and a general sense of movement throughout the passage, strongly suggests a *tour* through a landscape populated by spirits whose characteristics, attitudes and arrangement evoke the statues and monuments honoring their future-perfect deeds in Rome’s future commemorative landscape. We might thus imagine that, in visual terms, Vergil has extracted a single ‘layer’ of Augustan Rome—the one occupied by statues—and transposed it on to a simulacrum of Rome’s natural topography to be explored by Anchises, Aeneas, and the Sibyl.

But the return at this juncture of the verb *lustrāre* (*lustrant*: 6.887) complicates matters, as it encompasses several concepts simultaneously. On the one hand, a *lustratio* was undertaken to purify those who had engaged in funerary rites, which occurred—in *Aeneid* time—only the day before following the funeral of Misenus, when Corynaeus circled his men thrice and purified them (*lustravit*: 6.231) with water sprinkled from a sacred olive branch (6.229–231).¹¹⁴ Thus, *lustrant* at 6.887 could indicate that Aeneas and Anchises are purifying everything after the notional funeral of Marcellus, an action that nicely bookends the passage with Anchises’ discourse on death and renewal (6.722–751). It

114 Verg. A. 6.229–231: *idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda | spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae, | lustravitque viros dixitque novissima verba* (“Thrice [Corynaeus] circled his comrades with pure water, sprinkling them with a gentle dew from the branch of a fruiting olive, purifying the men, then pronounced the final prayer”).

also signals the conclusion of Aeneas' roundabout tour of premortal Rome that began in the Prata Flaminia with Musaeus and now ends at roughly the same location, a place analogous to the space in Augustan Rome where stood the Theater of Marcellus (6.666–676), whence one might catch sight of the Mausoleum Augusti in which the theater's eponymous dedicatee would be buried. *Lustrāre* also implies *inspection* or assessment, is frequently used to connote an official census, and thus nicely bookends Anchises' notional census that started at 6.679–683; it also recalls the *lustratio*, the ritual procession of a censor around the people assembled under arms in the central Campus Martius, near the Villa Publica. Has our little group not toured its shadowy doppelganger, its spirits (for the most part) wearing military kit to match their future work? Knowing that Anchises will next lead his son to the Twin Gates of Sleep and there 'dismiss' him, we might imagine that he, in his 'censorial' capacity, had issued an *inlicium*, an official "call to arms," requiring these souls to come forth and assemble for review so he could display them (*ostendere*: 6.716) to his son.¹¹⁵ Then, having duly assessed, praised, encouraged or exhorted them, he and Aeneas—now officially Roman from the moment Anchises addressed him as *Romane* (6.851)¹¹⁶—together perform an apotropaic *lustratio* to ratify their census and invoke divine protection over this spectral 'army' of future Romans.

Mapping Vergil's Elysian Chiasmus (Fig. 7.1, below)

Mapping out Aeneas' exploration of Elysium from entry to exit (6.639–898) in light of the current discussion reveals interesting structural elements. While Vergil's arrangement of themes is mainly chiasmic—repeating Aeneas' chiasmic encounters with souls of his acquaintance in the Underworld¹¹⁷—his exploration of each *theme* exhibits a linear progression, whether spatial, temporal, conceptual, processual, or some combination. The censorial theme begins with Anchises conducting a general census (6.680), moves to a *recognitio equitum / travectio*, and properly ends with a *lustratio* (6.887–888). It also brackets the funerary theme, which begins with theory (death and renewal: 6.713ff.) and ends with praxis (obsequies for Marcellus: 6.883–885). The funerary theme in turn brackets the explicit portion of the didactic *travectio / city walk*, with its (apparently) roundabout journey through a simulacrum of Rome (6.752–883

115 Verg. A. 6.893–899 on the Twin Gates of Sleep.

116 Boyle 1999 148–149 describes this as the beginning of Aeneas' "Romanization," which is completed when his mother, Venus, embraces him at A. 8.615–616.

117 He encounters Palinurus, Dido, and Deiphobus in reverse order of their deaths: McDonald 1987 31–32.

and below) which itself encompasses two digressions: one on pre-Roman settlements that will have failed by the Augustan future (6.773–776), the other on Roman arts by which Rome will succeed spectacularly into the unknown future (6.846–853). In the center of it all are the three “founders” of Rome: Romulus, the Martial Founder (6.777–780) and Numa, the Legal-Religious Founder (6.808–812), who together bracket Magna Mater, Roma personified, and the *telos*, Augustus Caesar: Third Founder of Rome, *Pius Ultor*, *Princeps of Imperium Sine Fine*, Restorer of Roman Laws and Saturn’s Golden Age (6.781–807).¹¹⁸ Turn the diagram 90° clockwise, and one may see in it a rough schematic—inspiration?—of the *Summi Viri* Monument, with Augustus in the center. The secondary level of chiasmic structure (in Italics) lists features of Rome’s topography present or alluded to (see also Map 7.3 and Map 7.4). One can see that, in fairly logical sequence, Aeneas and the Sibyl view, visit or learn of features or areas that correspond to Rome’s most historic locales: Campus Martius; Campus Flaminius / Prata Flaminia (including the Apollinar, Temple of Apollo Medicus-Sosianus, Theater of Marcellus, and Porta Carmentalis); Capitol and Arx; Forum Romanum; Palatine (Lupercal, Archaic wall, Temple of Cybele, Domus Augusti); and back to Area Capitolina; Campus Martius; Tiber and Mausoleum. Then, after surveying everything in the wide airy campus, on to the Gates *out* of Elysium. Here one might envision either a city gate, or a *bi-fons* (twin-gated) arch on a bridge over the Tiber, e.g., the Pons Mulvius, recently decorated with a statue of Augustus in a quadriga.

The diagram also demonstrates how Vergil weaves into his rich tapestry of ideas and imagery interlocking and overlapping themes relating to Roman aristocratic life—the *travectio*, public honors and statues, the *pompa funebris*, and more—that either created or maintained aristocratic status, again with Augustus, who claimed to have set Roman society back on its proper footing, at the center of it all. Of course, the overlapping themes and activities share the common goal of promoting the pursuit of *virtus*, manly excellence, through emulation of *bona exempla*; and, in the world of the dead, as in the world of the living, these activities—and commemorative works of art—all occurred in, or occupied, the same physical space (albeit not all at once as they do here). Encompassing all is Vergil’s presentation of Anchises as Censor, whose activity

118 Augustus explicitly proclaimed that “he restored the laws and rights of the Roman people” on an *aureus* issued in 28BCE, on the reverse of which he is depicted as consul seated on a curule chair holding a scroll (of law) with a *capys* (scroll box) nearby, and the inscription LEGES ET IVRA P. R. RESTITVIT. For details: Rich and Williams 1999. On Numa as religious founder, Liv. 1.19.6–20.7; Plut. *Num.* 10; Macrob. *Sat.* 16.2–6; Beard 1998 4–6.

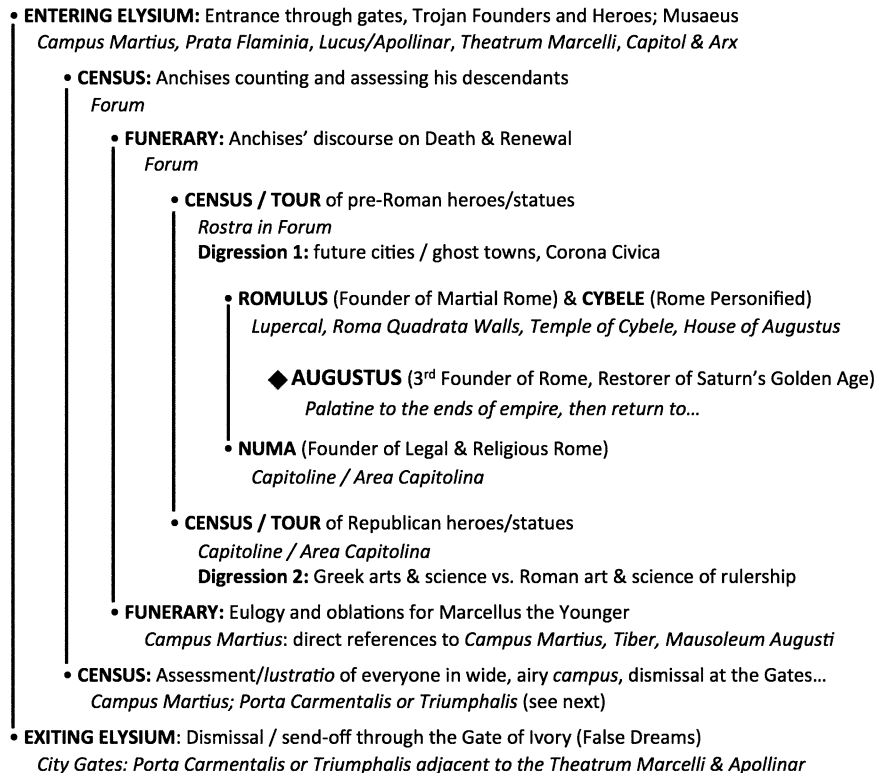


FIGURE 7.1 *Chiastic structure of concepts, topography, and people discussed in Aeneid 6.637–898.*

helps define the character of the landscape within which he works and makes of him a clear pattern of Augustus' own censorial work, his *cura morum*, and his paternal care of the Roman people.

Part III: Palimpsestic Rome

Having explored how the Roman section of Elysium constitutes a “pre-mortal” version of Rome awaiting rebirth along with the Romans who will create her, we must turn to other spaces and landscapes. This section will explore relevant features of Latinus' city in Book 7, the raw topography of Evander's Pallanteum and scenes of Roman history prefigured on the Shield of Aeneas in Book 8 which, when layered together with “pre-mortal” Rome, create a complete literary and visual palimpsest of *Augustan* Rome spanning the three central books of the *Aeneid*.

Latinus' City: Regal Rome Personified (Map 7.5)

If readers experience a sense of déjà vu when Aeneas' men first arrive at Latinus' city, it is because they have already encountered this scene in *Aeneid* 6. The athletic, militaristic, and chariotting activities of the Trojan heroes in an Elysian *campus* near a river (6.641–642, 6.651–655) strongly foreshadow the scene Aeneas and his men encounter as they approach Latinus' city on the Tiber, before which “boys and youth in first flower” (7.162: *ante urbem pueri et primaevae flore iuventus ...*) are assembled in a broad space near the river, where they undertake military training in horsemanship, chariotting, archery, javelin throwing, boxing, and racing (7.162–165). The activities of these young men, described in “markedly Augustan language,”¹¹⁹ evoke Augustan Rome—and the *lusus Troiae*—in no uncertain terms. But Latinus' city itself is also described as a pattern of Rome: a broad, open *campus* stretching out before the city's massive fortifications, turrets, and high citadel (7.160–161) strongly suggest Rome's Campus Martius, Servian Walls, and well-fortified Capitol as seen from North and West.¹²⁰

Identifying a Roman cognate for Latinus' enormous ancient palace is more problematic. On the one hand, his hundred-columned temple-*domus* (7.170)¹²¹—overflowing with statues of founders, kings, and great warriors, *spolia* hanging from its columns and rafters (7.177–186)—powerfully evokes the Capitolium with its ancient agglomeration of statues and trophies.¹²² On the other hand, when Vergil first introduces Latinus (7.45–63) he states that a laurel tree sacred to Phoebus—a divine omen of Aeneas' coming—stood in the midst of his palace (for which reason he called his people Laurentines: 7.59–63). This is an obvious reference to the Palatine *domus* of Augustus, with laurel trees planted before its doors by senatorial decree in 27—signifying, in a way, that Rome's first hero had arrived.¹²³ Vergil also explicitly describes the “enormous house on the city's acropolis” as “august” (*tectum augustum ingens ... urbe fuit summa*: 7.170–171).¹²⁴ Adding to the list of Augustan associations, it is worth

119 Horsfall 2000 141–142.

120 Although the *campus* is not actually mentioned, the type of activities, especially chariotting, implies a broad, open space stretched out before the city's walls.

121 Horsfall 2000 147 ad loc. notes that one hundred is a conventional number indicating enormity in a building.

122 Camps 1959 254 argues that Latinus' building resembles the Capitoline temple of Jupiter in its relative location, size and decoration.

123 Aug. *Anc.* 34; see Zanker 1988 92–93 for additional discussion on the ideology of laurels.

124 Horsfall 2000 147 on 171 *summa ... urbe* as signifying “‘In the acropolis’ or ‘in the highest part of the city.’”

noting that Vergil describes foreign gifts (“trophies” of nations submitting to Roman hegemony) affixed to the portals of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus in the Shield of Aeneas passage (8.720–723); thus one may imagine Latinus’ residence to represent an admixture of elements from Apollo’s Temple and the Capitolium.

Other factors, however, more strongly evoke the Capitolium, such as the ritual uses of Latinus’ temple-*domus*: here kings received their scepters and took up their *fasces* (7.173–174) and the *patres* (elders ≈ senators) met in its *curia* to share in *epulae*, sacred feasts (7.174–176).¹²⁵ Likewise, at Rome’s Capitolium newly inaugurated consuls took up the *fasces*; senators convened for the *epulum Iovis*, an annual feast in honor of Jupiter; and Augustus himself held annual family dinners there on the anniversary of his victory over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus.¹²⁶ The décor, noted above, mostly recalls descriptions of statue groups in the Area Capitolina. Particularly striking are the honorific cedar statues representing ancestors, kings, and warriors wounded for their *patria*, arranged all in a line (7.177–182, esp. 177–178: ... *veterum effigies ex ordine avorum / antiqua ex cedro*). Not only do these bear a strong similarity to the ancient *xoana* (wooden effigies) and grouped statues on the Capitol, they recall the procession of future kings, magistrates, and heroes Aeneas had seen only hours before in the Underworld—who, in *their* groupings, powerfully evoked the collections of statuary on the Capitol (see App. B).¹²⁷ The inclusion of Saturn and Janus (7.180), rather than being problem-

125 Verg. A. 7.173–176. New consuls “received the fasces,” i.e., their first formal appearance with lictors when taking up office at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus: Scullard 1981 52–54. Ovid *Fast.* 1.79–82, *Kal. Ian.* writes: *vestibus intactis Tarpeias itur in arces, / et populus festo color ipse suo est, / iamque novi praeunt fasces, nova purpura fulget, / et nova conspicuum pondera sentit ebur.* (“In spotless vestments goes the procession to the Tarpeian citadels the people wear the festal colors, and now new fasces go before, new purple gleams, and the conspicuous curule chair feels a new burden.”).

126 Verg. A. 7.174–176. For senate meetings and communal feasts at the Capitoline temple, *epulum Iovis* (Jupiter, Juno and Minerva) with the senate on the Ides of September and November each year: Val. Max. 2.1.1; Gell. 12.8.1–2; Scullard 1981 186–187, 197. Cassius Dio 49.15.1 transl. Cary notes that “The people of the capital unanimously bestowed upon [Octavian] votes of praise, statues, the right ... of holding a banquet with his wife and children in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter on the anniversary of the day on which he had won his victory, which was to be a perpetual day of thanksgiving.” Fordyce 2001 96 ad loc. accepts its identification with the Capitolium as articulated by Camp 1959 54.

127 See Dion. Hal. 4.40.7 on Servius’ gilt *xoanon* in the Temple of Fortuna *Primigenia* on the Capitol. Horsfall 2000 151–152 and refs. on Verg. A. 7.177 *effigies* and 7.178 *antiqua e cedro*; Flower 1996 55 n. 118.

atic, need merely be viewed as a harbinger of Aeneas' tour of Evander's Pallanteum, where he will see the ancient settlements of Saturnia on the Capitol and Janiculum across the river.¹²⁸ Finally, despite the "august" epithet tying Latinus' home to Augustus', the Palatine home of the *princeps* was comparatively modest with notably short (*breve*) colonnades (albeit he *was* well known as a collector of items of great rarity or antiquity, including historical relics, e.g., "weapons of heroes"); meanwhile, Augustus himself demonstrated ample devotion to Jupiter Capitolinus by repairing his temple and dedicating spoils there.¹²⁹

Capitoline or Palatine? Horsfall cuts this interpretive Gordian knot by identifying Latinus' home as both, declaring that the Capitoline and Palatine can be represented simultaneously; thus, the "reader is free to think either of Jupiter Capitolinus or of Apollo Palatinus, without benefit of ground plans and numismatic representations."¹³⁰ That Latinus' palace is a conflation of both cannot be denied. Nevertheless, the characteristics of the Capitoline emerge more strongly from the description, perhaps because Vergil's frequent references to archaic art forms, customs, and clothing consciously create a sense that, both in appearance and activity, Latinus' city constitutes a physical, though *unlocatable*, stand-in for the main elements of regal-period Rome, whose chief glory was the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, built by Rome's last kings.¹³¹

Evander's Pallanteum: Pastoral, Sacred, and Pre-Romulan Rome
(Map 7.6)

Aeneas and his men encounter additional elements of early Rome in *Aeneid* 8. Their discovery begins as they row further up the Tiber—its shady, overarching trees and groves sliding by—and come upon Evander's Pallanteum, its fortifications and citadel (*muros arcemque*: 8.98) and a few buildings occupying the Palatine on the right bank, an impoverished site where golden Apollo and the

128 Pace, Horsfall 2000 154 ad loc., who does not understand Janus' inclusion; but Evander mentions him as a king at 8.357, prior to his godhood, which he earned by merit (as would be the case with Augustus).

129 Aug. *Anc.* 20.1, 21.1. On Augustus' modest home with short colonnades and simple furnishings: Suet. *Aug.* 72–73 *passim*. On his collecting ancient or rare objects, including *arma heroum*: Suet. *Aug.* 72.3; and old coins of kings and foreign countries: Suet. *Aug.* 75. For his youthful habit of collecting Corinthian bronzes and costly furniture: Suet. *Aug.* 70.1.

130 Horsfall 2000 147 at Verg. *A.* 7.170.

131 Foundations by Tarquinius Priscus: Dion. Hal. 3.69; majority of work completed by Tarquinius Superbus: Dion. Hal. 4.61. Liv. 1.55.1–56.1 includes omens of Rome's immovability and future leadership of a great empire.

princeps will one day inhabit lofty palatial homes (8.94–100).¹³² They arrive just as Evander's people complete solemnities for Hercules in a sacred grove before the city (*ante urbem in luco*), where later stood the Ara Maxima at the southern edge of the Forum Boarium (8.100–104, cf. 186).¹³³

Having welcomed the new arrivals, Evander explains the celebration's aetiology, how Hercules fought and killed dreadful Cacus, Vulcan's fire-vomiting son, a terrifying bandit who dwelt in a cave under the Aventine (8.184–279). He only vaguely describes the Aventine—and the enormous rock Hercules tears off it to toss in the Tiber (8.240: *Insula Tiberina?*)—except for the shocking moment when Hercules demolishes Cacus' cave:

Down went the roof over Cacus's grotto, disclosing his monstrous
Palace. Its ghost-ridden cavern's abysses of darkness lay open,
Just as if some great force had made earth's depths yawn in a chasm,
Breaking the lock upon hell, unbarring the kingdoms of pallor
Loathed by the eyes of the gods, as if one could see down into death's
dark
Pit, while the shades shuddered, scared by intrusive brightness and
vision.¹³⁴

While this scene evokes Tartarus rather than the joyous Elysian landscape explored by Aeneas a short while before, the figurative interpenetration of mortal world and post-/pre-mortal underworld is, nevertheless, a sharp reminder—

132 Verg. A. 8.98–100 ... *muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum / tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo / aequavit, tum res inopes Evandrus habebat.* (“... in the distance they see walls and a fort and a few scattered rooftops, a place which *now* Roman power has raised up to the heavens but, in those days, Evander ruled as an impoverished polity.”). For an in depth look at the two Romes in *Aeneid* 8, steeped in Augustan ideology, see Boyle 1999; also, McKay 1998 on Rome and Roman history in the Shield of Aeneas.

133 Coarelli 1988 61–77; Coarelli *LTUR* III: 15–17, s.v. “Hercules Invictus, Ara Maxima”; *MAR* s.v. “Hercules: Ara Maxima”; Serv. *ad. Aen.* 8.271: the Ara Maxima was “behind the gates of the Circus Maximus” *post ianuas circi Maximi*. Servius notes that the epithet Maxima was applied due to “the magnitude of the structure” at *ad. Aen.* 8.179: *ara ... quam maximam dicit ex magnitudine fabricae*. There were later archaic temples there to Hercules and Minerva (= Pallas Athena). NB Aeneas and co. are greeted by Pallas, son of Evander, in Pallas' district (in the region of St. Omobono). Fordyce 2001 223–227.

134 Verg. A. 8.241–246: *at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens / regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae, / non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens / infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat / pallida, dis invisā, superque immane barathrum / cernatur, trepidant immisso lumine Manes*. Transl. F. Ahl 2007 192; cf. Hom. *Il.* 20.59; Fordyce 2001 232.

in the very heart of Rome-To-Be—of that long line of future heroes who will eventually found the city and bring it to greatness (cf. 8.99).

Aeneas later tours the site with Evander, whom Vergil calls *Romanae conditor arcis*, “founder of the Roman citadel” (8.313), thus alluding to Romulus and Augustus, and again calling to mind Rome of the future;¹³⁵ but, Aeneas sees mostly raw terrain or rustic huts where Vergil’s audience could envision fully monumentalized spaces. Nevertheless, notable places visited or seen recall important sites alluded to in Aeneas’ underworld journey through Elysium. On their way into Rome from the Forum Boarium, they pass by the Ara Carmentalis through the Porta Carmentalis, a gate where the Vicus Iugarius debouched from the Servian Walls (to the north, the Prata Flaminia; to the south, the Forum Boarium).¹³⁶ Passing along the Vicus Iugarius, Evander points out the huge “Asylum (of Romulus) between the two groves” in the saddle between the Capitol and the Arx.¹³⁷ From that vantage point, he redirects Aeneas’ gaze (*hinc ... monstrat*: 8.342–343) to the Lupercal at the sw base of the Palatine (8.343–344). “Over yonder” he points out another sacred grove, the *nemus Argileti*, a place rich in *future* symbolism thanks to the Curia Julia, Forum Iulium, and (planned) Forum Augustum (8.345–346).¹³⁸ From here, Evander and Aeneas mount the saddle between the Arx and Quirinal—apparently reversing Aeneas’s earlier trajectory with Musaeus and the Sibyl (6.676–678)—and climb up to the Arx to gaze upon other locales (8.346–347).¹³⁹ These include the Capitol (8.346–354), former site of ancient Saturnia but now a thickly wooded haunt of Jupiter sightings, and Janus’ ruined city on the Jan-

135 Verg. A. 8.313: *Romanae conditor arcis*, clearly referring to the arx/citadel of the Palatine where Evander lived (8.362–367, cf. 8.98); cf. Liv. 1.5. Boyle 1999 152 notes that Evander is the only person in the *Aeneid* described as *conditor* (founder); this “marks Evander as a clear precursor to Aeneas, Romulus, and Augustus himself ...”

136 Verg. A. 8.337–341. Ara (*aut sepulta*: Serv. *Ad Aen.* 8.337) Carmentis et Porta Carmentalis: *MAR* 193 s.v. “Porta Carmentalis”; also, Liv. 27.37.11–14, 35.21.6; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 8.337.

137 Verg. A. 8.342–343: *hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulum acer asylum / rettulit ... = Lucus Asyli Romuli inter duos lucos* on the Capitoline–Arx saddle: Fordyce 2001 242 ad loc.; Livy 1.8.5; Plut. *Rom.* 9; *MAR* 58–59 s.v. “Asylum (inter duos lucos)” noting in particular the tradition that the twin peaks of the Capitoline Hill were once wooded, hence the “Grove of asylum between the two groves.”

138 Verg. A. 8.345–346 *nemus Argileti* ... This was a grove or wooded area of the Argiletum, i.e., not a street, but a region, as noted by E. Tortorici in *LTUR* I 125–126 s.v. “Argiletum,” where the imperial fora would be built. See Fordyce 2001 243 ad loc. on the Argiletum in the low area south of the Quirinal; see Var *L* 5.157 on “Argiletum.”

139 Verg. A. 8.346–347 ... *hinc ad Tarpeium sedem et Capitolia ducit* ... Fordyce 2001 243 ad loc. notes that *Capitolia* is a ‘plural of convenience’ for reasons of meter/scansion.

iculum across the Tiber (8.356–358).¹⁴⁰ Descending from their vantage point, they pass through the manure-strewn future Forum Romanum (8.360–361) and look over at the “spotless Carinae” (8.361) for no apparent reason—but the cognoscenti surely knew that on the Carinae of their day, not far from the Temple of Tellus, stood the childhood home of Augustus himself.¹⁴¹ This contrasts with Evander’s cramped home, his “far-from-august house” (*angusti tecti*: 8.367) on the Palatine, which they enter in the very next line (8.362).¹⁴²

Vergil’s readers will have noted, as does A.J. Boyle, that “the poet’s and Evander’s description of the site juxtapose anachronistic place-names ... with pastoral and religious description to present an image of future Rome as the fusion of urban monuments, pastoral values, and antique religiosity,” or a Rome of “Augustan ideology.”¹⁴³ One could make a similar statement about the Rome that emerges from an examination of the *Heldenschau*: it also represents, in many ways, Augustus’ efforts, like censors of earlier times, to turn back the clock on Roman society by re-imposing ancient *mores*, and to reinvigorate the aristocratic class—on whose consensus his regime depended—through a renewal of rituals (e.g., the *travectio* in 28 BCE) that distinguished elite Romans from everyone else. As noted above, not only do the ideological messages of both passages overlap, but the sites highlighted in this pastoral, pre-Romulan landscape largely overlap with locations represented, or alluded to, in the pre-mortal Rome of the *Heldenschau*.

The Shield of Aeneas: Regal, Republican and Augustan Rome

(Map 7.7)

When Aeneas is with Evander, he clearly has no idea that he is standing within the physical landscape of the city that will be his progeny’s glorious destiny, or sleeping on the site where his remote descendant, Augustus, will live while ruling an “empire without end.” Nor does he understand the historical narrative

140 Verg. *A.* 8.355–359. On the ancient towns of Janiculum and Saturnia (the Capitol), Ahl 2007 403 notes that some believe both towns were on the Capitol; Fordyce 2001 245 convincingly argues against it, using Var. *ad August.* *CD* 7.4 and Ov. *Fast.* 1.241f. to prove otherwise. He notes that *huic* and *illi* in 357 are awkward; but these may be read as “over *here*, to the left, and over *there*, to the right,” from the vantage point of the Arx looking West.

141 Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.361 on the Carinae as the site of Augustus’ childhood home. The Carinae district was on the western end of the Esquiline hill’s southern promontory. See also Liv. 26.10; Varro *L* 5.47; Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.48; Dion. Hal. 1.68.1, 3.22.8; Flor. 2.18.4: *celeberrima pars urbis*.

142 For Evander’s house on the Palatine: Liv. 1.5. On the wordplay turning *angusti ... tecti* (cramped house) into “far from august house,” see F. Ahl 2007 196 ad loc.

143 Boyle 1999 152.

on the shield created for him by Vulcan, imagery that constitutes his last encounter with Rome—as in the *Heldenschau*, a Rome of the future—in the central tetrad of the *Aeneid*. Since this wonderful ecphrasis has been well and thoroughly explained by others, only a brief overview of scenes relating to Rome and its topography is necessary.¹⁴⁴

The Shield of Aeneas contains many scenes with direct references to, or historical allusions that evoke Rome's topography. Notably, Vergil starts his description of the shield by stating that Vulcan had depicted "Ascanius' future line of descendants, and battles they fought, set in order," thus evoking—and conflating—the *Heldenschau* and the line of commemorative statues in Latinus' temple-domus.¹⁴⁵ But here he bypasses the Lavinian and Alban generations, focusing on strictly Roman history by starting with Romulus and Remus in the Lupercal (8.630–634), followed by key crises of Rome's Regal and Republican periods. The next few scenes depict Romulus and his Romans dragging Sabine girls from the Circus Maximus (8.635–636), followed by battle between Romans and Sabines in the Forum, between the Arx and Palatine, and concluded by Romulus and Titus Tatius vowing peace at the altar of Jupiter Stator, near the NE limits of the Palatine (8.637–641).¹⁴⁶ Then comes the first great crisis of the new Republic, with Lars Porsenna attacking the walls of Rome (8.646–649), Horatius Cocles destroying the Sublician Bridge to save Rome (8.650), and Cloelia swimming the Tiber to save Roman virtue (8.650–651). The next scene depicts the aftermath of Rome's traumatic defeat by Gallic invaders, symbolized by the lone figure of Manlius, having been alerted by the sacred geese, standing before the Temple of Juno *Moneta* ("The Warner") repelling Gauls from the Arx (8.652–662). In the midst of this passage, Vergil mentions a thatched "palace" (*regia*) at 8.654. Since its location is clearly on the Arx, this building must be identified as the Auguraculum, a primitive hut which, like the Casa Romuli on the Palatine, was carefully preserved down to the Imperial period.¹⁴⁷ A generic scene of Salian priests celebrating and matrons mov-

144 McKay 1998; Boyle 1999 152–161.

145 Verg. A. 8.628–629: *illic genus omne futurae / stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella*.

146 For the battle's location: Liv 1.12. On the Temple of Jupiter Stator: Claridge 2010 156–157 and Fig. 36 no. 46. A modern point of reference for its location is just off the SE corner of the Arch of Titus.

147 Fordyce 2001 274 ad loc. believes this is a replica of the Casa Romuli; it was more probably the Auguraculum. Platner Ashby 1929 61 s.v. "Auguraculum": "the open space templum on the Arx, where the public auspices were taken In the centre of this open space was the thatched hut of the observer, which was preserved in its primitive form at least as late as the time of Augustus (Vitr. 2.1.5; Varro, *LL* 7.8; Cic. *Off.* 3.66; Fest. 18; cf. Plin *HN* 22.5; Liv.

ing through the city follows (8.663–666). Vergil then skips three centuries of conquest, defeat, and recovery, including the Hannibalic War. Instead, he has Aeneas view figures symbolic of a dying Republic: Catilina tormented in Tartarus and Cato the Younger stoically judging recently arrived souls. The two represent the extremes of aristocratic competition in the late Republic, competition that brought the Republic to its culminating crisis and Augustus' victory over Antony and Cleopatra, depicted in a central scene, the Battle of Actium (8.675–713). The final tableau is of Augustus' triple triumph, a grand procession with reference to "300 large-scale shrines to be built throughout the city," joyous celebrations in the streets, temples filled with singing matrons, altars strewn with slaughtered bullocks and, at the end of it all, Augustus himself, *ipse*, seated before the dazzling white temple of Phoebus Apollo receiving envoys from the far reaches of his *imperium sine fine* (8.714–728).¹⁴⁸ As with his tour of Evander's Pallanteum, Aeneas admires but fails to comprehend the scenes on the shield. Nevertheless, he symbolically, and happily, takes on the burden of Rome's future success when he slings the shield over his shoulder and marches forth into the culminating tetrad of the *Aeneid*, the Books of War (8.729–731).

Vergil's Palimpsest of 'Augustan' Rome

When Aeneas first entered Elysium, he began an encounter with Rome proper that would be protracted over time and space (and three books of the *Aeneid*). He started with a shadowy likeness of its underlying topography and its future heroes, represented by a single "layer" of Rome's topography that Vergil has neatly extracted from her commemorative landscape: the crowds of statues honoring great men that occupied the Forum and Area Capitolina. Not only has Vergil transferred this "commemorative layer" wholesale to the Underworld of the Heroic past, he has breathed life into it and created a *tableau vivant* in the land of the dead: in short, a version of Rome stripped of everything but her men, the heart and soul of the city, who would create the *res publica* and enlarge its *imperium*. Through the activities of Anchises in his varied roles, Vergil has also

1.24; cf. Casa Romuli). The auguraculum was on the north-east corner of the Arx, above the Clivus Argentarius, probably near the apse of the present church of S. Maria in Aracoeli." Cf. *LTUR* I 142–143 s.v. "Auguraculum (Arx)" and *MAR* 61 s.v. "Auguraculum (Arx)" noting the visibility of this hut from the Comitium.

148 Morwood 1991 220–221 suggests that, in an innovation to typical triumphal tradition, Octavian may indeed have dedicated spoils to Jupiter, but then convened a formal reception in front of the Palatine temple of Apollo; Fordyce 2001 285 ad loc. 8.720–728, perhaps rightly, calls it a "fantasy."

infused this landscape with concepts and activities fundamental to the growth and encouragement of *virtus*, *pietas*, and *gloria*, all of which defined, enacted, or maintained elite status in Augustan Rome.

When this crowd of *simulacra* and its shadowy topographical setting is recombined with the pastoral landscape of Evander's Pallanteum, Latinus' monumental stand-in for regal-era Rome, and the history-saturated sites represented on Aeneas' shield, a palimpsestic image emerges consisting of different layers of pre-Augustan Rome. Add to that Augustus' triple triumph and its epilogue, and the palimpsest receives an upgrade to 'Rome 2.0: The Augustan Edition.' The city, its history, and its values have thus been revealed to Aeneas in stages, beginning with the founders of Troy and the Trojan race at the entrance of Elysium and concluding with the teleological post-triumph reception before the Temple of Apollo, with envoys from all nations submitting to Augustus, refounder (third founder) of Rome who will reestablish Roman society on a firm footing. Thus, while Augustan Rome cannot be present in Aeneas' time, all of its fundamental elements from different eras and dimensions—those that best exemplify ancient *mores*, earlier achievements, the new golden age, and Augustus himself—and the city itself are present and accounted for, awaiting birth, or rebirth. It may thus be said that Vergil has not given Augustan Rome a "strong presence";¹⁴⁹ rather, he has given it a pervasive, even dominant role in the poem's pivotal books, calling his audience's attention time and again to developments in Aeneas' (unknown) future that are *faits accomplis* in the development of Rome as it exists in their 'golden' present.

Indeed, a review of historical events Vergil chose to highlight or allude to in the four passages from *Aeneid* 6–8, reveals that he has left out very little of *major* significance in Roman history. For instance, although no scene from the Hannibalic War appears on the Shield of Aeneas, he alludes to it in the *Heldenschau* / *travectio* with the presence of Q. Fabius Maximus and M. Claudius Marcellus, the "Shield and Sword of Rome" (6.846, 6.854–859). On the other hand, Vergil has clearly left out large sections of the *city* of Rome. A comparison of Maps 7.4–7.7 with Map 7.1 (Augustan Rome) indicates that the areas he refers to largely correspond to the most celebrated locations and densely monumentalized areas of the city. These are areas in which Augustus focused his resources to construct or repair significant and/or sacred buildings while making Rome over in his own image, most of which was completed, in progress, or planned *before* Vergil's death. Given the *Aeneid's* many Augusto-centric themes, the poet's choice to emphasize these areas is logical. But his logic is also consistent

149 As argued by Morwood 1991 212–216.

with what was likely a popular view of Augustan Rome. For instance, Vergil's near contemporary, geographer Strabo of Amasia, also focused his admiring comments about the city on the same areas highlighted by Vergil: the Campus Martius, Capitoline, Palatine, Forum Romanum and Imperial Fora, areas he deemed Rome's most beautiful *and* historically significant. Surely Vergil's audience shared this view, and would not have faulted him for leaving out other parts of Rome.

Having begun with "Arms and the Man," I shall conclude with "Gods and the City." When comparing Maps 7.4–7.7, it becomes apparent that the most significant, powerful intersections between Vergil's varied versions of Rome occur in the three locales imbued with a special sense of sacredness. In ascending order, third is the Forum Romanum, the political and social center of the city, a key location for the *constant* articulation of Roman social and political hierarchy through, e.g., ritualized parades, political activities, and commemorative art. It also contained several of Rome's most important temples dating to the earliest days of the Republic. The second is the Palatine, home to Evander, Romulus, Cybele, and Apollo, Aeneas' divine protector at Troy and his guide, via the Sibyl, in Italy; this is the hill whose summit and tutelary deity Augustus would claim as his own. It is also a location which Vergil connects—through overlapping symbolism in Latinus' temple-domus, and interlocking scenes of Augustus' triumph on the Shield of Aeneas—to the area of prime importance, the one consistently dominant locale in *every* version of Rome:¹⁵⁰ the Capitol, ancient home of Jupiter, Father of the Gods, divine ancestor of Aeneas (and, therefore, of Augustus) who, in *Aeneid* 1, prophesied the rise and spectacular destiny, the empire without limit, of Rome.¹⁵¹

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- 150 Only in Latinus' city does the Palatine Hill fail to appear clearly, albeit the Laurel tree, Laurentine name and possible association with the Domus Augusti strongly hint at an Apolline presence.
- 151 Jupiter's prophecy: Verg. *A.* 1.257–296; Jupiter as Aeneas' (and Augustus') ancestor: Verg. *A.* 6.123–124.

- LTUR* *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* I–VI. Ed. E.M. Steinby. Rome 1993–1999.
- MAR* *Mapping Augustan Rome. JRA Supplement 50*. Ed. L. Haselberger, D.G. Romano and E.A. Dumser. Portsmouth 2002.
- MRR* T. Robert S. Broughton. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. I–III. Atlanta 1951–1986.
- OCD*³ *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition. Ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. Oxford 1996.
- RE* A.F. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll. *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Munich 1894–1980.
- RRC* M.H. Crawford. *Roman Republican Coinage* I–II. Cambridge 1974.
- NTDAR* L. Richardson, Jr. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore 1992.
- RIC* I² C.H.V. Sutherland and R.A.G. Carson. *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Volume 1 (Revised Edition): Augustus to Vitellius, 31 B.C.–A.D. 69*. London 1984.
- RIC* III H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham. *The Roman Imperial Coinage Volume III: Antoninus Pius to Commodus*. London 1930.
- TPSulp.* Camodeca, G. *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum (TPSulp.): Edizione Critica dell'Archivio Puteolano dei Sulpicii (Vetera 12)*. Rome 1999.

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**Appendix A. Heroes Mentioned Directly or Indirectly in the
Heldenschau (A. 6.760–886)**

- 760–766 SILVIUS (with *hasta pura*, last child of Aeneas and Lavinia; ancestor not of Augustus, but of Romulus)
- 767 PROCAS (*proximus ille* [sc. Silvius])
- 768 CAPYS
NUMITOR
- 769–770 SILVIUS AENEAS
- 771–776 Encomium on foregoing kings as conquerors, builders and wearers of Corona Civica: *qui iuvenes!*
- 777–787 ROMULUS (6.779: son of Mars and Ilia of Assaracus' line; 6.779–780: the sign of twin plumes; 6.781–787: Romulus' auspices, the city of Rome and her brood of men compared to Cybele and her cities/children)
- 788–789 “Look on your Roman People”
- 789–805 AUGUSTUS and his encomium (6.789: “Here is Caesar and all the Julii”; 6.791–792: “This man, here he is, the promised one ... Augustus Caesar, *genus* of a god” [not *filius*] ... “aurea condet saecula”)
- 808–812 NUMA (establishes the infant city on law)
NB: Romulus founds Rome → Augustus refounds Rome, reestablishes laws ← Numa establishes laws
- 812–815 TULLUS HOSTILIUS
- 815–816 ANCUS MARCIUS
- 817 TARQUINS (Tarquinius Priscus and Tarquinius Superbus)
- 818–823 BRUTUS (Liberator; executioner of his own rebellious sons)
- 824 DECII
DRUSII
- 825 TORQUATUS
CAMILLUS (bringing back standards instead of Gallic gold = planned return of standards from Parthia; “second founder” of Rome)
- 826–835 CAESAR & POMPEY (*unnamed*; civil war allusions: family connections, topography; Anchises' admonition)
- 836–837 MUMMIUS (*unnamed* sacker of Corinth)
- 838–840 L. AEMILIUS PAULLUS (*unnamed* conqueror of Aeacides / Perseus)
- 841 CATO (not left silent)
AULUS CORNELIUS COSSUS (5th c. BCE winner of *spolia opima* with Romulus and Marcellus *Maior*)
- 842 GRACCHI (the consul/censor and his ancestors, although the tribunes come to mind as well)
- 842–843 SCIPIADAE (victors at Zama, 202 BCE, and Carthage, 146 BCE), banes of Libya

- 843–844 FABRICIUS (vs. Pyrrhus, 275 BCE)
 844 SERRANUS (M. Atilius Regulus, 257 BCE)
 845–846 FABII
 Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS CUNCTATOR, Shield of Rome, saved Rome by delaying
 847–853 Greeks to bring arts of representation, rhetoric, etc., to the world; Rome's art is to rule
 854–859 M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS (*Cos. v, Spolia Opima*, late 3rd c. BCE)
 860–886 MARCELLVS (*gener Augusti Caesaris*, lost potential, his funeral, etc.)

Appendix B. Ancient References to Statues of *Heldenschau* Heroes (and Others) and Their Locations (Bolded Names Are in *Heldenschau*)

Statues of Kings (on the Capitol)

- Kings** (group) App. *B Civ* 1.16: by the door of Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus / Capitolinus.
Kings, Caesar, Brutus Suet. *Iul.* 76; Cass. Dio 43.45.3–4; Brutus, Caesar and 7 Kings in Area Capitolina.
Romulus, Numa, Servius Tullius, 2 Tarquins, Brutus Pliny *HN* 33.9–10: Romulus, Numa, Servius Tullius, 2 Tarquins, Brutus Liberator together; also, statues of Numa & Servius Tullius on the Capitol were the only ones of kings distinguished by rings on left hands (*HN* 33.24).
Romulus *infans* with/wolf Cic. *Cat.* 3.19: lightning struck a statue of baby Romulus suckling Lupa (Capitol).
Romulus & Titus Tatius Pliny *HN* 34.22–23: Rome's *oldest* statues, *sine tunica*.
Servius Tullius Dion. Hal. 4.40.7: set up gilt *xoanon* of himself in T. Fortuna *Primigenia* (Capitol).

Statues of Kings (not on the Capitol?)

- Romulus *triumphator*** Dion. Hal. 2.54.2: bronze quadriga and statue of himself with inscription “in Greek letters” for his second triumph, dedicated to Vulcan (= Area Vulcanal in the NW Forum?)

Statues, Portraits, Altars & Shrines of Famous Men on the Capitol

L. Caecilius Metellus	Dion. Hal. 2.66.4: statue and inscription honoring him for rescuing sacred implements from the Temple of Vesta in conflagration of 241 BC (as <i>pontifex maximus</i>).
Sp. Carvilius	Pliny <i>HN</i> 34.43–44: bronze of self at foot of colossal Jupiter made from Samnite armor.
P. Scipio Africanus	Val. Max. 8.15.1: <i>imago</i> (wax ancestor max or bronze bust) in <i>cella</i> of I.O.M. temple.
L. Scipio (?)	Cic. <i>Rab.</i> 27: in chlamys & sandals; Val. Max. 3.6.2 (recalls Vergil's epithet, <i>Scipiadas</i>).
Q. Fabius Maximus	Plut. <i>Fab.</i> 22: Equestrian statue.
M. Aemilius Lepidus	Val. Max. 3.1.1: equestrian statue; Lepidus as youth w/bulla and <i>incincta</i> .
Metelli (large group)	Cic. <i>Att.</i> 6.1.17: "crowd of gilded knights" set up by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio.
Q. Marcius Rex	<i>CIL</i> 16.4.
T. Seius	Plin. <i>HN</i> 18.16.
Pinarius Natta	Cic. <i>Div.</i> 2.47.
C. Marius	Plut. <i>Caes.</i> 6.1: Caesar set up new images of Marius & trophy-bearing Victories in 62.
L. Sulla	Plut. <i>Sull.</i> 6: Bocchus sets up gilt statue of himself remanding Jugurtha to Sulla.
C. Iulius Caesar	Cass. Dio 43.45.3–4, cf. Suet. <i>Iul.</i> 76: Caesar between Brutus and 7 Kings.
<i>Ara Gens Iulia</i>	(Probably late or post-Augustan)
Various	Cic. <i>Cat.</i> 3.19: "... statues of men of earlier times" struck down by lightning. NB: Livy 40.51.3: M.Aemilius Lepidus, as <i>Censor</i> in 179 BCE removed statues, shields, standards obstructing or affixed to columns of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Suet. <i>Gai.</i> 34.1: "[Caligula] destroyed the statues of famous men in the Campus Martius, which, for lack of room, Augustus had moved from the Area Capitolina ..."

Statues & Portraits of Famous Men in the Forum Romanum

Cato the Elder	Val. Max. 8.15.2: portrait statue in the Curia (senate house).
Camillus	Pliny <i>HN</i> 34.22–23: <i>in rostris sine tunica</i> (on Rostra w/o a tunic under toga = Archaic style).
Fabricius	Pliny <i>HN</i> 34.32: statue set up by people of Thurii for liberating them from siege.

Various Pliny *HN* 34.30–31: many unofficial statues cleared from Forum by censors of 158 BCE.

Statues & Portraits of Famous Men Elsewhere

Cato the Elder Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 19: Portrait in Temple of Salus set up by grateful plebs (Esquiline).

Marcellus the Elder Ascon. *Pis.* 11 C: in Temple of *Honos et Virtus ad Portam Capenam* (Via Appia).

Other Select Passages

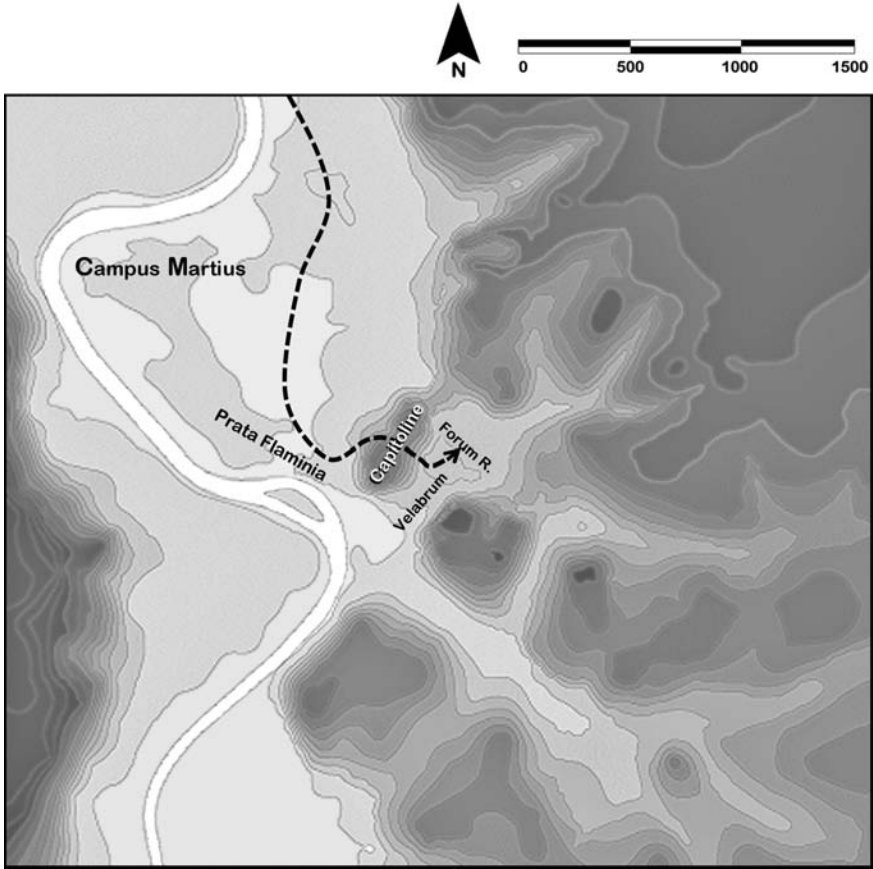
Cic. *Off.* 1.61: Military statues are the most common mode for representing great men.

Suet. *Aug.* 31: Augustus creates the *Summi Viri* monument as *exempla* for himself and subsequent rulers.

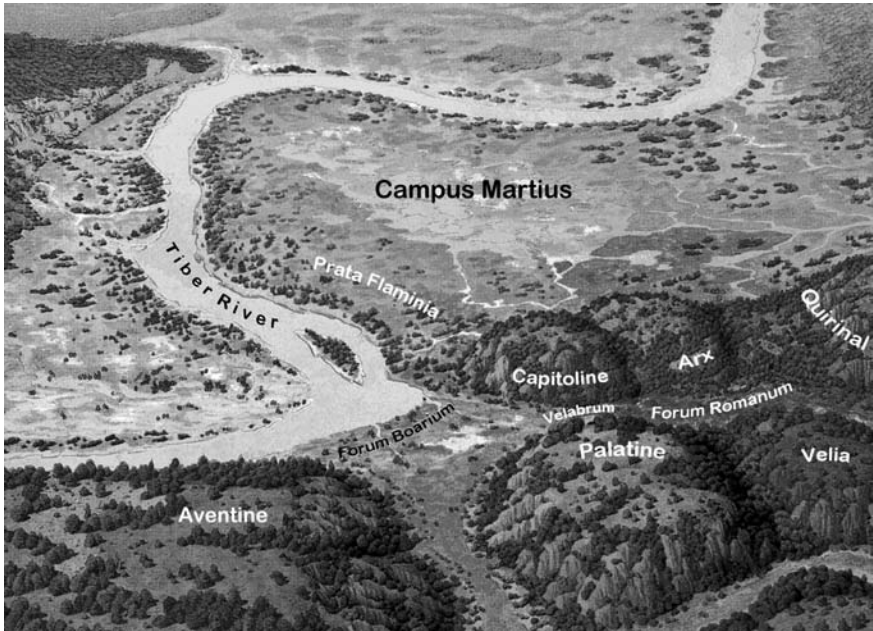
Ov. *Fast.* 5.563–566: Mars “reads” the statue groups of Aeneas and Romulus in the Forum Augustum.



MAP 7.1 *Map of Augustan Rome, including elevations and modern Rome's streets. (Adapted, by permission, from an original created by David Romano et alii for Mapping Augustan Rome, JRA Suppl. 50, Portsmouth 2002). The structures in black are major buildings that existed before the reign of Augustus; the dark gray structures were built or rebuilt during his reign, either by Augustus, Agrippa, or other members of Augustus' family and his friends, often with funding coming from the princeps himself. Note the concentration of major projects in the Campus Martius, Circus Flaminius area, Capitoline (repairs plus Temple of Jupiter Tonans), Palatine, Forum and Imperial Fora. For additional details, see the publication noted above, which includes a comprehensive catalogue of buildings known through literary and/or archaeological sources to have been present in Rome between 44 BCE and 14 CE.*



MAP 7.2 *Chorographic Map of the Campus Martius and Rome's underlying topography, with an overlay of the journey of Aeneas and the Sibyl through Elysium to visit Anchises. (Map adapted, by permission, from the original created by David Romano and Andrew Gallia for Mapping Augustan Rome, JRA Suppl. 50, Portsmouth 2002).*

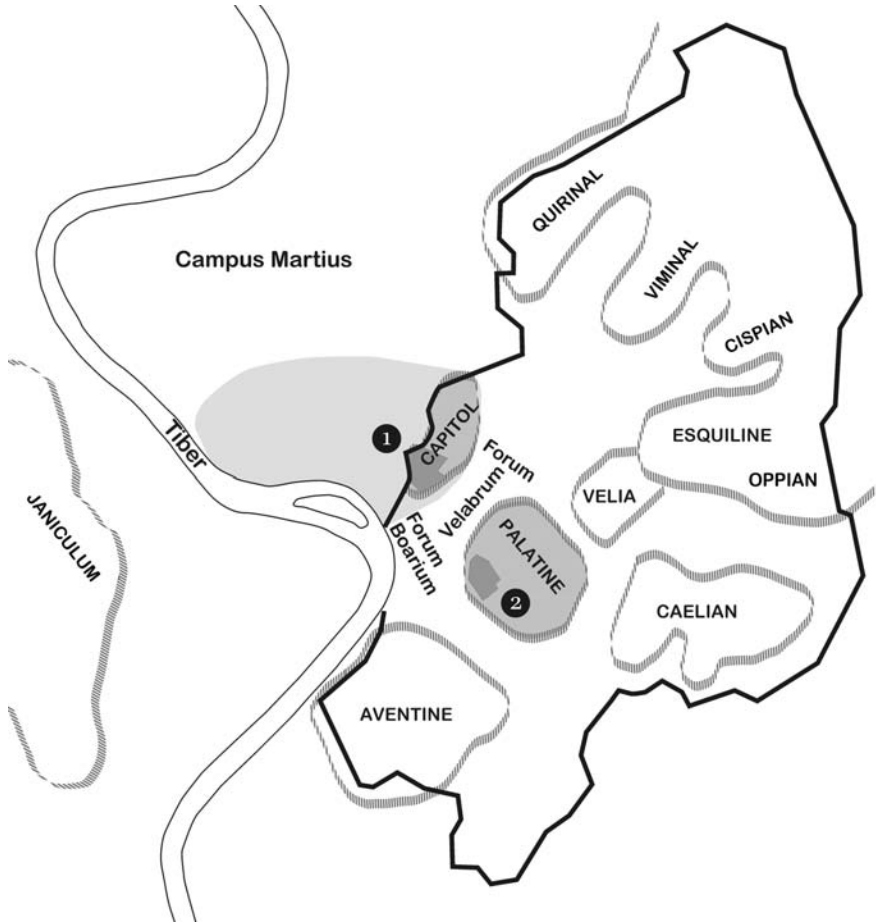


MAP 7.3

The Prehistoric Campus Martius and Rome's underlying topography. In the mid-ground, from left to right, is the Janiculum, Tiber, and Campus Martius. The Prata Flaminia (Flaminian Meadows) are located in the southern Campus Martius opposite Tiber Island. Immediately to the right of Tiber Island are the twin peaks of the Capitoline Hill (Capitol and Arx) with the future Asylum (the so-called Inter Duos Lucos) between. To the right of the Arx is the saddle that connects it to the Quirinal Hill. Just below are the valleys of the Velabrum and future Forum Romanum. In the lower / foreground area, left to right, are the Aventine and Palatine Hills, with the valley of the future Circus Maximus in between. (Original image [without labels] by D.M. & Ink Link Studio. Used with permission: from Manacorda (2001) 13, fig. 3). This map also appears in E. Kondratieff, "Anchises Censorius: Vergil, Augustus and the Census of 28 B. C. E.," Illinois Classical Studies 37 (2012) 130 (but without helpful labels).



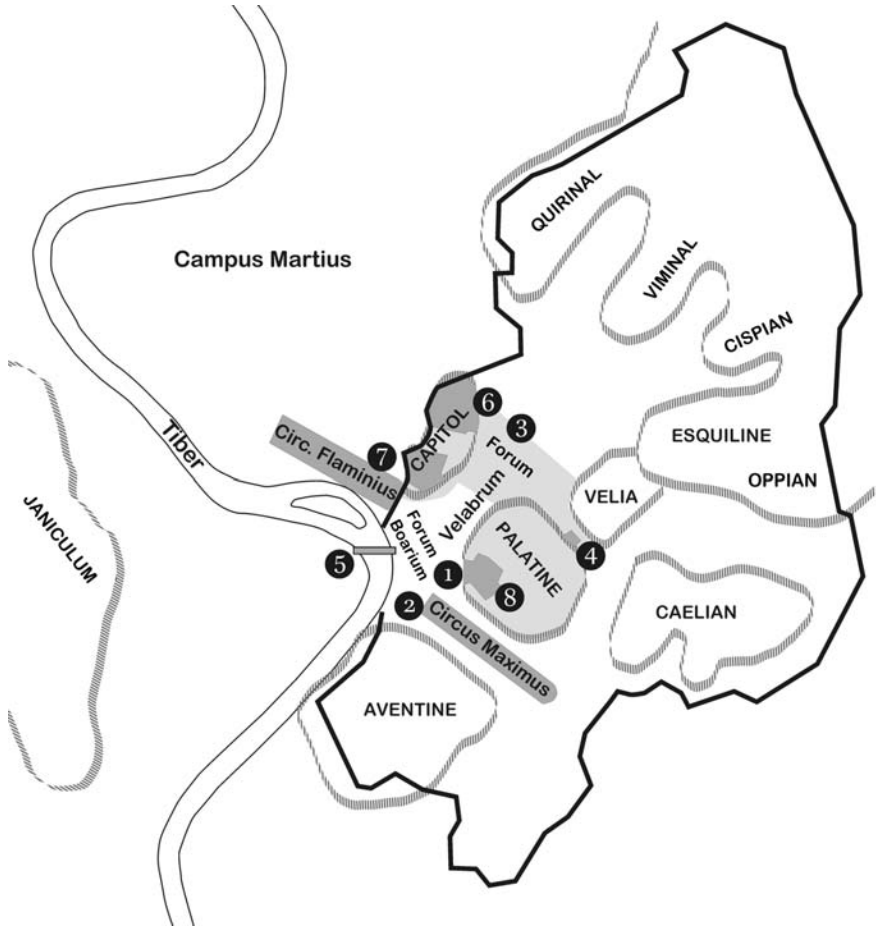
MAP 7.4 *Elysian cognates: Areas of Rome indicated in Aeneid 6.639–898 through verbal and descriptive clues, allusion, or direct reference include all of the gray areas, with the medium gray designating areas of particular focus. The dark gray areas represent specific sites called to mind: 1) Prata Flaminia with Apollinar, where the Temple of Apollo Medicus (Sosianus) and Theater of Marcellus would be located; 2) Area Capitolina; 3) Lupercal, Walls of Romulus, Temple of Cybele/Magna Mater, and House of Augustus (next to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus); 4) Mausoleum of Augustus near the Tiber.*



MAP 7.5 *Latinus' City: Areas of 'regal' Rome alluded to in Aeneid 7 through descriptive clues. Vergil's description of the plain before Latinus' city, its walls and acropolis recalls features of the Campus Martius, Servian Walls and Capitoline Hill. His description of Latinus' temple-domus recalls simultaneously aspects of (1) the Area Capitolina with the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and (2) the Temple of Apollo Palatinus with honorific elements of the House of Augustus.*



MAP 7.6 *Evander's Pallanteum*: Areas of Rome (Pallanteum) referred to in *Aeneid* 8, directly or by allusion. In addition to the main areas, Vergil includes the following: 1) *Ara Maxima Herculis* in the Forum Boarium near the spot where Hercules killed Cacus after chasing him three times round the Aventine Hill; 2) *Porta Carmentalis*; 3) *Asylum of Romulus Between the two Groves (Asylum Romuli inter Duos Lucos)*; 4) *Lupercal*; 5) *Argiletum* (where the Forum of Augustus would be built); 6) *Tarpeian Rock / Arx*, also the location of the thatched hut in the *Auguraculum*; 7) *Area Capitolina / Saturnia* (where the temples of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus* and *Jupiter Tonans*, "The Thunderer", would be built); 8) *Janiculum*; 9) *Forum romanum*, inhabited by cows; 10) *Carinae* (the chic district where Augustus would grow up); 11) the hut of Evander on the Palatine in the future *Area Apollinis* (general location also of the *Casa Romuli* and of the *Domus Liviae*).



MAP 7.7 *Shield of Aeneas: Areas of early Republican (to ca. 390 BCE) and early Augustan Rome of great historical significance referred to in Aeneid 8, directly or by allusion: 1) Lupercal; 2) Circus Maximus; 3) Battle of Romulus against the Sabines, from the Arx, through the Forum, to 4) Altar (and later, temple) of Jupiter Stator; 5) Sublician Bridge defended by Horatius Cocles against Lars Porsenna (and site of Cloelia's big swim); 6) Arx/Citadel and Temple of Juno Moneta, "The Warner," defended by the sacred geese and Manlius Capitolinus against the Gauls; 7) Circus Flaminius and Area Capitolina (beginning and ending points for Augustus' triple triumph in 29); 8) Area Apollinis, where Augustus is supposed to have received envoys from the farthest reaches of Rome's imperium sine fine.*



FIGURE 7.2

Hellenistic Ruler / Seleucid or Pergamene Prince (?) 3rd–2nd c. BCE, Palazzo Massimo alle terme, Inv. 1049.



FIGURE 7.3 *Bronze statue of Augustus as Jupiter, ca. 50 CE. Herculaneum. Museo archeologica nazionale di Napoli, Inv. 5595.*



FIGURE 7.4 *Mid-4th c. BCE tomb painting of Samnite warriors, Nola, Italy. Now in the Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli. Nota bene the twin-crested helmets of the vexillifer to the left, and the cavalryman to the right. Photo: adapted from an original image that is now in the public domain.*



FIGURE 7.5

P. Licinius Nerva, AR denarius, Rome, 113 BCE, RRC 292/1. Obv. only: ROMA behind bust of Roma wearing twin-crested helmet, bearing shield and spear. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.



FIGURE 7.6

M. Sanquinius, AR denarius, Rome, 17 BCE RIC I² Augustus 340; BMCRE Augustus 70. Obv. only: AVGVST · DI·VI · F · LVDOS · SAE, herald of Ludi Saeculares standing left in long robe, wearing helmet with two long feathers, holding winged caduceus in rt. hand and round shield ornamented with six-pointed star (Sidus Iulium) in left. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.



FIGURE 7.7

Anonymous, AU 60 Asses. Rome, 211–208 BCE, RRC 44/2. Obv. only: Bearded head of Mars right, wearing double-crested Corinthian helmet. LX (mark of value) behind. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.



FIGURE 7.8A

L. Pomponius Molo, AR denarius, Rome, 97 BCE, RRC 334/1. Rev.: Numa Pompilius standing right, holding lituus before lighted altar about to sacrifice a goat held by victimarius; NVMA·POMPIL (with ligatures) in exergue. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.



FIGURE 7.8B

Cn. Calpurnius Piso, pro quaestor, AR denarius, 48 BCE, RRC 446/1. Obv.: Head of Numa Pompilius right, wearing diadem inscribed NVMA; CN·PISO·PRO·Q around left. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.



FIGURE 7.9 *P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, AR denarius, Rome, 50 BCE, RRC 439/1. Obv.: Head of the consul M. Claudius Marcellus right, MARCELLINVS before, triskeles behind. Rev.: Marcellus carrying trophy into tetrastyle temple of Jupiter Feretrius, MARCELLVS on right, COS · QVINQ on left. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group / Nomos.*



FIGURE 7.10 *Nero, ÆAs, Lugdunum (Lyons), ca. 64 BCE, RIC 1² Nero 211. Obv.: NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERMANI around Nero's laureate bust right, small globe at point of bust. Rev.: PONTIF MAX TR POT IMP P P; Nero as Apollo. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.*



FIGURE 7.11 *Adaptations of an artist's rendering (in Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome) of matching frescoes of Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius-Iulus fleeing Troy, and Romulus carrying the spolia opima, found in the late 19th c. in Pompeii (Pompeii IX.13.5). These images likely represent the statue groups created for the Summi Viri monument in the Forum Augustum, Aeneas standing at the head of the Julian line of ancestors, Romulus standing at the head of Rome's triumphators. These images are based on photos originally published in Della Corte (1913) 144–145, figs. 1 and 2, as found in the House of M. Fabius Ululitremulus on the Via dell' Abondanza.*



FIGURE 7.12 *Shared with 7.11.*



FIGURE 7.13

The reverses of two aurei issued in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE), in the early 140s CE as part of a larger series (in gold, silver and bronze) celebrating Rome's foundation legends in anticipation of Rome's ninth centenary. Above, the Aeneas, Anchises and Iulus-Ascanius group from the Summi Viri monument in the Forum Augusti (RIC III A. Pius 91; cf. Hill (1989) 162 [sestertius of 141–143 CE]); below, Romulus with the spolia opima, from the same monument (RIC III A. Pius 90; BMCRE A. Pius 238). Original photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group. NB: These statue groups were also reproduced as acroterial monuments for the eaves of the Temple of Divus Augustus, as seen on sestertii of Antoninus Pius celebrating his restoration of that temple (RIC III A. Pius 787, 1003).



FIGURE 7.14

Shared with 7.13.

Reading the Civic Landscape of Augustan Rome: *Aeneid* 1.421–429 and the Building Program of Augustus

Darryl A. Phillips

The Carthage of Aeneas

In the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the Trojan hero Aeneas weathers storms at sea and beaches his ships on an unknown shore. Setting out with his faithful lieutenant Achates, Aeneas finds himself on a hill high above the settlement of Carthage. From this vantage point he is able to read the cityscape below to learn about the inhabitants of this foreign land. He sees the Tyrians building their new city:

*Miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.
Instant ardentem Tyrii: pars ducere muros
molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa,
pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco;
iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.
Hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta theatris
fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora apta futuris.*

VERG. *Aen.* 1.421–429

Aeneas admires the mass of the city, once just huts.
He admires the gates and the noise and the paving of the roads.
Eager the Tyrians press on in their work: some to extend the walls
and to fortify the citadel and to roll up stones by hand,
others to pick a site for a house and to enclose it with a trench.
They select laws and magistrates and a sacred senate.
Here some men excavate the harbors; there others place
the deep foundations for theaters, and they cut out huge columns
from rocks, fitting adornments for future shows.¹

1 The Latin text is from Mynors 1969. English translations here and throughout the paper are my own.

This scene of Aeneas' initial encounter with the city of Carthage has attracted much attention from scholars. It is the first developed description of city-building in the *Aeneid* and is given great emphasis by the placement in the lines immediately following of an extended simile that likens the busy builders to bees (*Aen.* 1.430–436). The theme of city building that is presented here is developed by Virgil as a leitmotif of the epic.² Scholars have also long debated the relationship between Dido's Carthage as presented in the epic and the building of a new Roman settlement at Carthage that was initiated by Julius Caesar and continued by Augustus.³ Finally, Virgil's description of the on-going construction of Carthage has brought to mind the building that was going on in Rome at the time that Virgil was writing his epic.⁴ In particular, Aeneas' view of Carthage from the hills high above the city has been connected with the view of Rome from Maecenas' house on the Esquiline Hill presented by Horace: "Stop admiring the smoke, the riches, and the noise of wealthy Rome" (*Carm.* 3.29.11–12: *omitte mirari beatae fumum et opes strepitumque Romae*).⁵

It is the connection between Aeneas' view of the construction in Carthage and the building in Rome that I will pursue here. First, by surveying the building activities in Rome in Virgil's day, the connection with the scene in the *Aeneid* becomes clear. Like Virgil's imagined cityscape of Carthage, Rome was buzzing with building activity carried out by leading citizens. As Virgil is seen to reflect the buildings and traditions of contemporary Rome in his description of Carthage, we might then take Aeneas' survey of Carthage as a guide for conducting our own survey of the cityscape of Rome. Indeed, through Aeneas, Virgil provides us with a model for how a Roman might view the construction in the city in the 20s BCE and provides us with a new approach for interpreting the building projects undertaken by Augustus during this pivotal era. As Aeneas reads the cityscape of Carthage, we are invited to read the civic landscape of Augustan Rome and examine from a new perspective Augustus' rise to power.⁶ By focusing on public building and civic functions in the city, we are

2 Morwood 1991.

3 For a discussion of the issue and bibliography, see Harrison 1984. Harrison convincingly argues against the notion that Virgil fashioned the scenes in Carthage as a response to contemporary concerns about the curse of Scipio.

4 See, for example, Favro 1996 228; Clay 1988 195–196.

5 For more than a century commentators have made this connection. For example, Page 1894 181; Ganiban 2009 70.

6 As this paper moves between events in the early 20s BCE, for ease of reference I use the names "Augustus" and "Augustan" throughout the paper, although C. Julius Caesar Octavianus did not receive the honorific name Augustus until January of 27 BCE.

better able to understand this transitional period that saw the end of civil wars, the restoration of republican institutions, and the foundation of the principate. In addition, we gain a new appreciation of Virgil's unique perspective as a witness to the events of the 20s BCE who did not live to see the full development of the state in the later Augustan era.

In describing the building activity in Carthage, Virgil emphasizes the active participation of many different Tyrians. He begins with the collective description of all of the Tyrians pressing on in their work (*Aen.* 1.423: *instant ardentēs Tyrii*). His focus then turns to the work of specific groups of men, some who construct the walls and others who survey sites for houses (*Aen.* 1.423–425: *pars ducere muros ... pars optare locum*). Next, we see the new Carthaginians collectively choosing their laws and magistrates and senate (*Aen.* 1.426: *legunt*). Finally, some men are seen excavating the harbors, while others are observed digging the foundations for the theater (*Aen.* 1.427–428: *alii effodiunt ... locant alii*). As we the readers, like our guide Aeneas, have yet to meet the inhabitants of this new city, none of the individual Tyrians are identified by name. Nevertheless, throughout this passage Virgil has structured his description to draw attention to the participation of the many Tyrians who were contributing to the construction of the city. The passage makes it clear that building a city requires many hands.

The Rome of Virgil

Like the cityscape of Carthage seen by Aeneas, Rome in the 30s and 20s BCE, when Virgil was writing the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*, was teeming with public building projects sponsored by many different leading men in the state. The Atrium Libertatis, a complex that included Rome's first public library, was being built by C. Asinius Pollio in the early 30s BCE.⁷ The Regia, the traditional residence of the Pontifex Maximus, was being rebuilt in the Forum Romanum by Cn. Domitius Calvinus.⁸ A massive clean-up and expansion of Rome's urban infrastructure was undertaken by M. Vipsanius Agrippa in 33 BCE.⁹ Rome's first

7 Pollio's project was financed from the spoils of his Illyrian campaign for which he celebrated a triumph in 39 BCE. See Richardson 1992 41.

8 Calvinus restored the Regia with the spoils from his victory in Spain in 36 BCE. Richardson 1992 328.

9 Dio 49.43 offers an overview. See Shipley 1933 19–34 for other primary sources and a discussion of Agrippa's work as aedile.

stone amphitheater was completed by T. Statilius Taurus in 29 BCE.¹⁰ Temples, new and newly restored, were dedicated in honor of Apollo, Diana, and Juppiter Tonans, to name just a few.¹¹ Roads were restored and newly monumentalized: the Via Flaminia by Augustus¹² and the Via Latina by C. Calvisius Sabinus and M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus.¹³ Like the Tyrian settlers in Virgil's epic, many leading Romans in the 30s and 20s BCE were striving to complete new civic buildings to adorn their city. In Rome, the sponsorship of these monuments for the use of the Roman people brought special prestige to each of the individual builders and their families.¹⁴ Virgil was certainly aware of these building activities and was sensitive to the building practices and traditions of Rome in his own day.¹⁵ In his description of the efforts of the Tyrians to adorn their city, Virgil reflects the building culture and activities of Rome as he knew it in the late first century BCE. As an observer, Aeneas might well be viewing the new construction in Rome as he reads the cityscape of Carthage.

Moreover, Aeneas' survey of Carthage includes more than just buildings. Rather jarring to the modern reader of the *Aeneid* is the unexpected inclusion of civic activities at the center of the list of "works in progress" in Carthage.

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- 10 Dio 51.23.1 provides the date. The construction of the amphitheater followed Taurus' triumph *ex Africa* in 34 BCE. Richardson 1992 11.
- 11 Temple of Apollo by C. Sosius, completed c. 30–28 BCE (Richardson 1992 13); Apollo on the Palatine by Augustus, completed in 28 BCE (Dio 53.1.3); Temple of Diana by L. Cornificius, following his triumph of 33 BCE (Richardson 1992 108–109); Temple of Juppiter Tonans, vowed by Augustus in 26 BCE and dedicated in 22 BCE (Richardson 1992 226).
- 12 Richardson 1992 415–416. Restoration took place in 27 BCE (Dio 53.22.1).
- 13 Following their triumphs in 28 and 27 BCE respectively. See Shipley 1931 31. Shipley's work, with its collection of primary source references, still remains a useful starting point for investigating buildings of this period.
- 14 Kuttner 2004 321 succinctly summarizes the Roman practice: "Unlike in other ancient city-states, almost all communally relevant projects were delegated to the individual, shaped and signed by the individual, not by a committee, and remained the legacy of his clan." For an in-depth discussion, see Orlin 1997. Orlin investigates temple building as he demonstrates the tension between aristocratic self-promotion and regulation by the state. Zanker 1988 65–71 showcases the rivalry of competing builders during this period, but his reading privileges the party politics set out by Syme 1939 and downplays the influence of the long standing Republican tradition of aristocratic self-promotion through public building that surely motivated many of these construction projects in the late 40s and 30s BCE.
- 15 See most recently the arguments presented by Meban 2008 in his analysis of the proem to Book 3 of the *Georgics* and Rebeggiani 2013, who examines the influence of Augustus' buildings in the Forum Romanum on the *Aeneid*.

In addition to the building of walls and the laying of foundations, Aeneas sees the Tyrian settlers selecting “laws and magistrates and a sacred senate” (*Aen.* 1.426: *iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum*).¹⁶ These civic activities form an integral part of Aeneas’ survey of the city, and their importance is emphasized by the central position that these activities occupy in Virgil’s composition. For Aeneas, and for Virgil’s Roman audience, reading the landscape of the city of Carthage also involves noting the civic functions that are underway. It is striking that the imagined cityscape of Carthage includes the hallmarks of Roman political life—legislative assemblies, electoral assemblies, and meetings of the Senate. Here the parallel between the imagined city of Carthage and Virgil’s Rome is developed directly; the civic activities that Aeneas notes are the traditional political functions of the *Senatus populusque Romanus*. Following the lead of Aeneas, if we narrow the focus of our survey of Rome to highlight the sites of the civic activities that captured Aeneas’ interest, investigating the places where the Romans in Virgil’s day passed laws and elected magistrates and the sites where the Senate met, we no longer see the efforts of multiple builders all striving to adorn the city. Our focus narrows to a single individual. To read the civic landscape of Rome in the 20s BCE from this perspective is to read the story of Augustus’ rise to power in the newly restored Republic. While many men adorned the city, Augustus alone served as the patron of monumental new sites that hosted the political activities of the state.

The Political Cityscape

To begin we might turn our sights to places where the Romans passed laws in Virgil’s day. The Temple of Divus Julius in the Forum Romanum is the only location in Augustan-era Rome for which we have direct evidence of its use to host legislative voting assemblies.¹⁷ The shrine was begun by the triumvirs in 42 BCE in honor of the newly deified Julius Caesar, but was not completed until 29 BCE when it was dedicated by Augustus alone after the end of the civil

16 Indeed the inclusion of civic functions within the list of building projects has led some editors to question the authenticity of this line, even though the manuscript tradition is sound. Austin 1971 148 notes that “the line has full manuscript authority,” but “it is nothing that Aeneas could see, only what (from a Roman point of view) would come into his mind when he saw a city being built.”

17 See Phillips 2011 for a full discussion and an argument for the early use of the site for voting assemblies.

wars.¹⁸ The temple was the center of the cult of Divus Julius. Constructed at the site where Caesar's body had been cremated, the new temple became the focal point of the south-east end of the Forum Romanum.¹⁹ Ample space at the front of the structure could accommodate large crowds, and the temple was specially designed to make use of its commanding position. A speaker's platform with lateral steps leading up to the podium was constructed at the front of the temple. The temple immediately became an important stage for public addresses, and was used throughout the principate.²⁰ In addition, it likely began serving as a voting venue soon after its dedication in 29 BCE. We know that a law was passed at the Temple of Divus Julius in 9 BCE (Front. *Aq.* 2.129).

Although the temple and cult honored Augustus' adoptive and now divine father, the decoration of the site firmly connect the building with Augustus himself. The rostra that Augustus captured from the enemy fleet at the battle of Actium were mounted on the front of the speaker's platform (Dio 51.19.2). Other spoils from Augustus' eastern campaigns were placed inside the temple's cella next to the cult statue (Dio 51.22.2–3; *RG* 21.2). An architectural frieze depicting winged Victories decorated the structure, a fitting decorative scheme that called to mind the earlier victories of Julius Caesar and linked them with the more recent triumphs of Augustus.²¹

Virgil might well have had in mind the new Temple of Divus Julius and its cult statue when he composed the scene early in the *Aeneid* where Jupiter reveals to Venus the fate of her descendants:

*Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,
Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.
Hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum
accipies securo; vocabitur hic quoque votis.*

VERG. *Aen.* 1.286–290

18 Dio 47.18.4; 51.22.2; cf. *RG* 19, where Augustus takes credit for the temple.

19 See Sumi 2011 for a discussion of the symbolic importance of the site, both before and after the construction of the temple.

20 Octavia's body lay in state in the Temple of Divus Julius, and Augustus delivered a funeral oration for his sister from the rostra of the temple in 11 BCE (Dio 54.35.4–5). Tiberius later delivered the funeral oration for Augustus from this same site (Dio 56.34.4; Suet. *Aug.* 100.3). The so-called Anaglypha Traiani shows the emperor addressing a crowd from the temple's rostra in the second century CE.

21 For the frieze, see Montagna Pasquinucci 1973 268–272.

A Trojan Caesar of illustrious parentage will be born,
 who will limit his empire at the Ocean, his fame at the stars,
 Julius, a name passed down from great Iulus.
 One day, free from care, you will welcome this man in heaven,
 loaded down with eastern spoils; he too will be called upon in prayers.

The identity of the “Caesar” and the “Julius” referred to in these lines has attracted much attention, as commentators interpret the passage as a reference to either Julius Caesar or Augustus.²² But by reading the passage as a description of the newly erected cult statue of the Temple of Divus Julius, we can reconcile these seemingly opposing views. Julius Caesar’s Gallic campaigns had extended the empire to the ocean, and the cult statue of Divus Julius was loaded down with the spoils of his son Augustus’ eastern campaigns. Virgil captures this relationship succinctly in these lines. We need not read this passage as pre-figuring Augustus’ deification. Instead, we might read it as a poetic description of an important new monument in the city of Rome constructed at the time that Virgil was writing his epic.²³

It was at the Temple of Divus Julius and in view of the cult statue of Augustus’ divine father that Romans met to vote on legislation throughout the Augustan age. In constructing the temple, Augustus honored his father and served as sponsor of a monumental new site for civic activities.

In the same year that the Temple of Divus Julius was completed, at the other end of Forum Romanum a new meeting place for the Senate was opened, the Curia Julia.²⁴ Construction of a new Senate house at the north-west end of the Forum had first been planned by Julius Caesar to replace the Curia Hostilia. Augustus completed the work on the project, opening the Curia Julia in 29 BCE. Augustus claimed full credit for the building. In the *Res Gestae* (RG 19) he places the Curia in the emphatic first position, at the head of the long list of the buildings he constructed. Dio (51.22) records that Augustus dedicated the building in honor of his father Julius Caesar. The name Curia Julia, of course, honors both Julius Caesar and Augustus himself, as Augustus was an adopted member of the Julian family. The connection to Augustus’ recent conquests was emphasized by the placement inside the chamber of spoils from Augustus’

22 See Austin 1971 110 for a summary of the arguments on both sides; Williams 2003 15–18 for a recent discussion and bibliography.

23 See also Rebeggiani 2013 60–63, who argues that Virgil references the Temple of Divus Iulius, Temple of Castor, and Arch of Augustus in his description of Aeneas’ shield (*Aen.* 8.678–681).

24 For a discussion of the opening ceremonies for both structures, see Sumi 2005 217–218.

Egyptian campaign that decorated a statue of Victory brought to Rome from the city of Tarentum.²⁵ Like the Temple of Divus Julius, the Curia Julia both honored Julius Caesar and celebrated Augustus' victories.

In the Forum Romanum, the place where Romans gathered to ratify their laws and the principal site where the Senate met both had been given monumental new homes by Augustus. Both sites were closely connected with Augustus' family and Augustus' military victories. The opening of these new venues represents a substantial change. For a century prior to the completion of the Temple of Divus Julius the neighboring Temple of Castor had served as the primary location for legislative assemblies.²⁶ Similarly, the Curia Hostilia in the Forum Romanum, through many restorations, had long been an important meeting place for the Republican-era Senate before the construction of the new Curia Julia.²⁷ Augustus' new projects permanently changed the landscape of civic life in the Forum Romanum.

Construction of a new venue in the Campus Martius to host elections fell to Augustus' close ally and future son-in-law M. Vipsanius Agrippa. As we shall see, this site also paid honor to Augustus.²⁸ The Campus Martius was the traditional meeting place for the centuriate assembly that elected praetors, consuls, and censors. Because the centuriate assembly was organized in ancient military classes and elected magistrates who would also serve as military leaders, it always met outside the sacred boundary of the city.²⁹ Although electoral meetings of the tribal assembly might be held in the Forum Romanum or at other locations within the pomerium, at least since the second century BCE these meetings seem to have been regularly held in the Campus Martius as well.³⁰

Before the middle of the first century BCE the assembly site in the Campus Martius was unadorned. It was Julius Caesar who first proposed to monumentalize the voting enclosure. Cicero (*Att.* 4.16.14) describes Caesar's plan to erect

25 For the statue and spoils, Dio 51.22.1–2. Richardson 1992 103–104; Bonnefond-Coudry 1995 offers a detailed analysis of the decoration and the politics of naming the site in honor of Julius Caesar.

26 Taylor 1966 25–29, 41.

27 Bonnefond-Coudry 1989 32–47, sets out the evidence for meeting places of the Senate during the last two centuries of the Republic. For the building history, see Richardson 1992 102–103.

28 For an overview of Agrippa's work in the Campus Martius, later dubbed the *monumenta Agrippae*, see Haselberger 2007 100–129. Haselberger discusses the relationship between Augustus and Agrippa, but does not explore the civic functions of the buildings that are our focus here.

29 Gell. *NA* 15.27: *Centuriata comitia intra pomerium fieri nefas esse.*

30 Taylor 1966 47.

a marble portico one mile in circumference around the site.³¹ Caesar's plans were not realized in his lifetime. After his assassination, M. Aemilius Lepidus continued work on the project (Dio 53.23.2). The site was finally completed and dedicated by Agrippa in 26 BCE. Dio tells us that Agrippa named the site the *Saepta Julia* in honor of Augustus. As with the *Curia Julia*, the name calls to mind both Julius Caesar, the man who originally conceived of the monumental building, and his adopted son Augustus whom Agrippa honored at its opening. Although we are entirely lacking in specific evidence for the location of elections in the Augustan age, we should envision that most electoral assemblies were held in the *Saepta Julia*.³²

Lily Ross Taylor and Lucos Cozza offer a reconstruction of the *Saepta Julia* in both structure and function.³³ Access to the *Saepta Julia* was limited, presumably to manage the crowds at elections and to prevent fraud. Voters would gather in the open space to the north of the *Saepta* and enter the structure on its northern end. Voters were then channeled down rows marked off by ropes. They cast their ballots at the southern end of the enclosure, and then departed through exits located at the south-east and south-west.³⁴ The entire voting process would be carried out in a monumental new setting enclosed by the largest marble porticoes in Rome where impressive works of art were on display.³⁵

Immediately to the west of the *Saepta Julia*, and defining along with it the northern edge of development in the *Campus Martius*, was the so-called Pantheon of Agrippa. The Pantheon was completed within a year of the *Saepta Julia*.³⁶ Although the exact nature of the building itself and the full details of its architectural plan remain unknown, recent work has shown that the Pantheon,

31 See Coarelli 2001 41–43 for a discussion of the relationship between Caesar's plan and the completed enclosure.

32 Taylor 1966 47–48. The only known exception is an election held during the principate of Tiberius in CE 30 (*CIL* 6.10213 = *ILS* 6044), on which, see Syme 1956.

33 For the reconstruction by Taylor and Cozza, see Taylor 1966 47–58. Coarelli 2001 44–45 accepts the external dimensions reconstructed by Taylor and Cozza, but offers a slight modification to the plan for the interior of the site.

34 Richardson 1992 341 questions the practicality of entering from the north for most Romans who lived to the south and east of the site. Nevertheless, the open space to the north would have functioned well as a staging ground for assemblies. The south was lacking similar space.

35 Richardson 1992 340–341.

36 The inscription *CIL* 6.896.1 implies that the building was completed in 27 BCE during Agrippa's third consulship, but Dio (53.27.1–2) notes that Agrippa's buildings in this area of the campus were completed in 25 BCE.

like the *Saepta Julia*, had a northern orientation.³⁷ The front podium on the north side of the structure was approached by lateral stairs, thus creating a speaker's platform similar to the one at the front of the new temple of *Divus Julius* in the *Forum Romanum*. It is tempting to envision the platform at the front of the *Pantheon* serving pre-election functions. Crowds could gather in the open area to the north of the *Pantheon* and *Saepta Julia*, hear speeches and announcements from officials standing on the *Pantheon*'s platform, and then proceed into the *Saepta Julia* to cast their votes. Later in the Augustan period it is possible that the podium of the *Pantheon* itself even played host to voting assemblies. We know that the special voting centuries created in 5 CE in honor of Augustus' deceased adopted sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar met somewhere outside the *Saepta Julia* to cast their votes in elections.³⁸ The location and plan of the podium of the *Pantheon* make it a likely location for these special electoral proceedings.³⁹

Although both the *Saepta Julia* and *Pantheon* were built by Agrippa, special efforts were made to associate these sites with Augustus. As we have noted, Agrippa named the *Saepta Julia* for Augustus, not for himself.⁴⁰ Dio (53.27.2–3) reports that Agrippa had also planned to name the *Pantheon* after Augustus. When the proposal to name the building for Augustus was refused, Agrippa instead erected a statue of Augustus, along with a matching one of himself, in the porch of the *Pantheon*.⁴¹ Inside, a statue of Julius Caesar was included along with representations of a number of gods. These efforts to honor Augustus separate the *Saepta Julia* and *Pantheon* from the other buildings erected by

37 Virgili and Battistelli 1999.

38 The voting units were created by the *Lex Valeria Cornelia* of 5 CE, known to us through the later measure to honor Germanicus recorded in the *Tabula Hebana*. For the text and discussion, see Oliver and Palmer 1954. The ballots of these special voting units were carried into the *Saepta Julia* to be counted (line 35 of the inscription records: *in saept[a d]eferantur*).

39 Demougin 1987 suggests that the special voting units met at the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine. While the site's close connection with Augustus makes it an appealing location, it is unlikely that the centuries would have met inside the pomerium. The *Pantheon*, being both closely associated with Augustus and located in the *Campus Martius*, seems a more likely location.

40 Dio 53.23.2. The site is often referred to simply as "Saepta." It appears once in a late source, (*Hist. Aug. Alex.* 26), as "Saepta Agrippiana."

41 On the statue of Augustus, see Koortbojian 2011 262–264. Koortbojian suggests that the statue of Augustus in the porch of the *Pantheon* may have been a forerunner of the cuirassed *Prima Porta* statue type, and was itself likely based on the earlier *statua loricata* of Julius Caesar.

Agrippa that, as we might normally expect, proudly celebrated Agrippa alone as the builder of the structure.⁴²

It is striking that during a period that saw so much public building sponsored by and celebrating the success of so many different individuals, all of the sites specifically built to host political activities—meetings of the Senate and both legislative and electoral assemblies—were sponsored by or closely associated with Augustus. As we read the civic landscape of Rome, we see Augustus serving as a sponsor of political institutions. Through these sites Augustus and his family separated themselves from other builders in the city and became firmly associated with the political landscape of Rome.

Furthermore, epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources suggest that this building activity was part of a deliberate policy of Augustus to bring back and enhance traditional political institutions. In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus' narrative of his own accomplishments, Augustus relates that in 28 and 27 BCE he transferred government institutions from his power to the control of the Senate and Roman people.⁴³ After the years of civil war, the Senate and the Roman people were to take up their traditional roles as deliberative and voting bodies. An aureus dating to 28 BCE publicizes this very act, celebrating the fact that Augustus restored the laws and rights to the Roman people (*LEGES ET IURA P R RESTITUIT*).⁴⁴ Literary sources also record the restoration of popular voting assemblies. Suetonius specifies that Augustus brought back the old Republican form of the assemblies (*Aug. 40.2: comitorum quoque pristinum ius reduxit*).⁴⁵ A near contemporary of the events, Velleius Paterculus notes that the force of laws and the dignity of the Senate were restored (2.89.3: *restituta vis legibus, iudiciis auctoritas, senatui maiestas*), and that the old form of the Republic had been brought back (2.89.3: *Prisca illa et antiqua rei publicae forma revocata*).

The opening of the Temple of Divus Julius, the Curia Julia, the Saepta Julia, and the Pantheon all date to this same period. In the early 20s BCE the building

42 For example, the Basilica of Neptune is explicitly said to have celebrated Agrippa's naval victories (Dio 53.27.1).

43 *RG* 34.1: *In consulatu sexto et septimo, postqua[m] b]el[la civil]ia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum [po]tens re[ru]m om[n]ium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senat[us] populi[que] R[om]ani [a]rbitrium transtuli*. On the new restoration of the text, see the summary presented by Cooley 2009 257–260. See Galinsky 1996 42–79, Rich and Williams 1999, and Ferrary 2003 for recent discussions of this restoration of Republican institutions.

44 Rich and Williams 1999 200–201.

45 Dio (53.21.6: ὁ τε δῆμος ἐς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὖ συνέλεγετο) also specifically mentions the return of assemblies at this time.

program of Augustus and Agrippa gave a physical dimension to the restoration of political institutions.⁴⁶ Not only did Augustus return the Senate and popular assemblies to their former role, but, as we have seen, the Senate and assemblies were given monumental new homes sponsored by and associated with Augustus. As Virgil might have put it, once again the Romans were to select laws and magistrates and a sacred Senate. All of these civic activities would now take place in buildings honoring Augustus. Expanding on Aeneas' survey of Carthage that draws a connection between the construction of buildings and the carrying out of civic activities, as we read the civic landscape of the city of Rome in the 20s BCE we see a new connection being developed between the state and Augustus himself.

The Contemporary Perspective of Virgil

Looking back on the Augustan age from a century later, the historian Tacitus, in the first book of the *Annales* (1.9–10), famously presents conflicting assessments of Augustus, reading Augustus, on the one hand, as a champion of the Republic and, on the other hand, viewing him as a scheming dynast. The two views set out by Tacitus have provided the framework for assessments of Augustus ever since. As is often the case with Tacitus, an important truth lies behind his remarks. Tacitus recognized, and so ought we, that the same actions can be interpreted in radically different ways. By reading the civic landscape of Rome we are able to see the rival images of Augustus, the noble Republican and self-serving dynast, as two sides of the same coin. Augustus did work tirelessly to restore Roman governmental institutions, and it was this work itself that helped to establish Augustus and his family as an imperial dynasty and ultimately led to the overthrow of the Republican order.

Tacitus was writing a hundred years after these events, in an age when the principate had long been firmly established. In contrast, Virgil provides us with a contemporary vantage point that captures an early step in the transition of government. Virgil witnessed an early stage of Augustus' rise in position and saw first-hand his efforts to become the leading patron of civic institutions in Rome. But during Virgil's lifetime there were still many other individuals

46 In discussing Suetonius (*Aug.* 28.2), Sumi 2005 222, notes that the new topography was symbolic of the restoration of governmental institutions by Augustus. While he notes the interrelationship, Sumi does not closely examine the chronology as we have done here.

who, like Augustus, were themselves striving to adorn the city of Rome and build their own reputations. For Virgil and his contemporaries in the 20s BCE Augustus was just one among numerous builders, but by constructing sites to host political functions, Augustus occupied a special and central place in the newly restored Rome. Virgil bears witness to the rise of Augustus at a time when the full form of the principate had yet to be realized.

Virgil died in September of 19 BCE. Earlier in that same year L. Cornelius Balbus had celebrated a triumph over the Garamantes in Africa (*Inscript. It.* 13.1). Six years later, in 13 BCE, Balbus opened a new theater in Rome, a grand structure financed by the spoils of his victory and bearing his name.⁴⁷ Balbus presided over the lavish games that celebrated the opening of the new complex; Augustus was not in attendance as he had yet to return from his tour of the western provinces (Dio 54.25.1–2). To contemporary observers Balbus would have been seen to be continuing a long-standing tradition. For decades leading Romans had sponsored public buildings to adorn the city and to enhance their own reputations. Only in future years would the people of Rome come to realize the significance of this event; Balbus would be the last person outside the family of Augustus to be awarded a triumph and the last to sponsor a public building in Rome to mark his victory.⁴⁸ With the Theater of Balbus, the building traditions reflected in Virgil's poems come to an end.

Had Virgil lived just twenty years longer he would have seen a very different Rome than the one he knew in the 20s BCE. Just two decades later, we no longer find multiple builders striving to adorn Rome with public works while building their own reputations. Construction in Rome did continue and the renewed civic institutions were thriving, but now the political buildings along with all other new civic sites were sponsored by Augustus and members of his family. The Romans were still voting on laws and electing magistrates, and the Senate continued to meet, but these civic institutions that were the hallmarks of Roman political life were now housed in venues sponsored by or closely associated with Augustus.

Virgil did not live to see the complete transformation of the city of Rome and the full development of the principate, but in the *Aeneid* we see reflected an early stage of the development and can perhaps also glimpse Virgil's view of the

47 On the Theater of Balbus, see Richardson 1992 381–382.

48 For the restriction on triumphs, see Hickson 1991 127–130. See Eck 1984 138–142 for a discussion of the end of senatorial public building in Rome as connected with the end of triumphs by people outside Augustus' family, and Eck 2011 for a detailed treatment of the shift in senatorial building to sites outside of Rome.

future. Virgil presents a cautionary tale. As the story of Aeneas' stay in Carthage unfolds, Aeneas and Virgil's reader soon learn more about the inhabitants of the new city of Carthage. We learn that the building activity and civic functions in Carthage are being overseen by the Tyrian queen, Dido. Virgil and his contemporaries living through the restoration of Rome in the 20s BCE would also have known who was principally responsible for their own good fortunes. The Romans of Virgil's day understood well the special role that Augustus had taken on, a role that elevated him above his peers. They understood the double image of dynast and defender of the state that Augustus had assumed. In the *Aeneid*, this double image of the queen of Carthage becomes problematic when Dido strays from her duties as leader to pursue her romance with Aeneas. It is then that the building projects and civic activities of Carthage come to a standstill:

*Non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus
 exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello
 tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque
 murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.*

VERG. *Aen.* 4.86–89

The towers under construction no longer rise; the youths no longer train with arms. They no longer prepare the ports or make the battlements safe for war: interrupted, the building projects and the huge threatening walls and the crane as tall as the sky all hang in limbo.

As Dido neglected her duties the construction of the city and the civic functions that were underway in Carthage were broken off. The consequences for Dido were dire.

Augustus, of course, did not suffer the same fate as Dido, but through Virgil's *Aeneid* we can better understand the perceptions and anxieties of a Roman of the 20s BCE. By reading the civic landscape of Augustan Rome as Aeneas reads the cityscape of Carthage, we are able to appreciate from a contemporary view point Augustus' rise to power. By building monumental new sites in the early 20s BCE to host voting assemblies and meetings of the Senate, Augustus lay the foundations for the principate.

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The Predatory Palace: Seneca's *Thyestes* and the Architecture of Tyranny

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In Seneca's *Thyestes*, the royal palace of the Argive kings serves as a potent symbol of tyranny. The residence of the dynasty of Tantalus is depicted as a sprawling, aggressive structure that threatens and ultimately engulfs both its human subjects and the natural world. This image of the palace is the correlative of the totalitarian spirit of its occupant, the tyrant-king Atreus. As the palace dominates and absorbs the world around it, so the king seeks to encompass the hearts of his subjects and ultimately the world itself. In this paper I will explore the palace's aggressive nature, and suggest a historical model for it. First, I discuss the palace's oppression of its subjects, linking this to Atreus' self-conception as a monarch. Second, I will investigate the palace's ambiguous relationship with the natural world. Finally, I will discuss the relationship of Seneca's palace to a real-world expansionist palace, the *Domus Aurea*—"Golden House"—built by Nero in the heart of Rome. Was the Senecan model inspired by the Emperor's project, and, if so, what does this say about the play's connection to its contemporary world?

Seneca's Palace of Atreus

The palace of the Tantalid kings is described in detail in two separate passages.² First, there is Thyestes' meditation on kingship, and his rejection of royal pomp and luxury:

*Non vertice alti montis impositam domum
et imminantem civitas humilis tremit,
nec fulget altis splendidum tectis ebur*

¹ The author would like to acknowledge the assistance during the period when this article was written of the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada and Ontario Graduate Scholarships.

² On the consistency between the image of the palace in these speeches, see Faber 2007.

*somnosque non defendit excubitor meos;
 non classibus piscamur et retro mare
 iacta fugamus mole nec ventrem improbum
 alimus tributo gentium, nullus mihi
 ultra Getas metatur et Parthos ager;
 non ture colimur nec meae excluso Iove
 ornantur arae; nulla culminibus meis
 nutat silva*

455–465

The lowly state does not tremble at [my] overhanging house, fixed upon the peak of a lofty mountain, nor does grandiose ivory shine from my high ceilings; no bodyguard keeps my sleep safe. I do not fish with armadas and drive the sea back by imposing breakwaters, nor do I feed my insatiable stomach with the tribute of nations; there is no plantation laid out for me beyond the Getae and Parthians; I am not revered with incense, nor are altars adorned for me to the exclusion of Jupiter; no forest sways, planted upon my roofs.³

It can be objected that this passage does not describe the house of the Tantalids at all, and that Thyestes is merely conjuring up generic images of imperial pomp. Certainly, the negative form of the description does not allow us to firmly identify the reference, but there seems sufficient reason to at least associate Thyestes' description with the palace at Argos. First, Thyestes is not speaking simply as a rustic philosopher, but as a former king—he has experienced these things first-hand, and it is natural that he draw upon his own experience.⁴ Indeed, this passage tallies sufficiently with the second description of the palace to suggest that Seneca is presenting the same type of bloated residence. This second description comes in the speech of the Messenger who brings the news of Atreus' crime:

*In arce summa Pelopiae pars est domus
 conversa ad Austros, cuius extremum latus
 aequale monti crescit atque urbem premit
 et contumacem regibus populum suis*

³ All translations are my own; quotes from *Thyestes* are based on R.J. Tarrant's 1985 edition.

⁴ cf. Rose 1986, who notes the prevalence of first-person pronouns and verbs used in this passage, suggesting Thyestes' personal involvement in the scene he describes.

*habet sub ictu. fulget hic turbae capax
 immane tectum cuius auratas trabes
 variis columnae nobiles maculis ferunt
 post ista vulgo nota, quae populi colunt,
 in multa dives spatia discedit domus*

641–649

There is a place, in the highest citadel of Pelops' house, turned to the south, whose furthest flank rises to the height of a mountain, and presses upon the city and holds the people, contemptuous of their rulers, beneath its stroke. The monstrous roof gleams, containing multitudes, and glorious columns, variously speckled, bear its gilded beams. Behind this landmark for the masses, which nations tend, the rich house sprawls in every direction.

Palace and City

These passages share a sense of the palace as a hostile, threatening presence. In Thyestes' speech, the image is in some sense a Damoclean one: the palace is figured as hanging over the city, a dangerous object that could, at any point, fall to crush them.⁵ In the messenger's speech, however, the danger has become much closer, and much more active. The phrase *habet sub ictu*—"holds beneath its stroke" suggests a more active nature than building normally displays: the power of chastisement owned by the occupant of the palace is transferred to the building itself, and the structure is thereby given a strange kind of life. The palace no longer simply hangs over the people; it "presses upon them" and directly threatens them.⁶ The image is one of arrested civil war: the people hold their rulers in contempt, but are held down by the palace; the palace perpetually threatens to crush them, but, for the moment, withholds the final blow.

Such a description of the relationship between palace and people is a far cry from the harmonious connection between ruler and subjects that, for example, we find in the (admittedly tongue-in-cheek) description of Augustus' Palatine home in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*:

5 Thyestes emphasizes the city's abjectness before the looming palace by describing it as *humilis*—not merely 'low' in a geographical sense (though this sense is present) but also 'humble, lowly, obscure.'

6 As with *humilis* (see note 2 above), Seneca seems to be playing with both the purely geographical sense of *premere* as "abut, be sited near" and its more aggressive connotations as pushing or beating down (see the TLL entry on *premo*, esp. (I) B and (II)).

*Visite laurigero sacrata Palatia Phoebō:
 Ille Paraetonicas mersit in alta rates;
 Quaeque soror coniunxque ducis monimenta pararunt,
 Navalique gener cinctus honore caput.*

3.389–392

Visit the Palace, sacred to laurel-bearing Phoebus; he drowned the Egyptian fleet in the depths, and whatever monuments our Leader's wife and sister have built, and his son-in-law, whose head is crowned with naval honours.

In Ovid the residence of the ruling family is celebrated as the home of those who defend the people in war and beautify their city with monuments; in *Thyestes*, by contrast, the people are “contemptuous of their rulers,” and peace is maintained only through the superior force of the Palace.

Such a situation accords well with the kind of kingdom Atreus expressly wishes to rule. In his dialogue with his advisor (*Satelles*) in act II, Atreus makes clear that he has no interest in gaining his people's love. Indeed, it is only by their hatred that he can be sure that his rule is complete:

*Maximum hoc regni bonum est
 quod facta domini cogitur populus sui
 tam ferre quam laudare.*

205–207

This is the greatest benefit of power: That the people are compelled to praise as many of their master's deeds as they must endure.

Atreus does not simply seek obedience from his subjects. Accius, an earlier Roman playwright, had his stage tyrant declare *oderint dum metuant*—“let them hate, as long as they fear”—a phrase Caligula which was apparently fond of quoting (Suet. *Cal.* 30.1). But, as Schiesaro observes, Atreus desires more than fear from his subjects: “Atreus aspires to complete control over his people's reactions, and is aware that force can turn dissent into consent.”⁷ Atreus' motto would be closer to Tiberius' reworking of the phrase as *oderint dum probent*—“let them fear, as long as they praise” (Suet. *Tib.* 59). It is only by this unnatural combination of hatred and adoration that Atreus can be sure of his authority. His

7 Schiesaro 2003 162.

ambitions are totalitarian—he seeks to overturn the natural desires of his subjects, and eliminate any escape from his influence while they live (247–248): *perimat tyrannus lenis; in regno meo, / mors impetretur*: “let a soft tyrant kill; in my kingdom, death is begged for!”

Palace and king likewise echo each other in their shared preoccupation with height and magnitude. In Thyestes’ speech, the palace is *vertice alti montis imposita*—“placed on the peak of a lofty hill”; in the messenger’s speech, the fatal grove is hidden in “the highest citadel of Pelops’ house,” which rises “equal to a high hill.” Height, in *Thyestes*, is frequently associated with menace and hubris. Most obviously, there is the opening of Atreus’ crazed monologue in Act v, when, having accomplished his revenge, the king feels himself of godlike stature (885–886): *Aequalis astris gradior et cuncta super / altum superbo vertice attingens polum*: “I walk at the level of the stars, above all things and touch the high pole-star with My exalted head.”⁸ Thyestes, by contrast, in narrating his rejection of royal status, places himself as low as he can possibly be—in enjoying his humble meal, he pictures himself *humi iacentem* (451). Both the palace and its master thus strive upwards, seeking to overshadow all that lies below them, admitting of no superiors.⁹

Palace and Nature

King and palace are thus mirrors of each other:¹⁰ the sprawling, threatening edifice reflects Atreus’ consuming desire to encompass all aspects of his kingdom, a passion that ultimately expands to take in the entire universe. The palace, the most obvious and tangible embodiment of the ruler’s will, can only be an object of terror and hatred to the populace, whose hearts are overshadowed by their king as their city is overshadowed by his home.¹¹

The palace’s bellicose relationship with its subjects is mirrored in its war against the natural world. Thyestes’ speech suggests a palace aggressively dis-

8 Other examples of height associated with danger include the towering oak in the sacred grove (656), and the evocation of piling Pelion on Ossa in the fourth choral ode (814).

9 It is worth noting that the Messenger uses the verb *creasco* to describe the palace’s height. Once again, the word implies motion and growth, infusing the palace with life and personality.

10 So Faber 2007 433.

11 A similar identification between a ruler and his habitation can be found in Seneca’s *Hercules Furens*, in which Theseus describes the gloomy palace of Dis, concluding that *magna pars regni trucis / est ipse dominus, cuius aspectus timet / quicquid timetur*—“A great part of the realm’s grimness is its lord, whose countenance all fearsome things fear” (725).

mantling the barrier between nature and human civilization. Breakwaters are depicted as forcing the sea back;¹² and the overpowered sea is further subjugated by armadas whose sole purpose is to satisfy the ruler's appetite (459). Nature is not merely attacked by the palace; it is absorbed into its fabric, transformed into an ornament to the building's grandeur as "trees ... sway upon the roof" (*culminibus ... imposita nutat silva*). If the people are to be kept in a state of impotent rebellion, nature is to be utterly subjugated. Thyestes depicts a palace whose influence has spread to the borders of the known world: to feed its master, there are plantations among the Parthians and Getans (462), whose existence, once again, serves only to fill the tyrant's "insatiable stomach" (*ventrem improbum*, 461).¹³

Thyestes' depiction of the palace's war against nature is part of a long-standing exploration in Roman literature of the relationship between human civilization and the natural world.¹⁴ Romans did not, in general, idealize completely pristine nature, but found aesthetic satisfaction in the fusion of the artificial and natural.¹⁵ There was no agreement, however, on the proper proportions of this blend. At one extreme lay a largely unquestioning celebration of technical mastery, that saw nature as only of any value when heavily "improved" by artifice.¹⁶ The poet Statius and the younger Pliny, both from the generation after Seneca, give voice to this attitude. Statius, for example, praises the way a

12 These *moles* may not strictly be part of the palace; but since they are mentioned as part of the catalogue of royal arrogance, it is safe to assume that they form part of the palace's conceptual world.

13 Hippolytus, in Seneca's *Phaedra*, also contrasts a palace and the natural world; here, however, the emphasis is very different. Hippolytus' palace is a hiding-place, where the king shuts himself away in fear, ignorant of the benign world of nature (524–525). In *Thyestes*, the palace and its occupant strike out at nature and absorb it—greed, not fear, is the main motive.

14 The last few decades have seen a great deal of interest in Roman attitudes to nature and the landscape. Pavlovskis' 1973 work on Flavian literature led the way, followed by Purcell's important 1987 article on the relationship between town and country in Roman thought. For a good introduction to the subject, with a full bibliography, see Spencer 2010. I can only scratch the surface of these issues here.

15 Pavlovskis 1973 *passim*, Purcell 1987 196.

16 Pavlovskis suggests that this attitude only emerges in the Flavian period (2–5), but his arguments are unconvincing. While it is true that earlier poets like Horace praised rustic simplicity (see below), their criticisms of urban expansionism show that many of their contemporaries did share this view, even if it did not find much literary expression until the Flavian era.

certain Pollius has re-formed the natural setting in constructing his villa: using verbs like *vincere*—"to conquer" and *domare*—"to master," the poet describes how Pollius has flattened hills (*Silvae* 2.2.54) and levelled groves (55) to create what Statius considers the perfect union of technology and nature.¹⁷ Pliny the Younger praises a villa for its varied views of the sea (*Epistulae* 2.17),¹⁸ which allow the occupant to see the ocean in different perspectives depending on his mood. As Pavlovskis remarks, Pliny essentially gives himself ownership of the entire vista: "master of the villa, here he appears to be master over the surrounding nature as well, capable of affecting the landscape to please himself."¹⁹ Nature in its basic state holds little attraction for these wealthy Romans: it is only when conquered by technological sophistication that the natural world can truly be fit for human occupation.

Other Roman writers are more ambivalent about the intrusion of civilization into nature. The poet Horace, writing some sixty years before Seneca, often expresses dismay at Roman luxury, and the exploitation of nature required to feed it. He laments the expansion of villas and estates at the expense of productive farmland (*Odes* 2.15, 2.18.17–27), and mocks both the Roman obsession with exotic fish and the exploitation of the sea that it requires (*Satires* 2.2, *Odes* 3.1.33–36). The naturalist Pliny the Elder condemns the ransacking of land and sea for luxuries (19.19.51–56), and at one point describes the reshaping of landscapes to satisfy greed as torture of the universal mother Earth (2.63.157).

But though these authors condemn unrestrained incursions into nature, they do not reject all human modifications of the landscape. Horace condemns luxury, but he does not advocate a return to primitivism.²⁰ His ideal is a small, self-sufficient farm where hard work produces simple but pleasant food and drink (*Satires* 2.6, *Odes* 3.6.37–48). In *Epistle* 1.14 Horace twits his bailiff for calling the farm a "wilderness" (*tesqua*, 19) because it lacks the taverns, whores and baths of the city (19–25), and reminds him of all the potentially pleasant labours he must perform. Implicitly, Horace contrasts the farm with the wilderness as well as the metropolis, making it a happy medium between the two.²¹ Within

17 cf. Pavlovskis 1973 14, Newlands 2002 163–164.

18 Pavlovskis 1973 29–30.

19 Pavlovskis 1973 30.

20 Indeed, in *Satire* 2.2, Horace warns against replacing luxury with the extreme miserliness and self-denial of one Avidienus, who eat nuts from the forest and drinks wine so old it has turned to vinegar (lines 55–62).

21 Johnson 1993 148–149, Spencer 2010 25–26. Spencer elsewhere (2006 259–262) suggests that Horace's poetry subtly implies that such a middle-ground is actually impossible to find: Rome and the Roman mindset have, like Seneca's Palace, expanded to envelop most

that medium, man-made alterations of the landscape are permissible: it is fine to cast breakwaters into a creek to water one's fields (*Epistle* 2.14.30), but not into the sea to expand one's mansion (*Odes* 3.1.33–36).

Pliny the Elder likewise accepts a good deal of alteration of nature. In his list of rivers, Pliny praises most those that are either navigable or adorned with bridges and cities.²² The creation of new varieties of trees through grafting is depicted not as an insult to nature but an expression of gratitude for her bounty (*NH* 17.9/58). Indeed, human intervention is not only not harmful to nature, but at times even beneficial: brambles and ivy would devour the world if humans did not clear them for farmland (17.21/96). Pliny's account of the Chauci, a Germanic tribe on the coast of the North Sea, makes clear his view of a life lived without technology. The Chauci make virtually no alterations to nature: they have no flocks, live in the simplest huts, and survive on rainwater collected in pits and the fish exposed at low tide (16.1/1–2). For these unaccommodated men, Pliny feels no admiration, but only the deepest pity. Like Horace, Pliny's ideal life is lived between extremes: the wholesale exploitation of nature is to be condemned, but so is a life that relies solely on what nature provides unaided.²³

No such middle way can be found in *Thyestes*. Having fled the luxury and danger of the palace, Thyestes must live a life more reminiscent of Pliny's Chauci than of Horace's Sabine idyll. His dining is *angusta*—"narrow, meagre" (452), and done while lying on the ground (451). The degree to which Thyestes is lacking in the comforts of civilized life is emphasized by Atreus' description of his brother's haggard appearance:

... *aspice ut multo gravis*
squalore vultus obruat maestos coma
quam foeda iaceat barba.

505–507

Look how his hair, weighted with so much filth, hangs over his grim face;
 how dirty hangs his beard!

In *Thyestes* there no longer seems to be anything between hubristic decadence and utter privation.²⁴ The palace has expanded to engulf any such

of the natural world. Even if this is the case, however, the Horatian ideal remains that of a middle-ground, whether or not this is achievable.

22 Beagon 1996 287–289.

23 Beagon 1996 307–309.

24 The extreme rejection of civilization is a Senecan motif. In Letter 90, Seneca condemns

happy medium, and the only escape from its grasp is to live in complete self-denial.²⁵

The palace's war against nature once again reflects its ruler's character. Scholars have noted that Atreus' violations of rules of human nature in *Thyestes* result in a disturbance in cosmic nature.²⁶ This culminates, of course, in the fourth choral ode (789–884) in which the chorus imagines the entire natural order (embodied by the heavenly bodies) crashing down in confusion. Atreus' villainy, it seems, has been great enough to overthrow the guiding powers of the universe (*demitto superos*—"I dismiss the gods" he boasts in line 886). Both palace and king seek to overwhelm the natural order and remake it in their own image.

Darkness Within

So far, I have drawn a strong distinction between the artificial palace and the natural world it seeks to conquer. But the relationship is actually more complex. The palace is not only the product of human will. At the very heart of the palace, its spiritual centre, is a natural setting, explicitly untouched by human cultivation:

*arcana in imo regio secessu iacet,
alta vetustum valle compescens nemus,
penetrabile regni, nulla qua laetos solet
praeberere ramos arbor aut ferro coli
sed taxus et cupressus et nigra ilice
obscura nutat silva, quam supra eminens
despectat alte quercus et vincit nemus.
hinc auspicari regna Tantalidae solent
hinc petere lassis rebus ac dubiis opem
...*

virtually all technological progress, and praises a primitive humanity who slept either under open skies or in huts of piled-up wood (90.10, 41).

25 As both A.J. Boyle and P.J. Davis point out, Thyestes uses the verb *pati* "to endure" to describe his attitude toward his state (Boyle 1997 24, Davis 2003 47). His exile, while it may be preferable to the perpetual fears of kingship (446–453), is not pleasant. It is also worth noting that when Thyestes succumbs to the temptations of power, he is presented as having leaped straight from abject poverty to disgusting luxury. The Messenger describes him as "drenched on his head with perfume" and "heavy with wine" (780–781); and Atreus exults to see his brother belching in purple finery (910–911).

26 e.g. Henry and Henry 1985 39, Davis 2003 68.

*fons stat sub umbra tristis et nigra piger
haeret palude; talis est dirae Stygis
deformis unda quae facit caelo fidem.
hinc nocte caeca gemere ferales deos
fama est, catenis lucus excussis sonat
ululantque manes.*

650–658, 665–670

A secret place lies in the deepest recess, a deep valley enclosing a sacred grove: the innermost part of the kingdom, where no tree ever shows forth burgeoning branches nor is trimmed with iron; but the grove sways dark with yew and cypress and black oak, towering over which a high oak looks down and overwhelms the grove. Here, the Tantalid kings by custom inaugurate their rule, here they seek aid in doubtful and obscure matters

... a gloomy spring stands beneath the shadows, and it oozes sluggish into a black pool; such is the formless water of the fatal Styx, which makes oaths in heaven. Here, it is said, the gods of the dead groan in the blind night, the grove rings with clanking chains, and the spirits howl.

What are we to make of this description? On one level, the grim surroundings simply help set the mood for the abomination committed among them. But the grove's function goes beyond scene-painting. The grove is described as the *penetrable regni*, the starting-point of the reign of the kings of Argos. The centrality of the place suggests that the Tantalid monarchy partakes of its sinister character. This supposition is in accord with the emphasis on heredity that runs throughout the play.²⁷ There is a potential for taboo-breaking violence that runs through the Tantalid dynasty: in addition to the atrocities depicted in the play, we have Tantalus' first sacrifice of his child to his divine guests, Pelops' murder of his friend, Thyestes' future rape of his own daughter, Agamemnon and Menelaus' murder of Thyestes, Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigenia, and so forth.²⁸ The grove is the perfect symbol for this hereditary evil.²⁹ It is the product of nature, expressly said to be untouched by the instruments of cultivation; but the eerie quality of the place marks it out as unnatural. Similarly, the

27 Davis 2003 42.

28 Faber 2007 435–436.

29 Faber 2007 434 suggests that, in its domination of the grove, the towering oak-tree may also evoke the figure of the tyrant.

Tantalids' actions violate natural laws of kinship; yet, since they are the result of a hereditary curse, they spring from a part of each doer's nature.³⁰

Atreus, of course, shares the violent proclivity common to all the Tantalids. But the grove is especially suited to his character. Like the palace, Atreus can be seen as an elaborate, artful construction surrounding a core of perverted nature.³¹ Atreus is, on the surface, a supremely intelligent and self-aware tyrant. In his debate with his minister (*Satelles*), he shows great skill in rhetoric, countering each of his underling's moral objections with penetrating and pithy arguments.³² Indeed, throughout the play Atreus' displays a deft command of language. He delights in gruesome puns and *doubles entendres*. After Thyestes has accepted his offer of double rule, for example, Atreus tells him (545–546): *Imposita capiti vincla venerando gere / ego destinatas victimas superis dabo*: “Bear the *vincla* on your reverend head, I will give the chosen (or bound) victims to those above.” Atreus plays with the word *vinc(u)la*, which can mean either “diadem” or “chains”; and only he (and the audience) know just who the *destinatas victimas* will be. After Thyestes has unwittingly eaten his children, Atreus delivers an apparently affectionate speech laced with ghoulisish irony:

*Hic esse natos crede in amplexu patris.
hic sunt eruntque; nulla pars prolis tuae
tibi subtrahetur.*

976–978

Believe that your sons are here, in their father's embrace. They are and
will be here;
No part of your offspring will be taken from you.

30 The grove's symbolism regarding the dynasty is strengthened by the description of the trophies hanging from the trees, all memorials of the darker exploits of Atreus' ancestors (659–664).

31 Schiesaro 2003 86 frames the issue strikingly, albeit in a more general sense than we are discussing: “It would be difficult to conceive of a *locus* more evocative of the fundamental characteristics of the unconscious, indeed a place where nature, in all its dark, hostile power, survives in spite of the elaborate superstructures that encircle and delimit its sway, and where memories of the past roam unchecked as a constant source of fear.”

32 Cf. Schiesaro 2003 162–163. Davis 2003 69–74, among others, points out the similarities between the minister's arguments and Seneca's own advice to Nero in *de clementia*. The author of *Octavia* certainly perceived the similarity, writing a conversation between Nero and Seneca (440 ff.) that strongly echoes the dialogue in *Thyestes*.

The most obvious proof of Atreus' intelligence and industry is, of course, that his revenge is successful in every respect. He is able to predict his brother's every reaction, and never needs to adapt his plan in the slightest.³³ As a number of scholars have observed, Atreus takes on the role of author, director and stage manager of his drama, placing the other actors exactly where he wishes them to be.³⁴

Behind Atreus' rational evil, however, as with the grove behind the palace's facade, lie deeply irrational motivations. Chief among these Schiesaro has highlighted Atreus' repeated doubts over the paternity of his sons.³⁵ Atreus first expresses his anxiety over his children in Act II, when he debates with himself whether he should let Agamemnon and Menelaus in on the plot. Their reaction, he reasons, will inform him whether he is truly their father:

*... Prolis incertae fides
ex hoc petatur scelere; si bella abnuunt
et gerere nolunt odia, si patruum vocant,
pater est.*

326–328

Certainty concerning my dubious offspring will be found from this crime; if they refuse the conflict and do not wish to act on my hatred, if they call him “uncle”, he's their father.

Atreus ultimately opts not to involve his sons in the crime; however, by the end of the play he feels confident in their legitimacy (1098). Why exactly? Atreus seems to explain a few lines later. Thyestes' reaction to his sons' murder proves that they, Thyestes' sons, were legitimate (1101–1103), and this apparently confirms to Atreus that his own children are also truly his. This conclusion is, of course, completely irrational. It is supported either by Atreus' belief that “Thyestes' despair at the death of his children would have been more moderate if he had been certain that Agamemnon and Menelaus, too, were his own offspring”—a rather dubious conclusion—or by the idea that Atreus and his brother are exact reflections. This idea has a certain logic—being twins, the two brothers resemble each other in many ways.³⁶ But to assume that physical

33 Boyle 1997 48–52 contrasts the deluded Thyestes to an Atreus who is horrifying in his clarity and self-knowledge.

34 Boyle 1997 117, Schiesaro 2003, 55–56, Erasmo 2004, 124.

35 Schiesaro 2003 87, 101–102.

36 Schiesaro 2003 105, 139–140. For Thyestes and Atreus as mirror-images, cf. 290: *non poterat*

and emotional resemblance extend to circumstances of life, and that if one brother's children are bastards the other's must also be, goes beyond reasonable analysis. It is a kind of logic, but it is the logic of the insane. Atreus, at first glance seems a well-built fortress of evil, impregnable and perfectly constructed. But at the heart of this edifice is a place of chaotic nature, where ancestral crimes still lurk and strange phantoms wander freely.³⁷

Nero's Golden House

At this point the question arises as to what inspired this striking metaphor. To be sure, the home of the Tantalids does have literary forbears. J.J.L. Smolenaars has noted several passages in Vergil's *Aeneid* that could be sources for Seneca's palace. The palace itself may be drawn from that of King Latinus, described in the seventh book of the *Aeneid*.³⁸ He also finds significant parallels between the language used to describe the palace in *Thyestes* and that used by Vergil in the episode at the Sibyl's cave in Cumae.³⁹ Atreus' entry into the grove, by this line of argument, evokes Aeneas' *katabasis*, and makes the grove into an image of the underworld, a comparison strengthened by the Stygian quality of the grove's spring.⁴⁰

capi / nisi capere vellet "He could not be captured unless he wished to capture," 271: *dignum est Thyestes et dignum Atreo* "worthy of Thyestes and worthy of Atreus." The chorus too seem to see an identity between the brothers (640): *non quaero quis sit, sed uter*—"I do not ask who has done this, but which of the two."

37 Schiesaro 2003, 87–88 sees the grove as a symbol of feminine sexuality, evoking the possible infidelity of Atreus' wife. The auspices he takes from his nephews' entrails are interpreted as an attempt to establish the true paternity of his children: "Thus Atreus' descent to the womb-like *arcana ... regio* ('secret spot' 650) beneath the royal palace becomes a fitting symbolic exploration of *Aerope's* entrails, where the truth about his *dubius ... sanguis* conceivably resides.

There is however, no evidence that this is in fact the question about which Atreus is consulting the children's entrails nor is the feminine sexual symbolism of the grove entirely convincing (indeed, the towering oak could make just as easily the grove a symbol of *male* sexuality)."

38 Smolenaars 1998 53. It must be said, however, that several of the elements that Smolenaars adduces—size and luxury, "dominant location atop the citadel", "religious and political function" could be said to be common to *all* palaces worthy of the name.

39 Smolenaars 1998 56–57.

40 Smolenaars 1998 60–61.

But while it is perfectly credible that Seneca drew partly on the *Aeneid*, as Smolenaars himself notes,⁴¹ not all aspects of Seneca's palace can be found in Vergil. Among the missing elements is the expansionist and hostile quality of the building we have been discussing. If there is an external inspiration for this aspect of the palace, we may be able to find it not in the literary tradition, but in Seneca's contemporary world.

Shortly before Seneca's death, the Emperor Nero had begun his own sprawling, grandiose palace, whose location and expanse caused a great deal of resentment among the Roman citizenry. After the massive fire of AD 64, Nero devoted a great deal of energy to rebuilding Rome. As well as instituting what seem to have been sensible building-codes designed to prevent another such fire, he expropriated a large tract of land between the Palatine and Esquiline hills on which to build a residence in the style he felt he deserved. A vast parkland, placed so as to be cut off from the rest of Rome by natural boundaries, surrounded several buildings, chief among them the *Domus Aurea*—the 'Golden House'.⁴² This building, as its name suggests, was liberally decorated with gold, as well as marble, ivory, and brilliant, though eccentric, wall-paintings. At the completion of this opulent residence, the emperor is said to have remarked, "at last I have begun to live like a human being" (*quasi hominem tandem habitare coepisse*, Suet. *Nero* 31.2). The building of a private pleasure-palace in the very heart of the Rome did not accord easily with the early emperors' pretense of being merely senators charged with certain special powers; it is, therefore, not surprising that the *Domus Aurea* became emblematic for later writers of Nero's wastefulness and egotism.⁴³

Dating Seneca's Thyestes

Did Seneca draw his inspiration for Atreus' palace from his Emperor's grandiose project?⁴⁴ Before we discuss what evidence there exists for this, there needs to be a brief consideration of the date of Seneca's play. Nero began construction of the Golden House after the fire in July of 64; eight months later, Seneca committed suicide on the Emperor's orders, after being implicated in a plot against him (Tacitus, *Annals* 15.56–63). If there are parallels between the Golden House

41 Smolenaars 1998 54.

42 Boëthius 1960 108.

43 cf. Suetonius *Nero* 31.1.

44 The author of *Octavia* seems certainly to have seen connections between the *Domus Aurea* and Seneca's imaginary palace. In Agrippina's prophecy about Nero's downfall, the description of Nero's palace echoes elements of Thyestes' first-act speech. There is, for example, reference to the world's resources being funneled to the palace and its master (*Oct.* 626–627), with particular attention paid to the submission of the Parthians (*Oct.* 628).

and the palace in Thyestes, the play must have been written in that comparatively narrow space of time. Seneca's plays are, however, notoriously difficult to date.⁴⁵ Only one firm *terminus post quem* is provided for one play: the *Apocolocyntosis*, written at the time of Nero's accession in AD 54, contains a parody of *Hercules Furens*—the play must, therefore, have been written before that year. Not knowing *HF*'s place in Seneca's *oeuvre*, this fact does not, in itself, allow any of the other plays to be dated. John Fitch has greatly advanced the relative dating of Seneca's tragedies through a number of metrical tests.⁴⁶ All of Fitch's different tests put Thyestes among Seneca's latest works. This is good news for my hypothesis, but without absolute dates it is not, in itself, particularly useful.

The attempts that have been made to find an exact date for *Thyestes* tend to place it a year or two before the great fire and the construction of the *Domus Aurea*. One approach focuses on Seneca's nephew, the epic poet Lucan. It has long been noted that Lucan's *Pharsalia* contains echoes of Senecan dramas, including of *Thyestes*.⁴⁷ If we can know when Lucan composed these passages, we could find a *terminus ante quem* for Seneca's plays. Unfortunately, Lucan is as difficult to date as Seneca. We know that, at some point in the 60s, he published three books of his *Pharsalia*; shortly afterward, Nero, enraged at Lucan's writing, banned him both from publishing and from public office.⁴⁸ In 65 Lucan, along with Seneca, was implicated in a conspiracy against Nero and, like his uncle, was put to death. Precisely when Lucan first published is uncertain. R.G. Tarrant has suggested that "all of Seneca's plays were written before Lucan began work on his epic, which was probably not earlier than 60 and not later than early 63."⁴⁹ But dates ranging from 58 to 64 have also been proposed for Lucan's beginning his epic.⁵⁰ Even if Lucan did begin in or before 63, we do not know the order in which he wrote his work, or the degree to which he revised it—the Senecan echoes could thus have been inserted at any point before his death in 65.⁵¹ Given the uncertainty's surrounding Lucan's dating, it does not seem particularly safe to attempt to date Seneca by his works.

45 Fitch 1981 289; Tarrant 1985 10–13; Nisbet 2004.

46 Fitch 1981.

47 Zwierlein 1983 246–248.

48 It has generally thought that it was the excerpt from the *Pharsalia* that enraged Nero, but Frederick Ahl (1971) argues that it was Lucan's now-lost work *De Incendio Urbis*—"On the Burning of the City"—that prompted his downfall.

49 Tarrant 1981 10.

50 Rose 1966 381.

51 Rose 1966 384 asserts that "no one would publish individual books of a historical epic out of chronological sequence" This dogmatic statement is justly rejected by Ahl 1976 42.

Others have attempted to date the plays by finding references to contemporary events. R.G.M. Nisbet sees such a reference in the choral ode that follows the apparent reconciliation between Atreus and Thyestes:

*ille qui donat diadema fronti
quem genu nixae tremuere gentes,
cuius ad nutum posuere bella
Medus et Phoebi propioris Indus
et Dahae Parthis equitem minati
anxius sceptrum tenet et moventes
cuncta divinat metuitque casus
mobiles rerum dubiumque tempus.*

599–606

He who places a diadem upon the brow, to whom nations bend their knees and tremble, at whose nod the Mede, and the Indian who dwells near the sun, and the Dahae who threaten the Parthians with their horseman abandon their wars, he nervously grips his sceptre, fears and seeks to predict the shiftings of chance, which changes all, and the doubtful outcomes of time.

Nisbet sees in these lines an allusion to the Parthian king Vologaeses' coronation of his brother Tiridates as king of Armenia (Tacitus *Annals* 15.2.4) in AD 61; Nisbet therefore dates *Thyestes'* completion to the following year.⁵² But Nisbet's dating is very problematic. First, this is far from the only possible inspiration for the image. Roman emperors had been crowning client-kings since Augustus.⁵³ Several such events took place in the 60s. In AD 60, Nero had appointed Tiridates' predecessor Tigranes king of Armenia (Tac. *Ann.* 14.26.1); in 63, Tiridates had sought a coronation from Nero as well as the Parthians, and placed his crown at the foot of Nero's statue, declaring that it would only return to his head from the emperor's hands (Tac. *Ann.* 15.29). A year after Seneca died, Nero did indeed crown Tiridates in a lavish ceremony (Cassius Dio 62.[63].4–6). Nisbet acknowledges these precedents, but argues that "any reference to a Roman emperor makes the anachronism too glaring in the context of Thyestes and Atreus."⁵⁴ The fact, however, that

52 Nisbet 2008 360.

53 Braund 1984 26–27.

54 Nisbet 2008 360.

Seneca refers to the people of Argos as “Quirites” (396), an archaic term for Romans, suggests that he is not overly concerned about anachronism. Nisbet’s supposed correspondence is simply too thin a foundation on which to rest the dating of the play. Even if one were to accept that this passage is inspired by the Parthian events, all we can conclude is that Thyestes was written after 62; Nisbet nowhere proves that the play had to be written in 62 and no later.⁵⁵

Echoes of the Domus Aurea

There is thus no compelling reason that *Thyestes* could not have been written during the construction of the *Domus Aurea*. We know that Seneca continued writing following his retirement. Two prose works survive from this period: *Natural Questions*, a work on scientific topics, and *Letters to Lucilius*, discussing ethical and philosophical issues.⁵⁶ In the latter works, I suggest that we can find evidence that increases the plausibility that Seneca *did* write *Thyestes* during the last year or so of his life. *Letters* 89 and 90 both include discussions of the relationship between human artifice and nature, and both contain language that strikingly echoes that of the *Thyestes*. In *Letter* 89, he advises Lucilius to condemn the massive estates of wealthy Romans, and gives examples of the kind of language he should use. “Is an estate that a nation once held too small for a single master?” (*Ager uni domino qui populum cepit angustus est*) he should ask (89.20), echoing the Thyestean palace “which nations tend” (*quae populi colunt*, *Thy.* 648); later in the passage, he condemns villas “raised to the height of mountains” (*in altitudinem montium educta*, 89.21), just as Atreus’ palace “rises equal to a mountain” (*aequale monti crescit*, *Thy.* 643). In *Letter* 90, Seneca argues that technical mastery does not bring happiness, and is therefore not truly a branch of philosophy. Here again we have condemnation of “roofs that can hold nations” (*capacia populorum tecta*, 90.25, cf. *Thy.* 645: *turbae capax immane tectum*—“The monstrous roof containing multitudes”), with the later variation of “houses as big as cities” (*domos instar urbium* 90.43). This letter is particularly noteworthy in that it may well contain a reference to the Golden House itself. In section 15 of the letter Seneca pours scorn on the kind of mind that

55 Nisbet finds two further historical allusions in the play—one to the crossing of the Danube by nomadic peoples (362–364) and one to the penetration of the Caucasian Gates by the Alans (364–368). These references seem plausible, but neither, on their own, does anything to date the play.

56 On the dating of these works, see Griffin 1976 305, 359–360, 396, 400.

invenit quemadmodum in immensam altitudinem crocum latentibus fistulis exprimat ... et versatilia cenationum laquearia ita coagmentat ut subinde alia facies atque alia succedat et totiens tecta quotiens fericula mutantur

came up with how to expel saffron from hidden pipes from a great height ... and constructed mobile ceiling-panels for dining-rooms, where one image succeeds another over and over and the whole roof changes with their courses.

This passage bears a striking resemblance to the imperial biographer Suetonius' later description of the luxuries in the *Domus Aurea*:

cenationes laqueatae tabulis eburneis uersatilibus, ut flores, fistulatis, ut unguenta desuper spargerentur; praecipua cenationum rotunda, quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus uice mundi circumageretur

SUET. *Nero* 31.2

Panelled dining-rooms with mobile ivory panels like flowers, with pipes that sprinkled perfumes from above; the main dining-room was round, around which day and night perpetually circled, as if it were the world.

These parallels do not constitute definitive proof that *Thyestes* was written after July 64; but they do show that during that time the idea of a monstrous, all-encompassing structure was on Seneca's mind, and that it may well have been connected for him with the emperor's new palace. We can now return to the question at hand: is there further evidence the *Domus Aurea* also influenced the image of the palace in *Thyestes*?

The strongest argument for a connection would be to find a physical resemblance between the palace in *Thyestes* and the Golden House. If something in Seneca's descriptions could be found to match the layout or decoration of the House, the case for influence could be much strengthened. Unfortunately, Seneca's descriptions are too general to be of much help in establishing any clear matches. There are some tantalizing elements: Atreus' palace is said to face the south-east (642), as did the *Domus Aurea*. This orientation, however, was shared by the imperial house on the Palatine and by the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.⁵⁷ The beams of the palace roof are

57 Smolenaars 1998 55. Smolenaars goes on to suggest that the primary reason for the palace's

described as *aureatas* “gilded” (646), which certainly evokes the “golden” aspect of the Golden House; Thyestes mentions ceilings of ivory, which Suetonius lists among the House’s luxuries (*Nero* 31.2). The Golden House was not, however, the only palace to feature such decoration. Indeed, most of the adornments Seneca lists are fairly generic, the kind one would find in any palace or wealthy house.⁵⁸ If we turn, however, from the palace itself to the public reaction to it, things become more promising. There is evidence that the descriptions of the conflict between palace and citizens are an accurate reflection of contemporary attitudes toward Nero and the Golden House. Seneca may well have been inspired in this image by the poorly-disguised hostility felt by the Roman populace toward the self-aggrandizing estate of their ruler.

Like the citizens of Thyestes’ Argos, those of Nero’s Rome also seem to have viewed their ruler’s palace as a threatening presence. Suetonius reports that an anonymous ditty was making the rounds in Rome, mocking the Emperor’s ever-expanding residence:

*Roma domus fiet: Veios migrate, Quirites,
si non et Veios occupat ista domus.*

SUET. *Nero* 38.2

Rome is turning into the House: let’s move to Veii, Romans—
unless that House takes over Veii too!

This is one of the most obvious depictions of the Golden House as hostile to the city of Rome, but it is far from the only one. Tacitus reports numerous rumours concerning the great fire: that Nero had sung about the fall of Troy as the city burned (*Annales* 15.39), that gangs had gone around preventing the flames from being extinguished (15.38), that Nero wished to rebuild Rome in his own image, renaming it after himself (15.40). The Romans at this time could surely be described as a people “contemptuous of their rulers”. The perception was clearly that Nero cared only for his own comfort and the expansion of his

orientation is to evoke the temple of Apollo at Cumae, connecting Thyestes’ *adyton* to the cave of the Sybil.

58 Indeed, the villas of wealthy Romans had been incorporating such “Hellenistic” luxuries from the late Republic on (Boëthius 1960 96–97). It might be tempting to connect the chorus’ long astronomical description with the rotating starry dome of the *Domus’ triclinium* (Suet. *Nero* 31). The choral ode, however, bears a resemblance to Hercules’ monologue in *Hercules Furens* (939 ff.), probably written before AD 54 (Tarrant 1987 10), making clear that star-imagery is an independent Senecan motif.

own property—he was willing to, in effect, make war upon his own city and treat it as a conquered territory to achieve his goals.⁵⁹

After Nero's death Roman authors were eager to express their feelings about their late ruler's palace. The image of the *Domus Aurea* threatening to engulf the city is a frequent one. Pliny the Elder, cataloguing the grand houses of Roman history, singles out those of Nero and Caligula as the most magnificent; and the language he uses is striking:

bis vidimus urbem totam cingi domibus principum Gai et Neronis, huius quidem, ne quid deesset, aurea.

HN 36.24.III

We have twice seen the whole city encircled by the houses of the Emperors Gaius and Nero; the latter's, so that nothing would be lacking, was Golden.

The verb *cingere*—"encircle" is not strictly accurate; the Golden House, after all, stood at the centre of the city;⁶⁰ but it captures the sense of siege that the emperor's project seems to have instilled in the Romans. A similar attitude is expressed by Martial in the *Liber Spectaculorum*, celebrating the Flavian emperors' construction of the Colosseum on the site of the Golden House:

*Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus
Et crescunt media pegmata celsa via,
Invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis
Unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus.
Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.
Hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas,
Abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.
Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras,
Ultima pars aulae deficientis erat.*

59 The anonymous author of *Octavia* also makes Nero personally responsible for the fire; here, however, his motive is not the desire to build his palace, but to punish the Romans for taking the side of Octavia against Poppaea (828). Nevertheless, the image of a ruler at war with his own subjects is very much present.

60 As indeed did the *Domus Tiberiana* of Caligula.

*Reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar,
Deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.*

MARTIAL *Lib. Spec. 2*

Here, where the heavenly Colossus gazes at the stars he neighbours, and the scaffolds rise in the midst of the street, out gleamed the enviable atria of the savage king, and in all the city there was just one House. Here where the pier of the famous, admirable amphitheatre is erected, were the pools of Nero. Here, where we marvel at the swift benefits, the baths, the haughty field snatched the roofs from the destitute. Where the Claudian portico sends forth diffuse shadows, was the furthest point of the sloping courtyard. Rome is returned to herself, and, under your protection, Caesar, these delights belong to the people, which used to belong to their master.

The poem posits a clear opposition between palace and city. The new emperor (Titus or Domitian) is praised for returning Nero's lands to the people, from whom he is described as stealing even their homes. Line 4 is especially striking, and evokes the anonymous lampoon cited earlier: the palace had expanded to the point that Rome is imagined as consisting more or less only of the *Domus Aurea*.⁶¹ It seems clear that the sense that Nero's palace was a hostile presence in the midst of the city was a common one. Seneca's predatory citadel that "holds the people beneath its blow" could very well reflect the contemporary attitude toward his Emperor's residence.⁶²

It can be objected that all the sources quoted in this argument have been post-Neronian, and thus not guaranteed to represent popular opinion in Seneca's own time. Jaś Elsner, for example, argues that Nero's reputation as a profligate builder is largely the result of Flavian propaganda: "In effect, Nero only became an outrageous and prodigal builder when he fell from power."⁶³ According to Elsner, there was nothing particularly radical about the Golden House. It was merely the next stage in the development of Julio-Claudian imperial residences, and it was only after Nero's downfall that it became converted

61 Note also Seneca's reference in *Letter* 90 to "Houses as big a cities" (90.43).

62 Note also the reference to the Colossus touching the stars, which rather strikingly echoes Atreus' megalomaniac soliloquy in which he imagines himself towering to the heavens (885–919)—here too, there may be a link between the tragic tyrant and the Roman emperor's fantasies.

63 Elsner 1994 123.

into a symbol of tyrannical luxury.⁶⁴ While it is true that Nero swiftly became a symbol of all that was to be avoided in a Roman leader, the public attitude to the Golden House cannot be explained away so easily. Nero's project differed from earlier imperial residences in several key ways. First, there are the circumstances of its construction. It is highly likely that the Roman populace would have reacted adversely to Nero's vastly expanding his own palace onto land that had previously been home to ordinary Romans. Even the Emperor's admittedly energetic relief efforts may not have always soothed resentment at the haste with which he turned the disaster to his own advantage. Secondly, as Elsner himself admits,⁶⁵ Nero's creation of a wilderness in the midst of the city went far beyond normal Roman practice. As Mary Beard has pointed out, the image of the emperor retiring to his garden is, in Roman literature, often employed to represent imperial arrogance and detachment.⁶⁶ From a suburban garden, an emperor could remain aware of the city, and supervise its government, without needing to have any contact with the masses. By placing his garden in the heart of the city, Nero signalled that his retreat would henceforth be permanent: he would govern Rome from a gated compound, shutting out everything but his private pleasures. The lampoons cited by Suetonius point to a very real resentment of the Emperor's extravagance.⁶⁷

The *Domus Aurea* displayed the same exploitative relationship to nature as the Senecan palace. Tacitus reports that contemporary Romans regarded the gardens as the most marvellous feature of Nero's construction (15.42). Both he and Suetonius remark on the massive effort put into making the estate appear a realistic countryside; Suetonius sketches a picture of the rustic illusion created by Nero's engineers:

64 Elsner 1994 121.

65 Elsner 1994 122.

66 Beard 1998 30.

67 Some modern authors argue that Nero was hated only by the senatorial elite (cf. Erasmio 2004 120, Goddard 1994 76–79), but was popular with the *plebs*, citing in support several ancient historians (e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 1.78.2, Suet. *Otho* 7.2, Dio 61.5.2). There exist, however, other accounts that depict Romans of all classes as hostile to their emperor. Ordinary Romans are said to have rioted when Nero divorced Octavia (Suet. *Nero* 35.2, Tac. *Ann.* 14.61), and blamed him when the grain supply failed (45.1–2); on Nero's death, Suetonius reports that the Romans rejoiced and dressed in caps of liberty (57.2). Nero may have been popular with some people at some times, but this popularity was neither universal nor permanent. In AD 64 how you felt about Nero may well have depended on whether the rubble of your house was now part of the *Domus Aurea's* foundations.

item stagnum maris instar, circumsaeptum aedificiis ad urbium speciem; rura insuper arvis atque vinetis et pascuis silvisque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum.

SUET. *Nero* 31.1

Likewise, there was a pool, the image of the sea, enclosed by buildings in the style of cities; in addition, there were stretches of countryside varied with cornfields and vineyards, pastures and forests, together with masses of every kind of animal, tame and wild.

With this paradoxical landscape—a natural-appearing countryside entirely created by human artifice—Nero took the Roman ideal of augmented nature to its absurd extreme. This ideal, as expressed by writers such as Statius and Pliny, celebrated landscape refined by human ingenuity; Nero’s architects conjured landscape *ex nihilo*. Tacitus goes so far as to say that the “nature” of Nero’s palace outstripped the natural world, declaring that his architects “attempted through artifice what Nature forbade” (*quae natura denegavisset per artem temptare, Annales* 15.42). Nero’s false countryside was the perfect embodiment of Roman technical mastery, all for the amusement of a single man. This co-opting of the natural world is exactly what Thyestes censures in the Tantalid palace, with its rooftop forests and privatized oceans. Nature itself is conquered and occupied, forced into serving the Tyrant’s interests.⁶⁸

Like Seneca’s fictional palace, the Golden House seemed hostile to its own people, dominating and oppressing the city it ruled. Like that palace, the Golden House destroyed the distinction between nature and artifice, absorbing natural landscapes into its structure. In both palaces the rational sciences of architecture and engineering serve a deeply irrational nature, giving concrete form to a tyrant’s mad desires. As one of Nero’s closest counselors, Seneca’s first-hand knowledge of a megalomaniac builder surely influenced his vision of a tyrant’s home.

Further Echoes

Though Seneca’s vision of the predatory palace was inspired by Nero, it is certainly not confined to him. The association of tyrants and megastructures has

68 At the risk of overstretching the analogy, Nero’s gardens might even be considered to some degree analogous to the haunted grove in Atreus’ palace. Both the *Domus Aurea*’s garden and the grove are paradoxical, products of nature that are fundamentally unnatural.

continued down the centuries, and recent history affords many examples. One of the most striking and well-documented instances are Hitler's plans for the rebuilding of Berlin after Germany's victory over Europe. Under Hitler's direction, Albert Speer drew up plans for a complete reconstruction of the centre of Berlin.⁶⁹ A triumphal avenue 4.5 miles long would have led, past increasingly grandiose buildings, to what was to be the heart of the Nazi empire: a vast domed hall, capable of holding up to 180,000 people.⁷⁰ At 762 ft. high and with a diameter of 825 ft., this would have been sixteen times the volume of St. Peter's in Rome.⁷¹ The dome, and the only slightly less grandiose structures that surrounded it, were all meant to be public buildings. But, as Albert Speer himself later realized, the uniform magnificence of the area would have rendered it dull and stultifying, and would have introduced "a monumental rigidity that would have counteracted all our efforts to introduce urban life into this avenue."⁷² As with Nero's Golden House, the Berlin plans amounted to the destruction of large swathes of a living city, to replace them with monuments to one man's ego.⁷³

69 The other dictatorships of the 1930s embarked on similar projects. Under Stalin, designs were produced for a vast "Palace of the Soviets" that would dominate Moscow. Built on the site of a demolished cathedral, it was to be a tiered cylindrical tower some 300 metres high would support a 100-metre statue of Lenin (Hoisington 2003, 61). This building was featured constantly in propaganda, but only the foundations were ever laid. World War Two halted construction, and after the war Stalin seems to have lost interest. Krushchev transformed the foundations into a massive swimming-pool, and after the fall of the Soviet Union the cathedral which had stood on the site was rebuilt (Hoisington 2003 64–67).

The existence of Roman monuments constrained Mussolini from carrying out the full-scale reconstructions planned by Hitler and Stalin, and his architectural projects more often involved the "liberation" of ancient structures by removing more recent surroundings (Agnew 1998 234–238). Nevertheless, the fascist regime did make some moves toward a new monumentality. Part of the original Roman Forum was bulldozed to create a new motorway leading between Mussolini's office and the Colosseum, lined with maps celebrating the old Roman and new Italian empires (Minor 1999). A competition was held in 1934 to design new headquarters for the Fascist Party; one of the entries proposed a massive curved wall of porphyry, the imperial stone, whose only adornment was to be a speaker's platform on which the Duce would stand, godlike, to address his adoring masses (Doordan 1983 126).

70 Speer 1969 74, 134–138.

71 Speer 1969 153.

72 Speer 1969 134.

73 Indeed, it has been suggested that, just as Atrous and his palace echo each other, Hitler sought to merge himself into his architecture—far from dwarfing the Führer, as Speer feared (153), the massive dome would come to embody him (Ward 1970 40).

Hitler's plans were never realized, but a completed expression of the architecture of tyranny can be found in Nicolae Ceaușescu's "House of the Republic." This building, possibly the world's largest, dominates the centre of Bucharest. Like the Golden House, it was constructed on the ruins of citizens' homes: two residential districts were demolished to make way for the building, in an area five kilometres long and two kilometres wide.⁷⁴ Echoing both Seneca's contemptuous citizenry and the criticisms of the Golden House, Romanians at the time commented that, rather than the victory of Socialism, the palace represented Ceaușescu's victory over Bucharest.⁷⁵

In the twenty-first century, the architecture of tyranny remains viable. It has recently been pointed out that architects are increasingly eager to work for authoritarian regimes.⁷⁶ Autocratic rulers' megalomania allows architects the ability to work on massive scale; their unfettered power allows them to present artists with a blank slate on which to build, without worrying about planning permissions or public reaction.⁷⁷ The dictators, for their part, receive not only the prestige of famous architects, but are able to embed themselves indelibly into their cities' fabrics. Totalitarian regimes seek to maintain a permanent presence in the hearts of their subjects. Making sure that their centres of power dominate the landscape is one of the most effective ways of doing so. Seneca, with his close proximity to an absolute ruler, understood this thinking all too clearly. In *Thyestes*, he gives a vivid picture of what can spring from the place of diseased nature at the tyranny's heart.

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74 Danta 1993 175.

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76 Lacayo 2008 53.

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Imperial Roman Cities as Places of Memory in Augustine's *Confessions*

Owen M. Ewald

Augustine traveled over a thousand miles through the center of the Roman Empire before coming to rest as the bishop of Hippo Regius on the southern coast of the Mediterranean, where he wrote his *Confessions*. But before he took up this post, he was a student and professor of rhetoric in major cities of the western part of the Roman Empire—Carthage, Rome, and Milan. When he looks back on his past, he often recalls features of these cities, such as the statue of the Neoplatonist Marius Victorinus in the Roman Forum: “he had earned a statue in the Roman Forum” (*statuam in foro Romano meruerat, Conf.* 8.2.3). But most of these places are not described in laborious detail, partly because they are typical urban spaces of the Roman Empire—streets, circuses, fora, churches, basilicas, and houses.

Accordingly, Augustine can rely on his contemporary reader's understanding of the shape and function of urban spaces to imagine the surrounding details of the events. These spaces and Augustine's life within them need to be read in an urban context, even though later interpreters, notably the Early Italian Renaissance painter Gozzoli, show a tendency to portray Augustine's life and conversion as both rural and monastic. Moreover, the urban spaces of the *Confessions* show an overall tendency to change over the course of the work from places of motion, such as streets and harbors, to places of rest, such as courtyards and altars.

An apparent exception to this pattern is Augustine's use of spatial metaphors for memory in *Confessions* 10.8. These metaphors combine motion as the process of remembering and stationary objects as the events, people, and places. In other words, for Augustine, memories are considered a series of places through which one can walk, as for Cicero.¹ In his own words, Augustine finds his

1 Faw 2007 27 37; Harrison 1992 145. I would like to thank my colleague Professor Baine Craft for these references. Nevertheless, Augustine does not seem practice the memory technique of *loci* mentioned in the pseudo-Ciceronian oratorical treatise *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.16–24 (Blum 1969 141; Doucet 1987 52–59; Terry 2006 192; Ando 1994 74).

biographical material spatially: “I come into the parade-grounds and broad palaces of memory, where the treasuries of countless images carried from things of every sort perceived by the senses are” (*venio in campos et lata praetoria memoriae, ubi sunt thesauri innumerabilium imaginum de cuiuscemodi rebus sensis invectarum, Conf.* 10.8.12).² *Campus* and *praetorium* still embody a spatial metaphor even if they are given ‘rural’ translations like “field” and “country estate,” respectively.³

But the other metaphors, *aula* and *penetrare*, are clearly urban and recall the public buildings of the urban centers from which the Roman Empire was administered. Augustine further describes finding material “in the huge hall of my memory” (*in aula ingenti memoriae meae, Conf.* 10.8.14) as well as how his memories occupy “a vast and boundless chamber” (*penetrabile amplum et infinitum, Conf.* 10.8.15). While Augustine’s use of spatial metaphors for memory is typical of ancient thinkers,⁴ he combines rest and motion when his memory moves through large urban spaces to rest in front of particular objects.

A similar idea of memory appears as “public images” in the modern architectural theorist Kevin Lynch, who describes the user experience of Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles. Lynch defines “public images” as “the common mental pictures carried by large numbers of a city’s inhabitants: areas of agreement which might be expected to appear in the interaction of a single physical reality, a common culture, and a basic physiological nature.”⁵ While Lynch adduces the examples of “downtown” or landmark buildings, his concept of public images also applies to the Roman Empire, not just to the city of Rome, but also to building types common in every urbanized zone. Favro notes that the Roman Empire shows particularly remarkable architectural uniformity,⁶ and this is true not only of landmarks but also of pathways or routes between them.

2 All translations are my own.

3 *Campus* as ‘field’ (*Lewis & Short* 1.A); *praetorium* as “country estate” (*L & S* 4). *Praetorium* could often mean “governor’s residence” (*L & S* 2, citing Cicero *Verr.* 2.4.28.65; Lavan 2001).

4 Although he was anticipated by Herodotus *Hist.* 3.86.1, Lynch mentions several studies on animals’ memory of place (Lynch 1959 3), and Ofstad 2011 describes how even fruit flies show links between memory and place.

5 Lynch 1959 7.

6 Favro 1996 6–7.

Places of Motion

The streets or *plateae* featured in the early books of the *Confessions* were similarly straight and busy throughout the Roman Empire, from Jerusalem to Rome to Pompeii. Even though Thagaste, Augustine's birthplace, was much smaller than most Roman imperial cities, Augustine metaphorically compares these streets to the streets of the immense city of Babylon when describing his teenage habits: "I used to make the journey of the streets of Babylon" (*iter agebam platearum Babyloniae, Conf. 2.3.8*). Even though Babylon is not within the Roman Empire in 401 CE, Augustine knows that in Revelation, Babylon is a metonymy for Rome, the "mother of fornications" (*mater fornicationum, Revelation 17:5*).⁷ Augustine uses this comparison not only to depict a kind of wandering, exilic motion for his soul comparable to another Biblical sojourn, the Babylonian Captivity, but also to mark these streets as properly urban.

Moreover, these streets were filled with packs of 'restless youth,' a phenomenon observable everywhere in the Empire.⁸ Augustine wandered the streets of Thagaste with his mischief-making friends, with whom he committed the infamous pear theft: "I began to want to enjoy the theft itself and sin" (*volebam frui ... ipso furto et peccato, Conf. 2.4.9*). Augustine's contemporary Eunapius describes vividly the post-adolescent version of this phenomenon, whereby students of rival sophists engaged in brawls on the very streets of Athens.⁹ On the streets of Thagaste, Augustine traveled not only away from his mother's Christian teachings but also farther from God: "while I was going farther from You" (*cum irem abs te longius, Conf. 2.3.7*).¹⁰ As evident in the later false arrest of Alypius, urban streets are linked to crime, to moral decline, and Augustine's motion away from God.

A second example of a place of motion is the racetrack or circus at Carthage. This circus was second in size only to Rome's, but not significantly different in plan from any other circus in the Empire.¹¹ Analogous racetracks existed in various places in the Roman Empire, from Rome itself to Tarichaeae, also known as Magdala, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, to the well-preserved

7 O'Donnell 1992 2.124–125.

8 Eyben 1993 107–112.

9 Eunapius *Vit. Soph.* 483–485; Eyben 1993 122–123.

10 Brown 1967 92–99 describes how the Neoplatonic idea of evil as a turning away from God profoundly influenced Augustine's theology and the way he thought about his own spiritual journey.

11 Humphrey 1986 305; Rossiter 2007 379 notes the high frequency of circus scenes in Carthaginian mosaics.

example of Lepcis Magna in North Africa.¹² When Augustine describes how his friend Alypius became addicted to watching the Carthaginian circus, his readers can easily visualize such a place filled with speeding chariots and rabid fans (*Conf.* 6.7.11). Even the verb for Alypius' obsession contains a spatial metaphor: "while he was wretchedly reflecting (lit. being turned) on it" (*cum in eo miserabiliter volveretur*, *Conf.* 6.7.11). This metaphor also shows the circus as a place of motion and as a thoroughly urban place where external chaotic motion parallels internal spiritual torment.

While circuses had already spread throughout the Roman Empire, Christian churches were beginning to proliferate in the fourth century CE.¹³ The plethora of churches also meant considerable variation in worship style and in moral climate. Christian churches are associated with significant, but not always holy memories for Augustine in the early books of the *Confessions*.¹⁴ In an unnamed Carthaginian church, Augustine met a woman and made the "business deal" (*negotium*, *Conf.* 3.3.5) that led to their extramarital cohabitation for the next decade and a half and the birth of their illegitimate son, Adeodatus.¹⁵ Again, Augustine's memory is tightly linked to a specific place, the interior of a church known to him, but vaguely described enough for readers to associate it with churches they knew.

If Augustine describes the church he attended in Carthage, it was likely to be the morally dubious Church of the Mappalia.¹⁶ At this church, men taunted women with bawdy songs during late-night prayer vigils, which Augustine describes in a later sermon deploring the situation.¹⁷ But as in any public urban space, lovers' trysts could go on in the background while religious rituals went on in the foreground: "I even dared to lust during the celebration of your holy mysteries, within the walls of your church, and to make a business deal for gaining the fruit of death" (*ausus sum etiam in celebritate sollemnitatum tuarum, intra parietes ecclesiae tuae, concupiscere et agere negotium procurandi fructus mortis*, *Conf.* 3.3.5).¹⁸ We do not learn much about the inside of the

12 Harris 1972 192; Humphrey 1986 25.

13 Finney 1988 331–335 emphasizes the architectural variety of worship spaces; Maier 1995 232–233 and Krautheimer 1983 94 emphasize growth at Rome in particular.

14 Wills 1999 15–17.

15 Brown 1967 65; Wills 1999 15.

16 Brown 1967 65; O'Donnell 1992 2.195.

17 *Sermon Dolbeau* 2; Lancel 2002 27.

18 At Rome, the Campus Martius featured not only Agrippa's temple honoring all the gods, the Pantheon, but also the activities of young lovers delicately described by Horace as "soft whispers beneath the night" (*lenes ... sub noctem susurri*, *Odes* 1.9.19).

church or its floor plan, but its ironic significance as a place of sin and motion away from God in Augustine's life is clear, for human memory encodes meaning better than detail.¹⁹

To emphasize the fact that the church is a place of rebellion against God, Augustine describes himself as "loving my ways, not yours, and fond of my 'runaway freedom'" (*fugitivam libertatem*, *Conf.* 3.3.5). The words "runaway freedom" are yet another reference to the 'Prodigal Son' motif appearing throughout the *Confessions*.²⁰ Augustine further comments on the state of his stubborn soul, "I wandered with an overconfident neck in order to withdraw far from You" (*vagatus sum praefidenti collo ad longe recedendum a te*, *Conf.* 3.3.5). Again, the words of this passage that suggest motion (*fugitivus*, *vagari*, *recedere*) also suggest how this urban church is a place of motion for Augustine's early life.

If Augustine met his concubine at the Church of the Mappalia, its location is quite significant in the 'public image' of Carthage. This church was a little bit uphill and probably visible from the docks of Carthage.²¹ This is significant because the docks of Carthage are naturally linked in Augustine's memory to his departure from his mother Monnica to hang out his shingle as a teacher in the imperial capital of Rome. The place where Augustine says goodbye to Monnica, moreover, is not at the main port, but where Hamilcar's Ravine meets the sea.²² Both sites, visible from one other, were urban places of motion that led Augustine away from God.

In recognition of his motion away from God, he explicitly cites the parallel of Eve's labor pains (Genesis 3:16) to describe Monnica's emotions: "seeking with groaning because she had given birth with groaning" (*cum gemitu quaerens quod cum gemitu pepererat*, *Conf.* 5.8.15). But Augustine, "a great contaminator of literary motifs,"²³ adds another parallel—Dido and Aeneas. Dido's explosion of angry tears over Aeneas' departure for Italy in *Aeneid* 4.305–330, 365–387 corresponds in both general location and emotion to Monnica's tears at Augustine's departure for Rome.²⁴ This move to the city of Rome detaches Augustine from his mother, both literally and spiritually.²⁵

19 Anderson 2005 144–146.

20 Knauer 1957 216–248.

21 Lancel 2002 195.

22 Lancel 2002 56.

23 Shanzer 1992 49.

24 Vaught 2003 127–129; Lancel 2002 56; Power 1996 84–85.

25 Levenson 1985 506–507.

Motion in the Streets of Carthage

Nevertheless, the most ‘urban’ incident set at Carthage involves Augustine’s friend Alypius and compulsory motion among school, street, court, and house.²⁶ Note that this story is explicitly a flashback to an earlier incident: “But still, this was being stored away for future healing in his [Alypius’] memory” (*verum tamen iam hoc ad medicinam futuram in eius memoria reponebatur, Conf.* 6.9.14). The incident was also set when Alypius was studying at Augustine’s school at Carthage: “when he, already attending my lectures, was now studying at Carthage” (*cum adhuc studeret iam me audiens apud Carthaginem, Conf.* 6.9.14).²⁷ Augustine’s school for rhetoricians was in the public square or *forum* (*in foro, Conf.* 6.9.14) of the upper town of Carthage. As reconstructed by archaeologists, this *forum* features balustrades overhanging the silversmiths’ street and lead bars protecting the shops underneath, and, nearby, the third largest excavated basilica or public administration building in the Roman Empire.²⁸

The juxtaposition of commerce, rhetoric, and administration was typical of public squares or *fora* throughout the Roman Empire. Every post-Augustan *forum* can be described as “a space designed to exclude rather than include and ... dominated by buildings geared to elite activity.”²⁹ For example, the Forum of Trajan at Rome featured the office of grain supply or *annona* in the Markets of Trajan, two government document repositories flanking Trajan’s column, and lawyers plying their trade in the courts or *exedra* of the Basilica Ulpia. All these areas were usually restricted to those with particular offices and ranks, and the ‘image of the city’ in Lynch’s terms would be a landscape of power for the elite.

But those whom the forum was “designed to exclude” sometimes saw it as a landscape of plunder, as a series of precious objects just waiting to be stolen or broken. In Augustine’s Carthage, a local youth intent on petty theft tried to use an ax to break through the bars of the silversmiths’ shops and steal the precious metals, but dropped the ax and ran away when he knew the silversmiths had heard him: “Once he heard their voices he ran away in fear after dropping his tool, so he would not be caught with it” (*quorum vocibus auditis relicto instrumento ille discessit timens, ne cum eo teneretur, Conf.*

26 O’Donnell 1992 2.366.

27 O’Donnell 1992 2.366.

28 Lancel 2002 48, 485 n. 9–10; Ennabli 1987 304–307. Lomas 1997 27 shows how basilicas are distributed throughout the Empire, especially in Italy itself.

29 Lomas 1997 38.

6.9.14). The silversmiths sent men to catch the crook,³⁰ but instead they caught Alypius.

Alypius was about to step into Augustine's rhetorical school but was now looking at the ax: "he was standing there, wondering at and considering the ax he had found" (*inventam securim stans atque admirans considerabat, Conf. 6.9.14*). Based on this circumstantial evidence, the silversmiths then hauled Alypius off through the streets, probably with the intention of lodging criminal charges against him in the nearby basilica: "while he was being led away either to custody or to punishment," (*cum ... duceretur vel ad custodiam vel ad supplicium, Conf. 6.9.15*). Here Augustine uses places and directions to underline Alypius' reversal of fortune: instead of training to be a lawyer who would practice in the *basilica*, he is about to be convicted of a crime in the *basilica* and then taken off to prison. In modern terms diligent urban law enforcement is trying to counteract the "broken window effect."³¹

But on the way to the basilica, the supervisor of public buildings or *architectus* intervened. The *architectus* was not a custodian, but probably had the rank of "most eminent count" or *clarissimus comes*.³² Augustine identifies the *architectus* as an agent of divine providence: "for right away, you, O Lord, came to the help of innocence" (*statim enim, domine, subvenisti innocentiae, Conf. 6.9.15*). He led Alypius and the mob past the house of the real thief, who was perhaps already known to the *architectus* as a destructive vandal: "they came to the house of that youth who had done the crime" (*venerunt ad domum illius adolescentis qui rem commiserat, Conf. 6.9.15*). Alypius identified the real thief's slave outside the door, and this slave in turn recognized his master's ax and proved Alypius' innocence (*Conf. 6.9.15*).

This Carthaginian house serves as a mental peg on which Augustine hangs his memory of Alypius' deliverance as an example of the workings of divine providence. But the narrative is somewhat episodic, perhaps because of the influence of ancient spatial memory techniques, which encode sequences better than narratives.³³ In other words, despite the presence of streets connecting them all with motion, Augustine's memories of the incident are tightly organized around buildings.

30 "They sent those who were to catch the one whom they had found by chance" (*miserunt qui apprehenderent quem forte invenissent, Conf. 6.9.14*). Baldini Lippolis 2007 229 notes that all property owners in a building were liable for damage to the ground level and thus had a stake in preventing vandalism.

31 Wilson and Kelling 1982 29–38.

32 Symmachus *Epistula* 5.76; O'Donnell 1992 2.367.

33 Terry 2006 192.

Places of Rest

But in the later books, places of rest, as opposed to places of motion, begin to take center stage. During Augustine's journey from Carthage to Rome, which recalls the pagan Aeneas and the restless motion of the first half of the *Aeneid*, his mother Monnica prays in the shrine of the African bishop Cyprian (*Conf.* 5.8.15). Martyred in 257 CE by the Roman emperor Valerian, Cyprian is particularly linked to Carthage as both diocesan bishop and local hero. Attempts to identify the location of the shrine have come up with nothing conclusive, but the archaeologist G.C. Picard suggested a site now known as "the circular monument," whose shape resembles the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.³⁴ In sum, Monnica is linked to rest through her visits to the shrine of Cyprian, an outstanding citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem.

To anticipate the theme of Augustine's later work *City of God*, Rome, namely Augustine before his conversion, represents the earthly city, in opposition to the heavenly Jerusalem, represented by the faithful Monnica.³⁵ To underline Monnica's faithfulness, Augustine emphasizes her repeated prayer for his soul in his absence at the altar of a Carthaginian church: "she let no day go by without an offering at Your altar, and came to your church without any interruption twice a day, morning and evening" (*nullum diem praetermittentis oblationem ad altare tuum, bis die, mane et vespere, ad ecclesiam tuam sine ulla intermissione venientis*, *Conf.* 5.9.17).³⁶ Later, Monnica would make similar offerings at saint shrines in Milan (*Conf.* 6.2.2), and as she died, Monnica wished for Augustine and his brethren in Christ to pray for her at church altars, wherever they were (*Conf.* 9.11.27).

While Rome includes mainly places of motion, for Augustine it is a failed place of rest. Through its monuments and amusements, Rome joins chaotic violence and imperial splendor with more intimate urban spaces, mainly houses. These houses are the house of the Manichee at which Augustine recovered from illness (*Conf.* 5.10.18) and Augustine's own combination house and school (*Conf.* 5.12.22): "in order to teach rhetoric at Rome, I began to gather at home some students to whom and through whom I began to become known" (*ut docerem Romae artem rhetoricam, et prius domi congregare aliquos quibus et per*

34 Ennabli 1987 294–296; Lancel 1989 658–659. Historians of Greek religion may see this shape as a *hērōon* or hero-shrine (*LSJ* 1).

35 Bowery 2007 82–88.

36 Vaught 2003 130.

quos innotescere coeperam, Conf. 5.12.22).³⁷ But even a small, friendly space did not guarantee stability.

Rather, the movement of students from one teacher to another to avoid payment was a major thorn in Augustine's side: "'But suddenly,' they say, 'many youths scheme not to pay the fee to their teacher and transfer themselves to another, since they are betrayers of trust and those to whom justice is worthless compared with lack of money'" (*'sed subito,' iniquunt, 'ne mercedem magistro reddant, conspirant multi adulescentes et transferunt se ad alium, desertores fidei et quibus prae pecuniae caritate iustitia vilis est,' Conf. 5.12.22*). With the sponsorship of the learned Symmachus (*Conf. 5.13.23*), Augustine then made the most significant move of his life, to Milan, in order to take up a publicly endowed professorship of rhetoric.

Milan has the most detailed topography of any city in the *Confessions*. The events in the biography take place in Ambrose's office, outside in a Milan neighborhood, in Augustine's garden and house, in Milan's cathedral, and even 60 km. away, in a country villa at Cassiciacum. Yet these are all typical sites, part of the 'public image' of the Late Antique Roman Empire, even if we can locate them within our topographical understanding of Milan. Moreover, places of rest (four) outnumber places of motion (one) as Augustine moves toward religious conversion and spiritual rest.

The place of motion in Milan appears when Augustine was walking "through a certain Milanese neighborhood" (*per quendam vicum Mediolanensem, Conf. 6.6.9*). There Augustine encounters a "poor beggar ... full, laughing, and joyous" (*pauperem mendicum ... saturum, iocantem atque laetantem, Conf. 6.6.9*). Augustine, on his way to deliver a panegyric of Flavius Bauto, who defended the Alpine passes leading to Milan from barbarian armies, may have been sweating over his provincial accent.³⁸ Augustine was a bundle of nerves and was "dragging around a sack of my own unhappiness under the goads of ambitions," (*sub stimulis cupiditatum trahens infelicitatis meae sarcinam, Conf. 6.6.9*).³⁹ Both men, beggar and orator, were enduring the "many pains of our insanities" (*multos dolores nostrarum insaniarum, Conf. 6.6.9*) as they moved or staggered along the same urban street.

37 Ellis 2007 10 notes that philosophical schools in Late Antiquity adapt the structure of the Roman *domus*, even at Athens.

38 Augustine, *De ordine* 2.45, cited in Lancel 2002 64, 487 n. 7.

39 Note the similarity to turbulent emotions Augustine experienced at Carthage: "A skillet of wicked lusts was sizzling all around me" (*circumstrepebat me undique sartago flagitiosorum amorum, Conf. 3.1.1*).

But places of rest in Milan come to the fore in his narrative when Augustine encountered the sermons of Ambrose, converted to orthodox Christianity, and was baptized. More succinctly, “Augustine puts on Christ in Milan.”⁴⁰ Augustine sees his journey to Milan in terms of his own spiritual journey, as contact with the good example of Ambrose: “And I came to Milan, to Ambrose the bishop, known to the world as your faithful worshiper, among the best” (*et veni Mediolanium ad Ambrosium episcopum, in optimis notum orbi terrae, pium cultorem tuum, Conf. 5.13.23*). Milan was an explicitly Christian city, marked by a major Christian basilica at its center and four Christian basilicas on four roads leading into it.⁴¹

Milan was especially marked by conflict between Catholic and Arian factions of Christianity.⁴² For example, the church of San Lorenzo seems to have begun as an Arian cathedral, only to be re-consecrated as Catholic when the political wheel turned.⁴³ Milan’s elaborate religious and imperial urban topography, which Augustine can assume his readers know, provides the backdrop for Augustine’s conversion and includes multiple places of rest.

Prominent among such places of rest are shrines of saints. After his mother Monnica followed Augustine to Milan, she regularly attended Ambrose’s church (*Conf. 6.1.1*), and visited shrines of saints to pray for her son and to leave offerings of food: “And so, when she had brought beans and bread and undiluted wine to the shrines of the saints, as she was accustomed to do in Africa ...” (*itaque cum ad memorias sanctorum, sicut in Africa solebat, pultes et panem et merum attulisset ..., Conf. 6.2.2*). Note that in this passage, the word for “shrines” is *memoriae*, which can also mean “memories,” further anchoring memory to places.⁴⁴

The veneration of saints was a prominent feature of African Christianity by the third century CE, and the food and drink offerings brought for the saints were consumed by the living in feasts that had the potential for disorder or rowdiness.⁴⁵ Given such potential, an inscription records a wish for concord at such a feast: “Let there be peace and harmony for our fellowship” (*Pax et con-*

40 Vaught 2004 113. Jacobsen 2003 131 describes how Augustine provides later urban Christians an example of how cities can save instead of seduce. Professor Craft supplied this reference, also.

41 Krautheimer 1983 73–74 with fig. 63.

42 Krautheimer 1983 71.

43 Krautheimer 1983 90–92.

44 Gowing 2005 13 n. 36.

45 Lancel 2002 487 n. 8

cordia sit convivio nostro).⁴⁶ Campaigning against rowdiness as well as against the pagan Festival of the Ancestors or *Parentalia*, which involved ‘feeding’ dead ancestors, Ambrose had outlawed food offerings, and Monnica began instead to “give what [food] she could to the poor” (*quod posset daret indigentibus, Conf. 6.2.2*).⁴⁷ Wherever he could, Ambrose bought or found more relics to enhance the shrines in his diocese, for the saint shrines were very important places for the devotional stability of Milanese Christians.⁴⁸

Ambrose’s office in the church at Milan, which constitutes a “third place” for Augustine, sounds a note of rest.⁴⁹ When Augustine came for a chat, he found Ambrose reading silently and was reluctant to interrupt: “thus we saw him reading silently and never in any other way, and because we were sitting in silence day after day (for who would dare to be a burden to one so focused?), we would depart” (*sic eum legentem vidimus tacite et aliter numquam, sedentesque in diuturno silentio—quis enim tam intento esse oneri auderet?—discedebamus, Conf. 6.3.3*). While much critical ink has been spilled over the idea of silent reading, Vaught sees it as a model of contemplation of God.⁵⁰ Although Augustine and friends tended to leave (“we would depart”, *discedebamus*) rather than participate, Augustine began to return to his mother’s Christian faith and to achieve an Ambrosian detachment from the world.⁵¹

But despite Ambrose’s achievement of contemplation, he was one of the busiest Christian bishops in the Empire, in a thoroughly urban context. His house, tentatively identified as including the “apsidal hall” for receiving visitors, was about 100 meters away from the “new basilica” or *basilica nova* in the center of Milan.⁵² The *basilica nova* could hold about 3,000 worshipers and was at one point occupied by imperial troops, which Ambrose could see from the threshold of his house.⁵³ Yet in a busy church amid a busy city, Ambrose managed to carve out time for reading and provide a model of rest for Augustine.

46 Marrou 1979 261.

47 Lancel 2002 70–71; O’Donnell 1992 2.335.

48 Krautheimer 1983 79–80.

49 This third place is neither work nor home, which are depressingly the same for Augustine. For further discussion of this term, see Jacobsen 2003 91–92.

50 Vaught 2003 140. O’Donnell 1992 2.339–342 provides relevant bibliography on silent reading.

51 Levenson 1985 508; Moore 2007 159–161; Vaught 2003 134–140.

52 Marano 2007 107–109 with 107 fig. 5. Ellis 2007 8 emphasizes the close relationship between the Roman *domus* and episcopal residences, and Ceylan 2007 172 n. 20 cites Augustine’s mention of his own apsidal audience hall (*Sermones* 51.5).

53 Ambrose *Ep.* 76; Marano 2007 108.

Rest in the Garden at Milan

This urban context is important to keep in mind throughout the *Confessions*, but is particularly important for Augustine's conversion experience in a space connected with his house at Milan, probably a garden (*Conf.* 8.12.29). In many interpretations, both in commentaries and in visual art, there is a tendency to ruralize and monasticize Augustine and his conversion experience, as shown in Gozzoli's early Renaissance fresco from San Gimignano (Fig. 10.1).

It is all too easy to map the set of binary oppositions—rural/urban, villa/street, and *otium/labor*—familiar from the letters of Pliny the Younger and other Imperial Romans onto Augustine's Milanese garden conversion.⁵⁴ In Gozzoli's fresco, note the large wooded hill in the background, out of place for a busy Imperial capital that consumed at least its share of firewood.⁵⁵ Also, other parts of the *Confessions* tell us Augustine worked out of his house at Rome (*Conf.* 5.12.22, cited earlier) and probably at Milan as well. In other words, God comes to Augustine in *labor* rather than in *otium*.

The tendency to portray the house as rural may come not only from the local context of San Gimignano, but also from a retrospective reading of the conversion experience through the lens of a later vacation at a rural estate in Cassiciacum. In between Augustine's conversion and his baptism comes not only a period of preparation, but also a brief vacation in an anti-city, Verecundus' estate at Cassiciacum near Lake Como.⁵⁶ There the emphasis is on rest: "where we rested in You [God] from the heat of the world" (*ubi ab aestu saeculi requievimus in te, Conf.* 9.3.5). O'Donnell comments, "this passage marks the first unambiguous achievement of *requies* [rest], however partial and fleeting, in the narrative."⁵⁷ Comparable to "the pleasantness of your eternally flourishing Paradise" (*amoenitatem sempiternae virentis paradisi tui, Conf.* 9.3.5), the villa provides Augustine not only with rest but also with a foretaste of heaven.⁵⁸

Other interpretations make the house at Milan the functional equivalent of a monastery. Again, Gozzoli's fresco anachronistically shows Augustine in

54 Leach 2003 156–158, 161–162, although her explicit contrast is between *otium* and *negotium* (Leach 2003 148) rather than between *otium* and *labor*.

55 Krautheimer 1983 70; Brown 1967 70–72.

56 The estate is labelled a *rus*, (*rure illo eius Cassiciaco, Conf.* 9.3.5), but Rossiter 2007 385 notes that Augustine was not strict in his use of different terms for rural landholdings (*fundus, possessio, villa*, etc.).

57 O'Donnell 1992 3.82.

58 Brown 1967 116; Stock 1996 112; Lawless 1987 5.



FIGURE 10.1 "Saint Augustine reading the epistles of Saint Paul" fresco by Benito Gozzoli (1420–1497 CE) in S. Agostino, San Gimignano, Italy (PHOTO SUPPLIED BY SCALA/ART RESOURCE, NY)

the habit of an Augustinian monk, even though the Augustinian order was not founded until 1244. Particularly in Florence, the closest large city to San Gimignano, later medieval and early Renaissance exterior spaces are fully enclosed courtyards, restricted to monks and nuns or else to very wealthy nobles.⁵⁹

But in the Late Antique Roman Empire, Roman gardens and courtyards are working, everyday spaces associated with *labor* rather than *otium*; based on Pompeian evidence, Roman gardens feature herb/vegetable plots, storage, laundry, and other facilities.⁶⁰ Augustine's pre-conversion life at Milan as professor of rhetoric moved according to secular rhythms, although his life at Ostia with Monnica and his disciples would contribute to the model for the Augustinian order.⁶¹ Even his "retreat" experience at Cassiciacum, mentioned above, took place at a break prescribed by the academic calendar rather than by the liturgical calendar.⁶² In other words, Roman gardens were not meditation spaces or monastic cells, but spaces that served household functions—growing vegetables or drying clothes.

In his description of his conversion experience, Augustine describes his withdrawal from his friend Alypius in order to cry: "I rose and withdrew farther from Alypius than his presence could be burdensome to me—solitude was being prompted for me as more fit for the task of weeping" (*surrexi ab Alypio—solitudo mihi ad negotium flendi aptior suggerebatur—et secessi remotius quam ut posset mihi onerosa esse etiam eius praesentia, Conf. 8.12.28*). This is not monastic withdrawal, but withdrawal to another area of the house; in Pompeii, as in the House of Amor and Psyche, gardens could take up to half the lot of the house.⁶³ Based on the evidence of a later phrase, "from there we went in to my mother" (*inde ad matrem ingredimur Conf. 8.12.30*), both Augustine and Alypius were probably outside, in an interior garden typical of urban houses.

After the overwrought Augustine left Alypius, Augustine lay under a fig tree: "I spread myself out under a certain fig tree" (*ego sub quadam fici arbore stravi me, Conf. 8.12.29*). The fig tree has numerous Biblical resonances, some of them negative, such as Genesis 3.7, where fig leaves cover nakedness, John 1.47–48, when Nathaniel sees Jesus under a fig tree, and Matthew 21.19, where Jesus

59 Stein 1990 40; Puppi 1991 48; Comito 1991 41 with Florentine examples at 39; Pizzoni 1999 20–33 discusses the "enclosed garden," *hortus conclusus*, with photos from Mantua and Urbino at 30 and illustrations of ideal enclosed gardens from literature at 22, 24, and 33.

60 Allison 1997 137–138; Spencer 2010 136, 140; Purcell 1987 188–189 with n. 6–8.

61 Lawless 1987.

62 O'Donnell 1992 3.82.

63 Bowe 2004 94.

curses an unfruitful fig tree.⁶⁴ But within the context of a Roman Imperial garden, the tree could also be a replica of the *Ficus Ruminalis*, where Romulus and Remus were suckled.⁶⁵

Although Augustine often blends motifs from Christian and Classical literature, the fig tree may have a more immediate, quotidian meaning.⁶⁶ The archaeologist Jashemski, while excavating two fig trees near a *garum* shop near Pompeii, learned from an Italian archaeologist that in Italy, even toward the beginning of the last century, outdoor privies were often located near fig trees because the leaves were large enough for sanitary uses.⁶⁷ Even if it is doubtful that Augustine was seeking to relieve himself, the phrase “I withdrew farther,” *secessi remotius*, should still be read as moving a short distance rather than to spiritual or monastic withdrawal. Augustine was not in an Augustinian monastery, but still surrounded by the detritus of his everyday life.

The message of the children’s voices, “pick up, read, pick up, read” (*tolle, lege, tolle, lege, Conf. 8.12.29*) had to be considered by Augustine as a common occurrence, not only to test it to see whether it comes from God, but also because it could be random noise from a noisy urban environment: “Immediately, with a changed expression, I began to think very hard about whether children tended to sing such a thing in any type of game-playing” (*statimque mutato vultu intensissimus cogitare coepi utrumnam solerent pueri in aliquo genere ludendi cantitare tale aliquid, Conf. 8.12.29*). Augustine may have even been contributing to the overall level of ambient noise himself: “I was letting loose wretched cries, “how long, how long” “tomorrow and tomorrow”” (*iactabam voces miserabiles: “quamdiu, quamdiu,” “cras et cras,” Conf. 8.12.28*). In other words, Augustine was not experiencing monastically perfect quiet when he heard “*tolle, lege,*” but a typical urban soundscape.

Even the verse Augustine read from Romans 13:13 is about amendment of this life, not about purity in eternal life: “Not with rioting and drunkenness, nor with affairs and promiscuity, not with strife and rivalry, but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no allowance for the flesh in lusts” (“*non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudiciis, non in contentione et aemulatione, sed induite dominum Iesum Christum et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis,*” *Conf. 8.12.29*). Moreover, Augustine’s visitor Ponticianus has already

64 O’Donnell 1992, 3 57.

65 Livy 1.4.5; Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 15.77; Von Stackelberg 2009 88.

66 Shanzer 1992 49.

67 Jashemski 1981 38. While many Late Antique latrines were interior (e.g. Maniere-Lévêque 2007 485, 504), Baldini Lippolis 2007 229 notes that regulations often specified that they had to be at least 6.66 cubits (3 meters) from a neighbor’s wall.

observed that Augustine was reading his copy of Paul's letters on a gaming table (*mensa lusoria*, *Conf.* 8.6.14) rather than in a church or in a prayer nook. Thus, the position of the Bible on a piece of secular furniture is an emblem of Augustine's conversion within everyday life.

Even Augustine's baptism took place within an urban context. Augustine was probably baptized in the large (5 meters wide) octagonal font found in the 1960s below Milan Cathedral/Duomo, in the central city.⁶⁸ But in this crowded, very urban space, Augustine and friends were now released from care: "And we were baptized, and the anxiety of our past life fled from us" (*et baptizati sumus et fugit a nobis sollicitudo vitae praeteritae*, *Conf.* 9.6.14). Anxiety, rather than Augustine, was in flight, as he found spiritual rest in the waters of Baptism and "put on Christ."

Rest at Ostia

Augustine, his friends, and his family resolved to return to Africa, but to build up strength for the journey and to wait out a civil war, they had an extended sojourn at Ostia, Rome's port city. At Ostia, Augustine and company stayed at a quiet house "far from crowds" (*remoti a turbis*, *Conf.* 9.10.23), probably near villas of wealthy Christian retirees, possibly near or with the famous Anicii.⁶⁹ Just like the garden at Milan, an Ostian garden guided Augustine's path toward God and suggests, as at Milan, the breaking of God into everyday urban life, rather than the "leisure" (*otium*) of Greco-Roman philosophical tradition.⁷⁰

When Augustine and Monnica look out a window into "a garden within the house" (*hortus intra domum*, *Conf.* 9.10.23), this is a regular *hortus*, dedicated to typical utilitarian purposes, rather than a monastic cloister.⁷¹ Amid their everyday domestic life, Augustine and Monnica have a shared vision of God's creation. This experience figuratively took both mother and son on a journey by the feet of the mind: "we crossed, step by step, through all physical things and through the sky itself, from which the sun and moon and stars shine above the earth" (*perambulavimus gradatim cuncta corporalia et ipsum caelum, unde*

68 See Kinney 1987 52–60 for discussion of the octagonal font; Krautheimer 1983 76 fig. 67 shows the plan of the cathedral and the baptistery.

69 See Brown 1967 128; Dunn 2009 66–68. Baldini Lippolis 2007 217–219 notes that many Ostian houses changed their internal subdivisions in Late Antiquity while keeping the same overall ground plan.

70 *pace* Brown 1967 116; Stock 1996 117–118.

71 Stambaugh 1988 270.

sol et luna et stellae lucent super terram, Conf. 9.10.24).⁷² But while the garden formed part of Augustine's daily urban life, the vertical sweep of this vision encompasses all of God's creation.

The scene may also be influenced by Stoic philosophical cosmology. The climax of Cicero's "Dream of Scipio" is also a vision from on high, but looking at earth instead of into heaven: "moreover, you see the same earth as if tied around and surrounded by certain zones" (*cernis autem eandem terram quasi quibusdam redimitam et circumdatam cingulis*, Cicero, *Rep.* 6.21). Although Cicero is concerned with contemporary political arrangements, Augustine is concerned with how God ordered the universe, an order seen from an urban place of rest.

When Monnica died at Ostia, she was originally buried in what is now the Church of Sant' Aurea in modern Ostia, where a nearby inscription commemorated her.⁷³ But in the *Confessions*, Monnica does not care about the location of her burial site because of her immortal soul; she does not insist on being buried in Africa next to her husband.⁷⁴

Her only instructions to Augustine and his friends are, "I ask you to remember me at the altar of the Lord, wherever you are" (*tantum illud vos rogo, ut ad domini altare memineritis mei, ubiubi fueritis Conf.* 9.11.27). The altar of the Lord should be enough to activate memories of her, and Christian altars are at this point ubiquitous in cities of the Roman Empire. At the date of composition of the *Confessions* in roughly 401CE, the Empire may even be at the tipping point at which Christian altars outnumber pagan altars in cities, where Imperial patronage was most powerful.⁷⁵

Monnica even uses a spatial metaphor, the idea of distance from God, to describe her hope for salvation: "Nothing, she said, is far from God, nor must it be feared that He would not recognize me at the end of the age when He resurrects me" (*'nihil' inquit 'longe est deo, neque timendum est, ne ille non agnoscat*

72 O'Donnell 1992 3.128, 131–132; Vaught 2004 125; Bowery 1997 88.

73 O'Donnell 1992 3.142; Meiggs 1973 399–400; Dunn 2009 66–67 all argue for a date for this inscription within thirty-five years of Monnica's death and attribute the inscription to Anicius Auchenius Bassus, one of the prominent Anicii, buried nearby in the same church. But on the grounds of letter forms, of later perspectives on Augustine, and of the later development of tomb-pilgrimage, Boin 2010 203–209 argues for a later date in the late sixth or early seventh century CE; I thank the anonymous reviewer of this volume for drawing this article to my attention.

74 Nock 1932 324, 334–335 describes how Christians in most of the Roman Empire insisted on burial, but not on bodily preservation.

75 Macmullen 1984 53–54.

in fine saeculi unde me resuscitet,' Conf. 9.11.28). This idea of the omnipresence of God in space anticipates Augustine's speculations on God's omnipresence in time in *Confessions* 13. Through her example, Monnica shows her son Augustine how to draw near to God, no matter how far away he has wandered. Augustine shows his connection to God at the very end of the *Confessions*: "Still, you, a good lacking no good, are always at rest, because you are yourself your own rest," (*tu autem bonum nullo indigens bono semper quietus es, quoniam tua quies tu ipse es, Conf. 13.38.53*). Significantly, Augustine identifies God with rest at a stable moment of his own life, when he has become bishop of Hippo Regius after his last major move.

Conclusion

But the vertical and omnipresent features of God throughout the *Confessions* should not prevent interpreters from using all the archaeological and cultural evidence at hand. This evidence provides context for Augustine's memories of Roman Imperial cities, without trying to metamorphose them into the heavenly Jerusalem. For Rome, Carthage, Milan, and Ostia are cities of the Roman Empire, not the City of God.

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PART 3

City as Identity I: Cultures in Stone



Sacred Exchange: The Religious Institutions of *Emporia* in the Mediterranean World of the Later Iron Age

Megan Daniels

Introduction

The Mediterranean Iron Age, while it is difficult to pinpoint its exact boundaries temporarily,¹ has as one of its hallmarks the proliferation of long-distance trade networks. The development of these networks led to the movement of peoples overseas to capitalize upon trade opportunities while at the same time establishing more permanent settlements around the Mediterranean. Overall, the Iron Age, particularly between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE, is seen as a time of major economic accomplishment in terms of the novel economic structures that were created, allowing for a density of intercommunications supported by regular and frequent movement of goods and people.² I wish to focus on these novel economic structures in particular in this paper, specifically the institutions that developed out of and in turn spurred such prolific movements. While difficult to reconstruct out of fragmentary evidence, institutions were vital in allowing human beings the means to cooperate with one another and thus to capture the gains made by commercial activities. Correspondingly, an investigation of Iron Age institutions is vital for explaining rising standards of living and population growth across the Mediterranean world at this time.

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- 1 The term “Iron Age” lacks fixed boundaries—Near Eastern and Greek archaeologists tend to see it as commencing in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE, following the collapse of Bronze Age palatial centres and the migration of the so-called Sea Peoples. On the other hand, on Sicily, the Iron Age does not begin until the ninth century, with shifts from chiefdoms to more egalitarian communities, while in North Africa the Iron Age is seen to commence with the founding of Carthage. The end of the Iron Age melds into more strictly delineated periods: the Archaic period in Greece, for example, or the Republican period in Rome (Hodos 2006 3–4).
 - 2 See Morris 2006; 2007; 2009 for discussions on regeneration, demography, economic structures, and economic performance in the Iron Age Mediterranean.

Perhaps one of the most fruitful contexts for analyzing these institutions is the areas highlighted by both archaeological and literary evidence as zones of intense cross-cultural trade and interaction—communities oriented towards the sea, rivers, and other transportation routes which tended to develop culturally heterogeneous populations. Such a settlement is known best as an *emporion* (Latin *emporium*), although how scholars define this term (or whether we should attempt to define it at all) is much disputed.³ A common and conspicuous feature of these communities in the archaeological record, however, is the proliferation of religious cults whose identities seemed to cut across cultural boundaries and which I argue provided important institutional structures to mediate social and economic transactions between foreigners. While the scholarly literature has certainly not ignored these cults—nor, indeed the fluidity of religious identities in the ancient world—the deeper meanings and functions of such cross-cultural religious identities are often overlooked, with the result that they are most often regarded as only *reflecting* cross-cultural contact rather than actively facilitating interaction and commercial exchange.⁴ Through this paper I thus aim to call attention to the institutional structures of these nascent commercial and urban centres through their early cults, and to consider the role such cults may have played in facilitating trade between foreign communities. I intend to do this first from a more general standpoint by analyzing the concept and function of the *emporion* during the Mediterranean Iron Age, and second, and more specifically, through examining the religious institutions within an *emporion* on the Tiber River in Italy dating to the sixth century BCE, on the site of what would later be known as the Forum Boarium, or cattle market, of Rome. I end with a consideration of how both a theory of institutions and comparative evidence from later periods can help us discern the explanatory power of these cults in terms of the larger processes of urbanization and economic growth in the ancient world.

The *Emporion* as City in the Ancient World

For the purposes of this paper and for the larger unifying theme of this volume—that of the ancient city—it is first of all vital to examine how we define a trading community in the ancient world, and how it relates to the concept of the city. There has been some debate among scholars over how to characterize the idea of long-distance trade and how it functioned within and between soci-

3 E.g. Wilson 1997.

4 E.g. Scheid 2007. Some notable exception to this situation: Rauh 1993 and Malkin 2011.

eties, particularly concerning the space in which long-distance trade was conducted and foreign relations were negotiated. One of the dominant economic models until recently was the “port-of-trade” model, first given form by the economic anthropologist Karl Polanyi. To Polanyi, the port-of-trade denoted a neutral and geographically marginal place of exchange at the interface of two economically distinct groups of people, where trading partners could exchange their goods according to the terms and rates defined by the host society.⁵ The *emporion* contained the essential infrastructure for long-distance trade, including a harbour, quays and warehouses. It also provided social and legal functions, such as the exchange of information, the lodging of pilgrims, and the administration of international justice. This model had particular merit in highlighting the role of indigenous power in controlling an area of trade in reaction to external demands. The port-of-trade thus acted as a restraint on, and simultaneously became a place of attraction to, foreign merchants and inhabitants.⁶

The port-of-trade, as it existed in the ancient world, encompassed two types of settlement that Polanyi outlined: (1) the commercial harbour of the *polis* directed towards foreign trade (for example, the Piraeus, the port of Athens), differentiated spatially and conceptually from the *agora*, the centre of local trade, and (2) a settlement established by a group of merchants in foreign territory for purposes of commercial exchange with indigenous inhabitants, governed by indigenous regulations.⁷ An often-cited example of this second type is Naukratis, a settlement on a branch of the Nile in northern Egypt that Herodotos (2.178.1–3) describes as being given to East Greek traders by the

5 Bresson 1993 163.

6 Polanyi, Arensberg and Pearson 1957; Polanyi 1963. See also Gras 1993 105; 1995 139; Figueira 1984 24; Möller 2000 19–25. The port-of-trade is seen as a control point in trade between two cultures with differently patterned economic institutions—between a non-market society and a society of professional traders, for instance. It may be independent of both societies involved in exchange; it may be controlled by the trading power; or it may be controlled by the land power (Humphreys 1969 191–192). It was also particularly attractive for long-distance trade (Figueira 1984 24; Rouillard 1995 106), and was potentially a great source of revenue for the host society, which could enforce customs duties and taxes on foreign ships and cargo (Ampolo 1994).

7 Polanyi 1963 33–34. Polanyi saw the origin of this second type in the “dumb barter” outlined by Herodotos (4.196), by which means the Phoenicians traded with the African natives. Each party would leave a select amount of goods on the beach, adding more until the other party was satisfied, after which both parties withdrew their purchases. Polanyi notes the sacred nature of these early exchanges by citing K. Lehmann-Hartleben’s findings of low stone altars open towards the sea, with the sacred space delineated only by a low stone wall (Polanyi 1963 34).

Egyptian Pharaoh Amasis, as discussed in Astrid Möller's publication on the site.⁸ The port-of-trade model has indeed been conveniently associated with the ancient Greek term *emporion*, a word attested in Herodotos and derived from the word *emporos*,⁹ meaning "merchant" or "shipboard passenger". This term was used frequently by later authors as well, particularly Demosthenes and Strabo, who mentions 48 different *emporion*.¹⁰ Under such a model the *emporion* was regarded as a buffer zone between two distinct economic and political entities: local versus long distance trade (the first type), or a foreign group of people who differed economically and culturally from the indigenous community (the second type). Thus the world of long-distance trade was liminal by nature to urban society, and in some cases it was even a threat to the city's proper existence. Such an attitude in the ancient world towards long distance trade and foreign merchants seemed to be confirmed by philosophers such as Plato, who regarded the ideal *polis* as self-sufficient, built upon the harmonious values of trust and friendship. Indeed, Plato's Athenian in his *Laws* implies that proximity to the sea and good harbours threatened to breed "luxurious and depraved habits" within the city (*Leg.* 4.704e), particularly in one that was not self-sufficient: "for by filling the markets of the city with foreign merchandise and retail trading, and breeding in men's souls knavish and tricky ways, [the sea] renders the city faithless and loveless, not to itself only, but to the rest of the world as well." (*Leg.* 4.705a)¹¹

Other scholars have questioned the *emporion's* assimilation to the port-of-trade model in both the literary and archaeological evidence, however, particularly in terms of its marginal position in society.¹² When the term is first

8 Möller 2000 attempted to portray Naukratis as an example of a Polanyian port-of-trade, while modifying certain points of Polanyi's original model to adapt it to Naukratis.

9 The noun *emporos* is attested already in the Homeric poems (*Od.* 2.319; 24.300) in the sense of one who goes on-board a ship as a passenger. Additionally, the abstract noun *emporiēn* is found in Hesiod (*Op.* 646), but there is no evidence earlier than ca. 450 BCE that the Greeks had developed the concept *emporion* and applied it to trading posts such as Naukratis in Egypt. The only possible attestation of the concept of *emporion* before the mid-fifth century is the name of the Archaic colony *Emporion* in northern Spain founded by Massalia ca. 575 BCE (Hansen 1997 94).

10 Hansen 1997 84; Gras 1993 104; 1995 139–140. The earliest use of the word is found in Attic inscriptions of the mid-fifth century—two boundary stones found in the Piraeus, both inscribed: *emporio kai hodo horos* (IG³ A & B), and *tois empori[ois]* in a fragmentary decree presumably regulating the foundation of a colony (IG³ 47 A.7) (as printed in Hansen 1997 84).

11 Trans. Bury 1926 257.

12 See Figueira 1984 and, more recently, Demetriou 2012 17–18.

used by Herodotos in the early Classical period, for example, a community could be described simultaneously as a *polis* and *emporion*, sometimes by the same author.¹³ Noting this tendency, Mogens Hansen recognized within the ancient sources that, while some *poleis* were seen as *having emporia*, other *poleis* were *emporion* in themselves.¹⁴ In general, the former type denoted mainland Greek *poleis*. The latter type, on the other hand, comprised the settlements established in the western Mediterranean and Black Sea, whose major purposes—*inter alia*—included commercial exchange, and who were, more often than not, dependent on larger *poleis*. These same settlements, however, were described by other sources to have been *poleis* as well, and it is thus likely that they were, like the mainland Greek examples, *poleis* who had an *emporion*.¹⁵ While this distinction may recall Polanyi's original definition, by highlighting its assimilation with the *polis*, Hansen ultimately called attention to both the political and urban functions that *emporion* could encompass, and ultimately, the role that they played in the growth of larger political communities and urban centres around the Mediterranean in the Archaic and Classical periods. Olbia on the Black Sea is a case in point here: Herodotos (4.17.1) calls Olbia the *emporion* of the Borysthene, yet notes that the residents of Olbia referred to themselves as *Olbiopolitai* (4.18.1), suggesting that they considered themselves to be inhabitants of a *polis*.¹⁶ The finds at a nearby settlement on Berezan, currently an island but possibly originally a peninsula, suggest that the inhabitants may have first engaged in seasonal trade in this area and slightly later made Olbia, with its rich agricultural hinterland, into the permanent settlement.¹⁷ Prior to Hansen's article, Alain Bresson, in his paper *Les cités grecques*

13 For example, Herodotos calls Naukratis both *polis* and *emporion* (2.178–179). A number of Classical and Hellenistic inscriptions call Naukratis a *polis* as well (Hansen 1997; 2000, 199). See also Bresson 1980 and Bowden 1996.

14 Hansen 1997 86–91; 2006. Hansen (1997 83) has also drawn attention to the fact that while almost all *emporion* were connected to a *polis*, there are exceptions to this rule, notably Pistiros in inland Thrace, which does not seem to have been connected to or dependent on any *polis*. Hansen (1997 85), like Polanyi, has also distinguished the *emporion*, a centre of foreign trade, from the *agora*, a centre of local trade, both clearly defined areas, often marked by boundary stones. See Hansen 1997 for the full discussion, also Bresson 1993 165–166 and 177 for a similar distinction.

15 Demetriou 2012 19.

16 Hodos 2006 19.

17 Bresson 1993 220; Boardman 1998 202–203. Based on the pottery, however, there is no clear evidence that Berezan came before Olbia—the earliest sherds at both sites seem to come from ca. 630–625 BCE. It is possible that both sites experienced sporadic activity early on, with more permanent settlement at Olbia beginning around 600. Similar issues have been

et leurs emporia (1993), also concluded in a more general sense that an *emporion* could be a distinct part of a *polis*, but it could also be any type of commercial establishment geared towards exchange, whether or not the site was defined as another type of establishment elsewhere (i.e. *polis*, *limēn*, *kōmē*, etc.).¹⁸ Most recently, Denise Demetriou, following off of Hansen's earlier distinctions, suggests calling the overseas settlement in non-Greek lands a "commercial settlement", rather than *emporion*, to capture the "permanent and political nature of these poleis, which were called emporia", while the actual ports of mainland Greek *poleis* like Athens or Corinth, should be called *emporion*.¹⁹

Such attention to the permanent and political nature of an overseas commercial settlement calls to mind another problematic distinction, namely that between the *emporion* and the *apoikia*, the former defined as a settlement tied strictly to importing and exporting commercial goods with no development of a hinterland while the latter was seen to be a planned settlement ("away from home") with an agricultural hinterland that comprised more socio-political characteristics.²⁰ John-Paul Wilson has problematized the tendency amongst scholars to differentiate between *apoikia* and *emporion* in pre-Classical settlements, most notably when it comes to the community of Pithekoussai on Ischia in the eighth century BCE. Such a distinction is difficult primarily because, in attempting to assign such strictly defined labels to these earlier sites, we end up anachronistically extending concepts articulated in the Classical and Hellenistic periods back to the eighth and seventh centuries, a time when the ideologies and physical traits of the *polis* itself were not fully developed.²¹

raised concerning Pithekoussai on Ischia and its mainland neighbour, Kumai (Boardman 1998 202).

18 Bresson 1993 215–216; 226. See also Demetriou (2011 258–260) for a good summary of the entire edited volume in which Bresson's work appears, edited by Bresson and P. Rouillard.

19 Demetriou 2012 19–20.

20 The definition of *apoikia* in and of itself is also problematic. It is often translated as "colony" and seen to be a state-sponsored foundation with oracular guidance from Delphi and with its political infrastructure modeled after the mother city, as later ancient sources attest. Some scholars, however, have contested this view, arguing that Archaic overseas settlements were most likely privately-oriented undertakings driven by profit, and must not be confused with the Classical-period models of establishing colonies (for example, Osborne 1998).

21 Wilson 1997; Hodos 2006 19–20. As noted above (see notes 9 and 10), there is no use of the term *emporion* to describe a settlement before the early Classical period. *Emporion* is used to describe only 28 sites in the Classical period, but over 100 sites in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Hansen 1997 84).

Furthermore, Demetriou has disproven the assumptions that *emporia* were solely established for commercial purposes with no hinterland and strict separation from surrounding indigenous groups, particularly through her analysis of regional surveys around communities generally regarded in the ancient sources as Phokaian foundations in modern-day France and Spain.²² Modern literature tends to characterize such sites under the traditional understanding of *emporia* as small trading communities possessing no hinterland and strictly distinguished from *apoikia*, but surveys have revealed instead a developed hinterland as well as the evolution of indigenous settlements, known as *oppida*, in close vicinity to the Phokaian foundations.²³ A similar scenario existed for the Phoenician settlements on the Andalusian coast of Spain. Indeed, Michel Gras, Pierre Rouillard, and Javier Teixidor note the problematic tendencies amongst scholars of both early Greek and Phoenician foundations abroad to separate commerce from colonization:

Les spécialistes de l'hellénisation de l'Occident ont parfois opposé d'une manière trop rigide le commerce à la colonisation et les études phéniciennes ont été contaminées par cette tendance. Certes, nos auteurs anciens ont eux-mêmes souligné que certains Grecs étaient plus portés à commerce que d'autres (les Phocéens par exemple) mais, en créant des cloisons trop étanches, on risquait d'oublier que le fait commercial est une donnée de base dans l'activité des sociétés. Le commerce est donc partout et, d'abord, à l'intérieur des sociétés coloniales.²⁴

While some settlements may have exhibited a strong commercial element in their activities, they could also develop their hinterland and form important

22 Specifically, Demetriou (2011) considers the cases of Olbia, Agathe (Agde), and Emporion (Empúries). The Phokaians were East Greeks from western Anatolia, known for their prolific trading endeavours. Herodotos, for example, states that they were the first of the Hellenes to make long sea voyages (1.163).

23 Aerial surveys carried out around Agathe, for example, have shown that the land from at least as early as the fourth century BCE was divided into parcels which utilized measurements alike to those employed in Archaic Greek urban settlements, suggesting that the hinterland may have been developed from the first occupation of Agathe. Olbia in Provence had a territory outside the urban centre of about 305 ha with evidence of roadways connecting the city with its hinterland. Emporion also exhibits roads running from the urban centre to the countryside, which was divided into parcels. Researchers also located native *oppida* in the vicinity of the town (Demetriou 2011 264–265).

24 Gras, Rouillard, and Teixidor 1989 110.

networks with the indigenous populations.²⁵ Indeed, we must bear in mind the changes in meaning that terms like *emporion* and *polis* underwent in later periods—by Plato's age there seems to have been a clearer differentiation between these two entities, particularly as the socio-political meanings of the *polis* came into sharper focus in philosophy and rhetoric. In earlier times it seems the two terms were much more neutral and interchangeable, a premise which I believe can help us grasp more accurately the importance of long-distance commerce in the genesis of the early city, particularly when it came to overseas settlements.²⁶ Indeed, the very emergence of long distance imports and exports would have come about in conjunction with the growth of urban populations and the dilemmas of feeding the burgeoning settlements.²⁷

Along with recognizing the urban function of *emporia* comes a newfound understanding of the social fabric of these communities. In line with Gras, Rouillard, and Teixidor's statement above, Tamar Hodos has emphasized the commercial character of Phoenician overseas settlements, while stating that these were more than just trading posts: Hodos argues that these foundations can be taken as evidence for a trade diaspora, a concept originally articulated by Abner Cohen and emphasized by Gil Stein as an important heuristic model for studying interregional interaction.²⁸ Trade diasporas are composed of networks of culturally distinct, specialized merchant groups who remain independent from their host communities and retain strong economic and social ties with related dispersed communities who share in their cultural identity.²⁹ Hodos notes, for example, the self-contained and self-sufficient local production at Phoenician sites such as Motya to demonstrate this economic, political, and social independence from the host societies.

Once again, however, we are faced with the question of just how separate these overseas societies were from those around them—and correspondingly how separate long-distance commerce was from the rest of society—both

25 See, for example, De Angelis 2002, who argues that agriculture was an essential part of trade in the case of Megara Hyblaia on Sicily.

26 For later periods, even, Bresson (1993 215–216) notes the tendency by authors to assign terms to settlements according to their point of view in describing it—if the perspective was political or military an author would not employ the word *emporion*, but would prefer *teichos* or *polis*. If the perspective was navigation, the same site could be defined as *hormos* or *limēn*. If the perspective was that of commerce and the exchange of goods, a site could be called *emporion*.

27 Gras 1995 137.

28 Hodos 2006 20. See Cohen 1971; Stein 2002.

29 Stein 2002 908.

early on in the life of these settlements and as they became more developed and permanent centres. Surely there was some degree of variance around the Mediterranean—Greeks meeting with local groups in the Black Sea region would have had different outcomes than the Phoenicians who met with the indigenous peoples of Sardinia, for instance. Yet while the trade diaspora model may apply in certain situations we must not ignore the amount of cultural mixing that took place in settlements often referred to, either in the modern or ancient literature, as *emporía*.³⁰ Demetriou has called attention to this in highlighting, above all, the “multi-ethnic” character of *emporía* as centres of vibrant cross-cultural interaction between both foreign and indigenous populations.³¹ Returning to Naukratis, long portrayed as the ideal Polanyian port-of-trade, scholars have shown this site to be a node of intense cultural mixings between not only various East Greek *poleis*, but also local Egyptians, Cypriots, and Phoenicians.³² The *emporion* suddenly does not seem so peripheral.

Thus for the earlier periods of the first millennium BCE, we should not adopt too strict a definition for the *emporion*, but recognize that trade was one of the primary motivating factors in bringing people together to form increasingly large and culturally heterogeneous communities, whether these were communities of foreigners settling in alien territory, the precedents of a future *polis*, or a port connected to a larger settlement. Whatever terms we may come up with to differentiate these different types of communities, we must see one of their lowest common denominators as a desire for commercial interaction, although this was not the only common denominator. These settlements played important social functions between various interacting groups, mirrored in the existence of cross-cultural religious beliefs and practices, among other institutions, which I argue played a paramount role in mediating transactions between foreigners, whether commercial or otherwise. In order to illustrate my argument I now turn to the site on the Tiber.

30 Gras (1995 56–57), for example, notes the “open” character of Pithekoussai, with evidence for both Greeks and Phoenicians in the eighth-century necropolis. Inscriptions on vases and amphorae in particular confirm that, from the start, Pithekoussai was a site where Aramaic peoples (from north Phoenicia) lived and worked alongside Greeks coming mainly from the island of Euboia (Gras 1995 57) See also Docter and Niemeyer 1994.

31 Demetriou 2011 265–272; 2012.

32 For example, Scholtz 2002–2003 237; Jenkins 2001; Höckmann and Kreikenbom 2001; James 2003.

The Forum Boarium

The site of Rome's later cattle market, the Forum Boarium, has a long history of interconnections, occupying the space between the Capitoline, the Aventine, and the Tiber River. It was located close to an ancient ford on the river, with a long tradition of commercial and maritime activities, controlling routes from Etruria to the Sabine and Faliscan territories, in particular the ancient salt routes.³³ Huts date back to the eighth century BCE along with fragments of Euboian pottery dated to the mid-eighth to seventh centuries, suggesting that the path of the Tiber was well-known to the Greek and Italic peoples of southern Italy even before the founding of Pithekoussai.³⁴ These huts were demolished at the end of the seventh century, part of a larger process of urbanization happening in central Italy at this time, where major centres were exhibiting increasingly organized and planned use of urban space. At the same time, external impetuses, for example the Greek settlements in southern Italy and earlier at Pithekoussai, created favourable circumstances for the development of trade, which may also be linked to an increase in wealth and social stratification, as noted in contemporary tombs on the Esquiline.³⁵

Sometime before 600 BCE a sanctuary was established in the area known as Sant' Omobono, named after the fifteenth-century church to the patron saint of tailors. Excavations have taken place intermittently since the discovery, during construction in the 1930s, of twin temples in this area dating to the Republican era as well as an older Archaic Temple beneath the Republican ones, and investigations are currently ongoing. The earliest elements for cult include sacrificial remains and a great amount of imported pottery, including Etruscan bucchero amphorae and Etrusco-Korinthian perfume flasks, as well two Etruscan inscriptions and fragments of daub and roof tiles.³⁶ Before 550 BCE one of the earliest known examples of a temple in central Italy was constructed—the Archaic Temple—attributed by tradition to King Servius Tullius.³⁷ Numerous

33 Coarelli 1988 9; Cornell 1995 112; La Rocca 1982 46.

34 The presence of both imported pottery (particularly Euboian and Korinthian) along with locally produced imitations may also suggest resident Greek artisans (La Rocca 1982 49–52; Colini 1980 44–45).

35 La Rocca 1982 52.

36 Coarelli 1998 208; La Rocca 1982 46. Below the altar of the first temple was a compact level of sand, clay and tufa chips marked by the presence of carbonized material and the bones of sheep, goats and cattle (Holloway 1994 69–70).

37 Coarelli 1988 244; Torelli 1989 50; Holloway 1994 70–71. As noted in *Ov. Fast.* 6.479–480 (Richardson 1976 21; Robbins Dexter 1996 234, note 20). A similar pattern is witnessed

Lakonian, Ionic and Attic cups were recovered in the surrounding strata, with Lakonian pottery placing the initial phase of the temple around the second or third decade of the sixth century BCE.³⁸ The second phase dates to 540/530–510 BCE, when the temple was furnished with a square podium with dimensions of 10.7 m. (only slightly larger than its predecessor). The front part of the building, and in particular the means of access, was remodelled, with a single *cella* approached by a stairway and presumably fronted by columns.³⁹ It was this phase to which can be ascribed a rich series of terracotta architectural sculpture, including terracotta plaques of felines posed antithetically, possibly flanking a gorgon, and a relief of chariots drawn by winged horses, with a charioteer and woman passenger in each and sometimes accompanied by a youth on foot.⁴⁰

There are two major cult figures associated with this area—Herakles and his female counterpart—on whom I wish to focus in order to (a) elucidate the intercultural mixing that was taking place within *emporia* in the Archaic period and (b) discuss how the institutional structures may have allowed such settlements the organization and intercultural cooperation needed to profit off of long-distance trade and expand as powerful urban centres, as was certainly the case with Rome. Two major cults of Herakles were located in the Forum Boarium—the Ara Maxima and the shrine of the Victorious Herakles. In later myth Herakles was known to have arrived at the area of the future Forum

elsewhere in Etruria and Latium at this time—remains of Archaic temples dating to the late sixth and early fifth centuries have been found at Veii, Orvieto, Lanuvium, Ardea and Satricum, often at the site of earlier cult activity (Cornell 1995 108–109). The sixth century, correspondingly, sees a remarkable growth of temple-building across Latium, along with a shift of expenditure from burials to more public and communal displays in sanctuaries. Religious spheres thus became an important arena for elite self-definition, but also functioned as a focus for larger communal worship (Smith 2001 20–22; Waarsenburg and Maas 2001 53–54). This is of course part of a wider trend in the eighth to sixth centuries (Riva 2005 225).

38 Sommella Mura 1977 64; Forsythe 2005 90; Holloway 1994 71.

39 Sommella Mura 1977 65; Colonna 1991 52. The first phase seems to correspond roughly with the dates attested for the rule of Servius Tullius (578–534 BCE) (Sommella Mura 1977 64; Coarelli 1988 208, 221; Holloway 1994 71; Colonna 1991 51; Cristofani 1990 31).

40 Holloway 1994 75–76; Cristofani 1990 37. Some think that the felines, based on their likeness to the Temple of Artemis at Corfu, dated to ca. 580–560 BCE, belong in fact to the first phase, while the friezes find parallels at Veii, Velletri, and other parts of Rome (Sommella Mura 1977 127; Cristofani 1990 31, 33; Colonna 1991 54; Holloway 1994 75–76). The Doric capitals of the two front columns seem to be inspired, based on the profile of the capitals, by examples in Magna Graecia (Sommella Mura 1977 65).

Boarium after slaying Geryon in Spain and taking his cattle. Here, the giant Kakos stole the cattle from Herakles and in a rage, Herakles slew him. Appropriate to its port location, Herakles' cult was strongly associated with commerce, possibly originally introduced by Greek traders.⁴¹ Contemporary with the second phase of the temple mentioned above, for instance, were two life-size terracotta statues fused along the arm and standing on a semicircular base, thought to be Herakles, identified by his lion skin, and Athena, identified by her helmet, although other suggestions have favoured Aphrodite, Hera or Fortuna Virilis.⁴² This group exhibits a high quality Archaic style, with Eastern Greek parallels for Herakles' dress and "Athena's" facial style and helmet, which corresponds to a strong Phokaian and Samian presence in the Tyrrhenian *emporion*, perhaps suggesting itinerant craftsmen and artists present in the area at this time.⁴³

For the male statue identified as Herakles, Filippo Coarelli, conversely, links him with Cyprus based on the style of the bodice, which is open in front and fixed with a buckle, a type known in Italy, but only in smaller bronzes. This may suggest an association with Melqart, Herakles' Phoenician counterpart, who was worshipped in an important sanctuary alongside his consort Astarte at Kition.⁴⁴ Some have indeed suggested that the Roman Hercules was of Phoenician origin, introduced by Tyrian merchants who took up residence in the Forum Boarium, rather than Greeks.⁴⁵ Later writers (e.g. Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 3) recognized that the Tyrian Melqart was much older than the Greek Herakles. He was in fact the royal city god of Tyre, who legitimized the royal family and the throne, converting the Tyrian King into his divine earthly representative.⁴⁶ Melqart was celebrated yearly in an annual death and resurrection festival and joined in sacred marriage to Astarte. Through the king,

41 The prominence of the Herakles-Kakos story is also noted in the Greek cities in southern Italy and Sicily, for example at Eryx and Kroton (Coarelli 1988 128; Cornell 1995 69).

42 Coarelli 1988 224, 232; Sommella Mura 1977 99–101; Rebuffat 1966; Holloway 1994 78.

43 Coarelli 1988 224, 232; Holloway 1994 78. The terracotta reliefs of the lions posed antithetically may also be related to sixth-century art in Ionia. Ionian artists are thought to have adopted the iconography of the lions from Assyrian art, a transmission which is documented slightly earlier in vase painting (Colonna 1991 55). The "Athena" statue also finds similarities with a bronze *korē* discovered at Lavinium, carved in the Ionic style (Sommella Mura 1977 124).

44 Karageorghis 2005 38.

45 See Rebuffat 1966; Van Berchem 1967; Coarelli 1988 232–233; Cornell 1995 69; Richardson 1976 23. Melqart was one of the oldest and most important deities of Tyre in Phoenicia (Hdt. 2.44.1–5; Forsythe 2005 120). As well, the cult of Geryon found expression in both Cyprus and Italy (Richardson 1976 23).

46 López Castro 1995; 1998 94; Bonnet 1988 38–39. Melqart literally means "king of the city".

who would symbolically marry a priestess of Astarte, these two gods ensured the prosperity of the city and its inhabitants.⁴⁷

The evidence for Phoenician presence in the Forum Boarium admittedly has little archaeological validation,⁴⁸ yet a consideration of the identity of his female consort also calls up interesting multicultural associations. While the female goddess has traditionally been identified as Athena by her physical attributes, later Roman writers mention two other goddesses as being worshipped in the Forum Boarium: Fortuna and Mater Matuta (“Morning Mother”),⁴⁹ who supposedly had twin temples somewhere within the Porta Carmentalis.⁵⁰ Coarelli argues that the foundation of the Archaic Temple at Sant’ Omobono in the second quarter of the sixth century, in fact, corresponds with the introduction of the Servian cult of Fortuna next to the more ancient cult of Mater Matuta, while Livy and Ovid attribute both of these cults to Servius Tullius.⁵¹ Apart from the literary sources, however, there is little evidence to

47 López Castro 1998 95. The cult and rites of the Tyrian Melqart were carried and maintained all the way to Gadir (modern Cadiz) in southern Spain, where Herakles supposedly slew Geryon. In fact, Herakles, like his Phoenician counterpart, was also connected to dynastic power, as Irad Malkin (2005; 2011) has outlined. Such an association is apparent in figures like Doreios, the Herakleid from Sparta, who was advised to lay claim to western Sicily because Herakles himself had originally conquered it, according to Herodotos (5.43).

48 According to Ross Holloway (1994 167), Phoenician presence is not apparent on the Tiber before the seventh century. At this time, Punic wine amphorae appear as part of the grave assemblages in Latin cemeteries such as Decima, Acqua Acetosa, Laurentina, Gabii, and at Ficana, as shown in Fausto Zevi’s 1985 survey. The Punic amphorae at Decima, Acqua Acetosa, and Laurentina were likely traded through Rome (Holloway 1994 167, 196 n. 12). Specifically at Rome, there are Greek transport amphorae: Corinthian (type A) from the Regia, Chiote from the Palatine, and another Ionian type from the Capitoline (Holloway 1994 196 n. 13).

49 For example, see Liv. 5.19.6; 33.27.4; Ov. *Fast.* 6.477–480, 545–547, 569–572.

50 Liv. 24.47.15–16; 25.7.5–6.

51 See immediately previous nn. This new cult appears in the Archaic *fasti* next to Matralia the same way in which the Hellenic cults of Ceres, Liber and Libera were indicated next to the Archaic Cerialia (Coarelli 1988 245). It was not until the Republican period, however, that the entire area was refurbished and twin temples were erected in the first decades of the fourth century (or possibly earlier). They were later refurbished again, possibly under M. Fulvius Flaccus in return for his successful conquest of Volsinii in 264 BCE (Coarelli 1988 210–213) or perhaps after the fire of 213 BCE (Smith 2000 138). Since Servius Tullius seems to be connected to both goddesses according to Ovid (*Fast.* 6.477–480, 569–584, 617–620), the appearance of only a single temple in the area of Sant’ Omobono is slightly puzzling, although it is possible, given the limited nature of archaeological soundings across the site, that there was more than one cult structure at this early date.

definitively ascribe any of these sanctuaries to the two goddesses, although Livy's (24.47.15–16) listing of the two temples after the Vicus Jugarius in his description of the fire of 213 BCE is tempting.

Christopher Smith, however, argues that there are close similarities in cultic deposits between the Archaic Temple at Sant' Omobono and a near-contemporary sanctuary at Satricum, a site 60 km. to the southeast.⁵² Livy (6.33.4–5; 7.27.8; 28.11.2) reports that Satricum indeed had a cult and temple to Mater Matuta.⁵³ Additionally, both of these settlements were situated on important salt routes. The leading position of Rome within Latium was linked to its vital position on the old salt route known as the Via Salaria. The *emporion* at the Forum Boarium correspondingly profited largely because of its position on the fordable part of the Tiber, and became an important trading station for both salt and cattle.⁵⁴ Saltpans were also present near Satricum in antiquity and this city as well was located on a fordable part of the river Astura.⁵⁵ It is possible, given the analogous economic situations of these two sites, that a similar type of cult developed to deal with the traded products and various peoples moving through the area.⁵⁶

One of the most striking aspects of Mater Matuta and Fortuna, however, is their interconnections with other powerful female goddesses who represented the qualities of light, fertility, protection in childbirth, and seafaring. Additionally, these deities often exhibited martial qualities and were the consorts of kings. Such goddesses often found an important sphere of worship in ports and include the Phoenician Astarte, the Greek Aphrodite, and the Etruscan goddesses Uni and Turan. In the location of the cult of Mater Matuta at Satricum, for instance, were found eight, crudely-fashioned nude feminine bronze figures, dated to between the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, each with their heads surmounted by a type of disc or halo, representing an astral or solar

52 Smith 2000 138–139.

53 Richardson 1976 21; Coarelli 1988 246.

54 The use of salt in antiquity was connected to livestock breeding. Its historical importance is reflected in the name of the area situated at the foot of the Aventine, *Salinae*, and also associated with the Ara Maxima and the Temple of Ceres. As well, the myth of Herakles and Geryon may be linked to the trade in cattle (Coarelli 1988 109–112; Waarsenburg and Maas 2001 55).

55 Waarsenburg and Maas 2001 55–56.

56 Interestingly, René Rebuffat (1966 24–25) suggested that the cult of Herakles and his female companion in the Forum Boarium had a possible association with the Phoenician cults to Melqart and the “Foreign Aphrodite” at the settlement of Memphis in Egypt (Hdt. 2.112–113), which was also located near salt-works by the Canobic mouth of the Nile.

quality.⁵⁷ This recalls the heavenly qualities of goddesses like the Phoenician Astarte and Greek Aphrodite Ourania, as well as a number of deities from the complex Etruscan pantheon. Built into this relationship between goddesses are maternal and fertility aspects, most often represented with kourotrophic, or nursing, figurines. In a later phase of the Satricum temple were found figures of a seated woman clad in a tunic and mantle with a child on her lap, for example.⁵⁸ In terms of their associations with kingship, it is interesting to note both Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 36; *De fort. Rom.* 10) and Ovid (*Fasti* 6.569–580) claim that the goddess Fortuna was Servius Tullius' divine lover. Thus, although difficult to prove without a doubt, it is certainly possible that the worship of Melqart and his female consort found some resonance within early dynastic contexts in Rome as it had in Tyre, where the king as Melqart was joined in sacred marriage to the goddess.⁵⁹

Another important association to consider when it comes to the multicultural aspects of these cults is the linkage between Mater Matuta and the Greek goddess, Leukothea. Originally a daughter of the Phoenician Kadmos called Ino, she was driven mad by Hera and leapt into the sea with her son, Melikertes. Ino was then transformed into a benevolent sea goddess, Leukothea, while her son became the god of harbours, Palaimon/Portunus, likely the deity worshipped in the well-preserved Ionic temple to the south of Sant' Omobono.⁶⁰ Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.28; *Nat. D.* 3.19.48) and Ovid (*Fast.* 6.543) both equate Mater Matuta with Leukothea. Ino-Leukothea was also famous for caring for her

57 Richardson 1976 24; Miller Ammerman 1991 217; Coarelli 1988 247–248; Smith 2000 143. These figurines were cast in an open mould with a small head, long torso, and arms hanging wide at the sides. In two cases, the large disc surmounting the head has a stylized tree incised on its face. One figure, fuller and more rounded than the other seven, has the left hand resting on her belly (the right is missing), thought to be one of many “fertility gestures” used in Etruria during the Orientalizing period (Richardson 1976 24).

58 Richardson 1976 24.

59 In their earlier Sumerian and Semitic manifestations, goddesses like Inanna, Ishtar and Astarte were the consorts of the kings, who acted both as nourishers and lovers of the king, as the hymn of the Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal (685–627 BCE), to the Ishtar of Nineveh and the Ishtar of Arbela indicates: “The Lady of Nineveh, the mother who bore me, endowed me with unparalleled kingship; the Lady of Arbela, my creator, ordered everlasting life [for me]. They decreed as my fate to exercise dominion over all inhabited regions, and made their kings bow down at my feet.” (As cited in Sommer 2009 14)

60 Homer briefly mentions Ino's transformation (*Od.* 5.333–335). The temple of Portunus is mentioned in Varro as being *in portu Tiberina* (*Ling.* 22.6.19), and in the *fasti* the temple is *Portuno ad Pontem Aemilium*. The temple, which was converted into the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca in 872, likely dates to the mid-first century BCE (Richardson (Jr.) 1992 320).

sister's Semele's baby, the god Dionysos, after jealous Hera had Semele destroyed, and it was this act in particular that links her to Mater Matuta. Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 17), for instance, indicates that in his time it was customary for women to pray for their sisters' offspring at the temple of Mater Matuta.⁶¹ Leukothea is characterized as both *kourotrophos* (a nourisher of children) and as a chthonic deity, as well as a sea divinity. This is of course another reason that she is associated with port goddesses like Mater Matuta and Aphrodite Ourania, the latter of which shared a popular epithet with Leukothea—Pontia, or “She of the Sea.”⁶² Indeed, Leukothea had a prominent place at a port city called Pyrgi just to the north of Rome in Etruria ([Aristotle] *Oec.* 2.2), although the famous gold tablets from this site name the Etruscan Uni and the Phoenician Astarte as the main goddesses. This association of Leukothea—and by extension Mater Matuta—with Astarte, Melqart's companion, make for interesting possibilities when it comes to identifying the female terracotta statue from the Archaic Temple at Sant' Omobono.⁶³ Leukothea's association in general with

61 Robbins Dexter 1996 233–234. This association may be related to the *kourotrophos* figurines dedicated to these goddesses.

62 Finkelberg 2006 110. Leukothea has several parallels around the Aegean including Britomartis—Diktynna on Crete, Halia in Rhodes, and Hemithea of Tenedos. She also had important links to Near Eastern goddesses, particularly Derketo-Atargatis. Derketo-Atargatis was also linked to Aphrodite Ourania, who according to Herodotos (1.105) had a temple at Ashkelon (see Finkelberg 2006).

63 Another possible identification, if the connection with Cyprus holds, is the warrior-goddess Anat, who was worshipped alongside Astarte and Melqart at Lapithos on Cyprus, and whom the Greeks later identified as Athena. A goddess in a Korinthian helmet appears on the earliest coins, dating to the late sixth century, and may represent some combination of Athena, Astarte, and Anat (Ulbrich 2005 201). Additionally, Herakles and Athena appear together on the temple roof decoration at Satricum (Smith 2000 138) and several other sites in Latium (Lulof 2000). A more Roman reading of this pair, of course, might point to Acca Larentia, whom A.W.J. Holleman claims is impersonated by the girl ferried across to her lover in the Velabrum on a festival day as described in Tibullus (*El.* 2.5.33–38). Acca Larentia herself is a complex figure, who is recorded as the nurse of Romulus as well as a courtesan and the mistress of Hercules (both roles denoted by *lupa*), who bequeathed a great fortune to the Roman people (Staples 1998: 66). Accordingly, Holleman identifies Hercules in this elegy, who took the cattle of Geryon, as the wealthy owner of a herd (*gregis diti magistro*). Holleman thus suggests that Acca Larentia, as a spirit of vegetation celebrated in a resurrection festival at the turn of the year, on December 23 (the end of the year in the pre-Julian calendar), was joined to Hercules in a *Hieros Gamos*, a rite that hints of older, Near Eastern customs. Virgil (7.659–663) also implies that Hercules had a lover when he came to the Forum Boarium, although in this version it is Rhea, another earth-deity, who then bore Aventinus (Holleman 1976: 206).

the goddesses of Etruria and Latium is better understood when we consider the populations associated with the ports in these regions—namely East Greeks and Lakonians, as witnessed by the amount of pottery found on sites like the Forum Boarium. Indeed, these cultural groups seem to hold a special affiliation with this goddess. Leukothea's cult is noted all over Ionia as well as along the south coast of Lakonia and other parts of mainland Greece. In fact, several locations in East Greece had a month named after this goddess.⁶⁴

Thus there are numerous multicultural associations to be found in the religious structures in the *emporion* at Rome that linked local populations with East Greeks, Lakonians, Phoenicians, Cypriots and others. Along with these associations comes a range of finds from the area of this temple demonstrating the cross-cultural nature of this early port of Rome. Local objects include terracotta models of bread, miniature vases, bucchero pottery, Italic imitations of Greek ware, bronze fibulae, weaving implements, and bone objects. From further afield come the Apennine, Etruscan, Corinthian, Attic, Lakonian, and East Greek pottery already mentioned, the Etruscan inscriptions, and carved amber.⁶⁵ These finds, along with vegetal remains and animal bones attest to the flow of merchants making their way through this area engaged in a range of economic activities from at least the eighth century onwards.

Religion as an Institution

But how did a temple dedicated to a multicultural goddess function in such an *emporion*? On one level, it is natural that religions would be more fluid in settings with intense cross-cultural interactions, not least because this would be important for creating an attractive atmosphere for foreign merchants to come and trade at a particular port. The amalgamation of two or more deities into a common one—a process known as syncretism—is already widely recognized within the literary, archaeological, and art historical sources as a natural outcome of disparate cultural groups being brought into close contact with one another through war, trade, migration, and other such phenomena. In the

64 In Ionia Leukothea's cult locations included Teos, Miletos, Magnesia, on the Meander, Knidos, as well as several islands (Chios, Samos, Kos, Rhodes, Delos, Tenedos, and Samothrace) (Coarelli 1988 251–253). In Lakonia her worship is attested at Thalamai, Boiai, and Brasiai. Other locations in mainland Greece include Korone, Korinth, Megara, and Thebes (Finkelberg 2006 106).

65 Holloway 1994 71–75. These inscriptions constitute some of the earliest pieces of writing discovered in Rome (Forsythe 2005 90).

centuries following the Roman conquest of Britain under the emperor Claudius, for example, as many as 69 Celtic deities were matched with Mars alone.⁶⁶ Ancient writers themselves were well aware of this phenomenon: a striking example from the literary sources, noted by Fritz Graf, is the manifestation of a goddess from the waters of the Saronic Gulf before a bewildered Lucius in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, where, after majestically listing her multiple names and attributes, identifies herself by her true name, Isis.⁶⁷ In their analysis of fragmented microecologies and the networks that form within and between them in *The Corrupting Sea*, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell emphasize the relationship between religious identities and geography:

The indissoluble link between religion and the movements of very numerous individuals over a great variety of distances should be apparent: it is not by any means limited to the greatest international pilgrimages. Understanding something of the relation of religion and space is essential for understanding the way in which cultural unities have developed in Mediterranean history.⁶⁸

Stating that syncretism was a natural outcome of such large-scale and complex movements of people and stopping there, however, avoids a deeper understanding of why such cults appeared where they did and how they functioned in multicultural contexts such as *emporía*. Syncretism, of course, arises out of numerous social, economic, and political complexities, but it is worth investigating, albeit with the fragmented contextual evidence that remains, what types of complexities arose from variegated groups of people living and working together and how such cults mediated the multifaceted interactions between these peoples.

Elsewhere, political reasons for syncretism have been noted, and we only have to look north once again to Pyrgi, where the famous gold tablets pre-

66 Laing 1997 45.

67 "The Phrygians, earliest of humans, call me the Pessinuntian Mother of the Gods; the Athenians, sprung from their own soil, call me Cecropian Minerva; the sea-tossed Cyprians call me Venus of Paphus, the arrow-bearing Cretans Dictynna, the trilingual Sicilians Ortygian Proserpina; to the Eleusinians I am the ancient goddess Ceres, to others Juno, to yet others Bellona, Hecate, or the Rhamnusian Goddess; and the Ethiopians who are illuminated by the first rays of the sun, the Africans, and the Egyptians full of ancient lore and wisdom honor me with the true rites and call me with the true name: Isis." (*Met.* 11.5, as cited in Graf 2007 3)

68 Horden and Purcell 2000 459.

serve the identification of Uni with Astarte in the sixth century. Two of the gold plaques were written in Etruscan with the third in Phoenician, and indicate that this temple was dedicated by the leader of Caere, Thefàrie Vèlianas, to Astarte/Uni in thanks to the goddess for her services to him.⁶⁹ During this period the Etruscan cities had turned to the powerful Phoenician city of Carthage for aid in ousting Phokaian traders who were obstructing their commercial interests in the Tyrrhenian Sea. Surely the port-city of Pyrgi was an especially appropriate place to exercise diplomacy, where foreigners like Phoenicians were frequently landing in the sixth century. Examples like Pyrgi, indeed, reveal how socio-political contexts could shape the religious currents so vital to the economic life of *emporia*. Similarly, political and ideological factors possibly influenced the choice of Herakles and his female consort as the focal point of worship at Sant' Omobono.⁷⁰

Possibly the most important underlying reason for these cross-cultural religious characteristics, however, was an institutional one. Douglass North sums up the value of institutions most succinctly: "Throughout history, institutions have been devised by human beings to create order and reduce uncertainty in exchange."⁷¹ Avner Greif defines them as "a system of rules, beliefs, norms,

69 See, for example, Knoppers 1992; Serra Ridgeway 1990 519–521; Forsythe 2005 45; Budin 2004 136; Cornell 1995 111–112; Gras, Rouillard, and Teixidor 1989 110–111. The longer of the two Etruscan plaques, although difficult to decipher entirely, seems to correspond with the Phoenician text in terms of the event being described. Knoppers (1992) interprets the Phoenician plaque as funereal in nature, honouring a dead and deified person, and dating to the first half of the fifth century.

70 See Lulof 2000, who interprets Herakles and his female consort within the broader contexts of elite political competition through ostentatious, propagandistic display in sixth-century Latium Vetus.

71 North 1990; 1991 97. Elinor Ostrom (1986 5) characterizes institutions by referring to them through the idea of "rules", which she defines as "prescriptions commonly known and used by a set of participants to order repetitive, interdependent relationships. Prescriptions refer to which actions (or states of the world) are *required*, *prohibited*, or *permitted*. Rules are the result of implicit or explicit efforts by a set of individuals to achieve order and predictability within defined situations by: (1) creating positions ...; (2) stating how participants enter or leave positions; (3) stating which actions participants in these positions are required, permitted, or forbidden to take; and (4) stating which outcome participants are required, permitted, or forbidden to affect." The magnitude of institutions in facilitating commercial transactions between individuals and groups has been demonstrated not only for state-level and/or market-based societies, however: over a century's worth of research on the economies of stateless tribal societies in Papua New Guinea and elsewhere in Melanesia has revealed the instrumental function of the institution of gift exchange to

and organizations that generate a regularity of (social) behaviour.”⁷² Indeed, while such temples may speak to the vibrancy of cross-cultural interactions in *emporía*, they also, on another level, hint at the difficulties: as societies open up their markets to foreigners, and the economy moves from personal to impersonal exchange, there arise a multitude of uncertainties between transacting parties—information asymmetries, cultural differences, perhaps even language barriers. Foreigners and natives coming from societies with different customs and values possess incomplete information about one another, and require a shared system of formal rules and informal codes of conduct. On a more fundamental level, however, they require a shared system of beliefs and norms in order to indicate to one another their willingness and motivation to follow these rules and codes.⁷³ The less trust there exists between traders that each individual will follow codes of conduct, the greater the difficulties in doing business.⁷⁴ The temples at *emporía* such as the Forum Boarium, Pyrgi and Naukratis represent some of the most dominant structures at these sites, and lead me to believe that the purpose of their existence was one that went beyond just a religious one, and extended into the sphere of finding a common system of beliefs and norms on which to build the institutional bonds of commerce between foreign societies.

The value of institutions—and in particular religious institutions—to commercial transactions can be witnessed in better-documented periods—for example, the island of Delos in the second and first centuries BCE. Delos was noted for its position as an international port dominated by a striking religious

create political order and facilitate commercial trade amongst pre-monetary societies (see Landa 1994).

72 Greif 2006 30.

73 Greif 2006.

74 Such difficulties in doing business are most often called transaction costs. The term “transaction costs”, in general, refers to “costs that arise beyond the point of production of a good to effect its allocation.” (Klaes 2008) Transaction costs came to be associated in the nineteenth century with economic friction, which was expressed in terms of a cost, although speculation upon these issues dates back far earlier. Aristotle, in his *Politics*, for example, observed that as villages coalesced into city-states, they required an efficient and portable medium of exchange. Impressing a stamp onto a piece of metal, for example, allowed a quick assessment of its value without the cost of repeat measurements. Karl Marx referred to transaction costs as “costs of circulation”, or costs which do not in themselves create value, but are necessary to sustain the circulation of capital (Klaes 2008). See Klaes 2008 for a more thorough explanation of the origins and interpretations of transaction costs.

landscape.⁷⁵ Indeed, Pausanias (3.23.3) says of Delos: “it was believed that the presence of the god made it safe to do business there ...”⁷⁶ We know from epigraphic sources that numerous merchant fraternities were organized around worship of gods such as Herakles/Melqart/Hercules and Hermes/Mercury, and the spaces in which they conducted trade were marked out by numerous religious shrines and dedicatory inscriptions.

Such fraternities provided a formal means of trust and familiarity between foreign merchants, solidified with oaths and veneration of a common deity. These religious shrines did not just constitute an essential element of the religious topography of the *emporion*, but, according to Rauh, “they also functioned as important pieces of commercial hardware that facilitated the completion of commercial activities themselves.”⁷⁷ Such religious institutions provided the very foundations for administration in the *emporion* as well as granting commercial and legal authority to the guilds themselves. According to Rauh, merchants relied heavily upon oaths in drawing up contracts and transactions, often invoking Herakles or Hermes. Such oaths were an especially powerful element, involving not only a promise made in front of witnesses, but also a curse that the oath-swearers imparted upon themselves, thus invoking the “moral weight of violated divine law” should perjury occur.⁷⁸ Most importantly, in regards to the position of institutions in facilitating economic transactions, Rauh asks how and why the merchants at Delos put so much trust in the power of oaths when doing business:

The answer to this question reflects what is perhaps the most crucial distinction between the ancient economy and its modern counterpart. More than anything else, the oath logic of Roman merchants reflects the uncertain environment in which they went about their trade. Both the social status of Roman merchants and their ability to conduct trade

75 In general, the residents of Delos originated from two general areas: the eastern Mediterranean and the Italian peninsula. The majority of eastern merchants came from regions far abroad, including Antioch, Laodikeia, Arados, Berytos, Tyre, Sidon, Ashkelon, Gerizim and Alexandria. Some came from even further afield, including Arabian Nabataea, the Persian Gulf and, in one instance, as far away as Minaea in south Yemen (Rauh 1993 28).

76 Trans. Levi 1971 86.

77 Rauh 1993 126.

78 Rauh 1993 158. See Rauh (1993 151–188) for a full discussion. The curse part of the oath invoked the roles of chthonic deities in punishing perjurers—namely Hades, Pluto, and Orcus/Horkos—which also calls to mind the importance of the chthonic characteristics of goddesses like Leukothea.

was severely impeded by the limitations imposed on commerce by the secular institutions of their aristocratic superiors. With so little in the way of genuine security, Roman ancient merchants, particularly those active amid the collapsing empires of the late Hellenistic world, clung to the securities and guarantees that religion alone could provide.⁷⁹

The better documented examples at Delos indeed allow us sharper insight into the mechanisms of these commercial cults, and consequently allow us to speculate upon how the earlier manifestations of such religious institutions would have functioned in nascent urban and commercial societies.

Perhaps equally important, however, is the comparison Rauh makes between the religious commercial structures on Delos, in particular those within the Agora of the Compitaliastai,⁸⁰ and those in the Forum Boarium. The Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium, in its earliest form dating back prior to the founding of Rome, has been reconstructed, albeit controversially, by Coarelli in the form of a square, step-like foundation that supported an altar.⁸¹ A certain unidentified step-like foundation of an anonymous square monument in the Agora of the Compitaliastai seems to recall the Ara Maxima, and Rauh has tentatively suggested that a dedication by the Compitaliastai to Herakles found in the Agora could belong to this monument, thus linking the tradition of religious veneration of Herakles by merchant groups back to the early Forum Boarium.⁸² While the reconstructions in both the Forum Boarium and Delos are certainly conjectural, they at least offer some possibility of understanding the enduring importance of Herakles' cult to merchants over a long period of time in the Mediterranean.

Keeping the more detailed workings of the Delian examples in mind along with a more general theory of institutions, we can further appreciate how the

79 Rauh 1993 188.

80 The Compitaliastai were a fraternity composed of worshippers of the Lares Compitales.

81 Coarelli 1988 70. If Coarelli's reconstruction is right, then only the foundations of its podium survive under the choir of the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. Barry (2011 20) suggests that the Bocca della Verità ("The Mouth of Truth"), which is currently located in the portico of the church, represented the water god Oceanus and was originally connected to the Ara Maxima.

82 See Rauh 1993 113–117. The dedication was on a large rectangular white marble orthostat measuring 0.91 × 1.01 × 0.24 m, and some scholars have suggested that it belonged to a statue base. A total of five of these orthostats have been discovered within the square, however, and all are strikingly similar to one another. If they all indeed belong together, they likely formed part of a monument much larger than a statue base (Rauh 1993 114–115).

mythical tradition surrounding the Forum Boarium seems to emphasize the importance of the institution of religion in fostering common expectations and therefore trust between merchants: when Herakles slew Kakos, the giant who stole his cattle while he slept, he then entered into friendship with Evander, the ruler of the Palatine Hill, who had migrated from Arcadia in Greece. Together, they erected the Ara Maxima and sacrificed together. Gary Forsythe notes that this myth provides an important model of behaviour for those doing business in the Forum Boarium—Kakos, whose name is Greek for “bad man”, misappropriates the property of a stranger and is punished. Evander, whose name means “good man”, does the right thing by receiving the foreigner Herakles in friendship and worship, sending the message that foreign merchants were to receive hospitality and security in the *emporion*.⁸³ Additionally, we learn from later writers how his cult in the Forum Boarium was connected to the establishment of contracts between merchants. Dionysios of Halikarnassos writes:

The altar on which Hercules offered up the tithes is called by the Romans the Greatest Altar. It stands near the place they call the Cattle Market and no other is held in greater veneration by the inhabitants; for upon this altar oaths are taken and agreements made by those who wish to transact any business unalterably and the tithes of things are frequently offered there pursuant to vows.⁸⁴

Inscriptions from Rome and Tivoli also reveal Herakles' (Hercules') role in the protection of standardized weights and measures, with one inscription even calling him *Hercules ponderum*.⁸⁵ Both Phoenicians and Romans offered taxes and dues to Melqart/Hercules, often in the form of a tithe of their profits, as well as inheritances.⁸⁶ Finally, the god was not only a protector of commercial interests, but also of settlers in foreign lands: Melqart's temple appeared in principal Phoenician ports like Cyprus, Malta, Nora, and Gadir.⁸⁷ The cults of the female goddesses discussed above are more obscure in terms of the direct commercial interests. Later Roman sources on Mater Matuta/Leukothea and Fortuna seem to see their cults as celebrating important transitory rites like

83 Forsythe 2005 120.

84 *Ant. Rom.* 1.40.6, trans. Cary 1937 133.

85 *CIL* VI.336 (see Van Berchem 1967 324; Aubet 2001 278).

86 The temple of Melqart in Gadir supposedly received inheritances (Ulp. *Frag.* 22.6; Aubet 2001 278). Cf. Plut. *Crass.* 2.2 and 12.2; *Sull.* 35.1; *Quaest. Rom.* 18; Plaut. *Bacch.* 665; *Stich.* 232; *Truc.* 562; Naev. *fr. com.* 29–31 (Van Berchem 1967 324–325).

87 Aubet 2001 278.

marriage and childbirth,⁸⁸ yet Mater Matuta and Leukothea clearly had early connections to seafarers and ports, and their presence in *emporion*, at the very least, must have offered connotations of protection, familiarity, and security to traders.⁸⁹

The cults of the early *emporion* in the Forum Boarium therefore, particularly that of Herakles, can be seen as institutions that aided foreigners from different parts of the Mediterranean in negotiating interactions with one another. North emphasizes the significance of negotiation and enforcement of rights when it comes to long-distance trade:

Negotiation and enforcement in alien parts of the world entailed typically the development of standardized weights and measures, units of account, a medium of exchange, notaries, consuls, merchant law courts, and enclaves of foreign merchants protected by foreign princes in return for revenue. By lowering information costs and providing incentives for contract fulfillment this complex of institutions, organizations, and instruments made possible transacting and engaging in long-distance trade. A mixture of voluntary and semi-coercive bodies, or at least bodies that effectively could cause ostracism of merchants that didn't live up to agreements, enabled long-distance trade to occur.⁹⁰

Wrapped up in such negotiation and enforcement mechanisms, however, are the beliefs and norms that motivate individuals to abide by these standards.⁹¹ Within the migratory and multicultural communities of the Iron Age Mediterranean these beliefs and norms developed largely in the cults of gods whose identities and sacral rites cut across socio-cultural groups, and whose sovereignty converted any act of deceit or violence into sacrilege.⁹² Indeed, akin to North's and Greif's characterizations of institutions' role in human development, cultural evolutionary psychologists distinguish religion as evolving according to human psychological needs for trust and cooperation within large groups, particularly in historic and modern societies where secular institutions are nonexistent or else inefficient and corrupt.⁹³ Within the multicultural

88 See Smith (2000) for a full discussion.

89 E.g. Prop. 2.26, 28.

90 North 1991 100.

91 Greif 2006 36.

92 Aubet 2001 278.

93 Norenzayan 2013. In other words, cultural evolutionary psychologists see religion as playing a vital role in burgeoning societies because of its ability to promote prosocial behav-

emporia taking form in the seventh and sixth centuries, a time when broader state structures were still in their formative stages, common religious beliefs and practices may have thus been especially important in facilitating commercial and social interactions in the absence of more formal state controls.

Overall, therefore, the organizations and instruments that provided the incentives to cooperate were strongly tied to the beliefs and norms generated by religious institutions, which flourished in the multicultural communities that we know as *emporia*. I have thus attempted through this paper to draw attention to two main themes: 1) the significance of overseas proto-urban settlements in facilitating and intensifying cross-cultural contact and 2) the significance of religion in crossing cultural boundaries within these settlements and its ability to provide the incentives for human trust and cooperation. Finally, I hope to have further illustrated my argument on theoretical grounds, by briefly examining an economic theory of institutions, as well as comparative grounds, through association with Hellenistic-Republican Delos. Overall, an emphasis on institutions and cross-cultural contact can bolster our understanding of ancient cities as entities that are much more than merely discretely bounded territorial units. Rather, the static concept of cities as central places can perhaps give way to, or at the very least be coupled with, more fluid notions of urban communities as nodes of exchange and interaction within larger socio-economic networks, connected, in large part, through common institutions. It should be noted that institutions do not automatically guarantee success in lowering transaction costs and spurring economic growth, nor should we view them from an evolutionary perspective, i.e. that they will evolve over time to become more successful and efficient. North indeed has stressed that institutions may hinder economic growth and induce stagnation and decline in some cases, so pervasive are the constraints that they place on individuals and groups.⁹⁴ With this important point in mind, we can view the prolifera-

our. Shariff et al. (2009) argue, for example, that as societies expanded starting about 14,000 years ago, moralizing and omniscient high gods, driven by processes well-suited to large, cooperative groups, emerged at the forefront of religious thought. The authors see this phenomenon as a result of cultural selection and transmission constrained by psychological tendencies—the need to ensure trust in one another when larger groups make reputational information more and more difficult to convey.

94 North has noted in particular the divergent outcomes between the institutions established by Spain in Europe and the New World and those of England. In the former, the institutional framework produced and is still producing erratic economic growth with little political and economic stability. In regards to the latter, on the other hand, the carry-over of religious and political diversity along with secure property rights from the mother coun-

tion of long-distance trade networks and the widespread growth of settlements around the Mediterranean in the eighth to sixth centuries BCE as an important indicator of the development of successful institutions through which humans learned to cooperate with and trust one another.⁹⁵

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try, as well as the growth of local governments, established an institutional framework that supported impersonal exchange and captured the economic gains of modern technology (North 1991 110–111).

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Greek *Poleis* in the Near East and Their Parthian Overlords

Josef Wiesehöfer

Sources and Methodology

To write on the subject “Greek Poleis in the Near East and Their Parthian Overlords” is not an easy matter despite the extant literature on that subject¹ and an excellent annotated edition of sources on the Parthians.² The difficulties are of a content-related and methodological nature. Let us start with the latter.

Limits of Historical Sources

First of all, we have to be aware of the limits of the historical sources on the Parthians. These problems involve the written and the archaeological tradition alike. As for the written sources, we owe our knowledge about the history of events and about the structures of the Parthian state almost exclusively to the Greco-Roman tradition. Since the sources are foreign, we have to use them with the utmost care. Some years ago, for example, Stefan Hauser was able to show that the alleged nomadic-warlike character of the Parthians might be explained as a “Roman redaction of foundation myths.” He also pointed out the dangers of being taken in by these Western reports with regard to a weak Parthian kingship.³

From a historiographic perspective it is indeed highly interesting that the indigenous East Iranian oral tradition, which was put into writing only in Late Antique times, was able to edge out other regional traditions and to substitute for the recollection of Achaemenid rule a more general antagonism against the West. This was later to be referred to as “Rum.” This indigenous tradition, however, is rather counterproductive for our topic. Since Parthian times, the focus of what Ehsan Yarshater once called “Iranian National History” clearly lies in the East, on the conflict of mythical heroes and historical kings of Iran

1 Cf. most recently Dąbrowa 2011b; 2011c; Jacobs 2010; Hackl 2010; Grajetzki 2011.

2 Hackl, Jacobs, and Weber 2010.

3 Hauser 2005 (against, e.g., Olbrycht 1998a and 2003).

with the Turanians. There is no change of emphasis under the Sasanians. The Arsacids, however, were banned from the semi-official historical tradition in Late Sasanian times, and the Turanians were identified with the Hephthalites and the Turks, and Rum with the East Romans.⁴ This also means that the negative image of ‘Alexander of Rum’ in this legendary tradition, which comes from a Zoroastrian background, should not be taken a symptomatic of the Parthian-Greek relationship. In other words, a more detailed Arsacid view of Parthian relations with the Greeks within and beyond the borders of the Empire and with the Romans is almost completely lacking.

Furthermore, the explanatory power of the Late Akkadian cuneiform texts, otherwise not to be underestimated, is quite weak for our topic because of the diminishing volume of these texts in the second or third century AD. Another reason might be the replacement of clay tablets by other, more perishable writing material. It must, however, be admitted that some further surprise may slumber in the archives of major collections and museums. In Mesopotamia and—for administrative texts—also in Iran, the use of transient writing materials caused additional loss of sources.

What remains are some administrative and legal documents in Greek. Among these—and this concerns our subject—some sources stand out: the two parchments from Avroman of the first century BC,⁵ as well as the Greek administrative texts from the multilingual Dura-Europus,⁶ the famous unfavourable letter of the Parthian king Artabanus II to the magistrates of Susa of the year AD 217 and the bilingual inscription on a Heracles-statue from Seleucia of AD 150/1 or 151/2⁸ recollecting the re-conquest of Southern Mesopotamia.

Limits of Archaeological Findings

Secondly, as far as the archaeological findings are concerned, Iran specialists are convinced that the paradigm shift in the interpretation of “Greek” pieces of art and testimonies of the material culture from the soil of the Parthian Empire⁹ is indisputable. Those objects are now no longer regarded as part of Parthian booty from regions with a strong Greek population (Bactria, Babylonia) or as “Greek, but a little distorted” (Hauser), but as creations of royally fostered Greek workshops at Parthian places. But I am not sure whether this progress in

4 Wiesehöfer 2005 129–149; Daryaei 2006 389–393; but see Shayegan 2011 23 f.

5 Hackl, Jacobs, and Weber 2010, vol. 2, 467–476 (L. Thommen).

6 Hackl, Jacobs, and Weber 2010, vol. 2, 444–459 (L. Thommen).

7 Hackl, Jacobs, and Weber 2010, vol. 2, 486–490 (L. Thommen).

8 Hackl, Jacobs, and Weber 2010, vol. 2, 461–462 (L. Thommen) and 569–571 (D. Weber).

9 Invernizzi 2007; 2009; 2011; Invernizzi/Lippolis 2008; Hauser 2001a; 2001b; Jacobs 2010 et al.

scholarship is regarded as such by all scholars and by a broader general public. For example, the way the Greek initiators and sponsors of the Paris conference on “Intercultural Encounters in the Hellenized East” in 2009—in contrast to many speakers—defined the term “Hellenism”, that is, solely as the expansion of Greek culture in the East. Furthermore, the question of the relationship of a royally defined Arsacid court art—including the coins—to the material culture and art of Parthian controlled territories still needs to be treated.

Finally, whether sanctuaries and public buildings were constructed in a local traditional style or in the Hellenistic-Roman style tells us very little about the people who visited or used these buildings. A prerequisite for making statements about the Parthian authorities’ relations to certain parts of the population is critical consultation of testimonies of other archaeological genres, of the written tradition, and also of the use of onomastics, although none of these is unproblematic in itself.

Other Methodological Sources

There are methodological problems apart from those that concern the sources: for example, in the naming and the characterisation of people or groups involved in cultural transfer or in political communication. Ancient reports and, following them, considerable recent scholarship, will uncritically identify groups of a certain linguistic or cultural background as descent communities. Christoph Ulf has rightly observed that parties involved in ancient cultural exchange must have had multiple identities, identities that were used to communicate with others in various networks. These networks for their part were linked by bridges of interaction or separated by interaction dividers. The intensity or the lack of contact and the way in which individuals got along with each other in those networks, also decided how a stranger or a foreign product or idea was perceived.¹⁰

As for the attested Greek-Parthian contact zones—above all Mesopotamia and North Eastern Iran—we have to make clear that even before Alexander’s invasion ethnic groups or cultural and religious communities had lived together for generations. Transcultural processes of the most varied kind and intensity had already taken place and were continuing to take place now, after the settlement of Greeks and Macedonians. Accordingly, urban centres like Babylon, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Susa or Seleucia-on-the-Eulaeus, Ecbatana or Bactra, but also rural regions such as Susiana or Characene had a polyethnic and multicultural character, and we would be quite mistaken to set *the* Iranians

10 Ulf 2009.

or even *the* Orientals against “culturally and ethnically pure Greeks.” And even if the definition of the identity of individuals is probably only possible because of their membership in a group, we nevertheless have to take into account more subcultures and social environments on the “Greek” and the “Oriental” side than many scholars normally do.

For Seleucid times we know functionaries with Greek names or Akkadian-Greek double names from Uruk and Babylon that must have been local Urukians or Babylonians who were probably distinguished by a royal name privilege.¹¹ Moreover, we know of a Greek community in 2nd-century BC Babylon that, under Antiochus IV and after the model of Seleucia, was given the special status of a *politeia* with its own institutions (an *epistates*, *peliganes*, an assembly of *politai*). This community of “Greeks” was marked by its own theatre and gymnasium,¹² but also by common traditions and historical myths and partly probably also by a special feeling of solidarity. It, however, probably consisted not only of Greeks and Macedonians in the strict sense of the word, but also of ‘Hellenized’ Babylonians (like our double name bearers).¹³ Until the second century AD the lively cultural life of this community can be detected. The Babylonian political community with its own institutions and cultural traditions was similarly active; there is much evidence that some Babylonians may even have been members of both communities. We know that in Parthian times (between 124 and 77 BC) there were tensions between the two communities. It is not clear, however, whether these conflicts were really of an ethnic or rather of a social nature.¹⁴ Two facts point to the latter interpretation. Firstly, despite the concentration of *politai* in the Homera district, there was no ghettoization. Secondly, there were people with Greek names who acted as worshippers in the Marduk sanctuary. At the same time, I advise against drawing far-reaching and generalizing conclusions from such concrete conflicts regarding the role of ethnicity in Greco-Iranian or Greco-Babylonian relations. We will come back to this question later on.

As for the so-called Parthians, scholarship faces the problem that such multiple identities and network structures on the Iranian side can only be recognized to a very limited extent. This does not so much apply to the members of the Arsacid royal family but to the people whom we are used to call Parthians: How, for example, ought we to imagine the ethnic, social and cultural processes

11 Boiy 2005; Boiy and Mittag 2011; cf. van der Spek 2005; 2009.

12 van der Spek 2001; Potts 2011.

13 Boiy and Mittag 2011 124.

14 van der Spek 2005; 2009.

of amalgamation between the original inhabitants of Parthia and the Parnian immigrants of different social strata? And why did the immigrants—above all, the political elite among them—give up their Northeast-Iranian language in favour of the indigenous Northwest-Iranian Parthian language?

One final preliminary methodological remark: apart from some episodes of Parthian-Greek contacts that are recorded in a rather detailed tradition—the *anabasis* of Antiochus III, the first two decades of Parthian rule in Mesopotamia, the Parthian campaign of Crassus, the Parthian policy of Augustus and Tiberius, the Parthian Wars of Nero, Trajan, Lucius Verus and Septimius Severus—it is barely possible to get an idea of cultural and political networks other than those of an urban “Greek” and a royal Arsacid kind. Furthermore, we should not adopt a one-size-fits-all approach to the policy patterns and cultural preferences of all Arsacid kings.

Political and Cultural Relations

Let us now turn to the concrete political and cultural relations between Arsacid rulers and their “Greek” subjects and have a first look at the cultural contacts between Parthians and Greeks. The Parthians met Greeks or Macedonians for the first time not during their final conquest of Western Iran, Mesopotamia and Eastern Iran, but already in Parthia and Hyrcania. At first, the Greeks might have hoped—and not without reason—to be able to replace their new overlords in the near future with the old and culturally related Seleucid ones; on the other hand, the Parthians were probably little concerned about the creation of good relations with the Greeks in Northeast Iran. But the situation changed fundamentally after the final expulsion of the Seleucids from Iran and Mesopotamia after 160 BC: at that time, if not before, it became essential for the Arsacid kings to find a *modus vivendi* with the Greek *poleis* there and with Greek colonists and soldiers. Moreover, they had to make themselves familiar with the Greeks’ culture, their political institutions and their expectations of a ruler. The Greek subjects had now every interest in a lasting positive regulation of their relations with the Parthian elite. The fact that, on the whole, both sides were quite successful and were able to build up contractual and advantageous relations is not only proven by the archaeological remains at Greek places, but also by the testified efforts of individual kings to gain a deeper understanding of Greek traditions.

I have demonstrated and set out in detail elsewhere that Greek and Roman reports on Greek education at the royal court—for example, the rulers’ familiarity with Greek language and literature—have a historical core and are to be

taken seriously, despite all topical bias in the details.¹⁵ Certainly, these royal efforts to foster Greek *paideia* were also meant to win the Greek subjects' loyalty. But they amounted to more than the political dimension of *hellenismos* as not least the excavation results from Old Nisa prove. The excavators were able to show that this place was not only the most important dynastic memorial place of the Arsacids,¹⁶ but also the seat of one of the most important schools of Greek or Greek-influenced artists in the Hellenistic Near East, beside Babylonia, Elam, Bactria and Gandhara.¹⁷ It is still not clear, however, in what way—by imitating, adapting, or deriving—Mithradates I and his successors read and interpreted the Greek imagery of the “holy place” Nisa in the context of ritual rites and ceremonies relevant for ruling.¹⁸

Authentic Arsacid or Parthian interest in Greek culture is also proven by the votive offerings of two Parthian dignitaries of the court of Mithradates II at the end of 2nd century BC (102/1 BC). They were possibly given to the *Asklepieion* at Delos (I. Délos 1581–1582). Indeed, the Arsacids gave these gifts partly because they wanted to gain recognition as sponsors of Hellenic sanctuaries and cults in the Greek world (and the Greek municipalities of their own empire). The ideological benefit, however, cannot have been the exclusive motivation for such a long trip; without the personal familiarity of the king and his dignitaries with Greek culture and Greek cult practices as well as with the long tradition of Iranian votive offerings in Greek temples this journey would hardly have been undertaken.

Presumably as a contemporary of Mithradates II,¹⁹ the historian Apollodorus from the Greco-Parthian town of Artemita in the Apolloniatis wrote a *Parthika* in at least four books (*FGrHist* 779) that have not come down to us except for a quotation in Athenaeus and fragments in Strabo;²⁰ the latter expressly stresses the dependability of his source in Parthian affairs (2.5.12). Apart from these recognizable endeavours being reliable and exact and helping them draw up an inventory of Parthian history, geography and culture, they also let scholars pose the question whether or not Apollodorus, like Berossus, Manetho or Hecataeus of Abdera, might have written his report for his ruler. If one does consider this possibility seriously, then it may have been the author's aim—like that of the

15 Wiesehöfer 2000; cf. now also Dąbrowa 2011e.

16 Invernizzi 2011.

17 Invernizzi 2007; 2009; 2011; Invernizzi and Lippolis 2008; Jacobs 2010 130 f.

18 Cf. Wiesehöfer 2005 119–125; Invernizzi 2007; 2009; 2011; Lippolis 2007; 2009.

19 For the dating of this work see Coloru 2009 69–73.

20 D' Hautcourt 2012; the author held a conference on Apollodorus (and Isidorus of Charax) in Kiel in June 2012.

historians of the Seleucids and Ptolemies—to integrate the Arsacids into the world of the Hellenistic East²¹ and to give the rulers an idea of the world of the Greeks of their empire. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to see Apollodorus as a Parthian court historian, not least because of his high regard for the Greco-Bactrian Empire.²² But it is also possible that Apollodorus intended (by royal order or not) to provide interested Greeks with more detailed information on the new dynasty.²³

Epigraphic references to the adoption of Seleucid political institutions by the Parthians evidently take us into the field of politics. It has often been stressed that the Parthians continued the system of satraps and *strategoï* in former Seleucid territories. In contrast, only a few scholars have mentioned the fact that they also took over the Seleucid system of court titles (cf. *OGIS* 430) despite the impact of Iranian and Proto-Parthian traditions on court life. Because of the scantiness of the tradition, we cannot say whether the system of court titles only followed the Seleucid model with respect to its outer appearance or also with respect to its historical and social foundations.

As regards the legitimization of Arsacid rule, we also have rather insufficient information. There can, however, be no doubt that the Hellenistic ruler cult highly influenced Iranian images of the king in Parthian times. There is, however, no sign of an obligatory dynastic cult like in the Seleucid Empire after Antiochus III, not even with the Greeks of the empire. The cult names, occasionally testified to (and taken over from the Seleucids), are intended for a Greek public, and the concepts (such as *daimon*) that Greek authors and the Greek subjects apply to the Arsacid rulers probably had an Iranian non-divine background (*xvarnah?*), but were interpreted by the Greeks in the sense that the kings held a share in the divinity of the gods.²⁴

Greek impact on the Arsacid court may also have been strengthened (at times) by the presence of persons who had been socialized in a Greek Hellenistic environment or who had been part of a Greek cultural milieu. Above all, this applies to all the women who entered Parthian court society by marriage, as, for example, Phraates II's wife Laodice, the daughter of the Seleucid king Demetrius II (Iust. 38.10.10), the Commagenian princess of the same

21 Alonso-Nuñez 1989.

22 Coloru 2009 69–73; Muccioli 2007 98.

23 Kuhrt 1998 534.

24 Epigrams from Susa in honour of Zamaspes (Hackl, Jacobs, and Weber 2010 2.482–486 (L. Thommen)). For the dynastic cult and the cult names with the Arsacids, cf. Muccioli 2009; partly different: Dąbrowa 201d (cf. Kettenhofen 2010 53 f.); Dąbrowa 2011 f.; Dąbrowa 201g; Dąbrowa 201h.

name and spouse of Orodes II (Inscription Kb of the Hierothesion Karakuh in Commagene), the Armenian Aryazate-Automa, the wife of Mithridates II (Avroman-document I), Pacorus' Armenian spouse (Plut. *Crass.* 33.3; Ps.-App., *Parth.* 57–67), and the famous former Roman slave Musa (Jos. *AJ* 18.39–42), the mother of Phraataces. At the Arsacid court lived—at least temporarily—also Greek-educated hostages, refugees and exiles, for example the Seleucid kings Demetrius II (Diod. 34.15; App. *Syr.* 67; Porph. *FGrHist* 260 F 32.16; Iust. 36.1.5f.; 38.9.3; 1Macc. 14.1–3; Jos. *AJ* 13.184–186) and Demetrius III (Jos. *AJ* 13.376 ff., 384 ff.)²⁵ as well as the Armenian prince Tigranes the Younger (Cass. Dio 36.51.1).

It has quite often been stressed that the Parthians, after their invasion of Seleucid territory, felt forced to supply the money market with coins and thus to make use of the Seleucid mints. At the same time, they allowed their coinage, despite their own individual marks, to be influenced by Hellenistic models in weight standards, imagery and inscriptions. This was particularly true for the portrait on the coins of Mithridates I, but also for the system of mint and control marks and the inscriptions on Arsacid coins.²⁶ It is these inscriptions in particular that show the efforts of the kings to find recognition in the family of Hellenistic rulers and to demonstrate to their own Greek subjects the continuities in the views of kingship and royal legitimation. The fact that the individual royal epithets, after an initial deliberate arrangement reflecting the respective king's desire to be regarded as “just”, “pious” or as a “philhellene,” were progressively replaced by fixed epigraphic habits testifies to the necessity of such endeavours in the initial phase of the empire and the final establishment of Parthian rule in the areas to the east of the Euphrates. They are not at all proof of a growing Arsacid ‘disregard’ of their connections to the Hellenistic Greek world. To explain the Parthian display of philhellenism only by the urgent need for political vision (“coin propaganda”), does not do justice to the phenomenon of Arsacid coinage: just as the Arsacids came to appreciate the “power of images”²⁷ (and inscriptions), they also became impressed by the possibilities of the Hellenistic art of punch-cutting and coin-minting. Especially in the creative phase from Phraates III (c. 70–57 B.C.) to Artabanus II (10/11–38 A.D.), they tried to produce aesthetically satisfactory coin images. At the same time, the Parthians became interested in Hellenistic views of royal qualities and in the special preference of their fellow-kings for benevolent and

25 Dąbrowa 2011a.

26 Sinisi 2012a.

27 Zanker 1988.

protecting deities. They tried to immortalize both these ideas in their own coin inscriptions and images.

These references to the personal interest of Arsacid rulers in Greek *paideia* and in good relations with their numerous Greek subjects indicate that the successors of the Seleucids in Iran and Mesopotamia tried with much enthusiasm and great success to avoid the impression of being foreign rulers. There is evidence, however, of tensions and disputes between the two parties that seems to contradict that impression of a *pax Parthica*. Therefore, it is worthwhile to investigate that issue by having a closer look at the specific cases. They almost all belong to an urban milieu.

First, during the re-conquest of Hyrcania, which was part of his Eastern campaign, the Seleucid king Antiochus III also besieged the town of Syrinx defended by “Parthian” troops (Pol. 10.31.5). Shortly before the conquest of the town the defenders killed the Greek inhabitants. The case of Syrinx is not well suited to generally define Parthian-Greek relations: On the one hand, it belongs to a time when the Parthians feared the end of their own rule if they failed to defend their newly won territories; this is why they acted so brutally and relentlessly. On the other hand, the Parthians’ behaviour suggests that they were afraid that the Greek population of the town might change sides and open the gates to Antiochus if he were successful. Even if the charges of collaboration were unjustified, there are, nevertheless, numerous cases of similar scenarios in antiquity; now, as then, only the fact of an alleged special proximity of enemy and citizens in a concrete situation determined the defenders’ behaviour, not a generally hostile attitude towards the Greeks of their realm.

Our second case-study belongs to the end of the second century BC: in 129/8 BC, after he had finally wrested Babylonia from the Seleucid king Antiochus VII and had to set off to the East to suppress a rebellion of his Scythian mercenaries, Phraates II vested the governorship of Southern Mesopotamia in a man called Himerus. Our sources²⁸ tell us that this functionary ‘distinguished himself’ by his cruel behaviour towards the inhabitants of Babylon, Seleucia and other cities. Even if the fights over Babylonia between Antiochus, Phraates and later on also King Hyspaosines of Characene must have been disastrous for this region and its inhabitants,²⁹ there can, nevertheless, be no doubt that the Greeks of Babylonia especially must have suffered under Himerus. Diodorus even explicitly states that the governor’s actions were meant as retaliatory

28 Diod. 34/35.21; Iust. 42.1.3 and Prol. 42; Athen. 11.466 = Poseid. *FGrHist* 87 F 13; Sachs/Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries III*, no. -129A₂ ‘obv.’ 20’–24’ (= 248–249).

29 For the historical background see now Shayegan 2011 77–140.

measures for Greek support of Antiochus VII. This case is entirely comparable to the first one, for in both instances it is about Greek support for Seleucid plans of re-conquest; however, whereas in Syrinx the Greeks had only been accused of such help, in Babylonia they had indeed proven to be disloyal to the Parthians. But, again, we are not justified in speaking of a general Parthian anti-Greek attitude, since our sources expressly accuse Himerus of being responsible for the antagonism between Greeks and Parthians.³⁰

The third case is connected with the second one: Trogus-Justin report (42.1.4) that the former Greek soldiers of Antiochus VII whom Phraates II had forcibly conscripted into his army went over to the Scythian enemies and massacred Parthian troops in the subsequent battles. Regardless of the question of where these soldiers came from, our source expressly stresses that the Greeks' behaviour was the consequence of their cruel treatment by the Parthians; this cruelty is said to have had its cause in the bitter struggle between Antiochus and Phraates.—This episode must be seen in its particular context and in no way rules out the practice at other times of Parthian rulers competing for the favour of their Greek subjects. On the contrary, in light of how decisively the Greeks had sided with Antiochus, the survival of autonomous *poleis* in Mesopotamia rather comes as a surprise.

Our fourth case-study belongs to the end of the 1st century BC: We have known for a long time about the struggles for the throne between Phraates IV and Tiridates in course of which Seleucia changed hands several times and Tiridates became particularly concerned with finding Roman backing.³¹ Both events are also reflected in the Parthian tetradrachms minted in Seleucia; they prove that Phraates was politically dominant in the town in January/February 28 BC, as well as in September/October 27 and again from June 26 onwards. Tiridates controlled Seleucia from April/May 28 up to the year 27 and then again in the spring of 26 BC; then Tiridates minted coins with the inscription *autokratōr philhellēn philorhomaïos*, a formula that was understandably overstruck by Phraates after his final victory.³² Even if we do not know anything about the role of Seleucia's inhabitants in these years, the coinage, nevertheless, makes clear how deeply the town was involved in a domestic Arsacid conflict at that time, a conflict on which foreign relations had a major impact and which became a key issue for the future. In the following decades, the problem of the partisanship of the 'Greek' cities of Mesopotamia became crucial whenever a

30 Wiesehöfer 2000 716 f.; Dąbrowa 2011c 86 n. 18.

31 de Callatay 1994 55–57 (for the literary sources).

32 Ibid. 42–47, 58–62.

pretender to the Arsacid throne looked for Roman support or was even sent from Roman Syria into Parthian territories. The reasons for that were strategic and economic but also political.

Inter alia, this was the case during the reign of the Parthian king Artabanus II (AD 10/11–38), as the Roman historian Tacitus tells us (*Ann.* 6.42 ff.):³³ Not only did the king, in a certain situation, abstain from using the normal epithet *philhellēn* ('Friend of the Greeks') on his coins, he also intervened in the autonomy of the Greek cities and took up a clear position on the internal conflicts. The example of Seleucia proves that this policy was again clearly connected with the fights for the throne and with Roman interference with the internal affairs of the Parthian empire by the sending of pretenders to the throne. In Seleucia, Artabanus looked for the support of the *primores* (the political 'elite'), a small group that could easily be influenced, and that, for its part, hoped to profit from its bond of trust with the king. It is hardly surprising that in response the *populus* (the people) supported Artabanus's opponent Tiridates, who, after his temporary success, provided for a 'democracy' in Seleucia, and who probably promised to respect the autonomy of the city. Seleucia's later rebellion against Artabanus and his son Vardanes was probably meant to defend this constitution and this autonomy, as is proven by the winner's first measure, the transmission of power to the *boulē*, the council dominated by the 'elite'. Because Artabanus and Vardanes supported the undoubtedly Greek 'aristocracy' of the city and thereby acted in opposition to the majority of the population, because Artabanus abstained from bearing the epithet *philhellēn*, this can only mean that the *populus*, to a large extent, must have been made up of Greeks or at least Hellenised non-Greeks. Thus, it is unnecessary to interpret the hostilities in the city and its rebellion as an ethnic conflict and to insinuate that Artabanus acted for reasons of fundamental enmity with the Greeks. All that can be said is that this king, in a particular situation, hoped to profit from a curtailment of the autonomy of the 'Greek' city, a policy that was apparently also in the interest of the Greek 'elite' of Seleucia. Furthermore, Seleucia's later support of the rebellious so-called "son of Vardanes" (Tacitus) and King Vologeses' reaction to that revolt after its suppression fit into this political pattern: In his attempt to definitively consolidate the Arsacid monarchy Vologeses refrained from renegotiating the power balance between the king and the city. Instead, he developed "a more ambitious plan to deal a decisive blow to the very core of the city's power, its role in the

33 Wiesehöfer 2000 718f.; cf. Dąbrowa 2011.

commercial network of Mesopotamia, through the foundation of Vologesocerta, expressly aimed at subtracting from Seleucia the economic basis of its position.”³⁴

A similar explanation may be found for the objectives of King Artabanus II's letter to the *archontes* of Susa-Seleucia³⁵ that tries to confirm a royal confidant in his urban office against firm opposition from his rivals. This confidant even had the backing of the majority of *politai*. At the same time, the royal letter was meant to stress that a denunciation of the royal favourite Hestiaeus had no chance with the king. The king's letter was indeed probably not drafted by the royal chancellery, but instead emanates from Hestiaeus' own circle. I, however, take a critical view of the opinion that this fact might prove Artabanus's disinterest in internal matters of Greco-Hellenistic administrative practice.

Even if the Arsacid kingship and Arsacid politics were always deeply rooted in Iranian traditions, we can, nevertheless, clearly observe an increased emphasis on these traditions from the first century AD onwards; this might also have happened at the expense of Greek Hellenistic customs and traditions. The exact reasons for this phenomenon can only be conjectured. As for the Parthian coinage, the drachms bear additional Parthian inscriptions (king's name and king's title) from Vologeses I onwards, their Greek counterparts already being progressively de-emphasized since the time of Orodes II. The Parthian language also replaces Greek as the language of notaries in the first century AD as the documents from Avroman testify. If we can securely identify Vologeses I with the Parthian king Valakhsh of the Denkard, a tenth-century compendium of Mazdean-Zoroastrian beliefs and customs, who is eager to collect and save the regionally scattered parts of Avesta and Zand (Middle Persian commentary literature to the Avesta) and to maintain and foster the ideas and teachings based on them, these religious efforts would also take us to late Parthian times. But, as is proven by the archaeological and epigraphic findings from Dura and Seleucia and further from the Greek version of the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, the famous inscription of the second Sasanian king Shabuhr I, there is no question of a planned and radical change in traditional attitudes towards Greek language and culture. But each case of royal support or disregard of Greek tradition has to be analysed quite critically and differentially with regard to place and time.

34 Sinisi 2012b.

35 Hackl, Jacobs, and Weber 2010 2.486–490 (L. Thommen).

Conclusion

To conclude: In the Parthian Empire, personal philhellenism and philhellenism in foreign affairs could come together for the mutual benefit of cities and rulers, and the interest of the kings in Greek culture and education (*paideia*) and their political 'philhellenism' in internal affairs could do the same. Good Parthian relations with the *poleis* and the Greeks of the empire guaranteed peace and order and facilitated the intensive experience of their cultural achievements. The fact that Mithridates I and Phraates II did not cancel the privileges of Greek *poleis* and *politeumata* in spite of their support of the Seleucid enemy, that they communicated with these communities in Greek letters drafted in the Greek style, that they took over existing administrative structures and renounced punitive measures despite all setbacks—all this is certainly due, in part, to the insecure status of their rule in Greek contexts and to the political self-confidence of the Greek *politai*. It also testifies, however, to the serious efforts of the kings to cultivate the support of this significant part of the subject population. The fact that Artabanus II and Vardanes, in opposition to the polyethnic *populus*, supported the Greek élite of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris at the beginning of the first century AD, and that Artabanus abstained from bearing the epithet *philhellên*, only means that the important Greek *poleis* of Mesopotamia also had to make up their mind about the succession crises and that those discussions could lead to potentially explosive social and political tensions between different parts or factions of the urban population. Pretenders sometimes reacted to those tensions by granting or denying privileges to their urban supporters and by imposing sanctions against their enemies.

A disturbance of this mutually favourable relationship between rulers and Greek subjects did not necessarily lead to the royal renunciation of former personal interests. This can only be assumed by someone who regards philhellenism exclusively as a phenomenon of royal Arsacid ideology and considers political measures against Greek cities as proof of an allegedly rather superficial liking for Greek traditions on the part of the Parthian kings. But as nobody would interpret Roman punitive measures of the second century BC against Greek states as proof of Roman lack of interest in Greek culture, but would try to describe the reasons for such measures, Artabanus's dealings with Seleucia (and Susa) should be explained against the background of the respective political situation and without connecting them with the problem of the personal philhellenism of the king.

Therefore, in such dense contact zones as Western Iran or Babylonia, there was, in the words of Christoph Ulf, on both sides "a high degree of concrete

knowledge of the meaning and the function of foreign goods and ideas." At the same time, however, rulers like our Arsacids had quite obviously "the opportunity to handle freely the goods as well as their meanings according to their own needs."³⁶

It was not least the role of the Parthians and their "vassals" as mediators or transmitters of products and ideas between the Roman Empire and India, Central Asia and China that opened up new ways for Greek goods and ideas to move towards the East and for Eastern cultural elements to move towards the West. This role of the Parthians, however, can only be understood correctly if we bear in mind the strong Roman desire for goods and ideas from the East (including Iran). Thus, important Irano-Greek cultural interactions in Parthian times also took place outside Iran, and one may suppose that with them Seleucid, Greco-Bactrian and Parthian models of cultural exchange played a role. Linked with the Arsacids by a marriage contract, the Commagenian ruler Antiochus I tried to legitimise his rule and the specific traits of his ruler cult with reference to his descent from the Achaemenids, Seleucids and Alexander alike. Thus, Greco-Macedonian and Iranian traditions in a peculiar mixture determine Commagenian rituals, Commagenian cult iconography and Antiochus's religious views.³⁷ To the east of the Parthian Empire, the art of Gandhara, the imagery and the bilingual coin inscriptions of the Saka kings as well as the varied, but also Greek pantheon of the reverses of Kushan coins testify to the survival of Greek traditions in Central Asia and Northwest India as well as to Parthian cultural mediation. Here, as in the Parthian Empire, Greek models were taken over but transformed soon enough; they were assigned anew and now interpreted differently, adapted to the religious and cultural needs of their Eastern users.³⁸

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36 Ulf 2009, 111.

37 Wagner 2012; Facella 2006.

38 Cf. for Central Asia after Alexander most recently Alram and Klimburg-Salter 1999; Bopearachchi et al. 2003; Bopearachchi and Boussac 2005; Cribb and Herrmann 2007; Gyselen, 2007; Ray and Potts 2007; Cambon 2008; Luczanits 2008; Hansen et al. 2009; Col-oru 2009.

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Civic Identity in Roman Ostia: Some Evidence from Dedications (Inaugurations)*

Christer Bruun

Introduction

The Roman *colonia* of Ostia was founded at the mouth of the Tiber and originally functioned as a river harbour for seagoing vessels supplying Rome, which lies at a distance of some 20 km. (though the meandering river increases the length of water transport).¹ From the harbour, goods were transported up to Rome in barges and other smaller craft.²

Ostia is one of the best-known Roman towns in the western Mediterranean and vies with the famous town of Pompeii for the position of most important urban archaeological site outside of Rome. Certainly Pompeii attracts by far the greater number of visitors each year, but for scholars and students, Ostia is, at least in some regards, much more important, as far as cultural, social and economic history is concerned. One reason for this is the longevity of the town. The history of Pompeii came to an end in 79 CE, when the imperial period had barely begun. Ostia begins to really take off in those decades; in the 40s CE a new deep sea harbour was built a few kilometres from the town centre, at Portus, and after that the town developed quickly to become the second most populous town in Italy after Rome. Most estimates suggest that there were

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- 1 For the distance over land, see C beillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, and Zevi 2010 28. The distance by river measured 35 km. (based on Strabo 5.3.5), and in fact barges needed three days for the travel from Ostia to Rome, while wheeled transport could cover the distance in two or three hours; for this see Le Gall 2005 312–313; cf. Mattingly and Aldrete 2000 148.
- 2 G rler 1993; Pavolini 1996 104–108; Mattingly and Aldrete 2000; Le Gall 2005 262–283; 312–316.

as many as 50,000 inhabitants living in Ostia and Portus by the mid-second century CE.³

In ancient history, as in many other fields of historical and social studies, the question of “identity” has been a very popular topic for the past decades.⁴ In my investigations of Roman Ostia, the term “civic identity” is a crucial concept in describing, in a broad sense, the living conditions in Ostia in our period. It also refers to the cultural trends that held sway, and it describes how the various local groups perceived of their lives as inhabitants. Finally, a study of the various factors that contributed to local identity, such as the local elite, the so-called “middle class”, immigration, civic benefactions, imperial interventions (administration, largess), spectacles, and the harbour atmosphere, has the potential to explain the dynamics of the town’s development.

Although the concept of “civic identity” has been studied in relation to numerous other Roman towns or regions in modern scholarship,⁵ I am not aware of its ever having been applied in the study of Roman Ostia.⁶ One can think of at least the following four explanations for the lack of interest in Ostia’s civic identity: (1) there are so many other important issues to study in Ostia, the topic of “civic identity” appears uninteresting; (2) the right kind of sources do not seem to be available, or, in other words, nothing shows up that would catch the observer’s attention at a first glance; (3) there are too many sources, so the matter becomes unwieldy; and (4) Ostia was Rome’s port and the town served the capital; it would be wrong to assume that the town had a specific identity—it was merely part of Rome’s suburbs.

All of these points have some validity, though in my view none of them provide a convincing reason for *not* studying the civic identity of Ostia. In fact each of the arguments just listed (unsubstantiated, to be sure, and more than anything what a devil’s advocate would argue) lead on to perfectly sound grounds for studying the presence of a civic ideology at Ostia.

1. There is indeed a welter of topics in the sphere of social, cultural, and economic history to investigate, such as the religious organizations and activi-

3 For the estimate of the population, see Meiggs 1973 533–534; Pavolini 1996 26.

4 No single footnote could even begin to summarize recent scholarship that touches on this vast issue.

5 See, e.g., Sotinel 2005 on Aquileia; Lafond 2006 on Greek cities of the Peloponnese; Lichtenberger 2009 on Tyros and Berytos. Cf., for medieval England, Attreed 2002.

6 It ought to be mentioned, though, that the idea of the presence of an “urbanistisches Defizit” in Ostia, developed by Michael Heinzelmänn, leads directly to the issue of civic identity, although the author does not use the term; see Heinzelmänn 2002. I intend to discuss the issue of a possible “deficit of public buildings” in another context.

ties,⁷ the *Augustales*,⁸ the uniquely rich information on *collegia*,⁹ or the *familia publica* of the town,¹⁰ to mention just a few topics that recently have received scholarly attention. But these topics should not be separated from the study of the town's identity, on the contrary, understanding more about the various groups that lived and worked in Ostia is of major importance when mapping out cultural trends and social behaviour.

2. It is true that no easily interpreted single document exists that would reveal information about the civic identity of Ostia. There are some well-known epigraphic texts from cities in Asia Minor which are highly informative in this regard and show what one would wish for in regard to Ostia as well. A long text of 550 lines from the city of Ephesus, in which a local benefactor named Vibius Salutaris figures prominently, is a classic example. It was the subject of a book by Guy Rogers some twenty years ago and I have quoted parts of the text in another article.¹¹ It is sufficient to say here that the Ephesian inscription demonstrates the willingness of a local magnate to bestow lavish gifts upon his city, highlights the importance of the city's divine protectors, and confirms loyalty to the reigning emperor. It shows, too, that public ceremonies and processions were ways in which these bonds between the population and their gods could be affirmed and reiterated.

Among extensive texts from the eastern Mediterranean containing information about a town's mentalities one should also mention the recently discovered inscription known as "The Pride of Halikarnassos" (although it dates to the mid- or late second century BCE and does not show any Roman impact).¹² It is much more difficult to find anything comparable among the Latin inscriptions from the western part of the empire, so that there does seem to exist a real

7 Among the works after the monumental Meiggs 1973, see, for instance, Pellegrino 1987; Mar (ed.) 2001; Rieger 2004; Pensabene 2005; Steuernagel 2006.

8 Meiggs 1973 217–222; D'Arms 1981 126–140, 176–179; Abramenko 1993 227–233. The topic was addressed in my paper "The *Augustales* of Ostia" at the Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of Canada in Vancouver in May 2009 and I continue to work on the *Augustales* and the role they played in Ostia. Cf. Laird 2000, primarily on their meeting facilities.

9 For an exemplary study, see Herz 1994.

10 See Bruun 2008; cf. Suid-Guiral 2007 (not fully convincing in every aspect).

11 See Rogers 1991 152–185 for the Greek text and translation; cf. Bruun 2009 140. See also Rogers 1991 186–188 for similar inscriptions from the Greek East, of which only one from Oinoanda naming the activities of C. Iulius Demosthenes during the reign of Hadrian is comparable in content. On the latter text, see Wörrle 1998, with English translation and commentary in Mitchell 1990 183–191.

12 Isager 1998, esp. 23 for the date; Lloyd-Jones 1999.

difference in the epigraphic culture between many towns in the East and urban centres in the West. One of the best instances from Italy is a long inscription from Forum Clodii (near modern Bracciano) of Tiberian date (*CIL* XI 3303 = *ILS* 154). The text describes how the town intended to honour the ruling emperor and Augustus with statues and sacrifices and provides information about public banquets and other communal events. Outside Italy, it is perhaps significant that some Gallic leaders decided to inscribe, on a bronze plaque found at Lyons, the speech that the emperor Claudius gave to the Senate about admitting the Gallic elite into that same body (*CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212).¹³ This may represent some of the best evidence, from an individual epigraphic source, on which to build a modern view of ancient mentality at the local level in the west.

In any case, no document containing similarly rich information about local ideology is known from Ostia. Showing that civic identity can nevertheless be investigated in Ostia is the main purpose of this article.

3. Someone might perhaps claim that there are too many inscriptions for an investigation to take them all into account properly, since some 6,500 texts are currently known (including unpublished inscriptions and a fair number of fragmentary ones).¹⁴ In reality, however, this richness is something to be grateful for. What is needed is hard work and proper use of one's interpretative powers when processing the data. Before one can get started it is evidently necessary to collect the epigraphic material, and while the volumes of *CIL* XIV are easily available (the Ostian texts are found at nos. 1–2056, 4127–4175, and 4249–5411), it is a somewhat demanding task to gather the numerous inscriptions that have been discovered and published since the early 1930s.¹⁵

4. It is true that Ostia is close to Rome. Therefore, it is important to try to understand the relationship between Ostia and Rome, on as many levels as

13 Referred to, but without a discussion of the implications of the erection of the inscription in public, in Woolf 1998 40, 64.

14 Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, and Zevi 2010 5.

15 Today epigraphic databases are easily accessible (the Epigraphic Database Claus Slaby, EDCS, is probably the most frequently accessed), and they represent a convenient tool for scholars without direct access to the original publications. Caution is however advised, as errors of various and unpredictable kinds may deceive the unwary user. EDR, the Epigraphic Database Roma, is reliable although it contains fewer texts. Leaving aside the lead pipe inscriptions (for which see *CIL* XV 7735–7768 and later discoveries), among the most important post-*CIL* XIV collections of inscriptions are Calza 1938, Thylander 1952, Bloch 1953, Barbieri 1958, Mazzoleni 1983, Sacco 1984, Marinucci 1988 and 1991, Nuzzo 1999, Helttula et al. 2007 (almost exclusively texts from Thylander's *corpus*). Shorter contributions are too numerous to be cited here.

possible.¹⁶ Speaking of this relationship, even if it were correct to label Ostia a suburb of Rome (which it is not, although some seem to hold that view¹⁷), it does not preclude the existence of patriotic pro-Ostia feelings—a sentiment of “Ostianness”, or perhaps “Ostianity”, if such neologisms be allowed. Modern research in urbanism, sociology, and related fields shows that in any city, besides what can perhaps be called a sense of common identity, there are fierce identities which characterize the various neighbourhoods which often are defined by multiple distinguishing factors (such as geographical, socio-economic, or cultural): ethnic enclaves, the working class districts, the middle class residential areas, the places where the trendy and artsy people live, the suburbs, and so on.¹⁸ Setting out from this realization, we can be fairly certain that some particular sentiment or common ideology ought to have existed also in the settlement at the mouth of the Tiber, regardless of how close the connections between Ostia-Portus and Rome were. What was characteristic of this ideology of “Ostianness” remains to be identified, although in doing so one must obviously not close one’s eyes to the possibility that in turn also Ostia-Portus was divided in different neighbourhoods, in which distinctive sentiments may have flourished.¹⁹

Some Features of Historical Memory

For Ostia, as for most ancient towns, we have no personal accounts, no diaries or reminiscences, nor even novels or stories that would describe life in the town

16 For an attempt, see Bruun and Gallina Zevi (eds.) 2002.

17 See, for instance, Morley 1996 83–84 (Ostia as part of the “immediate hinterland” of Rome); Rieger 2004 22 (Ostia as a “Vorstadt” of Rome during the Republic); Witcher 2005 120–121 (the area within 50 km. of Rome appears to be counted as suburban); Goodman 2007 (Ostia as “urban periphery”).

18 Lott 2004 discusses the division of ancient Rome in *vici*; v. 18–24 for some comparative material from twentieth-century North America. See Panciera 2006, for youth organizations (*coniuvnes*) in the Sixth and Seventh regions of Rome. Concerning historical parallels for the Roman world, it seems to me that medieval Italy is a more useful point of reference: see Hubert 1990 86–92 on Rome in the tenth to thirteenth centuries (focusing on administrative aspects); Silverman 1989 on the “contrade” competing at the Palio in medieval Siena; and Eckstein 1995 xi–xii, xv, on the neighbourhood called Drago Verde in Renaissance Florence. On residents’ attachment to their neighbourhood in modern times, see, for instance, Keller 1968 106–113; Fried and Gleicher 1970.

19 Cf. that in *CIL* XIV 352 = *ILS* 6149 there is a mention of the five *regiones* in which Ostia was divided, although in this particular inscription the regions are found acting in harmony.

in a fictional way. On the whole, there are not even many references in Roman literature to Ostia, especially if one excludes those referring to events during the Republic in Livy. One of the best examples is a brief episode in Suetonius' *Life* of the emperor Claudius, describing Claudius' interaction with and ensuing anger at the Ostians (38.1, 40.3). There is also the description of the walk which the Christian writer Minucius Felix and his pagan friend Octavius take on the beach of Ostia, as they engage in a conversation about true faith (2–3), while in St. Augustine's *Confessions* Ostia Tiberina, as the town is called, is twice mentioned as the place where his mother Monica died, although no specific information about the town is given (9.8, 9.10). In the much earlier historian Florus we find the briefest of characterizations of Ostia, as *cliens et alumna urbis* (2.9.12), which to be sure is not without interest.²⁰

Yet, as an ancient historian, "one uses what one has and there is work to be done", as Ronald Syme famously said.²¹ Among the Ostian inscriptions there are many which tell a story, albeit one that has to be pieced together from small fragments and which needs to be supplemented with archaeological and iconographical material.

In a previous article I argued that there are a number of Ostian inscriptions which illustrate the role Ostia played in the history of Rome; in other words, inscriptions which promote the historical memory (to use another term currently much in use in historical disciplines) of the town.²² These texts include a dedication to the fourth king of Rome, Ancus Martius, the legendary founder of Ostia (*ab urbe condita primum coloniam civium Romanorum deduxit*).²³ Another example of the role that historical memory played in Ostia are the two great inscriptions above the gate of the Porta Romana (one on the inside, the other on the outside), where the main road from Rome enters the town. The identical texts commemorate the contributions of two Roman magistrates to the construction of the city wall and the gates in 63 BCE and during the early 50s: the magistrates are no lesser figures than M. Tullius Cicero the consul and P. Clodius Pulcher the tribune of the people. The texts, which survive in fragments and were restored and correctly read by Fausto Zevi only about fifteen years ago, are from the second century CE and evidently aimed

20 See Meiggs 1973 1–2 for a collection of sources, although Florus is absent; other texts collected in Le Gall 2005 287.

21 Syme 1968 145.

22 Bruun 2009 126–127.

23 *CIL* XIV 4338, but with a crucial addition in Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, and Zevi 2010 80–81.

to (re)connect Ostia to momentous moments and famous Roman individuals of the Late Republic.²⁴

There is also iconographical material that shows the same ideological trend. Most recently Filippo Marini Recchia and Fausto Zevi have studied the decoration of the basilica that was built on the edge of the Forum of Ostia. They were able to show that this building was decorated with a relief (now unfortunately broken into more than 160 fragments) showing scenes from Rome's legendary past and featuring, among other figures, Aeneas, Mars and Rhea Silvia, and the story of the Lupercal. The frieze most likely continued in time down to the historical period, although it is not easy to identify precise events due to the fragmentary state of this iconographical evidence.²⁵

Even before the discovery by Marini Recchia and Zevi, one of the rare representations of the twin brothers Romulus and Remus in Roman iconography was known on an altar from Ostia, the copy of which can still be seen in a corner of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni near the theatre, while the original is in the Capitoline Museum in Rome.²⁶

Finally, in this briefest of surveys of historical memory as part of the local mentality and identity in Ostia, one must not neglect the *Fasti Ostienses*. This is a unique epigraphic document, at least among the texts of the Roman world that have survived.²⁷ The document is fragmentary, but what remains is highly interesting and relevant for the current investigation. In the *colonia* of Ostia the authorities began to record the events of the past year at some point, probably in the first century BCE (the first dated text is from 49 BCE). The yearly records were inscribed on great slabs of marble that were publicly exhibited, and this practice continued until the late second century (the last dated entry is from 175 CE).

Every year the Ostian *Fasti* registered the consuls in Rome and the *duoviri* in Ostia, but they also mention events in Rome or in the empire at large, and some events in Ostia itself. The criteria according to which the events that

24 Zevi 1996–1997; Zevi 2004a; some additional suggestions in Caruso and Papi 2005. Cf. the erroneous interpretation of the text in Meiggs 1973 208, 594.

25 Marini Recchia and Zevi 2008; v. 161 for the current state. I wish to thank Prof. Zevi for his exposition of the content of the frieze in occasion of a lecture I delivered at the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae in December 2011.

26 For references, see Bruun 2009 126.

27 On the *Fasti Ostienses*, see Vidman 1982; Rüpke 1995 104–106 (very briefly); Bargagli and Grosso 1997 5–14; Frascchetti 2000; Bruun 2009 134–136; Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, Zevi 2010 83–86. A complete survey of all surviving *Fasti* in Rüpke 1995 39–164.

were recorded in the *Fasti* were chosen are not easy to define.²⁸ One common denominator is that the *Fasti* normally mention events in the capital that may have been of major interest to the Ostians (spectacles, for instance, at which they may have assisted, or events in the grain importing business), but admittedly one may counter by saying that any major event in Rome held some interest for the Ostians. In any case, this Ostian epigraphic habit underlines the relationship between Ostia and Rome, at the same time as it again places Ostia in a certain continuum of Roman history.

Dedications

As mentioned earlier, we lack any text from Ostia, literary or epigraphic, that one could call a manifesto of how the city and its governing class upheld a sense of common identity. This was often done by means of rituals of a religious nature, which had a large public impact. Such rituals included processions, sacrifices, and in general events that were witnessed by many people and tended to reiterate the town's collective experiences, not least the bonds between its people and their gods.

There were numerous public religious festivals during the Roman year (although the exact number is very difficult to establish),²⁹ some of which were

28 There is no detailed in-depth discussion of the *Fasti Ostienses* known to me; for useful comments see the literature cited in the previous note. The *Fasti Ostienses* entries for the nine years which register particular Ostian events were presented in Bruun 2009 135–136.

29 It is in fact impossible to establish the exact number of days reserved for cultic activities that were common to all communities in the Empire. To the traditional festivals of the Republic, which are marked in the calendars of the late Republic and the Augustan period, although even here there is no uniformity (see the important analytical discussion by Rüpke 1995 39–188; for a helpful overview, see Donati and Stefanetti 2006), there come a number of celebrations of past and current rulers and their family members. Many of the entries in the Republican calendars marked anniversaries of temples in the city of Rome, and it is uncertain to what extent such events were celebrated in Italy or in the provinces, though one can assume that the Ostians were more likely than most to observe them. It may be noted that fragments of a stone calendar have been found in Ostia, which contains parts of the months of March, April, and December (*CIL XIV 4547*). It does not list any local cults, see Rüpke 1995 105–106; Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, and Zevi 2010 160–162. As for imperial anniversaries, primarily *dies natales* (also of members of the imperial family) or *dies imperii*, it remains uncertain to what extent they were regularly observed decades or even centuries later, though the famous *Feriale Duranum* from Dura Europos shows the surprising longevity of some such observances, see Fink, Hoey and Snyder 1940; Fink 1971

only of local importance.³⁰ During the centuries of Ostian history we have no descriptions of such rituals and very little information at all in this regard. Thus we have to acknowledge that there is a vast gap in our knowledge of events with a potential for shaping the mentality and the experiences of the Ostian inhabitants.³¹ Of course one should not believe that every event was orchestrated on an equally magnificent scale. Over the decades and centuries certain local festivals and rites undoubtedly expanded, were modified or declined in prestige. There must sometimes have been less money than usual available, and there will have been interruptions from internal or external factors. Yet the regular series of festivals and celebrations was undoubtedly a major component in the creation of a sense of shared Ostian experiences, of “Ostianness” as it were, that is inaccessible to us (as it is almost everywhere in the Roman west). Scholars often operate with comparative evidence, when imagining what such public rituals might have been like.³²

There is nothing wrong with using historical comparisons as long as it is done judiciously, and Ostian studies can certainly benefit from such an approach. Yet, when it comes to Rome’s port, there is other evidence available because of the richness of the town’s epigraphic patrimony that provides an insight into public ceremonies and rituals. The relevant material consists of dedications, or, to use a more common modern term, “inaugurations”, recorded on stone. I am not aware of any previous discussion of this issue in the Ostian context. Roman epigraphy contains a fair number of inscriptions which

no. 117; with translation in Beard, North and Price 1998 2.71–74. During the roughly nine months from 1 January to 23 September a total of forty-two days are listed, on which cultic activities took place, or roughly one-and-a-half per week.

- 30 As pointed out by Rüpke 1995 533–546. The prerogative granted local authorities is born out by the town charter (*lex*) of the Colonia Genetiva Iulia in Spain, see Crawford 1996 1 401 § 64: *Ilviri quicumque post coloniam deductam erunt, ii in diebus decem proxumis, quibus eum magistratum gerere coeperint, at decuriones referunto ... quos et quot dies festos esse et quae sacra fieri publice placeat ...*; with translation on p. 422: “Whoever shall be Ilviri after the foundation of the colony, they, within the ten days after that on which they shall have begun to hold the magistracy, are to raise with the decurions ... which and how many days it may be agreed shall be festivals and which sacrifices shall be publicly performed ...”. As noted on p. 434, the wording indicates that “the religious calendar of the colony was established anew every year”.
- 31 Games, gladiatorial spectacles, and theatrical performances are other public events of great importance; I defer discussion of such events in the Ostian context for another occasion.
- 32 See Rieger 2004 154–159 for processions of the worshippers of Magna Mater, based on comparative evidence.

announce the inauguration (i.e. the dedication) of something specific: a building, a public statue, the site of a *collegium*, or something else that concerns the public at large or a specific group of some kind. The terms that identify these inscriptions are *dedicata* (for instance referring to a statue, *imago* or *statua*, or a shrine, *aedes*), *dedicatum* (for example used for a building or construction of some kind: *monumentum*, *aedificium*, *templum*), and much more rarely *dedicatus* (few objects that were the subject of a dedication were of masculine gender).

The dedications in Ostia sometimes specify the ceremonies that are to take place at the inauguration, such as communal meals or handouts of money. We can therefore assume that these events indeed had a certain impact in the life of those who took part. In the Roman world, the popular pattern of offering, for instance, public *epula* (banquets), minor treats such as *crustulum et mulsum* (cake and honeyed wine) or *visceratio* (meat), or *sportulae* (cash handouts) during the imperial period leaves no doubt in this regard.³³ The existence of such a tradition in Ostia is documented already for the triumviral or early Augustan period, when P. Lucilius Gamala, a leading citizen and one of the greatest known benefactors of the town, sponsored *epulum trichilinis (!) CCXVII colonis* (“offered citizens of Ostia a public feast on 217 dining couches”) and twice offered a *prandium sua pecunia colonis Ostiensibus* (“a public meal for the Ostian citizens at his own expense”), as mentioned in an inscription which was recut in the second century CE, evidently for the purpose of commemorating events which were significant in the history of the town.³⁴ The combination of dedication and handout at Ostia is illustrated by the following inscription on a small marble altar dated to the mid-second century CE:

*Genio coloniae
Ostiensium
M. Cornelius
Epagathus curat(or)
Augustal(ium) argent(i) p(ondo) x (decem) d(ono) d(edit).
ob dedicatione(m) eius*

33 Rich epigraphic data on such munificence in Italy is presented in Duncan-Jones 1982 171–203 (only texts which quantify the munificence in some way). On distribution of food and money, see also Mrozek 1987; on *visceratio*, see Kajava 1998; on public dining, see Slater 2000.

34 *CIL* XIV 375 = *ILS* 6147; see D’Arms 2000 for a discussion. For P. Lucilius Gamala the Elder and his much-debated inscription, see Zevi 2004b (and other contributions in the same volume).

*viritim dedit (denarium) In(ummum)
Id(ibus) Dec(embribus) Stloga et Severo co(n)s(ulibus).*

CIL XIV 8 = ILS 6154

To the *genius* (spirit) of the *colonia* of the Ostians (= the formal designation of the town of Ostia). M. Cornelius Epagathus, overseer of the association of the *Augustales*, gave as a gift (a statue) of silver 10 pounds in weight. On account of its (= the statue's) inauguration he gave each man 1 *denarius* on the Ides of December (13 Dec.) in the year when T. Hoenius Stloga and M. Peducaeus Severus were consuls (141 CE).

These dedications contributed to shaping the consciousness of the participants and the onlookers, obviously in a more or less efficient way; one must not exaggerate the persuasive impact that such potentially formative events had. Yet everyone's personal experiences of public events and ceremonies in which we might participate today will to some extent bear out the importance of such collective experiences: a game of the Edmonton Oilers (ice hockey) or the Eskimos (Canadian football) remind people that they are in Edmonton, a Santa Claus parade unites the public around a common theme and a Christmas raffle organized by a local City Councillor or church creates goodwill in the neighbourhood, while the solemn Remembrance Day ceremony connects the participants to Canadian (or indeed universal) history and to past and present generations.

The text recording Epagathus' dedication is in many ways revealing. The dedicand is one of the elected leaders of the local *Augustales*, a large organization of successful local inhabitants (almost exclusively freedmen),³⁵ and his fellow members are the ones who will benefit from the gift of one *denarius* on the occasion of the inauguration. Equally important for our purposes is the object of the dedication: a small statue of the *genius* of the *colonia Ostiensium*. It is significant that the *Augustales* are not celebrating any other deity or the reigning imperial house, but indeed the symbolic embodiment of their own town.³⁶

A further feature of the inscription is also important, namely the fact that it carries a precise date. This is fairly typical of Ostian inscriptions that contain the term *dedicatum/a/us*. Such dates can be significant for various reasons.

35 For the *Augustales* of Ostia, see n. 8 above. The *Augustalis* Cornelius Epagathus is briefly referred to in D'Arms 1981 137.

36 Obviously this does not preclude the possibility that someone else inaugurated a statue representing a deity or someone from the imperial family on the same occasion, or that such statues already stood in abundance on the premises. Cf. *CIL XV 12*.

We know from other sources that a benefactor may choose to celebrate a dedication on his/her own birthday. So, for instance, are we told that in 52 CE the emperor Claudius decided to inaugurate the two majestic new Roman aqueducts, the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus, on the Kalends of August (the 1st of August).³⁷ Another source informs us that this day was also Claudius' birthday.³⁸ The choice of Claudius' *dies natalis* for the dedication/inauguration of the two aqueducts was obviously no coincidence; the decision was surely made in order to confer additional distinction on both events and to stress the contribution to Rome's water supply for which Claudius took credit.

It is more difficult to identify dedications by private individuals that took place on their birthday (since we normally lack information about when they were born), unless this is specifically mentioned in the text. Inscriptions sometimes mention that distribution of money or the organization of a feast is to take place on the birthday of a benefactor, either with the benefactor being present or in his (her) memory after death. Some inscriptions of this type have been found in Ostia too,³⁹ and whether the annual celebration originated with the dedication of an object or not, these texts are testimonies of events that were important for the cohesion of the group that was to benefit. Obviously, celebrations of individual birthdays may not have been of primary importance for shaping an overall feeling of that "Ostianness" (or "Ostianity") which is the issue here. Yet these events may also have been important in this perspective, especially in cases where the person whose memory was thus celebrated was or had been important in Ostia.

Most of the inscriptions that contain the *dedicatum/a/us* formula and specify the day do not give any reason for the choice of date. This is undoubtedly the reason for why they have received little attention in modern scholarship. When there is nothing in an inscription to indicate why a special date was chosen, the issue becomes moot; this seems to be a common conclusion.⁴⁰

37 Frontin. *aq.* 13.2.

38 Suet. *Claud.* 2.1 for the birthday; see also Kienast 1996 90.

39 At Ostia see, for instance, *CIL* XIV 246 (*epulum*); *CIL* XIV 352 = *ILS* 6149 (distribution of money); *CIL* XIV 353 = 4642 = *ILS* 6148 (distribution of money); *CIL* XIV 367 = *ILS* 6164 (distribution of money); *AE* 1940, 62 (*epulum*); *AE* 1987 198 (*epulum, sportulae*).

40 Important exceptions are Snyder 1940; Herz 1975 (containing more recent documentation); Herz 1978 (without sources), while Rossignol 2010 (with previous bibliography) represents a valuable investigation into the significance of the series of dedications which occurred on 11 June during the second and third centuries CE at Carnuntum and Aquincum. A recent example of how neglect of the evidence and modern scholarship on the issue can lead astray is Collins 2009 (on which Bruun, work in progress). For dates in the

Yet a careful look at these dates can be rewarding. A certain number of dates that were important in the Roman calendar are known, namely the dates on which religious celebrations and imperial anniversaries fell. In addition, the Kalends and Ides of each month (except the Ides of February and March) were of special significance and important events were often scheduled on these days.⁴¹ Therefore, when one discovers that something is being dedicated on the Kalends or the Ides, or on a day that coincides with a public festival such as the *Vulcanalia* or with an anniversary of the ruling emperor or of a family member of his, then one is justified in concluding that the choice of day was not a coincidence. An example of the second kind appears on a marble wellhead (*puteal*) found in the *atrium* of a building somewhat to the west of the Forum, now known as the Caseggiato del Larario.⁴² It contains a short text on the rim and a longer one in a framed rectangle on the side:⁴³

*Monitu sanctissimae Cereris et Nympharum hic puteus omni sumptu
factus*

C(ai) Caecili Onesimi

*patro(ni) et q(uin)q(uennalis) p(er)p(etui) c(orporis) m(ensorum)
adiutor(um)*

et L(uci) Hortensi Galli

q(uin)q(uennalis) nauticariorum

et N(umeri) Treboni Eutychetis

q(uin)q(uennalis) II (iterum) acceptorum

ded(icatus) X Kal(endas) Sept(embres) Laterano et Rufino co(n)s(ulibus)

CIL XIV 2 = ILS 3339, 23 August 197 CE

“On the advice of most sacred Ceres and the Nymphs this well, made with all the costs (paid for from the accounts of) //

Ostian context, see an observation in Zevi 2003 571. The discussion in Meiggs 1973 325 is very meagre. Steuernagel 2006 144 comments on the dedication of the temple of Serapis, apparently without realizing that it took place on Hadrian's *dies natalis*.

41 Snyder 1940 293–294. Among the vast number of such instances see, e.g., the ceremonies of the *magistri vici* in Rome on the Kalends of January and August; the texts are presented in Lott 2004, Appendix nos. 5, 7, 16, 22, and 29.

42 In regard to the context in which the dedication was recorded, one may compare how Hartnett 2008 connects fountains and “civic identity” at Herculaneum.

43 See Golda 1997 117–118 with Fig. 7.2. The *puteal* was found in 1802/1803 and is now in the Vatican Museum, see also Ricciardi 1996 33–34, especially for the archaeological context.

C. Caecilius Onesimus, patron and permanent *quinquennalis* of the organization of the assistant grain measurers; and L. Hortensius Gallus, *quinquennalis* of the ship-chandlers; and N. Trebonius Eutyches, *quinquennalis* for the second time of the *acceptores*, was dedicated on 23 August in the year when (T. Sextius) Lateranus and (Cuspius) Rufinus were consuls (= 197 CE).”

Although the inscription contains a few professional designations that are not easy to translate,⁴⁴ the content is clear. The three leaders of their respective professional organizations had paid for a *puteus*, evidently a source of water, and the context and the terminology makes it likely that the water was to be used for human consumption rather than for decorative purposes.⁴⁵ The fact that the three organizations led by these benefactors were all in one way or another engaged in the same business, that of shipping, makes it attractive to speculate that the object of the benefaction was to provide drinking water for a locality where members from the three associations spent time together. The action took its origin from a “divine exhortation”, but it is completely appropriate in the context that the divinities mentioned are Ceres and the Nymphs. The former goddess is connected with Rome’s grain supply⁴⁶ and was thus important for the various professional organizations, while the

44 A *quinquennalis* is an officer (perhaps “director” or “president”) in charge of an organization for a five-year period. The *OLD* gives “ship-chandler” for *nauticarius*, and the only reference comes from the present inscription. A ship-chandler would have supplied equipment and materials necessary for sailing (such as pitch, cordage, and specialized tools). The *acceptores* must be some kind of “receivers”, cf. *OLD* s.v. 2, which cites *CIL* VI 9212 *de Sacra Via auri acceptor* from Rome. The rest of the epigraphic evidence, according to the *EDCS*, is all from Ostia: *CIL* XIV 16 = *ILS* 5465 (written *acceptator*); *CIL* XIV 150; and *CIL* XIV 154 = *ILS* 1431, in which we find the *mensores* and the *acceptores* in a joint association: *corpus mensorum frumentariorum et acceptorum Ostiensium*. De Ruggiero 1895 suggested that the *acceptores* at Ostia were in charge of receiving the grain which was unloaded from the ships. Meiggs 1973 282 presents a cogent proposal for how these three professional groups could have participated in handling the grain and sending it on to Rome. In his view, the *nauticarii* were involved in loading the barges for Rome.

45 Had an ornamental fountain or the like been intended, there are other words that seem more likely to have been employed, such as *salientes* (*CIL* XI 1062 = *ILS* 5372), *fons* (*CIL* IX 665; *CIL* XI 5942; *CIL* VIII 8809), *lacus* (*CIL* I² 2099 = XI 4221–4222; I² 3119; *CIL* IX 4786; *CIL* VIII 51; *IRT* 117), or even *piscina* (*CIL* X 6526; XIV 396, a funerary context at Ostia) or *nymphaeum* (*CIL* VIII 2658). *P(uteus)* may appear in *CIL* XIV 4147 from Ostia.

46 For Ceres, see Beard, North and Price 1998 1.45 and Varro *RR* 1.1.5.

Nymphs of course are water deities and therefore present when a *puteus* is at issue.⁴⁷

Against this background, which tells us, with some degree of probability, something substantial about the dedication, one might not think it worthwhile to pay any particular attention to the date recorded in the inscription. It so happens, however, that 23 August was a noteworthy day in Ostia: it was the day on which the *Volcanalia* was celebrated in honour of Ostia's main deity, Volcanus.⁴⁸ Although there is no reference to this fact in the inscription, it must be considered a certainty that the day of the dedication was not chosen at random. On the contrary, it was chosen so as to coincide with a day that was festive in the highest degree in the local Ostian context, and the celebrations were focused precisely on the *colonia* itself and its own divine protector. It should be added that another dedication that occurred on the same day is known, from an unknown year.⁴⁹

A third set of specially chosen dates are connected to the imperial house. The following inscription, on a small marble base, is a good example of this situation:

*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Au-
[r]elio Anton(ino)
Pio Fel(ici) Severi
fil(io) Aug(usto)
C(aius) Caesius Eu-
tychion imm(unis)
k(annophorum) O(stiensium) d(ono) d(edit) a(rgenti) p(ondo libram) I
(scripula) VIII
cuius ded(icatione) ded(it)
pan(em) vin(um) et (denarium) I
ded(icata) pr(idie) N(onas) Apr(iles)
Aspris II (duobus) co(n)s(ulibus)*

CIL XIV 119, 4 April 212 CE

47 For instance, the veneration of the Nymphs and the inauguration of an aqueduct is mentioned in *CIL VIII 2662 = ILS 3895 = CLE 252* (from Lambaesis in Numidia). At Ostia, a fountain in the building which by some has been assigned to the *Augustales* was decorated with the statue of a resting nymph supported on an urn from which water gushed forth, see De Chirico 1941, 245–246.

48 Meiggs 1973 337–343; Pellegrino 1986 on the cult of Volcanus at Ostia.

49 *CIL XIV 4558*, probably involving the Ostian *Augustales*.

“To the emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, son of Severus (= Caracalla), C. Caesius Eutylichion *immunis* (holding some kind of privileged position) of the Ostian *cannophori* [participants in the cult of Magna Mater] gave as a gift (a statuette?) of one pound and eight *scripula* of silver. On account of the dedication of this (gift) he gave out bread, wine and one *denarius* (each). Dedicated on 4 April in the year when the two (Gaii Iulii) Aspri were consuls (= 212 CE).”

This is a dedication to the emperor Caracalla from 212, and indeed it was inaugurated on 4 April, which was the emperor’s birthday.⁵⁰ This choice of date is certainly not a coincidence and provides a double reason for feasting, as indeed those who were present did: there was bread, wine and one *denarius* for everyone among the *cannophori* (carriers of reeds; they were devoted to the cult of Magna Mater). The fourth of April was also the first day of the seven-day celebration of the *Ludi Megalenses* (celebrated in honour of Magna Mater), which conferred even more importance on this day and its events.

If it may be less of a surprise that the dedication to Caracalla took place on the emperor’s *dies natalis*, the following inscribed marble base exemplifies a different situation (the second text appears on the right side of the base):

C(aio) Iulio
Philippo
equiti Romano
corpus fabrum
navalium Ostiens(ium)
quibus ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coire lic(et)
s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit)
 //
dedicata III Idus April(es)
Tertullo et Clemente co(n)s(ulibus)
cur[am] agentibus
Calocaero lib(erto)
[et C(aio)] Vettio Optato
M(arco) Clodio Minerval[e]
q(uin)q(uennialibus) per(petuis)
 CIL XIV 168, 11 April 195 CE

50 Kienast 1996 162; Snyder 1940 272.

“To C. Iulius Philippus, Roman knight, the guild of the Ostian shipbuilders, who have permission from the Senate to form an organization, erected (an object) with its own funds // Dedicated on 11 April in the year when (P. Iulius Scapula) Tertullus and (Q. Tineius) Clemens were consuls (= 195 CE). In charge of the project were Calocaerus a freedman, [C.] Vettius Optatus and M. Clodius Minervalis permanent *quinquennales*.”

This dedication to a Roman official, C. Iulius Philippus, by the shipbuilders' guild, seems to be a purely internal affair; Philippus was presumably a patron of the *corpus*, or at least a government official with whom the members often interacted.⁵¹ There is, however, more to the inscription than meets the eye. The date of 11 April happens to be the birthday of the reigning emperor, Septimius Severus. Once again the choice of date for this particular inauguration was not a coincidence, and once again we find that a particular Ostian event was scheduled to take place on a day that was also designated for events celebrating imperial loyalty. In my view, we can be certain that at the same time as some object honouring Iulius Philippus was “unveiled” in connection with the dedication, other words and/or actions focused on the ruling emperor.

Summing Up: The Significance of Dedications in the Study of Civic Identity

Among the inscriptions from Ostia-Portus it has so far been possible to identify a total of 57 precisely dated dedications (including three mentioned in the *Fasti Ostienses*, in the years 112, 127, and 140). When an attempt is made to identify the nature of the days on which the dedications occurred, it turns out that for well over half of these instances a particular day of celebration can be identified. Although in no case is the birthday of an individual the explicit reason for the choice of when to carry out a dedication,⁵² in twelve cases the dedication took place on either the Kalends or the Ides of the month. In ten instances the chosen day was that of a particular religious festival, while dedications on

51 A homonymous ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν is known from Aphrodisias, see Pflaum 1960–1961, III 1102, who suggests he be dated to 176–180; more information on the same man, who also was *curator rei publicae* (*logistes*) in the town, in Reynolds 1982 184–185. He may be our man, but the reason for his presence in Ostia is unknown.

52 Birthdays are, however, sometimes chosen as the day on which future distributions will take place, see n. 38 above.

imperial anniversaries can be identified in at least eleven and possibly fourteen cases.⁵³ That leaves around twenty dedications on dates that so far have not been found to be of any particular importance in the imperial or local context. Obviously, additional information may change the picture at any moment, for instance, so that a connection to an imperial celebration is found. Some of the dates, however, may fall on birthdays about which information can no longer be recovered.

In any case, it can be shown that for well over half of these days of inauguration, the choice was not made at random. The day was clearly chosen in order for the event to have an impact on the public space and on public consciousness in Ostia. On these days the public expected that particular events would take place as the days had a particularly festive character, which also meant that participants and crowds were more likely to be present.

This study of dedications in Ostia, preliminary though it is and illustrated by only a few examples, has thus identified a certain mechanism by which ideological messages could be disseminated or propagated. The medium in which we can study these phenomena today is mostly the epigraphic one—although iconographic sources must not be forgotten; some were briefly mentioned above and evidently the actual statues which often were the object of a dedication represent another topic for investigation—while the residents of the town could participate directly in many collective events of which only the stone record survives today. These experiences of the ancient Ostians meant that the impact on the inhabitants of the town was much stronger, on both an ideological and an emotional level, than the mere reading of an inscribed text today might give reason to believe. Inaugurations, which sometimes were followed by annual celebrations in succeeding years, undoubtedly contributed to the creation and maintenance of a certain local spirit.

As far as the message is concerned, the closeness to Rome is stressed at Ostia, but even more important is the role of the Emperor; anything else would be surprising. We are in the Roman empire, and this same feature was present all over the Mediterranean world. For instance at Ephesus, in the long inscription of Vibius Salutaris referred to at the outset of this article, imperial loyalty is shown by the mention of the donation of a series of imperial images.⁵⁴ Thus it should not come as a surprise that Ostia was one of the first towns in the Empire

53 I intend to return to this topic in a future study, and therefore no details are given at this preliminary stage; some less obvious dates are discussed in my "Dedicatory Inscriptions in Roman Ostia on Significant Dates: New Discoveries" (in preparation).

54 See Rogers 1991, 152–153 lines 25–27.

to erect a Temple to Roma and Augustus,⁵⁵ or to find that the *ordo decurionum* met in that temple in the mid-second century CE (*CIL* XIV 353 = *ILS* 6148).

But in Ostia there was perhaps more than the customary loyalty to the throne; the Ostians were able to refer to the *colonia's* own unique role and history within the Roman commonwealth; this situation was clearly a source of civic pride. And the Ostians had their own specific traditions too, which were part of their identity, such as the cult of Volcanus and the *Volcanalia*, to refer to one example briefly discussed above. In some sense one might say that the historian Florus was not far off when he defined Ostia as *cliens et alumna urbis* (2.9.12). This is a concept which denotes dependence while allowing for a certain autonomy and independence as well.

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55 See now Geremia Nucci 2013.

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Chariot Racing in Hispania Tarraconensis: Urban Romanization and Provincial Identity

Raymond L. Capra

The Roman experience in the Iberian Peninsula began in the vicinity of Tarraco during the Second Punic Wars with the arrival of Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus in the Greek polis of Emporion, and the subsequent defeat of Hanno and capture of a Carthaginian camp north of the mouth of the Ebro River in the autumn of 218 BC. The nearby Iberian town Kese was also taken by Cornelius Scipio.¹ Excavations of the past thirty years have identified a pre-Roman town within the area of the lower city of modern Tarragona, though the exact identification of this Iberian town with the Kese of Scipio's campaign is uncertain.² A Roman *praesidium* was built upon the rocky hilltop of Tarraco during the time of Scipio Africanus' Iberian campaign in 217 and substantially enlarged at the beginning of the second century BC (fig. 11.1).³ Thereafter the Scipios were seen as the founders of the Roman city, as even in the first century AD Pliny the Elder referred to the city as *Colonia Tarracon Opus Scipionum*.⁴ The original Iberian settlement quickly developed into a Roman town with a forum built at the foot of the hill at least by 71 BC, as implied by an honorary inscription for Pompeius Magnus after the conclusion of his campaigns against Sertorius the previous year in Iberia.⁵ Tarraco itself was most likely given Roman colonial status as early as 44 BC by Julius Caesar following his victory at the battle of Munda.⁶

1 Livy 21.60–61. Florus 23.

2 Dupré i Raventós 1995 355–357. Ruiz de Arbulo 1996 36–41.

3 The fortification walls were heightened, broadened, and extended in the third quarter of the second century BC, Aquilué, Dupré, Massó, and Ruiz De Arbulo 1991 271–301. Cf. Dupré i Raventós 1995 356.

4 *NH* 3.21.

5 *RIT* 1 (CIL II.2.14/2 991).

6 Alföldy 2000 20 and the revision of *RIT* 362 (CIL II, 4134) with the reference to Tarraco as a Roman *colonia*:

[*Cn(aeo) Domitio M(arci) f(ilio) Calvina*] / [*pontif(ici) co(n)s(uli) iteru*]m ° *imp(eratori)* / [*colonia Urbs Triu*]m p° *halis* / [*Tarrac(onensium) patro*]no. Cf. Ruiz de Arbulo 1996 41 and Arrayás Morales 2005 168–174.

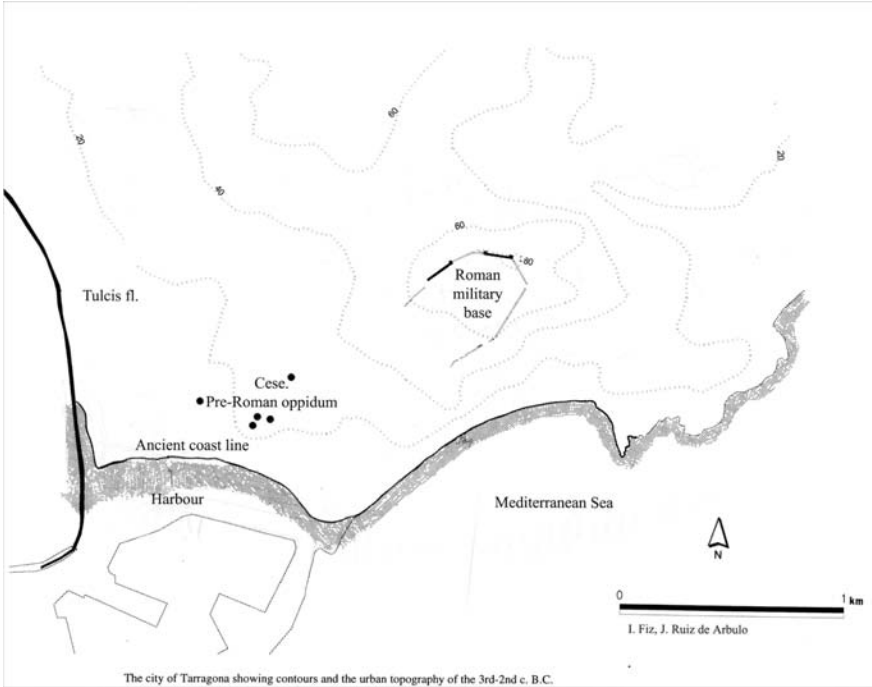


FIGURE 11.1 *Iberian town and Roman Praesidium* (FROM RUIZ DE ARBULO 2006)

The city continued to develop as an urban center to such a degree that it was able to accommodate Augustus, and effectively serve as the capital of the Roman state during the early phase of the Cantabrian campaigns in 27 BC when Augustus retired to Tarraco due to illness and remained there for the following two years.⁷ Tarraco thereafter was designated by the *Princeps* as the capital of the Roman Province *Hispania Tarraconensis*.⁸ As the city's importance as a center of Roman authority in the peninsula increased, so did the need for a greater architectural expression of that authority. The provincial elite, themselves an increasingly cosmopolitan group, in the beginning of the first century AD courted the favor of Rome to increase their own prestige and that of their city.⁹ Tacitus remarked that the permission granted by Tiberius in AD 15 for the construction of a temple dedicated to Augustus in Tarraco was in response to a petition of the 'Spaniards,' *Hispani*, a term Tacitus had used for the Roman sol-

7 Dio 53.25.

8 Strabo 3.4.20; Pliny *NH* 3.6; Mela 2.87.

9 Etienne and Fabre 1979 discuss the character of this elite population at length. Cf. Carreté, Keay, and Millet 1995 30, Mierse 1999 134–135, and Curchin 1990 76–81.

diers in Spain earlier in the *Annales*,¹⁰ so here the Roman colonists *templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datum in omnis provincias exemplum* (*Ann.* 1.78). Tarraco was the first western city granted this honor, and as the capital of a region long vital to the Mediterranean and Roman world it was significant to have such a temple as a complement to its forum. Thus architecturally equipped Tarraco was capable of serving as the religious and administrative center of the province. More importantly the empire needed the city to disseminate the power of Rome, thus Tacitus's remark that the temple within the city was to be an example for all the provinces of the empire. Appropriately Tarraco became one of the leading cities in the western Mediterranean world, and like Rome visually magnificent.¹¹ Tarraco in the Imperial period, like Rome at this same time, was expanded and underwent significant topographical alterations, and the most prominent aspect of the city's magnificence was the three-tiered *arces* comprising the *circus Tarraconensis* and the Provincial Forum in two levels, the central, so-called Plaza of Representation and at the rocky hill's summit the enclosure of the Imperial Cult (fig. 11.2).¹²

In the last quarter of the first century AD, sometime after Vespasian had granted the *ius Latii* to the provinces of Hispania in 74–75, the monumental building program in Tarraco was completed.¹³ The construction of the *arces* was finished likely during the early years of Domitian's reign; thus the *Circus Tarraconensis* predates Trajan's completion of the reconstruction of the *Circus Maximus*.¹⁴ Built upon an incline between the upper and lower sections of Tarraco the location of the circus was quite remarkable as its structure defined and demarcated the urban landscape, thus creating a separation between the monumental, imperial buildings of the two upper *fora* designed for the convening

10 Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.

11 Pomponius Mela, writing before the monumental building project discussed in this chapter, referred to Tarraco as the richest city on the coast *Tarraco urbs est en his oris maritimarum opulentissima* (2.90).

12 The rocky hilltop upon which the circus and the two fora of Tarraco sat at rises gradually from about 15 to 80 meters above sea level. This forum had a rich program of inscription and sculpture in accordance with its role as the center of the Provincial Council. Cf. Ruiz de Arbulo 2007. Mar, Ruiz Arbulo, and Vivó 2013. Keay 1988 79–80 and 159.

13 Pliny *NH* 3.3.30. The building project may have first been undertaken in the Julio-Claudian period.

14 Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 2002 141. Cf. Meijer 2010 35. The leveling of the of the circus area began during the 60s AD and, according to present information, was completed as late as some thirty years after, Macias et al. 2007 269–273.

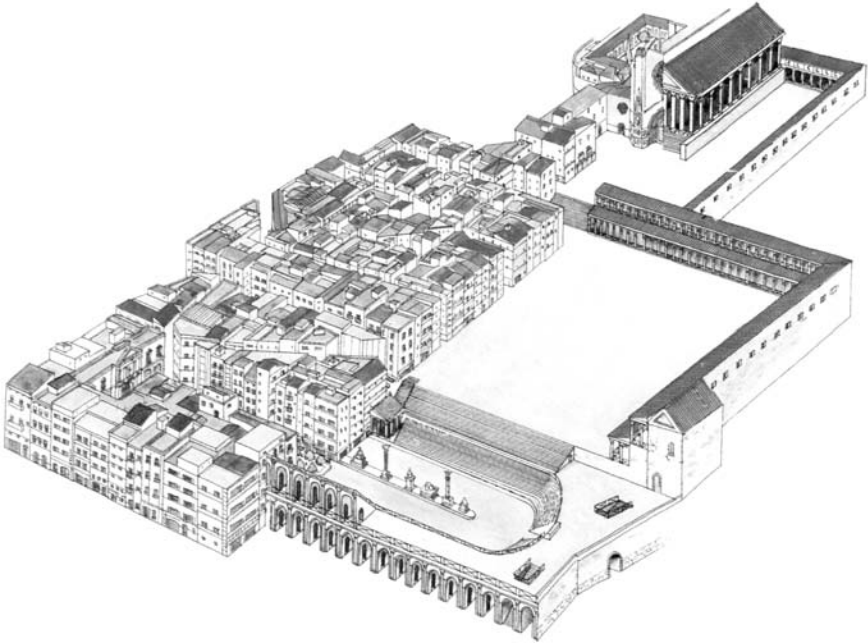


FIGURE 11.2 *Model of Tarraco, after R. Mar.* IMAGE COURTESY OF DR. J. RUIZ DE ARBULO.

of the *Concilium Provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris* and religious processions, and the commercial center of the city.¹⁵ Most significant is the integration of the circus within the city walls, for as an interior element it was a central aspect of the citizens' daily lives.¹⁶ Its centrality created two distinct zones within the city, regulating and limiting access of the Imperial sector and creating a spatial division within the city.¹⁷ This division was one which reinforced class distinctions as well, as only the members of the upper echelons of the provincial society, magistrates, aristocrats and the like, would have frequent dealings in the area of Tarraco on the other side of the circus, and certainly any business that called the 'common man' beyond the circus would have

15 The *Concilium Provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris* was the annual reunion of the provincial representatives of *Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis*, a province with over 300 cities

16 In general in Roman cities in Hispania, the circuses were constructed on the outskirts of the urban centers, as was the case with Emerita Augusta, Saguntum, or Corduba, for three examples from Hispania. Cf. *Imp. Cult* 2.1.209. Ruiz de Arbulo 2009 415.

17 The modern Rambla Vella, built upon the course of the Via Augusta, performs a similar spatial function today, though not politically charged. The Ajuntament of Tarragona is in Plaça de la Font which occupies the southwestern portion of the circus' space.

been business that further emphasized the class distinctions of the Roman world, such as meetings of the provincial curia or religious processions for the Imperial cult.¹⁸

The circus' connection to and incorporation with the upper temple and forum complex attest to the great importance of horse and chariot racing in Tarraco and the entire peninsula where the horse was an integral part of Iberian civilization. Grand equestrian competitions within the monumental circus allowed the provincial elite a stage for social and political spectacles in the grand Roman manner, as the circus held the games of the province and was linked with the provincial cult of the emperor.¹⁹ The construction of the circus within the relatively confined area of Tarraco's republican walls provided the city with an urban topography unique for Hispania, and presented the image of a chariot-racing hub to travelers of the Via Augusta, which passed through the city alongside the circus' southern, arched façade. With this emphasis on the circus Tarraco further established itself as a center for equestrian sports and the accompanying trade between Hispania and the greater Roman world.²⁰ This urban transformation of the provincial capital furthered the assimilation and Romanization of the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula within the Empire. Tarraco provided a vision of the power and splendor of Rome. The cause for the circus' central position in the urban restructuring of Tarraco was the result of two cultural forces and their expressions: a Roman Imperial identity realized in monumental, religious, and civic architecture and an Iberian celebration of the nobility of the horseman.²¹

The presence of the horse in the Iberian Peninsula and its importance in human culture has a rather long history.²² The Altamira cave paintings in Northern Spain, dated to 15,000 BC, demonstrate the presence of a native, Iberian horse in the Neolithic period. Mankind developed in the peninsula in a shared space with the horse. The products of animal husbandry have a neg-

18 On the use of the space for the meeting of the provincial *curia*, see Mar, Ruiz Arbulo, and Vivó 2013.

19 Cf. Humphrey 1986 344 and *Imp. Cult* 2.1:208–220, 333–347. Rodríguez 2005 suggests the circus to be an important part of the provincial imperial cult; it clearly was so in Tarraco, cf. van den Berg 2008 261–262.

20 On the trade and quality of Iberian horses in the Roman Empire, see Cameron 1976 10, Humphrey 1986 238–239.

21 Quesada Sanz 1998 170–173.

22 Quesada Sanz 1998 169–170, Humphrey 1986 377–379. Cf. Adams and Mallory 2006 437. For horse culture in general, see David W. Anthony *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World* (2010).

ligible archaeological record, but the Iberians' domestication of the horse may predate the advent of metallurgy in the peninsula.²³ In the first millennium BC the culture known as the Celtiberians, which flourished in a large part of the peninsula beginning in the eighth century BC, gave honor, in proper Indo-European fashion, to the image of the equestrian warrior and the chariot in their art and burial.²⁴ They brought their steeds which proceeded to breed and be interbred with the native animals; consequently Iberian horse culture was given an additional momentum that was both biological and cultural. Bronze muzzles began to appear in funerary contexts in the sixth century.²⁵ Iberian tombs from the sixth to third centuries BC contained images of chariots and numerous statuettes and statues of horses and horsemen.²⁶ The famous *Guerrero de Moixent* is one example from the Mediterranean Littoral. The Iberians' skills with the horse were continually cultivated for centuries, and a true equestrian society flourished.²⁷ The terrain of the Iberian Peninsula did not allow for the chariot to have success as a means of transportation, but instead encouraged an agile, maneuverable horse.²⁸ By the fourth century Iberian horsemen were active on the international scene, as Xenophon tells of the successful exploits of a small squadron of skilled Celtiberian cavalry sent by Dionysius I of Syracuse to aid the Spartans against the Thessalians in 369 BC.²⁹ The action of Iberian cavalry during the Punic Wars, when Hannibal employed them with great success against the Romans, would be the first realization by the Romans of this native potential.³⁰ On Italian soil at the Battle of Ticinus Livy notes that Hannibal placed the cavalry that rode with bits, *equites frenatos*, that is to say the Iberians, in the center while the Numidians were placed on the wings.³¹ The bit, of course, allows for superior control of the animal and is a great advantage for an equestrian culture. Within the peninsula the bit may have aided to the development the *gineta* style of riding. Horse racing organized on some scale had likely been a pastime of the Iberians in the Pre-Roman era, if only

23 Gavião Gonzaga 2004.

24 See Gabaldón 2003, Cunliffe 1997 47–48, 133–144. Quesada Sanz 2008 304–307.

25 Garcés Estallo and Graells Fabregat 2011.

26 Cadiou 2008 178. Gavião Gonzaga 2004 205–208. Quesada Sanz 1998.

27 Quesada Sanz 1998 174–175. Cadiou 2008 179 notes that the conflict between Carthage and Rome may have exacerbated the development of an Iberian cavalry, though the creation of a cavalry *ex nihilo* requires a people skilled at horsemanship.

28 Gavião Gonzaga 2004 181–194.

29 *Hell.* 7.1.20–22.

30 Livy 21.22, 21. 55, 21.57, 23.26, et al.; Poly. 3.33, 3.35, 3.56, et al. Cadiou 2008 179–180.

31 Livy 21.46.5.

as a result of the equestrian lifestyle of the peninsula's peoples, for a fast horse and a skilled rider make a successful pair in hunting and herding as well as in warfare.

In the *oppidum* of Kese this reverence for the horse and horseman was demonstrated on coins minted during the second century BC.³² The predominant images include horses and horsemen, often carrying victorious palm branches.³³ Other images such as the Pegasus may have been a Greek import, although it fit well within the panoply of more mundane equine images, such as the grazing horse.³⁴ For the Iberian towns along the coast of what comprises modern Catalonia there had been some experience in exchange through the medium of coinage with the Greek cities of Emporion and Rhode, but coins, as they did in much of the non-Greco-Roman, European world, had a strong significance, as the original purpose of minted silver was as a means to distribute wealth and to seal alliances or to signify social rank.³⁵ The late Republican era coinage of Kese served to promote this image of the noble horsemen, not only to other Iberians, but to the Romans as well. As these coins became one major source of cultural exchange for the Iberians with the Romans, it is significant that the people of Kese presented themselves as an equestrian people during a period in which the authority and cultural hegemony of Rome had not yet eclipsed the autonomy of the Iberian town.

The beginnings of chariot racing in Iberia are uncertain, but whenever the institution of the race was first brought to Hispania by the Romans, they found a ready audience beyond the Italian colonists, some of whom may have had relations with the Iberians' cultural affinity for the horse.³⁶ This was particularly the case in Augusta Emerita where the monumental circus dates from the first half of the first century AD.³⁷ The spectacular circus games of the Roman Empire celebrated the same horsemanship that defined many of the native civilizations' own conceptions of skill and valor. The importance of chariot racing is evident in the *Lex Ursonensis* the foundation charter for the Caesarean *colonia Iulia Genetiva* which was promulgated by Mark Antony, what remains are four bronze tablets discovered in the 1870s near Osuna, the ancient Urso, in

32 The image of the horse appears on the coinage of a number of other Iberian cities as well: Carthago Nova, Ikalkuskkan, Osca, to name but a few.

33 Burgos 2315 (galloping horse) and 2266 (rider holding palm and leading a second horse). Cf. Ruiz de Arbulo 1991 465–467 and Otiña and Ruiz de Arbulo 2000 117–120.

34 Burgos 2330 (Pegasus) and 2323 (grazing horse).

35 Harl 1996 63–64. Cf. Cunliffe 1997 130–131.

36 Humphrey 1986 337–387.

37 Nogales Basarrate 2008 190. Humphrey 1986 385–386.

southern Spain. The inscription refers to the circus, reserved seating for *decuriones* and other officials, and the organization of circus games in the Caesarian colony.³⁸ Even though there is no archaeological evidence or any other indication of a circus in Osuna, the public display of the bronze tablets with their formulaic language of Roman culture, at least invited the organization and celebration of *ludi circenses* by the Roman elite of the burgeoning colony in the first century BC. As architecture is not essential to either horse or chariot racing, it is quite possible that races were occurring at this time. For in the beginning of the first century AD the undertaking to create monumental circuses throughout the Iberian Peninsula was surely the aggrandizement of an already existent and popular sport; by the end of the first century AD the circus games of Tarraco were equipped with extensive support organizations and planned in a manner similar to those of Rome, most notably the circus factions.³⁹

The circus in Tarraco was the first arena west of the Pyrenees and, along with the grand forum and temple, was designed to proclaim the power and influence of the provincial capital and, moreover, to recall and reflect the majesty of Rome herself. This architectural ensemble was immense and the intramural circus monumentalized the connection between Roman government, religion, and the grand display of public games. Epigraphic evidence for the organization of the games in Tarraco proper is as of yet lacking, although an inscription from Corduba, dating from the late second or early third century AD, notes that L. Iunius Paulinus, the *flamen* of Baetica, marked the dedication of statues he had commissioned *ob honores coniunctos* with circus games (*CIL* II 5523).⁴⁰ One can assume that the duties of the *flamines* in another provincial capital would be no less demanding, especially if, as I suggest in the case of Tarraco, there was a shared enthusiasm for horse and chariot racing, as there was in Corduba. Roman soldiers had been in Tarraco since the end of the third century BC. The Roman magistrates and priests in Tarraco, although prior to the construction of the circus they had been staging spectacles in the theatre, which dates from the first century BC, and perhaps also had a track with impermanent seating outside of the city walls, nonetheless, sought the inclusion of the monumental circus into the cityscape, and this is

38 *Lex Ursonensis* = *CIL* II 5439 = *ILS* 6087, chapters 71, 66, and 128 respectively.

39 Piernavieja 1977 86–89, 148–149. Humphrey 1986 342–344.

40 As well *CIL* II 1471 and 1663 show that circus games were given by municipal priests in Hispania, cf. *Imp. Cult* 3.1.158–161.

further evidence not only for the enthusiasm of the elite for the *ludi circenses*, but more significantly for the relationship between the circus and the Imperial cult. In this regard Tarraco did in fact become an *exemplum* for the entire empire. The visual impact of the Temple rising above the walls upon the city's hilltop from the sea or the Via Augusta was celebrated by Martial. The epigrammatist refers to the city, with a view of the architectural ensemble in mind, *Hispanae ... Tarraconis arces* (10.104.4). The urban renovation to create this new city was at the expense of some other necessary, if mundane, contributions to the civic life of Tarraco; the construction of the circus caused the removal of at least a *figlina* and a *horreum*.⁴¹ I shall return to the political and religious significance of the circus in Tarraco after discussing its physical aspect.

The dimensions of the circus, 325 m. long and 105 to 115 m. wide, were conditioned by the walls; by way of comparison the circus in Augusta Emerita was 400 m. long and built well outside of the city walls.⁴² In Tarraco the arena itself measured 290 m. by 67 in width, and was divided by a *eurypus* of about 190 m. long.⁴³ This short distance may have made for rather competitive races, with less opportunity for each driver to outrace the other teams before the turns at the *metae*. The general construction of the circus was by means of *opus caementitium* at the structural vaults and *opus quadratum* of ashlar at the podium, stairs and façade. Vaults did function as a structure for supporting rows and an upper surface or *visorium*. The circus' capacity is estimated to have been at least 23,000 spectators in a *cavea* with 12 files of seats.⁴⁴ It is important to underscore the capacity of Tarraco's circus, as the urban population itself would not have been sufficient to fill the stands.⁴⁵ The races in Tarraco drew a large audience from the entire province, and this was the intention in such a construction. The circus' south side with its impressive wall of arches ran along the Via Augusta as the road crossed Tarraco and the remains of the supporting arches are conserved in the cellars and walls of many of the buildings of the modern city.

41 Macias et al. 2007 42.

42 Ruiz de Arbulo 2009 413–416. However it is to be noted that the remodeling and monumentalization of the theatre, amphitheater and circus of Emerita Augusta was contemporaneous with the construction of the circus in Tarraco, an architectural program of the Flavian rulers, Edmondson 2011 33–38.

43 Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 2002 145. Ruiz de Arbulo 2009 418–419.

44 Dupré i Raventós 2004, Nogales Basarrate 2008 162.

45 The city's population in the early imperial period is estimated to be around 15,000.

The Spatial Effect of the Circus

These grand arches of the circus, however, were a divisive structural element within the city, a clear partition for the inhabitants of Tarraco, as access to the Plaza of Representation and the *temenos* would either be through the circus or along the eastern wall behind the *carceres*. Thus to all entering the upper precinct of the city, there would be a significant experience of the circus: either circumventing the structure on either side by path or *cryptoportico*, or crossing the structure. The circus, which served to bring the various strata of Roman society together, albeit in a manner which reinforced that social stratification, functioned as an imposing architectural barrier. The arcades of the circus along the Via Augusta signified the grandeur of the city, yet they obscured the physical seat of that power and the architectural display within the upper fora. Consequently Tarraco's spatial arrangement constantly emphasized and explicitly declared the social strata.⁴⁶

Every citizen's daily experience of the city was affected to a large degree by the circus' central position.⁴⁷ In regard to the entrance into the city and the subsequent movement within its urban space, Tarraco's topography and street plan dictated that most persons entering the city from the west would pass through the gates on the Via Augusta and then proceed downhill. The circus was frequently in sight as opposed to the extremely limited visual access to the Imperial Forum. This was perhaps the most striking aspect of the circus' function in Tarraco's urban landscape. The sight of the large forum space would be excluded from most of the population most of the time, that is to say the commoners, and significantly the architecture of the upper fora and all their significant Roman imagery, which included *clipei* of Jupiter Ammon in imitation of the iconography in the Forum Augustum, would remain unseen.⁴⁸ The circus in effect replaced the view of the immense forum beyond with its own arched façade. Moreover, the lack of regular access would make the effect of seeing the upper forum and the *temenos* much more dramatic and awe-inspiring; this would be the case as well for the provincial magistrates from other cities when they convened in Tarraco. As opposed to the lower part of the city surrounding the colonial forum with the nearby theatre and bath complex, structures that signified the characteristic public activities of a Roman city and as such were inclusionary, the intention of the architecture in the

46 On the spatial arrangement of a city as an indicant of its social structure see La Gory and Pipkin 1981 194–214.

47 See Barthes 1970–1971 11–12 on the individual's unique experience of the city.

48 Cf. Ruiz de Arbulo 1993 50–52; Macias, Menchon, Muñoz, and Teixell 2010 56–61.

upper city was exclusionary. Umberto Eco remarked some years ago, “Our relationship with architectural objects tells us that we commonly do experience architecture as communication, even while recognizing its functionality.”⁴⁹ In this regard, we can say that the *Circus Tarraconensis* communicated quite forcefully. Its show of power was not only a symbolic display to the greater Roman world, but to the majority of citizens and visitors of the city, all of whom gathered and functioned primarily on a lower topographical and social plane; it signified a boundary of their activity, a boundary extended on the many days that held chariot racing or other events that bridged the two distinct spheres of the city. The majority of citizens would cross beyond the arcades and enter the Roman display in the circus. This social display served to reinforce the dichotomy between prestige and indigence in the Roman world, of the upper and lower classes in Roman Tarraconensis, and the circus was constructed to accommodate a wide audience from the province.

Another important aspect of the circus’ position is the aural effect, for the roar of the crowd would have filled the city as it poured down from the acropolis. This is to say nothing regarding the din of increased activity throughout the city before and after the races.⁵⁰ The population of the city could well have doubled on the days when races were held, and also on significant festival days. The capacity to accommodate so many people offers insight into the social and economic orientation of the city for visitors needed to be fed, entertained, and to have a bed for the evening. Tarraco’s location between the horse-rich plains of Hispania and the Mediterranean Sea allowed it to establish itself as a nexus of equestrian trade, as many of the horse breeding regions were to the west of the city.⁵¹ The centrality of the circus and its link to the political and religious seat of the Province pointed to the burgeoning import of chariot racing in the Roman Empire. The *Circus Tarraconensis* situated beneath the Provincial Forum was conceived of as an imitation of the *Circus Maximus* sitting at the foot of the Palatine. Thus as Rome was the center of the Roman world, Tarraco fashioned itself as the equestrian and religious center of a Western network that bridged Hispania and Italy.⁵²

49 Eco 1973 132.

50 Cf. Meijer 2010 65–81 on the activity in Rome during a day on which the races were held in the Circus Maximus.

51 Humphrey 1986 386–387.

52 Ruiz de Arbulo 1998 61 observes, “La utilización en Tarraco de la iconografía monumental de este espacio público podría explicarse simplemente como un “punto de llegada”, en el cual el gobernador realizará su sacrificio inicial en la provincia en un marco simbólico análogo al que encontró en Roma a su partida.”

The Political and Social Function of the Circus

The circus brought the people of Tarraco and the province together in a social display appropriate for Roman Imperial culture. In lieu of the dedicatory inscription that must have been affixed to the structure near an entrance, we can only speculate on the stated circumstances behind the urban reconfiguration, although the keenness of local magistrates and elites to promote themselves and their city upon the acquisition of their new legal status cannot be understated.⁵³ As chariot racing celebrated and was beginning to signify the victory of the Emperor and the Roman world, in Iberia it had its own meaning as a new, that is to say, a Roman, monumental glorification of the horse's speed and power together with the skill of the horseman. In Tarraco all these conceits were united in the architecture and became an inseparable aspect of the urban and civic identity. Equally important as the spectacle of the circus arena was the social display created by the assembled persons of the audience, a reflection of civic identity and rank. The elite families of Tarraco could show their allegiance to the dominant power at Rome, while displaying their own dominance and allegiance to the people of the city and province through popular entertainment.⁵⁴

Another important impetus behind the completion of the project was Vespasian's necessary response to Galba's prestige from his tenure in Hispania, as well as the support Vitellius had received in the western provinces. The new Emperor had to fortify his allegiances with the provincial elite and to maintain order after the tumultuous events of AD 68 and 69. The *ius Latii* was one method, since it offered Roman citizenship as the reward to the municipal magistrates for their assimilation and support of the Roman state, but the financial support of civic projects to demonstrate power was more dramatic and immediate.⁵⁵ Particularly if those projects were the product of the euergetism of a previous ruler, as with the re-carving of the Colossal statue built by Nero.⁵⁶

53 Alföldy, in the RIT publication, links the upper terrace inscriptions with the *flamines* of the imperial cult. On the local elite as an important factor in the urban reorganization of Tarraco, see Keay 1997 206–208, Mierse 1999 141.

54 Keay 1997 207 notes on the relationship between the elite at Tarraco and the Imperial power in Rome, “The advent of the new order provided an effective vehicle for ensuring the continued social dominance of the established elite families at Tarraco.”

55 Cf. Macías, Menchon, Muñoz, and Teixell 2010 58; Mierse 1999 228; and *Imp. Cult* 3.1:53, as well Dupré i Raventos 2004 363; however, he views the urban renovation of Tarraco as a project initiated by Vespasian.

56 Suet. *Div. Vesp.* 18; Pliny *NH* 34.45.

As the area for the circus was leveled toward the end of the 60's, the planning for the reconstruction of the acropolis' three terraces must have begun a few years earlier.⁵⁷ So it is inconceivable that Galba in his position as governor of Hispania Tarraconensis under Nero could not have been involved in the civic project to some degree, perhaps even in the solicitation of funds. Vespasian would have found an easy venue to forge alliances with the elite of Tarraco by facilitating the completion of the grand construction project. His own reconstruction of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill was a symbolic healing of the state after the recent civil war.⁵⁸ Vespasian well understood the growing political importance of the provincial capitals as sources of political capital as well as the power of architecture to promote a pan-Mediterranean Roman identity. As a result, these combined efforts created an architecturally unique city with the intramural circus as the border between the eleven hectares that comprised the architectural complex's three terraces and the rest of Tarraco.

The grand, open spaces of the two fora provided the appropriate setting for Roman pageantry, and in particular for processions of the magistrates and priests from the altar of the temple precinct at the top of the city across the upper forum, then through the middle forum and into the circus through the *pulvinar*.⁵⁹ This structure was an important aspect of the circus' composition, for it served as the physical link between the two Provincial Fora and the arena. It was a structure that sanctified the circus and the spectacles which took place therein.⁶⁰ Moreover, the *pulvinar* was an Augustan innovation of the Circus Maximus, thus the incorporation of a similar structure into the *Circus Tarraconensis* was another deliberate attempt to make Tarraco a simulacrum of Rome and so to acquire more prestige within the empire through the architectural evocation of Roman Imperial authority. Christopher van den Berg in a recent article on the *pulvinar* in all of its aspects in Roman culture, remarks about its function in the *Circus Maximus*, "the Circus was not solely a show of the various competitive events, but the spectators themselves were collectively put on display as a larger reflection of Roman social codes. Individuals took up their place in this venue in a way that mirrored the roles they were expected to perform outside of it. In many regards the Circus was a monumental miniature of Roman society. The *pulvinar* was crucial in that process and its structural formalization was accompanied by significant changes in its use

57 On the dating of the initial phase of the circus' construction, Macias et al. 2007 41 with references.

58 Tac. *Hist.* 4.53.

59 *Imp. Cult.* 3.3.212.

60 Veyne 1976 703. On the *pulvinar*, see Humphrey 1986 78–83, van den Berg 2008 258–266.

and importance.”⁶¹ This is true as well for Tarraco; the location of the *pulvinar* attests to a deliberate connection between chariot racing and the imperial cult for provincials.⁶² The pre-Augustan function of the *pulvinar* notwithstanding, the structure at Tarraco was more than a covered seat for the high aristocracy who probably occupied the rows in front. Conceivably it also held images of the emperor, and functioned as the conduit between the provincial convocation of authority, both political and religious, and the ‘egalitarian’ confines of the circus arena.⁶³ The *pulvinar* and the rest of the seating accommodated the thousands brought together from the province of Hispania Tarraconensis for the spectacles, and arranged them in accordance with a prescribed Roman, social hierarchy. As the provisions for special seating in the earlier provincial law codes demonstrate, an individual’s movement within that hierarchy would be on public display and his accomplishments as a magistrate.⁶⁴ The *pulvinar* provided a hint of the architecture behind and signified the presence of the emperor and of Rome, while the magistrates and priests presided in his honor at the spectacle and the accompanying ceremony.⁶⁵ One should not look at a plan of Tarraco in the late first century AD and consider the decision to link the circus with the upper fora as a natural consequence of their proximity, rather the construction of the circus next to them within the walls of Tarraco must be regarded as a significant decision in its own right. The circus was designed so it would directly link the arena with the city’s administrative, civic, and religious center, thus increasing the magnitude of their relationship. The decision to construct the intramural circus was an eager acknowledgement by the elite *Tarraconenses* of the extravagance that the early principate devoted to the circus spectacles.⁶⁶ Through the building of the massive three-terraced complex, which accounted for almost twenty percent of the intramural urban area, the city refashioned itself as a monumental city of the Empire. As an urban center asserting its importance in the Imperial world, there was significant pressure on Tarraco to compete with other provincial cities, such as Narbo and Augusta

61 van den Berg 2008 262.

62 Cf. Rodríguez 2005.

63 See Veyne 1976 701–706 on the political theatre of the circus, in particular 201 n. 482 wherein he discusses the “question brûlante” of the *pulvinar*.

64 Humphrey 1986 74–76.

65 On the idea of the circus as a redefined civic space under the early principate, see also Zanker 1988 67–68.

66 Feldherr 1995 248 remarks on the role of the circus in the Roman world of the first century AD, “The transition from Republic to principate invested the spectacle of the circus with an even larger and more ambitious role in the civic life of the state.”

Emerita, the latter of which had a monumental circus before Tarraco, and unquestionably this aided in the ambitious decision to construct the grandiose architectural complex.⁶⁷

The prominence of the circus in Tarraco, and its role as a civic, defining architectural statement, was an early example of the subsequent emphasis placed on circuses as central urban structures throughout the Mediterranean during the later Imperial period.⁶⁸ While all circuses in the Roman world were imitations, material and ideological, of the *Circus Maximus*, in Tarraco the reconstructed city with the intramural circus showed how a city could in fact be designed to imitate Rome.⁶⁹ The innovation in Tarraco may have been the deliberate linking of the arena with a connected architectural complex. This seems also to be the case for the capital city of Galatia, as Ancyra had a hippodrome that, though not yet uncovered, was likely situated beneath the temple precinct on the foothills in the Altındağ district, though outside the ancient city center.⁷⁰ Most important to consider is the reconstruction of the *Circus Maximus* by Trajan, as he was quite familiar with the circus in Tarraco. Although he was born in Hispania Baetica and spent the majority of his childhood in Rome, during his military career he held the post of Legate over the Legio VII Gemina in Hispania Tarraconensis. Trajan's numerous public-works projects and monuments during his reign demonstrate his understanding of the manner in which urban space affects the viewer, and can be manipulated to promote an image of authority. Appropriately the emperor had inscribed on the *Circus Maximus* a statement to the effect that it was done merely to be adequate for the city of Rome.⁷¹ The display both on the arena floor and in the seats of the central

67 Mierse 1999 235–237.

68 Mierse 1999 237 notes that Tarraco's "sense of historical continuity" seems to have begun with the institution of the Imperial Cult and that the "great Flavian ensemble ... developed this association to its fullest, celebrating the achievement of the civic elite within the setting of Imperial approval and order."

69 Keay 1997 204 writes, "the topography and planning of Augustan and early imperial Tarraco could have been 'read' as a cognitive map within a mindframe conditioned by the local elite perception of the religious and political ideals of Augustus and his successors;" and then notes that his model of interpreting the city is "based upon the translation into a provincial context of the known relationship between a symbol and subject in the city of Rome." The elite of Tarraco seemed to have understood this relationship well and so incorporated it into their own civic landscape.

70 *Imp. Cult* 3.3:3–4.

71 Cassius Dio 68.7.1–2 Οὕτως γὰρ που καὶ μεγάλῳφρων καὶ μεγαλογνώμων ἔφω ὥστε καὶ τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐπιγράψαι ὅτι ἔξαρχοῦντα αὐτὸν τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ ἐποίησεν, ἐπειδὴ διαφθαρέντα πη καὶ μείζω καὶ περικαλλέστερον ἐξειργάσατο.

circus had a profound effect on the spectator. Trajan furthered the building's power through a monumental reconstruction program, and indeed he had a particular affection for the circus games.⁷²

The increasing emphasis put on the circus in the later imperial period saw the construction of palatial complexes with integrated racing arenas as an essential aspect, thus evoking the great circus at Rome and its connection to buildings on the Palatine. Again an early expression of this nascent palatial architecture was the restructuring of the *arces* of Tarraco, where chariot racing was long a central aspect of provincial society during the early Empire. The increased importance of chariot racing in the later empire caused the adaptation of an urban arrangement that had long been in existence in the capital of Tarraconensis. Galerius's palace in Thessaloniki had a hippodrome built alongside connected with an imperial box.⁷³ The arrangement was the same along the Via Appia for Maxentius' palace and circus. The palatial complexes of the tetrarchic era recall an architectural structure of the *Circus Maximus*, and its simulacrum the *Circus Tarraconensis*, these circuses were aligned so that the side to the left of the *carceres* would be towards the *pulvinar* or viewing box associated with the palace, as this position afforded the best view of the races.⁷⁴ The hippodrome of Antioch, which was first given architectural elements in the first century BC, saw the addition of a Tetrarchic palace on the left side.⁷⁵ This was the case in Constantinople where the *kathisma* and palace were built onto the left side of the arena. Constantine like his predecessors understood the importance and power of architecture, as well as the significance of the circus and racing in the Empire, thus his New Rome was built with a central hippodrome attached to the palace.

Chariot Racing in Hispania

While the circus of Tarraco evoked the grandeur of Golden Rome herself, the love of the equestrian races it held was, as the expression goes, in the blood of the Roman-Iberian elite. The Roman world and its great appreciation for these competitions provided a direct and culturally gratifying manner for the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula to promote their own cultural proclivities.

72 On Trajan's promotion of the games, see Zanker 1988 147–148.

73 Vickers 1973 113.

74 Vickers 1972 31.

75 Humphrey 1986 457. This arrangement was likely the same in Milan as well, Vickers 1972 31.

In turn, the horse was further integrated and specialized into Iberian society. There the Romans found an increasing audience for circus races and spectacles beyond the veterans and colonists. The construction of monumental circuses elsewhere in Hispania, such as Augusta Emerita (Lusitania), Corduba (Baetica), and Toletum (Tarraconensis), during the first century was emblematic of the further development of an equestrian economy in the peninsula. Spanish stud farms exported racehorses throughout the Empire, to Rome and to the hippodromes of the eastern Mediterranean cities.⁷⁶

The sport's increased popularity and political significance meant the continued success of chariot racing in Tarraco, and accordingly was a sign of the city's prosperity, as urban and provincial elite were integral in the patronage of the races. The *stelae* of the twenty-two-year-old *auriga* Eutyches (*CIL* II 4314 = *ILS* 5299) and of the charioteer Fuscus (*CIL* II 4315 = *ILS* 5301) indicate that by the end of the first century the organizational and support services of the games and that of the circus factions were prominent in Tarraco, and the other major racing centers of Hispania, respectively.⁷⁷ Not only were Iberian horses exceptional, but so were the men who rode them around the circus. The inscription for Eutyches is touching in the regard for the aspiring charioteer shown by his patrons. Moreover it attests that potential charioteers were selected by managers, trained by the appropriate staff, as well as cared for by team physicians.⁷⁸ With the appropriate caveat of conjecture, I propose that the *stela* was situated along the Via Augusta as the road approached Tarraco from the west, and the same in regard to the inscription for Fuscus who drove for the Blues, which is either now lost or inaccessible in Chevening, England.⁷⁹ As the inscription

76 Cameron 1976 8. Humphrey 1986 386. Cf. the chariot race in Silius Italicus' *Punica* 303–456 and the supremacy of the Iberian horses. According to Ammianus Marcellinus 20.8.13, Julian wrote in his public proposal of reconciliation to Constantinius, *equos praebebo currules Hispanos*.

77 The epithet had first been dated to the beginning of the third century, but Piernavieja 1977 86 would like to date it to 104, a poem written in the last year of Martial's life, as it contains the phrase *gloria circi* which the poet had used in epigram 10.53 for the charioteer Scopus. However, Piernavieja must allow that it may be older, "no debe olvidarse, sin embargo, que puede ser anterior."

78 Piernavieja 1977 86–87.

79 The *stela* was excavated in Tarragona and later given to the Earl James Stanhope of Chevening by the Ayuntamiento de Tarragona, Piernavieja 1977 88. George Ticknor in a letter from 1857 wrote of seeing "Roman remains and monuments, brought by the first great Stanhope from Tarragona in Spain," Hilliard 1876 388. A decade later the inscription thereafter saw publication by Thomas Morgan in his *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements* (London, 1886).

is recorded it provides evidence for one of the four circus factions, and there must be at least a second or all four.⁸⁰ Moreover it attests to a public display, again likely on the Via Augusta, as it beckons the passerby, *subsiste, viator, perlege*.⁸¹ The *Factio Veneta* dedicated this inscription to their beloved charioteer, although there is no information regarding his career or age, other than that he competed in many races and earned his fame, (*Fusce*) *integra fama tibi, laudem cursus meruisti | certasti multis*.⁸² Thus it is no surprise that one of Rome's most successful charioteers C. Apuleius Diocles, *natione Hispanus Lusitanus*, was born in the province of Lusitania in AD 104. His famous career lasted from 122 to 146. At age 18, he began driving for the White team, then after six years, at the age of 24, he switched to the Green team. Three years later, at age 27, he finally began driving for the Red team until his retirement at age 42. Inscriptions show that Diocles won 1,462 out of the 4,257 four-horse races in which he competed.⁸³ Diocles' career was long and could well have begun with races throughout the circuses of Iberia, of which there are at present twelve with archaeological remains and another seven documented in historiography, epigraphy, or cartography.⁸⁴ Like Eutyches in Tarraconensis, he could have done his *auriga* training in Lusitania. It is possible Diocles raced to victory under the auspices of the *pulvinar* in the *Circus Tarraconensis* before he travelled to Rome. Nonetheless, Diocles represents the product of a culture that considerably favored the games of the circus arena.

Further afield in the province of Tarraconensis, the growing fervor for chariot races was well evidenced. There are remains of circuses from the cities of Valentia, Calagurris Segobriga, and Toletum, and evidence for another in Caesar Augusta. Significantly there are remains from the city of Saguntum to the south, which retained a pre-Roman identity even into the Imperial period, but did construct a smaller, monumental circus.⁸⁵ This cultural contrast well demonstrates the Iberian acceptance of chariot racing. Furthermore the existence of small town circuses, built with no permanent structure is very probable, if only for horse-racing or charioteer training. Two particularly fine mosaics

80 Cf. Piernavieja 1977 89.

81 Courtney 112.8.

82 *CIL* II 4315.4–5.

83 *CIL* VI 10048 = *ILS* 5287.

84 Cf. Humphrey 1986 338. Nogales Basarrate 2008 163.

85 On the identity of Saguntum, see Alföldy 1984 220–225, and Mierse 1999 237 who discusses it in contrast with Tarraco. The *euripus* was the same length as that of Tarraco, and the circus was likely built in imitation of the *Circus Tarraconensis* or the circus in Valentia, cf. Humphrey 1986 350, Nogales Bassarrate 2008 168–171.

with scenes of full circus races have been uncovered in Catalonia. One from a luxurious villa named Bell-Lloc near Girona, which was part of a larger floor that included Bellerophon and the Chimaera, and another from within the city walls in Barcelona.⁸⁶ The colors of the four factions are represented on the Barcelona mosaic. These pavements indicate the enthusiasm with which the province's wealthy celebrated and idealized the concept of the circus.⁸⁷ Again it was a celebration of Roman identity that praised a longstanding aspect of the Iberians who of course were not unique in this regard. The cities and peoples in other regions of the Empire were also avid fans of the circus games, and decorated their homes with grandiose circus mosaics.⁸⁸ Tarraco's architectural program of the first century, however, created a western city unlike any other, a *simulacrum* of its model Rome with the grand plazas designed for the convention of the annual meeting of the *flamines* at the *Concilium Provinciae*.⁸⁹ The integration of the circus into a greater urban space was a configuration that had long life elsewhere in the Roman world, and as such Tarraco was an early model.

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PART 4

City as Identity II: Communities on Paper



The Seat of Kingship: (Re)Constructing the City in Isaiah 24–27

Ian Douglas Wilson

Come! Let us build for ourselves a city and a tower, and its top shall be in the heavens!

And let us make for ourselves a name, lest we scatter upon the face of the entire earth!

Genesis 11:4*



The ancient Levant was never a center of great political power, and yet its cities loom large in Western social memory: the Phoenicians of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos; Jerusalem and the Israelites—place names and peoples etched in our minds by the biblical and classical writers. For the most part, I leave it to archaeologists and anthropologists to discuss and debate urban *realities* in the ancient Levant and in the broader ancient Near East.¹ Ancient urban *dreams* is the primary topic of this essay. As Lester Grabbe reminds us, “Cities are not just physical entities but constructs of the human mind.”² They are part of a symbolic, mental landscape that is spatial and social, cosmological and mythic.

In this essay I venture some comments on sociocultural constructions of the city in the ancient Levant, and how these constructions related to ideas of kingship and divinity, paying special attention to Isaiah 24–27. This Persian-period

* Unless noted otherwise, all translations are my own.

1 For discussions of urbanism and urbanity in the ancient Near East, see Aufrecht, Mirau, and Gauley 1997; Southall 1998 esp. 15–17 and 23–28. On Mesopotamia in particular, see Van De Mieroop 1999; and on ancient Israel and the southern Levant, see Fritz 1995; Grabbe and Haak 2001.

2 Grabbe 2001 25.

text, a collection of distinct yet interconnected prophetic oracles, has a multivocal opinion of urbanity: the “city” is at once doomed to destruction and also renewed; it is brought to ruins and also established as the seat of Yahweh’s universal and eternal kingship. How did Judeans in this era think about the relationship between their deity, monarchical rule, and their city? The multivocal text of Isaiah 24–27 reveals how the literati of Judah conceptualized and imagined themselves as the people of Yahweh in a postmonarchic, imperial milieu.

The “City” in Isaiah and the Texts of the Hebrew Bible

The multivocality evident in the text of Isaiah 24–27 reflects postmonarchic Judean discourse, various statements about urbanity from a period when Judah had no indigenous king and its capital Jerusalem had become a relatively insignificant site on the periphery of the Persian empire. Approaching this text as postmonarchic discourse, I follow the lead of Robert Carroll.³ In Isaiah 24–27, and indeed throughout all of Isaiah, there is a strong dichotomy—a “double-helix,” as Carroll calls it—between tropes of destruction and restoration with regard to urban sites, one of which is of course Jerusalem.⁴ He states further, “In other words, the scroll of Isaiah *looks like* a palimpsest of multiple discourses about *the history, life, times and opinions of the city (Jerusalem?)* put together over many centuries.”⁵

The Hebrew Bible, on the whole, evinces the same discursive complexity, a combination of various texts written by various authors or groups of authors from the Levantine Iron Age to the Hellenistic period. The biblical texts are not necessarily encapsulated in particular historical moments. As Carroll states, the text of Isaiah, one of the most complex in the biblical corpus, reflects the manifold discursive themes regarding the city that are present throughout biblical literature. The city can be a chaotic place, associated with human atrocities and oppression, with activities condemned by Yahweh, but it can also be the seat of divine power and the source of human prosperity, the locus of positive divine/human interaction.⁶ Oftentimes, the prosperity of the

3 Carroll 2001 47. On chs. 24–27 in particular, see also, among the innumerable commentaries and monographs on the book of Isaiah, Blenkinsopp 2000 346–379.

4 Carroll 2001 48.

5 Carroll 2001 48 (italics original).

6 For Carroll, although there are literally hundreds (thousands?) of geographical locations in the Hebrew Bible, symbolically *there is only one city*, one type of urbanity. For him, the city

city and its people depends upon the city's leadership and its obedience to Yahweh.⁷ Thus, in the Bible's texts, the locus of divine/human interaction is often centered upon the king, the foremost human leader in the ancient Levantine urban context.

Not surprisingly, one finds parallels for many of these discursive themes in earlier texts from the ancient Levant. These earlier texts are much easier to situate within particular time frames and sociocultural settings, and in many ways they function as discursive precursors to texts found in the Hebrew Bible. In order to understand better the discourse of Isaiah 24–27 within its primary sociocultural setting, I turn first to these earlier texts and their milieu, focusing on the interrelationship between divinity and kingship in the urban context.

The Discourse(s) of Place, Kingship, and Divinity in the Ancient Near East

In the ancient Near East, as particular sites of human settlement rose to prominence and developed into urban spaces, salient sociocultural symbols and memories became attached to these sites. Spatial hierarchies developed between sites of human settlement in the region, and, accordingly, corresponding sociocultural hierarchies developed as well.⁸ In other words, as urban spaces developed, some sites became more important than others within the cultural system. Interestingly, in some cases, sites maintained their place in the sociocultural hierarchy despite losing their socioeconomic or political import. For example, in southern Mesopotamia, during the Ubaid period (ca. 5500–4000 BCE), the important city Eridu gave rise to one of the earliest central temple complexes in the region. Following the Ubaid period, domestic settlement ceased at the site, but the temple complex remained functional and active. The temple came to be known as *E-abzu*, the home of Enki (Akkadian Ea), the god

is a decidedly human endeavor (cf. Gen 4:17), be it a city of chaos or a holy city. As such, the symbol of "city" is "the city of humankind," a uniform concept, a place where the just and unjust, oppressors and oppressed, etc., dwell alike (Carroll 2001 60). This goes for Jerusalem (the home of Yahweh's temple) as well as for Babylon and Nineveh (the seats of foreign oppressors). Carroll states that, in the texts of the Bible, "[E]ach city may be at any one time either faithful or whorelike, peaceful or warlike (or perhaps all these different incarnations at the same time)" (2001 57; italics original).

7 This is a major *Leitmotiv* of the historiographical books of Samuel and Kings. See Cross 1973 274–289; Römer 2007; and references therein.

8 Cf. Banning 1997; Routledge 1997 130–131; and references therein.

of wisdom and order, the deity responsible for human civilization. According to Sumerian mythology of the late third and early second millenniums BCE, Enki's ancient home was the site of the world's first city as well as the world's first monarchy—in the opening lines of the Sumerian King List, kingship descends from heaven and settles upon Eridu, thus fusing the heavenly birth of royal rule with the birthplace of civilized life.⁹ Despite the fact that Eridu's prominence as an urban center waned in these later periods, it continued to thrive as a major cultic pilgrimage site, to which the gods, via their cult statues, would frequently travel to pay homage to Enki. The city itself was physically vanishing, but within the ancient Mesopotamian *mental* landscape it persisted as the birthplace of human civilization and as a central location of socioreligious hierarchy. One can cite numerous other examples from ancient Mesopotamia—Uruk, Kish, Akkad, Ur—cities whose gods and mythical rulers, along with the cities themselves, maintained their sociocultural import in the region long after the cities lost their positions as major centers of economic and/or political power.¹⁰ One can say the same for Jerusalem, which maintained its sociocultural import even after its destruction at the hands of Babylon in 586 BCE—a point to keep in mind for the discussion below.

Obviously, in ancient Near Eastern sociocultural discourse, there was an ongoing and persistent interplay between the city, its king, and its god(s).¹¹ In the Near Eastern milieu, when thinking of the city, one could not help but think of the local king, the local cult, and their interrelationship. In the southern Levant during the Neo-Assyrian period, for instance, royal and cultic structures, palaces and temples, and related administrative buildings, dominated the physical space of Jerusalem and Samaria, the capitals of Judah and Israel. Likewise, other major urban centers such as Lachish and Hazor, cities that were

9 For the text see Glassner 2004 118–127. In the text kingship moves from city to city, and thus does not remain at Eridu. However, because of Eridu's association with Enki and his temple, the site carries an ongoing symbolic connection with the origins and prosperity of human civilization, and thus with human kingship throughout the region. See Averbeck 2003.

10 E.g., Uruk is remembered as home of the important goddess Innana (Akkadian Ishtar); of Gilgamesh, the semi-divine king who went on a quest for immortality; and of Enmerkar, the crafty ruler who invented writing. These figures are intimately tied to their city in the Mesopotamian imagination. Cf. the opening section of the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, in which the reader is told to “Go up on to the wall of Uruk and walk around, survey the foundation platform, inspect the brickwork!” in order to remember the legendary demigod; see George 2003 1.538–539.

11 On kingship and divinity in the ancient Near East, see the recent collection of essays in Brisch 2008.

not homes to monarchs, were nonetheless replete with the trappings of the national monarchies and cults, administrative buildings and officials. Court and cultic personnel, and the merchants and craftspeople who worked for the royal and cultic administration, dominated the populations of the major urban centers.¹² Thus, most major urban spaces, even those that did not function as primary homes for kings or gods, contributed to the discursive relationship between urbanity, kingship, and divinity.

This had both cosmological and practical significance. Indeed, the king and his royal officials physically dwelt in the same locale as the nation's primary deity and its cultic servants, thus bringing together royal and divine dominion.¹³ But these urban centers were also socioeconomic hubs, the nodes that connected smaller surrounding sites and united regional populations on a practical, everyday level. Hence, it was commonplace for a king to stake his legacy in renovating or expanding his capital city, commemorating his work with a text. Bruce Routledge comments, "By associating himself with the built environment of an urban center, the king is inserting himself into the everyday experience of all those oriented towards that center."¹⁴ The ruling elite promulgated a view of the urban center as the focal point of all aspects of life: it was the source of economic prosperity for the populace, and it was the site of convergence between human authority and divine power.

Below I look closer at this intersection of kingship, divinity, and the urban center in several ancient Levantine texts, all the while keeping in mind Isaiah 24–27, in which Yahweh—the primary god of ancient Judah—dismantles urban life and creates it anew, establishing his universal reign from his "city of might." The goal is to illuminate some of the discourses that probably prefigured and informed understandings of the Isaiah text within its postmonarchic Judean context.

Imperializing the Levantine City and Its King

More often than not, in the Levantine king one finds the convergence of human and divine realms, and the symbols associated with each realm are frequently interchangeable. Late Bronze Age (LBA) texts from Ugarit, for example, clearly evince human/divine interplay in the figure of the king, and the locus of this

12 Blenkinsopp 2001 37.

13 See Ahlström 1982 1–9; Nissinen 2001 172–176.

14 Routledge 1997 140.

interplay is the urban context. At Ugarit, a major socioeconomic and cultural hub in the LBA Levant, the concept of kingship was a highly salient symbol of urban life.¹⁵ When city residents and local villagers alike would gather in the city for annual festivals and ritual celebrations, the king was at the forefront of public ceremony, often communing with the gods via rites of sacrifice and feasting.¹⁶ The mythic literature of the city reflects the picture found in ritual texts.¹⁷ In this milieu, the lifestyle and actions of the divine realm were imagined with the same language and narrative elements used to describe the royal elite, and vice versa.¹⁸ The city was home to the king, it was home to the gods, and *symbolically* these two realms were interchangeable in many respects. At least in the culture of Ugarit, the throne of the local king—a salient symbol of the central city—was the ultimate focal point of divine power for the residents of the city and for those in the immediate region.

In the subsequent Iron Age, representations of kingship and the city come primarily from royal inscriptions on monuments and the like.¹⁹ Monumental inscriptions are particularly useful for analyzing how societies envisioned and

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- 15 Many of the Ugaritic texts, written in an alphabetic cuneiform script, are available in transliteration in Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin 1995. See also de Moor 1987; Parker 1997b; Pardee 2002; Hallo and Younger 2003 i.
- 16 See Pardee 2002 texts 6–28 (“Prescriptive Sacrificial Rituals”), in which the king is present at or physically involved in many cultic activities. Perhaps the best example is “Rites for the Vintage” (Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin 1995 texts 1.41 and 1.87; see Levine and de Tarragon 1993; Pardee 2002 text 15; del Olmo Lete 2004 11–24).
- 17 See esp. “The Birth of the Gracious Gods” (Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin 1995 text 1.23), which relates the birth of two minor gods and the divine activity associated with the event, explicitly blending themes of ritual and myth. On this text, see de Moor 1987 117–128; Parker 1997b 205–214; Hallo and Younger 2003 1.274–283; Smith 2006; Wyatt 2007 41–45.
- 18 E.g., the chief deity El hosts banquets, has a “drinking club” (*mrzḥ*), and ritualistically “slaughters” (*dbḥ*) animals. See Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin 1995 text 1.114 (cf. Hallo and Younger 2003 1.302–305; Parker 1997b 193–196); also Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin 1995 text 3.9, a *mrzḥ* constitution text. On *mrzḥ* at Ugarit, see Schmidt 1994 62–66. On various social clubs in the Levant, see O’Connor 1986.
- 19 After the collapse of the LBA political system (for an overview, see Van De Mieroop 2007 190–206), cuneiform culture declined and eventually disappeared in the Levant, meaning that writings inscribed in clay were no longer common there. Instead, scribes frequently wrote on perishable items like papyrus, which have not survived the centuries. Thus, for the Iron Age we are left with what was written on stone, brick, or other non-perishable materials. The monumental inscriptions variously combine elements of celebration, remembrance, warning, and instruction—a king and his deeds are memorialized and future kings are expected to learn from his reign. See Miller 1974; Van Seters 1997 191–195; also Liverani 2006.

remembered urbanity and kingship because they represent the imagined ideal that was often transmitted to later generations.

I begin with a well-known inscription from Karatepe in modern-day southern Turkey. The Azatiwada inscription, named after its subject, is inscribed in five locations at Karatepe (three in Phoenician and two in Luwian) on or near the two city gates, and the inscriptions date to around the close of the eighth century BCE.²⁰ The text displays a peculiar blend of sociocultural tropes,²¹ and its presence at the city gates highlights its purpose. Literate travelers and city-dwellers would encounter the text whenever they entered or left the city, and non-literate passers-by would no doubt have learned the content of the inscriptions via oral communication. The text, therefore, propagates a particular image of its subject Azatiwada and his city. With the pronounced blessing and support of the deity Ba'al, Azatiwada claims to have brought peace to the region as never before, and he boasts that he himself built the prosperous city, establishing an annual sacrifice to commemorate his deeds. Thus, the text and *the entire city itself* immortalized the former regent in the minds of the city's inhabitants.²² The entire city, its walls and foundational structures, functioned as a sort of memorial to this past royal figure and his divine favor, marked by the inscriptions at the city gates.

In similar fashion to the Azatiwada text, inscriptions from ancient Sam'al (Zinçirli), to the south of Karatepe, present kings as compassionate parents who bring unprecedented peace and prosperity to their city and kingdom. A prime example is the Kulamuwa inscription of the ninth century BCE, which is inscribed on an orthostat at the entrance to a palace structure.²³ In both the Azatiwada and Kulamuwa inscriptions, we see a metanarrative of progress, a

20 For the Phoenician text, see Donner and Röllig 1971 text 26; for translation and commentary, see Hallo and Younger 2003 2.148–150. For translation of and comment on the Luwian, see Hallo and Younger 2003 2.124–126. On Karatepe, see Hawkins 2006. For recent discussions of the texts, see Greenstein 2006 2428–2431; and Younger 1998.

21 E.g., Azatiwada, who was only a vice-regent or governor and not a king (as the text itself indicates), appropriates typical royal language, referring to himself as father to the people. Curiously, he also claims to be *mother* to the people, giving them life, and he boasts that *foreign kings* made him their father on account of his righteousness and wisdom.

22 Greenstein 2006 2430.

23 Donner and Röllig 1971 text 24. For translation and commentary, see Hallo and Younger 2003 2.147–148. See also Gilibert 2011 79–84. Kulamuwa claims to have brought prosperity to everyone, acting as father, mother, *and* brother to the people of Sam'al, further extending the family metaphor; he is all things to all people. Interestingly, the inscription does not credit Kulamuwa's success to any deity. Furthermore, he sharply criticizes the rule of previous kings, including his father and brother (see Parker 1997a 78–83).

raggs-to-riches story, so to speak, in which the past was chaos and the present is glorious.²⁴ In this way, within the mental worlds of the texts' readers, the historical trajectories and fortunes of the cities—as well as the success of human civilization in general—are associated with the actions of the city rulers—past, present, and future. Comparable sociomental constructions are known from the Phoenician cities located further south on the Mediterranean coast. There inscriptional and iconographical evidence from the tenth century BCE suggests similar sociocultural connections between royalty, divinity, and urban civilization.²⁵

Around this same time, however, there was a significant shift in the socio-cultural and political (and thus sociomental) landscape of the Levant. By the ninth century BCE, the time of the Kulamuwa inscription, the Assyrians began to impact the kingdoms of the Levant significantly.²⁶ The shift is clearly evident in the so-called Panamuwa inscription, an eighth-century BCE text written by the Sam'alian king Bar-Rakib in honor of his father Panamuwa II.²⁷ This text is inscribed on a dolerite statue that was unearthed roughly three kilometers outside of Sam'al. At the time of its find, the statue was functioning as a gravestone in an abandoned Islamic cemetery, but its original home was

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- 24 See Zerubavel 2003 14–15; cf. the “restorer of order” in Liverani 1973 188; also Green 2010. This is a partial inversion of the “fall-and-rise” narrative typical of diplomatic correspondences from the Late Bronze Age, in which local Levantine rulers depict the past as a glorious golden age, and the present as a state of chaos. Thus, the Levantine rulers plead with Pharaoh to restore order and inaugurate a *new* golden age; see Liverani 1973 187 (but also Moran 1985).
- 25 E.g., Donner and Röllig 1971 text 1 (cf. Hallo and Younger 2003 2.181) and text 4 (cf. Hallo and Younger 2003 2.146–147). The language of these texts parallels that found in the Kulamuwa and Azatiwada inscriptions and in other ancient Near Eastern examples; cf. Greenfield 1971 254–258. However, Iron Age sources from these city-centers are scant, so we do not have a complete picture of Phoenician culture from the period. See Kuhrt 1995 2.402–406; also Markoe 2000. Later Phoenician evidence might provide some hints at Iron Age precedents, but it should be used cautiously: e.g., fifth-century BCE funerary inscriptions from Sidon (Donner and Röllig 1971 texts 13–14; cf. Hallo and Younger 2003 2.181–183). A fifth-century Phoenician inscription from Pyrgi, too, suggests that prominent individuals in the community could be deified at death (cf. Knoppers 1992; Hallo and Younger 2003 2.184), but this inscription might say more about Etruscan culture than Phoenician.
- 26 Cf. Kulamuwa's statement regarding his “hiring” of the Assyrian army (Donner and Röllig 1971 text 24, line 8; cf. Hallo and Younger 2003 2.147); also, the iconographic style of the Kulamuwa relief reflects Assyrian influence (see Hamilton 1998 222; Gilibert 2011 82). On Assyria's impact on the Levant, see Kuhrt 1995 2.458–472.
- 27 Donner and Röllig 1971 text 215.

probably the Sam'alian necropolis at Gerçin.²⁸ In the inscription, Bar-Rakib recalls the deeds of his father: "Because of his wisdom and because of his loyalty, he then grasped onto the robe of his lord, the mighty king of Assyria."²⁹ The text goes on to credit much of Panamuwa II's prosperity to the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser III, and it even states that the Assyrian king facilitated the son's succession.³⁰ Tiglath-pileser's blessing and support of the dynasty thus parallels the divine support emphasized in other, earlier monumental inscriptions (e.g., Azatiwada)—the Assyrian king, lord of the four quarters of the earth, is on par with the gods in the Panamuwa inscription.³¹ In Sam'al, following the rise of Assyria, the rhetoric of international royal hierarchy made its way into monumental royal inscriptions, which typically did *not* admit a local king's subservience to any person or any (earthly) thing. In the shadow of Assyrian imperialism—the scope and impact of which was unprecedented in the ancient Near East—the image of a local Levantine city as the focal point of supreme divine and royal power for its people was changing.³² At the very least the local monarch now shared the sociopolitical, economic, and even religious center of focus with his Assyrian overlord, and in the case of Sam'al the local monarch actually propagated the dominance of Assyria within the local sphere.

Thus, there was a major paradigm shift in the latter part of the Iron Age, one brought on largely by the advent of Assyria's extensive and intrusive imperial program. What one finds is the blending of local and international royal discourses within the urban milieu. For centuries, Levantine kings had been economically or politically subject to more powerful, foreign rulers, but only rarely had this fact been acknowledged in civic discourse on kingship within the Levantine city-state.³³ The local king may have been a vassal to an Egyptian or Hittite overlord, providing international tribute, but within his local

28 Parker 1997a 83–84; Green 2010 194.

29 Donner and Röllig 1971 text 215, line 11; cf. Hallo and Younger 2003 2.159.

30 Parker suggests that this is an attempt to legitimize the current dynasty and to justify Sam'al's vassalship to Assyria (1997a 88–89). He points out that the Assyrians, as well as Panamuwa II's and Bar-Rakib's detractors, probably would have told a much different story.

31 Cf. the contemporary Bar-Rakib inscription (Donner and Röllig 1971 text 216; Hallo and Younger 2003 2.160–161).

32 Cf. Hamilton 1998 221–230.

33 E.g., the LBA Idrimi inscription from Alalakh in northwest Syria acknowledges the local ruler's subservience to the more powerful king of Mittani (Hallo and Younger 2003 1.479–480). It is debatable, however, whether or not this unique text was part of civic discourse. The text is inscribed on a statue of Idrimi himself, found in a temple complex, and it con-

dominion the Levantine king acted relatively autonomously. This was the case in the aforementioned Ugarit, for example. In civic discourse in the LBA, the king was often seen as “son” to the local chief deity, a divinely appointed servant on earth and member of the divine family, whose power was centralized in the city’s palace and temple³⁴—his relationship with more powerful foreign monarchs, however, was not emphasized in the local sphere. To the contrary, in the late Iron Age, the local city king was appointed and controlled by the mighty Assyrian ruler, openly subject to the foreign overlord. The intrusive presence of Assyrian imperialism—with its powerful army, mass deportations of local populations, and loyalty oaths—eliminated the local king’s ability to veil or deemphasize the city’s subservience to foreign power.³⁵ In the wake of Assyrian expansion and domination, the Levant essentially became a postcolonial world as it were, a hybrid of old and new.³⁶ Local cultural hegemonies were disrupted; external cultural influences were adopted, rejected, and fused with existing cultural norms; group identities were affirmed and also reformulated, consciously and unconsciously.³⁷ Culture evolved, as it always does. Some sites were strongly affected by these developments (e.g., the Sam’alian cities), while others were able to maintain some sociocultural norms from earlier eras with greater ease.³⁸ In vassal states like Judah, for example, the Assyrians probably did not officially impose their culture on the local populace,³⁹ but Assyrian rule

cludes with a colophon that requests blessing for the text’s *scribe* in addition to the king, suggesting a votive purpose for the statue. See Liverani 1973 182–183; Na’aman 1980; Sasson 1981.

34 Cf. the Ugaritic Kirta story (see Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin 1995 text 1.14: esp. 1.41–43, 11.6, 11.22–24; also Parker 1997b 13–14; Hallo and Younger 2003 i.333–334), and the comments of Dennis Pardee in Hallo and Younger 2003 1.279, note 36; and Wyatt 2007 116–117. Moreover, an ivory panel depicting a goddess suckling two young boys was discovered in the palace complex at Ugarit; cf. Schaeffer 1954 plate 8.

35 See Kuhrt 1995 2.505–519.

36 Of course, in earlier periods too, one can say that the Levant maintained a sort of postcolonial existence. In the LBA, hybrid cultures—caught in between the great powers of Hatti and Egypt—flourished in, e.g., Phoenicia and Ugarit, drawing from their own indigenous traditions and those of the outside powers that influenced their trade, governance, etc.

37 See Gramsci 1971 348–351; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991 18–32; Wilson 2012.

38 E.g. the Egyptians under Assurbanipal. Necho, installed as ruler of Egypt by the Assyrian emperor ca. 667 BCE, continued to function traditionally as a pharaoh, but it was obvious that the Egyptian’s power depended upon Assyria. Assurbanipal apparently gave the pharaoh special garments to wear, including a dagger with the Assyrian’s name on it; cf. Kuhrt 1995 2.634–636.

39 Cogan 1993.

undoubtedly affected Judean sociocultural discourse. The sociocultural landscape changed drastically in the late Iron Age and in following periods, as a succession of empires controlled the Levant—changes that are readily apparent in the diverse texts of the Hebrew Bible, to which I now return.

Yahweh's "City of Might"

As stated above, Isaiah 24–27 is a collection of apparently independent oracles from the postmonarchic era in Judah, and there are several passages that refer to a city or cities—however, each reference is anonymous.⁴⁰ The first reference is in terms of destruction. Within the context of a pronouncement of doom upon the earth, the prophet declares, "The city of chaos is broken; every house is shut, so that no one can enter" (24:10), and "In the city remains desolation/horror; its gate is beaten to ruin" (24:12). Later, within a poem of exultation, the prophet praises the god Yahweh for reducing a city to rubble, never to be rebuilt (25:2), which causes "mighty peoples" and "cities of ruthless nations" to fear the deity (25:3). And, towards the end of ch. 27, we are told that, as a means of purging Israel's sin, inhabited land will be made into wilderness, and fortified cities will be desolate (27:10).⁴¹ But, apparently, there is also a city that will avoid such ruin. On that day of future destruction, the prophet tells us, the Judeans will lift up a song:

A city of might is ours! Salvation he sets as walls and a rampart.
 Open the gates, so that a righteous nation, one that keeps faith, may
 enter.
 Those with a firm intent you watch over in peace, in peace, for in you
 they trust.
 Trust in Yahweh forever, for with Yah, Yahweh is an everlasting rock.
 For he has brought down inhabitants of a high place, a lofty city.
 He lays it low, lays it upon the ground, hurls it to the dust.
 A foot tramples it, feet of the oppressed, steps of the helpless.

ISAIAH 26:1b–6

Here the first reference to a city, the "city of might" is obviously positive: it is the place where a truly righteous nation will dwell, one that trusts in Yahweh,

40 Cf. Isa 24:10, 12; 25:2–3; 26:1, 5; 27:10.

41 On the reversion of civilization to wilderness in the book of Isaiah, see Blenkinsopp 2001.

and it is contrasted with the “lofty city,” a seemingly self-righteous place to be destroyed by Yahweh. The lofty city, of course, recalls the doomed “city of chaos” and the “cities of ruthless nations” mentioned above.

At first glance one might conclude that the anonymous “city of might” is Jerusalem and “city of chaos,” and so forth, refers to one or several of its past enemies, perhaps Babylon or Nineveh.⁴² Indeed, this interpretation is common, and it fits the larger context of the oracles rather well: chapters 24–27 follow a series of oracles against foreign nations, including Babylon, Egypt, and Moab (cf. Isa 13–23). Moreover, there are a number of utopian visions in Isaiah that foresee a new Jerusalem and its temple mount as a gathering site for the righteous, a place where the downtrodden will one day live in peace and prosperity (cf. Isa 2:1–4; 11:9; 25:6; 27:13; 52; etc.). Jerusalem, however, is not immune to pronouncements of doom in the book. As Carroll convincingly argues, the “city of chaos” and the “lofty city,” set aside for punishment, are just as likely meant to signify Jerusalem as they are Babylon or some other foreign site (cf. Isa 1:21–26); and for those diaspora Judeans in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere during the Persian period, they easily could have envisioned their new places of residence, Babylon included, as symbolic new Jerusalems, “cities of might” for the righteous.⁴³ The city in these chapters, and throughout the entire book of Isaiah, is a shifting cipher.

At this point, after having briefly surveyed the concept of the city in these texts, we may return to the issue of kingship and the city. In Isaiah and other books of the Hebrew Bible, in the idealized future city—the “city of might,” where Yahweh will dwell with people of righteousness—the deity himself is king, not an earthly, human ruler.⁴⁴ The oracles of chapters 24–27 clearly allude to the kingship of Yahweh in this utopian place. Like the conquering kings of Assyria and Babylon, he is an unstoppable force, one who crushes enemies who resist his sovereignty, humbling them in his presence (cf. 25:10–12).⁴⁵ He will gather kings as captives, throwing them in prison, and the celestial

42 See the overview in Sweeney 1996 311–330.

43 Carroll 2001 56–61. See also Gafni 1997.

44 But within kingship discourse in the biblical texts, counterbalancing the idea of Yahweh's kingship is the concept of a future, Davidic king that will reign in Jerusalem: e.g., Jer 23:6; Ezek 37:24–28.

45 E.g., Sennacherib's statement in the opening of his annals: “The god Assur, the great mountain, an unrivaled kingship he has entrusted to me, and above all those who dwell in palaces, he has made powerful my weapons ... all humankind he has brought to submission at my feet, and mighty kings feared my warfare” (trans. after Luckenbill 2005 23–24).

bodies of sun and moon, here imagined as rival deities, will be ashamed in his presence; thus will begin the reign of Yahweh in Jerusalem (cf. 25:21–23). The statement “Yahweh reigns,” in 24:23, is reminiscent of a number of Psalms (e.g., Pss 10:16; 29:10; 93:1), and the idea of Yahweh as king is reiterated elsewhere in the text of Isaiah (e.g., 6:5; 33:22; 43:15; 52:7).⁴⁶ In ch. 26 the Judeans declare, “Yahweh is our God! Rulers other than you have ruled over us, but your name alone we praise” (26:13), acknowledging their former subservience to other gods and kings, but affirming their faithfulness going forward. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, when the “city of might” rises and the “lofty city” is brought low, Yahweh will lift up the downtrodden, the poor and oppressed (cf. 26:4–6). In the texts of the Bible and other ancient Near Eastern texts, this is a typical expectation for a righteous ruler (and persons in general): the king is supposed to provide for the needy, the orphan, the widow, bringing prosperity to all within his dominion.⁴⁷ Yahweh is therefore cast as the ideal triumphant king, who sits on the throne in Jerusalem—he is far mightier than, and has ultimate control over, the most “lofty” human kings of the earth as well as their gods.

Historically this had great significance, because in the wake of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian imperialism, Judah was left without an indigenous king, and its people were scattered throughout the ancient Near Eastern world. Moreover, Jerusalem, its former capital and cultic center, was demolished and left in ruins. The book of Isaiah, in part, deals with this major problem: What to do now that the monarchy and the cult, both centered in Jerusalem, have been dismantled by foreign powers? Read diachronically—i.e., as a compilation of texts composed over several centuries—the multivocal text of Isaiah reflects the shifting sociocultural discourses on the city and royal rule in the peripheral areas of the imperialized ancient Near East during the late Iron Age and later. When the Assyrians made Judah a vassal in the eighth century BCE, and then when Sennacherib razed the Judean countryside at the close of that century, subservience to a foreign power became part of the civic discourse (cf. 2 Kgs 18–19; Isa 36–37; 2 Chr 32),⁴⁸ just as it did in Sam’al and other areas subsumed by the empire, mentioned above. From the Judean perspective, this turn of events was caused by the people’s disobedience before Yahweh, and the foreign oppressors were the punishing arm of the deity (cf. Isa 10). After Jerusalem’s destruction at the hands of Babylon in 586 BCE, the Judeans had to retool the concepts of king,

46 Blenkinsopp 2000 357. On Yahweh as king, see Ollenburger 1987; Brettler 1989; Whitelam 1992; Wagenaar 1999.

47 See the classic discussion by Fensham (1962).

48 See Machinist 2000.

city, and divinity entirely. In reality, their central city was no more, thus there was physically no palace and no temple, the dwelling places of king and deity, respectively. But the central city, the city of might that brings salvation and prosperity via the divine/royal matrix of power, persisted in Judean thought, in the sociomental landscapes of the survivors. Judah needed no human king, because Yahweh was its true monarch, for human kings always failed anyway; and the people needed no central city, for their god-king was preparing a new Jerusalem, a holy mountain where one day the just and righteous remnant of the earth would gather.

In Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to highlight one aspect that is apparent in each of the above-mentioned discursive constructions from the ancient Levant, that is, the persistence of particular mental landscapes within sociocultural milieu. The cultural constructs of king and city loomed large in the minds of these societies, and these sociomental figures and sites often persisted as significant cultural symbols despite major paradigm shifts and historical ruptures in the region. From the Sumerians of southern Mesopotamia to the inhabitants of Persian Judah, city and king, and their conceptual interrelationship, helped form the foundations of core social memories, salient cultural images that resisted erasure despite the fact that sometimes very important cities dwindled away, and monarchic institutions were often dismantled by or made subservient to foreign powers. Eridu maintained its legendary prominence even though it ceased to be inhabited; peoples of the northern Levant continued to think in terms of the divine/royal matrix even though the Assyrian empire forced them to recast the roles of the major players; and the postmonarchic Judeans, a people *without* a central city and *without* a king, imagined a utopian society *founded* upon a holy city, a *new* Jerusalem, from which their *god* would rule as king over the entire world. Urban realities changed, but urban dreams remained.

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Remembering Pre-Israelite Jerusalem in Late Persian Yehud: Mnemonic Preferences, Memories and Social Imagination

Ehud Ben Zvi

Introduction

The textual repertoire of the literati in late Persian Yehud and the literati themselves seem obsessed with memories of Jerusalem, mainly of a past and glorious Jerusalem, of a late monarchic, sinful and eventually destroyed Jerusalem, and of a future, ideal Jerusalem. Although Jerusalem during the late Persian period was a small town,¹ and perhaps even partially because it was small, it became a most central site of memory for its literati. Eventually, Jerusalem served as a central site of memory for other, much later communities; as such it both influenced and was shaped by diverse, later Judaic, Christian or Muslim traditions over vast spans of time and space.²

During the approximately two hundred years of Achaemenid rule in the Levant (538–332 BCE)—the same time period within which most of the books that eventually ended up in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament emerged, at least more or less in their present form—Jerusalem, as a city that populated the social memory of the community, was a central, focal point for shared imagination and for structuring the central mnemonic narratives of the community.

1 This is not the place to discuss the vast literature on estimates of the population of Persian period Jerusalem. It suffices to state that the city was a relatively small town with less than 2,000 people and probably significantly less than that. For some literature on the matter, see Lipschits 2009 and 2010 423–453; Finkelstein 2009 and 2010 529–542; idem 2008 501–520; idem 2008 1–10; and more recently, Finkelstein, Koch and Lipschits 2011. See also Geva 2007 50–65 (Hebrew); Kloner 2001 91–95 (Hebrew); cf. Lipschits 2003 323–376; Carter 1999; Faust 2003 37–53. It is worth noting that even those who advance a ‘maximalist’ view of Persian period Jerusalem—which in itself is a minority viewpoint—agree that the Persian period city was just a fraction of the late monarchic Jerusalem. For a ‘maximalist’ view see Barkay 2008 48–54 (Hebrew)—Barkay suggests that Persian Jerusalem was about 120 dunam (p. 51)—and for criticism to this position, see works above, esp. those of Finkelstein.

2 This said, this essay addresses *only* constructions and memories of Jerusalem that existed within late Persian Yehud.

One of the most important of these narratives was the 'from temple to temple' narrative. Its main plot opened with the process leading to establishment of the temple in Jerusalem, then meandered through multiple vignettes of the Judahite monarchic period that took much social mindshare (see Kings, Chronicles) and which, on the whole, portrayed the period as leading to the city's ideologically justifiable destruction. The plot then largely focused on the calamity of destruction and exile and continued with the establishment of a second Jerusalemite temple, which as important as it was, stood a far cry from the glorious temple of the golden past (e.g., Hag 2:3; cf., even if later, Ezra 3:12). It reached its apex and conclusion in the glorious, future, utopian temple that stood at the very heart of an utopian Jerusalem, which at times was imagined as standing at the very heart of an utopian world (e.g., Isa 2:2–4; 56:1–9; 65; Mic 4:1–4; Ezek 40–44; 47:1–2; Hag 2:4–9; Zech 8:3; Ps 46:4–5; 48:2–3, 8–9; *passim*).³ This is not the place to study at length this central mnemonic narrative. It suffices, however, for the present purposes to note its ubiquity in the discourse of Judah/Yehud (or at least, that of its literati) in the late Persian period.

Another narrative, closely intertwined with the preceding one, moved from David, YHWH's chosen king, through many Davidic kings, both good and bad, to a future, utopian Davidic king or even a Davidic community (i.e., a community to whom the promises of David apply and one ruled directly by YHWH). Jerusalem as a complex, condensing and comprehensive site of memory was shaped to evoke the story of the people and their interactions with the deity, both in time and space in the past and future.

The mnemonic Jerusalem at the core of either one of these closely related narratives stood at the center of the literati's construction of Israel in Yehud (i.e., the Persian province of Judah). As such, this Jerusalem of memory played crucial roles in processes of identity formation.⁴

But if this mnemonic system closely interwove the concepts evoked by the terms 'Israel' and 'Jerusalem,' and in doing so, shaped much of their range of meaning, and if Jerusalem embodied and communicated the foundational mnemonic narratives of 'from temple to temple,' and 'from past David to future David' and thus construed a Jerusalem-centered Israel, why did Jerusalem

3 I recently discussed some of these images elsewhere. See Ben Zvi, forthcoming.

4 The likely role of the historical temple in Jerusalem in the production and reproduction of their literary repertoire and its struggle to achieve prominence in Judah during the period is consistent and partially, but *only partially* explains these developments in social memory. These issues, however, stand beyond the scope of this essay.

embody and communicate also prominent social memories of a pre-Davidic and pre-Israelite Jerusalem, and what roles did the literati's construed memories of the previous residents of Jerusalem fulfill in their mnemonic system?

Constructing, Imagining and Remembering Differences

As one begins to address these questions, one of the most promising approaches is to place social memories about the previous residents of Jerusalem within a larger context of memories of inhabitants of other cities and regions of 'the land' who were about to be dispossessed by Joshua/Israel/YHWH—according to the basic 'historical' narrative agreed upon by the community at the time. The case is strengthened by additional considerations. For instance, the Jebusites, the previous inhabitants of Jerusalem who were defeated by David, were explicitly referred to time and again in various lists of the dispossessed nations within the authoritative repertoire of the community (see Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5; 23:23; 33:2; 34:11; Deut 7:1; 20:17; Josh 3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11).⁵ In addition, not only was Jerusalem in 'the land,' but it was also conceived as the very heart of 'the land' and stood symbolically for it numerous times within the discourse of the period. Thus, for instance, the exile from Jerusalem (and Judah, which in turn was also symbolically represented by its main city, Jerusalem) was conceptually associated with exile from the land.

Although one *might* have anticipated that the conquest of Jerusalem and the portrayal of the Jebusites would be construed and remembered as the culmination of the conquest story and the story of the replacement of the previous residents of the land with the Israelites,⁶ and although there was a strong generative grammar that would have led to such a development, the following observations demonstrate that this was not the case; to the contrary, there were very significant points of divergence.

Two central, connective, didactic and very salient differences are particularly relevant for the present purposes.⁷ First, the dispossessed were, for the most part, construed as dispossessed because of their wickedness—a preferred

5 One may add that in Josh 10, the Jerusalemites and their king were explicitly characterized as 'Amorites' (see vv. 3, 5, 12). On the place of the Amorites in the community's social imagination and memory as a people bound to be dispossessed before Israel due to their sinful behaviour see Gen 15:16; 1 Kgs 21:26; 2 Kgs 21:11.

6 Cf. Josh 23:4–5.

7 By connective aspects I mean aspects that are clearly connected to other aspects.

systemic choice within the ideological mindscape of ancient Israel. Since their calamity was supposed to match their actions,⁸ they became magnets for negative attributes and, as such, excellent candidates for social and ideological processes of 'othering.' They were construed as kind of anti-(ideal) Israel. Accordingly, remembering them served to 'otherize' whatever was characterized as 'anti-Israelite.' Thus, if following YHWH's instructions/torah was considered the epitome of what Israel should do, the dispossessed nations were construed within the discourse of the community as practitioners of and as the embodiment of anti-torah behaviour.

In other words, memories of the dispossessed contributed much to the creation of a system of a set of interwoven bipolar, dualistic mental maps, e.g., torah vs. anti-torah; Israel vs. the dispossessed nations; ability to stay in the land vs. removal from the land. Memories of repeated warnings given to past Israel to not behave like the dispossessed nations, for if it does it will be dispossessed as well, is a point made time and again (see, among many others, Lev 18:3; Deut 18:9–12; 2 Kgs 16:3; 17:8; 21:2, 6, 8).⁹

Certainly there were texts that evoked social memories that not all the supposedly dispossessed were actually dispossessed (e.g., Josh 13:1–7). But even these memories contributed to the main point, as the remaining previous residents of the land were commonly imagined as being left in the land by YHWH to tempt Israel to do the evil in the sight of its deity (Josh 23:13; Judg 2:21–23; 3:24); in this they played the role of the temptress (female, 'other') to

8 To be sure, there was not a single mnemonic scenario for the removal of the previous inhabitants of the land within the social memory of the community (or at least, its literati). In fact, there existed several mnemonic scenarios. For instance, there were those involving forced expulsion, either due to YHWH's manipulation of 'nature' [e.g., Exod 23:28; Josh 24:12] or through other means with YHWH's support, but there were also scenarios that involved physical extermination (mainly, but not only, in Deuteronomy; e.g. Deut 7:23). All of these scenarios involved the removal of the previous inhabitants of the land and thus, from their perspective a terrible catastrophe, which within the discourse of the period was associated with their 'wickedness.' In other words, their dispossession was construed as just punishment. Imagining such a past and such causality at work served obvious didactic/socializing purposes.

On the mentioned scenarios see Weinfeld 1991 382–384; Schwartz 2004 151–170 and bibliography.

9 To be sure, the point of these maps was not to address the imagined dispossessed nations that populated the social memory of the community nor the non-Israelite Persians, but to remind the Persian period community that the catastrophe of 586 BCE happened because their ancestors, i.e., Israel and thus they themselves, as it were, behaved like the nations that were dispossessed before Israel and thus were also rejected from the land.

a male Israel (e.g., Num 25; 1 Kgs 11). These texts thus also construe the 'other' as 'anti-Israel' and as certainly worthy of dispossession and complete removal from 'the land.'¹⁰

As mentioned above, the Jebusites, i.e., the defeated residents of Jerusalem, appear in a general list of dispossessed (and 'worthy of dispossession') nations. But how were they construed and remembered by the community as it read *specific* references about them in its textual repertoire? Which particular portrayals of the Jebusites were encoded in and communicated by these texts?

To begin with, it is particularly significant that despite (a) the explicit inclusion of the Jebusites among the common lists of the nations that were dispossessed before Israel (e.g., Exod 23:23; 33:2; 34:11; *passim*), and (b) the obvious potential to turn them into magnets for negative attributes, this path was not taken. To be sure, there was potential not merely for assigning negative attributes, but for using the Jebusites to construe an anti-Jerusalem so as to project it in portrayals of Jerusalem under particularly sinful kings and thus to shape social memory not only in terms of oppositional dyads such as 'Israel and anti-Israel/dispossessed nations' (see, for instance, 1 Kgs 21:26; 2 Kgs 16:3; 17:8; 21:2, 11; 2 Chr 33:2 and note the comparisons with dispossessed groups, but never with the Jebusites *per se*), but also dyads of 'Jerusalem and anti-Jerusalem/Jebusite Jerusalem.' But, significantly, this path was not taken.

The community in Yehud developed social memories that failed to include any narratives of the Jebusites developed according to these lines or that served the aforementioned purposes. The obvious rhetorical/didactic benefits that would have resulted had the Jebusites been used in that way, and the systemic preferences for the emergence of the type narrative mentioned above raises the question of what may have countered any tendencies towards creating them. Before addressing these matters, though, the case for the construction (and mnemonic use) of the Jebusites in a manner different from the typical (construed) 'dispossessed nation' within the discourse of the community has to be made, not just stated.

To begin with a negative argument, there are relatively few particular references to (Davidic or pre-Davidic) Jebusites within the authoritative repertoire of the late Persian period community in Judah,¹¹ and, most significantly, none

10 A minority explanation for their presence was they were left so Israel may learn how to wage warfare (see Judg 3:1–2; but see already Judg 3:4–7).

11 Contrast with the numerous references to the Canaanites, Amorites, and the 'peoples that YHWH dispossessed' and their 'ways' in the repertoire of the community. Not only the presence of references to these people groups but also a certain density of negative portrayals of them within the discourse of the community is necessary if they are to

of the references draw particular attention to their sins. Even among these few references to a pre-(Davidic) conquest Jerusalem there are some that can be easily explained as necessary outcomes of other narratives. To be sure, all these instances carry meanings, but their main thrust was not to evoke substantial social memories about pre-Israelite Jerusalem and its inhabitants.

For instance, according to 1Sam 17:54, David took the head of Goliath and brought it to Jerusalem, which within the basic world of the narrative was still Jebusite at the time.¹² The reference to this action is not an anachronism, because the term implies “a retrojection of present conditions through ignorance of the past,”¹³ but rather a case of departure from temporal consistency for the purpose of shaping a ‘better’ narrative—in this case, for the purpose of a narrative that successfully brings together the first great victory of David and ‘his city,’ which is also Israel’s and YHWH’s city. A central spatial site of memory (Jerusalem) is thus associated with a communal memory about a core event in the beginning of David’s career and thus in the development of the monarchy and the path towards the establishment of the temple.

This essay is not the place to analyse this case or other instances in which temporality is less important than symbolic and, above all, mnemonic meanings. It suffices to note, however, that such a reference to Jerusalem does not really evoke memories of a pre-Israelite Jerusalem. This said, it is worth noting that nothing particularly negative about Jebusite Jerusalem transpires from the reference.

A second example: to remember David as *the* king who conquered Jerusalem and turned it into the capital of his/YHWH’s kingdom required, of course, to imagine and remember an enemy to be defeated by David, namely the Jebusites. Yet, the main role of the Jebusites in that story was to be defeated, and their only action was to taunt David—as per the usual, cross-cultural topos of the mistakenly confident group (or person) about to fall. Not only is the matter particularly undeveloped,¹⁴ but also and most significantly, the community when reading Samuel is asked to evoke and remember their taunt, which refers to the ‘blind and the lame,’ for its implications about later policies of ritual exclusion in (later) Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:6, 8),¹⁵ and when reading Chronicles just

become successful mnemonic ciphers for Israel when it behaves in ‘ungodly’ ways within the social mindscape of the community.

12 David’s conquest of Jerusalem was at the time still many years in the future and is many chapters further along in the narration; see 2 Sam 5:6–9

13 See Campbell 2003 182.

14 Contrast with Josephus, *Ant.* 7.61.

15 See, for instance, Olyan 1998 218–227.

to remember that they said to David “You shall not enter here” (1 Chr 11:5).¹⁶ In both cases, mindshare is drawn to the event of the conquest and the city itself, not to the sinful character of the Jebusites.

In addition to the negative evidence, i.e., the lack of a particular negative characterization of the Jebusites or of their construction as ‘anti-(ideal) Israel,’ there is in fact evidence for a positive characterization of the Jebusites, unlike the case of the other dispossessed nations. For example, there is the characterization of Jebusite Jerusalem in the story of the rape in Gibeah (see Judg 19:10–30). Reading the text evoked in the community the image of a foolish Levite who thought that an Israelite city would be a better place to lodge than Jebusite Jerusalem, just because one was Israelite and the other not. Whatever other messages this story communicated, it certainly created a positive memory of a pre-Israelite, Jebusite Jerusalem. Moreover, if Gibeah was meant to evoke memories of Saul’s city within the readership, and Jerusalem meant to evoke memories of David’s city, then the Jebusites would have been discursively associated with David.¹⁷

The latter observation brings up another crucial difference between (constructed, social) memories of the conquest of the land during Joshua’s time and those of David’s conquest of Jerusalem. Unlike the case of the narratives associated with Joshua, the one about his conquest of Jerusalem nowhere states that David expelled, never mind exterminated, the residents of Jerusalem, nor that he would find it desirable to have done so.¹⁸ Moreover, the story of David’s conquest of Jerusalem is placed within and particularly informed by its context in both Samuel and Chronicles. Both books portray and ask their readership to remember a post-conquest, prominent Jebusite who was alive and well. This Jebusite possessed a field even after David’s conquest (2 Sam 24:16–18; 1 Chr 21:15–28; 21:28). David is not condemned for letting the Jebusites live, and indeed the mentioned Jebusite is portrayed in a positive light and is instrumental to the establishment of the proper site of the temple. David is not remembered as a ruler who dispossessed him, but as one who bought the Jebusite’s property for full price.

There are additional divergences between memories of Joshua and his conquest of ‘the land’ and David’s conquest of Jerusalem that impact the way in

16 Contrast with 1 Sam 17; 2 Kgs 18:19–25; Isa 47:8–13; Ezek 27; Amos 6:1; Obad 3; Zeph 2:15; *passim*

17 See, for instance Amit 2000 178–184 and esp. p. 181.

18 Josephus reshapes the biblical text and tells the story as ‘it was supposed to be’ and thus indirectly confirms that for him the absence of any note about expelling the Jebusites in both Chronicles and Samuel carried a message. For Josephus’s version, see *Ant.* 7.65.

which the Jebusites were construed and remembered. Joshua was remembered as engaging and defeating many powerful kings.¹⁹ The dispossessed nations were remembered as mighty, many, and often engaging Israel in large coalitions. The characterization of the enemy as mighty was a necessary feature for the construction of the heroic character of the conqueror. Of course, in the case of memories of Joshua and the conquest, the stress was not only or even mainly on the heroic character of Joshua, but on that of YHWH, the one who dispossessed nations.²⁰ Thus, the community developed and remembered mnemonic narratives about the deity's taking possession of the land in the far past that explicitly and repeatedly portrayed the events as requiring and involving mighty divine actions.²¹ In these narratives YHWH was both imagined and 'encountered' by the community as a powerful warrior deity whose actions frequently evoked the highest heroic images within the social mindscape of the community, images that were associated with YHWH's role in the foundational period of Exodus (see, for instance, acts of turning the sea/river into dry land).²²

Drawing attention to and turning memories of mighty warriors (divine or human) and their deeds into central sites of memory for the group required some detailed narratives. This requirement was obviously fulfilled in the case of the Exodus and the conquest of the land. Even a cursory reading of the books of Exodus and Joshua demonstrates the point beyond any doubt. Moreover, memories of these great heroic deeds were brought to bear and echoed in many different works within the repertoire of the community (e.g., Isa 43:16–17; 63:11–14; Mic 7:15; Ps 66:6; 78:11–14; 106:21–22; 114: 3–5; 136:13–16) and one may safely assume that they held a very significant social mindshare.

19 See the long list of kings in Josh 12, references to fortifications and to large coalitions in Joshua. It has been widely recognized that some neo Assyrian motifs (including 'the one vs. the many') are present in Josh 1–11/12. See, for instance, Van Seters 1990 1–12; Römer 2005 83–90; Younger Jr. 1990.

20 The heroic/warrior character of Joshua is balanced by the need to characterize him as a Moses-like leader and his successor and above all, because of the strong systemic preference to emphasize the heroic character of YHWH. It is YHWH who fought for Israel not Joshua (cf. Josh 23:3 and *passim*), just as it was YHWH, not Moses, who separated the waters. The widespread portrayal of the dispossessed people as powerful is most often meant to stress YHWH's heroic powers (see, for instance, Num 13:25–33; Deut 7:1; 9:1–2; Josh 23:9; Ps 135:10–12; Neh 9:22–25).

21 The widespread portrayal of the dispossessed people as powerful is most often explicitly meant to stress YHWH's heroic powers. See, for instance, Num 13:25–33; Deut 7:1; 9:1–2; Josh 23:9; Ps 135:10–12; Neh 9:22–25.

22 See, for instance, and quite explicitly, Josh 2:10; 4:23 5:1; cf. Ps 114:3, 5; 135:8–12.

But what about the conquest of Jerusalem by David or YHWH? The community believed the city of Jerusalem to be at the center of the 'land' and above all at the center of 'the world.' David, the greatest hero and the leader who took more territory than any other king within the social memory map of the community, conquered Jerusalem. Needless to say, without such an act neither the conquest of the land nor the establishment of the temple, at the core of the world of the community, could have taken place. Taking all this into account, one might have anticipated repeated references to David or at least YHWH and their heroic deeds in association with the conquest of Jerusalem. One might have expected the existence of detailed narratives commemorating that event time and again and bringing it to the 'present of the community.'²³ Certainly any comparison with memories of the conquest of the land by YHWH/Joshua would lead us to anticipate all of the above for the conquest of the city that 'embodied' the land, as it were.

But the story of the conquest of Jerusalem was not allocated much narrative space within the repertoire of the community (see 2Sam 6–9a; 1Chr 11:4–7a) and not much mindshare would have been allocated to it within a community that construed and remembered its past by reading and rereading the authoritative books in its repertoire. Despite all the considerations mentioned above, the actual conquest narrative of Jerusalem consisted of only three and a half or four verses. From the perspective of the community, there was a lot to read, imagine and remember about Jerusalem, but how it was conquered by David played a very minor role.²⁴

Moreover, despite the fact that David was obviously remembered in the community as a warrior hero (e.g., 1Sam 18:7; 1Chr 11:2 [// 2Sam 5:2])²⁵ and despite the fact that usually great heroes of the past are remembered to have performed at least some acts of heroism when it comes to their most important

23 Cf. portrayals of other conquests of Jerusalem, whether Titus, Crusaders, or Šalāh ad-Dīn, and their impact on social memory of the relevant communities.

24 Jerusalem and related terms (e.g., Zion) appear explicitly well over 800 times in works that were later included in the HB and which were most likely among and on the whole representative of the repertoire of the time. Given that, for obvious reasons, Jerusalem could not appear much in the Pentateuch or in historiographical narratives shaping memories of a pre-David and thus pre-Israelite Jerusalem, this is a very large number. Talmon noticed many years ago that Jerusalem and related terms are proportionally more attested in this corpus than in late-Second Temple literature (when Jerusalem was a much larger city) and/or later rabbinic literature (despite Jerusalem's centrality in rabbinic Judaism) and needless to say in the New Testament. See Talmon 1971 300–316.

25 To be sure, not only as a warrior hero (see Psalms), but certainly as a warrior hero.

achievements, the narratives of the conquest of Jerusalem (as reflected and shaped by both Samuel and Chronicles) and the memories that these narratives evoked in the community failed to assign David any particular acts of personal heroism when it comes to this particular event (contrast, for instance, with the extensive narrative and memories associated with his defeat of Goliath).

This is even more noteworthy in Chronicles, a book that reflects and evokes a memory of the conquest of the city as the first royal act of David (1 Chr 11:3–8). Even as the book seems to follow common generative mnemonic grammars and show a distinct preference to associate the main epic-heroic acts of a great king with the beginning of his reign²⁶ and thus creates anticipation for references to David's heroism, it fails to do so. The text in 1 Chr 11:3–8 does not evoke any particular memories of his epic-heroic deeds or great military wisdom. Instead of emphasizing David's military heroism,²⁷ it explicitly brings his building activities after the conquest to the attention of the community (1 Chr 11:8), which makes him the first and most important pious builder king—a very important *topos* in Chronicles. It is not by chance that in Chronicles the first pious, royal building activity in the land takes place in Jerusalem or is conducted by the best king in the book, David.

To be clear, the point I am advancing is *not* that David was not remembered as a powerful military hero within the community, or that the community would not have construed the story of his conquest of Jerusalem as a significant achievement, but that not much textual attention and thus likely not much social mindshare was drawn first to the entire story of the conquest of Jerusalem (in contrast to, for instance, the Exodus, the conquest of the land, or the preparation and building of the temple in Jerusalem) in general and to David's

26 “The author is applying to the figure of David an epic-heroic *topos* long established in Ancient Near Eastern historiography. Assyrian kings claim to have taken some of their most significant actions at the very outset of their reigns or to have achieved their greatest victories during the first year” (Knoppers 2004 545). Of course, since the conquest of Jerusalem is brought to the beginning of his reign, this military campaign is the first of the king (contrast with 2Sam), and within Chronicles, the first to which the attention of the readership is drawn, but in the past world of Chronicles, David was already a hardened warrior leader when he became king (1 Chr 11:2). For a different approach, see Wright 1997 150–177 (159–160).

27 No action of personal military heroism or military craftiness is particularly evoked. Instead, if there was a warrior hero in the story in Chronicles, it was Joab not David (1 Chr 11:6). Cf. 2Sam 6–9a and 1 Chr 11:4–7a with Josephus, *Ant* 7.60–64 and notice how the latter stresses David's heroic character; this is consistent with Josephus' tendency to underscore the courage of David. See Feldman 1998 544–550.

own heroism during the conquest of Jerusalem in particular. When the memory of David the hero was brought to the present of the community, stories like his defeat of Goliath were brought up, but not much about what he did when he conquered Jerusalem.

Most of the book of Samuel is about David and more than a third of the book of Chronicles—which presents itself as a history from Adam to Cyrus—is devoted to David (see 1 Chr 3, most of chs. 6, 11–29). But reports of David's conquest of Jerusalem spanned only three and a half to four verses. This is obviously not a random or accidental distribution of narrative space. The relative lack of stress on the event and the lack of emphasis on David's heroic aspect in relation to this conquest cannot be taken for granted. The absence of emphasis results from and reflects a strong system of preferences and dis-preferences in terms of shaping social memory within the community that clearly overpowered mnemonic tendencies to lionize David's heroic character in association with the conquest of 'his' city or to make the conquest a central site of memory.

On the surface, one may link these absences with a well-attested tendency in Yehudite social memory to *not* remember some foundational characters (e.g., Abraham, Moses) as the trans-cultural, usual 'manly warrior hero.'²⁸ This tendency may have been at work in the general construction of David in Chronicles and Psalms, but even if it stands somewhat in the background, it certainly fails to explain why David was not the only main personage that was remembered far more as Jerusalem's builder (esp. by the Chronicler) than as the hero of mighty deeds who conquered Jerusalem.

Unlike narratives about the conquest of the land or the Exodus, there is no reference to mighty deeds of YHWH in the conquest of Jerusalem. To be sure, texts as Josh 23: 4–5 point to the potential within the community for a narrative emphasizing YHWH's conquest of the last and most important part of 'the land;' there was opportunity for presenting the event as the culmination of the fulfillment of the prophetic words of Joshua, of which late Persian period, Yehudite literati would have been aware, or perhaps associating the successful completion of the conquest with the piousness of the people or its leader, David, who counterbalanced prior acts of rebellion against YHWH, even if momentarily.²⁹ Yet, such a narrative is missing from the main set of social memories encoded in, and evoked and virtually experienced through the reading and rereading

28 See, for instance, Ben Zvi 2013, 3–37 (31–34), Römer, 2008 and 2009, 293–306.

29 Cf. Josh 23:4–13; Judg 2:1–3 and the *general* tendency in the social mindspace of the community to associate success with following YHWH's commandments and failure with rejecting them.

of their authoritative, past-constructing repertoire of texts. Indeed, in sharp contrast to the numerous references to YHWH as the deity of wondrous heroic deeds who brought/took Israel up/out from Egypt or gave 'the land' to Israel or removed its previous occupants so as to allow Israel to settle, to the point that these became main attributes of the deity,³⁰ nothing remotely similar was developed within the community in relation to a YHWH who conquered or gave Jerusalem to Israel, even if Jerusalem was construed to be the center of 'the land.' YHWH was imagined as the 'creator' or 'builder' of Jerusalem,³¹ but not as its conqueror and the main mighty deeds with which the deity was associated with the city were related to the (re)building of an utopian Jerusalem in the future, not with any conquest of the past.³²

In sum, there is good reason to assume that there was a strong generative grammar that led, against significant odds, to the shaping of a social memory in the community in a way that clearly distinguished between the conquest of the land by Joshua/YHWH and David's conquest of Jerusalem. This generative grammar and its outcome in terms of social memories in late Persian period Yehud could not but play a significant role in the construction of the Jebusites.³³ But before positing explanations for the existence and prevalence of a generative system of preferences and dis-preferences that shaped the community's memories of David's conquest of Jerusalem, two matters must be addressed.

Turning to the first of these matters, one might be tempted to argue that the two conquests ('the land' and Jerusalem) were remembered differently, because they were historically different. Such explanations were relatively common several decades ago, but most scholars today would agree that they hold no water.³⁴ As the narrative of the Israelite conquest of the land demon-

30 E.g., Exod 6:7; Lev 11:45; Deut 1:25; 2:29; Josh 24:17; Judg 2:12; *passim*.

31 Being Jerusalem's creator (אֱבָרָא) / builder (בָּנָה) was one of YHWH's attributes. See, for instance, Isa 65:18–19; Ps 102:17; 147:2 cf. Isa 54:5; Ps 51:20.

32 When it comes to Jerusalem, there is some element of *imitatio dei* in the construction of David. The city is David's city (e.g., 1 Chr 11:7) and also YHWH's city (Isa 60:14; cf. Zech 8:3); moreover, both are its archetypal builders. This issue demands, however, a separate discussion that cannot be carried out within the boundaries of this chapter. (Note also that Israel and the nations other than Israel are also imagined as future builders of the city; e.g., Isa 60.)

33 See below.

34 Several decades ago, the question of whether Jebusite Jerusalem was deeply integrated in and highly influential in the shaping of the Davidic kingdom and its traditions was a 'hot topic.' On this debate see, for instance, Roberts 1973 329–344; Jones 1990 119–142 and the extensive bibliography mentioned in these works. These debates were based on assumptions about the basic 'historicity' of many of the details in the narrative (or

strates beyond any doubt, 'historicity,' in our terms, was not a necessary requirement for the development of a preferred narrative or even sets of balancing narratives, as is demonstrated in this case.³⁵ From a systemic perspective, the main requirements were that the narrative must (a) be consistent with and supportive of the other main narratives of the mnemonic community and (b) be coherent with the general social mindscape of this group (e.g., on matters such as its take on causality, what constitutes pious appropriate behaviour and the like).³⁶

Constructions of the character of the society that existed in Jerusalem before it turned into an Israelite (or even Judahite) city, and of the fate of its original inhabitants were part and parcel of the social memory of a community in late Persian Yehud and were not governed by what historically transpired in Jerusalem centuries earlier.³⁷

As we turn our attention memories of a pre-Davidic conquest of Jerusalem, the minor report evoking an image of an early Israelite, pre-Davidic conquest of Jerusalem in Judg 1:8 comes to the forefront. There might have been a tradition about an Israelite conquest of Jerusalem well before David (see also

some reconstructed, hypothetical precursor of the narrative), which in turn were based on proposed early datings of the relevant texts. Today, most critical historians tend to agree that none of these texts is from the Davidic/Solomonic period. Instead, they maintain that these texts appeared centuries later and represented later viewpoints; moreover, many of these scholars tend to doubt, with very good reason, the existence of a historic Davidic 'empire' as described in the books of Samuel (and Chronicles; e.g., Sass 2010 169–174 and bibliography). (For an example of an opposite position with directly bearings on the use of the texts discussed here to reconstruct the history of 'Davidic period,' see Cogan 1997 193–201.) Finally, even if there was some leader of a band of para-social elements named David who took over Jerusalem and established a chiefdom, neither this David nor his Jerusalem were close to the David or Jerusalem of the narratives and above all, the social memory of the community in late Persian period Yehud.

35 This is not the place to discuss the archaeological data that shows that the narrative in Joshua cannot be taken as a direct representation of historical events. The literature on the matter is extensive and conclusive. For a summary, see, for instance, Finkelstein and Mazar 2007. To be sure, the quest for historicity in this narrative is misguided to begin with and arises from a misunderstanding of the genre of the book of Joshua.

36 Incidentally, similar criteria tend to influence strongly the chances for integration into social memory of even contemporary groups of particular (construed) memories. This matter, however, stands beyond the scope of this paper and cannot be elaborated here.

37 This holds true whether we today are able to reconstruct the historical society of pre-Judah Jerusalem and the circumstances leading to its fall or perhaps integration into Judah or not.

Judg 1:7 and cf. Josh 10:1–27; 12:10). But not much attention is drawn to it.³⁸ It played no substantial role in the construction of memories about Jerusalem in Persian period, Jerusalem-centered Yehud and never developed much social mindshare and ended up with a minimal narrative space in ancient Israelite historiography and its social memory.³⁹ This is neither because such a tradition would have been in direct tension with texts such as Josh 15:8, 63, which associate Jerusalem with Benjamin, not Judah,⁴⁰ nor because of the note in Judg 1:21 that the city was not captured by the Israelites (Benjaminites) and that they and the Jebusite live together ‘till this day.’⁴¹ Instead, other processes governing systemic selection and dis-selection were at work. To mention some of them:

First, scholars working on social memory have noticed a (cross-cultural) tendency towards oneness, that is, characters that already have much mindshare tend to develop further mindshare while at the same time pre-empting the development of memories of potential competitors to their roles, which then tend to be far less remembered and even forgotten.⁴² Within the matters dis-

38 Notice, for instance, the lack of any stress on Jerusalem in Josh 12:10.

39 The statement about the minimal textual space allocated to this memory is correct also if we consider the entire authoritative repertoire of the community at the time. I assume, along with the vast majority of scholars, that the Pentateuchal, the deuteronomistic/historical, and the prophetic collections were part of the authoritative repertoire of the late Persian period literati in Yehud, in a form relatively close to the present one, and that these texts, along with Chronicles, at least some Psalms and Proverbs and books such as Lamentations, constitute for the most part a representative approximation to the contents of that library.

40 From the perspective of the literati in late Persian Yehud who were acquainted with Josh 15:63 and Judg 1:21, the city was both Benjaminite (Judg 1:21; see also Josh 18:28) and Judahite (Josh 15:63), and thus, it was Yehudite. Moreover, since from their own perspective Yehud stood for ‘Israel,’ Jerusalem was also Israelite. This thinking shapes and is reflected in additional constructions of the past. See, for instance, the reference to the residents of Jerusalem in 1 Chr 9:3; and cf. 2 Chr 11:14–16. “For the Chronicler, Jerusalem has always been the centre of ‘all Israel,’ where people from the tribes have lived, both during and after the time of the united kingdom ... [a] list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem should then naturally include Ephraim and Manasseh” (Japhet 1993 208).

41 Cf. the book of Joshua explicitly states that Joshua conquered the entire land and that he did not. See Josh 11:23, which is followed by a list of defeated kings in Josh 12, and which is immediately followed in the text by Josh 13:1–6. Cf. Josh 23:1–5 and Judg 1:1–2:5. These tensions do not lead to less social mindshare or narrative space. In fact, tensions like these may serve as attention getters and draw particular attention to the matter (and serve well for didactic purposes; see the case mentioned above). But this is not the case here.

42 For an example of tendencies towards mnemonic ‘oneness’ see Schwartz 2009 123–142

cussed here, this means that there was little room within the set of social memories of the late Persian period Yehudite literati for evoking, imagining, and developing much social mindshare for pre-David, earlier Israelite conquerors of Jerusalem. David, only one personage, was *the* conqueror of Jerusalem.

Second, any emphasis on a previous conquest would have led to an image of a Jerusalem that was lost to Israel and then settled by the Jebusites. This image would have stood contrary to the main thrust of the constructions of Jerusalem within the community. Jerusalem, unlike ‘the land’ (or significant portions of it) was not imagined as a place in which foreigners could potentially settle and displace Israel. This is a community in which post-David Jerusalem was construed as either an Israelite city (i.e., Judahite or Yehudite) or not inhabited at all. In other words, if Israel becomes anti-Israel and thus the city is destroyed, it can only be resettled by Israel.

Third, the lateness of the conquest of Jerusalem allows not only for David to conquer Jerusalem for the first time, but also provides an explanation for the (construed) absence of a temple in Israel until the Davidic/Solomonic period.

Fourth, since there existed within the discourse of Persian period Yehud a mental map of Israel that had Jerusalem at its center (see, for instance, Ezekiel and the idea that Jerusalem belongs to ‘all Israel;’ see also Chronicles⁴³) and in which the city symbolized both country and people, the absence of Jerusalem within Israel’s map in the pre-Davidic period conveyed a sense that Israel was still in the process of constituting itself, even after the Exodus, Sinai and the conquest of the land by Joshua. Israel’s founding figure was Moses, but Israel was still in need of a secondary founding figure, David (and his associate Solomon), because Israel, as understood by the community in Yehud, was not properly constituted until Jerusalem was able to house the temple.⁴⁴

Fifth, the above mentioned approach is consistent with and generates a tendency to stress the difference between David and previous leaders, and especially the previous Israelite king, Saul, who ruled in the area and was imagined as powerful, but who did not attempt to take Jerusalem. In contrast,

and see bibliography for the general approach. This tendency is related to the so-called “Matthew Effect.” On the “Matthew Effect” see Rigney 2010.

43 See note 38.

44 On the explicit pairing of Moses and David, see Chronicles. On the matter, see De Vries 1988 619–639; Riley 1993, 61–63; Cf. Kleinig 1992 75–83; Schniedewind 1999 158–180 (177–178); Ben Zvi 2011 13–35 (29–32). This construction of the past may not have been a ‘radical’ innovation of Chronicles, but rather Chronicles may have voiced and developed basic approaches to the past that might have existed before its writing. (For ‘Moses’ and ‘David’ in later periods, see Mroczek 2008.)

and to make the point even more salient, David in Chronicles marches against Jerusalem immediately after he becomes king of Israel.⁴⁵

Sixth, the lateness of the setting up of Jerusalem as an Israelite city in the distant past also carried a sense of helical repetition of history, as following the catastrophe of 586 BCE, Jerusalem and its temple was established anew at a time within a map of Yehud that contains well and long-established Benjaminite ('Saulide') centers. Jerusalem, city and temple, is again the 'late comer' who happens to stand at the center of Yehud, Israel and even the world, and displace all earlier Israelite centers.⁴⁶

All these considerations not only pre-empted the development of a strong social memory about a pre-Davidic conquest of Jerusalem, but show the kind of constraints, systems of preferences and dis-preferences, and generative ideological grammars that shaped the ways in which the discourse of Persian Yehud construed David's conquest of Jerusalem and in which this event was remembered, at least by the literati of the period.

This being so, what could have created such a preference for a construction of Jebusite Jerusalem in terms so distinct from those who were construed as dispossessed by Joshua? Why was Jerusalem so different from 'the land' and Joshua from David? Why, although Jerusalem as a site of memory was closely associated with David, did the latter's conquest draw only relatively minor attention in contrast to many other aspects of memories of Jerusalem and David?

Imagining Jerusalem and Jerusalemites, and Construing 'Worlds' through Social Memory

To a large extent one may say that all groups are mnemonic communities, that is, groups shaped around a set of widely shared memories of the past that help to make sense of the group, or in other words, that provide it with an identity and ability to socially reproduce itself. The community in Yehud that construed itself as a 'text/torah' centered community was certainly a mnemonic community. What people remembered of their past or future (e.g., the memories of 'experiencing' through acts of imagination the utopian future evoked through the reading and re-reading of prophetic literature) played an important role for

45 Note also the Saul/Gibeah—David/Jerusalem contrasting pairs and their roles in shaping social memory. See above and Amit 2000 181.

46 On 'helical' rather than 'cyclical' see note 60.

the self-understanding of the community and the shaping of their social mind-scape. For the purposes advanced, it is particularly important, as mentioned above, that YHWH was remembered as the 'builder' of Jerusalem and not its conqueror.

Within the discourse of late Persian Yehud, Jerusalem was marked as the sacred centre of the world, the place destined to be the site of the only legitimate temple of YHWH well before David conquered it, evident in the explicit references to Jerusalem in Abraham stories (see below) and to the 'city that YHWH will chose' in Deuteronomy, which were read in Yehud as references to Jerusalem.

During the late Persian period Jerusalem was marked as the place for the mythical 'waters' that will emerge from the temple/city (cf. Ezek 47:1–12 Joel 4:18; Zech 13:1 and 14:8; Ps 46:5–6; cf. Isa 33:21), a city on which YHWH shines, a source of mythical light to which nations and rulers (i.e., the human world) come (see Isa 60:1–3; 19–20) and מכלל יפי 'the perfection of beauty' that can actually be achieved on earth, even if only in the future, and which in the meantime exists in the shared imagination of the community (Ps 50:2). To be sure, the community had only a small, poor temple and city, but none of this could have demoted Jerusalem of its status and place in the divine economy. Moreover, all these utopian attributes were construed as certain to come, because without them, without the cosmic city at the center providing divine 'water,' 'wisdom,' 'light' to the world, the latter could not be imagined as reaching its stable status under the kingship of YHWH. Similarly, Jerusalem before David was not even Israelite, but already had its place set in the divine economy and was certain to achieve its role and house the temple at some point.

Within this discourse, David's conquest by itself did not change the nature of the place or its relation to YHWH, nor did the destruction of the city in 586 BCE, for that matter. To be sure, David's conquest like Cyrus' declaration (2 Chr 36:22–23) allowed the materialization of other developments. But they played a secondary, enabling role to the transformation of the city to the place of the temple. Building its proper (i.e., Davidic) temples, which symbolically were one temple, was building Jerusalem and building the ground for the fulfillment of its necessary role in the cosmos.⁴⁷ David, Solomon and YHWH did that in the past,⁴⁸ and YHWH will do that in the future and then 'reside' in the city

47 Ben Zvi forthcoming.

48 To lesser extent, Cyrus, alongside with Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel and the high priest Joshua, son of Jehozadak (e.g., 2 Chr 36:22–23; Haggai), did that too within the main

forever. Social memory is drawn to these central matters and thus shapes what is important to remember about them. It is far more important to remember David's role in the preparations for the building of the temple and establishing rules for worship within it than to remember his conquest of Jerusalem. In fact, remembering one more than the other served to make a strong point about what is important for the community within its discourse.

In addition, there was a tendency within the social mindscape of the literati to construe the temple as inimical to war (and shedding human blood).⁴⁹ The temple tended to be associated with 'rest,' not with military victory (e.g., 1 Chr 22:7-9; 28:3; cf. 1 Kgs 5:17-19).⁵⁰

The association of Jerusalem with sacred space, whether the temple stands on it or not, has implications in terms of preferences and dis-preferences for the construction of its inhabitants. As mentioned above, from David's conquest, through the vicissitudes of multiple generations, including military defeats and even the razing of the city, Jerusalem was remembered as inhabited by Israel or not at all.⁵¹ But what about the time before David's conquest?

The mnemonic community in Yehud had to remember and imagine the existence of a pre-Israelite Jerusalem and Jerusalemites. This went together with the construction of Israel as coming 'from outside the land' and a systemic dis-preference for potential mnemonic narratives about a Jerusalem built on 'virgin soil.'⁵² The community encountered not only the Jebusites of the period

mnemonic narratives of the community, but the 'second temple' that they established, as per YHWH's command, was secondary in importance to the (Davidic/) Solomonic and the future, utopian temple. As usually is the case in main mnemonic narratives, the original and the final points carry more mindshare within the community than what is between them; moreover, the fact that the 'second temple' which the community could see not only with the eyes of their imagination, but also with their physical eyes and with which they interacted in 'material ways' regularly was poor and certainly not 'glorious' may have contributed to the social construction of this temple as a temporary one, to be superseded by the 'glorious' and certain to be utopian temple of future Jerusalem.

49 See, among others, Japhet 1993 397-398, Niditch 1993 139-140.

50 It is possible that this tendency had a role to play in, at least, readings of Exod 20:25 (cf. Deut 27:5) even if not necessarily on the origins of the instructions set in these verses. Cf. the later readings of these verses reflected in m. Middot 3:4.

51 Cf. the motif of the 'empty land.'

52 Theoretically, one might imagine a different original myth of Jerusalem, namely as a city built by David on completely new place (cf. the case of Samaria; see 2 Kgs 16:24), but if this were the case, such a Jerusalem will lack continuity with its (imagined) past (e.g., with the city encountered by Abraham, with Mt. Moriah, with the alien city that was much better than Gibeah, which was also the city that became Saul's capital).

of David and the Judges but also other non-Israelite inhabitants of Jerusalem. The most salient of them was the non-Israelite Melchizedek who was a priest of אֱלֹהֵי עֵלְיוֹן ‘the High God’ (Gen 14:20) during the time of Abraham. This foreign king was even partially Israelitized in Ps 110:4. In fact, according to this text, YHWH associates the Davidic king with Melchizedek, and the community of readers is expected to follow.

David symbolically became Melchizedek, but by the time of Chronicles and most likely earlier, he was also a kind of second Abraham.⁵³ Most significantly, the story of Abraham’s purchase of a burial place from Ephron (Gen 23) and David’s purchase of the site of the threshing floor of Araunah/Ornan, that is, the place of the future temple (1 Chr 21:21–22:1; cf. 2 Sam 24:20–25) became mutually evocative, one being the type of the other.⁵⁴ The first act of possession of the land in the land (Abraham’s purchase of the Cave of Machpelah from Ephron) and the final—and most crucial—act of possession of the land (David’s purchase of the place of the future temple) became intertwined. A mnemonic narrative emerges, starting from the purchase of a burial place (the Cave of Machpelah) and leading to the source of (ordered, proper) life, the temple. Significantly, neither of the two changes of possession were imagined (or could have been imagined within the discourse of the community) as involving violent dispossession. By extension, and since Jerusalem is symbolically associated with the temple within the social mindscape of the community, a tendency to draw less attention to the violent/heroic aspect of the conquest of Jerusalem emerged.

Of course, like his predecessor Abraham, David had to encounter a proper, positively construed ‘other’ after his conquest of Jerusalem with whom he could interact and from whom he could purchase the field. The sacredness of the place shaped a discursive and mnemonic preference for such a narrative.

In addition, the very unique sacredness of Jerusalem and its role in the divine, cosmic economy as the city of the main deity also shaped a systemic preference to construe the place as designated by YHWH well before David’s time, and thus its selection was also understood as essentially independent of David (see, for instance, the association of Jerusalem and Mt. Moriah in 2 Chr 3:1).⁵⁵ One may assume that there is a kind of discursive un-ease, and

53 On David and Abraham see also Clements 1967. On the general memory of David in the late Persian and Early Hellenistic periods, see, for instance, Edelman 2013.

54 See, among others, Zakovitch 1985 175–196 (181); Alter 1999 358–359; Japhet 1993; McDonough 1999 128–131; cf. Harvey 2004 60.

55 Of course, this claimed association is at the core of another “front” in the mnemonic struggles between Yehud and Samaria (or their discourses), as Samaritan text consistently

thus there was a systemic dis-preference to imagine a city which stands 'at the center of the world,' and is necessary for its existence, as constantly and only populated by evil characters, who cannot but constantly pollute it. It is more likely to imagine that at least from time to time, it included 'others' with whom Israel/David/Abraham were able to interact positively and even at times partially identify.⁵⁶

Remembering David and his Jerusalem meant construing and remembering a Melchizedek in Jerusalem; remembering David and his Jerusalem meant construing and remembering Araunah/Ornan, and indirectly, Abraham and Ephron; that is, remembering David and his Jerusalem meant remembering a Jerusalem populated by people significantly different from the dispossessed nations of the book of Joshua. These memories construed pre-Davidic Jerusalemites who were not fully 'the Other,' but were in fact partially Israeliized, in Yehudite memory.⁵⁷ Moreover, even if pre-Israelite, partially Israeli-

associated Mt. Moriah with Mt. Gerizim. On the struggle over the memory of Mt. Moriah (and of Abram) see Kalimi 2002.

56 A comparison with the mnemonic narratives about the 'conquest of the land' is particularly helpful in this regard. Of course, the land was also conceived as 'selected' for Israel before Joshua. In some texts (esp. those reflecting the thinking of the Holiness Code) the land itself is considered 'holy' (see Milgrom 2008 2412–2413). Abraham and the other patriarchs were remembered as central, foundational figures of Israel who, like David, encountered and interacted with positively portrayed (and remembered) local residents (see Ben Zvi 2013 [18–21]), but in the case of Abraham and the patriarchs, such encounters reflect the tendency to imagine good residents, at least from time to time, without facing the ideological problem of dispossessing them, for the dispossession is set in the far future, i.e., in the days of Joshua; in the case of David, the narrative has to bring together positive portrayals and dispossession within the same period. The fact, that David's Jebusites are characterized in positive terms unlike Joshua's 'Canaanites' is thus far more remarkable and deserves particular attention. See below.

57 To be sure, the characterization of 'the other' in the land appears in several patriarchal stories not only in relation to Jerusalem. It shapes and reflects accommodation and even appreciation of 'the other' in the land in the present of the world portrayed in the narratives and in the world of the late Persian period community reading these texts, but at the same time in the context of a group that through their shared imagination as they read their authoritative texts experienced vicariously worlds in which any 'other' is displaced from the land. Whereas in the world of the patriarchal narratives, the 'positive other' with whom the patriarchs collaborate is not to be attacked and thus can be easily imagined as behaving properly, 'the other' in Jerusalem at the time of David which had to be attacked so as to be conquered according to the main mnemonic narratives of the community is still portrayed unlike the other pre-conquest Canaanites, but has to be partially Israeliized and compared to the dwellers of the land in the patriarchal period (e.g., Aurunah/Ornan

tized Jerusalem was not remembered often, some of its characters were memorable and this is especially the case with Melchizedek (see Ps 110).⁵⁸

Remembering Araunah/Ornan was also remembering that the altar was built in a place that was not associated with war or conquest, but with food and life (the threshing floor), the end of pestilence and death, and the image of a sword-holding hand that relaxes and ceases to kill (2 Sam 24:15–25; 1 Chr 21:15–28).

Even if such a Jerusalem took a relatively small mindshare of the community in the Persian period, still Jerusalem could not to be remembered as just another city in the rest of the land *nor* could its inhabitants be remembered like those facing Joshua.

There was strong tendency to balance the discontinuity that was inherent in mnemonic narratives of the Davidic/Israelite conquest of Jerusalem with the continuity in the special status of Jerusalem within the discourse of the community. There was a tendency to prefer narratives that set Jerusalem, as the city of ‘the temple,’ aside from other cities and lands within ‘the land,’ and again, this had an indirect influence on the way in which the David’s Jebusites and other characters were imagined. There was a tendency to emphasize ‘building’ over ‘conquering’ when it comes to Jerusalem and, again, this tendency had an indirect influence on the characterization of the Jebusites of the period. In addition, remembering a future Jerusalem to which all nations will flow (e.g. Isa 2:2–4; 56:1–9) generates tendencies to imagine past Jerusalems in which pious non-Israelites lived and co-existed with Israel.⁵⁹ After all, communities in antiquity often tended to construe many of their social memories according to helical, temporal plots, linking past and future;⁶⁰ the past was often conceived as some kind of (pregnant) image of the future, and the future of the past.

Of course, all these were Jerusalems of memory and dreams, imagined and vicariously ‘experienced’ through reading and rereading by a community in

and Ephron) who lived together in peace with patriarchs. This noteworthy fact sheds light into the memory-scape of the community in late Persian Yehud and the different mnemonic and ideological tendencies that contributed to its shaping.

58 Melchizedek became a significant figure in the late second temple period. See, for instance, 11Q13/11QMelchizedek. Later still, see references to Melchizedek in Hebrews.

59 See Abraham and Melchizedek; David and Araunah/Ornan; David and the mercenaries who stand loyal to him when Absalom rebels; and cf. with the very significant statement in Judg 1:21b.

60 I prefer ‘helical’ over the more common ‘cyclical’ since these plots rarely involve exact returns, but rather return to similar, comparable situations; there is a cycle but also some element of temporal linearity.

late Persian period Yehud. These Jerusalems were all far removed from any actual, historical Iron Age I city or any of its historical predecessors. Their social memory was not ‘history’ in any form that we may identify today as ‘professional, academic history,’ nor could have been. At the same time what this community of shared imagination thought about their past and their (construed) Jerusalem is a subject of interest to historians studying this late Persian community. This essay is a contribution to this type of research.

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Memory and the Greek City in Strabo's *Geography*

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To even the casual reader of Strabo's *Geography*, the most obvious feature of the text is its focus on the *polis*, which, according to Clarke, is the principal means by which the author structures his narrative and writes history.¹ Influenced by Stoic conceptions of the city, he sees the *polis* as a universal expression of human social organization and uses the term indiscriminately for various-sized communities from Spain to India.² Although he does not see the *polis* as a distinctly Greek phenomenon, he does recognize a distinctly Greek type of city. He characterizes several communities, albeit small ones at the fringes of the Greek world, as Ἑλληνική or Ἑλληνικὴ πόλις (cf. Maenaca in Spain, 3.4.2; Spina, 5.1.7; Tibur and Praeneste, 5.3.11; Ancona, 5.4.2; Rodiae, 6.3.5; Trapezus, 12.3.11; and Ptolemais, 17.1.42), and others he anachronistically identifies by their tribal affiliations—such as Aeolian, Dorian, Achaean and Ionian—instead of by the broader classification of Hellene. The vast majority of *poleis* historically recognized as Greek cities, however, have no ethnic signifiers within the text. So, given Strabo's interest in relating the Greek world to his readers, I focus on two questions: what makes a community “Greek”, and how does his representation of the Greek city serve his broader historiographic aims and self-reflexive ethnographic viewpoint?³ Central to answering these questions are the roles that remembering and memory (μνήμη) play in the text.

Memory and Strabo's Historiographic Aims and Methods in Writing the Polis

For Strabo Greekness is neither an abstraction nor merely a distinct ethnographic category, but something experienced, historical, tangible and emotionally provocative. As he casts his gaze upon the contemporary Greek world, he

¹ Clarke 1999 205, 264–276.

² Cf. Clarke 1999; Dueck 2000 62–69, 107–115.

³ For the notion of self-reflexivity in anthropology, see the collections of essays in Clifford and Marcus 1986 and Marcus and Fischer 1986. In a broader sense, Strabo's interest in the Greek city is a type of autoethnography; for the concept, see Dench 2007 493–503.

describes a landscape filled with ruins and absence, and decay, decadence, isolation, barbarization, or any combination of these mark those communities that have “survived” through time.⁴ How did this happen to a culture and society that in his eyes is superior to all others? He points out that the long history of “continual migrations (συνεχεῖς μεταστάσεις), changes of political administration (ἐξαλλάξεις τῶν πολιτειῶν) and the intermixture of tribes (ἐπιμίξεις)” affected Greek cities and resulted in a landscape defined by ἔκλειψις or ὀλιγωρθρωπία.⁵ In many cases, what was once Greek, “little or no trace is preserved” (νυνὶ δὲ μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ... ἔχνος).⁶

For Strabo, change is inevitable (cf. 17.1.36), but the loss of identity does not have to be so. The greatest threat to Greekness is not incessant warfare, depopulation, economic decline or general misfortune; rather, it is *forgetting*—a breakdown or loss of self-knowledge.⁷ The loss of communal memory either leads to or results from decay in institutions and cultural practices that define and preserve Greek identity. As he notes in the ninth book, the extinction (ἔκλειψις) of a group or city occurs when the social-political-cultural organization (characterized by the term σύστημα) has decayed to such a point that the community “is not worth mentioning/remembering (οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης)” and thus its ethnic name (τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐθνικόν) disappears (9.5.12).⁸ These concepts belong to a larger moral discourse that exposes the breakdown in self-knowledge as a loss of “traditional values” and looks to the past for political and moral clarity and stability.⁹ By comparing τὰ νῦν ὄντα, “the present state of affairs,” and τὰ παλαιά, “past matters” (6.1.2), Strabo establishes not just a baseline to assess the Greekness of a community or people, but to make that assessment a moral discourse that establishes the present as corrupt and identity “in crisis”. Therefore, central to his project are the concepts of and relationship

4 For a discussion of Strabo's geographic description, see Syme 1995. Syme criticizes Strabo for his factual inaccuracies and reliance on outdated sources, but (perhaps inadvertently) highlights the writing of landscapes as a rhetorical exercise. For a broader discussion of the rhetoric of landscape, see Barnes and Duncan 1992.

5 For an overview of the theme of change in the *Geography*, see Clarke 1999 245–251 and Dueck 2000 62–64.

6 Strabo 9.5.21–22. Cf. Alcock 1993 and 2002, who notes a populated and somewhat prosperous Greek peninsula during the Augustan period that contradicts Strabo's image of Greece. See also Syme 1995.

7 On the connection between identity and the structures of memory, see Carruthers 1990; Coleman 1992; Connerton 1989; McKitterick 2004; and Smith 1999.

8 For a discussion of the importance of the concept of σύστημα in Strabo's work, see Van der Vliet 1984.

9 Cf. Marincola 1997.

between *μνήμη* or *παλαιὰ μνήμη* (memory, usually exemplified by Homer), *ἱστορία* (tradition), and *λόγος* (written word/reason), which are the foundations for his “archaeology” of Greek society and serve as ways of viewing and organizing the world and assessing the Greekness of various communities.

The *polis* is the place where past and present cultural practices, institutions and beliefs exist simultaneously to define what being Greek means. In Book 2 Strabo establishes that the landscape (and thus the city) is both a theater for human action and a reflection of the acts, characters, interests and desires of the peoples inhabiting it. Both the landscape and *polis* preserve the “signs (*σημεῖα*) and traces (*ἴχνη*) of things ... that possess a certain distinction (*ἐπιφάνειαν*) and fame (*δόξαν*), which endure to later times or no longer exist” (2.5.17). In the same passage, Strabo explains that his entire project is a personal act of preservation or remembering (*μεμνήμεθα*) “customs and constitutions that no longer exist (*νομίμων καὶ πολιτειῶν ... τῶν μήκετι οὐσῶν*) because utility (*ὠφελείας*) urges me in their case as it does in the case of deeds of action. That is, either to incite emulation (*ζήλου χάριν*) or else avoidance (*ἀποτροπῆς*) of this or that” (2.5.17). He makes it quite clear that absence is as essential to being Greek as presence.¹⁰ Thus, the *polis* is essential to his writing of the Greek world because it is the essential structure that defines that world. By examining his concept of the *polis*, we gain a clearer understanding of the relationship between ethnographic, geographic and memorial and mnemonic aspects of the text and its focus on a landscape of memory that anticipates Pausanias, Longinus and other writers of the Second Sophistic.¹¹

The Greek Polis as an Object of Memory and the Memorable

Having laid out Strabo’s historiographic aims and methods in writing the *polis*, we now turn to specific examples in order to examine the memorial landscape and his civic descriptions as a type of self-reflexive ethnography that gives equal importance to both absence (i.e., existing solely in the realm of memory) and presence and lays out what is valuable and worthy of being remembered within Hellenic society and culture.

10 For the importance of absence to group identity, see Alcock 2002. For a broader, theoretical discussion, see Geary 1994; Lovell 1998; and Nora 1996.

11 See Pretzler 2005. Pretzler notes a significant difference in each author’s focus, which explains Strabo’s generalities and Pausanias’s concentrated attempt to depict the Greek landscape. See also Porter 2001 and Alcock 1994.

Strabo recognizes that those communities that survive in his own time rely on memories of the past, particularly Homeric and archaic memories, to define themselves. Helping him to organize his narrative and descriptions of cities is the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*, which he grafts onto the geographic descriptions of his own time.¹² Besides being the source for the *periplus* and periegetic traditions on which he relies, the *Catalogue* guides his geo-political descriptions of Greece and Asia Minor and speaks to the local, regional and pan-hellenic identities of his audiences. Cognizant of textual problems and geographic change, Strabo relies on Homer's world as a relatively stable or fixed image by which he can anchor his narrative as well as assess the authenticity of communal claims, the development of the community by comparing past and present, and the extent of ethno-cultural change. His accounts of Pylus illustrate the importance of and interplay between *μνήμη* and *λόγος*, and how he negotiates text, landscape and civic claims. Regarding Pylus, he reveals that the three cities in the Peloponnesus—Lepreatic Pylus in Triphylia and Pisatis, one in Coele Elis and another in Messene—compete with each other “to win for themselves the fame (*δόξαν*) and noble lineage (*εὐγένειαν*) of Nestor,” which he claims does violence (*βιάζονται*) to the Homeric text (8.3.7). He notes that those writers who “follow the words of Homer more closely” (*Ὀμηρικώτεροι*) claim Pylus in Triphylia and Pisatis as the authentic city. Writers from Coele Elis, however, “have not only supported their own Pylus with similar zeal, but have also attached known things.” They point to a site called Gerenus, and two rivers, the Geron and Geranius, as evidence that Homer's epithet for Nestor, “Gerenian,” originated from these. The Messenians too point to similar sites. As Strabo notes, “their argument appears at least more believable for they say that their Gerena is better known and that it was once a populous place.” While his account of the debate over Pylus offers us a window into the competitive nature of communities and their reading of their own uncertain memorial landscapes, it highlights the importance of *λόγος* and *μνήμη* in defining a community.

If the memorial landscape for Pylus is murky, it is only because of the extent of change that has occurred in the Greek world. Most of the cities of the Homeric world have entirely disappeared and exist only as objects of memory. For example, in his description of the Locrian cities he writes, “as for the remaining cities, it is not worth recalling (*οὐκ ἄξιον μνησθαι*) any of them, except those that Homer mentions (*Ὀμηρος μέμνηται*). Calliarus is no longer inhabited, but is now a beautifully tilled plain, and they so call it for what is the fact

12 See Biraschi 1994; Clarke 1999 197–210; Dueck 2000 31–45; Kim 2010.

in the case. Bessa too does not exist; it is a wooded place. Neither does Augeiae, whose territory is held by the Scarphians” (9.4.5). In a statement that captures the essence of his geographic aims and methods, he notes “all these names of deserted or scantily peopled places ... are often mentioned only because of their ancient history (τεθρύληται δὲ διὰ τὰς παλαιὰς ἱστορίας)” (13.1.65). So many other later communities have likewise passed completely into the realm of memory. Among other places, he notes that Messene is “mostly now deserted” and Laconia “is now short of population as compared with its large population in olden times; for outside Sparta the remaining towns (πολίχνηαι) are thirty in number, whereas in olden times it was called, they say, the country of hundred cities (ἑκατόμπολιν)” (8.4.11). Argos is superseded by a lengthier account of Mycenae, even though the city of Agamemnon “is no longer in existence” (8.6.5–19). In a general statement he notes that Arcadia is completely devastated—“The cities which in earlier times had become famous (ἠφρανίσθησαν) were wiped out by the continuous wars, and the tillers of the soil have been disappearing even since the times when most of the cities were united into what was called the Great City” (8.8.1). He quickly glosses its cities: “Mantineia was made famous by Epameinondas, who conquered the Lacedaemonians, but it, Orchomenus, Heraea, Cleitor, Pheneus, Stymphalus, Maenalus, Methydrium, Caphyeis and Cynaetha no longer exist ... [although] Tegea still endures fairly well” (8.8.2). He adds that three cities mentioned by the Poet—Rhipē, Stratiē and windy Enispē—“are not only hard to find, but are of no use to anyone who finds them because they are deserted” (8.8.2). Among his descriptions of the cities of Boeotia and Thessaly, although he provides an early history of Thebes (9.2.5), Strabo notes “Thebes today does not preserve even the character of a respectable village,” while “at present it [Thespieae] and Tanagra are the only Boeotian cities that still endure, but of all the rest only ruins and names are left” (9.2.25). He adds, “the remaining Boeotian cities concerning which it is worthwhile to remember (ἄξιον μνησθῆναι) are Alalcomenae, Tilphossium, Chaironeia, Labadeia and Leuctra” (9.2.35). Finally, in his account of the cities of Thessaly, he writes “Here too there will be an enumeration of famous names of cities (ἐνδόξων ὀνομάτων) and especially because of the poetry of Homer. Only a few cities, however, preserve their ancient dignity (ὀλίγαι σώζουσι τὸ πάτριον ἄξιωμα), but Larisa most of all” (9.5.3).

In his account of Magna Graecia Strabo writes, “One immediately comes to the cities of the Achaeans, which, except that of the Tarantini, no longer exist; and yet because of the fame of some of them it is worthwhile to give a rather extended mention (ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν δόξαν τινῶν ἄξιον καὶ ἐπι πλείον αὐτῶν μνησθῆναι)” (6.1.11). Two communities worthy of memory are Croton and Sybaris. Strabo describes them side by side, each a foil for the other. He provides no

physical descriptions but instead concentrates on these two cities as the accumulation of historical events and persisting as *exempla* and proverbs in the minds of the Greeks. He begins his description of Croton, relying on Antiochus of Syracuse, with a foundation myth—the story of Myscellus and the oracle. He then turns to the competitive nature of the citizens of Croton, who excelled at war and athletics, their participation in the Olympic Games, two accounts of the famous athlete Milo, and two proverbs regarding their athletic excellence; he records that they were famous for their health and vigor, and for the number of Pythagorean philosophers who inhabited the city (6.1.12). Yet, after their defeat by the Locrians at the Battle of the River Sagra, the city disappeared (6.1.10). As for Sybaris, Strabo records that it was an Achaean colony and that it was so successful that it controlled a number of tribes and cities. Later, however, the citizens became decadent, which allowed the city of Croton to defeat them in battle and destroy the city (6.1.13). As a result, Sybaris' notoriety continued long after the city disappeared as a reminder of the dangers of too much wealth. What is remembered about both communities is that which made them famous, but this is then filtered through Strabo's historiographic aims, in particular revealing the impact of *τύχη* (fortune) and *τροφή* (excessive wealth) on the city.

As his accounts of Croton and Sybaris reveal, Strabo's interests and selectivity are based on the persistent, memorable customs, institutions, and practices of various communities or in the many peoples, places and practices that have passed completely into the realm of memory. For example, in his description of the Cretan *πολιτεία* he states, "I have assumed that the constitution of the Cretans is worthy of description (*ἀξίαν δ' ἀναγραφῆς*) both on account of its peculiar character (*τὴν ιδιότητα*) and on account of its fame (*τὴν δόξαν*). But not many of these practices endure (*οὐ πολλὰ δὲ διαμένει τούτων τῶν νομίμων*) ..." (10.4.22). In this light, Cretan identity rests in the memory of the past, and the moral aspects of the Cretan constitution that made it famous and influential throughout the Greek world are within grasp so long as memory perseveres.

Such statements reinforce previous comments on Strabo's historiographic aims and methods—most notably that the memorial landscape consists of "things that possess a certain distinction (*ἐπιφάνειαν*) and fame (*δόξα*), which endure to later times or no longer exist" (2.5.17). Despite being completely barbarized, the cities of Magna Graecia (6.1.3; see below), as Strabo sees them, are Greek because of their fame and because they themselves have become *ἀξία μνήμης*, things worthy of remembering within Hellenic culture. Who and what is ultimately worthy of memory in general varies from place to place, but it is typically something (or things) that reflect the collective *ἀρετή* of the community. This is true both for surviving and non-existent communities.

On the one hand, Athens is her monuments, culture and history (9.1.55 ff.); Sparta her constitution (8.5.5); Ephesus her Temple of Artemis (14.1.22–23); Smyrna her beautiful layout and civic structures (14.1.37); Tarsus her schools of philosophy (14.5.13); and Linum has its world-renowned snails (13.1.15). On the other hand, Thespiae is “a city otherwise not worth seeing (οὐκ οὖσαν ἄξιοθέατον), except for the Eros of Praxiteles (9.2.25),” Myconos has its bald men (10.5.9), and Cyme its collective stupidity (13.3.6). What is memorable ultimately defines a community’s place within the broader pan-Hellenic world.

For Strabo many communities exist solely as memory, but for those communities that persist, being memorable is essential for survival. The most successful case is Rhodes. Strabo promotes the theme of θαυμασμός—a Herodotean concept—by engaging all of the famous and marvelous aspects of the city and how these have made Rhodes perhaps the best of all Greek cities.¹³ Everything about the community is memorable and reflective of its collective ἀρετή (excellence). His use of reputation and its status as a θαῦμα exposes his comparative and competitive frameworks regarding Greek cities. He writes, “It is so far superior to all others in harbors, roads, walls, and improvements in general that I am unable to speak of any other city as equal to it, or even as almost equal to it, much less superior to it” (14.2.5).

Its wealth and survival are due to its σύστημα, παιδεία (education) and preservation of collective memory. He states, “It is remarkable (θαυμαστή) for its good order (εὐνομία), and for its careful attention to the administration of affairs of state in general and in particular to that of naval affairs (ἡ ἐπιμέλεια πρὸς τε τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ ναυτικά)” (14.2.5). He points to the people’s collective ἐπιμέλεια, which has allowed them to master ἡ πολιτεία and τὰ ναυτικά, to avoid the potential dangers of poverty and excessive wealth, and to create social discipline through euergetism and magnanimity. *Homonoia* prevails in Rhodes because of a combination of intelligence, the preservation and observation of ancestral customs, recognized shared responsibilities and purpose, and institutions that allow each man to be useful (χρήσιμος) to the state. As a result of its civic harmony and political wisdom, Rhodes “held the mastery of the sea for a long time and overthrew the business of piracy” and sent forth colonies for the purpose of wealth and “to insure the safety of their people.” (14.2.10) It was because of this naval power, their ἐπιμέλεια, δόξα and εὐτύχεια or εὐδαιμονία, that they “became a friend to the Romans and to all kings who favored both the Romans and Greeks,” and thus remained autonomous (14.2.5: ἀφ’ ὧν αὐτόνομός).

13 For a discussion of this concept, see Munson 2001.

Highlighting the city as a *θαύμα* is its cultural output. Strabo points to “many votive offerings that for the most part are to be found in the Dionysium and the gymnasium, but partly in other places.” (14.2.5) He concentrates, however, on two unique offerings that no longer exist but still shape Rhodian identity. Even in their absence they are still panhellenic *θαυματά* in their own right: the Colossus and the painting of the Satyr of Protogenes. The Colossus of Helios is “by common agreement (*ὁμολογεῖται*) one of the Seven Wonders”, but now lies its ruins. Nonetheless, Strabo writes in the present tense, thus giving the impression that the Colossus still maintains powerful cultural currency. In addition, the Satyr of Protogenes continues his interest in what no longer exists—namely the partridge above the Satyr. He writes, “And at this partridge the people were so agape when the picture had only recently been set up, that they would behold him with wonder (*ἐθαύμαζον*) but overlook the Satyr, although the latter was a very great success.” (14.2.5) Strabo notes that the partridge-breeders were still more amazed (*ἔτι μάλλον [ἐθαύμαζον]*) as their birds would call to the painting. Protogenes effaced the partridge from his painting, but Strabo writes as if it still exists. In addition to the artists Chares of Lindus and Protogenes, one of the most important features of Rhodes as a Greek city is the number of men worthy of remembrance (14.2.13: *μνήμης ἄξιοι*), a significant marker in his cultural geography.¹⁴ The list of men he provides is the longest in the *Geography* and highlights the strength of the tradition of *παιδεία* at Rhodes.

Strabo conveys to his readers how exceptional the city is by isolating the social, political, and cultural features that define Rhodian identity (as he sees it) on the local, regional and in some sense panhellenic levels. Yet his depiction is imaginative and rhetorical. For example, he mentions nothing regarding the famous episode of *stasis* during the Corinthian War.¹⁵ Here Rhodian democrats rejected the Dorian Spartans in favor of the Athenians. He also overlooks the period of Hecatomnid domination later in the fourth century, which undermines his suggestion of persistent autonomy.¹⁶ Moreover, even though he was familiar with Polybius, he fails to mention Rome’s “liberation” of the Lycians and Carians from Rhodes, in particular freedom for Caunus, which Strabo mentions as “revolting” from Rhodes.¹⁷ Furthermore, although familiar with Rome’s civil wars, he fails to mention Cassius’ capture of the city in 43 BC and his seiz-

14 Cf. Engels 2005; see also Dueck 2000 130–144.

15 Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.5.10, 4.2.20 ff.; Diodorus Siculus 4.79.5–6, 4.94.97, 99.5; Lysias 23.4.17.

16 Cf. Demosthenes 15, *On the Freedom of the Rhodians*; Diodorus Siculus 16.77.

17 Strabo 14.2.3; Polybius 30.5.12, 28 and 30.6; Livy 45.25.6.

ing of its art and wealth.¹⁸ By his omissions, however, he selectively presents an image of Rhodes that aligns with its reputation throughout the Greek world and comes close to what the ideal Greek polis should be.

Idealizing and Realizing the Greek Polis

Strabo does not rely on any set or fixed approach to describe the *polis* or to define a community as Greek. His foci vary for each region and community, and he emphasizes different things for each city. When we examine his descriptions of communities *in toto*, however, we recognize that he is working from an idealized view of the city. Here I rely on and synthesize the works of Thollard, Thompson and van der Vliet.¹⁹ This ideal community is based on a combination of Aristotelian and Stoic views—it is an expression of “foresight” or “reason” (characterized by terms such as *πρόνοια*, *ἐπιμέλεια*, or *λογισμός*), which ensures its foundation, growth, and survival. Central are ideas of certainty, boundaries and moderation. Firstly, it has a clear foundation history.²⁰ Secondly, its place of foundation consists of productive land, access to the sea or water routes, defensible positions, habitable terrain, moderate climate, and accessible and plentiful resources. Thirdly, in terms of its physicality, it is walled and organized aesthetically and rationally, possessing paved streets in straight lines, porticoes and colonnades. Also, the city is adorned with artworks and possesses physical structures that promote Greek institutions and culture, such as the gymnasium. Fourthly, the ideal polis possesses a socio-political order (*σύστημα*) based on a mixed constitutional government (consisting of monarchical, aristocratic and democratic institutions) and written laws, effective leaders who produce wise and reasonable foreign, domestic and economic policies and practices. It is prosperous because of its adequacy of material goods, prudent and systematic deployment of labor and resources, writing, exact sciences, commerce and specialized craftsmanship. As a result of its wealth and efficient policies, its citizens maintain social discipline, respect for law and with all interests satisfied work together for the common good. He identifies this condition with the terms *εὐνομία* (well-ordered socio-political system) and *ἄρμονία* (concord). In addition, the community has a history of defending its own and others’ *αὐτονομία* (independence) and *ἐλευθερία* (freedom) and of being useful to others as

18 Cf. Appian, *Bellum Civile* 4.65–73; Berthold 1984 38–58; Osgood 2006 89–94.

19 Thollard 1987; Thompson 1979; van der Vliet 1984 29–86; cf. Clarke 1999 214–223; Dueck 2000 75–84; Pédech 1971.

20 Trotta 2005; Clarke 1999 264–276.

well. It has famous men (*ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι*) who through their efforts increase and defend the community's fame and honor.²¹ It has no history of population displacement, intermixture or expulsion and is marked by persistent identity and the continuation of ancient customs.

Few *poleis* come close to this ideal; instead, most of Strabo's civic narratives highlight ethno-cultural change and the difficulties of civic survival. For example, in his account of the Massalian colony of Emporium in Spain, he points out that "in the course of time the two peoples [Greeks and Indicetans] united under the same constitution (*εἰς ταὐτὸ πολίτευμα συνήλθον*), which was a mixture of both barbarian and Greek laws (*μικτόν τι ἔκ τε βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν νομίμων*)—a thing which has taken place in the case of many other peoples" (3.4.8). While he recognizes ethno-cultural intermixture, he denies the existence of a category of community defined as "mixed"; instead, taking issue with Ephorus' tripartite division of peoples in Asia Minor, a community is either Greek or barbarian based on the preponderance of cultural practices—"the predominant element has made them either Hellenes or barbarians (*ἢ ἐπικράτεια πεποίηκεν ἢ Ἑλληνας ἢ βαρβάρους*)"²² (14.5.25). Yet, Strabo contradicts himself in his description of Gargara, noting that its citizens had become semi-barbarous (13.1.58: *ἡμιβαρβάρους*). It is interesting that he challenges the Greekness of Gargara, despite its explicitly Greek foundation (it was a colony of Assos). Throughout the *Geography* he relies heavily on foundation myths as the memorial basis of a community's Greekness, but often the preservation of these early histories is not enough to define a community as Greek. This is true not just in the cases of Emporium and Gargara, but also Selge in Pisidia, which was founded by the Lacedaimonians.²³ In his account of the city, Strabo begins by mentioning the Pisidian tribes and Leleges who live in the area (12.7.3). While he records that the city has a disciplined government, he provides no physical description, no cultural figures and no other Greek history. Instead, he states that the "Selgeis are the most notable of the Pisidians" (12.7.1). In other words, this Greek city assimilated (or rather Strabo assimilated it) into the region in which it was founded. While these examples illustrate the gradual disappearance (in Strabo's eyes) of the Hellenic character of these respective *poleis*, Strabo does not define those communities that have begun to Hellenize

21 Cf. Dueck 2000 chapter 5; Engels 2005.

22 Strabo 14.5.23. For a discussion of Strabo's categories and their application, see Almagor 2005. For Strabo's ethnographic vision, see also Clarke 1999, 213–215, 294–299; Desideri 1992; Dueck 2000, 75–79, 82–83; Thollard 1987; Thompson 1979; van der Vliet 1984 and 2003.

23 For the foundations of Selge, see Trotta 2005, 122 and 125, who argues that the foundation history reinforces the city's Greek identity.

as Greek. For example, the citizens of Cibyra speak Greek (as well as Pisidian, Solymi and Lydian), but he defines them as a mixture of Lydians and Pisidians (13.4.16). For many communities of the interior of Asia Minor, he provides no help to us to ascertain the extent of their Hellenizing—they are barbarians defined by the regions in which they live and their historical reputation as non-Greeks. This view is also consistent with his belief that a majority of practices define a people.

The cases of Alexandria and Neapolis are useful in pointing out why the theme of ethno-cultural change is so important to Strabo's project. In the final book of his *Geography*, he provides a lengthy description of the city of Alexandria and its inhabitants that serves as a microcosm of the Greek experiences expressed throughout his entire work.²⁴ It also elucidates his reason for focusing on the barbarizing of Hellenic communities. He writes that “the tribe of the Alexandrians ... were a mixed people (μιγάδες) ... and were not distinctly inclined to civil life (οὐδ’ αὐτὸ εὐκρινῶς πολιτικόν),” but part of that group were Greeks who “still were Hellenes by origin and mindful of the custom common to the Greeks (“Ἕλληγες ὁμῶς ἀνέκαθεν ἦσαν καὶ ἐμμένοντο τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθους).” (17.1.12) Strabo's interest here, as elsewhere in the text, is the nature and character of the polis. In a world of mass migrations and depopulations, wars, cultural changes and other dangers to communities, the Hellenes distinguish themselves from others by remembering who they are—both their origins as well as “the common custom of the Greeks.” The Greeks are a people who remember and the city is the place where and its institutions the means by which they do it. In Strabo's view, memory is not just essential to civic behavior, but to the survival of the city itself—it is the *sine qua non* for identifying and representing the Greek city. His emphasis on Greekness defined through the memory of origins or through customs or both parallels the view of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who in his *Roman Antiquities* posits two stages of being Greek: by descent and by memory.²⁵ For example, the Achaeans along the Black Sea are still considered Eleans by *genos*, although they are “now the most savage of barbarians.” The Romans, however, best illustrate his connection between memory and Greek identity. Dionysius establishes them as Greek by descent and, although they have become mixed, have forgotten many of their ancient institutions, and speak a corrupted form of Aeolian, they stand as a marvel (θαῦμα) in their preservation of Greekness (1.89.3–4; 3.91.1).²⁶ Although Diony-

24 For a discussion of ethnicity in Egypt, see Goudriaan 1988; Bilde et al. 1992.

25 For a discussion of Dionysius' ethnography, see Peirano 2010, also Bowersock 1995 7–8. For a broader discussion of Dionysius, see Gabba 1991.

26 See Balsdon 1971; Greaves 1998; Hill 1961; Peirano 2010.

sius' account is imaginative, he nonetheless points to the dangers of mixed societies, the problem of forgetting, and the persistence of cultural forms, which, though corrupted or transformed, still serve as valuable evidence of a community's Greek identity. Like Strabo, Dionysius' cultural criteria for defining Greekness are an idealized list of what no longer exists, and that memory and forgetting are the ultimate determiners of ethnic identity.

For Strabo the institutions that transmit the memorial traditions and Greek values in general have in many communities fallen into desuetude, allowing them, like many of the communities in Magna Graecia, to "become barbarized" (ἐκβεβαρβρωσθαι 6.1.2). In other communities there are "still many traces of Hellenic order and customs (ἔτι σώζεται πολλά ἔχνη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν νομίμων)" (5.4.4). Strabo is well aware of significant changes in Greek society, perhaps the most important of which is the transformation of general education (ἀγωγή) that the Greek elite receives. He writes in his description of Neapolis (5.4.7):

This is disclosed by the names of their demarchs, for the earliest names are Greek only, whereas the later are Greek mixed with Campanian. And very many traces (πλείστα δ' ἔχνη) of Greek culture are preserved there—gymnasia, ephebeia, phratritiae, and Greek names of things, although the people are Roman. And among them there is a festival every four years, in music as well as gymnastics, which lasts for several days and vies with the most famous of those celebrated in Greece ... And greater vogue is given to the Greek mode of life (διαγωγὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν) at Neapolis by people who withdraw from Rome for the sake of rest—I mean the group who made their livelihood by training the young (ἀπὸ παιδείας) ... And some of the Romans too take delight in this way of living and observe the great number of men of the same culture (τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγωγῆς) as themselves ...

Like the Alexandrians, the Neapolitans are a culturally and ethnically mixed people who maintain just enough Hellenic culture to be classified as Greeks. Their socio-political system (σύστημα) and institution of education (ἀγωγή) have slowly eroded, but still enough recognizable cultural trappings are present to draw educated Greeks and Romans to this "Greek" city. Bowersock, however, has questioned the historical accuracy of Strabo's depiction of the Greeks of Magna Graecia.²⁷ Relying on inscriptions, he argues that the very cities

27 Bowersock 1995. For a broader discussion, see Lomas 1993.

Strabo claims are “completely barbarized” had experienced a renaissance of sorts under Augustus by resurrecting or reconstructing traditional rituals and customs.²⁸ Bowersock’s overall argument, however, overlooks the rhetorical nature of Strabo’s work. Even if he relies on sources perhaps reflecting a third or second century BC world, the main thrust of his narrative is to connect *μνήμη/ἐπιστήμη, παιδεία, and σύστημα* together.

Conclusion

So what exactly makes a community Greek? I have addressed the themes of idealization, ethno-cultural change and crisis to highlight the importance of a *sense of historical consciousness and memory* to define a community as *Greek*. For Strabo the Greek world is constantly in flux and the greatest threat to civic identity and existence is the breakdown or loss of self-knowledge and memory and the decay and disappearance of the institutions and cultural practices (collectively described as *σύστημα*) that define and preserve that identity. Strabo does his part in recording *ἄξια μνήμης* and *δόξα* of various communities, and his descriptions are informed by an aristocratic ethos that emphasizes *ἀρετή*, honor, and fame. Nonetheless, much of what he records or describes is not explicitly Hellenic *per se*, and he leaves the impression that a city’s reputation within the broader panhellenic community defines the Greekness of that city. As a monument to the various Greek communities throughout the *οἰκουμένη* (inhabited world), Strabo’s aim is to commemorate and celebrate. It is also a self-reflexive work that looks inwards for the purpose of recording and assessing communal memory and the institutions that preserve those accounts of the past, noting most importantly to his Greek readers that the survival and identity of a community rests upon the persistence of both.

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28 Bowersock 1995 10–13. For a broader discussion of the resurrection of Hellenism under Augustus, see most recently A. Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

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The *Ekklēsia* of Early Christ-Followers in Asia Minor as the Eschatological New Jerusalem: Counter-Imperial Rhetoric?

Ralph J. Korner

Introduction

The counter-imperial implications of the bizarre visionary content found in the first century CE literary work known either as the Apocalypse or the Book of Revelation have been explored in a variety of ways.¹ There is one dimension of political rhetoric in the Apocalypse, however, which has not yet been fully explored—the collective designation of Revelation’s addressees as two civic entities: an *ekklēsia* (“meeting, assembly”: e.g., 1:4) and a hegemonic, eschatological *polis* called the New Jerusalem (21:9, 10).² John infers that the New Jerusalem is the embodiment of his Christ-followers when he envisions that *polis*³ descending out of heaven but yet describes it as being “the bride, the wife of the Lamb” (21:9, 10).⁴ In a brilliant twist of plot, one could say that John has transformed the “place of God” into the “people of God.”⁵ John’s identifi-

1 For example, Yarbrow Collins 1984, Schüssler Fiorenza 1991, Harland 2000 esp. 99–121, Friesen 2001, Carey 2008 esp. 157–159.

2 The word *ekklēsia* occurs in Rev 1:4, 11, 20; 2:1, 7, 8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 23, 29; 3:1, 6, 7, 13, 14, 22; 22:16. *Ekklēsia* simply means “assembly,” yet is anachronistically translated as “church” in most English New Testaments.

3 Hansen 1996 notes that scholarly consensus defines a Greek *polis* not simply as an urban environment but as “a community of citizens [with an *ekklēsia* and a *boulē*]” (169; see also Hansen 2000 153, 157). It is in this sense that I call John’s New Jerusalem a *polis*: it is depicted as a future worldwide community of heavenly citizens whose present earthly manifestation is by means of a trans-local association of non-civic *ekklēsiai*.

4 Rev 21:9, 10 read, “Then one of the seven angels ... came and said to me, ‘Come, I will show you the bride, the wife of the Lamb.’ And in the spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God.”

5 Gundry 1987 claims that “John wanted his Christian readers ... to see in the New Jerusalem, not their future dwelling place, but—what was even more heartening—their future selves and state” (264). The fact that John never mentions human residences in the New Jerusalem implicitly supports Gundry’s position, even though it is an argument from silence. John’s

cation of his multi-ethnic communities as two civic identities (Greek *ekklēsia* and Jewish *polis*) is not, however, simply a theological statement. I will argue that John's designation of his communities in Roman Asia as *ekklēsiai* reflects an ideological strategy that is not counter-imperial but rather one that counters societal presuppositions which normalize social hierarchy and political oligarchy. It is not until John symbolically transforms his seven *ekklēsiai* into a single *polis*, however, that his identity construction project becomes patently counter-imperial. With this theo-political move John takes direct rhetorical aim at the city of Rome itself and thus, by extension, at the entire Roman religio-political *imperium*.

Counter-Imperial Imagery in the Apocalypse? Two Symbols

Irrespective of Revelation's compositional date, its symbolic universe clearly points to Rome as being the primary earthly antagonist against God and his multi-ethnic people.⁶ Two bizarre symbols, in particular, can be said to depict the Roman government, its religio-political ideology, and perhaps even its imperial cults.⁷ The first image is of a "beast" with seven heads that rises

silence in this regard would have been deafening for the Covenanters at Qumran whose temple-city described in *DNJ* (*Description of the New Jerusalem*) contains 28,800 homes allowing for a population of just over 630,000 people (See Chyutin 1994 71–97 and 1997 for a reconstruction of the seven manuscripts that are collectively referred to as the "Description of the New Jerusalem" [1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554–555a, 5Q15 and 11Q18]).

- 6 Majority opinion dates Revelation to the reign of Domitian (81–96 CE). See, for example, Aune 1997–1998, Thompson 1998, and Beale 1999. Some date Revelation to Nero's reign (54–68 CE). See, for example, Bell 1979 93–102, Rowland 1982 403–407, Wilson 1993 587–605, Marshall 2001 and 2004 123–141, Slater 2003 252–258, Rojas-Flores 2004 375–392, and van Kooten 2007 205–248.
- 7 I do not employ the oft used phrase "the Imperial cult." One cannot speak of "the Imperial cult" as if in reference to some sort of empire-wide monolithic and centralized religio-political entity dedicated to emperor worship. It was a "centrally steered phenomenon" only in respect of the four provincial cults. Of these four, only the two in the west (Lyons and Cologne) were initiated by Rome (Galinsky 1996 326). As such, one also cannot speak of a universal dogma that could be labeled 'imperial theology' or 'the gospel of Caesar' (Galinsky 2008 2). Additionally, there were four levels of imperial cults: "[1] the official cult of *deceased* emperors centred at the city of Rome ... [2] *provincial* imperial cults and temples organized by institutions that claimed to represent the civic communities of a given Roman province [e.g., the *koinon* of Asia] ... [3] *civic* imperial cults devoted to honouring the *Sebastoi* (or a particular emperor) at the city level ... [4] other *local or unofficial* shrines, monuments and

out of the sea to persecute God's people (13:1–11). Later on John describes a second symbol. He has a vision of a whore called “Babylon” who rides that seven-headed beast (17:1–18).

John explains these two symbols to his addressees. The seven heads are said to refer to “seven hills on which the woman [called Babylon] is seated; also they are seven kings” (17:9). The beast is thus symbolic both of a geographical location and of an imperial lineage. In 71 CE Vespasian minted a coin that pictures the goddess Roma sitting among seven hills.⁸ Assuming this conception was extant among the first-century Christ-followers in Roman Asia, then John's imagery is straightforwardly counter-imperial, but yet flexible in its application. The seven-headed beast upon which the woman Babylon sits is either the city of Rome, which itself sits on seven hills, or a Roman emperor who is somehow designated a seventh king (17:10).⁹ The woman named Babylon is then representative of the goddess Roma.¹⁰ Babylon thus becomes either the city of Rome (17:18),¹¹ particularly “in all her prosperity gained by economic exploitation of the Empire,”¹² or the Roman religio-political ideology, including its imperial cults,¹³ which fuels that drive towards exploitative domination.¹⁴

expressions of honour for the emperors as gods in unofficial settings (e.g., small groups), including associations” (Harland 2003 121–125).

- 8 *RIC* 2:69, no. 442 (plate 11, 301). For a detailed discussion of Vespasian's coin see Aune 1998 3.920–921. Thompson 1998 notes, though, that Revelation's phrase “seven mountains” (*hepta orē*) differs from the more common descriptor of Rome's topography: “seven-hilled” (*heptalophos*) (e.g., *Sib. Or.* 2.18; 13.45; 14.108; cf. also, Plutarch *Quaest. Rom.* 69, 280D) (161). Aune 1997–1998 mentions Varro's (116–27 BCE) identification of Rome's location as the *Septimontim* (*De lingua Latina* 5.41–54) (3.944–945).
- 9 See, for example, the extensive discussion of the phrase “seven kings” by Aune 1997–1998 3.945–950. See also Carey 2008 165–166.
- 10 Bauckham 1993b 17; Aune 1997–1998 3.925, 927. For descriptions of Roma worship among temples in Roman Asia, see Mellor 1975 79–82 and Price 1984 40–43, 252, 254.
- 11 In *Sib. Or.* 5:155–161 (ca. 70–115 CE) “Babylon” is a code name for Rome. In 1 Peter (60s CE), which is also addressed to Christ-follower communities in Roman Asia, as well as to provinces beyond, (e.g., Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia), “Babylon” is used as a cryptic reference for Rome (5:13).
- 12 Bauckham 1993b 36. See also Bauckham 1993a 338–383.
- 13 Gradel 2004 highlights how emperor worship is a coherent aspect of Roman religion. Sacred worship, even of the emperor, reflected “an honors-for-benefactions structure found in all relationships between parties of vastly unequal power and social standing in Roman society” (26). Thus, sacred worship “differed in degree, not in kind, from lower, terrestrial, or—as we would say—secular honours” (Ibid, 26). In this paradigm, divinity too is one of degree, a sliding scale based on status earned, and not one of kind, an essence that creates an absolute dividing line between divine and human realms. See also Peppard 2011 31–40.
- 14 Beale 1999 859; Runesson 2012 205–247.

Both symbolic entities (the seven-headed beast and Babylon) are said to be destined for divine judgment. These two symbols, then, express an expectation of the imminent fall of the Roman *imperium*. John claims that this *imperium* will “soon” (Rev 1:1, 3) be replaced with an ideal world, as symbolized in the New Jerusalem (Rev 21, 22), at the centre of which God sits enthroned (22:1). Not only does John envision an ideal world, but he also actualizes that visionary message in the real world of Roman Asia through a two-pronged rhetorical strategy. The first prong in John’s rhetorical attack on Rome is a political one. He identifies his Christ-follower communities as two civic identities: a Greco-Roman *ekklēsia* and a Jewish *polis*. The second prong in John’s rhetorical attack on the Roman *imperium* is religious in nature.¹⁵ He transforms the New Jerusalem into a Temple-*polis*, in which only one God dwells (21:22; 22:1), and whose multi-ethnic Christ-followers serve as that temple’s sole priesthood (1:6). In this respect John challenges the legitimacy of all other religious systems, including Rome’s.

John’s *Ekklēsia*i as Voluntary Associations

John’s religio-political ideology is evident not only in the two civic identities he attributes to his communities, but potentially even in their social structures. One of the socio-religious models¹⁶ along which John’s Christ-follower communities appear to be organized is as voluntary associations (e.g., *collegia*, *thiasoi*).¹⁷ Harland defines voluntary associations as

social groupings in antiquity that shared certain characteristics in common and that were often recognized as analogous groups by people and by governmental institutions. Associations were small, unofficial (“pri-

15 Esler 2003 notes that ‘religion’ as a distinct category in ancient Mediterranean society did not exist (73). Mason 2007 identifies six aspects of ‘religion’ that were intertwined within everyday life in early antiquity: *ethnos*, cult, philosophy, kinship traditions/domestic worship, astrology/magic and voluntary association (*collegia/thiasoi*) (482–488). See also Smith 2004 323–339.

16 Meeks 1983 proposed four possible ancient models that in some measure each reflected various elements of the *ekklēsia* of first-century Christ-followers: the household, philosophical schools, the synagogue, and the voluntary association. For updated perspectives on Meek’s proposals, see both Adams 2009 60–78 and Kloppenborg 2011 191–205.

17 See Harland 2003 178–182 for an extensive review of the scholarship.

vate”) groups, usually consisting of about ten to fifty members (but sometimes with larger memberships into the hundreds), that met together on a regular basis to socialize with one another and to honour both earthly and divine benefactors, which entailed a variety of internal and external activities.¹⁸

Some official Roman documents portray a rather negative view of associations as being subversive social entities that were in need of control.¹⁹ As such, it was not unusual for social organizations, particularly newly established ones, to require official permission for their formation.²⁰ The presumed subversive nature of voluntary associations, as portrayed in some elite Roman literature, however, can only be maintained if one ignores inscriptional evidence to the contrary. Van Nijf, Harland, Kloppenborg, and Ascough extensively document the largely positive picture painted in the inscriptional record of the interaction of various voluntary associations within Greco-Roman societal life, even despite their self-presentation by means of political terminology.²¹

18 Harland 2009 26. He also distinguishes “‘informal’ (or ‘private’) groups from official ‘institutions’ of the cities and provinces, from official ‘boards’ in charge of administering temples or other similar institutions, and from age-based ‘organizations’ connected with the gymnasia (e.g., ephebes, elders)” (Ibid, 27–28).

19 Examples can be given from the decrees of at least three Caesars: Julius, Augustus, Trajan. First, Suetonius states that Julius Caesar dissolved “all *collegia* except those of ancient foundation” during 47–46 BCE when he was seeking to solidify his power base (*Julius* 42; cf. also Josephus, *Ant.* 14.213–216). Second, Suetonius discusses Octavian’s draconian measures in the late 30s BCE against bands of brigands, some of whom mimicked association terminology. As a result, Octavian “disbanded all associations [*collegia*], except such as were of long standing and formed for legitimate purposes” (*Divine Augustus*, 32:1–2). Third, Pliny asks permission of emperor Trajan to set up a fire brigade for Nicomedia (Bithynia) consisting of 150 members (ca. 111 CE). Trajan refuses the request stating that “it is to be remembered that societies of this sort have greatly disturbed the peace of the province in general, and of those cities in particular” (Pliny *Ep.* 10.34). See further, Macro 1980 658–697 and Dmitriev 2005 308, 309.

20 A youth organization in Cyzicus was authorized only after a special *senatusconsultum* (*CIL* III 7060; ca. 138–161). Even requests for holding assemblies were directed to proconsuls (e.g., Prusa; Dio *Or.* 48.1–2). See further Dmitriev 2005 309.

21 For inscriptional content related to association life in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see particularly van Nijf 1997, Harland 2003 1–112, 2009, Nigdelis 2010 (Thessalonian associations), and Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011.

Voluntary Associations and Polis Terminology

One example of political terminology adopted by voluntary associations is their use of titles for associational leaders that derive from political officials. Examples of civic titles which were adopted for leadership positions both in voluntary associations and in the *ekklēsiai* of early Christ-followers include: ‘overseer’ or ‘bishop’ (*episkopos*; e.g., Phil 1:1; 1 Tim 3:2; Titus 1:7), ‘elders’ (*presbyteroi*; e.g., 1 Tim 5:1, 2, 17, 19; Titus 1:5; 2 John 1:2; 3 John 1:2), ‘servant’/‘deacon’ (*diakonos*; e.g., Rom 16:1; Phil 1:1; 1 Thess 3:2), and ‘patroness’ (*prostatis*; Rom 16:2).²² If one assumes that in Roman Asia there is socio-religious continuity between the prophet John’s seven *ekklēsiai* (90s CE; e.g., Ephesos), the *ekklēsia* of the *presbyteros* John (90s CE; Ephesos, 3 John 9),²³ and the apostle Paul’s *ekklēsiai* (50s CE; e.g., Ephesos, Acts 20:17–38), then one can postulate the existence of some continuity in the social structuration of all three *ekklēsia* sub-groups, not least in their use of civic leadership titles.

Kloppenborg notes that the practice of appropriating *polis* terminology for leadership positions in Greco-Roman voluntary associations forms one of the bases upon which Foucart first noted that “associations imitated the structure of the *polis*.”²⁴ Kloppenborg takes Foucart’s observation one step further in suggesting that in many ways voluntary associations even self-presented as a “city writ small.”²⁵

This political impulse in socio-religious associations need not necessarily reflect counter-imperial inclinations, though, for two reasons. First, Sergienko highlights how voluntary associations in Philippi maintained fidelity to Rome even while self-presenting as fictive *poleis* each with a *politeuma* (“governing

22 For details on titles of association leaders: Kloppenborg 1993 231–234 (esp. 232 n. 67); Harland 2003 182 (esp. 299 n. 4 for epigraphic references); Sergienko 2011 130–135 (*episkopos* and *diakonos* only).

23 For a 90s date for 3 John see Smalley 1984 xxxii. The diachronic theory of Brown 1982 locates the composition of 3 John between 100 and 110 CE (101). Three locations have been suggested: Ephesos, Syrian Antioch, and Alexandria. Brown 1982 and Smalley 1984 favour Ephesos (101–102, xxxii, respectively).

24 As cited in Kloppenborg 1993 212–238. See also Kloppenborg 1996a 16–30.

25 Kloppenborg 1996a describes the socio-political value of *collegia/thiasoi* for non-elites: “As a *polis* writ small, the collegium provided a social setting in which persons who normally could never aspire to participation in the *cursus honorum* of the city and state could give and receive honors, enjoy the ascribed status that came with being a *quinquennalis* or *mater*, have a feeling of control over at least the destiny of the collegium, and enjoy regular banquets” (26–27). See also R. MacMullen 1974 who observes that “At least the larger craft associations constituted in every detail miniature cities” (76).

authority”) of their own, one that paralleled, but did not replace, the civic *politeuma* of the Roman colony of Philippi.²⁶ Second, and more generally, many inscriptional examples of voluntary associations self-presenting as fictive *poleis* pre-date the rise of Roman hegemony in the Greek East. Thus, the original adoption of political terminology by non-civic groups did not convey a counter-hegemonic, let alone a counter-imperial, message.

Voluntary Associations and Ekklēsia Terminology

This raises a corollary question. What if a voluntary association designated either its assembly or even its community by the word *ekklēsia*?²⁷ How would

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- 26 Sergienko 2011 notes that defining *politeuma* as “citizenship” is unattested in Greco-Roman and Jewish literary sources (167). In Phil 3:18–20, Sergienko claims that *politeuma* means “governing authority” (167–169) and refers to a voluntary association. It does not mean “homeland,” “a community of resident aliens living in subjection to a different authority,” or “veteran association” (162–167).
- 27 Six inscriptions have been cited as examples of the word *ekklēsia* being used within a voluntary association context: *IGLAM* 1381–1382, Foucart 43/*CIG* 2271/*IDelos* 1519 (hereafter *IDelos* 1519) *OGIS* 488, McCabe 1986, no. 119/*Samos* 119 (hereafter *Samos* 119), and *Sinuri* 73. (1) Kloppenborg 1993 claims that *IGLAM* 1381–1382 and *IDelos* 1519 use *ekklēsia* as the name for a voluntary association (215–216, 231). The Greek is clear, though, that the communities met “in assembly” not as a group called “assembly”; (2) Regarding *IDelos* 1519, Harland 2009 reverses his original support of Kloppenborg 1993 (Harland 2003 106, 182) and claims instead that *ekklēsia* is only used as the name for the synod meeting of the *koinos* of Tyrian merchants and shippers on Delos (44–45, 111); (3) The fourth example of an association which mentions an *ekklēsia* is a wrestling school (ἀλειφομένοι) in Samos (*Samos* 119; cf. Poland 1909 repr. 332; cited in Harland 2009 111, n. 75). Ascough 2001 and 2006 adds one more example to those already noted by Kloppenborg 1993 and Harland 2003, 2009: *OGIS* 488 (113 and 159 n. 45, respectively). Ascough 2006 is incorrect, however, in his claim that a voluntary association is in view in *OGIS* 488 (see Korner 2014 60–67). In that regard, then, Ascough is also incorrect when he categorically states that O’Brien 1991 “is simply incorrect in stating that ἐκκλησία ‘did not designate an “organization” or “society.”’” (159 n. 45; cf. O’Brien 1991 377 n. 61). *OGIS* 488 speaks only of a civic *ekklēsia* convened by the village functionaries for the purpose of deciding upon land distribution (Ἐν Καστωλλῶ χῶμῃ Φιλαδελφείων, γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῆς γερούσιας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν χωμητῶν πάντων); (5) The sixth example of a non-civic community, though not necessarily of a voluntary association, appropriating the term *ekklēsia* as a designation for their semi-public ritual meeting has not yet been noted by Kloppenborg, Harland or Ascough. It is found in *Sinuri* 73/8. The *syngeneia* of Pelekos, which is a family clan with hereditary responsibility for the temple of the god *Sinuri* (fourth century BCE; Caria, Asia Minor), holds a clan “assembly” (ἐκκλησίης κυρίας γενομένης). For discussion of *Sinuri* 73/8 see Robert 1945 and 1949 59–68.

Roman authorities have perceived that phenomenon? Would it have attracted Roman suspicions of seditious intent? There are at least two clear instances in which a Hellenistic era, or later, voluntary association designates its semi-public association meeting as an *ekklēsia*. Here too, though, it does not seem necessary, nor even prudent, to presume any anti-hegemonic intent. Rather, in both instances, it appears that the adoption of *ekklēsia* terminology was expressly chosen for the socio-political benefits which might accrue to that association's membership.²⁸

The first example is of a gymnastic association (*aleiphomenoi*) within Asia Minor (Samos) which enacted an honorific decree (*psēphisma*) for a benefactor (*euergētēs*) during a meeting (*ekklēsia*) of their membership (Samos 119; n.d.).²⁹ The fact that Samos formally became a cleruchy of Athens in 365 BCE may underlie some of the association's rationale for adopting *ekklēsia* terminology.³⁰ Naming their semi-public assembly as an *ekklēsia* may implicitly have served to affirm the commitment of the *aleiphomenoi* to Athenian democratic values thereby conferring legitimacy to their decrees and to their social *praxis*.

Not noted by previous scholarship is the fact that epigraphic usage of the clause *synagō eis ekklēsian* infers a *terminus post quem* for Samos 119 in the mid-second century BCE.³¹ A *terminus post quem* of the second century BCE also accords with Greek literary evidence. The collocation *synagō eis ekklēsian*

28 Ascough 2006 notes that voluntary associations “often took their nomenclature from the civic institutions (and more often not in direct competition but in the sense of ‘imitation as flattery’)” (159 n. 47).

29 It is not possible to date Samos 119 precisely. It reads in part, ἐπὶ Λευκίππου· Ληγαίωνος ζ' ἔδοξεν τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις ἐν τῇ γερωντικῇ παλαιίστραι, συναχθεῖσιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν.

30 Samos is an island in the Aegean Sea located almost straight across from Athens. Schweigert 1940 notes that “there were three cleruchic expeditions to Samos: 365/4, 361/0, and 352/1” (194–198). Spence 2002 notes numerous instances in Samos' history which indicate its enduring commitment to democratic rule (xxix).

31 If one investigates epigraphic instances in which *synagō* is paired with the noun (*ekklēsia*), then a two hundred year compositional window opens. There are seventeen inscriptions in which the verb *synagō* is paired with the noun *ekklēsia*. None of these seventeen come from Attica, with only four hailing from Hellas proper (Macedonia, Thessaly, and Peloponnesos). The seventeen inscriptions are: *Aphrodisias* 2 (BCH [1972]: 443–445); *EKM* 1. Beroia 1; *IMT Adram Kolpos* 732; *IC* II xii 20; *Ilios* 4.33–110; *IosPE* I² 33; *IvO* 52; *Milet* I 3, 145; *Meletemata* II K1; *Rigsby, Asyria* 52c; *Samos* 4; *Samos* 119; *Samos* 120; *Sardis* VII,1 8 (*IGRR* 4.1756); *SEG* 25:687; *SEG* 47:1280; *SEG* 51:1055. Only Samos 119 pairs *synagō* and *ekklēsia* (unmodified, anarthrous) with a prepositional phrase (*eis ekklēsian*).

is found with some frequency in Greek literary sources, particularly in the writings of Polybius,³² Diodorus Siculus,³³ Josephus,³⁴ Plutarch,³⁵ and Pausanias.³⁶ These writings date somewhere from the mid-Hellenistic period (Roman ascendancy) to the Imperial period (Roman *imperium*).³⁷ If *Samos* 119 fits into this chronological window, then, as a Greek gymnastic association, the Samian *aleiphomenoi* may have garnered particular disapproval from Roman elites. Plutarch, perhaps tongue in cheek, describes the Roman prejudice towards Greek preoccupation with *gymnasia*,³⁸ while Cato and Cicero, at least publicly,³⁹ give “ferocious denunciations of Greek gymnastic naked-

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- 32 Polybius (c. 203–c. 118 BCE; Megalopolis in Arcadia) uses *synagō* plus *ekklēsia* at least 13 times. He pairs *synagō* five times with the unmodified phrase *eis ekklēsian* (*Hist.* 1.45.2; 5.1.6; 22.10.10; 22.12.5; and 23.5.16). Polybius began to write his “universal history” around 167 BCE and recounted events only up to the destruction of the cities of Corinth and Carthage in 146 BCE.
- 33 Diodorus Siculus (Sicily) wrote between 60 and 30 BCE. He juxtaposes *synagō* with *ekklēsia* at least eighteen times. He pairs *synagō* four times with *eis ekklēsian* (14.38.4; 15.74.5; 16.10.3; 17.94.5).
- 34 Josephus (37–100 CE, Jerusalem), originally known as Joseph ben Matityahu, but after the Jewish Revolt as Titus Flavius Josephus, uses *ekklēsia* a total of 48 times. He pairs *synagō* with *ekklēsia* fourteen times. Of these fourteen pairings, he uses the collocation *synagō eis ekklēsian* eleven times.
- 35 Plutarch (ca. 46–120 CE; Chaeronea, Boeotia) uses *synagō* with *ekklēsia* at least fifteen times. Of these fifteen, seven times he pairs *synagō* with the phrase *eis ekklēsian* (*Aemilius Paulus* 11.1; *Caesear* 19.2; *Caius Marius* 33.3; *Fabius Maximus* 3.4; *Lycurgus* 29.1; *Pericles* 33.5; 43.2).
- 36 Pausanias (second century CE; Lydia) pairs *synagō* with *ekklēsia* only once (*Description of Greece* 4.5.6).
- 37 The Imperial period dates from 27 BCE to 284 CE.
- 38 Plut. *QR* 40. Slater 1994 notes that “the attack on athletics is as old as Euripides and Plato” (134 n. 82).
- 39 Gruen 1992 identifies a number of Greek cultural expressions which Cato publicly eschewed. Examples include Greek oratory, poetry, philosophy, education, doctors, luxurious habits and lax moral discipline (52–55). Gruen 1992 states, though, that previous scholarly presentations of Cato as “fighting a rearguard battle for antique virtue against Hellenic infiltration ... even as head of a political movement featuring anti-hellenism ... requires modification and reconsideration ... [not least since] Cato by no means resisted the allure of Greek learning” (56; see 56–61 for examples of Cato’s appreciation of Greek learning). See further Spawforth 2012 who builds upon Gruen’s insights and forwards a wide-ranging model for understanding the “complex dialogue between ‘Roman-ness’ and ‘Greekness’” beginning with the Augustan period (2). He contends that there was “a ‘re-hellenizing’ under Roman influence of Hellenism itself, or rather, of aspects of

ness.⁴⁰ One must take public denunciations of Greek culture in the literature of Roman elites with a grain of salt, however, as they do not always match the private, nor even the public, *praxis* of Roman elites.⁴¹ Irrespective of how Roman authorities may have viewed gymnastic associations, the very fact that a civic title (*ekklēsia*) is used by a non-civic group (the *aleiphomenoi* of Samos 119) for their ‘members only’ assembly suggests that the *aleiphomenoi* were not fearful of their appropriation of *ekklēsia* terminology being perceived as anti-hegemonic or counter-imperial rhetoric.

A second example of a non-civic group adopting an *ekklēsia* identity is the association (*koinos, synodos*) of Tyrian merchants, shippers, and warehousemen from Delos (Aegean Sea). They also enacted an honorific decree for a benefactor during a meeting (*ekklēsia*) of their membership (*IDelos* 1519).⁴² This time, however, the enactment decree can confidently be dated to the period of Roman hegemony in the Greek East. *IDelos* 1519 was inscribed sometime around 150 BCE⁴³ not too long after Rome declared Delos a free port and

the forms of Greek cultural expressions controlled by the stratum of eastern provincial notables, including Greek civic identity” (2). Specifically in respect of Roman elites (e.g., Cato, Livy), Spawforth 2012 states that he “accept[s] the recent rejection of traditional notions that Roman moralising discourse was a ‘tedious commonplace’ in favour of the view that what are reflected here are ‘anxieties of those who wrote [these texts]’” (14).

40 Cicero, *Resp.* 4.4.4. Additional critique can be found in Pliny, *Ep.* 4.22.7; Hor. *Od.* 3.24.51; *Sat.* 2.2.10; Tac. *Ann.* 14.14–15, 20–21; Pliny, *NH* 15.19, 29.26; *Paneg.* 13.6; Mart. 7.32; Luc. 7.270; Suet. *Dom.* 4. See Slater 1994 134, n. 84.

41 Slater 1994 observes that one of the most distinguished men of Caesarean Rome, L. Munaius Plancus acted out a Greek mythological theme in a pantomime at a private occasion in Egypt, apparently with his elite audience’s approval (Vell. Pat. 2.83.2) (136). Such appreciation of Greek culture among Romans is not an isolated incident. There was a strong tradition of Roman Philhellenism, with Nero being a particularly active supporter (See Ferrary 1988). Spawforth 2012 comments that Nero’s visit to Greece, the first by an emperor since Augustus, “played on the image of the ‘true’ Greece in new ways” (236). Nero pursued “agonistic glory in Greece by competing in musical and charioteering events” (Ibid, 236). Spawforth 2012 supportively cites Barbara Levick’s claim that Nero’s broader purpose in this was a “general attempt to change Roman aristocratic mores and Roman values in general, so that gymnastics, playing instruments, singing and composing, stage and circus performances would come to be thought suitable for upper class participation” (20).

42 *IDelos* 1519 reads in part, ἐκακλησία ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (lines 1–2) and ἐπειδὴ Πάτρων Δωροθέου τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνόδου, ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκακλησίαν.

43 Scholarly dating of *IDelos* 1519 varies between 153/2 BCE and 149/148 BCE. See Trümper 2011 55, nn. 21 and 22.

returned it to the status of an Athenian cleruchy (167/6 BCE).⁴⁴ John Day notes that the Tyrian Herakleistai comprised one of the two most important non-Roman associations at Delos during the time of the Athenian cleruchy, with the Poseidoniasts of Berytus being the other.⁴⁵

The Tyrian Herakleistai state that their decision to send an embassy “to the *boulē* and to the Athenian *dēmos*” originated within an *ekklēsia*. Their mimesis of Athenian enactment decree formulae implicitly communicates the association’s adherence to Athenian democratic values.⁴⁶ Mimicking Athenian political terminology may very well have served to add greater legitimacy to, and thus, increase the chance of success for, their embassy’s visit to Athens to ask for permission for the construction of a temple to their ancestral god Herakles in the Athenian cleruchy of Delos.

If it is possible to suggest that a socio-religious voluntary association (the Tyrian Herakleistai) named its ‘members-only’ assembly *ekklēsia* as a way of currying political and economic favour with its political overlords and social benefactors, then it is not unreasonable to apply that self-same logic to a group which actually self-identifies as an *ekklēsia*. It appears that some Jewish synagogue associations in early-first-century CE Egypt presaged early Christ-followers in adopting *ekklēsia* as their collective identity. Philo appears to write of non-civic *ekklēsia* associations whose focus is upon the initiation and religious instruction of Egyptian converts (*Virt.* 108) and/or for religious “talk and study” (*Deus* 111).⁴⁷ The only examples of *ekklēsia* associations within the early Christ-following community are Pauline, Johannine,⁴⁸ and Matthean

44 Trümper 2011 49. Day 1942/repr. 1973 observes that sometime between 144 and 126 BCE any extant inscriptional evidence for an Athenian cleruchy disappears (75).

45 Day 1942/repr. 1973 notes that by 110 BCE, the Poseidoniasts built an extensive complex northwest of the Sacred Lake (67). Their complex of buildings included shops/storerooms, a club-house, and various rooms dedicated to religious observances. For precise archeological descriptions of the Poseidoniasts’ complex, see Trümper 2011 53–58.

46 The five standardized elements of enactment decrees are: the enactment formula (ἔδοξε τῆι ...; “resolved by ...”), the proposer of the motion (“x” εἶπεν; “x’ proposed”), the motivation clause (ἐπειδὴ ...; “since ...”), the motion formula (δεδοχθαι ...; “Let it be resolved ...”), and the substance (the action to be taken) (Rhodes and Lewis 1997 551–552). See also the detailed discussion of decrees by McLean 2002 215–227. *IDelos* 1519 replicates four of the five elements of a standard Athenian enactment decree, and adds a sixth element that occurs with some frequency in other inscriptions—an official context for the decision-making process (e.g., the *ekklēsia*).

47 See Korner 2014 140–161.

48 I use the term “Johannine” for the sake of convenience here to refer to the authors of the

sub-groups.⁴⁹ The use of the word *ekklēsia* as a permanent group identity is elsewhere unattested in Greco-Roman literary,⁵⁰ epigraphic,⁵¹ and papyrological⁵² records or in other Jewish literary works.⁵³ Thus, at least four sub-groups of Christ-followers (Pauline, Matthean, and both ‘Johannine’) positioned them-

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- Johannine epistles and to the book of Revelation, not necessarily implying thereby that both sets of literary works are written by the same “John.”
- 49 The word *ekklēsia* is not used in writings attributed to the apostle Peter (1 and 2 Peter). In other New Testament writings the word *ekklēsia* is used with four different meanings. *Ekklēsia* is used, first of all, as a title for the semi-public, ritual assembly or meeting of early Christ-followers (1 Cor 11:18; 14:19, 28, 34, 35; Jas 5:14[?]; Heb 12:24); second, for the collective sum of all Christ-followers while gathered together in assembly (Col 4:15: “Nympha and the *ekklēsia* in her home”; cf. Matt 18:17 [2×]; Rom 16:3–5; 1 Cor 16:19; Jas 5:14[?]); third, as a collective designation for those self-same Christ-followers even when not gathered in assembly (e.g., Rom 16:16, 23; 1 Cor 1:2; 4:17; 10:32; 12:28; 2 Cor 1:1; 8:1, 18, 19, 23, 24; Gal 1:2, 13, 22; Phil 3:6; 1 Thess 1:1; 2:14; Phlm 2; 3 John 9; Rev 1:4, 11, 20; 2:1, 7, 8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 23, 29; 3:1, 6, 7, 13, 14, 22; 22:16) and, fourth, as a reference to the supra-local, or universal *ekklēsia*, of which regional *ekklēsiai* are local manifestations (e.g., Matt 16:18; Eph 1:22, 3:10, 21; 5:23–32; Col 1:18; 1 Tim 3:15). New Testament uses of the word *ekklēsia* accord with Greco-Roman usages in never designating a building as an *ekklēsia*.
- 50 There are over 1062 mentions of the word *ekklēsia* in Greek literary sources (fifth century BCE to third century CE). None refer to a collective identity of a non-civic group, or to the name of the semi-public assembly of a non-civic group. First-century CE Greco-Roman authors who mention the civic *ekklēsia* include Plutarch (160), Dio Chrysostom (19), Flavius Josephus (61) and Strabo (1).
- 51 The word *ekklēsia* occurs upwards of 1896 times in inscriptions dated from the fifth century BCE up to and including the third century CE. I say “upwards of 1896 times” because at least 68 inscriptional occurrences of the word *ekklēsia* are not datable with any degree of certainty. A search of the over 2100 epigraphic occurrences of the lexemes *ἐκκλησία*, *ἐκκλησίη*, *ἐκκλησία*, *ἐκκλησία*, *ἐκκλησία*, *ἐκκλησία*, and *ἐκκλησία* (fifth century BCE to the eleventh century CE) does not turn up any evidence of a Greco-Roman non-civic group self-identifying collectively as an *ekklēsia*. At most, only three inscriptions use *ekklēsia* as the name of the ritual assembly of a non-civic association (*IDelos* 1519; *Samos* 119; *Sinuri* 73/8).
- 52 Within the papyrological evidence, there are at least thirteen extant documents written by voluntary associations. Of these thirteen, six of which are dated after the first century CE, only one refers to an assembly convened by the association (P.Mich.: 5:243; 14–37 CE), but the Greek word used is *sylogos* and not *ekklēsia*. See the edition of P.Mich.: 5:243, 244 in Boak 1944 and in Boak 1937 212–220.
- 53 The word *ekklēsia* occurs with frequency in Jewish Second Temple literary works: LXX (103×); Ben Sira (13×); Philo (23×); Josephus (48×). In all instances, except in Philo’s *Virt.* 108 and *Deus* 111, *ekklēsia* is not used as a permanent collective identity for a sub-group of Israelites or Jews.

selves distinctively in Greco-Roman society through their fictive embodiment of two key elements of a Greek *polis*: its leadership structure and its *ekklēsia*.⁵⁴ In this regard one might even call those four sub-groups of voluntary associations ‘a city doubly writ small’. In order to assess effectively how such a doubly political identity for John’s Christ-followers may have been perceived by Greco-Roman outsiders, and particularly by Roman authorities, one must first situate John’s Christ-followers within the socio-political realities of late-first-century CE Roman Asia.

John’s *Ekklēsiai* in Roman Asia: The Politics of Oligarchy, Hierarchy, and Democracy

The socio-political context of early Christ-followers in Roman Asia was a complex interplay of competing systems. Zuiderhoek identifies three public, and often competing, dimensions to civic politics within the Greek East during the Imperial period: “the sources point to a strong element of oligarchy as well as to a continuing tradition of popular politics, against a background of a growing social and political hierarchisation.”⁵⁵

The first dimension of Imperial period political life in the Greek East was civic governance by oligarchs. They comprised the top of the social hierarchy. They also came to predominate in the *boulē* where council membership was restricted to property holders who passed the census qualification.⁵⁶ Aelius Aristides (mid-second century CE) calls them “the most important and power-

54 My thanks to John S. Kloppenborg (2013) for his provision of this extensive list of scholarly resources relative to understanding the *ekklēsiai* of early Christ-followers as a Greco-Roman voluntary association. Kloppenborg does not cite van Nijf 1997, though, because Christ-follower voluntary associations are not addressed in van Nijf’s research on Greco-Roman associations. Studies which correlate Christ-follower communities with voluntary associations include: Ascough 1998, 2000 311–328, 2002 3–24, 2006 149–183, 2010 49–72; Ebel 2004; Harland 2000 99–121, 2002 385–408, 2003, 2009; Harrison 1999 31–47; Klinghardt 1994 251–270, 1996; Kloppenborg 1993 212–238, 1996a 16–30, 1996b 247–263, 2011 187–218; McCready 1996 59–73; Öhler 2002 51–71, 2011; Pilhofer 2002, 2005 393–415; Schmeller 1995, 2003 167–185, 2006 1–19; Trebilco 1999 325–334.

55 Zuiderhoek 2008 418.

56 Hansen 2000 notes that while participation in the *ekklēsia* was usually open to all citizens, “the holding of (major) offices only was restricted to [natural born citizens] who passed the census qualification” (166). See also, Jones 1971 180; Sherwin-White 1966 720 (on *Ep.* 10.110.2); Jones 1978 96; Quass 1993 343, 383; Pleket 1998 206; Bekker-Nielsen 2008 174.

ful” people (μέγιστοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι) from across the empire.⁵⁷ New councilors no longer could come from the *zeugetai* or *thetēs* census classes, but only from respectable elite families.⁵⁸ Where popular elections still existed (e.g., for magistracies), the council drew up the list of potential candidates.⁵⁹ Zuiderhoek states that oligarchisation developed to such a degree that councilors sat for life and they and their families “increasingly came to have a corporate identity as a ruling class, and began to refer to themselves collectively as the βουλευτικὸν τάγμα, the bouletic order (or *ordo decurionum*).”⁶⁰ The Roman provincial constitutional framework appears actively even to have encouraged such developments.⁶¹

Rome ‘deputized’ the oligarchic elites of each *polis* in the Greek East to rule directly on its behalf. This indirect approach is clearly displayed in an inscription from Oinoanda/Oenoanda (Lycia, Asia Minor). It describes the organization of a festival processional during Hadrian’s reign (*SEG* 38.1462; 124–125/126 CE).⁶² The involvement of Roman authorities amounted only to the granting of official approval and to being given assurances that neither civic nor state revenues would be required for the successful implementation of the new quadrennial sacred crown festival. The local *dēmos* had full control of festival planning and of the enactment of all arrangements. Mitchell notes that

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- 57 Aelius Aristides emphasizes the high status of these provincials associated with Rome: “Many in each city are citizens of yours no less than of their fellow natives ... There is no need of garrisons holding acropolises, but the most important and powerful in each place guard their countries for you” (*Or.* 26.64).
- 58 Pliny *Ep.* 10.79 (Bithynia and Pontus). For council membership in other *poleis* in the Greek East see Quass 1993 384–394 and Mitchell 1993 88–89 (Galatia).
- 59 Pleket 1998 206. With respect to the *boulē* in Prusa (early second century CE), Bekker-Nielsen 2008 notes that “the social standing of its members and the fact that the council united almost all the powerful and wealthy men of the city meant that in addition to its probouleutic function, it was often the real locus of decision-making” (67).
- 60 E.g., *CIΓ* 4411a, b, 4412b; *RECAM* II 195; *SEG* XXXIII 1123; See Quass 1993 388 n. 170 and Pleket 1998 205–206.
- 61 Zuiderhoek 2008 429. E.g., see esp. Pliny the Younger’s summary of the *lex Pompeia* of 65 BCE for Bithynia and Pontus (*Ep.* 10.79). Note also *SEG* 51.1832 wherein the Romans ostensibly ‘restored’ ancestral rights to Lycia after its conquest. Claudius transfers power from the *akriton plēthos* to the *aristoi* (Chaniotis, Corsten, Stroud, and Tybout 2001; see also Şahin 1994 130–137).
- 62 Mitchell 1990 183–193. At 117 lines, *SEG* 38.1462 is by far the longest record of the establishment of a quadrennial, or, in Greek terminology, a penteteric agonistic (“sacred crown”) festival. This particular festival was endowed by one of Oinoanda’s eminent citizens, C. Iulius Demosthenes, with the approval of emperor Hadrian.

“few imperial documents more clearly indicate the division of responsibility between a city and the central authorities.”⁶³

In order further to broaden their civic standing and to deepen their imperial influence, oligarchs from across the Greek East created informal trans-local alliances between their *poleis* based upon educational, cultural, and political commonalities.⁶⁴ Perkins observes that “The elite proclaimed their superiority through their *paideia* and their civic benefactions, [which] ... naturalizes and legitimates political and economic dominance.”⁶⁵ Formal alliances were also formed. The most prestigious in Asia Minor was known as “the *koinon* of Asia.” Macro describes it anachronistically as an exclusively religious institution that oversaw the provincial imperial cult that was situated in Pergamum, one of the seven *poleis* within which Revelation’s addressees lived.⁶⁶ Delegates for the *koinon* of Asia met in three of the other *poleis* wherein John’s communities were situated (Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea).⁶⁷

It was not only oligarchs who formed trans-local alliances. Associations of Epicureans also appear to have tended toward this strategy.⁶⁸ As such, Epicureans may have formed a precursor for a not dissimilar trans-local strategy employed by Christ-follower associations that were aligned with the apos-

63 Mitchell 1990 188.

64 Perkins 2009 notes that “Across the territories of the Greek east, the Greek elite shared educational and cultural interests that allowed them to cement their solidarity and to constitute a group identity of *pepaideumenoī*, the educated, of persons from divergent locales and different ethnicities. These educated persons also acquired, it seems, a system of allegiances and attitudes that constituted them not only as the educated, but also as an empire wide power elite, a ruling ‘class’, positioned to administer empire” (23–24).

65 Perkins 2009 25. For an exhaustive list of epigraphic references to Imperial period benefactions see Zuiderhoek 2009 160–166. Examples of euergetism include public buildings (e.g., agoras, theatres, odeia, baths/gymnasia, stoas, religious structures), distributions, and festivals.

66 Macro 1980 674–675, Harland 2003 121–125. Price 1984 notes that prior to Domitian’s time only three provincial imperial cults had ever existed in Roman Asia (Pergamum, 29 BCE; Smyrna, 23 CE; Miletus, ca. 40 CE), with one of those being discontinued after the death of Gaius (Miletus). Ephesos dedicated a cult to the Sebastoi (i.e., Domitian, Titus and Vespasian) in the late first century CE (249–274; “Catalogue of Imperial Temples and Shrines in Asia Minor”). See also Friesen 1993 27–28.

67 The seven *poleis* of the *koinon* of Asia were Sardis, Cyzicus, Philadelphia, Laodicea, Lycum, Miletus, and Tralleis.

68 Epicureans enacted their fictive commonwealth of world citizens through the establishment of trans-local networks of local groups, which Gillihan 2012 claims “formed alternative commonwealths whose territory and towns mirrored, even rivaled, those of empires” (95).

tle Paul (e.g., “the *ekklēsiai* of Asia”; 1 Cor 16:19)⁶⁹ and the prophet John (the seven *ekklēsiai* of Asia; Rev 1:4).

A second political development in Imperial period *poleis* of the Greek East was that Greek civic ideology shifted away from *isonomia* (“equality of political rights”) towards hierarchy politics. Van Nijf calls this socio-political phenomenon “*ordo*-making”: “Public ceremonies in the Greek East reinforced a hierarchical conception of society within which identity was derived from membership of a status group constructed along the lines of a Roman *ordo*.”⁷⁰ This resulted in the *honestiores* as being “decidedly less ordinary than others.”⁷¹ Zuiderhoek claims that this hierarchic restructuring, far from muting the voice and diminishing the influence of the *demos*, actually served to contribute to the political vitality of the popular assembly by enfranchising a “substantial ‘middle.’”⁷²

One type of non-elite civic sub-group with this “middle” status appears to have thrived particularly well within the hierarchization of *polis* life: professional associations or *collegia/thiasoi*.⁷³ *Collegia* developed endemic ties with

69 See van Kooten 2012 for his view that Paul “seems to hint at a conscious paralleling of the Roman provinces which points to an alternative structure of the Roman empire” (536). He contends that this alternative society of *ekklēsiai* paralleled three levels of political organization: municipal/regional, provincial, and empire-wide (536–537). He does not, however, follow the lead of Horsley in claiming that the very fact of being politically organized indicates an underlying, or visible portrayal, of counter-imperial ideology. Van Kooten claims a provincial level of organization is evident in Paul’s phrases “the *ekklēsiai* of Galatia” (1 Cor 16:1; Gal 1:2), “the *ekklēsiai* of Asia” (1 Cor 16:19), “the *ekklēsiai* of Macedonia” (2 Cor 8:1), and “the *ekklēsiai* of Judea” (Gal 1:22; cf. 1 Thess 2:14) (536).

70 Van Nijf 1997 245. Van Nijf states that beginning with the Late Hellenistic period a number of wealthy and powerful elite families in the Greek East “re-invented themselves as a separate status group, as an (ideally) hereditary *ordo* of *honoratiores* claiming to be the repositories in the community of *genos*, *arête* and *chremata* (pedigree, virtue, and money)” (134). See also van Nijf 1997 163, 187, 217.

71 Zuiderhoek 2008 429. The *honestiores* consisted of Roman senators, knights, and municipal decurions from the provinces, as well as military veterans.

72 Perkins 2009 notes that only 1 per cent of the population of the Roman empire could be considered *honestiores*, “it is perfectly possible to reconcile the dominance of a disproportionately affluent elite with the presence of a substantial ‘middle’” (54).

73 Zuiderhoek 2008 uses the phrase “politically vocal middling stratum” in reference to “urban-based manufacturers and traders (whether of the local, regional, or interregional variety)—in short, precisely the people we would expect to find in the urban professional *collegia*, and to whom the Romans referred as the *plebs media*” (437). See esp. van Nijf 1997 and also Kloppenborg and Wilson, eds. 1996, Harland 2003, 2009, and Gutsfeld and Koch, eds. 2006.

the bouletic elite through their networks of euergetism and patronage, their participation in hierarchically arranged festival processions,⁷⁴ their privileged seating in theatres,⁷⁵ and their receipt of cash handouts in public distributions that were proportionally larger per capita than those received by the *politai* or *plebei*.⁷⁶ The connections of associations in Roman Asia could even extend beyond the equestrian class into the senatorial order.⁷⁷

The third key player in Imperial period politics was the popular assembly that was called either the *dēmos* or the *ekklēsia*. During the Imperial period most of the inscriptional decrees enacted by the *dēmos* through the *ekklēsia* relate primarily to euergetism. The predominance of honorific decrees does not, however, necessitate a corollary conclusion that this simply reflects a ceremonial role for the *ekklēsia*.⁷⁸ Zuiderhoek contends that “the organisation of benefactions usually meant that decisions had to be made which touched on

74 For a general overview, see van Nijf 1997 131–146, 191–206. The replication of *polis* hierarchy in festivals and processions is most clearly seen in the festival foundation established by C. Iulius Demosthenes at Oenoanda (Oinoanda) in Lycia in 124/5 CE. See Wörrle 1988 4–17, Mitchell 1990 183–193, Rogers 1991 91–100, and Zuiderhoek 2007 205–206. In Ephesos, Gaius Vibius Salutaris donated over 30 silver figures which were carried in a bi-weekly procession by almost 300 persons for display, not honorific worship, to the theater (103/104 CE; *IEph* 27 A–G). Gebhard 1996 highlights that the figurines, each about a meter tall, included nine of the goddess Artemis, and others of Trajan along with personifications of the Roman senate, the Roman people, the Ephesian *boulē*, *gerousia*, *ephebes*, *dēmos*, and of the six civic tribes (121–123).

75 Seat inscriptions re-inscribe the Imperial period tendency to hierarchical organization by marking places for citizens according to rank and position. Gebhard 1996 lists theaters from across the Greek East in which seat inscriptions are found. These include “at the Theater of Dionysus at Athens, Delphi, Megalopolis, Heraclea, Lyncestis, Miletus, Termessus, and Aphrodisias” (113). These hail primarily from the Roman period. While seats nearest the front were given to the *bouleutai* (councilors), non-elite civic associations of various types, particularly the urban professional *collegia* also had reserved seating. See also Small 1987 85–93, Van Nijf 1997 216–240.

76 *IGR* III 800–802.

77 Harland 2003 151. For the equestrian class Harland cites the honouring of a procurator (*epitropos*), who is an assistant to the proconsul of provincial Asia, by the purple-dyers at Hierapolis (*IHierapJ* 42 = *IGR* IV 816) and the physicians at Ephesos (*IEph* 719, early second century CE). Senatorial connections are evident in the joint honouring of Augustus’ grandson Gaius by the people of Assos (northwest Pergamum) and the association of Roman businessmen (*IAssos* 13; 1 BCE–4 CE).

78 Zuiderhoek 2008 notes that “provincial elites in the Greek East were certainly not powerful enough to force assemblies into submission and have them merely applaud and rubber-stamp pre-arranged decisions” (422).

many and widely different areas of civic life—for instance, public construction, festive and religious life, public finance, civic administration, relations with Roman governors and/or emperors, and so on.”⁷⁹ Aside from the political influence the *dēmos* exerted during the process of honouring benefactors, there are other indicators of the political vibrancy and authority of the *ekklēsia* in the Greek East during the Imperial period.

One of those indicators is not simply the fact that civic *ekklēsiai* existed during the Imperial period.⁸⁰ That approach says nothing necessarily about the degree to which those self-same *ekklēsiai* were democratically relevant.⁸¹ When one broadens the political search criteria to include inscriptional references to democratic ‘code-words’ (*dēmokratia*, *autonomia*, *eleutheria*), democratic functions (e.g., selection by lot, accountability of public officials, sovereignty of the *dēmos*)⁸² and democratic forms (*boulē*, *ekklēsia*, *dēmos*), then a more complex picture emerges.

Sviatoslav Dmitriev (2005),⁸³ Volker Grieb (2008) and Susan Carlsson (2010) studied epigraphic evidence from Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and

79 Zuiderhoek 2008 422.

80 The epigraphic data of the Packard Humanities Institute contains over 2100 inscriptional mentions of the lexemes ἐκκλησία, ἐκκλησία, ἐκκλησίη, ἐκκλησία, ἐκκλησία, and ἐκκλησία (fifth century BCE–eleventh century CE) (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main>; accessed beginning Nov. 2010). Of these, 52 are datable with certainty to the Imperial period (27 BCE–284 CE). Only the morphemes ἐκκλησία and ἐκκλησία occur. Organized by date, the number of their occurrences is: pre-1st cent. CE (3 [4]); first century CE (22 [21]); second century CE (15); and third century CE (12).

81 For example, although the classical Athenian practice of holding the “ordinary assembly” (ἐκκλησία κυρία; up to 322 BCE) is still evident in Athens in the first century BCE (IG II² 1047; 49/48 BCE) and in the first century CE in at least two inscriptions (Epidauria, Peloponnesos [Peek, *Asklepieion* 35(2)]; Pontus, Paphlagonia [*St. Pont.* III 141]), one cannot assume thereby that these later examples of an ἐκκλησία κυρία functioned similarly to the classical Athenian institution of the same name.

82 Herodotus (*Histories*; 431–425 BCE) lists three essential features of classical Athenian *dēmokratia* that distinguish Athenian polity from monarchical rule. Herodotus focused on: (1) the use of the lot by which to select officials; (2) the accountability of officials to the *dēmos*; (3) the power (*kratos*) of the popular assembly (*ekklēsia*) to make decisions (Herodotus. 3.80.6, cf. 82.4, cf. 6.43.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1279b21–22). See further in Sealey 1967 272–277 and Ostwald 1969 107–113, 178–179.

83 Dmitriev 2005 states that “even though the political activity of the people’s assemblies became extinct, the people retained, albeit formally, the final say in administrative and political matters ... At the same time, the people remained an important social force whose attitudes had to be taken into consideration by the members of the local élite,

Roman periods.⁸⁴ They each contend that, even though generally the *dēmos* continued to be consulted by ruling authorities, *dēmokratia* ceased to be a viable political system in Asia Minor, especially in the coastal cities, sometime between ca. 150 BCE and the time of direct Roman rule in 129 BCE. Thus, based on their assessments, one would assume that, by the Imperial period, *dēmokratia* had deteriorated to a significant degree.

There are at least three factors, however, which appear to problematize any assumptions of extensive democratic malaise in first-century CE Roman Asia. First, inscriptional evidence attests to the democratic *praxis* of three of the four jurisdictional responsibilities of the classical Athenian *dēmos* within civic *ekklēsiai* of first-century CE Greek *poleis* in Roman Asia: legislative authority, executive power, and judicial oversight.⁸⁵ The fourth, foreign policy initiatives, is absent in first-century CE inscriptions. Democratic *praxis* in Roman Asia continues to be evident even into the second century CE. Van Nijf forwards Termessos as one particularly illustrative example. He claims Termessos “was technically still a democracy.”⁸⁶ In terms of formal democratic institutions, Termessos had a regular assembly (*ennomos ekklēsia*) in which probouleutic recommendations of the *boulē* were considered by upwards of 4,500 citizens.⁸⁷ In terms of the formal jurisdictional responsibilities allotted to the *dēmos*, the assembly debated issues commonly included in the traditional agenda of the classical

and Roman authorities still treated Asian cities as communities by addressing letters to their ‘council and the people’ (330).

- 84 While Carlsson 2010 focused on epigraphic occurrences of the words *dēmokratia*, *eleutheria*, and *autonomia*, Grieb 2008 looked for the survival of those three elements in historical events that demonstrate the active participation of the *dēmos* (“demokratischen Praxis”) and the pursuit of independent foreign policy initiatives (“ausenpolitischen”). Unfortunately, although Carlsson’s work is published after that of Grieb, she does not interact with his work, much of which would have reinforced her line of argumentation.
- 85 Glotz 1929/repr. 1969 162. Three of the four jurisdictional realms are enacted within the context of civic *ekklēsiai* during the first century CE: (1) legislative functions such as the pronouncement of imperial favours to political regions (*IG VII 2713*, Akraiphia) and of honorific decrees (*Bosch, Quellen Ankara 76,72*, Ankyra [Ankara]; *IScM III 31*, Kallatis [Mangalia]); (2) executive functions such as the decision to purchase olive oil (*IG XII,1 3*, Rhodes); and (3) judicial functions such as the manumission of slaves (*FD III 6:31*, *FD III 6:27*, *BCH 108 [1984] 366,4* [all from Delphi]).
- 86 Van Nijf 201b 234.
- 87 *TAM III.1*. Van Nijf 201b notes that the theatre in which the *dēmos* met in assembly contained seating for c. 4500 people (234).

Athenian *ekklēsia* known as the *ekklēsia kyria*.⁸⁸ Van Nijf cites examples such as “the appointment of magistrates, financial affairs, civic subdivisions (including the introduction of new *phylai*), construction works (roads and cisterns), food-supply, and the organization of games and festivals.”⁸⁹ Termessos even involved itself in foreign policy initiatives by deciding to provide auxiliary troops and to send embassies to Rome.

Since the words *ekklēsia* and *dēmos* are often used interchangeably, enactment decrees that mention either term, but not the *boulē*, also reflect the exercise of political authority by the people. This type of decree is called a non-probouletic, or ecclesiastical decree (e.g., ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ).⁹⁰ While three potential non-probouletic decrees from the first or second centuries CE use the word *ekklēsia*,⁹¹ more use the word *dē-*

88 The principal *ekklēsia* (i.e., ἐκκλησία κυρία) of classical Athens had an all-embracing program which included: votes of confidence (ἐπιχειροτονία; *epicheirotonia*) with respect to the magistrates (*archontes*); discussion of military preparedness and of issues related to food security, consideration of accusations of high treason (εἰσαγγελίαι; *eisangeliai*), reports of confiscated property and of determinations made with respect to disputed inheritance claims (Glutz 1929/repr. 1969 85; Cf. *AP* 43.4–6).

89 Van Nijf 201b 234.

90 For detailed definitions of bouletic, probouletic, and non-probouletic/ecclesiastical decrees see de Laix 1973 195–198 and Sinclair 1998 94, 229. A non-probouletic decree implies that the decision reached in the *ekklēsia* was not based upon a *probouleuma* that originated in the *boulē*. Examples of non-probouletic decrees from the Greek East wherein the people (*dēmos*) on their own are stated to have made a decision include: *IPrusa ad Olymp.* 1006–1011 (all first or second centuries); *ISmyrna* 676 (117–138? CE); *TAM* v.2 1264 (*Hierocaesarea*, 25 CE?); *ISelge* 31 (late first–early second century CE); *ISelge* 32 (Imperial); *IKourion* 87 (113/4 CE); and *IGLSyrie* I 167 (Nicompolis, Imperial). See further in Zuiderhoek 2008 419 n. 3.

91 There are no occurrences of the word *ekklēsia* in either an enactment formula (ἔδοξεν τῆι ἐκκλησίᾳ) or in a motion formula (δεδόχθαι ...; “Let it be resolved”) in any first-century BCE inscriptions. There are three occurrences in first-and-second-century CE inscriptions, but their fragmentary nature precludes any definitive readings. Only one hails from Asia Minor proper (*SEG* VII 2; Parthia, Susiana, Seleucia on the Eulaeus [Susa]; 21 CE/Parthian year 268, Audnaeus 17). *SEG* VII 2 is a letter from Artaban III, king of Parthia, to Seleucia approving the election of a city treasurer. It reads, βασιλευσόν[τος Σελευκου, ἔτους] ζλ' καὶ ρ', μη[νός-----], ἐν Σελευκ[εῖαι δὲ τῆι πρὸς τῶι] Εὐλαίῳ Λ[όφου-----, ἐπι] Ἀμμωνί[ου. ἔδοξε τῆι ἐκκλησίᾳ]. This inscription is not found on the Packard Humanities website (as of March 2014) but is discussed by Sherk 1992 258. Of the other two examples of enactment formulae, one is from Kos and the other hails from Scythia Minor: (1) *Iscr. di Cos* EV 75bis is a civic decree (Cos and Calyma, Kos—Kos, first or second centuries CE; [ἔδο]ξε τ[ῆι ἐκκλη-σῆι(?)]); (2) *IscM* III 34 from Arsa appears to be the decree of an assembly presided over

mos.⁹² A full analysis of this data, however, is beyond the scope of this essay given that my particular focus is on the self-designation of Christ-followers in Roman Asia as *ekklēsia*; they did not self-identify as *dēmos*.

A second factor which counters any claims of democratic malaise in Imperial era Greek *poleis* is the observation of scholars such as Ruth Webb, Anna Crescinda Miller, and Giovanni Salmeri that there is literary attestation of a vibrant “*ekklēsia* discourse” within the first-century CE works of Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Theon.⁹³ Miller sees the “*ekklēsia* discourse” in the writings of Plutarch and Dio as entailing

topoi familiar from classical literature, such as idealization of an empowered citizen body and the speech of the assembly ... these themes were applied not only to historical assemblies of the past, or theoretical assemblies of the imagination, but also to the assemblies that were meeting in Greek cities of the first century.⁹⁴

by the *pontifex maximus* (perhaps the head of the imperial cult in that town?). This fragmentary inscription honors a merchant who lowered the price of his wares (e.g., oil) and so earned the gratitude of the citizens, a common bit of *euergesia* in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods (Thrace and the Lower Danube, Scythia Minor, Kallatis [Mangalia]—Arsa; 50–100 CE; [Ξ]δοξε τᾶ ἀρχι[ερα]τικᾶ [ἐκ(κ)λησίᾳ]; line 11) (PHI’s insertion of [ἐκ(κ)λησίᾳ] in line 11 would seem not to fit, though, in the original text published by Sauciuc-Saveanu 1925 esp. 126–128).

- 92 An example of a non-probouletic/ecclesiastical decree from Asia Minor in which only the *dēmos* is mentioned comes from Cyzicus (*StG*³ 798 = *IGR* IV 145; Mysia, 37 CE). Therein the *dēmos* commissioned the *archontes* to draft and propose a decree, which was then discussed and passed at a later meeting (Rhodes and Lewis 1997 416). An example from the second century CE has the *dēmos* electing the city’s treasurers (*tamiai*) (*ISmyrna* 771; ca. 117–138 CE). Interestingly, in at least one non-probouletic/ecclesiastical decree, the terms *ekklēsia* and *dēmos* are not used synonymously but are differentiated (*IG* XII,1 3, Rhodes, first century [BCE or CE]): [ἔδοξεν τῶι δ]άμωι ἐν τᾶ ἐκ(κ)λησίᾳ ἐν τῶι Ἀρταμιτίωι μῆνι.
- 93 See Webb 2001 289–292; Miller 2008 4–5; and Salmeri 2000 53–92; 2011 197–214. Salmeri 2011 notes four key differences and fifth substantive similarities between Imperial period and Classical era Athenian *ekklēsiai* (206). See Kokkinia 2006 on “*ekklēsia* discourse” in Aelius Aristides (early second century CE) (181–190). Plutarch (ca. 46–120 CE) was born in Chaeronea (Boeotia) in central Greece. Dio Chrysostom (ca. 40–c. 115) is also known as Dion of Prusa or Dio Cocceianus. He was born in Prusa, a town in Bithynia. Theon’s *progymnasmata* was written ca. 95 CE.

- 94 Miller 2008 4–5.

With respect to Theon's *progymnasmata*, Ruth Webb identifies its underlying purpose to be the preparation of the student for rhetorical repartee within the real world as a citizen in the *ekklēsia*.⁹⁵

Third, Onno van Nijf argues that informal democracy, or what he calls "political culture,"⁹⁶ is evident in inscriptional evidence from Imperial period *poleis* in Asia Minor.⁹⁷ He identifies three non-institutional aspects of vibrant political culture: festive communities, monuments of leadership,⁹⁸ and emotive communities.⁹⁹ The unspoken underlying goal of political culture appears to be the preservation of the *status quo*, so to speak, so as to avert direct Roman intervention and to facilitate the flow of political influence between the oligarchic elite and the *dēmos* in both directions.¹⁰⁰

Zuiderhoek notes that power sharing between the oligarchic elites and the popular assembly "seems often to have been an uneasy one."¹⁰¹ This ongoing

95 Webb 2001 289–292. *Topoi* raised in the classical Athenian *ekklēsia* are also given priority as *progymnasmata* students spoke in their imagined *ekklēsia* (e.g., the danger of tyrants, tyrannicide as a heroic act, provision of justice, and equality for the poor over against the oppression of the rich; cf. Dem. 21.124–127; also Thuc. 2.37).

96 Van Nijf 2011a defines "political culture" as "a 'menu of approaches' developed in political science, but adopted also by historians involving both the ideals and the operating norms of a political system. Political culture includes subjective attitudes and sentiments as well as objective symbols and creeds that together govern political behaviour and give structure and order to the political process" (5). See also Mitchell 1990 183–193 and Pleket 1998 204–216 who argue that politics permeated cultural forms and religious life.

97 For example, Van Nijf 2011b 215–242.

98 For van Nijf's discussion of festivals and monuments of leadership in political culture see: (1) 1997 131–148 (festivals) and 1997 73–130 (honorific inscriptions); (2) 2011a 11–14; and (3) 2011b 217–223 (monumental politics).

99 Van Nijf 2011c observes that "when a writer of the Second Sophistic wanted to get to the *essence* of a community he would naturally focus on the *emotional climate* in which social and political transactions took place" (11; author's emphasis).

100 For example, the practice of monumentalism, which exponentially increased in the Greek East during the Imperial period, displays cultural forces which use informal power to influence the political decisions of the oligarchic elite and key notable families. Van Nijf argues that the public use of honorific language implicitly pressures the honorand to live up to the public impression created of him or her. In this way, the *dēmos* plays an active role in the process of political identity construction even without having been formally granted any official political office or even role (van Nijf 1997 73–130; 2011b 217–223).

101 Zuiderhoek 2008 442. He identifies the reason for this uneasy relationship as being the fact that there was "the cohabitation of oligarchisation, hierarchisation, and a continuing measure of active popular politics (fuelled quite possibly by a politically vocal middling stratum within the *demos*)" (442).

need for the negotiation of power resulted in civic disturbances that are widely attested throughout the Greek East during the first two centuries CE.¹⁰² Salmeri summarily describes the many conflicts in Roman Asia Minor between the elite dominated *boulē* and the *dēmos*.¹⁰³ In the long run, civic disturbances did not benefit either the oligarchic ruling elite or the *dēmos* as they could lead to direct Roman intervention.¹⁰⁴ Somehow conflict had to be mediated. The political clout of the popular *ekklēsia* gave it an obstinacy that oligarchic elites found difficult to move based simply upon verbal persuasion or manipulation. As a result, euergetism, or benefaction, became a key strategy of the elite for mitigating conflict between the *boulē* and the *ekklēsia*. This is particularly true of Roman Asia which saw an exponential rise in the frequency and level of public and semi-public benefaction during the Imperial period.

Euergetism, or “the politics of redistribution,” as Zuiderhoek terms it,¹⁰⁵ served both internal and external public functions within Greek *poleis* during the Imperial period.¹⁰⁶ Internally, public rituals associated with euergetism

did much to ease possible tensions arising from this political configuration by creating a dynamic exchange of gifts for honours which allowed the elite to present itself as a virtuous, benevolent upper class, while simultaneously allowing the *demos* to affirm (and thereby legitimate) or reject this image through the public allocation of honours.¹⁰⁷

Externally, “the politics of redistribution,” as enacted by the oligarchic elite, served to prevent Roman intervention in civic affairs by appeasing the ex-

102 Zuiderhoek 2008 cites examples of civic unrest, though not of revolt, throughout the Imperial period Greek East. Locations include: Sardis (Philostr. *Letters of Apollonius* 56); Aspendus (Philostr. *V.Apoll.* 1.15); Smyrna (Philostr. *V.Soph.* 1.25 [p. 531]); Rhodes (Aelius Aristides, *Oration to the Rhodians: Concerning Concord* [Or. 24]); Tarsus (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 34.16–20); Nicaea (*Or.* 39); Prusa (*Or.* 46, 47.19, 48.9 [442 n. 61]).

103 Salmeri 2000 provides an extensive summary of the many conflicts in Roman Asia Minor between the elite dominated *boulē* and the *dēmos* (73–86).

104 Plutarch *Mor.* 814F–815A.

105 Zuiderhoek 2008 435.

106 See Zuiderhoek 2011 for his study of elite demography which demonstrates that public euergetism served an important private function for elites in memorializing their family lineage given the challenges of high mortality rates and short lifespans (185–196).

107 Zuiderhoek 2008 444. See Zuiderhoek 2009 for charts on the frequency with which different types of benefaction were given (e.g., types of buildings, categories of benefaction-types) (76–80).

pressed and perceived demands of the popular assembly thereby avoiding disruptive civic unrest. Zuiderhoek even goes so far as to claim that

to a large measure, the well-being and stable functioning of the Empire depended on the vitality of its cities ... [hence] euergetism's contribution to civic socio-political stability may well have been one of the keys to the survival and flourishing of the Roman imperial system as a whole during the first two centuries AD.¹⁰⁸

Zuiderhoek concludes that this three-way tug of war between imperial authorities, civic elites and popular assemblies “helps to explain the remarkable proliferation of euergetism we see in the eastern provinces during the first two centuries.”¹⁰⁹

John's Christ-followers as Non-civic *Ekklēsiai*: Counter-Oligarchic Rhetoric?

It is within this competitive three-dimensional political realm that Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* in Roman Asia found themselves. How might Greco-Roman outsiders have perceived this non-civic group which self-identified collectively by the same name as their democratic institution *par excellence*, the civic *ekklēsia*? There are at least four positions taken by scholarship, all of which primarily focus their discussion upon Paul's *ekklēsiai*, and all of which agree that his *ekklēsiai* self-present as alternative societies to the existing governing authorities. Conclusions reached relative to Paul's *ekklēsiai* (60s CE) may also have analogous application to John's communities (90s CE), particularly with respect to the one *polis* in Roman Asia—Ephesus—where each leader gave oversight to an *ekklēsia*.¹¹⁰

Georgi represents the first position. He assesses the rhetorical implications, at the municipal level, of Paul's communities self-identifying as *ekklēsiai*. He views Paul's assemblies as being “in competition with the local political assembly of the [city's] citizenry”¹¹¹ in that they form an “alternative social utopia”

¹⁰⁸ Zuiderhoek 2009 5.

¹⁰⁹ Zuiderhoek 2008 435.

¹¹⁰ For Paul's Ephesian *ekklēsia*, see Acts 20:15–38. The epistle in the NT that is ostensibly addressed to the Ephesians (1:1) is considered deutero-Pauline by the majority of scholars.

¹¹¹ Georgi 1991 31, 51, 57.

which reflects three “central ideals of Hellenistic society”: “its libertarian and democratic universalism, its socially egalitarian pluralism, and its urban basis.”¹¹² Thus, Georgi sees Paul’s democratization of group dynamics as being a civic ideology which critiques oligarchic rule and hierarchically organized societies.

Horsley goes one political step further than does Georgi. He claims that the social functions within Paul’s *ekklēsiai* reflect a direct challenge to the Roman *imperium*, not simply to the governing authorities within a *polis*.¹¹³ Horsley identifies five social functions in Paul’s letter to the Corinthian *ekklēsia* which reflect a counter-imperial alternative society. These are: (1) a trans-local network of missionally united household based *ekklēsiai*; (2) communal affairs that are adjudicated autonomously of local authorities (e.g., lawsuits); (3) isolation from “fundamental forms of social relations in the dominant society” (e.g., abstain from eating food offered to idols); (4) embody radically different economic relations (avoid patronage), and (5) institute an economic practice that was “unprecedented and probably unique in antiquity” (the collection for the poor Christ-followers in Jerusalem).¹¹⁴

The counter-imperial claims of Horsley, however, are not without their socio-historical limitations. Three primary issues arise. First, the precedent setting examples of the Tyrian Herakleistai of Delos and the wrestling association of Samos suggest that the adoption of *ekklēsia* terminology by early Christ-followers could simply reflect an attempt on their part to curry political and economic favour with the civic authorities of Imperial Greek cities and/or Greek notables (e.g., benefactors).¹¹⁵

Second, at least three of the five social functions that Paul purportedly promoted to his Corinthian *ekklēsia* are not necessarily suggestive of counter-imperial prejudice. Imperial era oligarchic families also developed what could be called “trans-local networks of missionally united household based associations,” at least insofar as their mission to retain power and wealth was concerned. Yet their trans-local networks, self-serving as they were, were still very much pro-imperial in their socio-political functioning.¹¹⁶ If Paul (and John)

112 Georgi 1991 51.

113 Horsley 1997a 206–214, 1997b 242–252, 1998 36.

114 Horsley 1997b 243–252, esp. 251.

115 I follow the lead of van Nijf in using the phrase “Imperial Greek city” in technical fashion for “the Greek *polis* the first three centuries of our era, that is, between the reigns of Augustus and Diocletian” (2011c 1).

116 Van Kooten 2012 also states that Paul organizes Christ-followers into trans-local communi-

had wished explicitly to communicate a counter-imperial message in how they designated their trans-local assemblies, they could have mirrored Greek practice by using a regionalized term such as “the *koinon* of Asia.” Simply using a pluralistic phrase like “*ekklēsiai* of Asia” implies, at the very least, that there were multiple *ekklēsiai* in Asia, not that their plurality necessarily represented a trans-local association. The fact that Christ-followers in Corinth autonomously adjudicated their communal affairs is not ideologically counter-imperial either. Rather, it simply reflects a legal right already granted to voluntary associations since Hellenistic times by the Romans themselves.¹¹⁷ Finally, the apparent rejection of benefaction in Corinth appears questionable on two fronts. An *aedile* (“treasurer”) of Corinth named Erastus appears to be the same person mentioned by Paul who is listed as being a member of the Corinthian *ekklēsia* (Rom 16:23). If this is the case, then this Erastus could very well have been a source of benefaction for the Christ-following community.¹¹⁸ Even if the Corinthian Christ-followers did lack benefactors, this fact may have been due more to their lack of a purpose-built structure rather than to a purposeful ideology. The Corinthian *ekklēsia* would have been unattractive to a potential benefactor who expected reciprocity through monumentalism; the Corinthians did not possess a dedicated space in which, or upon which, to display an honorific decree.¹¹⁹

ties “as an alternative political structure existing alongside the Greek civic assemblies and the Roman State” (535). He disagrees with Horsley’s claim that Paul’s trans-local *ekklēsiai* were counter-imperial associations.

- 117 Gillihan 2012 cites the seminal work of Mariano San Nicolò who first argued that “from the Hellenistic times onward the imperial authorities granted associations limited but significant juridical authority over members” (87–88; see San Nicolò 1913–1915; 1927 255–300). Two rules in particular were common within the imperially authorized *nomoi*, or regulations, of voluntary associations: (1) fellow members were prohibited from suing one another in public courts. Lawsuits were arbitrated by a special juridical committee within the association; and (2) internal brawling among members was subject to internal sanctions.
- 118 Thiselton 2000 reviews the scholarly debate with respect to connecting the Erastus honoured on an inscription for paving a street in Corinth with the Erastus who appears to be a member of the Corinthian *ekklēsia* which met in the home of Gaius (Rom 16:23) (8–9). He concludes that the evidence is sufficiently credible to suggest that one and the same person may very well be in view (Ibid, 9).
- 119 The Theodotus inscription on a pre-70 CE Jewish synagogue in Jerusalem gives evidence of the value of a purpose built structure for attracting, or, at the very least, for acknowledging, euergetism. For a discussion of the Theodotus inscription see Kloppenborg 2000 243–280.

Third, it is doubtful that John or Greco-Roman outsiders would have viewed his *ekklēsiai* as counter-imperial associations. To begin, as Kloppenborg and Harland note, Christ-follower voluntary associations in Asia Minor, especially in Ephesos, mirror other Greco-Roman *thiasoi* in self-presenting as a “city writ small” in their social structuration.¹²⁰ As such, a *thiasos* which self-identifies as an *ekklēsia* could have been perceived as a positive, rather than as a counter-imperial, participant within the “political culture” of Imperial period Asia Minor,¹²¹ especially given the vibrant “*ekklēsia* discourse” evident among Second Sophistic writers such as Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Theon.¹²² Second, John’s *ekklēsiai* did not experience official persecution at the hands of the Romans. This lack of official Roman intervention is suggested by external and internal evidence. Externally, scholarship has only documented what Harland calls “local and sporadic” persecution of Christ-followers in Asia Minor during the first two centuries.¹²³ Internally, John makes no explicit mention of contemporaneous persecution at the hands of the Romans, even though in two of the three *poleis* where John’s *ekklēsiai* ostensibly experienced persecution there existed an imperial cult (Smyrna, Pergamum). The only group that John accuses of persecuting his Christ-followers is one he pejoratively names “the synagogue of Satan” (Smyrna, 2:9; Philadelphia, 3:9).¹²⁴

In contradistinction to the counter-imperial readings of Horsley, McCready sides with Georgi’s insights in building a third interpretive approach relative to viewing Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* as alternative societies. While not denying the political nature of their civic identity, he focuses instead upon how self-designating as *ekklēsiai* facilitated the missional relevance of Paul’s alternative societies among gentiles. McCready’s primary point is that by self-presenting, in many respects, as a voluntary association, Christ-follower *ekklēsiai* would have had an air of familiarity about them for Greco-Roman outsiders who previously had experienced associational life.¹²⁵ He states that:

120 See n. 25.

121 See nn. 96–100.

122 See n. 93.

123 See a helpful review of the evidence in Harland 2003 184–189. See also Carey 2008 163–164.

124 Aside from persecution in Smyrna and Philadelphia by the “synagogue of Satan,” John mentions that one Christ-follower was purportedly killed in Pergamon (2:13), where the imperial cult overseen by the *koinon* of Asia existed. He does not specifically name any persecuting agent. Even though Pergamon is identified as the location of “Satan’s throne” (2:13), a Jewish synagogue community is definitely not one of the possible referents for John’s polemical phrase (see Aune 1997–1998 1.182–184).

125 McCready 1996 62.

the *ekklēsiai* provided a focal point for Christian claims of salvation, election, and common destiny for people of God. Membership was inclusive, crossing social boundaries, and religious intimacy was available with fellow believers ... The point to be emphasized is that the concept of *ekklēsia* as a vehicle for claiming universal salvation was matched with a social institution capable of transcending a local village, town, or city to unite the church into a collective whole.¹²⁶

In summary, it would seem that Christ-followers who were affiliated with Paul or John would not have been perceived as counter-imperial associations simply by virtue of their *ekklēsia* identities and social *praxis*. It seems more probable that the fictive civic identity of early Christ-followers, particularly Pauline ones, would instead have been perceived as an implicit critique both of oligarchic rule and of the hierarchical ordering that was facilitated through the elite-controlled *boulē*.

In this respect, Gillihan describes Paul's communities as reflecting "alternative civic ideology."¹²⁷ Alternative civic ideology challenges the *status quo* of state civic ideology through an association's organizational and regulatory choices. Thus, even though voluntary associations in general adopted civic structures and leadership titles, it is their modifications to, or specific rejections of, the institutional norms that provided an implicit critique of civic ideology. Paul's *ekklēsiai* socially self-present what the classical Athenian *ekklēsia* represented socio-politically, but to an even greater degree. Paul's *ekklēsiai* self-present as democratic communities whose assemblies facilitated unrestricted social interaction for their members irrespective of socio-economic status and ethno-religious background (e.g., Gal 3:28).¹²⁸ Paul went one step further than

126 McCready 1996 69.

127 Gillihan 2012 79.

128 Gal 3:28 reads, "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus." Jewett 2007 makes clear that the guiding principle behind Paul's honor system was not "love patriarchy," that is, benefaction based upon hierarchical social stratification (65–66), but "agapic communalism," (69) that is, "owing nothing to anyone, except mutual love among equals" (Rom 13:8a). This agapic communalism makes Paul's "honor system" one of unrestricted social interaction. Its democratic and egalitarian principles level the socio-economic playing field, so to speak, between the "administrative slaves" and aristocratic patrons within Paul's *ekklēsiai* (Jewett 2007 60–61, 64–66. On Rom 16:10–11, see Ibid, 952–953, 965–968). In this respect, Paul seeks to overturn the hierarchical separation these two groups would have experienced in the Greco-Roman honor system.

Greek *poleis*, however. In concord with other Greco-Roman voluntary associations, he appears also to have granted those self-same membership rights to women and to slaves (Gal 3:28; 1 Cor 7:17–24).

Unlike Paul, however, John gives little indication of the socio-religious organization of his *ekklēsiai*. He is not interested simply in the internal enactment of municipal level counter-oligarchic ideology. His ideological focus, rather, is directed beyond the level of civic politics. He takes aim at the highest political target, the Roman *imperium* itself. To that end he metaphorically transforms his seven *ekklēsiai* into a single fictive *polis*. This heavenly *polis* of which John's *ekklēsiai* are the earthly representative assemblies is Jewish, eschatological, more expansive geographically than Roman Asia, replaces Rome as the ruling *polis* of the *oikoumenē*, and is called "the New Jerusalem." The counter-imperial ideology inherent in such a politically charged collective designation would not have gone unnoticed by his *ekklēsiai* or by Greco-Roman outsiders. This is particularly true if Revelation was written after the Judean revolt (66–70 CE) during which time Jerusalem and its temple were destroyed at the hands of Vespasian's son Titus.

John's Designation of his Non-civic *Ekklēsiai* as a *Polis*: Counter-Imperial Rhetoric

This transformation of an entire socio-religious group into a fictive *polis* appears to be distinctive of John. It would have taken Stoic,¹²⁹ Cynic¹³⁰ and Epicurean¹³¹ conceptions of a universal commonwealth of humanity one exponen-

129 Stoic civic ideology presumes the *kosmos* as being the true commonwealth (Gillihan 2012 114). Human *poleis* are to function in conformity with this true commonwealth whose citizens are the gods and humans. The underlying *nomos* of this universal commonwealth is the *nous*, or rather the rationality presupposed in a mind that is in harmony with the law of "right reason" (ὀρθος λόγος) (e.g., Arius Didymus, *ap.* Eusebius, *PE* 15.15.3–5). Thus, Stoics prioritized direct political engagement in *poleis* when any particular *polis* either rejected or neglected ὀρθος λόγος. See further, Schofield 1999 and Richter 2011.

130 Cynic civic ideology views every person as a "citizen of the *kosmos*," or as Diogenes defined himself, as a *κοσμοπολίτης*, and claims an intimate relationship with the founders of the *kosmopolis* itself, that is, the gods (D.L. 6.37, 72) (Gillihan 2012 108).

131 Gillihan 2012 notes that Epicureans simultaneously affirmed the value of the Athenian *polis*, and later Greek and Roman empires, while critiquing their inadequacies, and concurrently seeking to establish alternative societies congruent with their alternative civic ideology (97).

tial step further, particularly with respect to two Stoic conceptions of the ideal city. In his work *Republic*, Zeno “proposes an ideal communist city, all of whose citizens are wise.”¹³² Zeno’s city is located in a single territory.¹³³ The Roman Stoic Cicero taught instead that the entire cosmos is a city.¹³⁴ Cicero’s universal city is not only composed of the wise, however, “it also includes the vicious and the stupid.”¹³⁵ In this John differs from Cicero but sides with Zeno. John conceives a virtuous *polis* community from which “those who practice abomination and lying” are excluded (21:27). But he parallels Cicero’s description of a generic ‘universe-city’ in at least one respect. John extends the geographical reach of that virtuous community’s *polis* to include much of the *oikoumenē* (21:16) and he concretizes Cicero’s abstract concept. John describes a 2220 cubic kilometer *polis* that unites heaven with earth and all of the earth-dwellers with each other (21:15). Not only does John’s virtuous community live in a non-Greek *polis* with God (21:2–4, 27), but paradoxically, that virtuous community, in many respects, has itself become a universal *polis* (21:9, 10), or a ‘*kosmos-polis*’, if you will, within which God lives (21:22–23; 22:1–5).

In sum, one could say that, while John’s collective identification of his voluntary associations as *ekklēsiai* presents them as ‘an earthly city doubly writ small’, his symbolic portrayal of his Christ-followers as the New Jerusalem positions them as ‘the heavenly city writ large’. The combination of these two politically charged identities unmistakably presents Christ-followers as counter-imperial ideologues. One could succinctly say that the seven earthly *ekklēsiai* who collectively comprise the New Jerusalem, form a ‘heavenly city writ large’ that provides a direct political challenge to Rome, the ruling city of the empire, that ‘earthly city writ large’.

This rhetorical strategy of fictively identifying God’s people as ‘the heavenly city writ large’, finds partial expression in one of the sectarian documents from

132 Morrison 2007 249.

133 Richter 2011 questions assertions that Zeno envisaged “a cosmopolitan ‘world-state’ coterminous with the *oikoumenē*” and suggests that he, like Plato and Aristotle, attempted “to perfect the institution of the classical *polis*” (62). Richter claims Zeno did not do away with the regionally delimited *polis contra* to what Plutarch and Eratosthenes may have thought (Ibid, 62).

134 Cicero states that “the universe is as it were the common home of gods and men, or a city that belongs to both” (*ND* II 154; trans. Schofield 1999 65). In *ND* II Cicero claims to expound Stoic doctrine. Richter states that Cicero’s “faithful doxographic status” is confirmed by Arius Didymus as cited in Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xv 15): “the universe is as it were a city consisting of gods and men, the gods exercising leadership, the men subordinate” (Schofield 1999 66).

135 Morrison 2007 249.

Qumran: 4Q Peshar on Isaiah 54:11 (4QpIs^d, 4Q164). The sapphire foundation stones of Isaiah's ideal Jerusalem (54:11) are interpreted by the Covenanters as referring to their community (4Q164 1 ii).¹³⁶ This symbolism is not dissimilar to the Apocalypse's portrayal of the twelve apostles of the Lamb as the twelve-fold foundation of the New Jerusalem, each layer of which is made up of a different precious stone (21:14, 19–21).¹³⁷ There is one key difference, though. The Covenanters identify their entire community only with the foundation of the city, while John portrays all Christ-followers, including his seven *ekklēsiai*, as being the entire city (22:9, 10) with the foundation being made up solely of the twelve apostles.

John's Ekklēsiai as 'Kosmos-Polis': Counter-Imperial Rhetoric

John's conception of his *ekklēsiai* as a '*kosmos-polis*' would also have resonated with a broader Jewish audience, especially the large Jewish populace in the Lycus river valley (e.g., Laodicea).¹³⁸ The gargantuan size of John's eschatological New Jerusalem exponentially reinforces Hebrew and Jewish Second Temple conceptions of the historic Jerusalem as the "navel of the earth."¹³⁹ John's New Jerusalem goes well beyond simply sitting in the centre of the earth, however. It almost encompasses the earth. It is shaped like a cube and has walls that are said to be 12,000 stadia (2200 kilometers) long, wide and high. The dimensions of John's New Jerusalem far exceed any of the Jewish Temple-cities described in Ezekiel 40–48,¹⁴⁰ in the non-sectarian collection of scrolls called *The Description of the New Jerusalem*¹⁴¹ and the Temple Scroll (11QT),¹⁴² or in Book 5 of the

136 4Q164 1 ii reads, "[Its interpretation:] they will found the council of the *yachad* ["community"], the priests and the people ... the assembly of their elect."

137 Draper 1988 41–63.

138 With respect to Laodicea, Josephus states that, since the time of Antiochus III the Great (early second century BCE), it consisted of a predominantly Jewish population (*Ant.* 12.3.4), while Cicero notes that Flaccus confiscated a large amount of gold (9 kg) which was destined for the Temple in Jerusalem (*Pro Flacco* 28–68).

139 Jerusalem is called the "navel of the earth" in *Jub* 8:19 and is said to be situated in the "middle of the earth" in *1 Enoch* 26:1, *Sib. Or.* 5:249, and *Arist.* 83. In the HB, Jerusalem is the city implied in the phrase "the navel of the earth" (*Ezek* 38:12).

140 The outer courts of Ezekiel's Temple-city measure 500 cubits by 500 cubits (*Ezek* 42:16–20). Ezekiel uses the royal cubit (52 cm.) instead of the standard cubit (45 cm.). Thus, the area of the Temple-city measures 50.6 km.²

141 *DNJ* is non-sectarian with an early to mid-second-century BCE compositional date. The residential area totals 280,000 homes with a minimum population of 650,000 people. This 'New Jerusalem' measures 471 km.² (26 kilometers by 18.5 kilometers) (Chyutin 1997 70 ff.).

142 See Stegemann 1989 123–148. The temple in 11QT is not eschatological. It represents an

Sibylline Oracles.¹⁴³ The area of John's walled city (approx. 5 million km²) far surpasses the unwallled territory controlled by hegemonic Greek *poleis*, one of which grew to encompass an area of 8,000 km² (Sparta).¹⁴⁴ The ostensible presentation of John's heavenly *polis* as a territorial state also diverges from Greek conceptions of a *polis*. Hansen notes that Greeks never attempted "to unite all the city-states and create one large territorial state."¹⁴⁵ Even if one considers imperial Rome a territorial state, unlike Rome John's New Jerusalem contains its territory within walls. In fact, John's Jewish *polis* can even be said geographically to subsume, and thus dominate, the imperial city of Rome itself.¹⁴⁶ Even without the benefit of modern cartography, John's readers in Roman Asia would doubtlessly have interpreted the immense size of the city as a counter-imperial image that extends God's sovereignty over Roman Asia, and beyond.

John's description of the descent of that New Jerusalem from heaven (Rev 21:2, 9–11) puts into stark relief the opposite reality that will befall Rome. In chapter 18 John describes Babylon's (i.e., Rome's) catastrophic fall to earth (18:1–24). In John's symbolic universe, Rome is no longer the centre of the religio-political 'universe'. Rather, the counter-imperial city called the New Jerusalem now is.

But John's New Jerusalem does not just stretch horizontally and encompass geo-political regions. It also 'enters' into the heavenly realms by stretching 12,000 stadia vertically; the 'mother of all skyscrapers', to so speak.¹⁴⁷ The wall's

"ideal temple, apparently ... [the one] the Israelites should have built after their entrance into the land of Canaan" (Maier 2000 921–927, esp. 925). The outer court measures 1700 cubits or 816 metres per outer side (11Q19 21.3–4; 22.13–15; 37.19; 40.5–45.2; 46.3; 4Q365 28.ii). See also, Maier 1989 24–62, esp. 24–25.

143 Book 5 of the *Sibylline Oracles*, which dates from the late first century CE, presages somewhat John's concept of an enormous eschatological Jerusalem. In *Sib. Or.* 5.252 the future wall of Jerusalem is said to extend outwards even to the city of Joppa on the Mediterranean coast.

144 Hansen 2000 discusses four hegemonic *poleis*: Sparta, Kyrene, Thessalonike, and Demetrius, the last two of which grew by synoikism not conquest (150). Hegemonic *poleis* were ruled from the centre even if the territory over which they held sway contained a number of independent *poleis* (Ibid, 150).

145 Hansen 2000 notes that "one important point emerges with unerring certainty: the Hellenic world remained a world of *poleis* and no attempt was ever made to unite all the city-states and create one large territorial state like that created in the nineteenth century. To the Greek mind such an idea was as remote as, e.g., the abolition of slavery" (150).

146 As "the crow flies," the distance from the city of Jerusalem, the "navel/center of the earth" (Ezek 38:12), to the city of Rome measures only about 1400 miles/2240 kms.

147 The great height of John's New Jerusalem is concordant with the hope expressed in *Sib.*

height eternally guarantees that no unholy thing, not even a bird, can defile the city's holiness. But the wall's unfathomable height also implies, as Deutsch suggests, that the cubic New Jerusalem "bridges the gulf between the heavenly and the earthly; Heaven and earth become one."¹⁴⁸

John's Eschatological 'People-Polis' as Temple-City

It is the almost limitless vertical dimensions of the walls of the New Jerusalem which suggest a second prong in John's ideological 'attack' against Roman imperial aspirations—a religious critique. His portrayal of the gargantuan New Jerusalem as a cube is reminiscent of the shape ascribed to the Holy of holies in the Israelites' Desert tabernacle¹⁴⁹ and in the Solomonic Temple in Jerusalem.¹⁵⁰

The collective identification of Christ-followers as the cube-shaped New Jerusalem implies not only that God's presence permanently resides with redeemed humanity, but also that redeemed humanity has, in point of fact, permanently become transformed into the very Holy of holies itself. In portraying the city as a Jewish sanctuary, and the Jewish sanctuary as a multi-ethnic, but messianic, people, John challenges the legitimacy of all other religious systems, perhaps even of what E.P. Sanders calls "common Judaism," even while at the same time making available to all ethnicities the ability to reside in God's presence permanently.¹⁵¹

This portrayal of Christ-followers as a living sanctuary has precedents outside of the New Testament. The sectarians at Qumran not only self-portrayed

Or. 5:414–428: "the city which God desired ... more brilliant than the stars and sun and moon ... [a] great and immense tower [temple] over many stadia touching even the clouds and visible to all" (5:420–425). In *b. Bat.* 75b, the future Jerusalem is said to incorporate a thousand towers, gardens, palaces, and mansions each the size of Sephoris. Jerusalem is said to extend to a height of 4.8 km.

148 Deutsch 1987 111.

149 In Exod 26:15–30 the vertical boards of the tabernacle are described as being ten cubits high.

150 1Kgs 6:20 describes the inner sanctuary as being 20 cubits cubed. See further Briggs 1999.

151 Sanders 1992 11–12 defines "common Judaism [as being] that of the ordinary priest and the ordinary people ... *Common* is defined as what is agreed among the parties, and agreed among the populace as a whole." More specifically, "common Judaism" is the convergence of four beliefs among first-century CE Jews: "belief that their God was the only true God, that he had chosen them and had given them his law, and that they were required to obey it" and that "the temple was the visible, functioning symbol of God's presence with his people and it was also the basic rallying point of Jewish loyalties" (Ibid, 241). Of course, in John's day, this fourth belief required revision given the destruction of Jerusalem's Temple in 70 CE.

as the fictive foundation of a *polis*, but also as the Jewish Temple. In 1QS and CD the sect refer to themselves as “a holy house.”¹⁵² A more explicit identification of the community with the Temple is found in 1QS 8.5–6 where the “council of the Community” is called “a holy house for Israel [i.e., Temple] and the foundation of the holy of holies of Aaron (קודש קודשים לאהרון).”

As Jewish sacred space, Christ-followers and Qumran sectarians both saw themselves as the fulfillment of the future Jewish eschatological hope for a renewed and purified Temple.¹⁵³ This Jewish hope is found in the apocalyptic works of 1*Enoch*,¹⁵⁴ 4*Ezra*,¹⁵⁵ 2*Baruch*,¹⁵⁶ the Qumran sectarian work 4QFlorilegium.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, John’s inference that his Temple-*polis* replaces “heaven”¹⁵⁸ mirrors Jewish portrayals of heaven as a temple. This imagery is found in 1*Enoch*,¹⁵⁹ in the *Testament of Levi*,¹⁶⁰ 3*Baruch*,¹⁶¹ and in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.¹⁶²

152 “Holy house”: 1QS 5.6; 8.5, 9; 9.6; 22.8; CD 3.19; 20.10, 13. “City of iniquity”: 1QPHab 10.10. See Dimant 1984 514.

153 See Gärtner 1965.

154 In the Book of Dreams (1*Enoch* 85–90), Enoch sees an eschatological city situated on a mountain that has no tower (temple). In both 1*Enoch* and Revelation there is no temple. This implies that the entire city will be the sanctuary of God. 1*Enoch* does not portray its city as a people.

155 4*Ezra* 7:26: “the city which now is not seen shall appear, and the land which now is hidden shall be disclosed.”

156 2*Baruch* describes a pre-existent city and temple to be revealed in the *eschaton*.

157 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) speaks of an eschatological temple personally built by the hands of the Lord (מקדש אדם; “the place/temple of Adam”; 4Q174 3.vii). Unlike Rev 21:24, 4Q174 does not envision foreigners co-existing with God and his saints.

158 John locates the throne of God and of the Lamb within the New Jerusalem before which “his servants will worship him ... [and] reign forever and ever” (Rev 21:5). Prior to the eschatological consummation of all things (Rev 6:12–22:21), John had located the throne of God “in heaven” (Rev 4:1–5:14, esp. 4:1).

159 The Book of Watchers (1*Enoch* 1–36) describes a heavenly sanctuary, modeled on the Herodian Temple, through which Enoch travels on his way to God’s presence so as to intercede for the Watchers (fallen angels).

160 *The Testament of Levi* (second century BCE) “originally included three heavens, although in some forms of the text (α) 3:1–8 has been modified and expanded in order to depict seven heavens” (OTP 1.788, n. ‘d’). The uppermost heaven is the dwelling of God (τ. *Levi* 3:4). This contrasts with John’s portrayal of the entire cubic New Jerusalem being the dwelling of God.

161 3*Baruch* (first to third centuries CE) appears to presume a cultic temple given the priestly role of the archangel Michael.

162 In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407) heaven is depicted as a temple wherein

This Qumranic motif of people as sacred space is not just an eschatological expectation, nor is it simply a theological construct. It held present tense meaning for the sectarians of Qumran such that their self-portrayal as a living Temple was polemical ideology aimed at the existing Temple in Jerusalem.¹⁶³ The Covenanters apparently saw themselves as the living replacement for the corrupt Temple and its establishment. John's identification of his Christ-followers as the new Temple/Holy of holies may also have held polemical intent. If John writes in a post-70 CE world, however, his polemic is obviously not directed against the Temple, since decades ago it had been destroyed by the Romans. John's portrayal of all Christ-followers as a living Temple-city is counter-imperial rhetoric that can only have been directed against the Roman religio-political *imperium*.

Conclusion

It was my intent in this essay to explore the rhetorical implications of two civic identities attributed to Revelation's addressees who were living among seven *poleis* within the Roman province of Asia. I would summarize my findings as follows: the rhetorical force of John's identification of his Christ-followers as an 'earthly *polis* doubly writ small', by virtue of the naming of his voluntary associations as *ekklēsiai*, situated his Christ-followers as positive participants within the "political culture" and "*ekklēsia* discourse" of Roman Asia. In this respect, an *ekklēsia* identity did not communicate counter-imperial ideology. A Jewish *kosmos-polis* identity, however, did. Thus, by symbolically portraying his seven *ekklēsiai* as *the* 'heavenly Jewish city writ large' (the eschatological New Jerusalem), John delivers a two-pronged ideological attack against the religio-political entity that is Rome, and against the gods who purportedly give the *imperium* its power.

the angels officiate the liturgy. Members of the community participate in the heavenly liturgy offered by the angels when they participate in the worship of the community (see Newsome 1985).

163 Aune 1999 claims that the Covenanters' self-identification as a temple of God was "an intermediate situation in which they rejected the existing temple cult and lived in expectation of the rebuilding of the true and unpolluted eschatological temple" (2.641).

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From Kinship to State: The Family and the Ancient City in Nineteenth-Century Ethnology

Emily Varto

In the late nineteenth century, a number of seminal works of comparative and progressive ethnology were published, including Henry Sumner Maine's *Ancient Law*, Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges' *La cité antique*, and Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society*.¹ These ethnological projects, undertaken in the progressivist and comparativist spirit of the time, presented social and political changes as changes in human social relations. In doing so, they created a new sociology of history, which revealed patterns of the progress in human history in a matrix of social, political, religious, and legal developments, instead of through historical events and figures in specific contexts. Such patterns, initially only somewhat generalized in Maine's and Fustel's works, would eventually come to be understood as universal in Morgan's work. These patterns of progress were observed in the history of various cultures: ancient classical and biblical peoples, contemporary 'primitive' societies, and modern western civilization. Classical antiquity was, therefore, only one source of evidence for such projects, but it was one of the most important. For in it, ethnologists found easily accessible ethnographic information for cultures whose institutions were already being compared cross-culturally and studied through analogy by classicists. Moreover, the long histories of Greece and Rome were understood by historians to be punctuated by times of intense social and political change. And so in antiquity, ethnologists had not just a wealth of already studied and translated cultural data, but evidence for *change* that could help them formulate their schemes of progress.

In each of these schemes, in which social bonds were so important, Maine, Fustel de Coulanges, and Morgan set kinship bonds at the heart of social,

1 There exist several editions of the works of the nineteenth-century classicists and ethnologists. For ease of locating references, I cite the date of the edition I have used, instead of the original date of publication. The dates of first publication are as follows: Niebuhr's *Römische Geschichte* 1811–1812; Grote's *History of Greece* 1846–1856; Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte* 1854–1856; Maine's *Ancient Law* 1861; Fustel de Coulanges' *La cité antique* 1864; Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity* 1871, and *Ancient Society* 1877.

religious, and political change. Of particular interest, therefore, was the history of the Roman *gens* and Greek *genos* and the progress from kinship to state its history seemed to illustrate, especially as interpreted earlier in the century by Georg Barthold Niebuhr and George Grote.² The ethnologists read this history from *genos* to city-state, as a fine example of a crucial point in the development of human societies: the move from the primacy of kinship to the primacy of the state as an organizing principle. Ancient cities and their non-kinship bonds were, therefore, equated with the state and a higher order of civilization. This change from kinship to state, exemplified so well in Greek and Roman history, informed ethnologists' reconstructions of the course of human progress. Although they drew sometimes very different conclusions from one another in reconstructing that course, each scheme was based on a common, fundamental belief that kinship bonds once characterized a whole stage in human progress and those bonds were broken with the development of the state in progress from kinship to state.

The Progress of Kinship-Based Society in Niebuhr and Grote

By the time ethnologists in the later nineteenth century turned to classical material to help discover and describe the course of human history, classicists had already been comparing features and institutions of classical civilizations to other cultures. Far from taking exception to comparative work using Greece and Rome, as classicists can sometimes be accused of doing later in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,³ Niebuhr and Grote both employed cross-cultural analogies to flesh out the early periods in their histories. Niebuhr, in particular, relied a great deal on analogies to reconstruct his early history of Rome history, something for which he would later be criticized.⁴

2 The Roman *gens* and Greek *genos* were understood by nineteenth-century classicists and ethnologists as descent-based kinship groups. For an overview of more current classical scholarship on the subject, see Smith 2006.

3 See Ackerman (2008) who writes about the debates about ancient religion and myth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which many classicists objected to associating classical antiquity with 'primitive' societies.

4 He was criticized especially by George Cornewall Lewis, who, in the generation following Niebuhr, investigated the problem of early Roman evidence and came to a more negative conclusion about the ability to write real history for that period. He wrote of Niebuhr and his admirers, "Instead of employing those tests of credibility which are consistently applied to modern history, they attempt to guide their judgment by the indications of internal evidence,

Antiquity also held a special status for both historians as a model through which other histories could be comprehended, especially contemporary histories. This meant that classical cultures were not exempt from comparisons and analogies with other cultures, but rather that such comparative work was necessary and desired. Not only could analogies illuminate classical history and its institutions, they could also help in understanding contemporary history and institutions in general through classical evidence. The comparative work ethnologists would later undertake using the same classical material to create their generalizing stages of human progress was, therefore, anticipated in the universal character attributed to Greek and Roman kinship systems by Grote and Niebuhr. Before the ethnographers, they saw the *gens/genos* as representative of a common stage in human social development seen in several cultures across time and place.

Niebuhr initially came to work on Roman history through a much larger comparative project involving agrarian systems.⁵ Amid Europe's own rising agrarian troubles, he observed Roman history being misinterpreted for the purposes of contemporary agrarian reform. Since the French Revolution there had been calls for land redistribution in various regions in Europe, calls which were supported by appeals to the model provided by the agrarian laws and reformers of the Roman Republic. Niebuhr supported the movement to free the peasantry in Denmark and Prussia, because he wanted good treatment of the peasants within the current system—he was rather romantic about the wholesomeness and simplicity of peasants. He did not, however, support movements to redistribute land, do away with property rights, or abolish the aristocracy. And he resented calls for such things being supported by what he considered to be lies about Roman history. And so, he embarked on a study of the Roman agrarian system and its reforms, in order to rescue the brothers Gracchi from the mob of French-style revolutionaries, and show how different the situations were. It was this problem that drew Niebuhr into studying ancient Rome. He was not interested in Rome for Rome's sake, but for what he could say with Roman history about contemporary agrarian issues and agrarian systems in general.

The Roman *gens* was a key institution both for his broader interest in agrarian systems, which necessarily involved issues of land tenure and aristocracy,

and assume that the truth can be discovered by an occult faculty of historical divinization. [...] The consequence is, that ingenuity and labour can produce nothing but hypotheses and conjectures, which may be supported by analogies, and may sometimes appear specious and attractive, but can never rest on the solid foundation of proof. [...] It is an attempt to solve a problem, for the solution of which no sufficient data exist." (Lewis 1855 13)

5 On Niebuhr's political interests and his comparative project, see Momigliano 1994 229–236.

and for his reconstruction of early Roman history. The *gens* was for Niebuhr an institution to be found in many cultures. He not only claimed that the Roman *gens* and the Greek *genos* were the same, and inferred from one to the other and used the terms interchangeably, but also connected the *gens* and *genos* with associations in other societies:

Now should any one still contend that no conclusion is to be drawn from the character of the Athenian *gennetes* to that of the Roman *gentiles*, he would be bound to shew how an institution which runs through the whole ancient world, came to have a completely different character in Italy from that in Greece. *Genus* and *gens* are the same word the one form is used for the other; *genus* for *gens* and conversely.⁶

Each association could then be used to better understand the others. He used a Germanic analogy, alongside Greek ones, to understand the numerical basis and proportions of Roman tribal and gentilical divisions, which he thought were absolutely fixed. Inferring from these calculations, Niebuhr concluded that neither *gens* nor *genos* were natural and both were made by legislators as part of their constitutions. Since, he argued, the patricians and their clients were simply the original population of Rome, this deliberate division was initially made among the patrician families of Rome.⁷ The patricians, however, had a sort of ownership or dominance over the clan. Niebuhr made this point, again, through analogy: "Thus among the Gaels the clan of the Campbells was formed by the nobles and their vassals: if we apply the Roman phrase to them the former *had* the clan, the latter only belonged to it."⁸ As the population of the city grew, new citizens were added to the *gentes*; therefore, all levels of society belonged to one. Specific political rights and responsibilities were determined by class lines, which cut across the *gentes*. Belonging to a Roman *gens* carried other burdens and advantages, which Niebuhr fleshed out by use of Germanic, Greek, and other cross-cultural analogies.⁹ Members of a *gens* had common sacred rites, especially sacrifices, which had to be made on particular days and places to particular gods. Members had the right to inherit the property of other members who had died without kin and a will. There was also an obligation to assist other members with debts, something which Niebuhr

6 Niebuhr 1851 1:315.

7 Niebuhr 1851 1:312–315, 319, 322–323.

8 Niebuhr 1851 1:322.

9 Niebuhr 1851 1:316–322.

considered a universal feature of the *gens* and for which he draws heavily upon the houses of the Ditmarsh for evidence.

The *gens*, as Niebuhr conceived of it, did not predate state organization (as it would in the work of ethnologists), but emerged with it. Therefore, the history of the *gens* in Niebuhr does not strictly embody a move from kinship to state, instead it is a story of the decline of aristocracy and the power of aristocratic families. The *gens* began as a means to order a population. In this conception, as Smith notes, the *gens* was from its very beginnings in a constant state of decay.¹⁰ As the *gentes* grew in size, the distinctions between them became increasingly meaningless and the sacred rites became the responsibility of a few members. This, when combined with the gradual erosion of exclusively patrician rights and the eventual right of intermarriage between patricians and non-patricians, meant that the patricians, who once *had* the *gens*, were no longer themselves distinguished and their *gens* disappeared. Niebuhr wrote, again using analogy, “In all aristocracies a few families alone are illustrious and powerful: an incomparably greater number continue needy and obscure or become so: such was the case at Venice. The latter die off unobserved; or they lose themselves among the common people, like the nobility in Ditmarsh and Norway.”¹¹ The analogies and the claims to universality here are significant; Niebuhr was telling, in Roman terms, the history of all aristocracy, including that of the aristocracy of Niebuhr’s own age. Grandazzi observes the connections made between Roman history and the fate of aristocracy in this period:

In the reconstructed account of these classical times—the slow and difficult emergence of the Roman plebs in the face of the old aristocracy’s arrogance, the irresistible rise to power of the young Roman state—the contemporaries of Napoleon and the Holy Alliance recognized the distant prelude to the social antagonisms of their own century. They came away with the certainty that, from the apparent chaos and upheaval of the old order, which they saw disappearing before their eyes, the triumph of the new forces of the Europe of nations would one day soon arise.¹²

The lesson, therefore, to be taken by ethnologists from Niebuhr’s history of gentilical society is a universal story of declining aristocratic prestige and rule and the fall of powerful families within the state.

10 Smith 2006 84.

11 Niebuhr 1851 1:330.

12 Grandazzi 1997 14–15.

George Grote, George was even wider than Niebuhr in the scope of the analogies he drew. He claimed that Scottish, Irish, Albanian, Germanic, and Native American kinship associations illustrated the universal prevalence of the *gens*. And that prevalence signalled a commonality or universality among civilizations at similar early stages: "Analogies, borrowed from very different people and parts of the world, prove how readily these enlarged and factitious family unions assort with the ideas of an early stage of society."¹³ In this, Grote anticipated not only the universality of the *gens* found in ethnological projects, but also its role in characterizing a whole stage of social and political progress.

Grote concluded that it could not be known whether the *genos* at its origins was based on biological relatedness or not. In agreement with Niebuhr, however, he did assert that the later *genos* was not based on actual blood ties: "Doubtless, Niebuhr, in his valuable discussion of the ancient Roman *Gentes*, is right in supposing that they were not real families, procreated from any common historical ancestor."¹⁴ But he was careful to note that the idea of relatedness was nonetheless important to the *genos*: "Gentilism is a tie by itself; distinct from the family ties, but presupposing their existence and extending them by an artificial analogy, partly founded in religious belief and partly on positive compact, so as to comprehend strangers in blood."¹⁵ Grote, therefore, stressed that the *genos* was a religious and social association based on an *idea* of kinship understood by analogy with the *oikos*, and was not a political grouping (not, at least, until Cleisthenes' reforms). Grote provided a list of features of the *gens*, similar to those in Niebuhr, which he believed to be common to all gentilical societies:

This *gens* was therefore a clan, sept, or enlarged, and partly factitious, brotherhood, bound together by, —1. Common religious ceremonies, and exclusive privilege of priesthood, in honour of the same god, supposed to be the primitive ancestor and characterised by a special surname. 2. By a common burial-place. 3. By mutual rights of successions to property. 4. By reciprocal obligations of help, defence, and redress of injuries. 5. By mutual right and obligation to intermarry in certain determinate cases, especially where there was an orphan daughter or heiress. 6. By possession, in some cases at least, of common property, an archon and a treasurer of their own.¹⁶

13 Grote 1872 2:435.

14 Grote 1872 2:434.

15 Grote 1872 2:434.

16 Grote 1872 2:430.

Grote also concluded that the early government of Attica was monarchic before it was aristocratic and that early society was essentially elitist. Since the prevalence of such family unions suggested to Grote that there were characteristic of an early stage of society in general, this meant that this early general stage, namely gentilical society, was elitist.¹⁷ In Greek communities, this social and religious order began to change, according to Grote, as political bonds became more powerful than the socio-religious ones he understood to connect members of a *genos*. Grote saw this progress reflected in the changing semantics of the term *genos* in Greek:

The same word γένος is used to designate both the circle of nameable relatives, brothers, first cousins, &c., going beyond the οἶκος—and the quasi-family or *gens*. As the gentile tie tended to become weaker, so the former sense of the word became more and more current, to the extinction of the latter.¹⁸

According to Grote political bonds replaced the pseudo-kinship bonds of the *genos*. First, Solon's 'pecuniary' classification began to form new bonds, then Cleisthenes' reforms remade the *genos*.¹⁹

Grote perceived this development of democracy at Athens as a movement from kinship to state bonds, which was an integral part of the progress from cultural infancy to adulthood. Grote believed a society's own myths and religion to be important to understanding this development. He wrote, "These myths or current stories, the spontaneous and earliest growth of the Grecian mind, constituted at the same time the entire intellectual stock of the age to which they belonged. They are the common root of all those different ramifications into which the mental activity of the Greeks subsequently diverged."²⁰ The mythical pre-historical era of Greece, he took to represent an intellectual childhood, which changed into adulthood in the historical periods of Greece, especially with the coming of the Athenian democracy. He even made the analogy of a grown man trying to understand how he used to see the world as a child (with imagination and feelings, working upon a scanty stock of materials) to explain the difficulty modern man has in conceiving of a time when "beautiful fancies were construed literally and accepted as serious reality."²¹

17 Grote 1872 2:435.

18 Grote 1872 2:440

19 Grote 1872 2:439, 441–442.

20 Grote 1872 1:312.

21 Grote 1872 1:313.

To think mythically, is to think as a child; to think philosophically and matter-of-factly, is to think as an adult.

Grote's approach to religion and mythology and their connection to intellectual development stemmed from his empiricism and progressivism. He undertook his work because he felt Greece needed a new history, a corrected history, free of monarchist vitriol against the Athenian demos and its democracy, and following the principles of utilitarian empiricism, namely, applying strict rules of veracity to historical evidence.²² The leading histories of ancient Greece in English in the early nineteenth century were those of Gillies and Mitford, both of which were written from pro-monarchist and anti-democratic positions. Grote, believing in the utilitarian concept of best government, was, therefore, inspired to write his Greek history to correct these interpretive biases with his own utilitarian pro-democratic interpretations and empiricist methods, which would lend his work and its interpretations the weight of truth.²³ Ultimately, the utilitarian historian would come to see in Greek history a great progression from monarchy to democracy, mirrored in some ways by his own country's governmental history. This guiding idea of positive progressivism can already be seen in an article Grote wrote for the *Westminster Review* in 1826 (predating the publication of his *History of Greece*) in which he credits intellectual development at Athens to democracy: "Had it not been for democracy, and that approximation to democracy which a numerous and open aristocracy presents, this wonderful precocity of intellectual development among the Greek would have been impracticable."²⁴ As Huxley writes, however, his work is not an apology for Athenian democracy, but a "passionate and thoroughly documented exposition of the merits of democracy."²⁵ The progressive scheme that Grote

22 On Grote's relationship to James Mill and the Utilitarians, see Vaio 1996. For his liberal inspiration and the pro-democratic position in his work, see Chambers 1996 4–12. On the study of Greek history before Grote, especially as done by Gillies and Mitford, see Momigliano 1952 19–18.

23 Grote's work would later be criticised for this liberal 'correction' by those who otherwise admired and were inspired by his work, e.g., by Julius Beloch, who wrote on Grote's *History of Greece*: "The Greeks are for Grote no more than disguised Englishmen from the middle of the nineteenth century. And since the author belonged to the liberals, the Greek democrats are always right and the oligarchs always wrong; Grote's history becomes a glorification of the Athenian democracy. As a reaction against the underestimation of that democracy, which was common down to his time, this was completely justified and useful; but it is just as unhistorical as the opposite conception" (quoted in Chambers 1996 19–20).

24 Grote 1826 278.

25 Huxley 1996 24.

saw in Greek history is part of what later made his work appealing to ethnologists interested in just such development. They found in Grote and in Greek history a precursor or prototype of the kind of progressivism they saw occurring on a grander scale, for all mankind, as societies moved from primitive infancy toward civilized adulthood. Greek history read in this way lent itself well to adoption in progressive ethnological schemes.

The Progress of Kinship-Based Society in Ethnology

The early ethnologists Henry Sumner Maine, Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, and Lewis Henry Morgan generally agreed with Grote and Niebuhr on many of the basic features of the *gens* and the universality of the institution, but more significantly they agreed that the history of its decline exemplified an important and possibly universal social, political, and religious development. They too, like Grote and Niebuhr, saw a progress from kinship to state in the decline of the *gens*, and this progress was essential to the development of civilization.

Henry Sumner Maine's scheme of human progress from kinship to state was devised and presented within the framework of legal evolution and comparative jurisprudence. Although his *Ancient Law* was technically a work of legal history, Maine believed that legal rights were intrinsic to social relations and social relations were, in return, essential to legal evolution.²⁶ He perceived that legal evolution was a gradual development from sacred, kinship-based society to territorial-based, state society, involving progress from the sacred to the secular, from group to individual interests, and from status to contract. Thus, as Kuper writes, "Legislation and codification marked the peak of legal evolution, not its point of departure."²⁷ Maine formulated this progression in opposition to theories that held that early societies were naturally egalitarian and just and that human history progressed from such a natural justice towards increased elitism and injustice. Some such theories also made early society out to be matriarchal before it was patriarchal, as in the works of McLennan and Bachofen (whose *Das Mutterrecht* was published in 1861, the same year as Maine's *Ancient Law*). But Maine argued particularly against Bentham, whom he set up as the main expositor of natural justice, that justice is not natural, for it comes from man and only with civilization.

26 Voget 1975 154.

27 Kuper 2005 45.

To make this point, Maine turned to history. He employed classical, biblical, and Indian historical evidence to show that primitive societies had no natural justice and were, according to developmentalist ideas, so suffused with religion that law was understood to be dictated from the gods and arbitrated by a ruler.²⁸ Gradually that power came to aristocracies, and justice only came with the secular development of the state, when individuals were understood and acted as individuals and could, therefore, have their own relationship to the state and community (by contract, as opposed to status). In this context, Maine, classically trained himself, employed the classical evidence: Greek history illustrated the earliest periods of this progression, and Roman history the later stages.

The Greek history that Maine employed was very much informed by Grote. By the time Maine was writing *Ancient Law*, Grote's *History of Greece* had profoundly affected the way Greek history was understood and studied, by re-evaluating Greek political progress (particularly, viewing democracy as a positive development) and by connecting political progress with intellectual growth.²⁹ The classically trained Maine could easily observe in Greek history, as told by and after Grote, the kind of progression he was arguing for (the course of history moved toward contract, justice, and civilization) and evidence against those who argued the opposite (the course of history moved away from justice and primitive communism). He directly referenced Grote's *History of Greece* on two significant points. First, Greek kings were judges or arbiters, who made or drew upon judgements (Gk: *themistes*), just as "Zeus, or the human king on earth, is not a lawmaker, but a judge."³⁰ In Grote, therefore, he found support for his conclusion that early kings ruled through divine inspiration and commands. Second, monarchies (as he observed in Homer) gave way to aristocratic oligarchies which were dominated by elite families. Only vestiges of kingship remained in these gentilical societies, and custom, now in the hands of oligarchies, became the basis of justice. Still, however, those oligarchies were kinship- or pseudo-kinship-based and operated on status. Contract, justice, and civilization was still to come.

To illustrate the movement from status to contract in the later stages of legal and social evolution, Maine largely turned to the Roman world, in particular, the history of the Roman *gens*. For him, the *gens* was not quite natural. It was formed from a union of families, as interlocking parts of a whole system, and

28 Voget 1975 272–273.

29 Momigliano 1994 23.

30 Grote 1854–1857 81–82n. 4, as quoted in Maine 1870 4–5.

such unions were the basis on which the commonwealth of gentilical society was built: “The elementary group is the Family, connected by common subjection to the highest male descendant. The aggregation of Families forms the *Gens* or House. The aggregation of Houses makes the Tribe. The aggregation of the Tribes constitutes the commonwealth.”³¹ Although the smaller family unit was natural, the aggregation of multiple families as a *gens* was not. The *gens* was a primitive legal institution, according to Maine, that bound its members together with an idea of kinship in order to preserve property and status (on this point, Maine’s view of the *gens* is very much in line with Grote’s analysis, although he cites Niebuhr in his discussion).³² Individuals were organized by familial affiliation: “Men are regarded and treated, not as individuals, but always as members of a particular group. [...] His individuality was swallowed up in his family.”³³ Freedom from those bonds and identity for the individual outside of them could only come, as Maine put it, in the move from status to contract relationships, in which men were bound by individual obligation. Kinship (real or fictive), therefore, characterized or constituted a whole society at a particular stage in its development: “The Family then is the type of an archaic society in all the modifications which it was capable of assuming.”³⁴ In his reconstruction societies are kinship-focused and dominated by unilineal descent groups, that is, they are societies in which there is a primacy of kinship bonds over other bonds. Then they become state-focused societies based on individual contract at the expense of those previously powerful descent groups. Ultimately interested in the evolution of law as it was deeply connected to the development of human societies, he perceived this move from status to contract in the decline of the Roman *gens*. Organization on the basis of kinship gave way to organization on the basis of territory under the state, although vestiges of old tribal customs remained, just as vestiges of monarchic government had remained in gentilical society.³⁵ For Maine, the Roman *gens* and Roman gentilical society exemplified a society bound together by status and its history of decline exemplified the move from status to contract: “We have in the annals of Roman law a nearly complete history of the crumbling away of an archaic system, and of the formation of new institutions from the re-combined materials.”³⁶

31 Maine 1870 128.

32 Maine 1870 129–130.

33 Maine 1870 183.

34 Maine 1870 133.

35 Maine 1870 128, 134.

36 Maine 1870 168.

This understanding of the course of Roman history illustrated effectively the transition from state to contract in Maine's broader conception of legal history. Roman history and the history of the *gens*, in particular, provided him a model with which to argue against other legal historians and philosophers that justice was not natural, but only achievable through the development of the territorial unit (based on holding territory rather than kinship) and its government. Although Maine did not think that his developmental scheme from status to contract was completely universal (not everybody had civilization), he did think that all *progressive* societies experienced uniform movement: "Through all [that movement's] course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency, and the growth of individual obligation in its place."³⁷ Justice and individual freedom, Maine argued, only came with contract, and with contract came civilization. Thus, civilization came when state took over from kinship.

Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, like Maine, envisioned a particular pattern of political revolution and religious change in human history, which he used Greece and Rome to illustrate. Maine's *Ancient Law* was a legal history, however, in which the history of law was understood by social, political, and religious changes; Fustel de Coulanges' *La cité antique* was a religious history, in which religious development was understood by social, political, and legal change. Fustel de Coulanges thus set social relations at the heart of religious history, as Maine did for legal history. That both, however, placed social relations within the matrix of legal, political, and religious change, reveals how social relations, politics, law, and religion had come, in this period, to be bound inextricably together. Although *La cité antique* was published four years after Maine's *Ancient Law*, Fustel appears not to have known Maine's work.³⁸ Unlike Maine, whose progressivist history was in line with trends in classical scholarship, Fustel was notorious in his treatment of sources, rejecting modern authorities on Greece and Rome and trusting to the ancient sources alone (there are no references in *La cité antique* to contemporary scholarship). Therefore, it was in the ancient sources themselves that Fustel ostensibly found a development of human history similar to Maine's. Although Fustel eschewed current scholarship in his book, he was, nonetheless, steeped in the developmentalist ideas and debates of his time.³⁹ Like Maine, Fustel also saw the progress of human society as one of increasing seculariza-

37 Maine 1870 168.

38 Momigliano 1994 163.

39 Momigliano 1994 172–173.

tion, seeing the development of the *polis* as a transformation from kinship to politics and sacred to secular. Significantly, however, Fustel did not consider this progress to be positive. What Grote took as a part of intellectual maturity and what Maine considered a bringer of equality, justice, and individual freedom and a hallmark of the arrival of civilization, was for Fustel a loss of good order and the degradation of intelligent and noble aristocratic authority.

Greek and Roman kinship systems, especially the *gens/genos*, had a significant place in this negative progression away from early aristocratic, kinship-based society that Fustel observed in antiquity. He saw the *gens*, not as a group of families, but as one extended family, aristocratic in nature, descended from one important early eponymous ancestor:

The close unity which we have remarked among its [the *gens*'] members is no longer surprising; they are related by birth, and the worship which they practise in common is not a fiction; it comes to them from their ancestors. As they are a single family, they have a common tomb.⁴⁰

He concluded that over time the family grew but remained connected through continual worship at the ancestral tomb throughout the ages, continual burial plots, and holding property. Thus, the *gens* was based on biological relatedness, not just an idea of kinship, and the *gentes* were the land-owning Patrician families of Rome and Eupatrid families of Athens. Such extended families, according to Fustel, formed a sacred elite, whose power and importance rested on the celebration traditional religious rites, rather than on wealth. Isolated from one another they ruled estates like small states, with their clients as subjects.⁴¹ Therefore, the relationship Fustel envisioned between clients and the *gentes* (in both Rome and Athens) is similar to Niebuhr's assessment: the *gens* belonged to the elite family and the clients belonged to the *gens*.

The early polity was similarly ordered by religious practices and institutions in Fustel's reconstruction, with the result that it was an extension of the family. The members of the *gentes* were linked as a citizenry by shared rights and responsibilities of worship, just like a *gens*. Early community organization was, therefore, sacra-civil, and the city itself was like an extended kin group held together by religious bonds. Citizenship and its privileges belonged to members of the *gentes*:

40 Fustel de Coulanges 1874 145.

41 Fustel de Coulanges 1874 349.

The *gens*, as we shall see presently, formed a body whose constitution was radically aristocratic. It was through their internal organization that the patricians of Rome and the Eupatrids of Athens were able to perpetuate their privileges for so long a time.⁴²

Non-citizens were those who did not belong to a *gens* and had not been part of the early community. They, therefore, lacked participation in the community cult and the privileges of citizenship that came with that participation. Their eventual inclusion as citizens in the course of Roman history, in particular, initially diluted the gentilical system as they were added to *gentes* and then created a double citizenry as they were no longer added to *gentes*. This brought about not only class struggles and but also significant changes in the structure of the citizenry and how was to be unified. The religious rites that once bound the members of the *gentes* together as citizens of a common polity become less significant to its unity. Instead, the state and secular government developed with the purpose of creating and maintaining internal order within the polity and security from external forces and “politics took precedence of religion and government of men became a human affair.”⁴³ Thus came the secularization of community organization and governance, as a move away from the bonds of kinship to those of the city-state. With this change came the further degradation of the aristocracy, which was no longer sacred (Patrician or Eupatrid), but determined by wealth.

Fustel, who was candidly opposed to socialist and egalitarian ideas, saw democratic constitutional developments in Greek and Roman history occurring at the expense of good aristocratic family bonds and power, which democratic and socialist elements in society sought to destroy.⁴⁴ But they never could entirely, according to Fustel, because of the vitality and the deep-rootedness of their customs:

No sooner had the popular party gained the upper hand, than they attacked this old institution with all their power. If they had been able completely to destroy it, they would probably not have left us the slightest memorial of it. But it was singularly endowed with vitality, and deeply

42 Fustel de Coulanges 1874 132.

43 Fustel de Coulanges 1874 426.

44 Although Fustel's work, its tone, and conclusions endeared him to political and social conservatives, his precise politics seem to have been somewhat ambiguous (Momigliano 1994 167).

rooted in their manners, and they could not entirely blot it out. They therefore contented themselves with modifying it.⁴⁵

For Fustel the age of the *gens/genos* was an aristocratic golden age of polities organized and unified on the model of kinship groups, modified and all but destroyed by the development of the state.

Lewis Henry Morgan's work represents a development towards universality in nineteenth-century comparativism and progressivism. Although Maine and Fustel had both presented long-view, comparative ethnologies, which tended to generalize the course of human history so that civilization looked a certain way, their schemes were not intended to be entirely universal. Maine was not convinced of the universal applicability of his legal evolution beyond the evidence it provided that ancient society was patriarchal and not matriarchal or characterized by natural justice or communism. Some societies underwent development toward civilization, and those that did could be seen from history to follow a certain trajectory. Fustel was primarily concerned with the kind of development that all Indo-European societies underwent and that others, apparently, did not. Morgan, who had significantly more familiarity with and interest in native American peoples, made no such distinctions; some peoples were simply at different developmental stages. Morgan, therefore, created a developmental pattern that he understood to be universal and inexorable across all cultures. His was the evolutionary scheme for all mankind, discovered and illustrated by seemingly diverse cultures set into successive stages.

Although Morgan published his *Ancient Society* only a little over a decade after Fustel's *La cité antique* was published, he was, in a very important way, working in a new environment for ethnological projects. While progressivism and comparativism remained strong, the length of human history had been expanded exponentially by recently published discoveries in palaeontology that confirmed that humans had been on earth for much longer than the various Biblically based chronologies allowed.⁴⁶ This 'revolution in time' occurred in a series of discoveries, debates, and publications across several disciplines that expanded the history of the earth, animals, and humans in turns. The final stage of the revolution came with Charles Darwin's linking of the fossil record to the living record in the *Origin of Species* (1854), the discovery of the fossil man at Brixham Cave (also in 1854), and Charles Lyell's publication on the antiquity

45 Fustel de Coulanges 1874 132.

46 On the revolution in time in relation to Morgan's work, especially his new use for philology, see Trautmann 2008 205–230. On the revolution in time and its intellectual implications more generally, see Toulmin and Goodfield 1965 140–170, 238–246.

of the human species (1863).⁴⁷ Humans had been around for a lot longer than their histories and religious texts suggested and their history stretched far back into seemingly unknowable geological ages, or 'prehistory'. How then to tell the story of mankind, in the absence of specific historical evidence and narrative? Both Maine's and Fustel's works reached far back into human history, but they both, nevertheless, had a starting point for their developmental schemes. Morgan, responding to the revolution in time, had no such fixed point at which to begin. Using philology in a different way, plucked from its historical context, and comparing several different peoples in the style of Maine and Fustel (and even Grote and Niebuhr) he reconstructed the course of human 'history' in general, laying out the stages through which all human societies advanced toward civilization.

Like Maine and Fustel before him, he saw social relations as especially intrinsic to political, legal, intellectual, and religious development. Kinship relations, in particular, were at the heart of his study of human progress and, indeed, his very conception of human history *as* progress. Hume presents a persuasive case for the development of Morgan's progressive scheme from his initial work on kinship systems.⁴⁸ In *Systems of Consanguinity* Morgan outlines two types of kinship systems, classificatory and descriptive. These, he found, were incompatible, in that they could not exist at once within the same culture at the same time. But if, as Morgan thought, humans as a species shared one common origin (before branching into diversity), one must have come before the other. This problem of incompatible kinship systems, Hume writes, "eventually led him to his progressive scheme."⁴⁹ Kinship systems and institutions underwent transitions, moving from one type to another. In the final chapter of *Systems*, he posited a moral evolution of kinship systems, in which limits were increasingly put upon primitive promiscuity, until finally the civilized family brought about a change to descriptive kinship systems.⁵⁰ Filling out those stages and transitions, beyond the framework provided by kinship, led Morgan to the scheme he would eventually present in *Ancient Society*.

In Morgan's materialist scheme in *Ancient Society* human history was punctuated by developments in technology. His stages ('ethnic periods') began and ended with advancements in weaponry, agriculture, and intellectual pursuits

47 Trautmann 2008 213.

48 Hume 2011.

49 Hume 2011 102.

50 Morgan 1871 480.

and these advancements corresponded with particular social and governmental structures.⁵¹ Through each successive stage from savagery through to civilization, Morgan traced the development of kinship systems, taking them as essential determinants and, therefore, indicators of each stage. For this reason, Morgan was interested in the *gens*. Like classicists and ethnologists before him, he understood the *gens* as a universal institution whose history illustrated important points of progress. Although he took the idea and several (but not all) features of the *gens* as an institution from Grote, he departed from Grote's history of the *gens*.⁵² Grote held that the *gens* was a fictive group that had perhaps grown out of real kinship ties and did not exist in the earliest ages of Greek history; in Morgan's formulation, however, the *gens* was the earliest form of kinship and he directly disagreed with Grote on this point. Morgan, more than Maine and Fustel de Coulanges, believed that the *gens* was not artificial, but natural, based on blood relatedness through male descent. This allowed Morgan to place the institution at the very beginnings of his scheme of social evolution and trace it down through the different stages and the various peoples he plucked out of history to illustrate them (the Australians, the Iroquois, the Aztecs, the Greeks, and the Romans). For this idea, Morgan found support in Mommsen's *Roman History*.⁵³ Mommsen, in a departure from Niebuhr, saw the *gens* as a natural division of the early Roman community and was an extended family group made up of those claiming common descent. He argued that the later Roman state presupposed family organization.⁵⁴ For Mommsen, however, the state was modelled after the family. Morgan's understanding of the make-up of what he calls the 'nation' was different. The 'nation' was not modelled on the *gens* or the nuclear family. The *gens* was a unit of the *phratry*, which was a unit of the tribe, which was a unit of the nation. The monogamous family, however, was not a unit of the *gens*. On this point, Morgan charted his own course against "not only Grote, but also Niebuhr, Thirlwall, Maine, Mommsen, and many other able and acute investigators."⁵⁵ He writes, "An exception must be taken to [Grote's] position that the basis of the social system of the Greeks 'was the house, hearth, or family.'"⁵⁶ The *gens* was exogamous. Therefore, the smaller monogamous family unit of man and wife could

51 For the ethnical periods and their specific conditions, see Morgan 1877 9–13.

52 Morgan 1877 228.

53 Morgan 1877 292 cites the 1871 edition of Dickson's translation of Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte*.

54 Mommsen 1862–1863 65.

55 Morgan 1877 227.

56 Morgan 1877 226.

not be and was not an integer or building block of the *gens*, because it was formed outside of the *gens*. And so, he writes, “the *gens* took no note of the family.”⁵⁷

Alongside challenging Grote, Niebuhr, and others on the naturalness of the *gens* and its relationship to the smaller family unit, Morgan also disagreed strongly with the classicists about the monarchic and aristocratic nature of early Greece and of early human society in general. Morgan thought that Grote and Niebuhr were influenced by being “accustomed to monarchical government and privileged classes, who were perhaps glad to appeal to the earliest known governments of the Grecian tribes for a sanction of this form of government, as at once natural, essential and primitive.”⁵⁸ He is in some ways right, and in some ways wrong. Niebuhr did dedicate his magnum opus to the Prussian king in the way of a loyal and obedient subject.⁵⁹ And, although he was in favour of treating peasants well, Niebuhr did not approve of social or political upheaval or the unseating of monarchs or aristocrats connected to democratic revolutions.⁶⁰ Niebuhr’s political leanings and his desire to see Roman history used correctly inspired his work on Rome, but that they directly influenced his version of Roman history is not obvious. In his work we do see a decline of the aristocracy that seems in tune with the political struggles of his time, but not an overt praising of monarchy or condemnation of aristocracy or democracy. Morgan did not pin Grote quite right either. Grote was staunchly pro-democratic, and his history of Greece was undertaken in direct response to the earlier pro-monarchic histories of Gillies and Mitford.⁶¹ Grote did not see a monarchy in early Greece because he approved of it or wished to sanction it, but rather because he wanted to do neither, and because he found support for it in the ancient sources. It was not monarchy that was the natural thing, or the source of sanction in Grote’s history, but rather the movement from monarchy toward eventual democratic governance. It was the very progress which he observed and approved of in British governmental history.

57 Morgan 1877 227.

58 Morgan 1877 247.

59 The dedication to Frederic William the Third, King of Prussia, reads, “Thus this history owes its existence to the Gracious King, to whom I devote it, with feelings loyal as those of a native subject, and with lively recollection of every favour with which Your Majesty has distinguished me” (Niebuhr 1851 iii).

60 Momigliano 1994 229–232.

61 Momigliano 1994 18–19; Chambers 1996 10–13.

Morgan, as an American (as he is keen to point out), was accustomed to a different form of government, one democratic and critical of monarchic rule. Inspired by his own context, he seemed to believe that his mind was free to envision early Greece differently:

The true statement, as it seems to an American, is precisely the reverse of Mr. Grote's; namely, that the primitive Grecian government was essentially democratical, reposing on *gentes*, *phratries* and tribes, organized as self-governing bodies, and on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. This borne out by all we know of the gentile organization, which has been shown to rest on principles essentially democratical.⁶²

To those not hindered by living under kings and queens, the primitive Greek government could be recognized, he felt, as essentially democratic. Morgan saw the gentilical society of Greece as arising from an earlier matrilineal stage of human social evolution, represented for Morgan by the contemporary Iroquois. Thus he put the Iroquois, plucked out of time and space, in a stage before the gentilical society of the early Greeks and Romans in his evolutionary scheme. The Attic *genos* was part of an originally democratic and egalitarian society in which property was held communally, which was derived from an earlier matrilineal society like that of the Iroquois.

It is in this evolutionary progress that we, perhaps, can really see the influence of Grote's history of the *genos* on Morgan. The reforms of Cleisthenes, so significant in Grote's idea of progress from aristocratic infancy to democratic maturity, came to be for Morgan a transfer of democratic government from family to state, from democratic *gentilical* (i.e. kinship-based) to democratic *political* (i.e. *polis*-based) organization.⁶³ This democratic and egalitarian situation, according to Morgan's conception, only changed with the introduction of individual land and property ownership, which led to states whose governments were concerned with the division of citizens into wealth classes, the creation and protection of property, and the conquest of others' land and property. Of prime example were the Romans, who characterized the next stage of progress (following the Greeks). By the Servian reforms, Morgan argued,

The Romans were carried fairly out of the gentile society into and under the second great plan of government, founded upon territory and upon

62 Morgan 1877 247.

63 Morgan 1877 270–274.

property. They had left gentilism and barbarism behind them, and entered upon a new career of civilization.⁶⁴

In this way, Morgan used the Iroquois and the Greeks and Romans to understand the history of mankind and expose the truths of human social evolution. For Morgan, only vestiges of the Roman *gens* remained in the next stage of social evolution at Rome, in *gens* names and in the power of the *paterfamilias*. Equal rights and privileges as well as personal freedom for citizens and the principles of democracy in the Republic were also understood by him to have been inherited from earlier egalitarian gentilical society.⁶⁵ Thus, although Morgan contested the classicists boldly on a number of points concerning the *gens* and its history, he, nevertheless, found in the classical scholarship and its histories of Greece and Rome a model of progress from kinship to state.

In Morgan's progression, like in Fustel's and Maine's, the development of the state and its bonds destroys kinship bonds. Fundamentally, however, Morgan's is a vastly different viewpoint. Fustel believed early Greek and Roman society to have been happily aristocratic and unhappily ruined, if not destroyed, by egalitarian elements, whereas Maine saw the rise of egalitarianism and democracy in the move away from kinship. Morgan saw a transfer of egalitarianism and democracy as kinship bonds were broken down, but he also observed their eventually degradation as property became increasingly important and the state changed. Only in later stages of civilization would egalitarianism and democracy return. All three ethnologists, however, embraced the progressivism of their age, regardless of how they envisioned it. And the classics shared this spirit to a degree. The progressive framework and comparativism with which Grote and Niebuhr presented early classical history gave their works an important affinity with the great ethnological projects of the later nineteenth century. Niebuhr's version displayed the inevitable decline of aristocracies, and Grote's the maturation of a people toward democracy, justice, and civilization. Both were ideas developed by Maine, Morgan, and even by Fustel, although he rejected seeing democratic and popular politics as a positive development. Greek and Roman history was already primed for inclusion in such broad ethnological projects. And it was, in large part, the progressive shaping that made classical history readily usable for the new ethnological projects of the later nineteenth century. And so, what the ethnologists took from Grote and Niebuhr were not just some of the basic features of the *gens*, but the comparative

64 Morgan 1877 338–339.

65 Morgan 1877 339–341.

analogies that universalized the *gens* and the progress from kinship to state illustrated by the history of the *gens*.

Progress from kinship to state, shown primarily through the history of the developing classical city-state and its kinship systems, was a significant part of the ethnologists' accounts of the progress of human history. It also became a large part of their legacy. In 1976 Bourriot laid out the lack of good evidence for the Greek *genos* as it was understood and presented in the nineteenth century, and tracing the history of such formulations, he effectively showed their pernicious staying power.⁶⁶ Taking the question further, in his book on the Roman *gens*, Smith illustrates how the *gens* is a part of our intellectual history.⁶⁷ He shows how nineteenth-century ideas of the *gens* and *genos* evolved and how they shaped and were shaped by ethnology and became modern ideologies. As classical scholarship connects and reconnects with disciplines like anthropology, sociology, and prehistory more and more, we should keep in mind this shared intellectual past. Through knowing it, we can recognise the potential circularity that can arise from using terminology or typologies that, at their roots, are derived from classical prototypes. If we see in the anthropological literature a concept of clan or tribe or the idea of progress from kinship to state and it seems to fit our classical evidence and scholarship well, we would be wise to remember that classical material played a key role in establishing those very concepts in the nineteenth century.

The classical *gens* as treated by ethnologists has left its mark beyond the world of classical scholarship too. Clan and blood ties were essential features in anthropological formulations of 'primitive society'.⁶⁸ Even though 'primitive society' as it was described by nineteenth-century ethnologists is unsubstantiated, the theory or myth (as Kuper puts it) of primitivism has had incredible staying power in anthropology. As Kuper writes, "Its basic assumptions were directly contradicted by ethnographic evidence and by the logic of evolutionary theory itself. [...] Notwithstanding, anthropologists have busied themselves for over a hundred years with the manipulation of a myth that was constructed by speculative lawyers in the late nineteenth century."⁶⁹ And the myth of

66 Bourriot 1976.

67 Smith 2006 65–66.

68 For an overview of the features that 'primitive societies' were understood to have, see Kuper 2005 4–5.

69 Kuper 2005 10. For example, in the structural analysis of Evans-Pritchard and Fortes, corporate descent groups remained significant as the basis for segmentary lineage-based political organization (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940; Voget 1975 595–557; Honigmann 1976 356–358). In his model of lineage-based political systems, multiple descent groups in

primitivism has had its effect upon the history of law too. The *gens* and its history from kinship to state, presented by ethnologists, who were primarily lawyers, also formed a key part of the idea of legal evolution, which is essential to what Fitzpatrick calls the mythology of western law. After Maine, as Fitzpatrick writes, “The supposed development of Roman law thence becomes a basis for condemning all societies but the progressive few.”⁷⁰ That Maine’s *Ancient Law* was so influential and remained so has “little to do with its scholarship but everything to do with its encapsulation of the myth of the age.”⁷¹ That myth presented a progression, the pinnacle of which was occupied by the west, playing into colonialism, imperialism, and, especially in Maine’s case, how the British should rule India. The idea of progress from kinship to state that the history of the *gens* and the city-state supposedly illustrated helped establish some very significant modern mythologies. Classical antiquity and its family and its city-state are thus not just part of human history, but are models through which the course of human history has been understood. In this role, they have informed the ways in which the modern western world came to understand civilization and make sense of itself and others.

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coordination and competition with one another were understood to make up the political organization of a society. Identity and collective action were determined by lineage, and the creation and maintenance of group solidarity was paramount and lay behind marriage and incest rules. This was understood by Evans-Pritchard and Fortes as a different type of political organization altogether than centralized state power, in which a centralized power co-ordinates and balances its own power with different, and potentially diverse, social groups. Political organization based upon kinship, therefore, was distinct from state-based organization as a type, even if evolutionary moves from one type of political system to another were observed or not.

70 Fitzpatrick 1992 103.

71 Fitzpatrick 1992 104.

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Index

- Abraham 431
Accius 249
Achaemenids 328
Achaia 39
Achilles 155, 181
 Shield of 46
Actium, Battle of 201
Adam 423
Adeodatus 276
Aemilius Lepidus, M. 237
Aeneas of Stymphalos 32
Aeneas 277
 as a Roman 191
 as Indiges 57
 in Africa 229–242
 Shield of 193, 195, 199
Aeneid 7, 258
 Heldenschau 7
aerarii 172
Agamemnon 255, 257, 442
Agesipolis 16
Agrippa, M. Vipsanius 175, 231, 236
 Pantheon of 237, 238
Akkad 398
Akkadian cuneiform texts 329
Alalcomenae 442
Alba Longa 178
Alea 4, 15
 fortifications of 27–32
 history of excavation and study 21
 part of the defensive strategy of the
 Arkadian League 35–38, 39–40
Alexander the Great 75, 330
Alexandria 448
Alypius 275, 276, 278, 279, 286
Amasis 300
Ambrose, Saint and Bishop of Milan 282,
 283
Anchises 7
 as censor 171–177
 funeral of 169
Ancona 438
Ancus Martius
 founder of Ostia 352
Anio Novus 358
Ankara 152, 384
Antioch 385
Antiochus of Syracuse 443
Antiochus I, king of Commagene 341
Antiochus III 332, 334
Antiochus IV 331
Antiochus VII 336, 337
Antoninus Pius 184
Antony, Mark 201
Aphrodisias 88
Aphrodite 157, 308
apoikia
 contrasted with *emporion* 302
Apollinar 170, 192
Apollo Medicus, Temple of 170, 192
Apollo Palatinus, Temple of 195
Apollodorus of Artemita 333
Apuleius Diocles, C. 387
Apuleius Madaurensis, L. 314
Aqua Claudia 358
Aquillius, Manius 85
Ara Consi 57
Ara Maxima 318
Ara Pacis 152
Araunah 431, 433
Arc de Triomphe 148
Argos 36, 39, 442
Aristides, Aelius 69, 467
Aristonicus 82, 86, 90
Aristotle 73
Arkadian League 4
Arsacids 9
Artabanus II 329, 335, 338, 340
Artemis
 temple in Ephesus 444
Arx of Rome 179, 192
Aryazate-Automa 335
Ascanius 176, 200, 235
Asea 18, 39, 42
Asinius Pollio, C. 231
Assos 447
Assyria 404, 406, 407
 expansion of 403
Astarte 308, 312
Athena 308

- Athenaeus 333
 Athens 299, 302, 444
 Atreus 7
 his palace as tyrannical 246–250
 his palace as unnatural 250–256
 Atrium Libertatis 231
 Atrius, Maras 103, 105
 Attus Navius 63
 Augeiae 442
 Auguraculum 200
 Augusta Emerita 376, 378, 384, 386
Augustales 349, 357
 Augustine, Saint 2, 8
 Civitas Dei 2, 280
 Confessions 8, 273–290, 352
 Augustus 6, 7
 as *Pater Patriae* 176
 as censor 174–177
 as third founder of Rome 192
 mausoleum of 152
 sojourn in Tarraco 371
 statue of A. as Jupiter 181
 Avesta 339
 Avroman 329
 Azatiwada 401

 Ba'al 401
 Babylon 331, 398
 symbol for Rome 275, 457
 Babylonian Captivity 275
 Bactra 330
 Bar-Rakib 402
 Barcelona 388
 Basilica of Neptune 23942
 Basilica Ulpia 278
 Bellerophon 388
 Berezan 301
 Berossus 333
 Bessa 442
 Boeotia 16, 34, 442
 Borysthenes 301
 Brixham Cave 514
 Brutus, L. Junius 185
 Buddhism 6
 Byblos 395
 Byzantium 158

 Cacus 197, 308, 319
 Caecilius Onesimus, C. 360
 Caere 5, 315
 Caesius Eutylichion, C. 362
 Calagurris Segobriga 387
 Calendar of 354 57
 Caligula 249, 265
 Calliarus 441
 Calvisius Sabinus, C. 232
 Camillus, M. Furius 184, 185
 Campus Flaminius 192
 Campus Martius 7, 62, 169, 186, 189, 192
 site of census 172, 174, 191
 site of centuriate assembly 236
 Caphyeis 442
 Capitolium 194
 Caracalla 362
 Carthage 315
 building of 230
 Caseggiato del Larario 359
 Cassiacum 281, 284
 Cassius Longinus, C. 445
 Castor, Temple of 236
 Castricius, Mamercus 105
 Catilina, L. Sergius 111, 201
 Cato the Elder 185, 186
 Cato the Younger 201
 Cave of Machpelah 431
 Ceaușescu, Nicolae 270
 Celtiberians 375
 Ceres 54, 360
 Chaironeia 442
 Characene 330
 Chares of Lindus 445
 Chauci 253
 Chronicles, Book of 422
 Cibra 448
 Cicero, M. Tullius 3, 111, 185, 236
 at Ostia 352
 denouncer of Greek nakedness 463
 “Dream of Scipio” 289
 Pro Sulla 111
 universal city of 484
 Circus Maximus 57, 200
 comparison with the Circus of Tarraco 382
 Claudius (Emperor 41–54) 314, 350, 352, 358
 Cleisthenes 505, 506
 Cleitor 442
 Cleopatra 201
 Clepsina, C. Genucius 47, 64

- Cloaca Maxima 179
 Clodius Pulcher, P. 352
 Cloelia 200
 Cnidus 91
collegia 91, 349, 458, 470
 Colossus of Helius 445
Comitium 63
 Compitaliastai, Agora of 318
 conspicuous consumption, theory of 70
 Constantine I 385
 Constantinople 385
 Corduba 386
 Corinth 39, 302
 ekklēsia in 480
 Corinthian War 445
 Cornelius Balbus, L. 241
 Cornelius Epagathus, M. 357
 Corynaeus 190
 costly signaling 5, 69–92
 by groups 77
 definition of 70
 euergetism as form of 75
 in late Hellenistic Anatolia 81–85
 in Roman Asia Minor 85–90
 magnanimity as sign of 71
 “piggybacking” and 78
 polis viability and 90
 public architecture as 73–80
 three forms of 72
 Crete 443
 Croton 443
 Cumae 113
 Curia Hostilia 235
 Curia Julia 235, 239
 Cyme 444
 Cynaetha 442
 Cyprian, Saint and Bishop 280
 Cyrus 423, 429

 Dardanus 169
 Darwin, Charles 73, 514
 David (King of Israel) 10, 413–434
 as Melchizedek 431
 as second Abraham 431
 as secondary founder of Jerusalem 427
 Deccan Plateau 6
 Deccan Trap formations 122
 Neolithic remains found at 138
 Delos 316, 317

 Demetrius II 334
 Demetrius III 335
 Demosthenes 300
 Denmark 502
Description of the New Jerusalem, The 485
 Dido 7, 165, 230, 242, 277
 Dio Chrysostom 475, 481
 Diodorus Siculus 17, 336, 463
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 448
 Dionysius I of Syracuse 375
 Dionysos 312
 Dipaia 42
 Dis Pater 54
 Ditmarsh 504
 Divus Julius, Temple of 234, 239
 Domitian 372
 Domitius Calvinus, Cn. 231
 Domus Augusti 192
Domus Aurea 8, 246, 259–268
 Dura-Europus 329

 Ea, Akkadian god 397
 Ecbatana 330
 Edmonton Oilers 357
ēituns inscriptions 99–117
ekklēsia 11
 as a political entity 471, 472
 counter-imperial rhetoric in non-civic
 483–487
 counter-oligarchic rhetoric in non-civic
 478–483
 Jewish synagogues self-identifying as 465
 with titles of voluntary associations 460
 Elis 40, 42
elogia 188
 Elysium 167, 191, 192
 Emporion, Greek polis in Spain 370, 376, 447
emporion 8, 297–322
 institutionalized religion at 313–322
 its character 298–305
 Enki 397
 Epaminondas 15, 17, 442
 Ephesus 82, 91, 349, 364, 444, 460, 478
 Ephorus 447
 Ephron 431
 Epicureans, associations of 469
 Erastus 480
 Eridu 397
Etrusca disciplina 63

- euergetism 477
 Eupatrids of Athens 512
 Eutyches, charioteer 386, 387
 Evander 7, 165, 319
 founder of the Arx of Rome 198
 Pallanteum of 193, 196
exempla 176

 Fabius Maximus Cunctator, Q. 186, 202
Fasti Ostienses 353
Ficus Ruminalis 63, 287
 Fisanus, Titus 107
 Flavius Bauto 281
 Florence 286
 Florus 352
 Fortuna Virilis 308
 Forum Augustum 183, 187, 379
 Forum Boarium 8, 197, 198
 Forum Clodii 350
 Forum of Nerva 148
 Forum of Trajan 278
 Forum Romanum 5, 7, 53, 192, 203, 233, 236
 Anchises' tour of 177–179
 Fregellae 108
 Fuscus 386
 Fustel de Coulanges, N.D. 11, 500, 511–514

 Gabii 60
 Galerius 385
 Gargara 447
gens/genos 500–521
 Geryon 308
 Getae 251
 Gibeah 419
 Golden House *See Domus Aurea*
 Goliath 418, 423
 Gortys 42
 Gozzoli, Benito 273, 284
 Gracchi 502
 Greco-Bactrian Empire 334
 Grote, George 11, 501
 theory of *gens/genos* 504–508

 Hadrian 468
 Halikarnassos, The Pride of 349
 Halous 42
 Hannibal 375
 Hanno 370
 Hazor 398

 Hecataeus of Abdera 333
Heldenschau *See Aeneid*
 Helenus 165
 Hera 308, 312
 Heraia 40, 442
 Herakleisti of Tyre 465
 Herakles 20, 197
 cult at Forum Boarium 306–313
 Hercules ponderum 319
 Hercules *See* Herakles
 Herodotos 299, 301
 Hestiaeus 339
 hierarchy
 in the imperial Greek East 470
 Himerus 336
 Hippo Regius 273, 290
 Hitler, Adolf 269
 Holy Sepulchre, Church of 280
 Homer 11, 46, 155, 167
 Catalogue of Ships 441
 Iliad 155
 Odyssey 2
 representing Greek memory 440
 teichoscopya 167
 homonoiia 444
 Honos et Virtus, Temple of 186
 Horace 252, 253
 Horatius Cocles 200
 horse culture in the Iberian peninsula 374
 Hortensius Gallus, L. 360
hortus 288
 hypogaeum of Clepsina 46–64
 Hyrcania 332, 336
 Hyspaosines, king of Characene 336

 Ibn Khaldun 73
 imageability
 concept of 111
imagines 167
inlicium 174
 Ino *See* Leukothea
 Iphigenia 255
 Iphikrates 34
 Iroquois 518
 Isaiah, Book of
 double helix dichotomy of urban sites
 396
 from postmonarchic era in Judah 405
 Isis 314

- isonomia* 86, 470
 Iulius Philippus, C. 363
 Iulus *See* Ascanius
 Iunius Paulinus, L. 377

 Janiculum 199
 Janus 195
 Jebusites 10, 417
 Jerusalem 10
 as “city of might” and “city of chaos” 406
 destroyed by Babylon 398, 407
 Jebusite 419
 New 455, 458, 485, 487
 pre-Davidic conquest 425
 Second Temple of 414
 Yahweh as true king of 407
 John of Patmos, Saint 455–489
 Josephus 463
 Joshua 10
 Julius Caesar 185, 230, 236, 370
 Juno
 Temple of J. Moneta 200
 Jupiter 165, 234
 Altar of J. Stator 200
 Ammon 379
 epulum Iovis 195
 Feretrius 182
 Optimus Maximus 210, 211, 263
 Temple of J. Capitolinus 185
 Juvenal 1

 Kadmos 311
 Kakos *See* Cacus
 Kallibios of Tegea 17
 Karatepe 401
 Kесе 370, 376
 Kish 398
 Kleombrotus 16
 Kolophon 84
 Kondapur 5, 121–140
 as trade center 128
 bead industry of 132
 conjectured Buddhist character of 126
 early excavations of 124, 126
 Kotagadda 124
 labeled as Satavahana 135
 possible remains of mint at 136
 problematic urban nature of 138
 recent excavations of 127
 Roman material found at 133
 Kulamuwa 401, 402

 Labadeia 442
 Lachish 398
 Lajja Gauri 127
 Lakonia 39
 Laodice, wife of Phraates II 334
 Larisa 442
 Lars Porsenna 200
 Latinus 7, 165, 258
 his city as regal Rome 194
 Latium 60
 Lavinium 178
lectio senatus 173
 Lepcis Magna 276
 Lethe, River 177
 Leukothea 311
 prominent goddess at Pyrgi 312
 Leuktra 442
 Battle of 4, 15, 16
 Levant
 sociocultural constructions of the city in
 ancient 395–408
Lex Ursonensis 376
 Living Presence Response 158
 Livy 310, 352
 Locris 441
 Longinus (author of *On the Sublime*) 440
 Lucan 260
 Lucian 308
 Lucilius Gamala, P. 356
 Lucius Verus 332
Ludi Megalenses 362
Ludi Saeculares 181
 Lupercal 189, 192, 353
lustratio 174, 175, 190
lustrum 174
lusus Troiae 169
 Lycia 87
 Lyell, Charles 514
 Lykomedes of Mantinea 17, 39

 Maecenas 230
 Maenaca 438
 Maenalus 442
 Magna Graecia 442, 443
 Magna Mater 362

- Maine, H.S. 11, 500, 508–511
Manes 54
 Manetho 333
 Manganello
 sanctuary of 59
 Mantinea 16, 40, 42, 442
 capture by the Spartans 16
 synoikism of 16
 Mappalia, Church of 276, 277
 Marcellus, M. Claudius, son-in-law of
 Augustus 167, 168, 190
 Marcellus, M. Claudius, the elder 182, 202
 Marius Victorinus 273
 Markets of Trajan 278
 Mars Ultor 181, 183
 Martial 378
 Liber Spectaculorum 265
 Mater Matuta 309, 311, 320
 identified with Ino-Leukothea 311
 Mausoleum of Augustus 189
 Maxentius 385
 Megalopolis 15, 17
 synoikism of 36, 39
 Megara Hyblaea 61
 Melchizedek 11, 431
 Melikertes 311, *See* Palaimon
 Melqart 308, 311, 317, 319
 Menelaus 255, 257
 Menippos of Kolophon 84
 Messene 441, 442
 Methydrium 442
 Milan 280, 281, 283, 284, 288
 Milo of Croton 443
 Minerva
 frieze in the Forum of Nerva depicting her
 myths 159
 temple of goddess in Pompeii 108
 Minucius Felix 352
 Misenus
 funeral of 190
 Mithridates I of Parthia 335, 340
 Mithridates II of Parthia 333, 335
 Mithridates VI of Pontus 82, 86, 90
 Mommsen, Theodor 516
 Monnica (mother of Augustine of Hippo) 8,
 277, 280, 283, 286, 288, 289, 352
 Morgan, L.H. 11, 500, 514–520
 Mummius Achaicus, L. 186
 Munda, Battle of 370
 mundus 5
 Musa (Parthian queen mother) 335
 Musaeus 170, 171
 Mycenae 442
 Myconos 444
 Myscellus 443

 Naples 155, 449
 Narbo 383
 Naukratis 299, 305, 316
 Naulochus, Battle of 195
 Naxos 61
 Neapolis *See* Naples
 Nelson's Column 158
 neokoros 78
 Nero 7, 259
 Colossus of 266, 381
 Parthian War of 332
 rumors concerning the Great Fire 264
 Nestor 441
 Niebuhr, G.B. 11, 501
 theory of *gens/genos* 501–504
 Nile River 156, 299
 Norway 504
 Numa Pompilius 181, 184, 189, 192
 Nymphs 360

 Odysseus 2
 Oenoanda 468
 Olbia 301
 oligarchy
 in the imperial Greek East 467
 Orchomenos 4, 18, 39, 42, 442
ordo decurionum 468
ordo-making 470
 Orodes II 335, 339
 Oscan 5
 Ostia 9, 286, 288, 289
 civic identity in 347–365
 dedications at 354–363
 Ostianness 351, 355
 Ovid 183, 311
 Ars Amatoria 248

 Pacorus 335
 Palaimon 311
 Panamuwa II 402
Parentalia 283
 Parthenon frieze 150

- Parthians 9, 251
 Patroclus 155
 Paul the Apostle, Saint 460
 Pausanias the Periegete 17, 20, 32, 36, 317, 440, 463
 Pelops 255
 Pergamum 85, 481
 Pheneos 42
 Pheneus 442
 Philo 465
 Philostratus 6, 155–157
 Phlious 4, 18, 40
 Phoenician settlements in Spain 303
 Phokaia 303, 315
 Phraataces 335
 Phraates II 334, 336, 337, 340
 Phraates III 335
 Phraates IV 337
 Piraeus 299
 Pisidia 447
 Pithekoussai 302, 306
 Plato 3, 8, 73, 155, 300, 304
 Laws 300
 Republic 154
 Pliny the Elder 111, 125, 181, 252, 253, 265, 370
 Pliny the Younger 187, 251, 284
 Plutarch 54, 311, 312, 463, 475, 481
polis
 contrasted with *emporion* 301
 Polybius 445, 463
pomoerium 54, 62
pompa funebris 192
 Pompeii 5
 compared with Ostia 347
 districts of 115
 House of Amor and Psyche 286
 Oscan mental construct of 111
 Samnite Palaestra in 109
 urban development of 101, 102
 Pompeius Magnus 370
 Pompeius Trogus 337
 Pompeius, Sextus 195
 Pons Mulvius 192
 Ponticianus 287
 Popidius, Lucius 109
 Porte d'Aix 147
 Portunus *See* Palaimon
 Portus 348
 Poseidonia 102
 Poseidoniasts of Berytus 465
 Praeneste 438
 Praxiteles 444
 Priene 82, 91
 Procopius of Caesarea 116
 Proserpina 54
 Protogenes 445
 Proxenos of Tegea 17
 Prussia 502
 Ptolemais 438
 public images, concept of 274
pulvinar 382
 Punic Wars 375
 Second 181, 201, 370
 Purellius, Maras 109
 Pylus 441
 Pyrgi 312, 314
quinquennalis 360
 Quirinus 182
recognitio equitum 172
regimen morum 173
 Regulus, M. Atilius 184
 Remus 200, 287, 353
Res Gestae Divi Augusti 6, 159, 235, 239
 size of inscriptions 151
Res Gestae Divi Saporis 339
 Revelation, Book of 11, 455
 Rhea Silvia 353
 Rhode 376
 Rhodes 90, 444
 Rodiae 438
Roma quadrata 54, 63
 Roma, goddess 457
 Roman Forum *See* Forum Romanum
 Rome
 as beast with seven heads 456
 Romulus 54, 166, 192, 198, 200, 287, 353
 as Quirinus 57
 Casa Romuli 200
 statues of 176, 181, 183, 189
Rosalia 51
 Rostra 178
 Sabines 200
 sacred topography 62
 Saeptha Julia 62, 237–239

- Sagalassos 77
 Sagra, Battle of the River 443
 Saguntum 387
 Sam'al 401
 Samaria 398
 Samos 462
 Samuel, Book of 423
 San Gimignano 286
 San Lorenzo, Church of 282
 Sant' Aurea, Church of 289
 Sant' Omobono 306, 311
 archaic temple at 309
 Sardinia 305
 Satavahanas 6
 Satricum 310
 Saturn 195
 altar of 53
 Saul 427
 Scaevola, Quintus Mucius 84
 Scipio Africanus, P. 185, 370
 Scipio Asiagenus, L. 186
 Scipio Calvus, Cn. 370
 Second Sophistic 440, 481
 Seleucia-on-the-Eulaeus 330
 Seleucia-on-the-Tigris 330, 337, 340
 Seleucids 328–341
 Selge 447
 Semele 312
 Seneca the Younger 7
 Apocolocyntosis 260
 date of the composition of the *Thyestes*
 259–265
 Hercules Furens 260
 Letters to Lucilius 262
 Natural Questions 262
 suicide of 259
 Thyestes 7, 246–270
 Sennacherib 407
 Septimius Severus 89, 332, 363
 Servian Walls of Rome 198
 Servius Tullius 178, 306, 309, 311
 reforms of 518
 Severan dynasty 155
 Sexembrius, Vibius 105
 Shabuh I 339
 Sibyl of Cumae 166, 169, 171, 177, 178, 192, 258
Sibylline Oracles 486
 Sidon 395
 signaling theory 70
 Sikyonia 39
 Silvius 181
 Smyrna 82, 481
 social capital, theory of 70
 Social War 99, 102
Sol Invictus 57
 Solomon (King of Israel) 427
 Solon 506
 Sosius, C. 170
 Spain, Roman 9
 Sparta 444
 Speer, Albert 269
 Spina 438
 Spurius, Maras 105
 Stalilius Taurus, T. 232
 Statius 251
 Strabo 11, 300, 333
 Greek ethnic identity in 438–450
 idealization of the *polis* 446
 role of memory in 438
 theme of *θαυμασμός* in 444
 Stymphalos 4, 5, 15–42, 442
 as part of the defensive strategy of the
 Arkadian League 32–35
 fortifications 22–27
 history of excavation and study 19, 21
 Successors of Alexander the Great 82
 Suetonius 182, 263, 352
 Sumerian King List 398
Summi Viri 176, 187, 192
 Susa 330
 Susiana 330
 Sybaris 442, 443
 Syme, Ronald 352
 syncretism
 at *emporia* 314
 Syrinx, town in Hyrcania 336
 Tacitus 240, 264, 338, 371
 Tanagra 442
 Tantalus 255
 Tarraco 9, 370–388
 Tegea 17, 442
 Tellus, Temple of 199
templum
 augural concept 51
 Termessos 473
 Thagaste 275
 Theater of Marcellus 171, 191

- Thebes 442
 Theocritus 1
 Theon 475, 481
 Thespieae 442, 444
 Thessaly 442
thiasoi See *collegia*
 Thyestes 246, 247, 250, 255
 Tiber 8, 189, 192, 197, 199, 298
 Tiberius 371
 Tibur 438
 Ticinus, Battle of 375
 Tiglath-pileser III 403
 Tigranes the Younger 335
 Tigranes, King of Armenia 261
 Tilphossium 442
 Tiridates, King of Armenia 261
 Tiridates, pretender to the Parthian throne
 337
 Titus Tatius 200
 Toletum 386, 387
 Trafalgar Square 158
 Trajan
 Column of 6, 144–160, 278
 Parthian War of 332
 Trapezus 17, 438
travectio 7, 173, 192, 199
 Trebonius Eutyches, N. 360
 Tullus Hostilius 185
 Tyre 308, 395

 Ugarit 399, 404
 Uni, Etruscan goddess 312, 315
 Ur 398
 Uruk 331, 398

 Valakhsh 339

 Valentia 387
 Valerian, Roman emperor 280
 Valerius Messalla Corvinus, M. 232
 Vardanes 338, 340
 Varro 4578
 Velabrum 177, 179
 Velleius Paterculus 239
 Vendôme Column 147
 Venice 504
 Venus 165, 234
 Vergil See *Virgil*
 Vespasian 372, 381, 382, 457
 Veyne, Paul 144, 147, 154
 Via Appia 385
 Via Augusta 374, 378, 379, 386
 Vibius Salutaris 349, 364
 Vicus Jugarius 310
 Villa Publica 172
 Virgil 6, 165–203
 Eclogues 231
 Elysian chiasmus of 191
 Georgics 231
 use of Roman art by 180–187
virtus
 feedback loop of 188
 Vitellius 381
 Vologeses I 261, 338, 339
 Vulcan 7, 166, 361, 365
Vulcanalia 361, 365

 Xenophon 16, 34, 40, 375

 Yehud 10

 Zand 339
 Zeno 484

