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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

About This Journal

The *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* (*JAEI*) is an online scholarly publication integrating Egyptian archaeology with Mediterranean, Near Eastern, and African studies—providing a dedicated venue for this growing field of interdisciplinary and inter-area research.

The journal has a somewhat wider geographical and temporal range than existing publications (such as the excellent *Ägypten und Levante*) while specializing in all aspects of interaction between ancient Egypt and its neighbors. *JAEI* publishes full-length articles, short research notes, and reviews of published works (as well as reports and announcements of relevant conferences, symposia, etc.), each of which has been peer-reviewed in a blind screening process by an Egyptologist and specialist from the outside area of interaction. As such, the screening of contributions is as rigorous as that employed for printed scholarly journals. The permanent location of the journal at the University of Arizona ensure as stable and tangible a publication base as those enjoyed by print serials.

The Editors are assisted by an Executive Editorial Board composed of distinguished scholars from a number of countries around the world and by Editorial Liaisons who are experts in the cultures of ancient Egypt's neighbors or aspects of their interaction with Egypt (see Editorial Personnel). In this way, *JAEI* is well-equipped to provide a solid publication platform for an area of study with true focus yet wide application within Egyptology and general historical studies.

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Examples:

Journal Article

John Gee, "Overlooked Evidence for Sesostris III's Foreign Policy," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41 (2004): 23–32.

Article or Chapter in Book

Peter L. Shinnie, "Meroë," in Donald B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 383–384.

Book

David Wengrow, *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformation in North-East Africa, 10,000–2650 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Edited Volume

Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademic der Wissenschaften, 2004).

Online Citation

Kerry Muhlestein, "Execration Ritual," in Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: eScholarship, 2008), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3f6268zf, accessed 1 April 2013.

Subsequent References to an Already Cited Work

Wengrow 2006, 47; Bietak and Czerny 2004, 94, Muhlestei, 2008, 1.

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Updated March 1, 2015

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

A Tribute to David Soren

David Soren

Photograph by Noelle Soren.

This *JAEI* Festschrift is actually a tribute to a number of people—all tremendously talented and highly successful in widely different areas—and all of whom comprise David Soren. Although Dr. Soren is primarily known as a leading archaeologist who has excavated extensively in Cyprus, Portugal, Tunisia and Italy, he is also, among other things, a prolific author in multiple fields of knowledge, a former musician, television and vaudeville performer, a documentary film maker, and a much-loved professor. This tribute celebrates all of these aspects of Professor Soren's career, though it focuses primarily on his now fifty years of work in the field of archaeology.

Howard David Soren was born on October 7, 1946, and grew up in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Fascinated by dance and entertainment at an early age, he began a career in the entertainment business at the age of eight and a year later was the youngest cast member of CBS television's The Horn and Hardart Children's Hour. Subsequently he performed in vaudeville and road shows with members of the Philadelphia Eagles football team and others, and, regularly, with children's program hosts Sally Starr and Chief Halftown. As a result of this vaudeville background, he is included in the definitive *Encyclopedia of Vaudeville* (Routledge, 2007).

But David also became interested in the ancient past at a relatively early age. After school David often used to go to the neighborhood movie theater which showed a steady stream of popular archaeology-inspired movies such as *The Golden Mask* (1953), *The Mole People* (1956) and *Journey to the Lost City* (1960). Such films and a popular TV show called *What in the World* in which archaeologists and art historians identified mysterious pieces provided by museums inspired a fascination with the ancient world, and when David chose an educational path, it was one in that direction. He received a B.A. in Greek and Roman Studies from Dartmouth College (1968), then an M.A. in Fine Arts (1972) and a Ph.D. in Classical Archaeology (1973) from Harvard University.

It was while David was in his senior year at Dartmouth that he met his wife-to-be, Noelle—a fellow archaeology student and talented artist and photographer—on a summer project excavating Roman remains under Winchester Cathedral in Winchester, England. For both David and Noelle it was "love at first sight," and on December 22, 1967, they were married. David had found a kindred spirit in Noelle who shared his love of archaeology—and who even sang with him in the rock band, Sphinx, that he had formed.

Sphinx was yet another expression of David's talent and flexibility, and by the time of his graduation he had to decide between becoming a rock singer or a classical archaeologist! Those of us who are his colleagues in archaeology are more than glad that he opted to concentrate on our field, though he still writes and teaches on film (especially Hollywood cinema of the 1930s), music, and vaudeville. He has founded and developed a museum of vaudeville at the University of Arizona and was also recently given a substantial grant to create an online history of vaudeville for the University.

David's contributions to archaeology have been equally wide-ranging. While still at Harvard he directed archaeological investigations for the Smithsonian Institution at Utica, Thuburbo Majus, and El Djem in Tunisia. From 1973 he taught at the University of Missouri in Columbia for ten years (becoming department head in the Art History Department), during which time he directed excavations at Miróbriga, Portugal. There he co-designed a section of the Santiago do Cacem Museum with *Star Wars* production designer Harry Lange. He also served as a Guest Curator at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, where he staged exhibitions from 1980 to 1988.

In 1983 David moved to the University of Arizona as department head in Classical Studies, and it has been in his 33 years in Arizona that his most important work has been accomplished. As his biographies show,

Soren is best known in archaeology for three particularly compelling discoveries:

First, his archaeological excavations at Kourion, Cyprus, demonstrated that the epicenter of the famous Mediterranean earthquake of July 21, 365 CE, had been offshore approximately 25 miles southwest of the town of Kourion. The celebrated archaeologist Brian Fagan described the pinning down of the locus for this huge tectonic event as one of the 50 most significant findings in world archaeology.

Soren's second especially significant discovery was the identification of *Plasmodium falciparum* malaria as a likely significant contributor to the downfall of the Roman Empire. This conclusion was reached through the careful analysis of DNA extracted from infant bones recovered from a cemetery he excavated at Lugnano in Italy between 1987 and 1991. This important advance was based on the first use of DNA evidence on an archaeological site, worldwide.

The third major discovery that we must attribute to David Soren is that of the site of the famous Roman *fontes Clusini* or Springs of Chiusi. This important healing sanctuary built around a cold-water spring was said by the poet Horace to have even cured the emperor Augustus from severe stomach pains in 23 BCE Soren discovered this ancient sanctuary and its spring—with its water still flowing—in the Tuscan town of Chianciano Terme in Italy.

Not surprisingly, as a result of work of this caliber, in 1997 David Soren was appointed Regents' Professor of Classics and Anthropology at the University of Arizona—a signal honor which reflects his work in Roman and Etruscan archaeology, his field excavation in Tuscany, as well as his writing on Roman architecture and Greek and Roman sculpture. Although not an Egyptologist, Soren's interdisciplinary and international work has frequently touched on matters of significance to Egyptian interactions with the wider ancient world, and his writings contain many instances of this. The author of over ten books and 70 articles, David Soren has had a substantial effect on a number of fields of knowledge. In 2005 Regents' Professor Soren was honored with the Excellence in International Service Award.

He has also served as a creative consultant for NBC's *Lost Civilizations* and History International's *Where Did It Come From?* and directed portions of Arts and Entertainment's *Human Sacrifice*, hosted by Leonard Nimoy. For his cinematic work he won a Cine Golden Eagle Award along with director David McAllister.

Throughout this richly productive archaeological career, Noelle has continued to work with David on archaeological digs and tours, in illustration and photography and other important field-related work. Today, David and Noelle continue the honeymoon they began over 48 years ago. Their friends know that nothing much has changed with them, and they seem to still exhibit the glow of togetherness they first experienced those many summers ago in Winchester, or when they appeared briefly in the movie *Love Story*—in a scene where they appear with other students walking across a snowy Harvard yard. Since then, their travels together have taken them through Africa, India, Europe, the Middle East and all around the Mediterranean, as well as many other destinations. Now, when they are not traveling, they enjoy their home in the desert Southwest, along with their beautiful cocker spaniel Lana.

Professor Soren continues to teach large classes and to write prolifically as well as to serve on important University committees and to participate in planning developments. He continues to direct Arizona's Orvieto International Institute for Classical Studies in Italy (now the University's largest study abroad program), which he founded in 2001, and is active in many other ways. In fact, his scholarly energy and productivity seem to increase each year. He was just recently awarded a substantial grant and invited by the Italian government to return to Italy and do further excavation in the infant cemetery at Lugnano in Teverina, where he will be joined by scholars from Yale and his past student David Pickel from Stanford. And his latest publication on Roman archaeology, co-authored with distinguished scholar Archer Martin, was just adopted by the University of California, Berkeley, for their Roman archaeology class.

The many honors and distinctions Professor Soren has garnered are too numerous to list here, and we note only a few. He was made an Honorary Greek—awarded the Philhellene Medal of the Greek Orthodox Church for Contributions to Greek Culture (1986)—and an Honorary Italian Citizen—by the town of Lugnano in Teverina, Italy (1990). He is a Fellow (an honor awarded to only 25 people, worldwide, each year) of the British Royal Institute of International Affairs (1985 to present), a Fellow of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (1985 to present), and a Resident for Classical Archaeology,

American Academy in Rome (conferred 2002). The breadth of his impact is seen in the fact that in 1985 (the same year that Bruce Springsteen and Cyndi Lauper won for entertainment), he was chosen as one of ten national winners from all categories of the sciences for the *Esquire Magazine* Outstanding Young American Award for Science.

Beyond his superlative scholarship and ongoing achievements in archaeology, David Soren has made a mark on our field by the kind of person he is. He is the type of colleague it is always a pleasure to meet and who is always interested in the other person. Although he is unfailingly self-deprecating, David is an engaging conversationalist and can speak knowledgeably, with a sparkle in his eye, on virtually any imaginable topic—ranging from serious matters such as disease-carrying mosquitos in ancient Rome to more whimsical things such as the hydration habits of hippopotami.

His personal warmth and kindness are legendary on our campus. Of course, one usually has to be quite old to be legendary, but David seems to have always been known for these qualities. Over the years he has mentored and helped many colleagues (of whom the present writer is grateful to have been one) to become established and to progress in our field.

In short, but from a wealth of personal encounters, I can easily say that in the 40 years of my own academic experience I have met no one so widely respected among colleagues or so loved by students as Regents' Professor David Soren, and it is a great privilege to have the opportunity to dedicate this tribute Festschrift to him. I hope that David will enjoy this small *liber amicorum* and that he will be encouraged to know what a pleasure it is for his friends to present it to him.

RICHARD H. WILKINSON

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

A Bibliography and Filmography of David Soren

***JAEI* Staff**

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Orvieto and the Waterways Network

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Abstract
In antiquity "road networks" of various kinds played an essential role in defining the territory and determining where settlements and production villas and farms were to be located. This study deals in particular with the waterways in Umbria, involving rivers such as the Tiber, the Paglia and the Chiani, which were all navigable at the time, and how present place names provide an insight into how these waterways were exploited. Corroborated by archaeological finds, descriptions from ancient authors also provide a lively picture of what these villas were like.

Preface[1]
Two distinct methods of analysis can be used in an attempt to understand the phenomenon connected to the creation and exploitation of a communication and transportation network: physical and chronological. The current connotation of the term "road network" refers to a complex system dependent in turn on the manner in which it is exploited (by rail, wheels, etc.). It might therefore be more correct to think of an ancient system as a network of connectivity, that changes, is updated, "breathes," in line with the historical events connected to the territory in question. The analysis[2] of these networks as presented here will deal first of all with the "waterways," subsequently to be followed by a study of the "land" network. The sciences that deal with the processes involved in the humanization of a territory—and not that alone—can hardly be considered exact since it is after all the human element that furnishes the greatest number of variables. They are sometimes hard to identify and understand, difficult to classify, or even to subdivide into categories.

Any discussion of communication networks must obviously include the waterways. The presence of water was generally one of the requisites for a human settlement, a determining element in the land routes as ineluctable geographic boundaries, along which salt,[3] one of the most important products for antiquity and the Middle Ages, moved.

The Waterways
The area in question in this study includes the Tiber, Paglia, and Chiani[4] rivers, to name only the most important. They were all navigable in antiquity, including the use of a haulage system, where a system of locks[5] permitted the exploitation of rivers with a minimum discharge. In Roman times precise laws regulated river traffic insofar as the *flumen* (a waterway with a permanent flow as distinguished from the *rivus* and which existed even in exceptional periods of drought) vitally enabled free circulation. Drawing water from the river was prohibited so as not to interfere with navigation and the banks were also safeguarded, making access availble to all.[6]

Merchandise was transported from the maritime to the river ports of Rome on the *caudicariae* or *naves cadicariae*, large river barges. [7] Depending on their size, they had no sails, and were drawn by men pulling ropes (the *helciarii* cited in the classic sources[8]) or by oxen, which moved along the riverbanks[9]. This system, known as *alaggio*, or towing, was in use up to the end of the 19th century. The term *alzaia,* or also *alzan,* has a twofold semantic value. It is the rope that serves to pull vessels upstream along the canals. It is the road along the banks or along the river for the transit of the animals and men who were towing the vessels. *Alzaia* is derived from the Late Latin *helciaria* (he who pulls the rope), from *helcium* (yoke) and this from the Greek meaning "to pull."

In the Venetian territory the term *restara* also had multiple meanings: rope, road, station for changing animals, horses or oxen, and tolls (the right of *restara*, a real *ius* of Roman law).[10] *Restara* is also derived from the Latin: *restis*, rope, cord. *Restiarius* is therefore the rope maker (*funaio*). In a broader sense in addition to tow road for the boats the term was also applied to the rope itself. Therefore *restarolus* is he who hauls the boats and the *resta* is the linen tow, the hemp for the ships, also referred to the braid of

vegetable fibers (the *resta* or "rope, string" of garlic or onions). The place name "funara" is also significant, appearing for example in reference to a road near the Nera River in correspondence to the bridge of Augustus, in Narni, that could have had the same meaning or indicate the craft activity connected with the production of ropes.

An analysis of the 1363 cadaster[11] of Civitello d'Agliano provides us with a good idea of the importance of transportation via river in the Middle Ages. Cited are the *sandali* (sandals), flat-bottomed vessels "suitable for sliding over stretches of rapids; in case of riverbeds that are muddy or covered with brush, they easily move without remaining entangled."[12] In 1500, in the stretch Baschi-Orte–Rome, the types of vessels with characteristics suitable for river navigation and of various sizes included *sandali, navicelli, ciarmotte, ciarmottelle, barchette, bastardelle, chiode.* The *navicello* for example was up to 21 meters long and 5 wide, with one or two masts and a hold, the *barchettone* 15 by 4 meters, the *chioda* a sort of floating raft.[13]

The river routes in the territory in question serve as a useful compendium for the subsequent correct identification of the land routes.

The Tiber is obviously the most important river and receives water from the Paglia, which in turn received water from the Chiani and subsequently that of the Nera, as well as a series of minor streams that run through the territory and are often the inroads into the countryside. A series of archaeological elements that determine the parameters for an understanding of the importance, above all in antiquity, of these courses can be identified from north to south. The Tiber is the boundary for the Etruscan territories, those on the right bank of the river: *ripa veientana* and then the *polis* of Veio[14] or *litus Etruscorum*.[15] The Italic populations on the left bank appertain to a Faliscan and/or Umbrian ambience.

In the territory of Orvieto, the river Paglia runs along the valley floor below the butte. Now of a torrential nature, in antiquity it bore the interesting hydronym *Tinia*.[16] Coming from Monte Amiata, it cuts transversally through the territory, creating the Paglia valley, which, broadly speaking, separates the volcanic plateau of the Alfina from the hills at the foot of the massif of Monte Peglia. Towards the source, in the west, are the territories currently part of the administrative areas of Lazio and Tuscany, with Acquapendente at the center, and those gravitating around the upper valley of the Fiora. Limited interest in these western territories together with the meandering nature of the course of the Paglia do not seem to have been conducive to making much use of this stretch of the waterway.[17] One of the settlements controlling the western portion of the Paglia valley seems to have been Castel Viscardo, a hypothesis based on the presence of the necropolis known as Conventaccio or of the Caldane,[18] dating to between the 6th and the 4th century BCE. There was probably a ford along the Via Traiana Nova,[19] just after the ravines that narrow the riverbed coming from Acquapendente. A place name still found in the area is that of Barca Vecchia,[20] or Old Boat, evidently connected to the local geomorphological conditions near the two banks and their use even relatively recently. The road of 108 CE in line with the river followed the orientation of the side roads of the Cassia, which deviated slightly in the direction of Orvieto and crossed the river in loc. Colonnacce[21] before heading towards Ficulle. The so-called Ponte Giulio,[22] currently far from the course of the river due to the migration of the Paglia riverbed,[23] must have served the same function.

The territory of Chiusi lies to the northwest, communicating with the district of Volsini via the *Clanis*, currently a rather modest river, but which, like the Paglia,[24] was navigable in antiquity. The boundary between the areas belonging to the two *poleis* can be identified thanks to the trajectory of the previously mentioned Via Traiana Nova. This more recent road led *a Volsinis ad fines Clusinorum*.[25] On the basis of the miles given in the *miliario* of Monte Regole, the boundaries can be placed in correspondence to the site of the Colonnacce,[26] in the municipality of Ficulle. This interruption was probably due to the presence of stagnant water that led to the formation of wetlands in the lower Valdichiana. In the Middle Ages the area was still characterized by these stagnant waters which was probably why the cultivated fields were abandoned in Roman times, even though an environment of this sort generated an economy connected to water[27] (fishing, canes, hemp). The riverbed of the Chiani has changed and the river had a more abundant flow. This can be conjectured by the presence of a bridge and a sort of containing weir in concrete, significantly called "Murogrosso," near Fabro Scalo,[28] where the water begins its winding torrential route from the Valdichiana towards *Volsinii.* The concern expressed by the Roman Senate in 15 CE with regards to the floods of the Tiber, and the need to regularize the flow of its affluents, is shown in references to such constructions. Five containment structures in opus poligonalis on ditches leading into the Tiber[29] have been documented in the administrative areas of Guardea and Lugnano in Teverina, south of Orvieto. A long series of reconstructions are mentioned in Bianchi–Boscherini–Fuschiotto, where various archive sources including that of the War of Castro are cited. With regards to this war, in 1643 "the wall was destroyed..." on the occasion of the hostilities in the Barberina war. In the third part of his histories, Count Gualdo Priorato tells us that Colonel Adami from Pistoia was sent to tear down the wall of the Chiane built (what the basis for this statement was is not given) in Carthaginean times. I have a small brochure titled: *Fatto D'arme Del Serenissimo Granduca di Toscana Contro Gli Barberini L'anno 1643. Ottave Composte Dal Caporale Annibale Di Ruggiero Monanni Da Pigli Contado D'arezzo*. This draft for a poem consists of three long cantos in *ottava rima* (….). Mention is made of the ruins of the wall of Carnaiolo (…). Our poet found himself with other men who were tearing down the wall so as to (as they then thought) flood Rome with the overflow of the Chiani.

"*Quivi ci eran molti lavoranti/Chi in mano aveva la subbia, e chi il martello/E fatigar ne viddi tanti, e tanti/Chi portava la marra, e chi il corbello/E chi passeggia, e chi gira d'avanti/Chi adopera la braccia, e chi il cervello/E chi li sassi faceva portare/Giù per il fiume per farli annegare....*"[30]

In 1878 the discovery, in località Volpara just north of Murogrosso, of an oval chamber tomb *con soffitto a calotta incavato nel masso* (with a domed ceiling hollowed out in the rock) confirms this supposition.[31] According to contemporary reports, there were either six or nine urns inside, arranged in a circle around one at the center. Six bore Etruscan and Latin inscriptions, and some had additional decorations such as fluted columns, rosettes, capitals, oinochoai and phialai. The inscriptions were transcribed as follows:

1) *luci cic(unias) a(rn)J svenias*
2) *a(rn)J cicu(nias) svenias*
3) *l(u)ci cicu(nias) (...)un:ial*
4) *a(rn)J cicu(nias) a(rn)J crapilun*
5) *C(AIUS) GELLIUS / GRASSUS / ANNIA NATUS*
6) *C(AIUS) GELLIUS C(AII) F(ILIUS) / ARN(ENSI TRIBU) CRASSUS / MURTIA NATUS*

This thus testifies to a late Etruscan settlement, frequented up to the 1st century BCE. On the basis of the inscriptions this does not seem to concern interparental relationships (the Etruscan depositions belong to the *Cicunias* family, and the Latin inscriptions give a *Caius Gellius Crassus* father of the second *Caius Gellius*), while the arrangement of the urns when they were discovered would seem to indicate the existence, or at least the tentative presence, of a dynasty. The gentilitial *Cicunias* furnishes interesting information with regards to the organization of the territory for it appears especially in the ambience of Chiusi. It is therefore a reflection of the geo-political ambience of the area of Fabro and Monteleone of Orvieto around the 2nd century BCE. This agrees with the evidence furnished by the urns, related to the Hellenistic types of the production of Chiusi.[32] An important element for the dating of the last deposition, if the person belonging to the Arnense tribe is the son of the first Caius Gellius, is represented by the fact that Chiusi became part of the Arnense tribe in 89 BCE, *terminus post quem* therefore for the dating of the last inscribed urn.[33]

The importance as roadway of the Chiani River in the tract that runs through the territory of Volsini[34] is further confirmed by the broad chronological range of the archaeological finds along the two banks. The site of Monte Melonta, controlling the river course, has provided traces of frequentation in Neolithic times,[35] proto-historical tombs and documents of Etruscan times,[36] including a sandstone disk[37] with the inscription *(than)chvil nuzarnai*, a female gentilitial which once more takes us to the area of Chiusi in the form *nuzernei*[38] and the later *nuzrni*.[39] The settlement related to the necropolis discovered in loc. Bagni[40] must also have gravitated around the course of the Chiani. The sites of Pian Di Meana[41] and Pian Di Mealla, where the remains of important production villas[42] have been discovered, confirm the importance of the river route for the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The Tiber River was in any case one of the principal connections between Orvieto and the territories to the northeast and south. Its extensive rain-collecting basin ensured a discharge of water that was probably more consistent than today and, consequently, easier to navigate, even if the ancient sources seem to disagree on the subject. For Dionysius of Halicarnassus it was navigable up to the sources;[43] for Pliny the Younger the summer was particularly problematical due to a lack of water;[44] for Pliny the Elder sluices were required to raise the level, in particular upstream, after the confluence with the Paglia and the Chiani,[45] both important affluents. It was therefore near Orvieto that the type of river traffic changed, probably concentrating on vessels with a reduced draught, still capable of exploiting the advantages of the river route. It is in correspondence to the confluence of the Paglia with the Tiber that one of the principal archeological sites in the territory of Orvieto is located: the river port known as Pagliano. In 1889[46] and 1890[47] the first studies of the Roman structures plausibly identified as a river port were carried out along the right bank of the Tiber. An area of at least 8,000 square meters was investigated and 28 rooms were identified, built in *opus incertum* and *opus reticulatum*. Except for a dedication to a *Venus Vincitrice* in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Orvieto, the present whereabouts of the materials recovered, a rather conspicuous amount, is unknown. Included however were a large number of coins ranging from the Augustan to the Constantine period, Aretine pottery, stamped bricks, grindstones, weights, fishhooks, keys, bronze statuettes and oil lamps. Subsequent studies by Morelli in the fifties[48] led to the drawing up of a new ground plan that brought the number of rooms to 70. The structures still visible were therefore part of an extensive settlement, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the origins went back further than indicated by the available documentation, probably to archaic times in relationship to the historical events involving the nearby center of Orvieto. The multifunctional aspect of the structures—warehouses, mills, docks, places of worship, residential and productive rooms[49]—points to such a hypothesis. The road network by land must also have been rather extensive, connecting the river junction with the surrounding territories.[50] Particularly important in this sense is the site of Castellunchio,[51] located on the opposite bank of the river Paglia, for which a long uninterrupted frequentation has been documented. Evidence dates at least to the Early Iron Age (but on the basis of recent hypotheses it could go back to the late Bronze Age) and continues through the Etruscan and Roman periods.

In the passage previously cited, Pliny the Younger says that a great quantity of agricultural produce was sent

towards the Urbe, some of which from his villa in the territory of Arezzo, in communication with the Tiber via the Chiani. The advantage of moving merchandise by water seems obvious, in consideration also of the fact that it could go in both directions. While vessels could exploit the current of the river in taking merchandise to its mouth, barges could also be used, probably not exclusively drawn by animals.[52] The frequent presence of toponyms including the word *barca* (boat) along the entire course of the rivers mentioned above (Tiber, Paglia, Chiani) can be related to fords: Barca Vecchia on the Paglia near Monterubiaglio, Barca di Slaviano on the Tiber before the gulleys of the Forello, Ponte di Barche near Todi, to cite only a few[53]. As L. Quilici[54] notes it must be kept in mind that river navigation lasted a long time, with the relative maintenance works of the fords, the banks, and the wharfs, up to and including the Middle Ages, while with modern times there was an involutive process that rapidly cancelled all traces of works of this kind, above all when bound to a natural environment in continuous change such as that of the courses of water.

Of the archaeological sites that characterize the territory along the banks of the Tiber of particular note is the presence of numerous Roman villas. A brief discussion of their nature can help us understand the organization of the areas in question.

The System of Production Villas

In addition to the archeological finds, ancient sources provide us with a fairly accurate picture of the complex organization of what we call productive farm villas in the Roman period. One of the principal ancient authors providing us with information is Cato (*Marcus Porcius Cato*—234/149 BCE—known as "The censor," author of *De Agri Cultura*), who tells the wealthy owner who lives elsewhere how to manage his farm estate. A century later Varro (*Marcus Terentius Varro*—born 116 BCE in Rieti) writes three books on agriculture (*De Re Rustica*). He also endorses the transformation of public soil for private use, a factor that involves amplifying the tenancy contract with the tenant-farmers.

Columella (*Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella*—4/70 CE) is a real agronomist. His treatise in twelve books (*De Re Rustica*) provides an even more articulated picture and constitutes an essential source of information on ancient agriculture. Of particular importance for the architectural aspects is Vitruvius's *De Architectura* (*Marcus Vitruvius Pollio*—circa 80/15 BCE).

The Romans used the term *villa* to indicate a building complex located outside the city walls. Initially the villa came into being as a family-run farm. It had a farmhouse and a *fundus*, and was managed personally by the owner. In this first phase there was no distinction between the *pars rustica*, sector destined for the servants and workers, and the *pars urbana* or *dominica*, reserved for the *dominus*, that is the owner and his family. Between the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 2nd century BCE with the economic development of Roman society a transformation took place. The *villae* dedicated to *otium* came into being, homes reflecting the social status and wealth of the owner, above all if located in the *suburbana regio Italiae* (the territory of central Italy today occupied by Lazio, Campania and Umbria).

During the period of the Roman Republic, the *villa* had well-defined requisites, some dictated above all by a search for self-sufficiency. It was to be built near courses of water or springs, in healthy surroundings and therefore on a hill or on the slopes, not far from the sea or a navigable river, better if near a city and so on.

Varro divides the villa into three sectors: *pars urbana*, *pars rustica*, *pars fructuaria*.[55]

The *pars urbana* was the residence of the *dominus* and his *gens*. Generally it consisted of the *basis villae* (the basement with vaulted rooms that could be used as cryptoporticus, nymphaeum or cistern[56]), the *vestibolum*, the *fauces* (the entrance), the *atrium* with the *impluvium* (the tub for collecting rain water), the *tablinum* (the reception room of the Roman house, set on an axis with the entrance), the *peristilyum* (porticoed garden with columns), the *cubicula* (bedrooms), and the *triclinia* (dining rooms).

The rooms for the slaves were in the *pars rustica.* For Varro, slaves were simply "agricultural equipment" in the service of the villa, defined *instrumentum vocale*, to distinguish them from the *instrumentum semivocale*, such as beasts of burden, or *instrumentum mutum*, a hoe, a rake, a plow. The *cellae familiae* consisted of storage rooms for the clothing and food supplies of the slaves, while other *cellae* were for the helpers of the *vilicus* (the overseer) and for the *operarii* and the *artefices*, that is the artisans. There was also the *ergastolum* where slaves were punished and the *valetudinarium* for the ill, the storerooms, the *habitatio* of the *vilicus* and the *culina* (kitchen) and the latrine.

The *pars fructuaria* was for the processing of the products of the land and the farm animals, under the charge of the *vilica*, the *promi* (stewards) and the *cellarii* (vintners). Included were the *torcularium* (the press) for wine with the *lacus* (collecting tub); the *corticale*, where the must was boiled down; the *fumarium* where the wine was artificially aged using the fumes from the kitchen or the *prefurnio* of the thermal installations; the *cella vinaria* (where the wine was kept in large *dolia,* terracotta jars that were partially buried); the *trapetum* (the press); the *cella olearia* for preserving oil; the *granaria* for wheat and the *farraria* for the spelt; the *foenilia* (hay barns); and the *nubilarium* (sheds to protect the wheat from the rain before it was threshed). There was also the *area*, corresponding to the barnyard; the *oporotheca*, storeroom for fruit; the *pistrinum* or mill for the cereals; and the *carnarium*, for the conservation of salted meats.

One of the villas that has been most throughly studied from an archaeological point of view is that of Settefinestre,[57] near Orbetello, an ancient territory of the Roman colony of Cosa. Between the end of the 2nd and the 1st century BCE the villa was subjected to a profound socio-economical transformation. The small farm owners

disappeared, giving way to a system of "rustic" villas or productive estates based on intensive and specialized cultivations, with a massive use of slave labor. Production was aimed above all at the exportation of wine and oil.

It is once more Cato[58] who provides us with a general listing:

1) *vinea* (vineyard that could also be sowable land with trees);
2) *hortus* (fenced enclosure for prized crops);
3) *salictum* (willows, the branches of which served to tie up the vines);
4) *oletum* (olive grove);
5) *pratum* (hay fields);
6) *campus frumentarius* (land for growing cereal crops);
7) *silva caedula* (copses);
8) *arbustum* (lots with trees);
9) *glandaria silva* (oak woods for collecting acorns used in feeding the pigs).

For Columella too the ideal property should have cultivated fields around the villa with meadows, cereal crops, willows and canes, as well as olive groves and vineyards on the hillsides, or fields, pastureland, woods for firewood and construction purposes, and quarries for building materials, in other words everything needed to be self-sufficient. Of note were activities connected to animal husbandry, distinguished in *pastio agrestis* and *pastio villatica*.[59]

Pastio agrestis was for the cattle, sheep, pigs, horses, and useful animals such as mules and dogs.

The *pastio villatica* concerned the more prized and profitable courtyard animals such as pigeons, doves, thrushes, geese, ducks, peacocks and hare, but also boar, roe and fallow deer and even snails, dormice, freshwater and saltwater fish.

The Roman villa was also the privileged place for *otium*, a combination of intellectual and meditative, as well as recreational, activities, that characterized the lifestyle, personal freedom, the moral constitution. *Otium* was a sort of spiritual dimension but also a place for the bodily pleasures and was the maximum aspiration for the right balance between the public and private aspects of life. In his letters dating to the end of the 1st and early 2nd century CE, Pliny the Younger (*Caius Plinius Caecilius Saecundus*, born in Como in 61 CE) described his villas and the type of life led there, lingering particularly on two: the Laurentina, on the sea, near Anzio, and the one *in Tuscis*, that is in Etruria, in the upper valley of the Tiber. The picture he paints is particularly charming. Topiary art, the pruning of trees and bushes into unnatural forms for specifically ornamental purposes, is of considerable importance. The function of the neighboring course of water is also of note and Pliny writes: "that river (the Tiber), that runs through the fields, is navigable and transports to the city all the products of the land, at least during winter and spring; in summer the level of the water drops and the dried-up bed loses its name of large river, to reassume it in autumn."[60]

This brief description provides an idea of how the presence of villas defined the territory from the point of view of landscape as well as function and production. With this in mind let us turn to the areas in question and try to understand the changes that took place over time. What M. A. Tomei[61] writes with regards to the territory of Narni-Terni-Amerino is of particular note: "on the basis of the still incomplete documentation, it has so far been possible to identify over 50 villas in the territory of the municipalities of Guardea, Terni, Alviano, Lugnano, Giove, Penna in Teverina, Amelia, Narni, Otricoli, Sangemini, with a first phase dating to the period from the middle of the first century BCE to the Augustan age. The Narni-Amerina zone was already considered particularly fertile in antiquity…."

Various interesting elements are to be found on the left bank of the Tiber, historically falling into the Italic ambience.

M. Bergamini[62] suggests a hypothetical route that begins in the territory of Todi and moves along the banks of the river, connecting the Roman villas of Pontecuti to Baschi and beyond, although archaeological evidence has not been clearly identified. Bergamini mentions the fact that "there is no particular confirmation" for Becatti's original hypothesis[63] except for a very short stretch in loc. Carpinaro, a stretch not right along the river but "higher up" due to problems of an orographic nature (this would then be connected to a route of which the via "Straccalasini" was part[64]). In any case the previously mentioned place names are significant, specifically those connected to ferry crossings: pian di Porto—hypothetically connected with the Latin term *portorium*, excise or customs, referring to bridges for which toll was paid, or more simply with *portus*, port or harborage, not the same in a river as in a marine ambience; Fosso della Barca; and Fosso dei Varconi. Mention must also be made of those throughout the territory in question: Barca Vecchia; Chiusa or le Chiuse; la Nona; and obviously the toponym Ponte. The productive settlement of Scoppieto,[65] fundamental for an understanding of the "river system" and the part it played in the economy of the region in Roman times, is in the municipality of Baschi. Archaeological excavation identified a village of artisans producing mostly fine tableware, known as *terra sigillata*, from the early Imperial Age to the early 2nd century CE, when it became a more anonymous settlement. In this case the *terra sigillata* is characterized by the fact that it bears the signatures of the workers/artisans. This makes it possible to trace the flow of trade that went via river to the principal distribution centers on the coasts of the Mediterranean. The location of the site was determined by geo-pedological factors such as the presence of banks of clay but also—and above all—by the proximity of the river that allowed for the movement of the products. This is followed, along the left bank of the river, by the localities Carpinare or Carpinaro,[66] piano di Salviano,[67] and Barca di Salviano.[68]

The area was in any case characterized by the manifest presence of high-level materials pertaining to "important" inhabited centers, one of which had a lead acqueduct, to which a lead fistula with the seal of the emperor Galba, found near Civitella del Lago,[69] bears witness. The sporadic recovery[70] of a *dispensator* stamp may also refer to him. The burials and places of worship, of which traces remain in the stone materials in the churches of S. Gemini presso Civitella,[71] of S. Maria,[72] S. Martino,[73] and Poggio di Castagnola,[74] must also be connected to these centers. While isolated materials have been recovered in the walls of the historical center of Baschi, of particular note in the southern part of the town are the finds near the Fosso delle Macee.[75] Late antique cappuccina tombs and burials in amphoras have been documented next to remains of masonry structures. The so-called *fragmentum tudertinum*, a bronze plaque with legislative regulations of Roman times and a dedication to the god Tiberinus,[76] was recovered at the confluence of the ditch with the Tiber river. West of Montecchio, the presence of a funerary cippus[77] of the Carsulae type has been documented. This increases the number of sites gravitating along the course of the river in Roman times, in an area not far from the one where the so-called *lex tudertina* mentioned above was recovered. We should keep in mind the pre-Roman site indicated by the necropolis of Montecchio/Baschi, that of the Fosso di S. Lorenzo, is in an Umbrian-Faliscan ambience with strong Volsinian influences and connected with the settlement of Copio.[78] The localities Valsarana[79] and Cocciano[80] are in the territory of the municipality of Guardea, while the municipality of Alviano has given us evidence of a production villa of Roman times in loc. Pupigliano[81] where activity seems to have begun in the 1st century BCE and continued to the 4th century CE. It was therefore an extremely long-lived settlement and would have truly taken advantage of the presence of the Tiber and the crops that were probably grown on the adacent level terrain—it is in fact one of the few productive villas located at a low altitude. Loc. Fontanelle[82], Ramici[83], Archignano[84] and, in a broad sense, the villa of Poggio Gramignano[85] are in the municipality of Lugnano. For the municipality of Penna in Teverina other outstanding sites are the villa in loc. Muralto,[86] with traces of a paved road, and above all that of the monumental villa in loc. Pennavecchia.[87]

Geographically the area is defined by the course of the Tiber River and the reliefs of the pre-Appenine Amerino-Narnese ridge. Significant in particular is the belt between the left bank of the Tiber and the hilly ridges at an altitude of between 100 and 500 meters above sea level, a sort of terrace overlooking one of the most important rivers in Italy. The presence of consistent banks of pliocenic clay deposits are responsible for the constant erosion of the surroundings, with what are known as *calanchi* or badlands, in the shape of sharp ridges, slowly but continuously transforming the landscape. This must be kept in mind in analyzing the archaeological evidence in the territory. The period of Romanization and the subsequent exploitation of the agricultural and natural resources by production villas is particularly important with regards to the evidence that characterizes the area in question. As early as the 3rd–2nd century BCE polygonal masonry walls were being built in the ditches in the localities of Marutana, Porcianese and Galluzzo, in the adjacent municipalities of Guardea and Lugnano in Teverina,[88] to regulate the flow of water towards the main river course in the valley floor.

There is no mention in archaeological literature of pre-Roman settlements with regards to the municipality of Alviano, but only a generic mention of "tombs" in località Madonna del Porto,[89] a toponym that interestingly enough alludes to a ford or a landing on the Tiber River.

The complete Romanization of the area in question came to a close with the Social War of 90–88 BCE (the name depending on the fact that the *socii*, the Italic allies of Rome, rebelled, invoking the right to citizenship). The creation of new *municipi*, including Amelia, favored the aggregation of settlements and the depopulation of the countryside, cultivated up to then by small farm owners with mixed techniques that included pastures at altitudes higher than the first hill ridges. Shortly thereafter the first large rustic villas and productive farm estates appeared, organized on the basis of slave labor, the effect more of a reoccupation than an actual *ex novo* installation. The Umbrian stretch of the Tiber naturally attracted many wealthy Roman families, to which a letter by Pliny the Younger to his friend Gallo[90] bears witness, in which he describes one of his villas, perhaps the one in the municipality of San Giustino, near Città di Castello. We can now identify many place names we define as predial, that is the belonging of a place (in the specific case of a holding or farm—*praedium* in Latin) to a Roman *gens*, whose name is "hidden" in the place name itself. One example will do: the *gens Popilia* to whom the name of the villa of Alviano, in loc. Popigliano, referred. An example of this correlation is in the toponym Rosciano: the great orator Marcus Tullius Cicero presents us with the story of a wealthy land owner of Ameria (Amelia), accused of parricide, in defense of whom Cicero composed the oration *Pro Roscio Amerino* in 80 BCE. This was Sextus Roscius Amerinus, who had 10 of his 13 holdings located around the Umbrian city confiscated by the dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla. These farms were subsequently bought at a (so to say) public auction by one of Silla's freedmen, L. Cornelius Chrysogonus, who paid two thousand sestertians for a property whose real value was six million. The predial toponym connected to this story is Rosciano, but the same holds for Alviano, Aquilano, Cocciano, Archignano, Marcignano, Gramignano, and so on. The repeated appearance of these predials in the belt near the course of the river suggests that further investigation of the motives behind the presence of this binomial villa/river would be in order.

Another important contribution to an understanding of the territory of the Tiber valley ranging from the gorge of the Forello to the Amerina area is supplied by a recent

study of the aforementioned villa of Poggio Gramignano,[91] located in the municipality of Lugnano in Teverina. Plausible estimates of the average area of a property characterized by architecturally important buildings, such as the villas of Popigliano and Poggio Gramignano, come up with between 300 and 600 *iugeri*, that is 75 and 150 hectares. They are therefore, in both cases, rather large agricultural holdings. For the territory in question the same types of production identified in adjacent properties can be hypothesized. First of all there were the vineyards, including willows, since their flexible branches were used to tie up the vine shoots. Baskets were also woven of willow shoots, a practice still common in our rural zones up to not long ago. Cato[92] insists that an agricultural holding has to have a good supply of *corbulae amerinae*, the top quality wicker baskets produced in the territory of Amelia.

Another reason why the settlements were located in areas overlooking the valley floor along the course of the Tiber was the presence of an ecosystem with humid areas in which to integrate the products of the *hortus*, consisting of fruit trees as well as vegetables.

The swampy areas along the courses of water also provided cane and paludal grasses, all used in agriculture, favored and stimulated fishing and the hunting of resident and migratory fauna. Unfortunately the gradual deterioration of the techniques connected to agricultural procedures and the presence of the *latifundium* or large landed estate led to the abandonment of widespread areas. No longer cultivated and drained, they became unhealthy and generated epidemic diseases such as malaria, identified in the osteological remains of the villa of Poggio Gramignano.[93]

The hills of the Amerine mountain chain, covered with a dense growth of holm and English oaks and hornbeams, were also teeming with wildlife.

Lastly to be mentioned is the presence of imposing banks of clay, the basic material for making bricks and tiles and, probably, ceramics. Of particular interest is the production of the so-called megarese cups attributed to workshops of central Italy, specifically Otricoli, signed by *Caius Popilius*.[94]

The port known as dell'Olio, no longer visible, was in Otricoli, the ancient *Ocriculum*. It was located on a bend of the Tiber, a canonic position for docks since the currrent here falls off and makes it easier to maneuver the boats. The toponym clearly indicates that one of the products commercialized in the port of call was oil, in addition to bricks and tiles and tableware, known to have been important in the production of *Ocriculum*. To the north, on the same bank of the Tiber, is the port of Orte, loc. Seripola, an important commercial junction with material dating to the 6th–5th century BCE. This was the *Castellum Amerinum*, the crossing of the Tiber by the Via Flaminia, indicated on the Tabula Peutingeriana. Recent studies employing geophysical techniques have made it possible to identify a series of structural elements outside the excavated area: an over-140-meter-long stretch of the Flaminia flanked by a series of tombs and mausolea.[95]

Another factor in an analysis of the territory is the presence of brick stamps dating to the Roman period. G. Filippi[96] used these as his point of departure in locating some of the kilns that supplied the Roman construction yards in the area in question. The inscriptions in these stamps furnish information concerning where the kilns were, the workforce, the clients and the chronology. Particular attention is given to the *Ager Amerinus*, defined as "one of the most representative territories in the middle Tiber valley with the location of the most important kilns which supplied the Roman market in the Imperial Age"[97] and much larger than the modern city of Amelia. Filippi excludes the possibility of transportation by barge for the products of these kilns, perhaps also because the barges in his hypothetical reconstruction must have been very heavy.

Stamps that cite Theodoric and Atalaric come from the previously mentioned Fosso delle Macee near Baschi, a transparent toponym that indicates, also in the Tuscan variation *macia*, a concentration of stone materials from various sources—the demolition of pre-existing buildings, and masses of rubble (from agricultural work). Like some of those from Poggio Gramignano (municipality of Lugnano in Teverina), they represent the northernmost finds and belong to workshops defined as "urban." In the latter complex 30 bricks with stamps subdivided into 11 types, for a chronology that ranges from the 1st century BCE up to the 3rd, were recovered. Further down, near the Tiber, two sites with the remains of kilns were located in loc. Ramici and Fontanelle. The first was also for ceramics and the second for bricks with the stamp of *C. Viccius*, connected by Filippi to the toponym Vicci, in the municipality of Attigliano[98], where the remains of a Roman villa with stamps of that name were found. Another kiln has been located in podere S. Valentino, west of the remains of a Roman villa in loc. "i Piani." The dock of Giove is eight hundred meters to the south, as well as a site where terracotta materials were disposed of, an evident sign of the presence of a kiln, as is the case in other localities that run through the valley for around two kilometers: la Barca, with three distinct areas of shards and masonry remains dating to Roman times. Further south, in loc. Apparita, next to the Fosso della Penna that marks the boundary between Giove and Penna in Teverina, is a production center where a stamp identifying the site as that of the *figlinae Caepionianae ab Euripo* was found. Filippi sees it in relation to the geomorphological conformation of the area, with a ditch surrounding the site. This would be the basis for the toponym Apparita,[99] for the Euripo was originally the arm of the sea that separated the island of Eubea from the mainland and the term was subsequently used by the Romans to define any kind of canal. The last locality Filippi takes into consideration is once again the port of Seripola where he locates a temple to Isis on the basis of the *figlinae ab Isis*, where the Isis tile was produced, a hypothesis confirmed by an inscription on a travertine altar with a dedication to *Bona Dea Isiaca*, dating to the 2nd

century BCE.[100]

Of particular note on the Nera river is the presence of the Roman ruin in Stifone, loc. le Mole, interpreted as a river port or a naval yard.[101] Not far off is the stone quarry in loc. Scatafosse,[102] which might have used the port to transport its products. To be verified, since they are not far from the water, are the localities S. Casciano[103] or Cassiano (probable cappuccina necropolis, reused Roman materials) and S. Sofia[104] at Nera Montoro (also a necropolis), next to which is the site of Montoro Vecchio, a plateau that controlled the river along the Flaminia, where there are the remains of a wall in *opus poligonalis*.[105]

The organization of the territory in Roman times disintegrated in the late antique period and in the phase of the communes acquired new characteristics and, in this area, the larger centers expanded beyond measure. The situation is summed up in the study of Civitella d'Agliano and its statute of 1363.[106] The countryside and the areas bordering the course of the Tiber—and of the rivers in general—were connected to agricultural production that depended on the type of terrain. They are indicated in the specific terminology used in notarial and other documents: *costa*, the slopes of the hill worked in ledges, *ripa*, a sort of terracing below inaccessible areas with *colture di pregio* (vegetable gardens); *plagia*, the softly rolling hill zone normally used for grains and vineyards; the *planum*, the Italian "piano," sometimes originally humid areas, with land characterized by river sediments and in contact with the river bank; *fossatus*, a natural and/or artificial drainage canal for rain water in rainy periods; *rivo* is the perennial ditch also used by mills; the *flumen* in this case was the Tiber. Courses of water and humid zones also meant fish and game. There are archive sources that list the qualities and prices for the catch, such as in the case of the Orvieto market where a basket of fish from the Paglia, Tiber, or another river brought 2 *soldi*.[107] The same quality of fish—tench, pike, eels, etc.—from the area of the Valdichiana were priced less because their taste did not compare with fish from lakes or rivers with a constant flow of water. The same thing held for the fowl in the humid areas and, therefore, were of an economic nature.[108] Another extremely productive activity which generally is underevaluated from a point of view both of its impact on the environment and for its economic value was that connected to the extraction of inert river materials used for various purposes: primarily gravel and sand used for building, for roads, and to be used as filters in cisterns.[109]

Abbreviations

CIE *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* (1893–)
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1893–)
TLE M. Pallottino, *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae* (Firenze: Nuova Italia, 1954)

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2 This analysis would not have been possible without the support of M. Conticelli, P. Binaco, R. Galli, and S. Manglaviti, all of whom I thank for their competence and willingness. Particular thanks to Erika Pauli-Bizzarri for her patience in translating the text into English.

3 G. Baciarello, *"Liber Tiberinae". Il Catasto di Civitella d'Agliano del 1363* (Montefiascone: Tipografia Silvio Pellico, 2004), 119.

4 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* III, V. "The Tiber, the former name of which was Thybris, and before that Albula, rises in about the middle of the Apennine chain in the territory of Arezzo. At first it is a narrow stream, only navigable when its water is dammed by sluices and then discharged, in the same way as its tributaries, the Tinia and the Chiana, the waters of which must be so collected for nine days, unless augmented by showers of rain" (Pliny, *Natural History*, Volume II: *Books 3-7*, translated by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library 352 [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942], 41).

5 Silvio Manglaviti's hypotheses in this sense are of interest ("Contributo delle scienze geografiche alle ricerche archeologiche del Fanum Voltumnae: ipotesi geonomastiche su alcuni toponimi nell'Orvietano," whom I thank for having generously shared his hypotheses): the place names in which the word *nona* appears (molino la Nona, fosso Albergo la Nona, Ponte Albergo la Nona) does not refer to a ninth stopover or to the ninth mile from a given point, but can be traced both to the term *annona*, reserves of grain to be distributed to the citizens, and to the *nona*e, bridges or dams that can raise the level of the water in a torrential stream, making it navigable even when there is little rain. Indirectly Vittorio Fossombroni gives the same interpretation in his treatise on the Val di Chiana, important insofar as it is relative to the river system deal with here: "In conclusion, Fossombroni maintains that there is no proof that certifies that the ditches were *meant to hinder the course of the river Chiana*, to the contrary he believed they could have been built to hold back the water to make navigation on the *Clanis* easier, for as we have noted, it was navigable thanks to the aid of weirs and walls …." (R. Bianchi, F. Boscherini, and S. Fuschiotto, *Il mulino di Ficulle e la gestione delle acque nella val di chiana romana* [Città della Pieve: Tipolit. Pievese, n.d.], 94).

6 See W. A. Hunter, *A Systematic and Historical Exposition of Roman Law in the Order of a Code* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1903), in which the Digest of Justinian, part of the Corpus Iuris Civilis is cited.

7 Boats on exhibit in the Museo delle Navi in Fiumicino, connected to the stretch that led from Portus–Ostia to Rome. See also Lietta de Salvo, *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell'impero romano: i corpora navicolariorum* (Messina: Samperi, 1992), in which there is mention of the *lintres*, vessels with a flat elongated hull.

8 Martial, 4.64.22.

9 For the area in question here buffaloes seem to have been preferred in medieval times since they were more suitable to a swampy environment (Baciarello 2004, 116).

10 See F. Vallerani, *Praterie vallive e limpide correnti: uomini e paesaggi tra Livenza e Tagliamento in epoca veneta* (Portogruaro: Nuova Dimensione Edizioni, 1992), 136, note 8.

11 Baciarello 2004, 115 ff.

12 See preceding note.

13 Baciarello 2004, 119.

14 *CIL* VI. 31547.

15 In one of Horace's odes: Hor. *Carm.* I.2.14.

16 Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, III, V, 53.

17 It must also be mentioned that it is an area full of woods and of great environmental interest; however, no precise archaeological survey of the area has been carried out.

18 A. E. Feruglio, "Uno specchio della necropolis di Castel Viscardo presso Orvieto, con Apollo, Turan e Atunis," in *Etrusca et Italica, Scritti in onore di Massimo Pallottino*, vol. 2 (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1997), 299. The site of the antique *castellum* is so far unknown, but hypothetically it can be located on the first level territories above the necropolis. Currently not known, but the presence in correspondence to the first level areas above the necropolis must be hypothesized. Numerous tunnels open on the slopes overlooking the river and must have served as drainage for the inhabited area and to supply a reserve of water. The Speleo Club Orvieto has recently explored this complex.

19 W. Harris, "The Via Cassia and the Via Traiana Nova between Bolsena and Chiusi," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 33 (1965): 122 for the discovery of the Montemoro farmhouse, on the left bank of the Paglia River.

20 See below.

21 P. Perali, *Orvieto: Note storiche di topografia e d'arte dalle origini all'800* (Orvieto: Moretti, 1919), 14; E. Moretti, *La Via Cassia e la Via Traiana Nova a Volsiniiis ad Fines Clusinorum* (Orvieto, 1925), 13; G. Buccolini, *Il problema archeologico di Orvieto Antica* (Orvieto: Rubega & Clementi, 1935), 55; Harris 1965, 113–133; G. M. DellaFina, *Orvieto Romana* (Orvieto: Marsili, 1988), file card 11.

22 The present bridge was built by Pope Julius II at the beginning of the 16th century, and putting it in the Roman or even Etruscan period is hardly correct (L. Santini, *Guida di Orvieto e dell'orvietano* [Perugia: Quattroemme, 2002], 284).

23 Moretti 1925, 12–13; E. Martinori, *Le Vie Maestre d'Italia: Via Cassia (Antica e moderna) e sue derivazioni, Via Clodia—Via Trionfale—Via Annia—Via Traiana Nova—Via Amerina* (Roma: Studio Storico-Topografico, 1930), 98–99; Harris 1965, 128.

24 Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, III, V, 53. The presence of sluices along the course of the Chiani River must also be taken into consideration.

25 The miliary found not far from the river, in loc. Monte Regole, is a benchmark for the reconstruction of the route (W. N. Bates, "Archaeological News," *American Journal of Archaeology 18* [1914]: 394; E. Galli, "L'opera delle Sovrintendenza dei Monumenti, delle Gallerie, dei Musei e degli Scavi: Sovrintendenza Archeologica dell'Etruria," in *Bollettino d'arte supplemento* 9–10 (1916): 55 f.; B. Klakowicz, *Il Contado Orvietano* V, *I Terreni a Nord* [Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1978], 34 f.; Harris 1965, 123).

26 Moretti 1925, 13; G. Becatti, *Edizione della Carta Archeologica d'Italia al 100.000, Foglio 130, Orvieto* (Firenze : R. Istituto geografico militare, 1934), 39; Harris 1965, 129; DellaFina 1988, file card 37.

27 S. Bosi, "La formazione del sistema degli insediamenti e delle relazioni," in E. Rampiconi (ed.), *Il Piano territoriale di coordinamento provinciale, Collana dell'Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica* 9 (Roma: INU, 2003), 46.

28 See G. Mancini, *Ficulle, a spasso nella storia e nella leggenda di un castello del monte orvietano* (Grotte di Castro: Tip. Ceccarelli, 2009), 8–17 for a fine iconographic rendering.

29 F. Della Rosa, "Opere poligonali della bassa Umbria, cinque recenti rinvenimenti nel comune di Guardea e Lugnano in Teverina," in *Secondo seminario internazionale di studi sulle mura poligonali* (Alatri: Comune, 1990), 85–98; F. Della Rosa, C. Medori, G. Medori, and E. Ragni, *Guardea—Pagine di storia* (Guardea: Comune, 1995). See also S. Sisani, "Roma, Ameria e la via Amerina tra IV e III sec. a.C.," in Maria Cristina De Angelis (ed.), *Uomini, terre e materiali: aspetti dell'antica Ameria tra paleontologia e tardoantico; atti Convegno Amelia, 26. novembre 2005, Sala Boccarini* (Amelia: Comune, 2006), 83–98, where these structures are interpreted as agricultural terracing; mixed function in M. Bertacchini, "Geologia tra passato e presente nel territorio di Otricoli," in L. Cenciaioli, *Un museo per Otricoli: L'antiquarium di Casale San Fulgenzio* (Perugia: Fabrizio Fabbri Editore, 2006), 11–17, for Otricoli.

30 Bianchi et. al. n.d., 95 ff. It is Fossombroni who speaks

in the first person in his *Memorie idraulico-storiche sopra la Val di Chiana* (Firenze: Cambiagi, 1789). Vittorio Fossombroni was superintendent of reclamation works in the 18th century.

31 W. Helbig, "Scavi presso Orvieto e nei dintorni," *Bulletino dell Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica* 1882: 239ff.; *CIL* XI 2250–2252; *CIE* 1641–1646; R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, "Scoperto un cippo miliario della Via Traiana Nova," in *Notizie degli scavi di antichita 1925* (1925): 39; R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, "Clusium, ricerche archeologiche e topografiche su Chiusi e il suo territorio in età etrusca," *Monumenti antichi* 30 (1925): 246; Becatti 1934, 38; Klakowicz 1978, 55f; Harris 1965, 113 ff.

32 Giulio Paolucci's relative recent analysis even indicates the Paglia River as the possible nothern boundary of the district of Volsinii (G. Paolucci, "Il confine settentrionale del territorio di Orvieto e i rapporti con Chiusi,"*Annali della Fondazione per il Museo «Claudio Faina»* 6 [1998]: 281–295).

33 The division into tribes began in Rome as early as the età regia (before the Republic), but here it applies to 387 BCE and obviously refers to the rural tribes, social groupings on a territorial base.

34 See note 24 for the boundary with the territory of Chiusi.

35 Laminas, scrapers, punches attesting to a neolithic stone industry came to light and they are now in the National Archaeological Museum of Umbria in Perugia (O. Panfili and L. Pirro, *Storia dei luoghi della "montagna orvietana,"* Volume I: *dalla preistoria al secolo XVIII* [Arrone: Thyrus, 1994], 16).

36 Between July 1962 and June 1963 the ravaged remains of late Villanovian and Etruscan burials came to light during agricultural work. Subsequently in 1966 sporadic finds were unearthed. Among the objects appertaining to the grave goods were bronze fibulas of the sanguisuga type with the body decorated with geometric motifs; a bronze necklace with clusters of drops; a spherical recipient in bronze lamina with three cutout supports in the same material applied to the main body by large rivets right below the rim of the container. Ceramic finds consisted of fragments of bucchero and reddish impasto ware (M. Bizzarri, "La necropoli di Crocifisso del Tufo," *Studi Etruschi* 31 (1963): 173–174; M. Bizzarri, "La necropoli di Crocifisso del Tufo II," *Studi Etruschi* 34 (1966): 302.; A. Talocchini, "Forma Etruriae. Carta Archeologica d'Italia al 100.000," *Studi Etruschi* 34 (1966): 271; Klakowicz 1978, 51–52).

37 The slab is now in the shape of a half disk with a diameter of 74 cm. and a height of 36 cm. The letters are incised and move in a circle, measuring from 5.5 to 9 cm. The disk is in the Archaeological Museum of Florence (L. Rosi Bonci, "Un disco di pietra con epigrafe arcaica da Monte Melonta (Comune di San Venanzo)," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo «Claudio Faina»* 4 (1990): 227 ff., with the preceding bibliography; *CIE*, II, 5128; Becatti 1934, 21). For the significance in "emporici" sanctuaries see A. Chierici, "Sui dischi—donario di Monte Melonta, Orvieto, Pieve a Socana e sulla via del Falterona," in *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo «Claudio Faina»* 9 (2002): 581–584.

38 *CIE* 2497; *TLE* p. 259.

39 *CIE* 2494; *CIE* 2495.

40 In 1890 Luigi Giulietti obtained regular authorization for an excavation campaign in his lands near loc. Bagni. All in all seven tombs were explored, already in ruins. The materials recovered, defined as "archaic," were described as follows: "ten vases in different forms, an impasto amphora, four spindle whorls and iron fragments of firedogs and spits" (Klakowicz 1978, 6).

41 In 1958, in the course of agricultural work, a headless clay statuette was recovered. It depicted a seated male figure wearing a cloak and with his right shoulder and breast uncovered. M. Bizzarri suggests identifying the personage with a Jupiter or an Aesculapius, of Etruscan make in the Hellenistic period. The piece is currently in the Museo Civico of Orvieto. The site where it was found is topographically of particular significance, for the torrent Chiani at that point forms a particularly accentuated bend, probably providing favorable conditions for a ford (M. Bizzarri, "La necropoli di Crocifisso del Tufo II," *Studi Etruschi* 34 [1958]: 190; Klakowicz 1978, 45).

42 A marble base with a cornice on three sides comes from the zone, as well as an inscription with a dedication to Diana (*CIL* XI 2683) and a marble fragment showing fauns making wine. Building structures were associated with these finds. (G. Mancini, "Notizie degli scavi" *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* 1883 [1883]: 161s; Becatti 1934, 20, 1; Klakowicz 1978, 41s; DellaFina 1988, file card n. 6-7; Istituto Regionale di Ricerche Economiche e Sociali [IRRES], *Umbria: itinerari turistici ed ecologici. Orvietano / Amerino Narnese Ternano* [Perugia: Salvi, 1995], file card n. 11, p. 91).

43 Dion. Hal., III, 44

44 Plin. *Ep*. V, 6

45 Plin. *Nat. Hist.* III, V, 53.

46 R. Mancini, "Notizie Degli Scavi. Gennaio 1889. Regione VII (Etruria)," *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* 1889 (1889): 4–5.

47 R. Mancini, "Notizie Degli Scavi. Gennaio 1889. Regione VII (Etruria)," *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* 1890 (1890): 6–7; R. Mancini, "Notizie Degli Scavi.

Marzo. Regione VII (Etruria), IV. Orvieto," *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* 1890 (1890): 72–74; R. Mancini, "Notizie Degli Scavi. Aprile. Regione VII (Etruria), VIII. Orvieto," *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* 1890 (1890): 110–112; R. Mancini, "Notizie Degli Scavi. Marzo. Regione VII (Etruria), IV. Orvieto," *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* 1890 (1890): 72–74; R. Mancini, "Notizie Degli Scavi. Maggio. Regione VII (Etruria), VII. Orvieto," *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* 1890 (1890): 144–147; R. Mancini, "Notizie Degli Scavi. Gennaio 1890. Regione VII (Etruria)," *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* 1891 (1891): 23–26; Becatti 1934, 31f., n. 20;

48 C. Morelli, "Gli avanzi romani di Pagliano presso Orvieto," *Bollettino dell'Instituto Storico Artistico Orvietano* 13 (1957): 3–60.

49 DellaFina 1988, file card 14; IRRES 1995, 96, n. 51. Lastly P. Bruschetti, "Il porto romano di Pagliano presso Orvieto," in *Mercator Placidissimus: The Tiber Valley in Antiquity: New Research in the Upper and Middle River Valley: atti del convegno Roma, 27–28 Febbraio 2004* (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2009), 323–343.

50 B. Klakowicz, *Il Contado Orvietano* I, *Pagliano ed i Terreni ad Est* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1977), 3–37 and 41; *CIL* XI, 7275; *CIL* XI, 4644; *CIL* XI, 8109; DellaFina 1988, file card 14; IRRES 1995, 96, n. 51.

51 G. F. Gamurrini, A. Cozza, A. Pasqui, and R. Mengarelli, *Carta archeologica d'Italia (1881–1897) Materiali per l'Etruria e la Sabina*: (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1972), 18 all. 4; Morelli 1957, 5.; F. di Gennaro, "Il popolamento dell'Etruria meridionale e le caratteristiche degli insediamenti tra l'Età del Bronzo e l'Età del Ferro," in *Etruria meridionale. Conoscenza, conservazione, fruizione, atti del convegno, Viterbo 29-XI/1-XII 1985* (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 1988), 80 note 30; P. Tamburini, "Contributi per la storia del territorio volsiniese, II. L'abitato di Castellonchio (Orvieto-TR): qualche nota sul popolamento del territorio volsiniese tra il Bronzo finale e la prima età del Ferro," *Archaeologia Classica* 42 (1990): 1–28; C. Bizzarri, Bonifica idraulica ed opere di canalizzazione nel territorio orvietano, in M. Bergamini (ed.) *Gli Etruschi maestri di idraulica, atti del convegno Perugia 23-24 febbraio 1991* (Perugia: Electa-Editori umbri associati, 1991), 61; P. Tamburini, "Orvieto e il territorio volsiniese nella prima età del Ferro," *Bollettino dell'Instituto Storico Artistico Orvietano* 44–45, 1988–1989 (1992): 21–23.

52 See L. Quilici, *Le strade. Viabilità tra Roma e Lazio* (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 1990), 215, fig. 20, with an abundant bibliography.

53 Four were counted in the medieval period in the 8–9 kilometer stretch from Alviano to Baschi (Baciarello 2004, 64).

54 Quilici 1986, 217.

55 *R. R.* 1.17.1; 3.2.1

56 Vitr., 6.8.

57 A. Carandini and A Ricci (eds.), *Settefinestre: Una Villa Schiavistica Nell'Etruria Romana*, (Modena: Panini, 1985).

58 Cat., 1.

59 Var. 3.2.4.

60 *Ep.* V, 6; trans. L. Rusca.

61 Ministero per i beni culterali e ambientali Soprintendenza archeologia per l'Umbria, *Ville ed insediamenti: Ville ed insediamenti rustici di età romana in Umbria* (Perugia: Umbra 1983), 195.

62 M. Bergamini, *Todi antica città degli Umbri* (Assisi [Perugia]: TAU, 2001), 123.

63 G. Becatti, *Tuder-Carsulae. Forma Italiae. Regio VI*, I (Roma: Danesi, 1938), col. 52. N. 68.

64 G. Comez, "La Massa civitellese dal X al XIX secolo," in G. Comez, M. Bergamini, E. Nunzi, and F. Vici, *Civitella di Massa, di Todi, dei Pazzi, del Lago. Castelli, ville, paesi, chiese di una massa di Todi* (Civitella del Lago, 1985), 125.

65 See M. Bergamini, "Ricerca e studi dal 2007 al 2011," in M. Bergamini (ed.), *Scoppieto II. I materiali* (Borgo San Lorenzo: All'insegna del giglio, 2011), 13–26 for a general picture of the site and its historical-economical importance, or: M. Bergamini (ed.), *Antiquarium Comunale di Baschi, Catalogo Regionale dei Beni Culturali dell'Umbria* (Perugia: Editori umbri associati 2008); M. Bergamini, "Scoppieto e i commerci sul Tevere," F. Coarelli and H. Patterson (eds.), *Mercator Placidissimus: The Tiber Valley in Antiquity: New Research in the Upper and Middle River Valley, Atti del Convegno, Roma, British School at Rome, 27–28 February 2004* (Roma: Quasar, 2009), 285–321.

66 During agricultural work "traces" of mosaic pavements and a stretch of Roman road with a drainage channel below the cobblestone layer (almost a *glareatio* more than real paving) were identified. The area, in addition to its ideal topographical location and where a certain number of remains of Roman times have been found, seems to have been provided with spring water and abundant reserves of clay, required for making bricks and tiles and ceramics (G. Comez, M. Bergamini, E. Nunzi, and F. Vici, *Civitella di Massa, di Todi, dei Pazzi, del Lago. Castelli, ville, paesi, chiese di una massa di Todi* [Civitella del Lago, 1985], 22, file card n. 13).

67 In concomitance with agricultural work, Roman tombs were unearthed, probably in relation to the finding in the Corsini property or with an analogous settlement on the course of the Tiber, which today, in correspondence with that place name, became the lake of Corbara. In the Salviano farm there is the cover of an urn from Piano di Salviano, with a peacock looking backwards in relief, also a sign of the

medium-high level of the depositions (Comez et al. 1985, 22, file card n. 11).

68 The remains of a Roman villa with pavements in *opus spicatum* were found around 50 meters from the course of the Tiber River. They were probably structures for important productive and inhabitative activities since the materials recovered include, besides tiles, oil lamps and coins, two marble statues, for one of which identification with a copy of the Palatine Apollo by *Skopas* has been proposed. The territorial site of the settlement should be noted, and its relation to the point where the river emerges from the ravine of the Forello, the first possible ford of the middle Tiber valley (Becatti 1938, cc. 47–48, n. 49; G. Becatti, Orvieto, "Iscrizione latina in frazione Titignano," *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* 1936 [1936]: 25; Comez et al. 1985, 22, file card 10).

69 The presence of lead fistulas, weighing "more than 20 libbre," from a water conduit of Roman times, bears witness to the existance of structures of a certain complexity and monumentality. The fistulas bore the stamp IMP. CAES. GALBA II ET.T. / VINIO COS (Becatti 1938, c. 51, n. 63; Comez et al. 1985, p. 22, file card n. 14).

70 Numerous archaeological materials have been reported in correspondence to the present center of Baschi. They therefore seem to suggest the superposition of modern over ancient structures. The nature of some of the finds can also give an indication of what the preceding settlement was like. Documented are two seals of an imperial *dispensator*, an institutional figure employed in large estates belonging to the emperor and who, with his seal, marked the merchandise that was leaving the property. The seals of Baschi read: 1) SUCCESSI AU / GG.NN DISP 2) SEVER / AUG.N / DISP. A funerary inscription now in Orvieto was also fond in Baschi, in the southern part: D. M. / C. POMPONI / SUBSTITUTI / POMPONIUS / ANICETUS / FILIO PIISSIMO (1—*CIL* XI 6712, 6; 2—*CIL* XI 6712, 5; 3—*CIL* XI 4707 and 7350; A. Ricci, *Storia di un Comune rurale dell'Umbria (Baschi)* (Pisa: Tip. Nistri, 1913), 14; Becatti 1938, c. 52, n. 68; Comez et al. 1985, 24, file card n. 21.

71 An urn and funerary inscriptions have been documented. In 1698 a square marble urn was recovered, with the inscription of a freedwoman: PAPINIA. M. L. / EPICTESIS. Also in the vicinity of the church an inscription of a freedman was documented: C. BAEBIUS . C. L. / AGATO. Like the urn described above, it testifies to the considerable presence in the middle-Tiber area in the Roman period. The first of the two finds is now in the Museo Oliveriano in Pesaro (1—*CIL* XI 4703; 2—*CIL* XI 4679; Comez et al. 1985, 23, file cards nn. 16–17).

72 Two fragmentary inscriptions were documented in the vicinity of the church, unfortunately now lost, which bear witness to a cult probably to Mars Pomonius and a Faun, two typical sylvan figures specifically connected to agriculture (see Civitella 1985, 14f.). The text, cited in *CIL*, is as follows: 1) MARTI / (PO)MONIO / L. M. ; 2) C.CAESIUS / STERNATUS / SILVANO D.D. (1—*CIL* XI 4641; 2—*CIL* XI 4642; Becatti 1938, cc. 47–48, n. 49; Comez et al. 1985, 22, file card 12).

73 A funerary inscription of a freedwoman has been documented near the church. The inscription reads: IANUARIAE. L / MURRUS. F. (*CIL* XI 4697; Comez et al. 1985, 24, file card n. 19).

74 A fragmentary inscription probably referring to a Roman funerary monument was discovered in 1724. The text indicates the size of the structure which was thirty feet long (*in agro*) and just as wide (*in fronte*) : IN F. P. XXX / IN AGR. P. XXX. (*CIL* XI 4739; Becatti 1938, c. 51, n. 63; Comez et al. 1985, 22, file card 15).

75 The site that came to light during work on the road Baschi-Montecchio presented structures regarding a probable productive settlement and the relative necropolis. The place name itself denotes the massive presence of rubble. The previously hypothesized presence of an earlier Roman settlement is not to be underestimated. This was convalidated by the finding in the vicinity of the base of a statue dedicated to the god Tiberinus (E. Stefani, "Baschi. Sepolcreto Barbarico, scoperto in contrada 'Macee,'" *Notizie degli scavi di antichita* 1913 [1913]: 113–115; G. Picotti and M. De Dominicis, *Etruria sconosciuta II, Baschi dagli etruschi ai "Sanates," ai Goti* [Todi : Res Tudertinae, 1982]).

76 A bronze tablet with a text regarding various dispositions of a burial nature, in defense of the inviolability of the tombs, was recovered in 1719 "presso l'odierno passo della barca." It is known as *Lex Tudertina* or *Fragmentum Tudertinum* (*CIL* XI 4632; Ricci 1913; M. De Dominicis, "Ancora sul 'Fragmentum Tudertinum,'" in *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquite* 12 [1965]: 257–278; Picotti 1982, 16f.). In 1607 a statue of the god Tiberinus with an inscribed base was recovered—today the only find extant. The inscription, in poor condition, reads: TIBERINO / SAC(RUM) and can be compared with similar monuments dedicated to the god discovered along the course of the river (see for example the cult site in Orte). It is currently in the Town Hall of Baschi (*CIL* XI 4644; Becatti 1938, c. 52, n. 68; Picotti 1982, 17).

77 A travertine funerary cippus, belonging to Lucio Varenio Tauro, was recovered on the left bank of the Tiber, opposite the railroad station of Castiglione in Teverina. The type, bearing the inscription L(UCII) VARENII ST(ATII) F(ILII) ARN(ENSE TRIBU) TAURI, decorated with shields framed by triglyphs and with two lesena on either side of the porta infera, generally

defined as carsulana, comparable with cippi from the territory of *Carsulae*, Perugia and Assisi, with respect to which the decoration is more articiulated (D. Monacchi, "Un vitor e l'artigianato delle cestineria ad Ameria," *Melanges d'archeologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome* 108 [1996]: 12–14).

78 For Copio, G. Cifani, "Il popolamento umbro nella media valle del Tevere," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo «Claudio Faina»* 8 (2001): 109–139; for the necropolis of S. Lorenzo, A.E. Feruglio, M. Garofoli, "La necropoli del Fosso San Lorenzo fra Baschi e Montecchio (prov. Terni)," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo «Claudio Faina»* 8 (2001): 193–227.

79 The local archaeological group has noted the presence of a travertine well or cistern curb, with a few letters in the Etruscan alphabet incised on the rim. The original location of the monoliths needs further study, as well as surveys that might bring to light other chronologically valid evidence (F. Della Rosa, C. Medori, G. Medori, and E. Ragni, *Guardea—Pagine di storia* [Guardea: Comune, 1995], 25 ff.).

80 A production villa and a funerary monument were found in voc. Pian del Ceraso. The thermal rooms and the mosaic paving (sea-horse with youth and marine centaur) belonged to the *pars urbana* (D. Manconi, M. A. Tomei, and M. Verzar, La situazione in Umbria dal III a.C. alla tarda antichità, in A. Giardina and A. Schiavone [eds.] Società romana e produzione schiavistica I. L'Italia: insediamenti e forme economiche [Bari: Laterza, 1981], 387, n. 22; IRRES 1995, 223, file card 11, 203–204 [carte]; Della Rosa et al. 1995, 25ff.).

81 The presence of structures relative to a villa, whose initial phases can be placed in the 1st century BCE, in a zone with such a place name has led to the hypothesis of the presence of a holding of the *gens Popilia*. Rooms with mosaics and excellent intonaci, probably belonging to the *pars urbana*, have been studied (IRRES 1995, 97, file card 63–65; Ministero 1983, 201 [with no specific place name]; Manconi et al. 1981, 387, n. 17).

82 A rustic settlement (D. Monacchi, "Nota sulla stipe votiva di Grotta Bella (Terni)," *Studi Etruschi* 54 [1986]: 77; Arch.SAU, Lugnano in Teverina, 6).

83 In this case too it is a rustic villa (Monacchi 1986, 77ff.)

84 Ministero 1983, n. 29, 199.

85 For the villa of Poggio Gramignano, see note 88.

86 Ministero 1983, n. 31, 256ff.

87 Ministero 1983, n. 32, 258ff.

88 For one of the functions proposed for these structures see also Sisani 2006, where they are interpreted as terracing for agricultural production.

89 Ministero 1983, 201; IRRES 1995, 223, n. 15, 203 (carta); S. Zampolini Faustini, "Documenti per una carta archeologica della provincia di Terni," in *Presenze preistoriche e protostoriche nell'Umbria meridionale, opuscolo realizzato per ARCHEOEXPO 96, Forlì, 11–15 settembre* (Terni: s.n., 1996), file card 41.

90 Epistola II, 17.

91 D. and N. Soren (eds.), *A Roman Villa and a Late Roman Infant Cemetery* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1999); in particular D. Monacchi, "Storia e assetto in età antica del territorio in cui ricade la villa di Poggio Gramignano," 23–42.

92 Cato, *Agr.*. 11,5.

93 D. Soren, T. Fenton, and W. Birkby, "The Infant Cemetery at Poggio Gramignano: Description and Analysis", in Soren and Soren 1999, 477ff.; L. D. Lane, "Malaria: Medicine and Magic in the Roman World," in Soren and Soren 1999, 633ff.

94 P. Puppo, *Le coppe megaresi in Italia* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1995).

95 P. Johnson, S. Keay, and M. Millet, "Lesser urban sites in the Tiber valley: Baccanae, Forum Cassii and Castellum Amerinum," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 72 (2004): 69–100 (with preceding bibliography).

96 G. Filippi and E. A. Stanco, "Epigrafia e toponomastica della produzione laterizia nella Valle del Tevere: l'Umbria e la Sabina tra Tuder e Crustumerium; l'Etruria tra Volsinii e Lucus Feroniae," in Ch. Bruun (ed.), *Interpretare i bolli laterizi di Roma e della Valle del Tevere: produzione storia economica e topografia*, Acta InstitutiRomani Finlandiae 32 (Roma: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2005), 121–199.

97 G. Filippi, "Topografia delle fornaci laterizie romane dell'Ager Amerinus," in Maria Cristina De Angelis (ed.), *Uomini, terre e materiali: aspetti dell'antica Ameria tra paleontologia e tardoantico; atti Convegno Amelia, 26. novembre 2005, Sala Boccarini* (Amelia: Comune, 2006), 151–164.

98 Filippi and Stanco 2005, 153; the local term *vicciuta* must however also be kept in mind. It refers to the vine that has gone wild, common in the surrounding countryside.

99 To be kept in mind is that this place name, which in this specific situation seems to suggest that Filippi's reconstruction of the toponym is correct, appears in many other contexts in centeral Italy; see L. Cassi, "Nuovi toponimi," in *Istituto geografico militare, Italia : atlante dei tipi geografici* (Firenze: Istituto geografico militare, 2004), 723.

100 H. H. J. Brouwer, *Bona Dea: The Sources and a Description of the Cult* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), 108f. (with preceding bibliography).

101 In this context it is interesting to quote Baciarello on the shipyard activities of Orte, with archive sources: "the boats that navigate the Tebro from Rome are all

made by the Orte masters who are better than anyone else in making them" ("le barche che navigano il Tebro da Roma in su tutte siano per i tempi fabricate da mastri ortani avanzando in queste ogni altro a fabbricarle") (Baciarello 2004, 119).

102 Censimento zone archeologiche 1989, n. 15.

103 Censimento zone archeologiche 1989, n. 7.

104 Censimento zone archeologiche 1989, n. 14.

105 IRRES 1995, 233, n. 83.

106 Baciarello 2004.

107 Baciarello 2004, 125.

108 Probably all the species there were hunted and the most "noble," such as geese, mallards, and mergansers, were sold (Baciarello 2004, 126).

109 Baciarello 2004, 127.

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

The New-Old Interest in Roman Foodways

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Abstract

What and how the Romans ate has long been of popular and academic interest, benefiting from a rich body of evidence from textual, iconographic, artefactual and environmental sources. Scholarly publications on Roman dietary practices have increased over the past hundred years, particularly in the last two decades. To what extent does the contemporary discourse on food influence this scholarship? This paper attempts to explain the growth in interest in this topic by examining the trends in scholarship on Roman food production and consumption over the past century.

Introduction

David Soren's intellectual scope is impressively vast, so it should be no surprise that the themes of Roman food production and consumption have been woven through many of his projects. His engagement with these themes is evident most recently in his excavation of a Roman garum factory at Tróia in Portugal. Furthermore, throughout Professor Soren's career he has never lost sight of how the Roman world is received by the general public: his innovative course on the depiction of ancient Rome in the cinema exemplifies this. Preliminary results of the research below were first presented at "Rome and its Receptions," a recent symposium organized by Cynthia White at the University of Arizona, in which both Professor Soren and I participated. In submitting this article for his festschrift, therefore, I select these aspects of Professor Soren's many research interests to honor his achievements in Classics and Archaeology.

Between the lurid descriptions of the dining practices of the Emperors,[1] actual Roman recipes,[2] and the manner in which the Romans themselves situated diet in their own history,[3] it is no surprise that how and what Romans ate have been topics of perennial interest to scholars of Roman history. Moreover, Roman foodways (the practices and traditions surrounding all aspects of food production and consumption) are more than just of academic concern: there is an intense, even personal interest in this topic among many members of the public, as evidenced by the scenes of Roman dining in movies[4] and the numerous popular books on the subject.[5] We look to the Romans as guides, not just for what to do but also of course for what not to do: the over-indulgence and debauchery of elite Roman diners is an image so firmly entrenched as to be a cliché, so much so that the apocryphal understanding of *vomitoria* as designated rooms for purging derives from it. By comparison, the textual evidence for Greek diet is narrower and the emphasis on sacrifice has made discussion of Greek meals in secular contexts far less common.[6] But besides the nature of the sources, the greater interest in Roman dietary habits may be tied to that longstanding tendency to turn a mirror on Roman society to understand our own.

Food is a hot topic in popular culture for the past decade or two, from the "elite foodie culture" to the battles over GMOs, labeling, dietary fads, locavorism, food justice, and more. As a society we have some major concerns with food in the current moment: agribusiness and environmental sustainability; obesity and malnutrition; disparities in health and diet between rich and poor. These are not the same concerns of earlier generations. Does the scholarship on Roman foodways over time reflect those shifts?

This paper investigates the relationship between scholarship on Roman foodways and the contemporary discourse on food. How scholars approach and understand Roman food practices will necessarily be informed by the issues surrounding food in the present day, but to what extent? Or are other factors driving scholarship? This study falls within the field of Classical Reception, focused on how the classical world has been understood and how it has influenced us in post-classical and modern times.[7] If a tenet of reception studies is that we view the past through our own subjective, inescapably culturally grounded gaze, then the reception of Roman foodways is a prime candidate for study.

Methodology

I applied quantitative methods drawn from the social sciences to approach this question of how contemporary concerns might infuse the scholarship on Roman food. I mined the Anglo-American scholarship for publications on all aspects of food in the Roman period: everything from dining implements and habits to food production, irrigation and trade in comestibles.

In one way or another, all activities in the ancient world may be tied to food. Therefore, to get robust but manageable patterns on this potentially vast topic, I placed some limits on my dataset. First, I restricted my study to English language publications. There is extensive scholarship on Roman foodways in other languages, such as French, but the food culture in other countries is different enough that generalizations are best avoided. These require their own studies. Second, I limited my dataset to academic journal articles. Journal articles generally represent a quicker turnaround of scholarly endeavors than do books, so their publication date reflects current research. Further, they are more easily trackable across time than book chapters or books. Using the online academic journal database JSTOR I tallied the articles in the disciplines of art and art history, archaeology, classical studies, history, and social sciences relating to Roman food and diet written in English in the past 100 years. For each ten-year period I filtered the search to entries with the word "Roman" in the title and "food" somewhere in the main text. This filtering system led to numerous unrelated publications to wade through, but the number generated was manageable enough to study. Putting any further filters on the title was too restricting: few articles about "Roman food" actually contain both those words in the title!

I then scanned the list of titles generated by those filters for all articles relating to food. Many topics touch on food tangentially. For example, Roman pottery usually contained foodstuffs, and "trade" in the ancient world was often of food. However, if there was no specific mention of some aspect of food in the title, I did not include it. My method results in some undercounting, almost certainly: going by the titles alone may overlook articles that contain a significant discussion of Roman food. Still, I would argue that the title is a significant enough indicator of the content of the piece, and of the author's overall focus, to be informative. Further, JSTOR is not a repository for all journals, and in particular it does not include *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, *Journal of Archaeological Science*, or *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, three critical venues for publications of Roman and food related research. I therefore searched those journal archives and added the relevant Roman food related articles and straight Roman articles into the totals. The results, shown in Figure 1, reveal some interesting patterns.

Discussion

First of all, if you have the impression that Roman food is something of a hot topic in academia of late, you are partially correct: in actual numbers of publications over the past hundred years, the topic has skyrocketed. However, as Figure 2 shows, so have articles on ancient Rome more generally. This graph presents the articles with "Roman" in the title over the past one hundred years, demonstrating a steep growth curve in scholarly output, in part due to the proliferation of academic journals. Therefore, Figure 1 is misleading. But what Figure 2 does show is that the rate of increase in articles on Roman foodways in the last decade was higher than the increase for Roman articles more generally, so this trend is not simply attributable to the growth in scholarly output.

A more informative number for each decade, then, is the percentage of publications on the Roman world that concern food (Figure 3). This graph presents a very different picture. While there has been growth in publications on Roman food over time, the increase has been quite gradual. In particular, the rise in the past two decades is significant, to be sure, but not stratospheric. Thus, in spite of the fact that it seems that everywhere one looks there are new studies of Roman food, the topic remains a modest portion of overall scholarly output on the Roman world.

Nonetheless, an explanation for the growth of this subfield is worth exploring. To approach this, we may ask, what is it about Roman food that receives scholarly attention? To answer this question I sorted the publications on Roman food into general categories based on topic, as derived from their titles. Topics included "Agriculture and Food Production," consisting of articles on such subjects as farming practices, pastoralism, agricultural yields, and irrigation systems. I categorized publications with titles like "Roman dinner garments" or "Falernian wine" as "Elite Foodways." Another category, "non-elite foodstuffs," included articles on specific non-luxury foods such as pulses or garum. "Diet and Consumption" included articles on the adoption of Roman olive oil in Switzerland and the diet of the Roman army. I grouped articles on the movements of foodstuffs, the imperial grain dole and *horrea* in the category of "Distribution and Trade." Any articles concerning food in religious contexts were assigned to the category "Religion." As some articles could fit into more than one category I sorted them according to best fit. Figure 4 shows the relative popularity of each topic for each decade.

There are some observable changes in topics over time. One is the expansion of the range of topics concerning food in the Roman world, particularly in the last four decades.[8] Articles linking food and religion emerge in the past forty years, and although distribution and trade in Roman foodstuffs are explored as early as the late 1930s, it is from the late 1960s on that the topic becomes firmly rooted in Roman food studies. This rise in interest may relate to the growth of studies of the Roman economy more generally. But apart from these broad trends, what is remarkable is how the same topics within scholarship

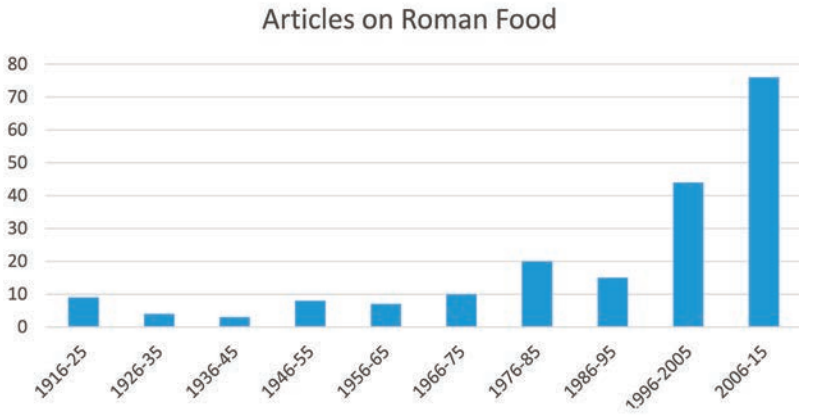

Figure 1: Articles on Roman food written in the past 100 years.

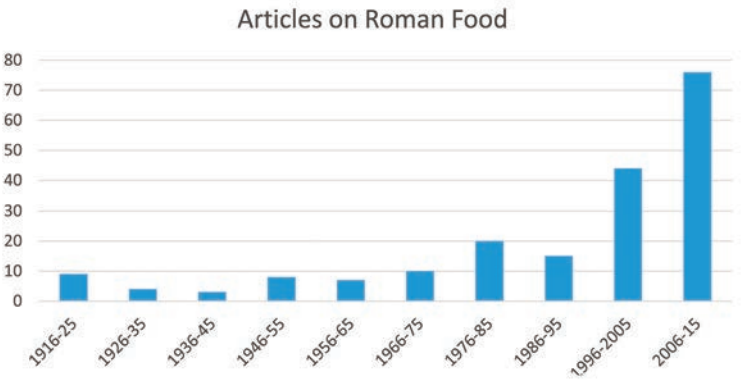

Figure 2: Articles on Roman food written in the past 100 years, in comparison to all articles on the Roman world in the same period.

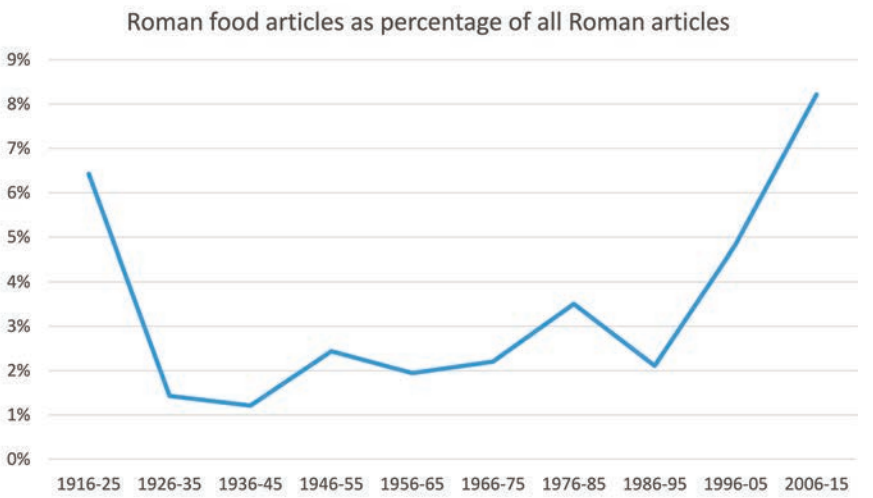

Figure 3: Articles on Roman food as a percentage of all articles on the Roman world in the past 100 years.

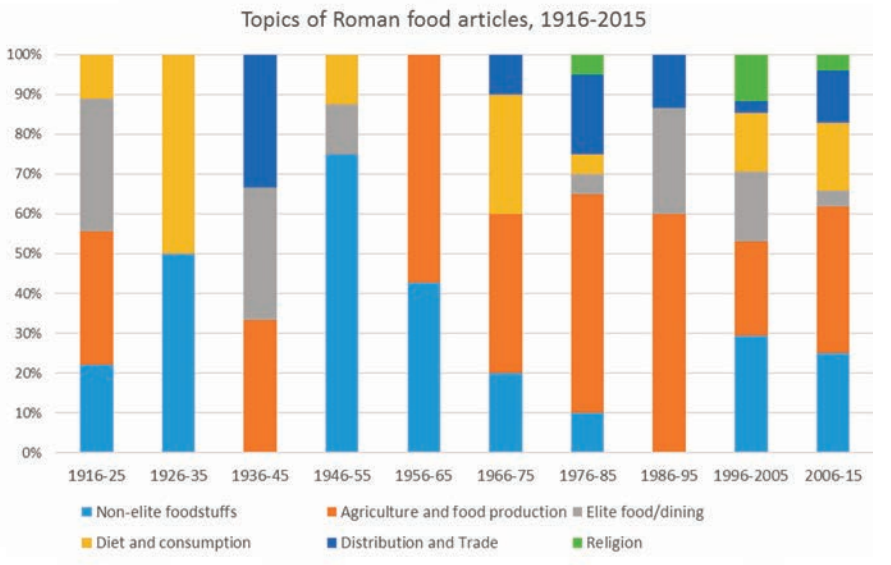

Figure 4: The popularity of topics of Roman food studies in the past 100 years, by percentage.

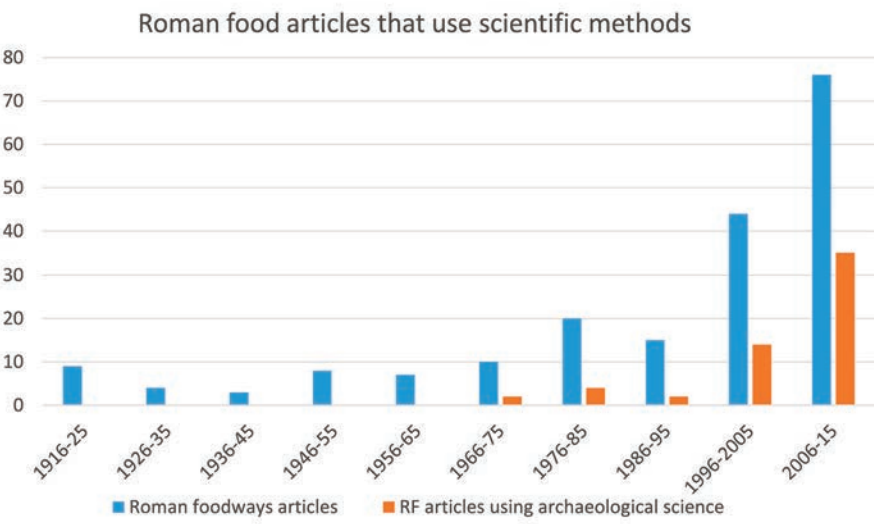

Figure 5: Roman food articles that use scientific methods in the past 100 years.

on Roman food recur over the decades. One might have expected to see a progressive decline in interest in the topic "Elite Foodways," but that has not occurred. "Agriculture and Food Production" represents the most popular topic, but remains a minority. Non-elite foodstuffs are consistently a subject of study.

So the main topics concerning Roman foodways have not, for the most part, changed in the past century. This suggests that the contemporary discourse on food, which has evolved over the past one hundred years from the glorification of industrialized agriculture to strong criticism against it, from malnutrition fears to new concerns with obesity, from place-based culinary traditions to innovation and fusion in cuisine—in short, all these and other transformative features of popular attitudes toward food—are not evident in the topics selected by scholars for study. It is true that occasionally, individual articles reflect the concerns of the day projected on the past. So in 1918, during WWI, we have an article entitled "Roman War Bread."[9] That same year, an article entitled "A Study of Dietetics among the Romans" came out, which proves to be mostly about food substitutes of the Romans and makes direct reference to similar practices during the rationing of wartime US.[10] Similarly, an article entitled "Government Relief during the Roman Empire" was published in 1936, during the Great Depression.[11] Through the Second World War there are few scholarly publications at all, and food was not a subject of much

interest with the exception of articles on the Roman military diet, which continue in the early 1950s. But these occasional cases where the article reflects the immediate context remain the exceptions. Observing what may be called the "consistent variability" in topics over time, I would argue that the selection of research foci has not been strongly influenced by contemporary concerns about, and attitudes toward, food. Instead, the steady increase in scholarship on Roman foodways, and in particular the spike of the past two decades, must be due to other factors.

Besides the changes in contemporary public perceptions of food, another change has occurred: the development of new methods for analyzing ancient foodstuffs, health, and diet. Indeed, a revolution has occurred in the archaeological methods at our disposal for reconstructing ancient diet and nutrition. Pollen analysis reveals what crops were being grown and locates food processing areas; stable isotope analysis of human bones tells us about nutrition and diet of ancient peoples, and animal bones and seeds tell us about diet and food production practices. Organic residue analysis of the interiors of pots can even reveal the types of dishes being prepared. So it is no wonder that a glut of new studies has emerged employing these methods: there is a lot of new data being generated. We can demonstrate the extent of this by Figure 5, a graph showing the increase in articles on Roman foodways that incorporate methods of the archaeological sciences. Although traditional studies continue, scientific studies now constitute a significant portion of scholarly output on Roman foodways, for all topics. So, for example, an article about Roman oil production, a topic of perennial interest, is informed by residue analysis of an oil processing area.[12] Likewise, a study of the changes to the livestock in England between pre-Roman and Roman times is conducted using strontium isotope analysis of cattle teeth.[13]

Many of the articles appear in publications such a *Journal of Archaeological Science*, but not all: the more traditional journals also feature such pieces.[14] We must conclude then that the growth in scholarship on Roman foodways has been method-driven rather than theory-driven: the new techniques have triggered new studies. This is not to say that the resulting publications lack a theoretical grounding. In fact, the analyses address central themes in Roman studies, such as cultural change,[15] social inequality, and standard of living in Roman times.[16] A common inspiration among the Roman food publications is Peter Garnsey's profoundly influential 1989 book, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis*. This incisive, empirically grounded book, with 668 citations by Google Scholar's count, established the framework for scholarship on Roman foodways in subsequent decades. I would argue that the combination of the new methods described above and the ideas in Garnsey's book explain the spate of recent studies.

Concluding Remarks

James Porter has observed that disciplinary self-awareness allows us "to own up to the circumstances under which knowledge of something becomes possible at all, in the broadest sense: institutionally, socially, and culturally possible."[17] This is the justification for the examination of scholarship on Roman foodways presented here: to understand the context in which knowledge on the Roman world is being produced. While the topics concerning Roman foodways have changed little in the past century, the burgeoning utilization of new methods is shaping the direction this field is going, and predetermining to some extent the theoretical approaches taken. But these new methods are in their infancy, and we may look forward to their use in even more varied approaches to Roman foodways in the century ahead.

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1 E.g., Suetonius on Nero.

2 Notably, *De re coquinaria*, a collection of late Roman recipes attributed to Apicius.

3 E.g., the story of Republican consul Manius Curius Dentatus, whose incorruptibility was evident in his rejection of the Samnite ambassadors' bribes while roasting his turnips (see Plutarch, *Life of Cato* 2.1, among others).

4 E.g., the banquet in Fellini's 1969 film *Satyricon*.

5 E.g. Ilaria Gozzini Giacosa, *A Taste of Ancient Rome*, Anna Herklotz, transl. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Patrick Faas, and Shaun Whiteside, *Around the Roman Table: Food and Feasting in Ancient Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

6 Often scholarship on ancient Greek diet is conflated into studies of ancient diet and food more generally, e.g., John Wilkins and Shaun Hill, *Food in the Ancient World* (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 2006); Peter Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

7 Seminal texts on classical reception studies include Lorna Hardwick, *Reception Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Charles Martindale and Richard Thomas (eds.), *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 2006).

8 1986–95 is anomalous in this respect.

9 Monroe Deutsch, "Roman War Bread," *The Classical Journal* 13.7 (1918): 527–528.

10 Cornelia Harcum, "A Study of Dietetics Among the Romans," *The Classical Weekly* 12.8 (1918): 58–61.

11 Hazel Ramsay, "Government Relief During the Roman Empire," *The Classical Journal* 31.8 (1936): 479–488.

12 Alessandra Pecci and Francesco d'Andria, "Oil

Production in Roman Times: Residue Analysis of the Floors of an Installation in Lecce (Southern Italy)," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 46 (2014): 363–371.

13 C. Minniti, S. Valenzuela-Lamas, J. Evans, U. Albarella, "Widening the Market. Strontium Isotope Analysis on Cattle Teeth from Owslebury (Hampshire, UK) Highlights Changes in Livestock Supply between the Iron Age and the Roman Period," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 42 (2014): 305–314.

14 E.g., Michael MacKinnon, "High on the Hog: Linking Zooarchaeological, Literary, and Artistic Data for Pig Greeds in Roman Italy," *American Journal of Archaeology* (2001): 649–673.

15 Julian Wiethold, "Late Celtic and Early Roman Plant Remains from the Oppidum of Bibracte, Mont Beuvray (Burgundy, France)," *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 5.1 (1996), 105–116.

16 E.g. Rebecca Redfern, Christine Hamlin, and Nancy Beavan Athfield, "Temporal Changes in Diet: A Stable Isotope Analysis of Late Iron Age and Roman Dorset, Britain," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37.6 (2010): 1149–1160; Rebecca Griffin, Martin Pitts, Richard Smith, Alan Brook, "Inequality at Late Roman Baldock, UK: The Impact of Social Factors on Health and Diet," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 67.4 (2011): 533–556.

17 James Porter, "Reception Studies: Future Prospects," in Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray (eds.), *A Companion to Classical Receptions* (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2008), 471.

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Marriage and Parenthood on Classical Period Bronze Mirrors: The Case of Latva and Tuntle

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Abstract

The scenes that enhanced the reverse sides of the Etruscans' bronze mirrors were not just a form of entertainment. Rather, mirror iconography provided elite Etruscans of both genders with a range of ideas to ponder as they fashioned their appearances daily within the domestic sphere. During the 4th century BCE, the number of depictions of parents drawn from the broad Hellenic repertoire known to the Etruscan aristocracy soars. Two individuals who stand out as particularly popular were Latva (Leda) and Tuntle (Tyndareos), who appear in the context of a specifically Etruscan narrative known as the "Delivery of Elinai's (Helen's) Egg." This study focuses on the social significance of these scenes and the messages they imparted through their compositional structure and the various attributes of the characters depicted. It is suggested that they can be read as promoting positive paradigms of marriage and parenthood that served as enduring inspirations for the mirrors' users and viewers.

During the 4th and 3rd centuries in Etruria, communities in both the south and the north had to contend with foreign incursions, raids and the consequences of conquest. Despite these challenges, this time in Etruscan history was especially prolific with respect to the creation and diversity of high quality art: aristocratic families in Tarquinia, Orvieto and Chiusi, for example, commissioned vibrant tomb paintings extolling the virtues of their clans and ancestors, while elsewhere commissions surged in the production of large-scale votive bronzes, painted and sculpted sarcophagi, and elaborately decorated *cistae* and bronze mirrors.[1] The latter—a form of luxury art that many elites would likely have received as a gift on their wedding day[2]—belong to what P. Gregory Warden has termed the "social landscape": they not only helped to "define the individual," but, as status symbols, they also communicated their family's wealth and prestige.[3] The scenes that enhanced these artifacts' reverse sides—the principal feature that distinguishes the Etruscan examples from those produced by other Mediterranean civilizations such as Egypt and Greece—were not just a form of entertainment. Rather, these visual representations had both a strong emotional resonance in the domestic environment and disseminated important cultural messages and beliefs, inspiring reflection on the lives, behaviors and fates of the many different characters whose stories were selected as decoration.[4] In this way, mirror iconography provided elite Etruscans of both genders with a range of role models, themes and ideas to ponder as they fashioned and refashioned their appearances on a daily basis within the private sphere of their homes. It also offers scholars today a window into the mindsets of the artifacts' aristocratic purchasers/owners, expressing many of the values and beliefs they and their families prized from the Archaic period onward.

The 4th century BCE was a period of great innovation and creativity in mirror design and decoration,[5] and one important element of this trend includes the introduction of new subject matter. Given the visual emphasis on the family and ancestry in other media, especially funerary art, it is not surprising that similar themes started to appear on the reverses of mirrors. In fact, for the first time in the medium, the number of depictions of parents interacting with children, along with images of couples of all sorts (wives and husbands, lovers, mothers and sons, siblings, etc.), soars.[6] In addition, because genre scenes are a rarity in this corpus, the extant representations feature families drawn from the broad Hellenic repertoire known to the Etruscan aristocracy instead of everyday life as was the practice in funerary art. Again, this is not unexpected, since, as recently observed by Ingrid Krauskopf, "Greek myth inserted itself into all sectors of Etruscan life, including the [domestic] sphere (as seen on engraved mirrors)."[7]

Among the divine and/or mythical parents who make a collective appearance on Classical and early Hellenistic period mirrors either with their own children or with others who have been entrusted to their care are Turan and

Laran,[8] Thesan and Tinthun,[9] Klytaimnestra and Agamemnon,[10] and Latva and Tuntle.[11] While some of these family interactions are limited to a single—vis-à-vis extant—visualization, Latva (Leda) and Tuntle (Tyndareos) stand out as parents who are present either together or separately on six 4th and/or 3rd century mirrors, always in the context of the same narrative, the so-called "Delivery of Elinai's (Helen's) Egg." One of the many *interpretazioni etrusche*[12] invented by Etruscan artists during the 4th century BCE for the domestic sphere,[13] the mirrors show either Turms (Hermes) or one of the Tinas Cliniar (the Dioskouroi) handing the egg from which Elinai will be born over to Tuntle (four extant examples), Latva (one example) or an unidentified woman (one example). According to Apollodorus of Athens, while the Spartans identified Leda as Helen's mother, an Attic legend claimed Nemesis for this role—in the guise of a goose, she lay with Zeus in the form of a swan, and from their union, she produced an egg which a shepherd gave to Leda, who then raised her as her own child.[14] In Attic art, especially vase paintings from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, representations of this narrative concentrate on Leda's discovery of Nemesis's egg, either on an altar or a rock; she is usually accompanied by both her husband and two sons. Magna Graecian versions, on the other hand, focus on the birth itself: the egg, on an altar, appears cracked open with the baby Helen springing out of it and opening her arms to greet her foster parents.[15] While the Etruscans' versions build upon the tradition that claimed Nemesis as Helen's mother, they represent a moment in the story not depicted in either the mainland Greek or South Italian worlds at this time, thereby confirming "Etruscan agency in the manipulation of Greek myths for local meanings."[16]

In previous publications, I discussed the delivery narrative's relevance to the Etruscans primarily from the perspective of Elinai, whose lifecycle—given her fame as the most beautiful woman in the world—was both of great interest to them and very popular on mirrors from the Archaic period onward. I also examined its relevance to the goddess Nortia, a deity of fate akin to Nemesis, and considered the implications of the egg itself as it dominates the center of the compositions. I argued that the images—despite their various manifestations—not only communicated local ideas about fate and destiny but also concepts related to rebirth, fertility and the continuity of life, especially given that the mirrors eventually ended up as treasured tomb *corredi*.[17] In the present study dedicated to my colleague, Dr. David Soren, I shift my attention to some of the other reasons that might have made this particular narrative popular during the 4th and early 3rd centuries BCE, ones tied more specifically to the domestic sphere where mirror iconography functioned on both personal and cultural levels. After all, it was their uses during life that stimulated the manufacture and consumption of these artifacts, making it important for scholars to consider the many different ways the themes and characters chosen for visualization on their reverses worked within this particular context. The analysis below, therefore, considers the social significance of the delivery scenes that include representations of both Latva and Tuntle and the messages they imparted to families through their compositional structure and the various attributes of the characters depicted. This examination suggests that the scenes can be read as promoting positive paradigms of marriage and parenthood that served as enduring inspirations for the mirrors' users and viewers.

Figure 1: Relief mirror with Turms delivering the egg of Elinai to Tuntle and Latva, reverse. Provenance unknown. First half of the 4th century BCE. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1971.138 (photograph by the author).

Three extant mirrors present the delivery as a collective parental event.[18] They range in complexity from a three-figured scene set

outdoors in a rocky landscape to five- and six-figured compositions, respectively, that take place in domestic settings. The former version appears on a tang mirror now in Boston (Fig. 1), dated to the first half of the 4th century BCE and possibly produced in a Vulcian workshop,[19] which is distinguished from the other two examples in that its narrative (and decoration as a whole) was executed in relief rather than through engraving. This particular technique was not common in Etruria, with only ten authentic examples known today, but, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, these sumptuous artifacts share enough characteristics with their engraved counterparts to suggest close connections between the craftsmen responsible for manufacturing and decorating each type.[20] The Boston mirror not only depicts a subject that was popular on engraved mirrors but also a composition commonly used on the latter for three-figured scenes and cartouche inscriptions that identify the characters. Within a border of tendrils similar to those found on the *toga picta* of Vel Saties in the François Tomb from Vulci,[21] a centrally-located Turms is flanked by the seated foster parents, Tuntle on the left and Latva on the right. He holds his caduceus in his left hand and stands in a three-quarter position on an undulating ground line beneath which swim fishes and a dolphin. The god's head is bent down at the neck, and he faces left in order to give the egg to Tuntle; he is also naked except for the cloak that covers his backside. Both Tuntle and Latva sit on rocks, in positions that mirror each other. Tuntle is depicted as a mature man (balding and bearded) with a bare chest and a mantle draped over his lower body and back. With his upraised left arm and hand, he holds a staff. Latva wears a sleeved chiton and has a himation wrapped around her lower body and back; her long hair is tied back in a snood and she is adorned with a beaded necklace. A band with three pendant bullae appears on her upper left arm. She gazes intently at the egg in Turms' right hand while her husband stares at the god.

While there are no inscriptions on the second example, an engraved tang mirror now in Lausanne (Fig. 2) which was most likely also produced in a Vulcian workshop (given its ivy leaf border),[22] there can be no doubt of its subject matter. As on the Boston mirror, Turms stands in the center of the composition and presents the egg to a seated male figure to his right. This young man, who can only be Tuntle, directs his gaze up toward the god as he reaches out to accept the egg. Latva's pose, once again, not only replicates that of her husband's, but she also fills up the right side of the picture field in a way that echoes his position; that is, they stand as mirror images of each other. She looks up at Turms with an expression that suggests she is unclear about the reason for his sudden arrival in her home. She is fully clothed, and in her left hand, she holds a mirror; beneath her seat is a small bird. Flanking Turms are two youthful and elaborately coiffed/dressed winged females, most likely Lasas, each of whom rests an arm on the god's shoulders. The one on the left looks at Tuntle and the one on the right at Latva; both also raise one of their hands to their foreheads.

Figure 2: Engraved tang mirror with Turms delivering Elinai's egg to Tuntle and Latva in the presence of two Lasas, reverse. From Avenches, Switzerland. 4th century BCE. Lausanne, Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Inv. No. 82 (drawing by Shawn Skabelund after E. Gerhard [ed.], *Etruskische Spiegel* 4 [Berlin: G. Reimer, 1867], 370).

The most ornate of the Etruscans' delivery scenes appears on a grandiose tang mirror from Porano, now in Orvieto (Fig. 3).[23] This type of mirror is among the most elaborate and highest in quality of all the ones manufactured during the 4th century, relief mirrors notwithstanding. Their medallions usually contain complex multi-figured compositions framed by exergues on the top and bottom of

the main picture field. This tripartite arrangement appears on the Porano mirror, making it an excellent example of the type. It also stands out within the wider corpus of mirrors because it includes the name of its presumed female owner (*Ceithurnea*) and the word *śuthina*, the latter indicating its final transition from domestic artifact into tomb *corredo*; both of these words were engraved into the right half of the floral border.[24] The six figures in the mirror's central picture field include, on the right, an elaborately coiffed, bejeweled and clothed Latva, who sits on a throne with her feet, enclosed in pointed shoes, resting on a footstool. Casually leaning against her right side is her son Castur, naked but for his cloak and sandals, who holds an egg that is so large that it spills out of his hand and rests on part of his lower right arm. Tuntle, articulated with curly hair and a bushy, curly beard, sits on the left side, again in a position that echoes that of his wife. He reaches out and touches the egg with the forefinger of his right hand. He has a mantle draped over his lower body and back, the edge of which is wrapped around his left arm. Like the Tuntle on the Boston mirror, his chest is bare and he holds a wooden staff in his left hand. Turan (Aphrodite) leans against the king's left side, naked like Castur except for the mantle she has wrapped around her lower legs.[25] She looks at the king, not the egg, and her presence may be explained by her later role in Elinai's life (e.g., as winner of the Judgment of Paris, she became the advocate of Elcsntre, having pledged him a beautiful bride for his vote). Directly above the egg, close to the center of the composition, are two additional clothed figures, one identified by an inscription as Pultuce, Castur's brother, the other an unknown female, perhaps Klytaimnestra, Elinai's mortal sister. Their presence as adults contemplating the imminent birth of their sister stands as a further reminder of the highly constructed—and ideological—nature of these scenes. Above the heads of these six figures, in the upper exergue, Thesan (Eos) drives her quadriga. Nancy de Grummond has suggested that her inclusion may reference the fact that the engraver was trying to convey the actual day of Elinai's birth. The mirror's elaborate floral border also evokes concepts of fertility while in the lower exergue, "waters [teem] with sea life … [as another] reflection of this moment."[26]

As noted above, the Etruscans' delivery scenes represent an *interpretatio etrusca*, a moment in the story of Elinai, Latva and Tuntle that differs from both Magna Graecian versions where the focus is the birth itself and Attic images where the emphasis is on Leda's discovery of the egg either on an altar or a rock.[27] Though absent in Etruscan funerary art, the subject was a popular one in the domestic sphere, appearing on all types of tang mirrors manufactured during the 4th and early 3rd centuries as well as on two painted vases, one from Vulci and the second from the environs of Chiusi.[28] Clearly, its appeal in this context was wide and broad, and the fact that the Etruscans created their own version of the story suggests that it not only must have addressed themes valued by the individuals who would have owned and used these artifacts on a daily basis but also that the mirrors' consumers would have seen themselves reflected in the figures of Tuntle and Latva. It cannot be a coincidence, for example, that the Tuntles portrayed on the Boston and Porano mirrors resemble the mature statesmen—real-life Etruscans—depicted in contemporary funerary art, such as the figure of Larth Velcha in the Tomb of the Shields,[29] the bearded enthroned figures in the Campanari Tomb from

Figure 3: Engraved mirror with Tuntle, Turan, Castur, Latva, Pultuce, and an unidentified woman, reverse. From Porano. Late 4th century BCE. Orvieto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 847 (drawing by Shawn Skabelund after A. Klügmann and G. Körte (eds.), *Etruskische Spiegel* 5 [Berlin: G. Reimer, 1897], 77).

Vulci, and the men in the Tomb of the Triclinium from Cerveteri.[30] The staffs that they both hold in their left hands, along with the folding stool on which the Porano Tuntle sits, further indicate their elite status and allude to their political and civic responsibilities, echoing the insignia found in the hand of Arnth Tetnies in the relief on the front of the Sarcophagus of Ramtha Viśnai from Vulci,[31] as well as the *zilaths* in the Tomb of the Hescanas from Orvieto.[32] Similar men also appear in contemporary mirror iconography, in the form of the mythical kings, Teurs and Rathms.[33] In addition, the Boston mirror contains an allusion to the religious duties of elite men, who "exercised both political and religious power" in Etruria.[34] This can be seen through the pose of its Tuntle, particularly, the way his left leg is raised so that his foot rests on a rock while his right leg is extended and touches the earth. As de Grummond and others have shown, this stance was commonly adopted for rites of divination, appearing on mirrors illustrating Chalchas or Pava Tarchies.[35] Viewers of the Boston Tuntle, therefore, were presented with a visual reminder of this important responsibility of aristocratic men in Etruria. De Grummond, moreover, has also suggested that "the egg of Helen could be read as having prophetic significance, a portent of dire events to come,"[36] making the subject—on one level, at least—a story that reflects contemporary interests in the themes of fate and destiny.

While the two Tuntles discussed above resemble mature statesmen, the Lausanne mirror presents the Spartan king more like a new groom, one who resembles the hero Theseus in the Tomb of Orcus II in both age and looks.[37] He also appears to have been enjoying some time with his wife in a domestic interior—perhaps even their bedroom—prior to the god's arrival. Similar to brides such as Malavisch[38] and Thethis,[39] Latva holds an artifact—a mirror—that would have been very familiar to all viewers as well, one that not only recalls nuptial iconography but also implies that she has been interrupted at her toilette. In this way, the Lausanne engraver incorporated a key element of 4th century mirror iconography in his conceptualization of this particular delivery scene, namely, the evocation of adornment, whose purpose was not only to display a family's wealth and luxury through the beautification and transformation of the body (female and male) daily as well as for special events like banquets or weddings, but also to encourage seduction and procreation.[40] As Marjatta Nielsen has observed, "beauty was a guarantee for keeping the attraction alive throughout married life,"[41] a theme that is echoed clearly here through the appearances and attributes of this youthful couple. It is also not surprising that it is Latva who holds the implement of transformation. During the 4th and early 3rd centuries, engravers tended to show these artifacts in the hands of women rather than men, as a form of female insignia comparable to men's staffs, as they alluded not only to adornment but also, more generally, to marriage and the social transformations that came with it.[42] The small bird hovering underneath Latva's body is another singular motif on the Lausanne mirror. It could be interpreted as allusion to Tinia, Elinai's real father, but also as an evocation of Turan, goddess of love, sex and beauty (and thus an important role model for Etruscan women). Likewise, the two Lasas who flank Turms may have been understood by the mirror's viewers in a variety of ways: these characters had multiple functions in Etruscan iconography, especially on mirrors where they frequently appeared in scenes related to love, adornment, fate and/or prophecy.[43] On the Lausanne mirror, they may have been present not only to reiterate the marriage bonds between Latva and Tuntle, but also to foreshadow the events that will later transpire in Elinai's life.

Women of all ages looking at the representations of Latva on all three of these mirrors would have either seen themselves or a version of themselves that they aspired to reflected in her demeanor, clothing and jewelry. She is not characterized as the consort of Tinia but rather as a youthful or early middle aged wealthy woman who would have reminded them that the primary roles they had in life were as wives and mothers ("a distinguished marriage gave women status and privilege" in Etruria.)[44] Moreover, as was the case with the depictions of Tuntle, allusions abound to the real-life women depicted in contemporary funerary art. Like Velia from the Tomb of the Orcus I, for example, the Boston Latva's long hair is tied back in a snood and she is adorned with a beaded necklace.[45] Like Velia Seitithi, the wife of Larth Velca in the Tomb of the Shields, she wears a sleeved chiton and has a himation wrapped around her lower body and back.[46] The Boston Latva also wears a band with three pendant bullae on her upper arm. Although the latter is generally associated with children, both adult women and men in Etruria sported bulla jewelry, perhaps because of their magical and/or protective qualities (e.g., as a love charm "to attract and keep mates … or the promise of good health or fertility").[47] Alexis Castor has also suggested these bands might not just reference their wearers' status, wealth and prestige but also their personal and/or family's identities at different periods in their lives (e.g., "pregnancy and childbirth, a military campaign, a new economic venture, religious office, the aches of old age …)."[48] Perhaps, in the context of these delivery scenes, the Boston Latva's bulla armband could be read as not only signifying "her ability to live in luxury and ease,"[49] but also her forthcoming role as—or impending transformation into—Elinai's foster-mother. On the Porano mirror, Latva's aristocratic identity, as well as her status as a well-taken care of woman of leisure, is further communicated by the throne she sits on and her footstool, which also evoke motifs found in contemporary Tarquinian and Caeretan tomb paintings[50] and stand as counterparts to the Lausanne Latva's mirror and the Boston Latva's armband.

Viewers of all three delivery scenes would also have recognized an important Etruscan social value in the mirrors' compositions, namely, what Larissa Bonfante has termed the "symmetry of marriage."[51] Latva's and Tuntle's

equal sizes, poses and symmetrical placement in the pictorial field represent visual reminders of their ideal of spousal parity, a concept with a long lineage in Etruria, especially in funerary iconography where it "signified the strength and longevity of the family line."[52] Clearly, it was equally important to showcase this value in the domestic sphere, on mirrors, and despite the individual variations contained within each of the scenes on these examples, the concept is overwhelmingly present and merged with the notion of collective parenting.[53] In all three cases, the implication of the visual rhetoric is that both parents are critical to and contribute to the family's stability, harmony and unity, which in turn allows for the perpetuation of its lineage.[54]

It is also possible to read these three delivery scenes as reflections of the "highly structured world" within which the Etruscans lived, one wherein the "gods played a dominant role and were associated with every major aspect of life."[55] The focus of this particular *interpretatio etrusca* is the arrival of a divine messenger with a "gift," the egg of Elinai, that will forever alter the lives of its recipients. The narrative, therefore, focuses on the moment before a major transformation to a family's composition occurs. Unlike on two contemporary mirrors where Turan and Laran merely observe Menrva interacting with the so-called Marís babies as a sort of surrogate mother,[56] neither Latva nor Tuntle has the luxury of being bystanders in the unfolding story. They must react and respond to the messenger with the gift, and the way they do so—calmly and selflessly acknowledging and absorbing the will of the gods—can be read as a visualization of positive parental behavior, one that could be admired, emulated and copied by their owners and their families anytime they were confronted with major changes in their own lives. Although it is not depicted, viewers would have known that Latva and Tuntle welcomed and raised the child who would soon emerge from the egg as their own, even though the moment depicted suggests that they do not yet understand the implications of Turms' gift. Their quiet obedience and selfless behavior would have made them important role models to the Etruscan elite, reiterating not only the links they believed existed between the human and divine worlds, [57] but also helping them remember what was required to maintain order and structure in their families and the wider world.

Finally, it is striking that on none of these examples with both parents included is Latva given Elinai's egg. Although Latva matches Tuntle in pose and stature, the compositions all move to the left, in the direction of Tuntle. And it is to him that Turms and Castor turn, and it is he who takes possession of the divine gift, just as, one could argue, on their wedding day, he would have taken possession of the wife who sits opposite him. In this respect, what we see on these mirrors is akin to what can be found in contemporary tomb paintings where the visuals and the inscriptions emphasize the achievements of the men, not the women, in the depicted families. As such, these scenes would have reminded viewers—males and females alike—that despite the conjugal symmetry seen in the artifacts' compositions, men were the "masters of their houses" and the heads of their families in Etruria,[58] circumstances that may be echoed in the fact that while we know the Etruscan word for wife (*puia*) —because that's how many women were identified in extant inscriptions—the word for husband is still unknown.[59]

In sum, decorated mirrors remind us that, in Etruria, the luxury arts were used not only to visualize stories but also to communicate and disseminate important cultural messages and beliefs in the private sphere of the home. The delivery scenes discussed above – one of the many purely Etruscan myths found in their visual repertoire—make their first appearance during the 4th century BCE, primarily on artifacts used in homes before transitioning into tomb *corredi*. This subject mattered and became popular because it served a multitude of purposes, including providing the mirrors' owners and viewers with an aristocratic couple whose actions and understanding of their social roles could inspire reflection and emulation as they fashioned their bodies daily in the service of their families and households.

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1 Stephan Steingräber, *Abundance of Life: Etruscan Wall Painting*, translated by R. Stockman (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), 185, 191; P. Gregory Warden, "The Importance of Being Elite: The Archaeology of Identity in Etruria (500–200)," in Jane DeRose Evans (ed.), *Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic* (Somerset, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 367.

2 Nancy T. de Grummond, "Mirrors and *Manteia*: Themes of Prophecy on Etruscan and Praenestine Mirrors," in M. D. Gentili (ed.), *Aspetti e problemi della produzione degli specchi etruschi figurati. Atti dell'incontro internazionale di studio (Roma, 2–4 maggio 1997)* (Rome: Aracne, 2000), 23–67; Larissa Bonfante, "Mothers and Children," in Jean M. Turfa (ed.), *The Etruscan World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 426–446; Richard D. De Puma, "Mirrors in Art and Society," in Jean M. Turfa (ed.), *The Etruscan World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 1056–1057.

3 P. Gregory Warden, "The Etruscan Social and Urban Landscape," in P. Gregory Warden (ed.), *From the Temple and the Tomb: Etruscan Treasures from Tuscany* (Dallas: Meadows Museum, SMU, 2008), 23 ("The Etruscan social landscape is hierarchical and controlled by elite families that were invested in preserving their status at all costs, in both life and afterlife"); P. Gregory Warden, "The Tomb: The Etruscan Way of Death," in P. Gregory Warden (ed.), *From the Temple and the Tomb: Etruscan Treasures from Tuscany* (Dallas: Meadows Museum, SMU, 2008), 105. See also Vedia Izzet, "Etruscan Women: Towards a Reappraisal," in S. L. James and S. Dillon (eds.), *A*

Companion to Women in the Ancient World (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 2012), 74, for a discussion of what the author terms the "social skin."

4 See further, with additional bibliography, Alexandra A. Carpino, "The 'Taste' for Violence in Etruscan Art: Debunking the Myth," in S. Bell and A. Carpino (eds.), *A Companion to the Etruscans* (Oxford and Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016), 416; and Marjatta Nielsen, "Fit for Fight, Fit for Marriage: Fighting Couples in Nuptial and Funerary Iconography in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Periods," in L. L. Lovén and A. Strömberg (eds.), *Gender, Cult, and Culture in the Ancient World from Mycenae to Byzantium: Proceedings of the Second Nordic Symposium on Gender and Women's History in Antiquity, Helsinki 20–22 October 2000* (Sävedalen: Paul Åströms Förlag, 2003), 38–53.

5 See further Ingela Wiman, *Malestria—Malena: Metals and Motifs in Etruscan Mirror Craft* (Götenborg: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1990), 244.

6 Bonfante 2013, 431, 435; see also Larissa Bonfante and Judith Swaddling, *Etruscan Myths* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006), 54; and Francesco de Angelis, "Specchi e miti. Sulla ricezione della mitologia greca in Etruria," *Ostraka* 11.1 (2001), 37–73. In contemporary funerary art, Vanth and Charu often formed a "couple," there to aid in the passage of the deceased into the afterlife. Other popular subjects not found before in mirror iconography include the Judgment of Elsentre (Paris), the adoption of Hercle, and the adornment of Malavisch (see further Nancy T. de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History, and Legend* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2006]).

7 Ingrid Krauskopf, "Myth in Etruria," in S. Bell and A. Carpino (eds.), *A Companion to the Etruscans* (Oxford and Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016), 404.

8 De Grummond 2006, 72–77 and figs. V.5–6; Erika Simon, "Gods in Harmony: The Etruscan Pantheon," in Nancy T. de Grummond and Erika Simon (eds.), *The Religion of the Etruscans* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006), 55.

9 De Grummond 2006, 169 and fig. VII.24.

10 See Alexandra A. Carpino, "Killing Klytaimnestra: Matricide Myths on Etruscan Bronze Mirrors," *Etruscan Studies* 14 (2011): 18, 21, and fig. 11, with additional bibliography.

11 Richard Daniel De Puma, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum: USA 2: Boston and Cambridge*. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1993), 47–48 and figs. 28a–d; L. Bouke van der Meer, *Interpretatio Etrusca: Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben Publishers, 1995), 130–133; Alexandra A. Carpino, "The Delivery of Helen's Egg: An Examination of an Etruscan Relief Mirror," *Etruscan Studies* 3 (1996): 33–44; Alexandra A. Carpino, *Discs of Splendor: The Relief Mirrors of the Etruscans* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 42–48 and pls. 56–57, 60–66; de Grummond 2006, 125–128.

12 For this term, van der Meer 1995, 5–7, 238–240.

13 Interestingly, this theme is notably absent in funerary iconography, including in the reliefs and/or paintings that were selected to decorate the sides of contemporary sarcophagi and urns.

14 See Apollodorus of Athens, *The Library of Greek Mythology*, translated by K. Aldrich (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1975), 3.126–127.

15 Van der Meer 1995, 132; Carpino 1996, 33–35; Carpino 2003, 45–46.

16 Vedia Izzet, "Reflections of Greek Myth in Etruria," in V. Coltman (ed.), *Making Sense of Greek Art* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), 39.

17 Carpino 2003, 48; see also Carpino 1996.

18 Because the engravers experimented freely with the compositions and the characters they included, not all of the mirrors with this subject matter depicts both parents: for example, a mirror from Vulci, now in Berlin, only portrays Turms and Tuntle, while one possibly from Orvieto depicts Latva without her husband, in the presence of Turms and a Tinas Cliniar; a third now in Paris simply includes one of the Tinas Cliniar holding the egg. See Carpino 2003, 42–48 and pls. 61, 64 and 66; de Grummond 2006, fig. VI. 17.

19 *Supra* note 11.

20 Carpino 2003, 86.

21 Steingräber 2006, 184.

22 See Ulrike Fischer-Graf, *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci,* Archäologische Forschungen 8 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980).

23 Van der Meer 1995, 130–133; Carpino 2003, 46–47 and pl. 65; de Grummond 2006, fig. VI.18.

24 Van der Meer 1995, 16 and 133: the mirror was found in a chamber tomb that included additional bronzes that were part of a symposium set that were also inscribed in a manner similar to what is found on the mirror.

25 Interesting, the Tuntle and Latva who appear in the tondo of a cup from the Chiusi area (Carpino 2003, pl. 62) closely resemble the figures of Tuntle and Turan on the Porano mirror: see further van der Meer 1995, 132.

26 De Grummond 2006, 191.

27 *Supra* note 15.

28 *Supra* note 25; see also Carpino 2003, pl. 60.

29 Steingräber 2006, 188.

30 Steingräber 2006, 263.

31 Sibylle Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), fig. 232b.

32 Steingräber 2006, 214–215.

33 Van der Meer 1995, 132.

34 Warden 2013, 362.

35 De Grummond 2006, figs. II.2, 9.

36 De Grummond 2006, 126. De Grummond has also suggested that the queen's distinctive gesture on the Porano mirror—the index finger of her right hand resting on her chin—may have connoted something to do with prophecy, since Turms sometimes—as well—adopts the stance of a prophet (see, for example, the mirror from Vulci, now in Berlin, where Latva is absent and Tuntle already holds the egg: Carpino 2003, pl. 61).

37 See Steingräber 2006, 198.

38 *Supra* note 6.

39 See de Grummond 2006, 193–194 and fig. VIII.25; Izzet 2010.

40 See further Vedia Izzet, *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 59–65.

41 Nielsen 2003, 44.

42 See further Izzet 2010, 49–51.

43 De Grummond 2006, 171–172.

44 Patricia S. Lulof, "Eminent Women, Powerful Men," in P. S. Lulof and I. van Kampen (eds.), *Etruscans. Eminent Women, Powerful Men*, translated by M. Hendricks (Amsterdam: W Books in collaboration with the Allard Pierson Museum and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 2011), 40. See also Eóin Martin O'Donoghue, *Remember Me When I Am Gone Away: An Examination of the Representation of Gender in the Material Culture of Archaic Etruria* (Ph.D. Thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2011), 288: The "roles and identities of women were, therefore, largely dependent upon men… the locus of an Etruscan woman's identity was, thus, her status as an aristocratic wife and that reminded her primary role throughout the lifecycle."

45 Steingräber 2006, 197.

46 Steingräber 2006, 188.

47 Alexis Castor, "Etruscan Jewelry and Identity," in S. Bell and A. Carpino (eds.), *A Companion to the Etruscans* (Oxford and Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016), 280.

48 Castor 2016, 281.

49 Castor 2016, 282.

50 Steingräber 2006, 263.

51 See Larissa Bonfante, "Some Thought on the Baubo Gesture in Classical Art," in S. Bell and N. Nagy (eds.), *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome in Honor of Richard Daniel De Puma* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 161.

52 Castor 2016, 282.

53 For the longevity of this concept in Etruria, see Corinna Riva, *The Urbanisation of Etruria: Funerary Practices and Social Change, 700–600 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 88.

54 Bonfante 2013, 431, 435; Bonfante and Swaddling 2006, 54; Nielsen 2003, 48.

55 Tanja van der Zon, "The Etruscan Pantheon," in P. S. Lulof and I. van Kampen (eds.), *Etruscans: Eminent Women, Powerful Men*, translated by M. Hendricks (Amsterdam: W Books in collaboration with the Allard Pierson Museum and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 2011), 118.

56 De Grummond 2006, 74.

57 Warden 2013, 364.

58 See further O'Donoghue 2011, 287–288.

59 Larissa Bonfante, *Etruscan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 52; Rex Wallace, "The Etruscan Language," in P. Gregory Warden (ed.), *From the Temple and the Tomb: Etruscan Treasures from Tuscany* (Dallas: Meadows Museum, SMU, 2008), 169. See also Rex E. Wallace, "Language, Alphabet, and Linguistic Affiliation," in S. Bell and A. Carpino (eds.), *A Companion to the Etruscans* (Oxford and Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016), 219.

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

The Jewish Diaspora in Ptolemaic and Roman Cyprus: Some Speculations

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Abstract

The presence of Jews on Cyprus during Ptolemaic and Roman rule, although attested by diverse historical sources, has not been convincingly identified archaeologically. However, the pottery style named Cypriot Sigillata A, may provide oblique evidence of the Jewish Diaspora on Cyprus, or at least its end. This paper will propose a causal relationship between two seemingly unrelated facts: the historically attested destruction of the Jewish Community 115–117 CE during the Diaspora Revolt; and, the sudden disappearance of Cypriot Sigillata A from the archaeological record by 150 CE.

I first met David Soren when I took a class in Cypriot archaeology at the University of Arizona in 1984. During the semester, David expressed the need for an experienced excavator to direct a small team at the site of Kourion on Cyprus (Fig. 1). This was to be a subsidiary investigation to his main effort at the Temple of Apollo outside the city. I volunteered and excavated at Kourion that summer. Thanks to the success of that first year, a small-scale effort turned into a major excavation of a late Roman house ("the Earthquake House") that I worked on for two years.[1] Ultimately, this taste of Cyprus led to my becoming the Director of the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI) in Nicosia, Cyprus from 2003–2011. My own project, the Kourion Urban Space Project (KUSP),[2] is a direct outgrowth of the Earthquake House excavation of the University of Arizona. Therefore it is with gratitude and pleasure that I contribute to this volume honoring David Soren.

The theme of this *festschrift* is Egypt and Rome. The Ptolemaic Empire was the last remaining major rival of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus was the main overseas province controlled by Ptolemaic Egypt and was a strategic asset of the first order. This makes Cyprus a small but important element in the complex interactions of Egypt and Rome.[3] It is axiomatic that whenever rule over the eastern Mediterranean is politically divided, Cyprus gains strategic value from its location and dominance over the nearby sea lanes. The Ptolemies recognized this fundamental fact from the beginning of their Empire. From their main base at Nea Paphos, the Egyptian navy based on Cyprus maintained trade links into the Aegean and provided a constant irritation to the naval forces of their main rival, the Seleucid state centered in Syria. Although these nations fought a series of wars throughout the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, the Ptolemies always managed to regain control over Cyprus, even if they temporarily lost ascendancy. By the 1st century BCE, Ptolemaic rule was well established and Cyprus did not have an independent voice in the civil wars of the last century of the Roman Republic. In 58 BCE, Rome, recognizing the strategic realities of the eastern Mediterranean, took control over Cyprus to enhance their dominant position in the region. Following the death of Julius Caesar, Cleopatra VII, understanding the importance of Cyprus for the survival of her nation, persuaded Marc Anthony to return the island to Egyptian control in 36 BCE, and she ruled the island until the Battle of Actium.

Scholars have long linked the beginnings of a substantive Jewish presence on Cyprus with the beginning of Ptolemaic control.[4] The large Jewish population of Ptolemaic Egypt is amply documented by both contemporary historians and recovered papyri. It is a reasonable assumption that under the Ptolemies Jews came and settled on Cyprus. Jews fulfilled a number of economic niches in Egypt, including merchants and potters.[5] A contemporary observer reports that as a result of a pogrom against the Jews in Egypt in 38 CE, "The capitalists (lit. 'men of profit') lost their deposits, and no one was allowed whether farmer, shipper, merchant, or artisan (*teknitai*) to practice his usual business."[6]

After the Augustan victory, Rome made the island a separate province. The island lost its military importance with the elimination of the last independent nation

Figure 1: David Soren at the Temple of Apollo, Kourion, Cyprus in 1984.

bordering the eastern Mediterranean. The ancient sources are largely silent about the island during the Roman period; in Mitford's words, "In 22 BC Cyprus entered upon more than three centuries of tranquil obscurity."[7] Inscriptions and coins together record only 48 proconsuls from 22 BCE to 293 CE, less than 1/6 of the total. The proconsul served for only a one-year term; Mitford points out that this short period of office prevented corruption. In consequence, Cyprus probably was not seen as an attractive posting for a young Roman aristocrat who needed to line his pockets to advance his political career; we know of only six governors who went on to become Consuls.

Nor did Cyprus attract ambitious military types; there was little scope for military glory in a province with no strategic value under Roman rule. The image of a province unified by Augustan *Romanitas* has provided the scholarly paradigm for most reconstructions of Roman rule on the island. However, an examination of recent archaeological discoveries relevant to Roman Cyprus suggests that the province was not as unified in the 1st century as previously thought. The elite of Paphos appear to have embraced elements of a separate cultural identity from the rest of Cyprus.[8] Across the island conscious elements of a Ptolemaic identity were being retained, and historical evidence suggests Jews made up a substantial proportion of the population during the first century of Roman rule over the island. The large Jewish population on the island, a legacy of Ptolemaic rule, would have helped promote a multi-faceted Cypriot identity in the first century of Roman rule. When this population was greatly reduced after the Diaspora Revolt was suppressed, Cyprus became more culturally unified.

Coinage from 1st century CE Cyprus provides clear evidence of contact with Judea, suggesting (although not requiring) a Jewish presence on the island. According to Danielle Parks, Judean coins make up nearly one-third of all 1st-century coins recovered from Cyprus.[9] It was the only provincial issue originating outside of Cyprus that has been identified with any frequency. A coin horde (n=57) allegedly recovered from the Karpass Peninsula of northeast Cyprus contained only Judean and Nabatean coins. Parks suggests that perhaps provinces "may have been reluctant to accept foreign currency, and restricted circulation to issues from nearby and familiar provinces. In the case of Cyprus these would have been coins from the Syro-Palestinian region."[10] Parks also credits the large Jewish population of Cyprus and presumed close relations between Cypriot and Palestinian Jewish communities for the coinage bias. In the High Empire there is only Judean coin recovered from the island. Of course the devastation of the First Revolt (66–70 CE) is a major factor in the

disappearance of Judean coinage, suggesting at least a loss of trading partners for the Cypriots even if they were not co-religionists.

P. W. van der Horst[11] and Z. J. Kapera[12] have independently reviewed the evidence for the presence of Jewish communities on Cyprus before 70 CE. Together these articles provide an excellent summary of historical and epigraphic data relevant to the Cypriot Jewish community. Although historical references are ample, current epigraphic evidence for a Jewish presence on Cyprus before the Diaspora Revolt is meager.

Epigraphic Evidence of a Jewish Presence

Kapera begins his recitation of the epigraphic evidence with three alleged Jewish names that are recorded on Phoenician stelae recovered from a cemetery in late classical Kition, perhaps late 5th or early 4th century BCE in date.[13] Although van der Horst does not appear aware of these stelae in his 2004 survey of the epigraphic evidence, he does mention them in a later work.[14] Both scholars agree that these names, ("Haggai," "son of Azariah," and "Asphyahu") are Jewish and indicate a Jewish community on Cyprus associated with the Phoenician-dominated town of Kition.

In 1935, the University of Pennsylvania team excavating the site of Kourion on the south coast recovered a short inscription recording a single name from a secondary context during the excavation of the 5th century CE House of Eustolios. Mitford reconstructs it to read "AN Onias."[15] As Mitford states, "Onias is a name well known in Ptolemaic Egypt as that of a Jewish general of Kleopatra II and of the Jewish High Priest who built the temple at Leontopolis." This identification as a Jewish name is broadly accepted and the inscription dated to the 2nd century BCE.

A contemporary Jewish epigraphic candidate is much more controversial. Nicolau reads an incomplete inscription from Amathus on the south coast as referring to a synagogue that he dates to the late Hellenistic period on paleographic grounds. It is very fragmentary, consisting of four surviving lines with a total of 22 legible letters. Nicolau states: "Though the text is very fragmentary we dare suggest with reserve that we may be concerned with an inscription concerning probably the construction of something of cedar under the archonship (?) of Ana[nias]?...The name Ananias *if the restoration is correct*, [emphasis added] is a Jewish name and our document may refer to the construction of some parts belonging to a *proseuche*, a synagogue."[16] The supposition of the presence of a synagogue is all based on the name of Ananias, a reading that has had to be reconstructed, and his possible role as an archon. No direct mention is made of a *proseuche* or a synagogue in the inscription.

Mitford supported Nicoalu's reading and removes the caveats saying that this inscription "appears to concern the construction in cedar-wood of a doorway of a synagogue at Amathus."[17] This leap of faith leads Kapera to say "the next attestation of Jews, also of the late Hellenistic or early Roman period, comes from a text dealing with permanent habitation of Jews in Amathus," and he follows this by quoting from Mitford approvingly.[18] In contrast, van der Horst[19] rejects the Amathus inscription as being much "too fragmentary" to support Mitford's reading. I am forced to agree with van der Horst and remove this inscription from our consideration.

A horoscope from the time of Domitian may support the presence of a Jewish community at Tremithus in the center of the island. Recovered during the excavation of a well in 1913, the inscription is hard to read and may be a palimpsest. According to Mitford, the tenth line mentions the "6th of the Jewish month of Shebat."[20]

The Diaspora Revolt

The Jewish presence on Cyprus during the first century of our era, a direct legacy of Ptolemaic rule, led to the inclusion of the island in one of the more brutal episodes in the relations between Egypt and Rome, the suppression of the Diaspora Revolt in 116–117 CE. The revolt was centered in Egypt, Cyprus and Cyrene. The suppression was the only recorded Roman military action on Cyprus before the 4th century CE. Historical sources are largely silent regarding this action. Dio Cassius records that legions sent from Syria and Pannonia crushed the revolt, resulting in more than 240,000 deaths on the island, particularly in Salamis (Dio Cassius LXVIII.32.2-3.) An early 2nd century CE inscription found in a secondary context in Beirut records the military career of a Roman tribune who lead "a detachment of soldiers on a military expedition to Cyprus," which can only refer to the Revolt.[21] We lack a detailed account of this revolt, having no equivalent of Josephus, the superb internal witness to the First Jewish Revolt against Rome in Palestine.

Egyptian records, including papyri, indicate a massive destruction of the Jewish Community. With the exception of Alexandria, Jews vanish almost entirely from the papyri.[22] Lands are confiscated, many left without owners.[23] Of course, the soils and climate of Cyprus do not provide the same survivability for similar documentation.

Archaeology may provide some collaboration of Dio Cassius' account of the destruction of the Jewish Community on Cyprus. There is evidence for the rebuilding in Salamis and the restoration of a part of the gymnasium by the Emperor Trajan. An inscription[24] praising the Emperor Hadrian ("Benefactor of the Salaminians and Saviour of the World") commemorates his important help towards the reconstruction of the city, which must have been necessitated by the revolt; there is no indication of any significant seismic activity in the early 2nd century CE on Cyprus. There may have been some contemporary damage to the Sanctuary of Apollo at Kourion, although the cause is not clear.[25]

The Kourion Urban Space Project may also have exposed some evidence of the revolt's destruction (Fig. 2). A small probe within Area A 4/5 space 32 sampled a fill that appears to terminate in the early 2nd century CE. The fill may represent cleanup from a localized destruction.

Figure 2: An early 2nd century CE ceramic deposit from Kourion Cyprus, possibly relating to the suppression of the Diaspora Revolt, Area A, Square 4/5, Kourion Urban Space Project.

This deposit was below an irregular plaster floor, suggesting that the material was hastily sealed over. The space continued to function, as a ceramic dump, well into the 3rd century CE.

Recent archaeological studies may provide indirect evidence of the impact of the destruction of the Jewish community on the island. Cypriot Sigillata A (CSA), a Roman-era fine ware primarily produced in the region of Paphos, is the dominant fine ware in southwestern Cyprus. Production dates from the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE. Lund reports that "part of the production was made especially for export."[26] Lund summarizes the findspots of Cypriot Sigillata A outside of Cyprus, and his evidence indicates a strong pattern of export to Palestine and Nabatea.

A possible explanation for such a biased distribution may be that the shippers or even the manufacturers of CSA consciously directed their trade to these areas. Lund suggests an orientation of export to the former "Ptolemaic commonwealth" may lie behind the export pattern, but admits the lack of material recovered from Alexandria is troubling. However, the export pattern may not have a shared Ptolemaic identity as its cause (Nabatea never was ruled by Egypt), but because they are areas of strong Jewish presence. It is possible that some or even the majority of CSA was produced by Jewish potters based near Paphos, continuing their craft that had been first established under Ptolemaic rule. Both Herod the Great and Herod Antipas had married into the royal Nabatean family, facilitating the relocation of Jewish families into Nabatean space, so the recovery of material from Petra does not rule out a Jewish orientation to the trade. However, it must be stated that we have no direct information about the ethnicity of the craftsmen or the shippers.

When the evidence for the decline of CSA in the archaeological record is considered, the possibility of a Jewish link to the production of this ceramic is strengthened. According to Lund, there is a "pronounced decrease after about 100 CE, and a dramatic one after 150" in the presence of Cypriot Sigillata A both in Cyprus and elsewhere.[27] The first drop off after 100 CE in mainland finds is probably caused by the destruction of the Judean market as a result of the suppression by Rome of the First Jewish Revolt. The annexation of the Nabatean kingdom by Rome in 106 CE and the subsequent dominance of the former Nabatean market by Roman-produced Eastern Sigillata explains the post-100 CE decline in CSA exports to Petra. The falloff in export to former Nabatean territory indirectly supports the idea of CSA being seen by potential buyers as a non-Roman identity marker. David Soren commented on links between Roman Cyprus and 1st century Nabatea when he identified the capitals of the first century CE Temple of Apollo at Kourion as Nabatean in style (Fig. 3).[28]

The dramatic drop in CSA in western Cyprus after 100 CE cannot be explained by external events. CSA was always a luxury fine ware, produced in relatively small quantities (in comparison, for example, to Eastern Sigillata) and therefore more vulnerable to a single historic

Figure 3: Nabatean-style capital from the partial reconstruction of the cella of the Temple of Apollo at Kourion Cyprus. The original capital is shown on the left column.

event such as the destruction of the kilns or the death of the potters. Lund suggests an otherwise unattested 2nd century earthquake as the cause of the disruption of ceramic production and export. Cypriot scholars are inclined to seek seismic explanations for disruptions in the archaeological record because of the long-standing history of seismic activity.

An alternative explanation is that the almost disappearance of Cypriot Sigillata A from the ceramic record after 150 CE is a product of the suppression of Diaspora Revolt. The great loss of human life recorded by Dio Cassius in the suppression of the revolt on Cyprus could easily have included a number of potters who were producing CSA, fatally impacting an already declining production. A thirty-year gap between the destruction of a postulated Jewish community of potters living near Paphos in the Diaspora Revolt and the resulting curtailment of production and the disappearance of the ware around 150 CE is easily explainable as the time it would take for the final production run to have been shipped before the Revolt, and after a suitable uselife, become broken and be discarded, thus entering the archaeological record. If this scenario is correct, the elusive physical evidence of the Diaspora Revolt on Cyprus may have become more substantive.

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Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

The Eugene Berman Collection: A Roman Memoir

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Abstract
This memoir recounts the author's first meetings with David Soren in Tunis and Rome during the summer of 1970. It also records an influential visit to the Roman apartment of a major artist and collector of Etruscan antiquities, Eugene Berman (1899–1972), that same summer and gives a brief description of the collection, now the property of the Italian State. Finally it shows how that visit helped to set the author on a path that would lead to his career as an Etruscologist.

This is a personal memoir about my first meeting of Noelle and David Soren and some of the events that shaped my development as an archaeologist at the time. In that regard, I hope the Sorens and our readers will find it an interesting and amusing diversion from the more serious and useful contents of this Festschrift.

It was the summer of 1970, almost fifty years ago. I had spent May doing research in London and Paris but moved on to work on Roman mosaics in Tunisia in June. I met David and Noelle in Tunis that month. Then, after some archaeological work in Sicily and Naples, I arrived in Rome on a very hot day in July. Unfortunately, I did not begin to keep a journal of my European sojourns until 1977 and so must reconstruct the happenings of this period, seven years earlier, from memory. Exact dates are impossible to recover, but I knew from our previous meeting that the Sorens were also going to be in Rome in July. We met again one afternoon at the American Academy in Rome. David was preparing for his preliminary exams at Harvard and I had just completed my Ph.D. at Bryn Mawr a year earlier. We were both very young, but at least I could qualify as "experienced" when it came to taking rigorous doctoral exams in classical art and archaeology. Somehow the three of us decided that we should go to Tivoli to visit Hadrian's Villa and, on a later day, to Ostia Antica where we could review the architecture and art for David's upcoming exams. Both trips, despite the oppressive summer heat, were enjoyable, entertaining and enlightening for all of us. Walking methodically through the various ruins, talking about Hadrian and Rome, about "baroque" elements in Roman architecture, then about film noir and other cinema that we enjoyed, about Italian cuisine and numerous topics of mutual interest helped to lay the foundations for a long-lasting friendship. In future years we would all meet again at excavations and over meals in Italy or at meetings of the Etruscan Foundation in Boston, New York and other cities. So, summer 1970 was the beginning of a long and happy relationship that continues to this day.

In that summer I was also working on organizing an exhibition of Etruscan and Villanovan pottery for the University of Iowa. An elegant new art museum had opened in 1969 during my first year of teaching there and I had become a friend of Ulfert Wilke (1907–1987), the founding director. Wilke was a fascinating character. He came from an artistic Bavarian family, spoke with a charming German accent, and was very cosmopolitan and talented.[1] He was an excellent painter, printmaker, and draftsman who produced a great deal of art all of his life. He knew personally scores of artists and collectors in North America, Europe and Japan. Best of all he possessed an incredibly discerning eye for artistic quality and had begun, during the early 1960s, to add ancient art to his earlier holdings of Japanese, African and Oceanic art. When we first met he already owned a small but fine collection of early Etruscan pottery. Most of this had been purchased while he was a Guggenheim Fellow at the American Academy in Rome, either on excursions to the Porta Portese flea market in Trastevere, or from established dealers, or sometimes by exchange with other artist-collectors. For example, he might offer a recent painting or watercolor plus a cash fee in exchange for an antiquity from another artist or collector who valued his art. When he encouraged me to work on an exhibition of ancient pottery for our new museum and learned I would

be in Italy the next summer, he instructed me to visit a good friend who lived in Rome and who had an Etruscan collection I should see. He would send a letter of introduction but told me relatively little about this friend and gave only a vague idea of the scope of his collection. Thus, I was quite surprised when I finally met Eugene Berman in late July, 1970.

The Berman Collection

Mr. Berman was a successful stage and set designer who had worked in New York and Hollywood from ca. 1936 to 1955. He was born in St. Petersburg in 1899 but in 1919 immigrated to France, via Finland, with his parents and older brother Léonid (1896–1976) to escape the hardships of the Russian Revolution. The Berman brothers studied art at the Académie Ranson in Paris where their teachers included Pierre Bonnard and Edouard Vuillard. There were numerous visits to Italy during the 1920s and 1930s, sometimes with Eugene's close friend, Emilio Terry, the influential architect and designer.[2] Eugene Berman's work was exhibited as early as 1923 in Paris; his first solo exhibition there was at the Galerie Katia Granoff in 1927. He first visited America in 1936 and at that time he began his long association with theater design (for the Hartford Festival and later for the Metropolitan Opera). Theater, and especially ballet, had been a powerful interest from his earliest years. As a child he had known Nijinsky, who lived in the same St. Petersburg apartment building. He moved to the USA in 1940 and became a citizen in 1944. In 1950 he married the film star Ona Munson, perhaps best remembered today for her moving portrayal of Belle Watling, Rhett Butler's loyal prostitute friend, in *Gone with the Wind* in 1939.[3] (This last detail about Berman's marriage was the only one Wilke had told me about Berman before I met him.) Like many of us, Berman adored and was constantly inspired by Italy. His work as a set designer and artist was strongly influenced by the ancient ruins, by Palladio's *Teatro Olimpico*, and by contemporary Italian painters and friends like Giorgio de Chirico (1888–1978). After his wife's death, he resided in Rome for the last sixteen years of his life (1956–1972). It was in 1959, when both Berman and Wilke held Guggenheim Fellowships, that they met in Rome.

So, I had the address and telephone number of a Russian-American artist-collector in Rome. Imagine my surprise when I realized that Via del Plebiscito 107 was part of the splendid baroque Palazzo Doria Pamfili in Rome's historical center![4] I was greeted by the matronly housekeeper on the appointed afternoon. She ushered me through an almost impassable corridor crowded with art into a vast *salone* filled with extravagant Italian antique furniture, Moroccan carpets, and walls of shelves holding scores of ancient vases. One side of the room led to a spacious *terrazzo* decorated with potted plants, large Florentine stone sculptures and 18th century French cast-iron figures. These last flanked a large Etruscan cinerary urn and fragments of Roman capitals. No doubt the Italian servant noticed my startled reaction. I tried to make Italian small-talk and said something to the effect that "Working here must be like working in a museum." "Indeed," she replied, "when I dust, the *maestro* notices every object that I accidentally move out of place, even slightly." She served me a drink and mentioned that my host would be with me presently.

After a few minutes, while I was attempting to absorb the splendor of my surroundings but careful not to disturb anything, Berman appeared. He was a short, rotund, bespectacled man wearing an elaborate silk robe, red velvet slippers decorated with golden arabesques, and a soft, black embroidered pill-box cap. He might have been the bey of some forgotten Ottoman district in the Balkans. Despite this exotic outfit, he was rather formal and asked about my education, my present teaching position, his friend Wilke and the university's new museum. We also talked a great deal about the various objects in his collection as we wandered about the *salone* and then to other rooms in his vast two-floor penthouse. His observations were primarily aesthetic; he didn't seem especially interested in the archaeological details or cultural significance of his antiquities.

Upstairs were three parlors or *salotti*, as he called them, all filled with art. Clearly, every room in the apartment, even the bathrooms, showed his passionate connection to the theater; all were richly appointed with carefully arranged art. I remember especially a glorious studio on the upper floor. The walls were painted a perfect Pompeian red which served as a vibrant background for a series of Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma* engravings in elaborate gilded frames. The placement and relationship of every object in the home seemed to have been thoughtfully calculated for maximum effect. Indeed, it was a personal museum... and, he explained, it was always changing. New acquisitions or objects traded or sold to friends and galleries necessitated subtle adjustments. Cabinets might be closed and then, on other days, opened to reveal intimate displays of Roman or antique Venetian glass or Pre-Columbian pottery. An Egyptian mummy mask might move to a larger room and now be flanked by Villanovan biconical urns or African masks and colorful Peruvian textile fragments.[5]

The collection was emphatically eclectic, but in general tended to the primitive. For example, Berman (like Wilke, who had learned from the master) preferred Villanovan and early Etruscan pottery, especially impasto and bucchero, to the later Etruscan painted vases that imitate Greek wares.[6] In fact, I didn't notice any Attic black or red-figured pottery; the less refined early Corinthian and Daunian pottery was more to his taste, but not especially well-represented in the collection. He had some beautiful pieces of Cycladic sculpture whose elegant simplicity would appeal to many modern artists. There were several Etruscan stone cinerary urns and terracotta sculptures, including a large Tuscanian sarcophagus lid (Fig. 1).[7] There were items from the Italic and Greek Bronze Age all the way through Coptic textile fragments he had collected on a trip to Egypt in 1964, not to mention the many examples

Figure 1: Eugene Berman seated in his salone in 1967. Behind him are a series of large Etruscan pithoi and the lid of a late Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus. Photograph by Robert Emmett Bright, Rome.

of "modern" Oceanic and African ethnographic material, several purchased in Rome. The antiquities were often juxtaposed with contemporary prints, paintings and some of his own work as well as with antique Italian folk art. Gore Vidal, who was then a neighbor and had acquired paintings by both Berman and his brother Léonid, mentions that John Huston, the American film director and actor, had seen Berman's Etruscan collection and offered to purchase it on the spot, but had been refused.[8]

Throughout this magnificent home I noticed that an overriding principle was symmetry. Every shelf, every wall, every *cassone* lid or tabletop had its landscape of objects arranged in perfect symmetry (Fig. 2). This accounted for the many "twins" in the collection; for example, matched pairs of bucchero kantharoi and Mafriq masks. As we moved slowly through the rooms I often noticed that Berman, while engaged in conversation, was meticulously (dare I say obsessively?) rearranging objects that were a few millimeters less than perfectly aligned. I recalled the housekeeper's comment. In his love of symmetrical arrangements Berman descended from a distinguished line of 19th century collectors like the Castellani.[9]

Another important feature of his taste appeared most clearly in the Villanovan and Etruscan pottery. He favored monumentality. His best vases were almost always large, imposing objects with what a museum curator today would probably call "presence." These vases were

Figure 2: The second *salotto*, top floor of Berman's apartment, Rome, ca. 1962. Photograph by Robert Emmett Bright, Rome.

normally hand-built, not thrown on the potter's wheel, and were usually decorated in simple techniques like incision and stamping, rather than painting. In some ways, this direction was astute because, at the time, almost no one was collecting such pieces and so they were relatively affordable. His collecting began in the post-war period Italians call *Il Boom*, when American dollars went very far. The antiquities market then and now considered painted Greek pottery far more desirable and, therefore, always demanded higher prices for it.[10]

After several hours of this grand tour, I offered my thanks for a wonderful visit. As I was leaving, Berman paid me a compliment. He said that almost all of the scholars who came to see his collection were really only interested in two or three pieces that were relevant to their own specialized studies. They often ignored everything

else, even some of the most spectacular or unusual objects. I was different, he said, because I showed an interest in and talked about many things. I didn't say that perhaps I was simply too young to have developed a special focus, and he, generously, didn't supply such a plausible explanation for my broad taste. Besides, I really was excited to see so many beautiful things from so many periods and amazed to think that one man had collected such a wide range of objects that demonstrated such exquisite taste in so many fields.

What happened to this splendid collection? Eugene Berman died on December 14, 1972, two and a half years after my one and only visit to his home. He bequeathed the entire collection of some 3,000 pieces to the Italian State.[11] The majority of the antiquities are kept in the storerooms of the Forte Sangallo, home of the Museo Archeologico dell'Agro Falisco at Civita Castellana (ancient Falerii, just north of Rome). There have been sporadic exhibitions of selected material and there are plans for their eventual installation at the Museo di Villa Giulia in Rome. Today, there is a small display of three Etruscan objects with an explanatory text briefly describing Berman and his collection on the second floor of the Villa Giulia.

The Diaspora

Some of the objects from the Berman collection were sold or traded before his death in late 1972. One Pre-Columbian piece was sold to Nelson Rockefeller in 1964; he later donated it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[12] Several Villanovan and Etruscan vases were sold or traded to Ulfert Wilke in the early 1960s. In turn, Wilke later sold most of his ancient pottery collection to Dr. Howard D. Sirak and his wife Babette (née Lazarus), important collectors of late 19th and early 20th century art in Columbus, Ohio. The Sirak Collection of major paintings was donated to the Columbus Museum of Art in 1991; at the time, the collection was appraised at $80 million. Apparently the museum was not interested in the Etruscan, South Italian or Middle-Eastern antiquities the Siraks had acquired.[13] Babette Sirak died in 2004. With Howard Sirak's death on January 14, 2015, most of the antiquities were auctioned and are now dispersed.[14] Much of Wilke's African and Oceanic material is now in the Utah Museum of Fine Arts in Salt Lake City.

It is a strange coincidence that my interest in Etruscan archaeology brought me into contact with these collectors: Wilke in 1968, then Berman in 1970, and finally the Siraks in 1979. The antiquities were the common thread and I have watched, now with dismay, as many of the vases are dispersed far and wide, perhaps lost to scholars and the public. Fortunately, the majority of Berman's Etruscan collection (at least as it was at his death) is intact and will eventually be displayed, one hopes, in a permanent public setting where it can be appreciated and studied. Almost all of the Sirak vases, approximately seventy pieces, were acquired from Wilke; several of these had been in Berman's collection still earlier.[15] Some of the surviving letters show that, in addition to selling or trading pottery from his own collection, Berman sometimes offered opinions and advice to Wilke about possible acquisitions and relevant dealers.

Crustumerium

I was a naïve young man at the time I first saw Berman's collection and, although I talked quite a lot that day, I did not ask scores of questions that I now wish I had. Some would certainly center on a distinctive type of impasto pottery associated with the archaic Latin site of Crustumerium. In 1970 I, like most archaeologists, had only a vague awareness of this ancient place, although its name appears in Virgil and a few other ancient authors. Thirty years later it would become a big part of my life because I would co-direct excavations there.

First, the three vases in question (Fig. 3): They are hand-built of fine impasto and have unusual handles with pointed tooth-like protrusions giving rise to the Italian designation, *cuspidate*. The incised decoration for the largest, an *anfora tricuspidate*, simply consists of parallel lines and stamped circular devices in vertical rows (Fig. 3, A).[16] A smaller version of this shape in Berman's collection is the *anforetta tricuspidate*, this time incised with a bird on its neck (Fig. 3, B). The third vase is a different shape, a *kantharos tricuspidate* or double-handled cup.[17] It is simply decorated with incised zigzag bands (Fig. 3, C). As I later learned, the peculiar type of tooth-like handle ornament on all three of these vases is often (though not exclusively) associated with the ancient site of Crustumerium, only eleven miles north of Rome on the Via Salaria. Crustumerium is the northernmost of the ancient Latin towns in Central Italy, near the nexus of borders with Etruscan, Sabine and Faliscan territory. All three of these well-preserved vases date to Latian phase IV A, ca. 725–650 BCE.[18]

Crustumerium had been identified by Philipp Clüver in 1624 but not studied carefully until the 1970s, and not scientifically excavated until even later.[19] So, how did Berman acquire three pieces that probably came from there in the 1960s? Unfortunately, clandestine explorations have been conducted for many years all over Italy. It is quite likely that these vases, along with others now dispersed, were extracted from early burials at the site, easily found their way to the antiquities markets in nearby Rome and were purchased by Berman, probably at different times, for his collection.[20]

Another possible connection to Crustumerium is a large red impasto vessel of a type commonly called a *dolio* or *olla* (Fig. 4). Ulfert Wilke saw this piece in Lugano in 1972, purchased it and later illustrated it in an exhibition catalogue.[21] He sold it to Howard Sirak, at some point between 1975 and 1979 when I examined it. Its present location is unknown to me. The distinctive feature of this kind of large vessel is that it has small cup-like forms held by struts and appended to its rim. Several similar vessels have been excavated at Crustumerium[22] and other ancient Latin sites like Lavinium (modern Pratica di Mare) and

Figure 3: Detail of display of Italic vases in the second *salotto* of Berman apartment, Rome, 1967. Photograph by Robert Emmett Bright, Rome. A. inv. 137194; B. inv. 137193; C. inv. 137195.

Rome's Esquiline cemetery, the last excavated in 1881. Here again there is a possible association with Crustumerium, and one wonders if illicit excavations there, or at some other Latin site, may have supplied the dealer with the example last seen in Columbus, Ohio. I have made a similar case for two unprovenanced examples in the Fordham University Museum (Fig. 5).[23]

Another vase, also connected to Berman, may have come to light in the early 1960s by similar means. It appears in several photographs of the upstairs second *salotto* (Fig. 2).[24] The urn in question is in the corner, on a long shelf above the open door at the right. Several other Villanovan and Etruscan vases appear on stacked individual shelves set into the left corner.[25] This Villanovan urn, according to Wilke's journal, was acquired by Berman in Chiusi and may have been found in that area. Berman sold it to Wilke in 1963. At the time, Wilke was living in New York City but arranged to have his friends Edie and George Rickey, the famous kinetic sculptor, pack and carry the urn, its two accompanying bowls, and an associated bronze chain ornament in a cardboard box from Rome. On November 1, 1963 the Rickey's flight arrived in New York and they delivered this new acquisition to a relieved Wilke. (Sometimes his pottery shipments arrived in fragments.) All of this is recorded in the Wilke journals.[26]

This group of Villanovan vases and the bronze chain appeared in the exhibition held at the University of Iowa Museum of Art in 1971 (Fig. 6).[27] At some point in the mid-1970s Babette and Howard Sirak acquired this group from Wilke. After the death of Howard Sirak in 2015, the two small bowls appeared at a California auction house. I have been unable to trace the large biconical urn, its lid or the associated bronze chain.

Some features of the urn's shape are distinctive. For example, most Villanovan urns are biconical like this one, but their carinations are usually more abrupt. Here the transition from foot to mid-point is almost a perfectly smooth straight line which continues past the carination to an equally smooth line in the opposite direction. It is more typical for there to be a bulge or abrupt "break" in the line, and the lines themselves are often convex not straight as they are here. So, the profile is a bit unusual.[28] The lid fits perfectly on the urn. It is in the shape of a bronze helmet with a perforated central knob, perhaps originally meant to hold a decorative finial. There are seven small perforations along the bottom rim. On some preserved bronze helmets these are thought to be for the attachment of a felt, cloth or leather lining to protect the warrior's head. The helmet is decorated with incised chevrons and parallel lines, similar to the incised decoration on the urn.

All four ceramic pieces (urn, lid, and two small bowls)

Figure 4: Red-ware Latian *dolio* or *olla* with four cup-like attachments, ca. 620–600 BCE. Photograph by Ugo Donati Gallery, Lugano, ca. 1970.

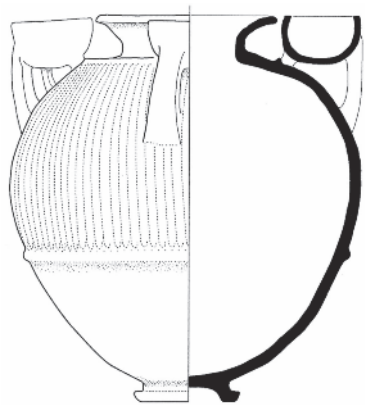

Figure 5: Red-ware Latian *dolio* or *olla* with four cup-like attachments, ca. 620–600 BCE. Fordham University Collection, inv. 2.002. Drawing by Elizabeth Wahle.

Figure 6: Villanovan biconical urn with bronze chain and two associated bowls, late 9th century BCE, said to be from Chiusi. Photograph by Donald D. Roberts, Iowa City 1969.

are made of the same clay, have the same color, share the same decorative techniques, and appear to have been fired together. This fact strengthens the likelihood that they do indeed form a tomb group. The bronze chain is more of a problem. There are examples of excavated urns found with bronze chains,[29] but they are usually associated with adult female or child cremations. However, here the helmet-shaped lid would seem to indicate a male cremation. On the other hand, if the chain were found originally within or near the urn rather than on it, it could be part of the tomb offerings for a deceased male. Such is the case with similar chains associated with a male inhumation.[30] Another problem is that the chain is made of several authentic bronze elements that may have belonged originally to different items. They may have been "restored" as an individual chain and placed on the urn by an enterprising antiquities dealer anxious to make the tomb group more attractive, interesting and expensive. Unfortunately, we can probably never know.

Early Villanovan and Etruscan pottery of the types briefly described here is still relatively unpopular with collectors, museum curators and scholars or their students. And yet, it always seems to strike a chord with some people who fall under its spell. Part of this must be simply the attraction of the "primitive." These vases rarely show the sophisticated technical refinement of later painted pottery, either Greek or Etruscan. Also, only occasionally are they decorated with figurative (or animal) designs and narrative, and so they usually do not tell a story. Of course, this limits their utility to document the lives and beliefs of these early people, arguably the most valuable feature of later painted pottery that often depicts elaborate scenes from myth, legend or daily life. Rather, it is the simplicity and directness of pure ornament or the dramatic monumentality of these vases that appeal. Of course, all of these objects were unfortunately deprived of their archaeological contexts and thus we cannot use them to examine more closely the funerary rituals of these early people. This has been done, with very interesting results, in a number of carefully controlled, professional excavations that are often prompted by an effort to stop further clandestine operations.[31] Thanks to the generous bequest of Eugene Berman his collection now belongs to the Italian people, and indirectly to anyone in the world who wishes to take the time to see and study it. I am grateful to have met him, talked about his interest in ancient pottery, and explored his magnificent Roman apartment in the eventful summer of 1970.

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1 His mother was Amalie (Mally) Brandes Wilke (1876–1954), a painter and the granddaughter of Georg Heinrich Brandes (1803–1868), a respected landscape painter. Ulfert's father, Rudolf Wilke, was a well-known artist and caricaturist who worked for the satirical magazine *Simplicissimus*, based in Munich. See *Rudolf Wilke (1873–1908): Centennial Anniversary of his Birth* (exhibition catalogue, University of Iowa Museum of Art, March 4 through April 15, 1973). Ludwig Thoma, the editor of *Simplicissimus*, said something in his obituary for Rudolf Wilke that could apply equally to his son Ulfert: "To stand with him before good paintings was both edifying and delightful. Neither vanity nor arrogance got in the way of the pure pleasure he took in good art and he gave cogent reasons for his appreciation of it from his own experience." For more on Wilke's life and work, see Gerald Nordland, *Ulfert Wilke: A Retrospective* (Salt Lake City: Utah Museum of Fine Arts, University of Utah, 1983).

2 Berman's extensive travels have been briefly catalogued by Maria Vittoria Thau in Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini (ed.), *Scavo nello scavo: gli Etruschi non visti. Ricerche e riscoperte nei depositi dei musei archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale. Catalogo della mostra, Viterbo 5 marzo 2004–30 giugno 2004*. (Viterbo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale , 2004), 204. According to Thau, Berman became an American citizen in 1936, but in his own catalogue for an exhibition at the Knoedler Gallery in Paris (*Eugène Berman, 1928–1964*, "Notes Biographiques," n.p.) he gives 1944 for his citizenship. For more on Berman's life and work, see Michael Duncan, *High Drama: Eugene Berman and the Legacy of the Melancholic Sublime* (New York and Manchester: Hudson Hills Press, 2005).

3 On Ona Munson and Berman: The nature of their relationship is obscure. We know that the two met in 1936 when both lived in the same Hollywood apartment complex, the Villa Carlotta, and were working on various films. Munson appears in several of Berman's paintings and seems to have taken on the role of muse. They married at the Los Angeles home of Igor Stravinsky in 1950, fourteen years after their first meeting. It may have been a marriage of convenience. After Eugene's death, Léonid claimed that "[My brother Eugene] never had intimate relations with women" (Léonid [Berman], *The Three Worlds of Léonid*, [New York: Basic Books, 1978], 114) and some of Munson's lesbian affairs are well known and documented (e.g., with Mercedes De Acosta, the playwright; see Robert A. Schanke, *That Furious Lesbian: The Story of Mercedes De Acosta* [Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press], 2003). Berman was certainly depressed after his wife's suicide in 1955, and numerous paintings, sketches and photographs of her adorned his Roman apartment. The couple shares a common grave at the Ferncliff Mausoleum in Hartsdale (Westchester Co.), NY.

4 The American writer John Cheever (1912–1982) and his family also had this address from November 1956 to September 1957, but their apartment was on the piano nobile. See Benjamin Cheever (ed.), *The Letters*

of John Cheever (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), especially pp. 185–207. I have been unable to locate any evidence that Berman met the Cheevers.

5 Several years before his death in 1987, Ulfert Wilke gave me a folder containing numerous photographs, letters and postcards sent to him by Berman. The photographs record almost every room in the large Roman apartment. Many of these help to document the various changes that new acquisitions required. A major archive of Berman's photographs, including personal albums, was part of his donation to the Italian State and is now kept in the Archivio di Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale (SBAEM), Rome. Other Berman material is in the American Academy in Rome and the Archive of American Art in Washington, D.C. The largest holdings of Berman's many works related to his stage sets and costume designs are at the Tobin Collection for Theatre Arts in the McNay Art Museum in San Antonio, Texas.

6 On the back of one of the photographs of vases sent to Wilke ca. 1967, Berman wrote "5 big Villanovan pots (pride of my collection)." Wilke in *An Artist Collects: Ulfert Wilke, Selections from Five Continents* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1975), 16, Rome, Jan. 2, 1961: "Visiting the Villa Giulia makes it apparent that my tastes are limited. Villanovan and black buccheri very archaic with dots and symbols, fascinate me." He mentions visits to the Museo Pigorini, certainly a museum close to his taste in both ethnographic and archaeological materials. He would also have enjoyed the Museo Archeologico in Bologna, which has a vast collection of Villanovan pottery, but seems not to have visited Bologna.

7 Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus lid (inv. 137224), ca. late 2nd century BCE: Maria Donatella Gentili in Moretti Sgubini 2004, 233–234. For the pithoi displayed beneath the sarcophagus lid and the stamnos in foreground, see Moretti Sgubini 2004, 213, no. 5 and 223, no. 20.

8 Gore Vidal, *Palimpsest: A Memoir* (New York: Random House, 1995), 147.

9 Historical photos of the Castellani studio show a definite influence on Berman's taste in displaying his collection. See Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, "La collezione Augusto Castellani: dallo 'studio di ricevimento' di piazza di Trevi alle sale dell'emiciclo e dei Sette Colli del Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia," in A. M. Moretti Sgubini and Francesca Boitani (eds.), *I Castellani e l'oreficeria archeologica italiana* (Rome: L'ERMA di Bretschneider 2005), especially 270–277 and figs. 11-1-10.

10 In his journals, Wilke often records the cost of similar pieces he was purchasing in Italy in the early 1960s. By today's inflated standards, they are bargain-basement prices although he usually complains that some fashionable dealers always ask too much. In much of their correspondence both Berman and Wilke complain that they are spending far too much on art and need to curb their obsessive collecting. Such attempts as they made were almost always unsuccessful.

11 On May 3, 1979 I had a conversation with Wilke about Berman's estate. At this time, more than six years after his death, it was still being negotiated and Wilke had heard that several objects had gone missing or were "lost" in the process. To the best of my knowledge, the collection had never been catalogued before Berman's death. Wilke also recounted an interesting anecdote about Igor Stravinsky when he visited Berman in Rome. The composer admired Berman's wonderful collection and was especially fond of two paintings by Wilke that Berman had acquired. In a gesture typical of Berman's long friendship with his fellow Russian émigré, he insisted that Stravinsky accept the paintings as a gift.

12 Colima cylindrical terracotta vessel: Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY acc. no. 1979.206.1121.

13 The museum has only four pieces of comparable Italic pottery, all donated in 1931 by General and Mrs. Edward Orton, Jr. The unpublished vases are a Latian amphora with spiral handles, a type frequently excavated at Crustumerium (inv. 64.51); a Capenate kantharos and stemmed plate (inv. 64.46 and 64.48, respectively); a bucchero stamnos (inv. 64.50).

14 Most of the pottery has appeared in online auctions: Ancient Resource LLC, Montrose, CA, Auction 42, July 19, 2015; Auction 44, September 27, 2015; Auction 46, December 13, 2015; Auction 47, February 6, 2016; Auction 49, April 24, 2016. Additional vases have appeared at I. M. Chait, Beverly Hills, CA: October 4, 2015 auction. Provenance information for these items is often uneven. In some cases Wilke is mentioned along with Sirak, but in others one or neither may be mentioned.

15 Wilke records a letter to Sirak stating "You have in essence the cream of [my] Etruscan collection. You don't need more." (See *An Artist Collects* 1975, 36, Columbus, Feb. 9, 1969.)

16 A very similar unpublished vase is in the Toledo Museum of Art, acc. no. 1995.3. It was a gift from the NY antiquities dealer, Edoardo Almagia.

17 This shape is treated extensively by Paolo Togninelli, "Crustumerium: il sito e I materiali di recente acquisizione" in Francesco Di Mario (ed.), *Il Tesoro Ritrovato: Il senso del bello nella produzione artigianale del Lazio antico* (Rome: De Luca, 2000), 71–73. No. IV, 7 (p. 71) is almost identical to the Berman example in fabric, technique, shape and decoration.

18 Dimensions: Fig. 3, A (inv. 137194), H. 24.4–27.1 cm;

D. of mouth, 13.7 cm; Fig. 3, B (inv. 137193), H. 13.3 cm; D. of mouth, 8.3 cm; Fig. 3, C (inv. 138195), H. to rim, 8.9 cm; D. of mouth, 14.5 cm.

19 On Crustumerium, see Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli, *Crustumerium: Latium Vetus* III (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1980); Francesco di Gennaro, "Crustumerium: Il centro protostorico e arcaico e la sua necropoli," in Maria Rita Di Mino and Marina Bertinetti (eds.), *Archeologia a Roma: La materia e la tecnica nell'arte antica* (Rome: De Luca, 1990) 68–72, pl. II; Angelo Amoroso, "Crustumerium" in Silvana Rizzo (ed.), *Roma. Città del Lazio* (Rome: De Luca, 2002), 36–40; Francesco di Gennaro, Paolo Togninelli and Richard De Puma, "Crustumerium e l'Etruria," in *Etruscan Studies* 9 (2002–2003): 45–62; Paolo Togninelli, "Between Crustumerium and Eretum: Observations on the First Iron Age Phases and the Finds from the Archaic Period" in Sinclair Bell and Helen Nagy (eds.), *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome in Honor of Richard Daniel De Puma*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 3–21; Richard De Puma, "Crustumerium and Etruria," in *Bollettino di Archeologia* on line, 1, special vol. 2010, 96–101; *Crustumerium: Death and Afterlife on the Threshold of Rome* (exhibition catalogue, Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 2016).

20 A very similar amphora to the first one in Berman's collection is part of a collection formed in the late 19th and early 20th century by Evan Gorga (1865–1957): inv. 262093, Laura Ambrosini, *Evan Gorga al CNR: Storia e immagini di una collezione* (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2013), 85–87, no. 11. This demonstrates that Crustumerium has been the victim of *tombaroli* for a very long time. Its proximity to the Via Salaria makes illicit excavations quite convenient. In fact, it is known that most of the clandestine activity conducted during the period when Berman was collecting took place at tombs within easy walking distance from the Via Salaria.

21 The vase is mentioned in Wilke's journal entry for July 25, 1972: "To Ugo Donati in Lugano… [where I saw] a large Etruscan vessel with four cup-like attachments I covet" (*An Artist Collects* 1975, 50; illustrated as no. 11, p. 71). Dimensions: H. 48.1 cm; Max D. ca. 44 cm.

22 Typical examples: Francesco di Gennaro, "Le olle a coppette e la ceramic di impasto a superficie rossa dipinta in bianco," in Maria Antonietta Tomei (ed.), *Roma. Memorie dal sottosuolo. Ritrovamenti archeologici 1980/2006* (Milan: Electa, 2006) 228–229; Barbara Belelli Marchesini, "La necropoli di Crustumerium: Bilancio delle acquisizioni e prospettive" in P. A. J. Attema, F. di Gennaro and E. Jarva (eds.), *Crustumerium. Ricerche internazionali in un centro latino* (Groningen: University of Groningen, 2013) 107, fig. 17. This author discusses possible funerary rituals that used vessels of this type on pp. 107–109.

23 R. De Puma in Barbara Cavaliere and Jennifer Udell (eds.), *Ancient Mediterranean Art: The William D. and Jane Walsh Collection at Fordham University* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), nos. 45–46, Fordham University Collection, inv. 2.002 and 2.003. See also No. 42, a smaller painted version of the shape; this type has also been excavated at Crustumerium. Dimensions for Fordham urns 2.002 and 2.003 are almost identical: H. 51 cm; Max D. ca. 46 cm.

24 Egyptologists will notice a late mummy mask, prominently displayed atop the central cabinet. This is perhaps from the Theban area and dates to the 4th century BCE. See Angelo Timperi in Moretti Sgubini 2004, 243–244 (inv. 137246). Berman had only a limited interest in Egyptian antiquities. At his death in 1972 he had dozens of pieces of Egyptian art in the collection, but most are very minor works.

25 The only other biconical urn, at the top left, is now inv. 137181 (see Moretti Sgubini 2004, no. III.a.1, p. 212). The closed cabinet at center appears opened in another photograph published in Moretti Sgubini 2004, fig. 5, p. 210. It contained a collection of Roman and antique Venetian glass. (The published photo is reversed as are most of the photos of Berman's apartment illustrated in this catalogue.)

26 See *An Artist Collects* 1975, 20, NYC, Nov. 1, 1963. For vases damaged in transit, see entry p. 24, NYC, Oct. 19, 1965.

27 Richard D. De Puma, *Etruscan and Villanovan Pottery: A Catalogue of Italian Ceramics from Midwestern Collections* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1971), 7–8, nos. 1–4. The photograph in the catalogue omits the chain, although it was displayed in the exhibition. The chain (max. L. 25 cm; D. of discs, 5.2 and 2.7 cm) was perhaps part of the tomb offerings rather than an ornament for the urn itself. One can easily imagine that Berman (or his dealer) decided to add it to the urn for its artistic interest and effect. Dimensions: urn, H. 30.2 cm; D. 30.5 cm; lid, H. 10.8 cm; D. 20.8 cm; bowls, H. 7.9 and 7.3 cm; D. 10.5 and 9.6 cm.

28 Several close parallels are in Bologna: Silvana Tovoli and Daniele Vitali (eds.), *La necropoli villanoviana di Ca' dell'Orbo a Villanova di Castenaso. Problemi del popolamento dal IX al VI secolo a.C.* (Bologna: Museo Civico Archeologico, 1979) tombs 10 (fig. 24,1), 16 (fig. 34,1), 42 (fig. 15, 1) and 53 (fig. 13,1). The earliest of these tombs (nos. 42 and 53) date to the 9th century BCE; tomb 10 is ca. 800–750 BCE and tomb 16, the earliest, belongs to the mid-7th century BCE. Another related group comes from Sasso di Furbara, near Cerveteri: D. Brusadin Laplace, "Le necropoli protostoriche del Sasso di Furbara," *Bollettino di Paletnologia Italiano* 73 (1964) 143–186, especially p. 162, no. 1, pl. II.

[29] For example, Villa Giulia inv. 62547, from the "Tomb of the Sardinian Bronzes," Cavalupo necropolis, Vulci: Maria Antonietta Fugazzola Delpino, *La cultura villanoviana. Guida ai materiali della prima età del Ferro nel museo di Villa Giulia* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1984) 96–97, no. 26; Daniela De Angelis, "Villa Bruschi Falgari: il sepolcreto villanoviano," tomb 64 in Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini (ed.), *Tarquinia etrusca: una nuova storia* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2001) 89–91.

[30] For example, Andrea Babbi and Uwe Peltz (eds.), *La Tomba del Guerriero di Tarquinia: Identità elitaria, concentrazione del potere e networks dinamici nell'avanzato VIII sec. a.C.* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2013), no. 70.

[31] See n. 22: Belelli Marchesini 2013, and n. 29: De Angelis 2001.

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

The Şekerhane Köşkü at Selinus (Cilicia): The Temple of the Deified Trajan

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Abstract

In 117 CE the emperor Trajan died at Selinus (modern Gazipaşa, Turkey) while returning to Italy from the East. A building preserved among the ruins of the ancient city has been historically labeled as a cenotaph associated with the emperor's death in the city. This structure has been identified as temple-like by the recent excavators, but continues to be called a cenotaph. This paper addresses the notion of this identification as a body-less mausoleum, and suggests that the structure served not only as a cult temple to the Deified Trajan, but also may mark the location of the ustrinum for Trajan's funerary pyre.

In spring 1812 Francis Beaufort, commanding the HMS *Frederikssteen*, was under orders from the British Admiralty to chart the southern coast of Turkey for potential harborages. While surveying the coastline Beaufort, an amateur classicist, seized the opportunity to match architectural remains he encountered with ancient historical and geographical texts, so as to put city names to these ruined sites. The antiquities along the south coast were unknown to virtually all European travelers up to this point. Upon return to London, Beaufort published the results of his *periegesis* that became the first western description of the archaeological sites of the south Mediterranean coast of Turkey.[1] The methodology he employed was straightforward: simply to observe the more prominent remains that he encountered and to record his descriptions of the structures and significant inscriptions.

After Beaufort anchored the ship along the coast near the town of Selinti (known today as Gazipaşa, Antalya province), he and the antiquarian Charles Cockerell, who had recently joined Beaufort and his crew, disembarked and spent some time exploring the remains of the ancient city that Beaufort recognized to be Selinus.[2] At Selinus he recorded several bath buildings and a structure he called "a small theatre," which most likely was the civic bouleuterion/odeion.[3] Beaufort also encountered an unusual structure that he described, relative to other structures at this or other sites along the coast, at great length:

> The most remarkable of these [viz. ancient buildings] is a low massy edifice of seventy feet by fifty, composed of large well cut blocks of stone, and containing a single vault. A flight of narrow steps, parallel to the wall, leads to the flat top, on which nothing now remains, though there is every reason to suppose that this building was formerly the basement story of some splendid superstructure; but the columns, which either surmounted or surrounded it, have disappeared, except a few fragments of some large fluted pilasters of fine workmanship… The edifice stands in the centre of a quadrangle, along each side of which there was a single row of thirty small columns; but they have been all broken off close to the ground, and carried away: this peristyle is about 240 feet in diameter, and extends nearly to the bank of the river.
>
> There is no doubt that Selinty was the ancient Selinus, which, upon the death of Trajan, assumed the name of Trajanopolis. I cannot find what honours were paid to his memory by the Cilicians; but it seems highly probable that a mausoleum should have been erected in the city where the decease of so accomplished and so popular an emperor took place; and if so, it is equally probably that this

> building was designed for that purpose.[4]

Cockerell was much less verbose than the loquacious commander in his own description: "We found here a small theatre, much ruined, and the remains of a grand senate-house, or perhaps a mausoleum to Trajan, also very much injured."[5] Both visitors agreed that the structure possibly served the funerary needs of Trajan; one assumes that that agreement was mutually decided upon at the time of their visit. They are both of the opinion that the structure was constructed as a "mausoleum," but neither offers reasons why it served as a tomb other than, according to Beaufort, it seemed "highly probable" that s structure honoring Trajan, who died in Selinus in 117 CE would have been built in his honor. But the term "mausoleum" Beaufort and Cockerell use is curious. The term connotes a freestanding tomb structure. But in this case, Beaufort and Cockerell would have been aware that Trajan's remains were removed to Rome. Therefore, it must be inferred that they regarded the structure as a *cenotaph*, or sepulchral monument without the actual body interred within.

This structure survives today in much the state as when Beaufort and Cockerell visited the ancient site (Figs. 1 and 2). The structure is located on a flat but narrow river plain, between the slopes of the ancient acropolis and the Hacımusa River. Until recently local farmers cultivated the fields surrounding the structure; indeed, even until the early 2000s the top of the structure, flat and still covered with a soil blanket, had cultivable wheat growing on top. The structure is situated off-center within an enclosed courtyard, 84 x 84 m, that included deep porticos that largely survived into the early 20th century, but now have largely disappeared.

The structure is known locally as the Şekerhane Köşkü, a term that refers to its post-Classical use during the Seljuk period as a hunting platform. Indeed, its outward appearance is in fact due to the Seljuks who transformed the Roman-era structure into a flat-topped platform for hunting wild animals during the medieval period. Early archaeologists who visited the site in the late 19th and early 20th centuries attributed various functions to the building. Rudolf Heberdey and Adolf Wilhelm, who visited in 1891, disagreed with Beaufort, believing instead that the structure served as a medieval "khan," and the Italians Roberto Peribeni and Pietro Romanelli, who published the first plans of the structure and courtyard in 1914, saw the court as the city's agora and the Şekerhane Köşkü as a cistern.[6] In the 1960s Gerhard Huber, the architect for the earliest survey of western Rough Cilicia under the direction of Elizabeth Rosenbaum, described

Figure 1: Selinus (Gazipaşa, Turkey). The so-called Şekerhane Köşkü, north facade (photograph by the author).

Figure 2: Selinus (Gazipaşa, Turkey). The so-called Şekerhane Köşkü, west facade (photograph by the author).

and provided a floor plan of the building and the courtyard, but he believed the structure to be generally medieval, reusing ancient material that once stood on the spot.[7] Huber opted moreover not to interpret the structure's purpose.

Scott Redford's analysis published in 2000 was the most thorough study up to that date.[8] Redford recognized the structure served as a Seljuk-era hunting lodge yet observed that its core was likely Roman with an exterior that had been cladded during the medieval period using ancient material. He concluded his study by observing the structure to be unlike other funerary monuments of Rough Cilicia, yet he nevertheless agreed with Beaufort's identification of the monument as sepulchral.[9]

Between 2001 and 2003 the Alanya Museum cleared the earthen mantle atop the structure, revealing the platform of a temple-like building, complete with an emplacement for a cult statue at the rear of the newly revealed cella, leaving no doubt of the structure's ancient origin. Subsequently the structure was studied by a team from the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of Seher Türkmen, director of the Alanya Museum, and Adolf Hoffman. The lead researcher and architect of the project, Claudia Winterstein, published a preliminary report in 2013.[10] A full report by Winterstein is currently in preparation.

The German team concluded that the structure once served as a five-meter-high cement podium for a tetrastyle prostyle "temple-like building," measuring roughly 14 x 22 m.[11] The original walls of the upper structure, composed of ashlar marble blocks, had been removed by the 13th century Seljuks who subsequently used the marble blocks to clad the cement podium. No trace of the columns that once stood on the north façade of the structure survive. The result achieved by the Seljuk builders was a flat-topped pavilion that could serve the recreational hunting needs of the local Seljuk nobility. Within the core of the podium is a two-chambered, barrel-vaulted crypt that originally was entered solely from the cella by means of a narrow stairway (Fig. 3). There had been a broad exterior stairway on the north façade that provided access to the porch, but this too was removed by the medieval Seljuks so as to interdict the hunter's prey from climbing. In addition to the staircase removal, an opening was punched through the north wall of the podium to allow access into the vaulted chambers. This new opening was plastered and painted decoration in the form of still-visible geometric motifs was applied.

Winterstein does not rule out the interpretation of the "temple-like" structure as a cenotaph, regarding the attribution as "conceivable."[12] She suggests that even though the structure is in the form of a temple, it could

Figure 3: Selinus (Gazipaşa, Turkey). The so-called Şekerhane Köşkü, interior north crypt (photograph by the author).

nevertheless be considered a cenotaph, simply because it commemorates the demise of Trajan. Considering the region of Rough Cilicia, where monumental tomb architecture is indeed prevalent, this proposed attribution is understandable.[13]

During the Hellenistic period and continuing throughout the Roman era, we see the development of large tomb construction in the form of *heroa*, particularly in southwestern Asia Minor, perhaps through influence from the Persians.[14] In its origin the heroön as a type served as the burial structure for kings, dynasts, and other elites throughout Asia Minor, usually awarded by urban cities and towns in recognition of their contributions, e.g., euergetistic, military, athletic.[15] The most well-known example of this type is the 4th-century BCE Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and other similar-type heroa include the so-called Lycian-Type tombs (e.g., the Nereid Monument at Xanthos). These early heroa are often built within the city walls as a mark of prestige awarded to the deceased. By the late Roman period, especially in Cilicia, tombs of all sorts, including the most basic and simple, are attested epigraphically as heroa. It should be noted that, at least for Rough Cilicia, these Roman-era heroa are also often intramural.

Among the more prevalent *heroa* in western Rough Cilicia is the tomb type constructed in the form of a temple, in which the deceased members of the elite are provided with architecture connoting cult honors. Winterstein suggests that the Şekerhane Köşkü served as a temple-tomb, but since there is no body associated, it would be considered a cenotaph.[16] At Side and Pergamon, examples Winterstein cites as comparanda for the Şekerhane Köşkü, there are temple-tombs that are associated with the architectural elements one would expect for a temple: a high podium, a columned façade accessed by an exterior stairway, and often an enclosed temenos.[17] However, in a study co-conducted by this author and R. Townsend, we showed that temple-tombs within western Rough Cilicia, although designed to emulate the small Classical or Hellenistic temple in form, are generally not associated with a temenos enclosure, nor are they usually outfitted with accessible stairways.[18] Instead these tombs are often

difficult to access, likely because they were private structures in which the public were generally not meant to freely enter, an aspect apparently opposite of the Selinus Şekerhane Köşkü with its broad frontal stairway. Also, the Pergamon and Side tombs Winterstein cites are constructed using ashlar masonry, with mortar used sparingly. Our study on Rough Cilicia temple-tombs, however, demonstrated that ashlar masonry was generally not utilized. This does not mean to suggest that the structures at Side and Pergamon cited by Winterstein were temples rather than tombs. Instead our study was localized in western Rough Cilicia, where Selinus is located. Based on our study, the Şekerhane Köşkü does not conform to the typical temple tomb within the study area, and at least for western Rough Cilicia, there are no tombs so elaborately appointed as the Şekerhane Köşkü.

If one accepts that the Şekerhane Köşkü does not conform to the temple-tomb type prevalent in western Rough Cilicia, should it still be considered a "mausoleum" as Beaufort first proposed? The Romans demonstrated great respect towards their dead by conducting deeply rooted funerary rituals and utilizing a variety of tomb types throughout their empire.[19] The wealthy elite would often construct elaborate tombs or mausolea in honor of their illustrative deceased; the temple-tomb was only one such type. Not all funerary architecture involved tombs. Although rare, there are examples of funerary architecture that were commemorative memorials without actual burials—or cenotaphs—of generally elite members of society. The actual body might be buried elsewhere. Probably the most appropriate prominent example of a memorial without a body in Asia Minor is the monument constructed for Augustus' grandson and heir, Gaius Caesar, in Limyra (Lycia) after his death in 4 CE. The monument is considered a commemorative cenotaph because the body of Gaius Caesar was brought back to Rome and interred in Augustus' mausoleum. As with the Şekerhane Köşkü purportedly serving as a memorial to Trajan, the cenotaph of Gaius memorializes a member of the imperial family. But the structure is not at all in the form of a temple, however, as is the Şekerhane Köşkü; instead, the Limyra cenotaph resembles more a pyramidal-tower construction type that can be found in Asia Minor and elsewhere, whose funerary origins go back to the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.[20] This type of monument, perhaps best labeled as an aedicular monument based on its form, is somewhat ubiquitous in the Roman world. Among examples of this type is the well-known monument known as the Mausoleum of the Iulii in Glanum (Gaul). And similar to the Limyra monument, the Glanum mausoleum is also generally referred to as a cenotaph, as it did not serve as a tomb.[21] It appears to have been constructed as a commemorative marker in the mid-1st century BCE for deceased family members, so it is perhaps appropriate to refer to it as a cenotaph. At Ephesus the monument to Androklos, the mythical founder of Ephesus, is described as a cenotaph.[22] This structure dates to the late Hellenistic period, and with a colonnade atop a rectangular socle it more closely resembles the Great Altar of Zeus and Athena in Pergamon than it does a temple.[23]

Another example of a supposed cenotaph, and one that again commemorates a member of Augustus' family, is the so-called Drususstein in Mainz, which was constructed as a memorial to Augustus' stepson and younger son of Livia, Nero Claudius Drusus, following his death in 9 BCE. Although Drusus' ashes were deposited inside of Augustus' mausoleum, the veterans in his command constructed the tall, non-temple-like, columnar monument to serve as a memorial to their fallen commander where commemorative rites apparently occurred on an annual basis.[24] Although it has yet to be identified, there was also a sepulchral monument constructed in Antioch to commemorate the death of Germanicus in 19 CE.[25]

But does the fact that the Şekerhane Köşkü does not resemble the form of other imperial cenotaphs preclude the possibility that it was indeed a cenotaph? Could it have been an empty temple-tomb as Winterstein posits? Or, since it was built in the form of a temple, could it instead have functioned as a cult temple without the overtones of a cenotaph or sepulchral monument? The structure as now revealed contains all the basic elements one would expect of a cult temple: a tetrastyle prostyle plan with Corinthian columns, a high podium approached by frontal stairway, and a cella containing an emplacement for a cult statue.

In the absence of any other known temple at Selinus, it seems quite likely that the Şekerhane Köşkü is the structure depicted on the reverse of coins struck in Selinus as early as Marcus Aurelius (161–180 CE) and continued to appear on imperial issues through Trajan Decius (247–249 CE).[26] These coins show a tetrastyle temple with a seated statue within the cella, presumably of Trajan, in the manner of an enthroned Zeus/Jupiter carrying a scepter and thunderbolt (**Fig. 4**).[27] Trajan was closely associated with Zeus/Jupiter, as seen in Pliny's *Panegyric* (1.4–5; 5.2–4), in which Jupiter reveals to the Roman people that he had chosen Trajan to be their ruler. In the pediment of the temple is an inscription: ΘΕΟΥ ΤΡΑΙ(ΑΝΟΥ), confirming that the temple on the coins was consecrated to the divine Trajan.

Figure 4: Bronze coin from Selinus (BM 1863,0706.32). Obv.: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev.: ΤΡΑΙ ΑΙΝ CEΛ ΙΝΟ, and in exergue, ΤΗCΙΕ. Tetrastyle temple façade with seated statue of Zeus (?), facing left. In pediment: ΘΕ ΤΡΑΙ. Image courtesy of the British Museum.

Reverse types on provincial coinage often include prominent buildings within the community that celebrate special significance.[28] The longevity of this temple reverse type of nearly a century is testimony to the significance of Trajan's death in the city the citizenry held.

A temple constructed under similar circumstances may be recognized in the Forum Romanum: the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar.[29] Ancient sources document that the temple's construction was begun by the Triumvirs in 42 BCE on the location where Caesar's body was cremated by a mob two years earlier (Fig. 5).[30] Upon its dedication there was a celebration of games, and the temple had the right of asylum.[31] The temple is certainly that shown on an aureus of Octavian minted in 36 BCE as a tetrastyle temple with an inscription "Divo Iul(io)," indicating by the use of the dative case that it was dedicated to the newly divine Caesar (Fig. 6).[32] Yet Cassius Dio specifically refers to the temple as a heroön (47.18.4), suggesting that the term can be applied to a structure that both is temple and has funerary associations as the place where the hero's body was cremated. But the temple is not a tomb, nor has there been any reference to it as a cenotaph. Caesar's ashes were deposited within the tumulus of his daughter Julia in the Campus Martius.[33] Unlike the Şekerhane Köşkü, there is no crypt within the podium of the temple.

Temples outfitted with barrel-vaulted crypts, however, while not unknown are infrequently observed, and those

Figure 6: Aureus, 36 BCE, BM 1896,0608.5. Obv.: Head of Octavian. Rev.: Tetrastyle façade of Temple of Deified Julius Caesar. Inscription in pediment: DIVO IVL. Image courtesy of the British Museum.

Figure 5: Rome, Forum Romanum. General View of the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar.

that are attested belong principally to Asia Minor and Syria. The closest parallel to the Selinus temple is the Temple of Zeus at Aizanoi in which, similar to the Şekerhane Köşkü, there is a single sub-floor crypt accessible from the cella by means of a stairway.[34] The octostyle Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus was provided with multiple underground chambers, instead of a single crypt. Both underground complexes were likely associated with cult activities.[35] A temple at Elaiussa Sebaste in Cilicia purportedly was outfitted with a barrel-vaulted crypt.[36] There are also two interconnected, barrel-vaulted crypts under the east end of the Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek; a staircase provided access from the cella.[37] A Roman-era temple at Magnesia also contains a small vaulted chamber under the cella, although how it communicated with the cella is unknown.[38] A slightly different arrangement of sub-platform crypts can be observed at the Temple of Artemis at Jerash dated to the Antonine period in which interconnected passageways and chambers were constructed under the cella. These passageways were barrel-vaulted and were accessed from the cella by means of a staircase.[39] A greater concentration of temples with crypts are known from Roman Syria, presumably all with cultic functions.[40] In Greece there is one known example of a vaulted crypt within a temple. The Cult Complex at Argos includes a large vaulted room with an apse that had been attributed to a cult of Serapis. Under the apse is a barrel-vaulted crypt; means of communication between apse and crypt is unknown. The attribution as a Serapeion has been recently questioned and instead a cult to Asklepios that dates to the Hadrianic period has been put forward.[41] A commonality many of these temples, outfitted with sub-floor, barrel-vaulted crypts, share is that they date to the Hadrianic period or shortly thereafter.

It is now apparent that the Şekerhane Köşkü should not be considered as a mausoleum, as first posited by Beaufort and maintained by others, but as a temple constructed to commemorate the death of Trajan within the city. It may be possible that there is more than memorializing the death of the emperor in Selinus. Since the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar in the Forum Romanum was constructed as a marker commemorating the location of the dictator's funerary pyre, perhaps the Selinus temple localizes the emplacement of the *ustrinum* where Trajan's body was cremated.

Although other emperors died outside of Rome, such as Augustus (Nola) and Tiberius (Misenum), no emperor until Trajan had died outside of Italy. In all previous cases, however, imperial funerals took place in Rome. Suetonius (*Aug*. 100) informs us that the body of Augustus was carried to Rome by Roman dignitaries, a distance of approximately 225 kilometers. Suetonius also says that the entourage travelled only by night because of the heat. Once in Rome, the funeral occurred and the body was cremated upon the pyre. In the case of Tiberius, Suetonius, again our only source for these early cremations (*Tib*. 75), merely states that the body was carried to Rome by soldiers, probably to keep the emperor's body safe from an angry mob. Safely brought to the city, the body was properly cremated with appropriate rites.[42]

Although Suetonius did not provide details of Tiberius' funeral, an imperial funeral was an elaborate affair. According to Herodian (*Hist*. 4.2), it generally involved a procession to the Rostra where the body was placed in a baldacchino-like shrine. In many instances the bodies were represented in wax images. After the orations, the body was brought to the *ustrinum* or pyre in the Campus Martius where it would be cremated, a ritual that was required for the apotheosis to occur.[43]

Trajan died far from Italy, however, and our sources are silent regarding the circumstances of not so much of his death in Selinus but the subsequent funeral and cremation. There are two main sources regarding these events: Cassius Dio and the *Historia Augusta*.[44] Dio's accounts of Trajan's death at Selinus and aftermath (68.33.2–3; 69.1–2.3) are the most complete regarding his death. Also, Dio mentions significantly that his source for these events was his father, who had served as governor of Cilicia and, as related to specifically by Dio, was privy to information about Trajan's death that was not widely distributed through official channels. Dio records that Trajan had departed Antioch in early August 117 for Italy already feeling ill. The emperor had previously experienced a stroke that had left him partially paralyzed, and he was suffering from severe diarrhea and edema (dropsy), possibly from chronic heart failure.[45] Trajan attributed his symptoms, also according to Dio, to having been poisoned. As the emperor's condition worsened, the decision was made to put into the nearest port or harborage, which was Selinus. Shortly after Trajan and his entourage arrived at Selinus, the emperor died.[46] Dio does not say how long Trajan remained alive after disembarking, only that he suddenly expired.

No source informs us what happened immediately after Trajan died, nor does any source reveal specifically where his body was cremated. Dio states that the emperor's death was purposely not revealed for several days so that Hadrian's adoption might be announced first, which would therefore aid in the plans for succession; it is possible that Trajan made this intention clear just before he died.[47] But eventually the ship that brought Trajan to Selinus departed back to Syria where, according to the *Historia Augusta*, it was met by Hadrian, probably at Antioch's port of Seleucia Pieria, who "inspected Trajan's remains" and then sent them to Rome by ship.[48] Julian Bennett, in his recent biography of Trajan, surmises that Trajan's funeral and cremation occurred at Seleucia, as he takes the Latin term *reliquiae* to refer to a complete body and only assumes that the cremation occurred in Syria.[49] But *reliquiae* is often used to indicate specifically "incinerated ashes," and not just the more generic "remains."[50] The possibility, if not fact, that Trajan's body was cremated in Selinus before it departed for Syria, is strong, especially as Dio mentions that the announcement of Trajan's demise was purposely delayed and therefore it seems apparent that the body remained in Selinus for an

indeterminate period. Cremation at Selinus therefore seems likely. Then the ship returned to Syria to bring the succession documents, among other personal effects to Hadrian—as well as the already cremated remains—in order to solidify Hadrian's dynastic claims, before dispatching the *reliquiae* to Rome for deposition in the Column within the Forum Trajan had constructed.

There is precedence for an imperial cremation outside of Rome prior to Trajan. Germanicus, the nephew of Tiberius, died in Antioch of mysterious circumstances in 19 CE. Tacitus reports (*Ann*. 2.73) that Germanicus' body was prominently displayed within the Agora at Antioch, then the body was cremated, and his ashes were brought back to Rome and interred inside the Mausoleum of Augustus. Although the place of cremation for Gaius Caesar, whose sepulchral monument is described above, is unknown, it is certainly possible that his body was cremated in Limyra where he died and his ashes were returned to Rome for the funeral. In the case of Drusus, however, the body was carried back to Rome from Germany intact for cremation and funeral (Suet. *Claud*. 1; *Tib*. 7). It is unclear if distance is a deciding factor whether the body is to be cremated or not: Germanicus was cremated in Antioch, as was Trajan (either at Selinus or near Antioch), although Drusus in Germany was not.

Trajan's elaborate funeral, undoubtedly similar to the other imperial funerals, would still have likely taken place in Rome within the Campus Martius, regardless of where the actual cremation occurred.[51] Then the golden urn carrying the ashes would have been deposited within the Column in Trajan's Forum as described by Eutropius (*Breviarum ab urbe condita* 8.5.2).[52]

The tetrastyle temple at Selinus was seemingly then consecrated to the cult of Trajan, but its construction would have been allowed to occur only after the Senate's unanimous vote to commemorate the deceased emperor with divine honors, probably by the end of 117.[53] There is no mention of the temple in the ancient sources—the coins appear to be its only record—but one may assume that permission to build the temple, as well as the granting the funds necessary for its construction, would have occurred quickly after the events of 117 and possibly in conjunction with the renaming of the city as Trajanopolis.[54]

As for the actual place where the funerary pyre would have been erected, the most feasible location would have been away from the domestic and public areas of the city, and within a sufficient terrain to handle both pyre and public viewing. The most feasible area was surely the river plain east of the agora and between the river and acropolis, right where the Şekerhane Köşkü would be constructed. The emplacement of the funerary pyre seems to be a logical and desirable location to construct a temple in commemoration of the deified emperor, in much the same way that the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar in the Forum Romanum commemorated Caesar's apotheosis.

From the temple platform, the still-existing narrow stairway that originally provided access to the crypt below allowed visitors the opportunity to become close to the very spot of cremation. Winterstein refers to a pre-temple installation under the current floor in the temple's crypt in which she describes "roughly hewn stone blocks in a rectangular layout" and also in the south part of the west wall of the back chamber is a relieving arch that she believes was constructed to relieve pressure upon the installation below (Fig. 7).[55] If the Şekerhane Köşkü served as the location for the funerary pyre or *ustrinum*, it may be that this pre-temple installation is associated with the emplacement for the pyre. The relieving arch constructed within the crypt's west wall suggests that it was meant to protect and therefore allow the pre-temple construction to be viewed. That installation must have had a special significance, possibly the remnants of the funerary pyre. On the south wall of the crypt there are three small openings that allowed in antiquity narrow beams of sunlight to be cast on the floor of the southern crypt chamber, potentially upon the very spot of the *ustrinum*.[56]

Archaeologically the identification of an *ustrinum*, particularly of a single-use pyre, is difficult, primarily because there have been few studies made and heavily burned material found within was judged difficult to analyze or to be unsuitable. However, recent research has begun to make inroads in our knowledge of *ustrina* in urban and rural cemeteries in the northern Roman Empire.[57] Michel Polfer has distinguished two primary types of *ustrina* found in archaeological contexts and in urban landscapes: one, permanent *ustrina* built using durable materials such as stone or brick; and two, non-permanent cremation areas for single or additional cremations. Permanent *ustrina* are generally constructed with stone walls in either circular or, more common, quadrangular form.[58] Strabo describes (5.3.8) the *ustrinum* of Augustus within the Campus Martius as a sacred precinct, enclosed by a white marble wall. But no example of a single-use pyre of the grandiose type used for an imperial *ustrinum* as described by the ancient sources is preserved.[59]

The pyres in the Campus Martius that were used for most of the imperial cremations over time increased in scale and pomp. Originally the concept of gargantuan and elaborate funerary pyres may be traced back to Alexander the Great and other Hellenistic dynasts.[60] Coin depictions and eyewitness accounts attest to the tower-like pyres of the imperial cremations, sometimes many stories tall, decreasing in size upwards like a lighthouse and adorned with statues, paintings and furniture. Often the timbered flanks would be covered by colorful woven tapestries to hide the plain wooden structure. Attendees would throw all sorts of items into the pyre, such as perfumes, oils, fruits, and incense, before it was lit to give the deceased an aromatic sendoff. Sometimes even an eagle within the pyre would be let loose at an appropriate moment to symbolically represent the moment of apotheosis. In addition, an apparent ritualistic requirement for the cremation of important people, according to the ancient sources, was ample space around the pyre to allow for circumambulatory parades of priests and military

Figure 7: Selinus (Gazipaşa, Turkey). The so-called Şekerhane Köşkü, interior south crypt, view towards the southwest corner, showing interior wall arch and square installation (photograph by the author).

personnel.[61] Scholars generally believe that most imperial funerals used separate *ustrina*, to provide distinction among them, but generally they would have been sequestered in the area near Augustus' Mausoleum in the Campus Martius.[62] Although none has been positively identified, the *ustrinum* installations must have been provided with stone foundations—Strabo mentions a walled enclosure—to create a stable platform for such loads as described above, even if they were intended for a single-use cremation or at most only infrequently used. The "roughly hewn stone blocks in a rectangular layout" as observed by Winterstein in the crypt of the Selinus Şekerhane Köşkü could have served as a foundation platform for an *ustrinum*.

We must assume that, if Trajan's body was indeed cremated in Selinus, the event would not have been as extravagant as previous imperial funerals held in Rome. Probably the intent was to conduct a small affair, involving the local population and dignitaries, along with the members of the imperial entourage accompanying Trajan aboard ship that included Trajan's wife, Plotina (*HA Hadrian* 5.9). There was also ample space around the proposed pyre for any circumambulatory rituals, if they occurred.[63] Once the cremated remains were back in Rome, a proper and large funeral, with the appropriate lavish displays, likely occurred.[64]

In conclusion, the Şekerhane Köşkü should be identified as the Temple of the Deified Trajan at Selinus that was constructed to commemorate the emperor's death that occurred within the city in 117. The structure was indeed a temple, endowed with the necessary elements for cult, that was consecrated to the emperor, regardless if his cremation took place elsewhere. It is significant that the temple's facade was depicted on the coinage struck at Selinus for nearly a century, from Marcus Aurelius through Trajan Decius, indicating a long-standing importance to the city. Perhaps one could view the structure as a pendent temple to the great temple to the emperor in Rome: The Temple of Deified Trajan erected in the Forum of Trajan. This temple, apparently an octostyle

podium temple, according to coin depictions, appears to have been also constructed by Hadrian, although it was designed during Trajan's lifetime by Apollodorus as an integral part of his overall plan of the Forum.[65] These two temples then are connected by purpose: the commemoration of the Divine Trajan. Paul Zanker suggested that the complex of Column, where the remains are kept, and Temple in the Forum in Rome should be considered as a heroön in the Hellenistic manner.[66] That the Column/Sepulcher, extraordinary in that the burial was allowed within the pomerium of the city, and its commemorative temple are testimonia to the honors paid to the emperor by the Senate and the People. Perhaps then the Şekerhane Köşkü at Selinus, the other Temple of the Deified Trajan, should be seem in a similar light. That the Temple was also considered as a heroön, like that of the Deified Caesar within the Roman Forum, dedicated by the citizens of Selinus, to commemorate the death of the emperor—and perhaps his cremation—within the city. But a cenotaph it is not.

Acknowledgements: I am delighted to have been asked to contribute to this collection of papers dedicated to my first teacher of Roman archaeology, David Soren, when I was a student at the University of Missouri. My interest in the archaeology of the Roman Empire was first fueled by David's lectures and, whether in general Roman archaeology, Roman painting, or Roman numismatics, I have tried to model myself to be like David, who was the consummate teacher. I count myself fortunate to have had David as my early guide in academia. I want to thank my friends and colleagues, Rhys Townsend and Molly Richardson, for reading and commenting on an early draft of this paper. I would also like to thank the anonymous readers of this paper for their helpful comments.

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1 Francis Beaufort, *Karamania, or a Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia Minor and of the Remains of Antiquity* (London: R. Hunter, 1817); also, cf. Léonce Alishan, *Sissouan, ou L'Arméno-Cilicie: description géographique et historique* (Venice: S. Lazare, 1899), 376.

2 For Cockerell's account, see his memoir published by his son nearly a century later: Charles R. Cockerell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810–1817: The Journal of C.R. Cockerell* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903).

3 On Selinus and its remains, see Friedrich Hild and Hansgerd Hellenkemper, *Kilikien and Isaurien* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 407–408; and Nicholas Rauh, Rhys F. Townsend, Michael C. Hoff, Matthew Dillon, and Martin W. Doyle, "Life in the Truck Lane: Urban Development in Western Rough Cilicia," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 78 (2009): 253–312.

4 Beaufort 1817, 180–181.

5 Cockerell 1903, 180.

6 Rudolf Heberdey and Adolf Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien. Ausgeführt 1891 und 1892 im Auftrage der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna: C. Gerold Sohne), 149–151; Roberto Paribeni and Pietro Romanelli, "Studii e ricerche archeologiche nell'Anatolia meridionale," *Monumenti Antichi* 23 (1914): 5–274; cf. Winterstein 2013, 157.

7 Gerhard Huber, "The Sites and Their Principal Buildings," in Elizabeth Rosenbaum, Gerhard Huber, and Somay Onurkan (eds.), *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia: Preliminary Report* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayılarından 6.8, 1967), 29–31: "The Corinthian capital and the fragment of a fluted pilaster suggest that originally, a building of the Corinthian order stood in the square, which at a later date was replaced by the present structure which made use of the old material and is probably of Islamic origin."

8 Scott Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia: Seljuk Gardens and Pavilions of Alanya, Turkey* (Oxford: Archeopress, 2000), 156–160.

9 Redford 2000, 40, 156–160.

10 Claudia Winterstein, "The Şekerhane Köşkü in Selinus: The Alleged Cenotaph for the Roman Emperor Trajan: Preliminary Report on Current Architectural Research," in Michael C. Hoff and Rhys F. Townsend (eds.), *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 157–175.

11 Winterstein 2013, 170.

12 Winterstein 2013, 171.

13 Marcello Spanu, "Burial in Asia Minor during the Imperial Period, with a Particular Reference to Cilicia and Cappadocia," in John Pearce, Martin Millett, and Manuela Struck (eds.), *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000), 169–177.

14 Sarah Cormack, "Funerary Monuments and Mortuary Practice in Roman Asia Minor," in Susan E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 138–139.

15 Cormack 1994, 139.

16 Winterstein 2013, 171–172.

17 Winterstein 2013, 172. Side: Cormack 1997, 145; Pergamon: Şehrazad Karagöz, Wolfgang Radt and Klaus Rheidt, "Ein römischer Grabbau auf dem Niyazitepe bei Pergamon," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 36 (1986): 109–146; also, for temple-tombs in general, see Henner von Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), 182–201.

18 For temple-tombs with restricted access due to false

or inaccessible stairways in southwestern Asia Minor, such as Arycanda in Lycia, Termessos in Pisidia, Gelchik in Pamphylia, and Elaiussa Sebaste in Cilicia, see Rhys F. Townsend and Michael C. Hoff, "Monumental Tomb Architecture in Western Rough Cilicia," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 73 (2004): 276–277.

19 For recent discussion of funerary monuments in Asia Minor, see Sarah Cormack, *The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor* (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag, 2004).

20 For the Gaius cenotaph see Joachim Ganzert, *Das Kenotaph für Gaius Caesar in Limyra* (Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1984); P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine*, Vol. 2, *Maisons, palais, villas et tombeaux* (Paris: Picard, 2001), 457–461. Winterstein (2013, 171) recognizes the parallelism between the Gaius cenotaph and the Şekerhane Köşkü in the similar use of figural reliefs as architectural ornamentation but points out that the overall architectural plan and layout is dissimilar.

21 For the Mausoleum of the Iulii at Glanum, see James C. Anderson, Jr., *Roman Architecture in Provence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 224–233; Gros 2001, 412–413.

22 Hilke Thür, "Der ephesische Ktistes Androkles und (s)ein Heroon am Embolos," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 64 (1995): 63–103; cf. Cormack 2004, 223–225.

23 At Aphrodisias, it is unclear whether the Monument of C. Julius Zoilos functioned as a tomb or a cenotaph; its type is similar to the Limyra and Glanum types: a squared structure atop a stepped platform with a stepped, pyramidal roof; see R. R. R. Smith, *The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos: Aphrodisias I: Results of the Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria Conducted by NYU* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1993). Also, at Pergamon excavators suggest that a 14-meter-tall tholos served as a cenotaph; cf. Cormack 2004, 271.

24 Suet. *Claud*. 1.3. For the monument, see Andreas Panter, *Der Drususstein in Mainz und dessen Einordnung in die römische Grabarchitektur seiner Erbauungszeit* (Mainz: Archäologische Denkmalpflege Amt Mainz, 2007).

25 Tac. *Ann*. 2.83: sepulchrum Antiochiae ubi cremates.

26 The site of Selinus was carefully surveyed by the Rough Cilicia Survey Project during the 1997–2000 seasons; for a preliminary report of the project, see Nicholas Rauh et al. 2009, 253–312. The final report of the architecture from the Rough Cilicia survey is currently under preparation by Rhys Townsend and this author.

27 *BMC Cilicia* xxxvii–xxxviii, 143 nos. 1 and 2; Edoardo Levante, "The Coinage of Selinus in Cilicia," *Numismatic Chronicle* 150 (1990): 226–233. Cf. Simon R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 273–274.

28 Nathan T. Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 2015), 144.

29 Lawrence Richardson, Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary and Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 213–214; Eva M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon topographicum urbis romae*, Vol. 3 (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1996), 116–119.

30 Pliny *HN* 18.16; Suet. *Iul*. 84.84.34; App. *BCiv*. 2.148.615-16; Dio 44.50.2; Cic. *Phil*. 2.91, *Att*. 14.101; cf. Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 355, 393; Penelope J. E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 9. Before the temple was constructed, an altar and column were first set up as markers dedicated to Caesar's memory.

31 Suet. *Iul*. 85; App. *BCiv.* 2.148.

32 BMC 1896,0608.5. Eleanor Ghey, Ian Leins, and Michael Crawford (eds.), *A Catalogue of the Roman Republic Coins in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 2010), 540.1.1.

33 Dio 44.51; cf. Davies 2004, 9.

34 The latest discussion of the Temple suggests its date to be Domitianic; see Kai Jes, Richard Posamentir, and Michael Woerrle, "Der Tempel des Zeus in Aizanoi und seine Datierung," in Klaus Rheidt (ed.), *Aizanoi und Anatolien*, (Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 2010), 58–87; also see Rudolf Naumann (ed.), *Der Zeustempel zu* Aizanoi (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1979), 14–15.

35 On Cyzicus see Andrea Barattolo, "The Temple of Hadrian-Zeus at Cyzicus," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 45 (1995): 89. For cult activity within the crypts at Aizanoi and Cyzicus, see Price 1984, 155.

36 Emanuela Borgia, "Notes on the Architecture of the Roman Temple at Elaiussa Sebaste," *Olba* 16 (2008): 249–276.

37 Theodor Wiegand (ed.), *Baalbek. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1989 bis 1905*, Vol. 2 (Berlin and Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1923), 31.

38 Carl Humann, *Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin: Reimer, 1904), 30.

39 Carl H. Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938), 134–135. The authors describe the function of the passageways as cisterns.

40 Syrian temples with crypts: Ayn Harsha (Daniel Krencker and Willy Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien* [Berlin and Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1938], 245–255; Lévon Nordiguian, *Temples de l'époque romaine au Liban* [Beirut: Presses de l'Université Saint-

Joseph, 2005], 108–119); Bakka (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 177; Nordiguian 2005, 103); Hibbariyya (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 213–221; Nordiguian 2005, 120–121); Hosn Sfire (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 34; Nordiguian 2005, 206–211); Maqam Rabb (Nordiguian 2005, 220–222); Nebi Safi (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 205–211; Nordiguian 2005, 122–123); and Great Temple A at Niha (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 106–115; Nordiguian 2005, 53–54).

41 For a discussion of the Argive cult complex see Lynne Lancaster, "Parthian Influence on Vaulting in Roman Greece? An Inquiry into Technological Exchange Under Hadrian," *American Journal of Archaeology* 114 (2010): 455–459.

42 Suet. *Tib*. 75: Romam per milites deportatum est crematumque publico funere.

43 For descriptions of imperial funerals, see Davies 2004, 9–11.

44 Additional sources: Eutr. *Breviarum ab urbe condita* 8.5.2–3; Aur. Vict. *Epit*. 13.11.

45 Eutr. *Breviarum ab urbe condita* 8.5; on medical diagnoses, see Julian Bennett, *Trajan: Optimus Princeps* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 202.

46 Cf. Eutr. *Breviarum ab urbe condita* 8.5.2; the text is corrupt, as it replaces Selinus for Isaurian Seleucia. The illness was clearly severe, as the ship carrying the stricken Trajan must have moored in the mouth of the Hacımusa River because at Selinus there was no harbor per se. Apparently the harbor at nearby Syedra served the port needs of Selinus, according to Lucan (8.260).

47 Bennett 1997, 202.

48 *HA Hadrian* 5.9–10: Post haec Antiochia digressus est ad inspiciendas reliquias Traiani, quas Attianus, Plotina et Matidia deferebant. Quibus exceptis et navi Romam dimissis ipse Antiochiam regressus praepositoque Syriae Catilio Severo per Illyricum Romam venit.

49 Bennett 1997, 204. Bennett is followed by Amanda Claridge, "Hadrian's Succession and the Monuments of Trajan," in Thorsten Opper (ed.), *Hadrian: Art, Politics and Economy* (London: The British Museum, 2013), 5.

50 On the use of *reliquiae* to refer to burnt remains, see Cic. *Fam*. 12.4.1; Sen. *Ep*. 92.35; Suet. *Otho* 10; Tac. *Ann*. 2.75; Verg. *A*. 6.227.

51 See Davies 2004, 32.

52 For the ancient sources noting the deposition of Trajan's ashes within the base of the Column, see Eva M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon topographicum urbis romae*, Vol. 2 (Rome: Edizione Quasar, 1995), 357.

53 HA *Hadrian* 6.1; Bennett 1997, 204.

54 Dio 68.3.3; see *BMC Cilicia,* xxxvii–xxxviii; W. Ruge, "Traianopolis," A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (eds.), *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Band VIA, Halbband 12, *Timon-Tribus* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1937), 2787–2788; cf. Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 407–408.

55 Winterstein 2013, 163–165.

56 It should be noted that the niche within the base of the Column of Trajan where an altar and the golden urn containing the cremated remains of the emperor was located included a window that allowed sunlight to shine on the altar and urn; see Giuseppi Lugli, "La tomba di Traiano," in *Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romine, 1960), 337–338; Davies 2004, 32.

57 Michel Polfer, "Reconstructing Funerary Rituals: The Evidence of *Ustrina* and Related Archaeological Structures," in John Pearce, Martin Millett, and Manuela Struck (eds.), *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000), 30–37.

58 Polfer 2000, 31.

59 Eighteenth century excavations just east of the Mausoleum of Augustus revealed several travertine funerary *cippi* inscribed with the names of members of the Julio-Claudians, possibly localizing the *Ustrinum Domus Augustae* as nearby; see Richardson, Jr. 1992, 404; Eva M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon topographicum urbis romae*, Vol. 5 (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1993), 97. For the most recent discussion of Augustus' *ustrinum*, see Paul Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos. Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 33–35.

60 Davies 2004, 10.

61 For discussions of funerary rites during cremations, see Mary T. Boatwright, "The 'Ara Ditus–Ustrinum of Hadrian' in the Western Campus Martius and Other Problematic Roman Ustrina," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985): 494–495; Lise Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 57–60; Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 56–61.

62 Vincent Jolivet, "Les cendres d'Auguste. Note sur la topographie monumentale du Champ de Mars septentrionale," *Archeologia Laziale* 9 (1988): 90–96; for imperial *ustrina* see Boatwright 1985, 495; and Davies 2004, 167–168.

63 For rites associated with cremations and funerals, see John Scheid, "Contraria Facere: Renversements et déplacements dans les rites funéraires," *Annali dell'instituto Orientale di Napoli* 6 (1984): 117–139; Penelope J.E. Davies, "The Politics of Perpetuation:

Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemoration," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101 (1997): 52–58.

64 Jean-Claude Richard, "Les funérailles de Trajan et le triomphe sur les Parthes," *Revue des Études Latines* 44 (1966): 351–362.

65 The situation regarding the Trajan temple is somewhat controversial; see now James E. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments*, Vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 134–135, and John W. Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 181–182; cf. Eva M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon topographicum urbis romae*, Vol. 2 (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1995), 354–356.

66 Paul Zanker, "Das Traiansforum in Rom," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1970): 539.

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Lamps in Ceramic Assemblages: A Case Study in Late Republican and Early Imperial Central Italy

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Abstract

The examination of the percentages of functional groups in the composition of ceramic assemblages has been shown to be a useful approach to interpreting a site. This was particularly clear with transport vessels. This study focuses on lamps in central Italy between the late republican and early imperial periods. As the least well represented group, lamps may seem to offer little. Nevertheless, it emerges that there is a normal range of percentages that can be expected for lamps in assemblages of that date range and region, against which unusual results can be evaluated, leading to considerations about the nature of the site where they were found. While series will have to be constructed for other times and places, a brief look at some percentages from 5th-century CE sites from the same region and from a site with a similar date range in Egypt suggests that they will be in the same order of magnitude.

Introduction

I believe that considering ceramic assemblages as a whole can offer information or raise questions about sites beyond what the examination of single wares or groups brings and in a way that is not possible otherwise. Therefore, for some time, I have been interested in the composition of assemblages by functional groups (fine wares, coarse wares, cooking wares, lamps, transport vessels). Preliminary work shows that this line of analysis can indeed give fruitful results.

In a first study, I compared four 5th-century CE assemblages of similar formation, ranging from Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber to Rome to Lugnano in Teverina on a navigable stretch of the Tiber upstream from Rome and finally to Chianciano above a non-navigable tributary of the Tiber (the last two sites excavated by David Soren).[1] It could be seen that the main variation from one site to another concerned the percentage of amphorae, which fell from nearly 2/3 or even almost 3/4 of the assemblages in contexts at major nodes of trade networks (such as Ostia and Rome) to about 1/3 at a less well connected site (such as Lugnano) and to much less than that on a site as landlocked as can probably be expected on the Italian Peninsula (such as Chianciano). Thus, it could be seen that the percentage of amphorae in an assemblage offers an indication of the openness to trade of a site compared to others of similar date.

A later study investigated the change in percentages of amphorae from late republican to early imperial times in two cities that must have been important sites for trade—Pompeii and Ostia.[2] There the percentages of transport vessels rose from below 10% to nearly 50% over the course of the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE. This can be considered evidence for increasing levels of integration in the trade networks to which they belonged.

My attention so far has been focused particularly on transport vessels as the element with the most obvious variation, undoubtedly because their primary function, unlike the other groups, was not domestic but rather to carry goods in trade. Even here questions remain. The first studies involve only a few centers, all in Tyrrhenian central Italy. How do the percentages of transport vessels in assemblages of various dates in other parts of Italy and the Mediterranean compare to the picture drawn for Tyrrhenian central Italy? What little comparative evidence there is suggests that amphorae constitute the majority of assemblages of the imperial period throughout the Mediterranean and that there is a general rise in their attestation from the late republican to the imperial period. Do other regions reach similar levels to Tyrrhenian central Italy, at the core of the Empire? Is there some delay in the trends even when they appear elsewhere? Thus, that amphorae represent some 70% or more of the pottery in late-antique Schedia, a major river port in the western Delta of Egypt, is not a surprising result in the light of the data from Italy.[3] Percentages there in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, ranging from approximately 1/3 to somewhat less than 60%,[4] probably indicate that the levels of trade in that part of the Empire rose later than in Tyrrhenian central Italy. Otherwise, Schedia must have

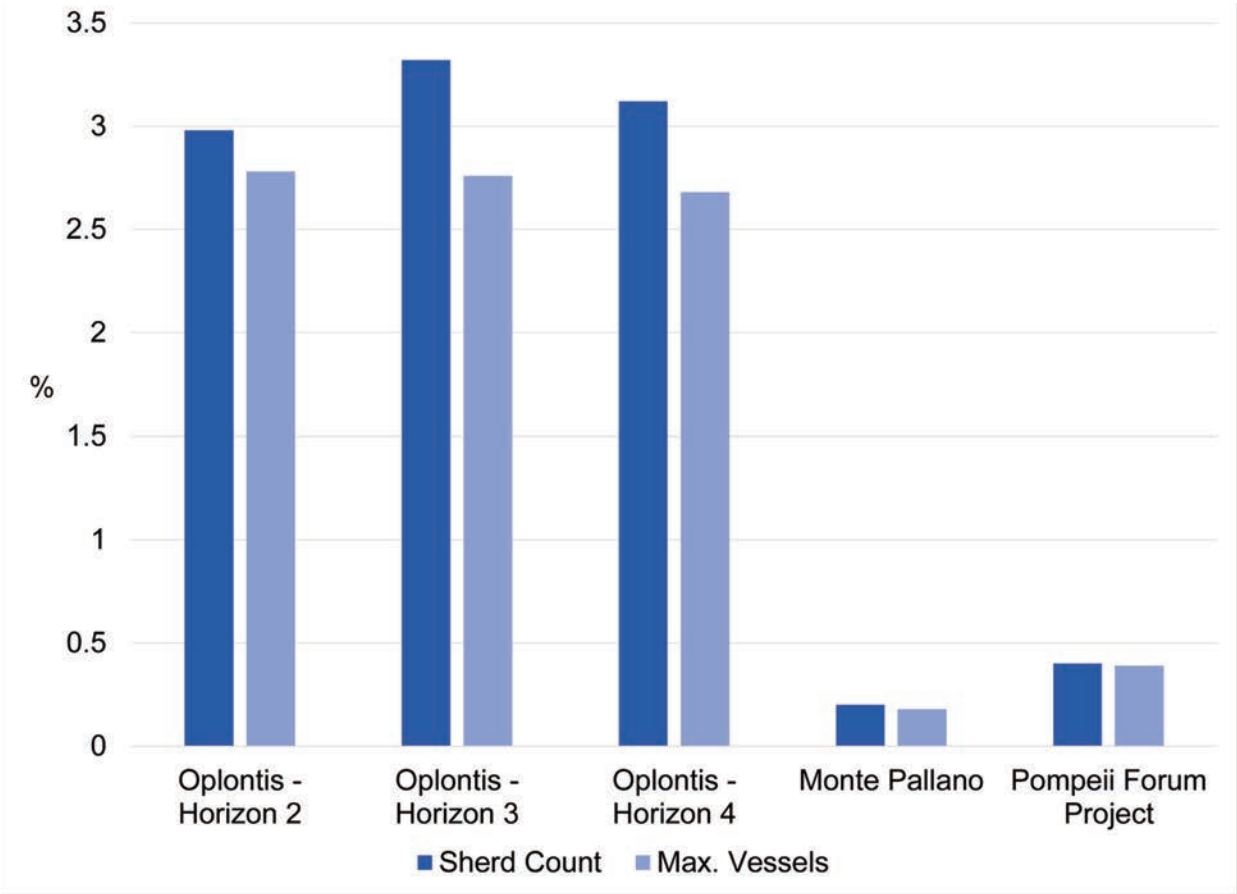

Figure 1: Percentages of Lamps in Ceramic Assemblages from Oplontis, Monte Pallano and the Pompeii Forum Project.

been less involved in trade in those centuries than later. Transport vessels are attested at only 8% in a 6th-century context at Olympia, which may indicate low participation in trade networks by what was then a country town some way from the coast on a stretch without good harbors, but the containers come from a variety of sources, which could suggest on the contrary that the site was an active participant in trade.[5] A much larger basis for comparison is required.

Another question concerns the other functional groups. In the first studies, their percentages were interpreted as varying mostly in relation to the percentages of transport vessels. In a calculation of the percentages on the sites from Ostia to Chianciano in which amphorae were excluded, they were indeed fairly similar. Some differences could be observed, however. Fine wares appear, for instance, in almost the same percentages from Ostia to Rome and to Lugnano. On the first two sites, however, they consist almost exclusively of widespread, standardized wares, while at Lugnano a regional ware made up a significant part. Apparently, import substitution could best take place when there was some barrier to penetration from the outside but still sufficient circulation to warrant specialization on the part of some potters. At Chianciano, only a few pieces of fine ware were attested, all standardized items with widespread distributions, suggesting that when circulation was too limited a site may not have had recourse to regional import substitution but largely did without. Still ongoing research gives evidence of yet other situations. For example, Monte Pallano, a site on a mountain in Abruzzo, was able to ensure itself a good supply of fine wares in successive assemblages dating from the 2nd century BCE to the 1st CE (with a shift from black-gloss wares of mostly but not exclusively local or regional origin to Italian Sigillata largely from Tyrrhenian central Italy but also from northern Italy, with some Eastern Sigillata A and B)—they constitute between 10% and more than 20%, while transport vessels never reach 4% and are often attested at much lower levels.[6] It will be useful to determine what one can expect in various circumstances for these other functional groups.

Therefore, I was intrigued to see diverging percentages for lamps, the functional group that is always least attested, on three central Italian sites datable between the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE that I am preparing for publication—one with high percentages, another with low percentages, and a third that falls in

between (Fig. 1). The material on all three sites has been counted and weighed, and the maximum number of vessels has been calculated on the basis of joins and other criteria, such as decoration and distinctive marks, that allow fragments to be assigned to the same vessel. The latter offers a useful corrective to the former, but the available comparanda are all based on the sherd count alone. The material has also been weighed, but that measure proved to be of little use with lamps, undoubtedly because of their low weight compared to other groups.

Villa A at Oplontis

Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata) near Pompeii was buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE. It was excavated first by the Italian authorities between 1964 and 1983 and more recently has been the object of investigations by the Oplontis Project of the University of Texas at Austin.[7] The discovery on an amphora found in a context of 79 CE of a *titulus pictus* that reads SECVNDO POPPAEAE led to the widely accepted attribution of the villa's ownership to the most famous female member of the *gens Poppaea*, a powerful family in the area—Nero's wife, Poppaea Sabina.[8] It is in any case a very rich and luxurious villa. The Oplontis Project carried out excavations beneath the levels of the time of the eruption in order to clarify the villa's history. Thus, the contexts, mostly fills and other construction activities, cannot be related to the specific rooms or areas under which they were found. It is not unreasonable, however, to consider material from them a reflection of the villa as a whole.

The contexts can be grouped in four chronological horizons: Horizon 1 with material that could date between the 2nd century and the mid 1st century BCE; Horizon 2 with material dating to no earlier than c. 40 BCE or the Augustan period; Horizon 3 with material that has a *terminus post quem* of c. 25 CE; Horizon 4 with material dating from c. 50 CE to the Flavian period. Of these, Horizons 2–4 presented sufficiently large assemblages to allow statistical analysis (Horizon 2: 704 sherds from a maximum of 683 vessels; Horizon 3: 3014 sherds from a maximum of 2824 vessels; Horizon 4: 8852 sherds from a maximum of 8361 vessels).

Lamps are well represented. In Horizon 2, they constitute 2.98% by sherd count (21 fragments) and 2.78% by maximum vessels (19). In Horizon 3, the corresponding figures are 3.32% by sherd count (100 fragments) and 2.76% by maximum vessels (78). In Horizon 4, they are 3.12% by sherd count (276 fragments) and 2.68% by maximum vessels (224). At the same time, transport vessels passed from 14.06% by sherd count, and 14.2% by maximum vessels in Horizon 2 to 21.57% by sherd count and 22.7% by maximum vessels in Horizon 3 and to 29.25% by sherd count and 29.81% by maximum vessels—in other words, they more than doubled their percentage between Horizon 2 and Horizon 4. As the percentages for lamps remained approximately the same, this means that the lamps' percentages of the non-transport wares increased—from 3.47% to 4.23% and 4.41% by sherd count and from 3.24% to 3.57% and 3.82% by maximum vessels.

Monte Pallano

Monte Pallano is a mountain reaching a height of nearly 1000 m, located between the Sangro and Sinello Rivers in the province of Chieti in the region of Abruzzo not far from the Adriatic coast.[9] The site is usually considered to have begun as a proto-urban settlement as early as the 4th century BCE and to have continued under the Romans, until the 2nd century CE, perhaps as a *pagus* center. Monte Pallano appears to have been situated near the territory of several pre-Roman tribes, perhaps belonging as a central place to the northern Lucanians. Its most notable archaeological feature is a wall of polygonal masonry close to the summit, which scholars have come to see as a symbol of the settlement rather than as a purely defensive element. The settlement also included a forum and several cult areas. Thus, the settlement on Monte Pallano was a major center for the southern part of Abruzzo, integrated into the transport network.

In recent decades, two excavations have taken place on the slopes of Monte Pallano: one in the forum area conducted by the Italian authorities and the other carried out by the Sangro Valley Project not far away on terracing apparently connected with a sanctuary.[10]

As there is a phased stratigraphic interpretation for the Sangro Valley Project's excavation according to which the ceramic material has been quantified, it will form the object of attention here. Phase 1, datable to no earlier than 225 BCE, concerns frequentation of the site before any building took place. Phase 2, with a *terminus post quem* of 125 BCE, represents the first construction on site. Phases 3–8, considered together because of the high incidence of residuality and their fairly short date range (from 25 CE to the second half of the 1st century or possibly the early 2nd), saw renovation and further construction. These are mostly fill layers, aside from the contexts in Phase 1, of course. It is safe to assume that the material comes from somewhere in the settlement on Monte Pallano, although not necessarily from the sanctuary.

Lamps seem to have come into use rather late on Monte Pallano and then only sparingly. Neither Phase 1 nor Phase 2 produced any lamps. They appear first in Phase 3 and thereafter in Phases 5 and 8, which contain the most material. Among the material from Phases 3–8, 34 fragments come from a maximum of 29 lamps. They account for 0.20% by sherd count (of a total of 16,829) and 0.18% by maximum vessels (of a total of 16,482). Leaving aside transport vessels, as well as two pieces of kiln furniture, makes little difference, with the figures at 0.21% and 0.18% respectively.

The Pompeii Forum Project

The Pompeii Forum Project excavated seven trenches (three in 1997 and four in 2001) in order to clarify various urban and architectural questions concerning the forum area.[11] The material from the contexts considered ancient

by the excavators in six trenches has been analyzed—one from 2001 was eliminated as too compromised by damage from bombing during World War II. It was possible to establish chronological horizons ranging from possibly as early as the 2nd century BCE to the second quarter of the 1st century CE. Although attempts were made to use these horizons with preliminary data,[12] the final classification of the material, showing high levels of residuality in the later contexts, advises rather to consider the material globally as a sample of the period from approximately 100 BCE to c. 25 CE. The contexts in question are mostly fills and other construction layers. As they come from six trenches, spread out over a certain area and often with a number of stratigraphic units in each one, it is likely that they offer a generic picture of supply to Pompeii.

A total of 3705 sherds was found in the contexts taken into consideration, belonging to a maximum of 3602 vessels. Of them, 15 sherds of a maximum of 14 individuals come from lamps. Therefore, they constitute 0.40% by sherd count and 0.39% by maximum vessels. Leaving transport vessels out of the calculations, lamps come to 0.51% by sherd count and 0.49% by maximum vessels.

Lamps in Italy

The three horizons of Villa A at Oplontis, Phases 3–8 at Monte Pallano and the excavations of the Pompeii Forum Project differ markedly in their percentages of lamps in the composition the assemblages. In order to understand better the significance of the differences revealed on these three sites, they must first be seen in the framework of lamps in Italy in general and compared to other sites of similar date from central Italy.

Although oil lamps in the Graeco-Roman tradition were developed in the Greek motherland during the 7th and early 6th centuries BCE and spread quickly throughout the Hellenic world, including the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily, they came late to non-Greek Italy, only around 250 BCE.[13] One reason for the late adoption of lamps there is perhaps that these areas had a plentiful supply of wood and pitch suitable for torches and no surplus of olive oil. In this respect, it may be significant that the Romans adopted oil lamps on a large scale when they had amply devastated their forests for shipbuilding in the Second Punic War and begun to practice more intensive, market-oriented farming, including olive-oil production. From that time onward, oil lamps were as typical of the Romans as they had long been of the Greeks. Roman lamps remained under Hellenistic influence throughout the republic, more or less closely connected with the production of black-gloss ware, and were in general conservative, continuing to be wheel-made much longer than Greek ones were, well into the 1st century BCE. In the Augustan period an important change occurred in the production of lamps in Roman Italy. Italian lamp producers, particularly in central Italy, created a new model free of Hellenistic traditions that took full advantage of the possibilities of the mold to decorate the discus (hence the generic name *Bildlampen*).[14] *Bildlampen* were widely exported and copied throughout the Roman Empire, especially around the Mediterranean, where they offered the dominant model for lamps until Late Antiquity. There were other sorts of lamps in current in Italy at the same time, including Dressel 22, a central Italian derivative of a late republican type.[15] *Firmalampen* constitute an important tradition, also free of Hellenistic influences, that goes back to northern Italy.[16] Although these are also mold-made lamps, they present no or at most minimal decoration. Their defining characteristic that gave them their generic name is the signature in relief obtained from the mold almost always to be found on the base, which was interpreted as an indication of a "company" rather than a single potter. *Firmalampen* were widely exported to the transalpine and Danubian provinces, where they became the standard lamp. Thus, Roman Italy moved from being a newcomer with conservative tastes in lamps during the republican period to setting the tone in lamps during the imperial period.

Other Contexts in Central Italy

Fortunately, central Italy offers comparative data from a number of sites that fall in the same date range (Fig. 2).

Percentages have been given or can be calculated for some contexts at Pompeii.

- A preliminary report on the material from the trenches dug in layers preceding the eruption of 79 CE in the forum in order to install the electric system indicates lamps at 0.96% of an unspecified number of fragments.[17]
- In another preliminary report, on the material from layers preceding 79 CE in a non-elite neighborhood inside Port Stabia, lamps account for 0.92% of a total of 16,357 sherds.[18]
- A number of trenches were excavated by the Progetto *Insula* del Centenario (IX 8) in levels preceding the eruption of 79 CE.[19] Among the material in layers dated generically to before 79 CE, lamps account for 0.83% of 5531 sherds. In a context dated to after 60 CE, lamps reach 1.11% of 1528 fragments. In a context dated to the second half of the 1st century BCE, lamps come to 1.65% among 121 fragments.

Percentages are available also at Rome and Ostia for lamps in contexts dating between the late 2nd century BCE and the 1st century CE.

- Period II at the Aqua Marcia at Rome, concerning the construction of the aqueduct between 144 BCE and the end of the 2nd century BCE,[20] gave 409 fragments of pottery.[21] They included two lamps (0.49%).
- At Rome, in the fill dated to c. 50 BCE of a pit dug to extract *pozzolana* in the area of the *Horti Lamiani*,[22] 8583 fragments of pottery were

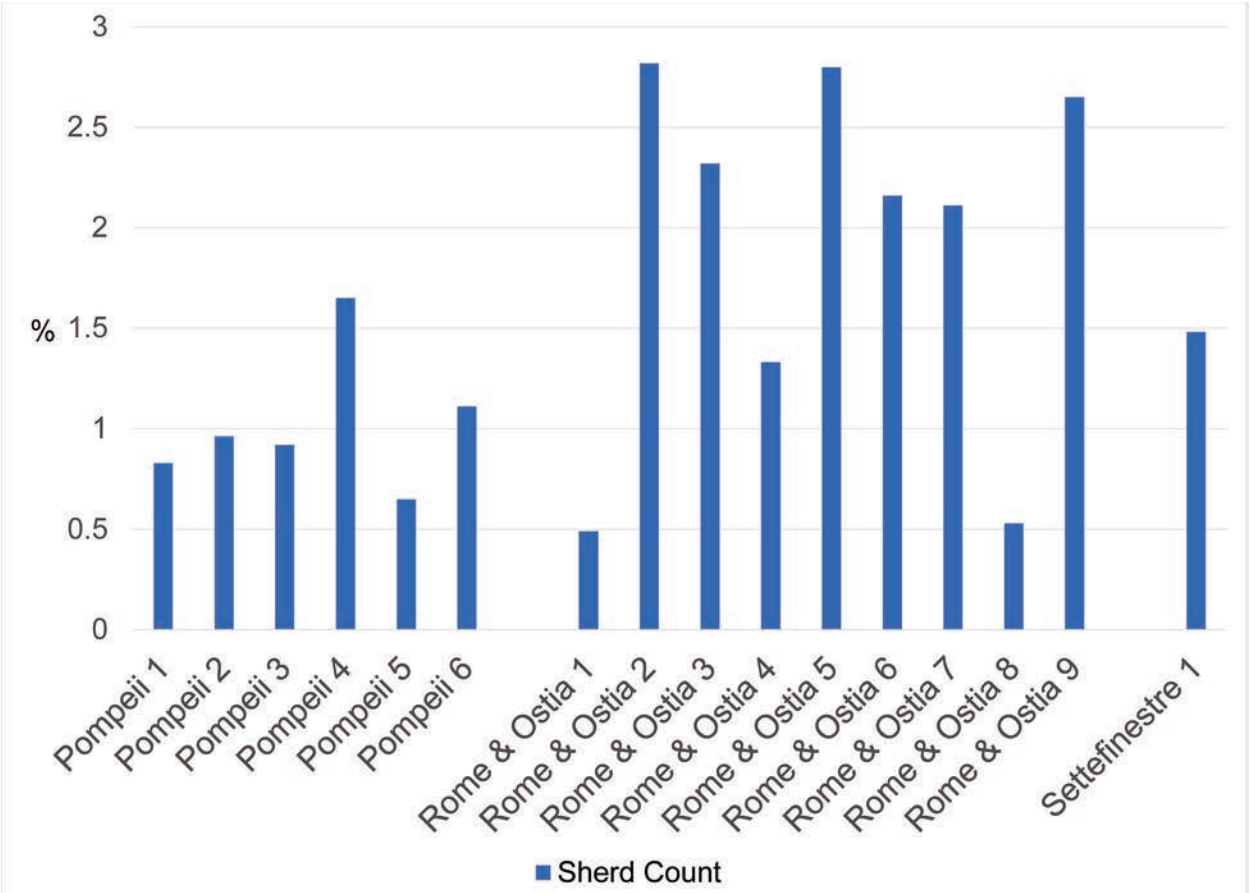

Figure 2: Percentages of Lamps in Ceramic Assemblages from Pompeii, Rome, Ostia and Settefinestre. For dates, see Addendum, page 78.

recorded.[23] Of them, 242 (equivalent to 2.82%) belong to lamps.

- In a much smaller assemblage of a similar date, consisting of 302 potsherds from the fill of a well put out of use in the mid 1st century BCE in the Forum of Caesar at Rome, seven lamps make up 2.32% of the total.
- Among the 3533 potsherds[24] found in the layers associated with the Augustan restoration of the Aqua Marcia at Rome (Period III),[25] there were 47 that belonged to lamps (1.33%).
- The layers associated with the restoration under Titus of the Aqua Marcia at Rome (Period IV)[26] held 3608 potsherds.[27] Of them 78 come from lamps (2.16%).
- There were 1520 fragments of pottery in the Domitianic contexts (Period IV), mostly fill layers, in the Domus Tiberiana.[28] The eight lamp fragments make up 0.53%.
- Excavations in the area of the Curia, Forum Iulium and Forum Transitorium at Rome produced several contexts dated to the Flavian period associated with the construction of the Forum Transitorium.[29] Leaving aside the material from a context that was interpreted as a dump of unused lamps, 2366 fragments of pottery were found.[30] Fifty belong to lamps (2.11%).
- In excavations at Ostia under the Domus dei Pesci, two sequences were identified to raise the level of the terrain: Period 1 and Period 2.[31] The layer constituting the first contained residual material and water-rounded pieces, suggesting that it was re-deposited from an alluvial context. The second consisted of a series of fill layers. The excavators were not entirely certain that the two sequences were distinct but considered it prudent to separate them. The finds in the first range from the 2nd century BCE to the first half of the 1st century CE, while Period 2 presents material dating more compactly to the last two decades of the 1st century CE.[32] Lamps make up 2.8% of the 1036 fragments found in Period 1 and 2.61% of the 6543 fragments from Period 2.
- The villa of Settefinestre provides data from a rural site in another part of central Italy, coastal Tuscany near Cosa.[33] Period I, Phase A1 concerns

primary construction, dated between the time of Caesar or Octavian and the Julio-Claudian period.[34] Fifteen lamp fragments make up 1.48% of the 1013 sherds recovered.

Discussion

In the light of the data examined, it appears that the percentage of lamps in ceramic assemblages dating between the late 2nd century BCE and the 1st century CE in central Italy tends to range from approximately 0.5% to c. 1.5%. This suggests that other percentages merit discussion.

Sometimes high or low percentages are patently anomalous, off the scale. There may be an obvious explanation. For instance, a context in the area of the Forum Transitorium containing almost exclusively lamps, largely unused, was attributed to the discard of a broken shipment to a lamp shop in the pre-existing Macellum or perhaps to the demolition of such a shop.[35] Often no need of an explanation was felt and none given in publications. In the absence of an account of the maximum number of vessels, one may wonder whether a large number of lamp sherds corresponds simply to a few, highly fragmented lamps. Is that the case with the Casa del Centenario at Pompeii in layers dated between the Augustan period and the first half of the 1st century CE,[36] where lamps reach 8.05% of 2819 fragments, in contrast with the other periods there? In other cases, it can be suspected that it is a question of the nature of the contexts, as probably with both the Neronian contexts (Period II) and the Vespasianic ones (Period III) in the Domus Tiberiana. The former, which includes a wall and a drainage system, gave a very low percentage of lamps—0.21% (three lamps among a total of 1416 potsherds).[37] In the latter, which consist of the fills of a drain and a well, the area of a praefurnium and a construction layer, 65 lamp fragments make up 6.17% of a total of 1054.[38] At Settefinestre, after the plausible percentage for the first construction phase (Period I, Phase A1), the nature of the contexts will certainly explain the presence only of coarse ware in Period I, Phase A2 (the first occupation phase), but there is no ready reason to suggest why the second construction phase (Period I, Phase B1) should have no lamps, while the second occupation phase (Period I, Phase B2) presents 79 (6.38% of the total of 1239).[39]

Some, although by no means all, the sites in Rome and Ostia registered percentages above 2%. These percentages only somewhat above the usual range must indicate that lamps were used more intensively in some places there. Could this be because it was easier for at least some inhabitants of the capital and its port to obtain sufficient supplies of oil to be able to use it for illumination than it was for people in less centrally located places (thus presumably less well supplied with oil)?

The percentage of lamp fragments from the Pompeii Forum Project excavations, although low at 0.4%, can still be considered to fall within the normal range. The incidence of residuality in these contexts may help in explaining this result, which contrasts with the percentage more than double as high reported for the material from the excavations for the electric installation in the same area. The PFP score is indeed only slightly less than the 0.49% seen in the assemblage of the late 2nd century at the Aqua Marcia at Rome. The lamps attested all present local, Vesuvian fabrics. They can all be assigned to the late republican tradition or to *Bildlampen*.

The percentages in the three horizons at Villa A at Oplontis must be counted as unusually high but not anomalous, at more or less 3% according to the horizon and measurement, surpassing even the highest percentages at Rome. It has already been noted that the villa was very rich and may have belonged to the empress at the time of Nero. Obviously, such an establishment would have had little difficulty in procuring the means necessary for as much illumination as was desired. There is, indeed, some indication of a particular interest in illumination there, at least in the time leading up to the eruption. A crate of Dressel 22 lamps was apparently acquired in block in order to renew the villa's furnishings.[40] Several exceptionally large lamps presenting two or more nozzles and fine relief were also discovered in eruption contexts.[41] As a parallel, it can be noted that the amphora sent to Poppaea's slave Secundus and some fragments from the University of Texas exavations at Oplontis are for now the only ones from Lusitania known on a Vesuvian site, suggesting a desire and an ability to obtain unusual products (in this case Lusitanian fish sauce).[42] The lamps attested in the excavations of the Oplontis Project present overwhelmingly a local, Vesuvian fabric, although there are some others, such as central Italian and in one case Milesian. *Bildlampen*, mostly not more specifically identifiable, constitute by far the majority, but there are also, for example, occasional late republican pieces and in the later contexts examples of Dressel 22. There can be little doubt that the percentages at Villa A represent the illumination of a place that effectively knew few bounds.

On the contrary, the percentages obtained from the Sangro Valley Project's excavations on Monte Pallano are exceptionally low, at c. 0.2% only half those from the Pompeii Forum Project's excavations, which, as we have seen, were otherwise the lowest taken into consideration. Nor can these results be considered anomalous, in view of the great number of sherds and maximum vessels used in the calculations. Monte Pallano's position on a mountainside may be a factor. It can plausibly be evoked to explain the very low percentages of amphorae, which it would have been bothersome to transport there. On the other hand, research has emphasized that the settlement on Monte Pallano was not isolated but rather an important center with good transport links. It has also been noted that Monte Pallano was able to guarantee a good supply of fine tableware. What lamps are attested on Monte Pallano do not suggest that the inhabitants of the settlement were out of touch with current trends in that matter. The lamps were mostly produced in the region

following models from Tyrrhenian central Italy, both in the republican period (in particular with wheel-made lamps but also with mold-made ones) and the early imperial period (with *Bildlampen*), although a minor component of the lamp assemblage consists of *Firmalampen* imported from northern Italy and an Ephesian lamp indicates an occasional opening toward Eastern products as well.[43] Thus, the possibility arises that the people on Monte Pallano were simply little interested in illumination with lamps. Perhaps they had an insufficient supply of oil to burn it and good enough alternatives not to need to do so. A certain conservatism may play a role as well. In their cooking wares, for instance, the inhabitants of Monte Pallano never took up the vessel that was the characteristic cooking pot not only in Tyrrhenian central Italy but throughout the western Mediterranean basin from the 2nd century BCE to the Augustan period, one presenting a heavy rim with an almond-shaped outer profile. They also seem to have been rather late adopters of Italian Sigillata, presumably using black-gloss wares well into the Augustan period. The percentages from Monte Pallano can be taken to represent a place that had few means or perhaps little desire to use lamps, for whatever reason or concourse of reasons.

This case study of the percentages of lamps at the three sites compared with those elsewhere in central Italy of the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE suggests that there is indeed a range to be expected for the percentages of lamps in assemblages of that date and origin and that divergences require explanation. Naturally, it would be desirable to have richer series of data. With what is available, no chronological progression could be seen, as was possible with amphorae. Will further research change that? It must be borne in mind especially that we have looked at only one region and timeframe.

In the series of 5th-century assemblages from Ostia up the Tiber to Chianciano, thus also in central Italy, the percentages are somewhat lower than on the sites of the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE. They range from highs of just above 1% in Rome to 0.13% by sherd count and 0.18% by maximum vessels at Chianciano. This may indicate that the use of oil lamps for illumination had declined in central Italy since the late republican and early imperial periods.

For a comparison in a completely different setting but also dating to the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE, we can turn to Egypt. Contrary to non-Greek Italy, lamps have a long history in ancient Egypt. Pharaonic Egypt had lamps from the Old Kingdom onward, although candles and tapers were also used.[44] Lamps in the Greek tradition may have been present at Naukratis even before the time of Alexander.[45] The Greek colonists under Alexander and the Ptolemies continued to use the wheel-made lamps to which they were accustomed, in particular open pinched-saucer lamps and ones of Athenian inspiration.[46] Greek lamps are said to be especially well attested and imitated in the Delta and the Fayoum.[47] It is thought that Hellenistic mold-made lamps were an Alexandrian innovation, probably dating to the 3rd century BCE.[48] The typology and dating of Egyptian lamps have been matters of debate, essentially because of the lack of reliably dated contexts.[49] There seems to have been no gap in lamp production at the end of the Ptolemaic period and the beginning of Roman rule.[50] It is unclear, however, how long Hellenistic lamp types lasted. It has been suggested that they continued to be produced well into the imperial period, even as late as the 3rd century CE.[51] On the other hand, Hellenistic types are also said to have been replaced soon by copies of Italian volute lamps.[52] In spite of the typological and chronological difficulties, it is clear that lamps constituted a well-established element in the material culture of Egypt in late Ptolemaic and early imperial times. Indeed, there are comments concerning Egyptian lamps' quantity and variety as opposed to their quality.[53]

There is little tradition of quantification in Roman pottery studies in Egypt, and furthermore lamps are often considered in separate reports from those on the other ceramic finds, which limits the possibility of finding comparisons for the assemblages in central Italy. However, at Schedia, an important urban center in antiquity in the western Egyptian Delta (Behaira), some 40 km from Alexandria, where I lead the study of the pottery, preliminary data are available for such calculations from excavations in the outskirts of the town.[54] In particular, work in a bath complex (Sondage 3) provided a large assemblage (9587 fragments from a maximum of 9506 vessels, not including an intrusive modern piece) derived from various fill layers and other accumulations dating to the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE. Seventeen fragments from no more than 16 individuals belong to lamps, equivalent to 0.18% by sherd count and 0.17% by maximum vessels. They are all in Egyptian fabrics typical of the Delta or of the nearby Mareotis, mostly wheel-made, pinched-saucer types. Lamps appear to be rare at Schedia—among the more than 200,000 sherds from a maximum of nearly 196,000 vessels registered in contexts dating from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity, lamps make up only 0.13% of the sherds and 0.06% of the maximum vessels. In the material from the excavations overall, Egyptian lamps remain dominant, although there are a few pieces imported from the Aegean, for example. This broader sample includes many mold-made lamps, often Egyptian-style types but also ones following the tradition of Italian *Bildlampen* and in later contexts African models. Generalizing much from the results of a single site would be rash. It is safe to say, however, that they suggest that the percentages of lamps in assemblages from elsewhere will be in the same order of magnitude, ranging from well under 1% to a few percent at most, as in central Italy.

Conclusions

This case study supports the idea that examining the percentage of lamps in the composition of a ceramic assemblage can be fruitful. It must not be done

mechanically. The nature of the context has to be taken into account, for example. Nevertheless, one can apparently expect a normal range of percentages of lamps (usually locally or regionally produced but often including occasional imported pieces) for a given period and region, against which results can be evaluated. High but not off-the-scale percentages may indicate a good supply of oil and a rich site and low but not anomalous ones a scant ability or desire to illuminate with oil lamps, perhaps in a more conservative location or one not well supplied with oil. Even this minor component of the ceramic record, it seems, can make its contribution to understanding a context or a site if it is included in a holistic approach.

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Addendum
Date Key for Figure 2

Pompeii 1 = Insula del Centenario—before 79 CE
Pompeii 2 = Impianto Elettrico—before 79 CE
Pompeii 3 = Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia 2005–2006—before 79 CE
Pompeii 4 = Insula del Centenario—second half of 1st century BCE
Pompeii 5 = Insula del Centenario—Augustan-Tiberian period
Pompeii 6 = Insula del Centenario—after 60 CE

Rome & Ostia 1 = Aqua Marcia, Period II—late 2nd century BCE
Rome & Ostia 2 = Horti Lamiani—c. 50 BCE
Rome & Ostia 3 = Forum of Caesar, well fill—mid 1st century BCE
Rome & Ostia 4 = Aqua Marcia, Period III—Augustan period
Rome & Ostia 5 = Domus dei Pesci, Period 1—first half of 1st century CE
Rome & Ostia 6 = Aqua Marcia, Period IV—reign of Titus
Rome & Ostia 7 = Forum Transitorium—Flavian period
Rome & Ostia 8 = Domus Tiberiana, Period IV—Domitianic period
Rome & Ostia 9 = Domus dei Pesci, Period 2—last two decades of 1st century CE

Settefinestre 1 = Period I, Phase A1—Caesar/Octavian–Julio-Claudian period

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Unpublished or Little-known Archaeological Evidence of the Roman Period in the Territory of Lugnano in Teverina—Umbria (Italy)

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Abstract
Lugnano in Teverina is internationally famous for its archaeology thanks to the remarkable discoveries made in Poggio Gramignano during the investigations of the American team of archaeologists from the University of Arizona, lead by Prof. David Soren. The archaeological campaigns of the late 1980s and early '90s revealed the remains of a Roman rustic villa, later reused as a children's necropolis dating to the mid-5th century CE. Nevertheless, the municipality is rich in other important archaeological evidence. The aim of this work is therefore to highlight some of this less-known evidence, in particular those belonging generally to the Roman period.

Lugnano in Teverina is a small town in the southwestern area of Umbria, Italy, near the Lazio frontier. The Tiber River borders it to the west and to the north, while the Nera River forms the southern border and the Narnese-Amerina mountain chain borders to the east (Fig. 1).

The municipality is internationally famous from an archaeological point of view for the remarkable discoveries made in Poggio Gramignano during the investigations of the American team of archaeologists from the University of Arizona, lead by Prof. David Soren. The archaeological campaigns of the late 1980s and early '90s revealed the remains of a Roman rustic villa, later reused as a children's necropolis dating to the mid-5th century CE.[1]

Nevertheless, the municipality of Lugnano in Teverina is rich in other important archaeological evidence from the pre-Roman period to the late Medieval Age, some of it being completely unpublished. On the other hand, some other remains have been only indicated to the authorities in charge of the heritage's protection, but never studied thoroughly. The goal of this work is therefore to highlight some of this less-known archaeological evidence, in particular the records of the Roman period (Fig. 2).

This paper aims to contribute further to the archaeological knowledge of the area. It is hoped that future effective enhancement projects and promotions will allow the development of the cultural touristic offer of this town. What is more, Lugnano in Teverina is placed in the intersection between two regions of great natural and archaeological interest—the Tuscia and the Umbria Tiberina.

No. 1. Località Poggio Murlo, Coste di Ramici (Page 137 I SW) (Fig. 3)

Description of the Location: The structure is located on the south-facing slope of a small hill (Poggio Murlo), just before arriving at the summit. The gently sloping upper part of the hill is covered by a plowed field. On the other hand, the wooded western and southern slopes decline sharply towards the ravines' area of the valley bottom, crossed by the Fosso Pescara. In contrast, the eastern slope looks quite bare and is bordered by the Archignano local road, which connects this area with the Tiber valley, 5 km away as the crow flies. Finally, higher hills dominate the whole area upstream.

Description of the Structure: Rectangular structure in opus caementicium (mortar and limestone and local travertine pieces), mostly underground and covered by vegetation. Only the western and southern walls are visible, 3 m wide and circa 2.5 m high (the former) and 1.5 m high and 5 m long (the latter). Both walls have steeply sloping exterior sides, while the interior sides are vertical and well polished, suggesting the existence of a layer of plaster coating. The walls are therefore thicker at the base and become thinner at the top, until a minimum thickness of circa 33 cm. Nevertheless, the upper part of the south-facing wall tilts perceptibly toward the inside, suggesting a vaulted ceiling over the structure (Figs. 4–6).

Interpretation: The well-polished interior walls clearly differ from the exterior scarp faces, which are quite irregular due to the prominent blocks of the opus

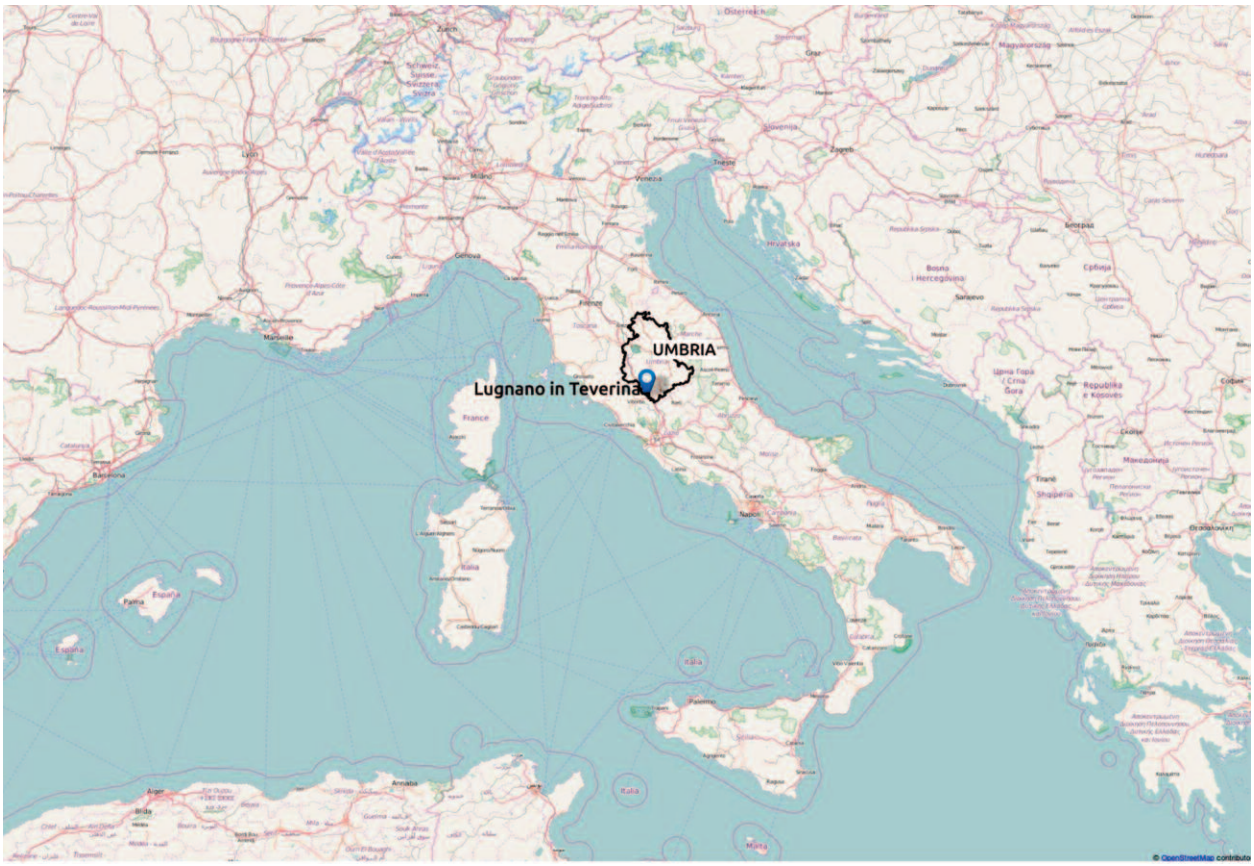

Figure 1: Geographic location of Lugnano in Teverina (Italy); carto-graphic source OpenStreetMap. Image processing: R. Montagnetti 2016.

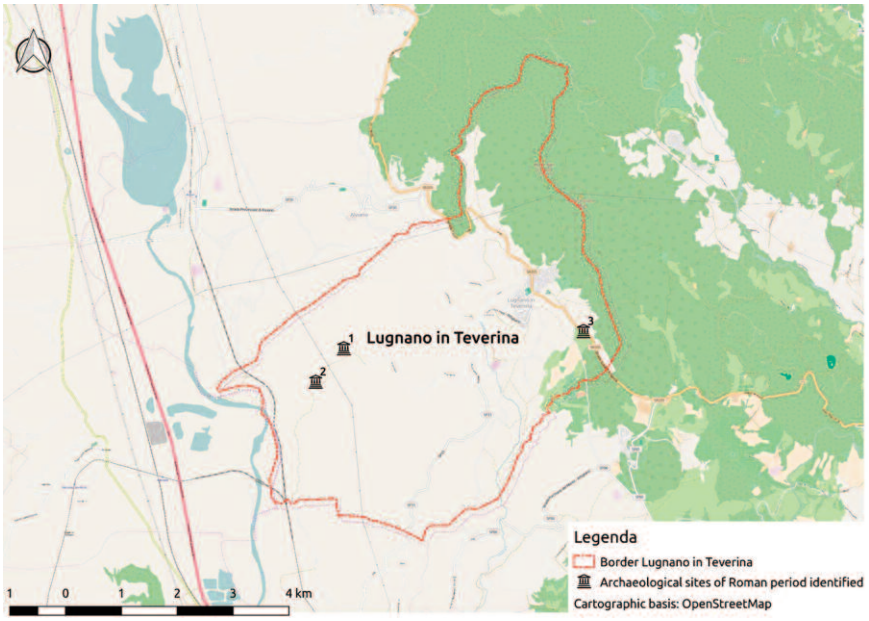

Figure 2: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), geographical location of the archaeological sites from the Roman Period identified in this paper (cartographic source: OpenStreetMap; image processing: R. Montagnetti, 2016).

Figure 3: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), cistern of Poggio Murlo, eastern side.

Figure 4: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), cistern of Poggio Murlo, front view of eastern side.

caementicium. This characteristic, along with the strategic position on the downward slope, strongly suggests that this structure was aimed at collecting rainwater descending from the summit of the hill. At the same time, this proposed cistern could have performed another function—the substructure of a structure above. This hypothesis is supported by the presence of brick fragments found on the surface of the hill summit (average presence of 2 fragments/m^2).

The poor quality of the exterior facades, without any sign of external coating, indicates the possibility that the structure could have been planned to be a basement area. It is probable that the only uncovered part of the structure was the upper roofing, provided with openings for channeling the water. The later erosion and runoffs over the centuries, so characteristic of this ravine formation, provoked the downstream slipping of the ground covering the structure, making part of the walls visible.

Figure 5: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), cistern of Poggio Murlo, southern exterior facing.

Figure 6: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), cistern of Poggio Murlo, southern interior wall.

Dating Elements: Italic and African Terra Sigillata.

Chronology: Based on the materials found inside the structure after a brief survey carried out next to the southern wall, it is possible to date its use between the mid-1st century BCE and the late Imperial Age.

unpublished finding

No. 2. Località Pozzalino, Coste di Ramici (Page 137 I SW) (Fig. 7)

Description of the Location: The structure is situated on the side of a gully. The slope is barren at the top and covered by shrub and broom when going down. The steep decline is rendered unstable by the erosive action of the rain, which provokes continuous runoffs of the characteristic clay subsoil towards the valley bottom. The valley below in a westerly direction is again the Fosso Pescara valley, while the already mentioned Achignano local road passes downstream along the ridge of the gully.

Description of the Structure: The structure is composed of an underground lower rounded part, situated inside the slope of the ravine. This part has a diameter of 2 m and continues circa 3 m in depth. In contrast, the upper section is partially covered and is composed of a conic covering, whose walls are inclined at approximately 45 degrees and in part collapsed inward. Its diameter is similar to the lower chamber. Both parts are made in masonry work of travertine rocks irregularly bonded with lime mortar in generally horizontal rows. Inside the construction, the structure is partially filled by debris from the collapse of the upper section and the soil that leaked inside after the rains (Figs. 8–9).

Interpretation: This structure is probably a vertical kiln with a fixed covering aimed to the production of lime.[2] This hypothesis is supported by the location of the structure, built on the side of a slope in order to take advantage of the constant temperature and the nature of the clay soils. In fact, clayey ground is always sought after for those structures, as, due to the heat, it hardens and provides an excellent solid and heat-efficient surround.[3] Moreover, the upper section of the construction, a cone with walls inclined at 45 degrees, may correspond to the *lamia*, a quite frequent solution for the top level of lime kilns. Those coverings are pierced by lateral openings, the

Figure 7: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Kiln of Località Pozzalino.

Figure 8: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Kiln of Località Pozzalino, Northern view, upper part of the structure.

Figure 9: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Kiln of Località Pozzalino, inside of the structure.

air vents, serving as chimneys, and have two advantages: in areas where rainfall is relatively abundant, which is the case in Umbria, the *lamia* protects the combustion chamber from water infiltrations, and in addition, the waterproofing that it brings to the interior, even thought it reduces the draft, maintains and even increases the temperature. Thus the burning is more even than in kilns open at the top and it avoids the risk of the lime load being ruined by a storm, causing the slaking in the combustion chamber.[4] It is possible to further support the interpretation of the structure as a lime kiln by comparing it with other installations of this type used today not only in other places of Italy but also in different Mediterranean countries (Greece, Tunisia, Syria and others), where the methods of production have hardly changed since antiquity.[5] Finally, the characteristic type of vegetation of the region, composed mostly of shrub, especially broom, may provide further indirect confirmation of this hypothesis, as this vegetation is particularly suitable for this type of kiln.[6] Given that the fuel is fairly small and perfectly dry, it burns quickly and provides the flame the intense heat needed for the calcinations of limestone (1000° C).[7]

Chronology: It is very difficult to determine the chronology of such a structure, given the absolute absence of stratigraphic data or dating materials. Nevertheless, a Roman chronology in not excluded, given the proximity of other settlements belonging to that period.

No. 3 Località Marcignano (Page 137 I SE) (Fig. 10)

Description of the Location: Wide field growing wheat with a faintly triangular perimeter. It declines considerably from the center towards the eastern, western and southern sides corresponding with the bifurcation of the Fosso della Para, which borders the site in those three directions. On the contrary, the northern border is delimited by the Marcignano local road.

Description of the Site: All the surface of the field is affected by the presence of emerging clay materials. Most

of the remains are concentrated on the summit of the plot (average presence of 7 fragments/m^2), then are evenly scattered throughout the slope, and finally decrease progressively as the slope arrives to the Fosso (average presence of 2 fragments/m^2). Also, the color of the land changes substantially from the lighter summit to the edges, where it turns a darker shade, probably because the concentration of the materials. Large quantities of brick fragments and sherds have been found (Figs. 11–18). Also plaster fragments (in Pompeian red) (Fig. 19), glass (Fig. 20), marble slabs of different qualities (Fig. 21), little tesserae of different colors (Fig. 22) and *opus signinum* pavement fragments emerge in lower proportions. After a slightly deeper plowing at the center of the summit, a big quadrangular marble block (1 m wide) was found, one of whose sides was completely preserved (1.80 m) and another one only partially. At the center of one of the bigger faces there is a shallow groove, an element that could certify that the artifact was a doorstep or part of a tub (Fig. 23). Regarding the pottery sherds, there are different types represented. The most common type is the achromous coarse ware, followed by Italic Terra Sigillata

Figure 10: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano. Location area of the Villa rustica remains.

Figure 11: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Italic Terra Sigillata fragments.

Figure 12: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Italic Terra Sigillata fragments.

Figure 13: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Achromous ware with supperposed color fragments and late Italic Terra Sigillata fragment (center).

Figure 14: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Black glaze ware fragment.

Figure 15: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Coarse achromous ware fragments.

Figure 16: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Italic Terra Sigillata Chiara fragments.

Figure 17: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Amphorae fragments.

Figure 18: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Mosaic tesserae.

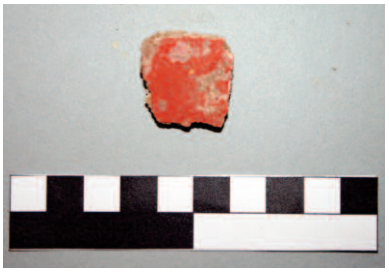

Figure 19: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Plaster fragment.

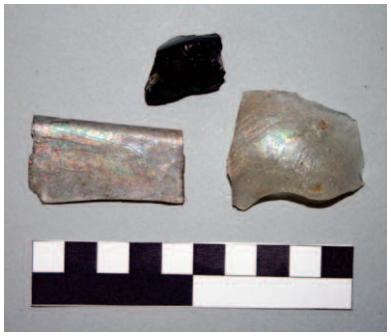

Figure 20: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Marble slabs fragments.

Figure 21: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Glass fragments.

Figure 22: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Fragment of *mortariu*..

Figure 23: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Travertine block from a doorstep.

(Figs. 11–12), African Terra Sigillata, achromous fine ware (Fig. 13), thin-walled ware and finally black glaze ware (Fig. 14).

Among the bricks, three of the fragments were stamped tiles:

1. *CIL* XV,[8] 862 (Figs. 24–25):

[C · N]VNN F[ORT PRIM]
[*anulus quasi quidam extans qui occupat spatium versus secundi, in medio PP*]
[C. N]unn(idi) F[ort(unati), Prim(i ? – itivi ?) / P (…) P (…)][9]

G. Nunnidius Fortunatus is an *officinator* who served *Asinia Quadratilla domina* of the *figlinae Med* (…). It has recently been proposed that these installations could be located in the middle Tiber area, in the territory of Orte, as the finding of some stamps near the fluvial harbor of Seripola suggests.[10] The stamp is dated around 142 CE.

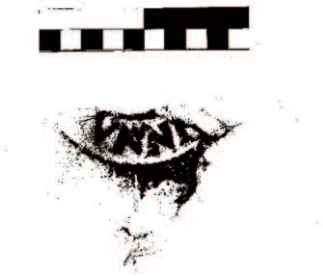

Figure 24: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Carbon copy of the stamp *CIL* XV, 862.

Figure 25: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Fragment of tile with the stamp *CIL* XV, 862.

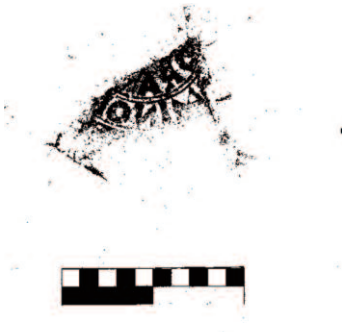

Figure 26: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Carbon copy of the stamp *CIL* XV, 773.

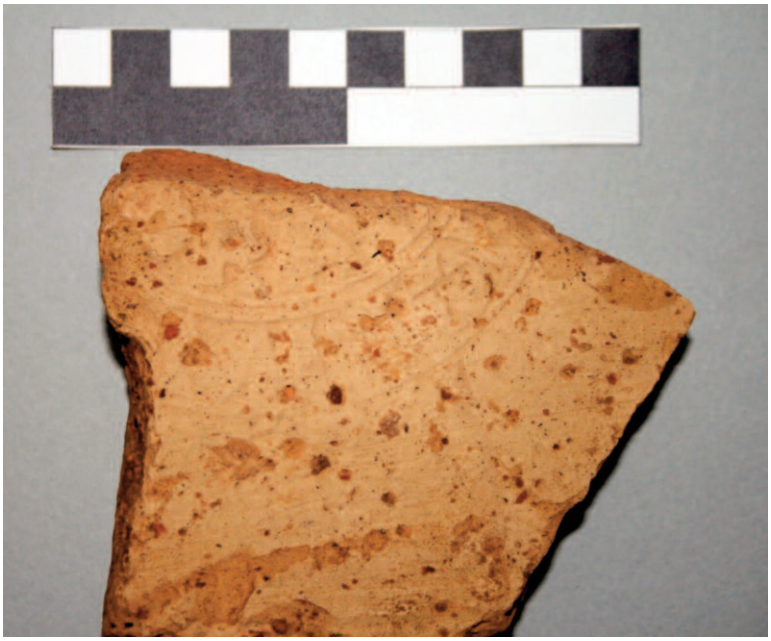

Figure 27: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Fragment of tile with the stamp *CIL* XV, 773.

Figure 28: Lugnano in Teverina (Italy), Località Marcignano, Villa rustica. Fragment of tile with unidentified stamp.

2. *CIL* XV, 773 (Figs. 26 –27):

[DE PRAEDIS D]OMINOR[VM]
[NOSTR]OR AV[GG]
[De praedis (duorum) d]ominorum / [nostr]or(um) Au[g(ustorum)]
[*protome Minervae vel Romae galeatae dextrorsum: ante hasta*][11]

Considering the *signum*, Steinby proposed attributing the stamp to the production of the *figlinae Genianae*. The same *signum* is repeated in the stamps *CIL* XV, 381 and 383, belonging to the *officinator Travius Felix* operating in the *figlinae Oceanae*. The "*minores*" section of the later has been located along the right banks of the Tiber between the territories of Bomarzo and Bassano in Teverina.[12]

3. Fragment (Fig. 28)

Only a small portion of the third stamp is preserved. Considering its circular or orbicular shape, it could date back between the end of the 1st century CE and Caracalla's period.[13]

Interpretation: The findings provide documentary evidence of a villa rustica. This hypothesis is further supported by the toponym "Marcignano," clearly of praedial origin.[14]

Dating Elements: Pottery fragments and stamped tiles.

Chronology: Roman Republican period–middle or late Imperial Age.

1 For a detailed study of this subject consult D. and N. Soren (eds.), *A Roman Villa and a Late Roman Infant Cemetery: Excavation at Poggio Gramignano Lugnano in Teverina* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1999).

2 For the ancient furnaces consult: C. F. Giuliani, *L'edilizia nell'antichità* (Roma: La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1990), 125–148; N. Cuomo Di Caprio, "Proposta di classificazione delle fornaci per ceramica e laterizi nell'area italiana, dalla preistoria a tutta l'epoca romana," *Sibrium* 11 (1971/1972): 371–461; J.-P. Adam, *L'arte di costruire presso i Romani: materiali e tecniche*, translated by M. P. Guidobald (Milano: Longanesi, 1988), 63–74.

3 Adam 1988, 71.

4 Adam 1988, 71.

5 Adam 1988, 69.

6 Adam 1988, 72.

7 Adam 1988, 69.

8 *CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1893–).

9 M. Steinby, "La cronologia delle figlinae doliari urbane dalla fine dell'età repubblicana fino all'inizio del III secolo," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 84 (1974–1975): 66–67, note 11.

10 P. Aureli, M. A. De Lucia brolli, and S. Del Lungo, *Orte (Viterbo) e il suo territorio. Scavi e ricerche in Etruria Meridionale fra Antichità e Medioevo* (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd., 2006), 233–234.

[11] Steinby 1974–1975, 43–44.

[12] T. Gasperoni , "Un nuovo insediamento produttivo nella media valle del Tevere," in S. Menchelli and M. Pasquinucci (eds.), *Territorio e produzioni ceramiche. Paesaggi, economia e società in età romana* (Pisa: PLUS—Pisa University Press, 2006), 113–127.

[13] Steinby 1974–1975, 19–23.

[14] G. Uggeri, "L'insediamento rurale nell'Umbria Meridionale tra Tardoantico e Altomedioevo e il problema della continuità," in *L'Umbria Meridionale fra Tardoantico e Altomedioevo, Atti del Convegno di Studio, Acquasparta 6-7 maggio 1989* (Perugia: Università degli studi, 1991), 9–24; S. Del Lungo, "Cultura ed evoluzione del paesaggio dalla tardoantichità al medioevo nella toponomastica amerina," in E. Menestò (ed.), *Amelia e i suoi statuti medievali, Atti della giornata di Studio, Amelia 15 marzo 2001* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2001), 196–215.

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Sacred Serpent Symbols: The Bearded Snakes of Etruria

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Abstract
The symbolic attributes of snakes, which have appeared in art for thousands of years in all corners of the world, make them a popular icon. In Etruria, bearded snakes become symbols of fear, protection, and perhaps even the afterlife (due to the shedding of their skin), i.e., as the chthonic dwellers of the Underworld. They are usually held as funerary symbols by so-called demons or guardians as they traverse the Underworld with the newly deceased. The following review traces the depictions of the bearded snake in Etruscan art at the end of the Archaic period and looks at how it transitioned into an important funerary symbol lasting into the Hellenistic period.

The snakes of ancient Etruria,[1] known today as vipers or adders (*Vipera aspis* and *Vipera berus*)[2] still exist throughout this region, exemplified best by my own encounter with a viper upon entering the Tomb of the Five Chairs at ancient Caere (modern Cerveteri) as a graduate student. The viper slithered alongside the footstools carved below the five stone-carved chairs—it was a sight to behold (Fig. 1)! From that moment on I have wondered about serpents in ancient Etruria and, more importantly, their iconographic role in Etruscan art.

Seen in the earliest forms of art, snake imagery looms large in the artistic repertoire worldwide. Their highly symbolic form, venomous bite, and the ability to shed their skin make them icons of fertility, fear, and rebirth, to name

Figure 1: An Italian viper slithers alongside the stone-carved footstools in the Tomb of the Five Chairs at ancient Caere (modern Cerveteri). Photograph by the author.

Figure 2: A Corinthian aryballos with a scene of the Hydra, first quarter of 6th century BCE. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

just some of their many symbolic attributes. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the popularity of serpent iconography in Italy. The earliest surviving depictions of snakes in Etruria appear in the Italo-Geometric period. Their presence is primarily decorative and mythical, although larger messages regarding fertility, life, death, and magical properties must have played a role in their visual rhetoric. One such example is seen in a detail from a painted amphora dating to the early 7th century BCE now housed in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (inv. 10188). A female (perhaps a goddess?) confronts a three-headed serpent followed by two other serpents. Some scholars have described this figure as Medea, but it is rather unclear (as the Greek myth describes Medea confronting a dragon).[3]

By the 6th and 5th centuries BCE in Etruria, snakes held a special place in Etruscan iconography, where they appear in literally all mediums of art: vase painting, sculpture, architectural décor, metal arts, and wall painting.[4] They are often shown in scenes of myth, used as symbolic funerary decoration, or displayed for their chthonic, sacred, and apotropaic aspects. As subterranean dwellers, they were, by nature, associated with the mysteries of the afterlife. Generally speaking, they represented a variety of symbolic meanings connected to their form (fertility); poisonous venom (fear, danger), and ability to shed their skin (afterlife and chthonic traits). Since Etruscan literature has not survived, we are left with the delicate task of carefully examining material culture for answers. If an Etruscan body of literature had survived, perhaps we would know more about the meaningful role serpents held in Etruscan religion, funerary rituals and daily life. But there are a few Etruscan literary references to snakes in the *Brontoscopic Calendar*, an extraordinary document of Etruscan omens. It offers some insight on serpents by mentioning poisonous snakes and "creeping things" (probably snakes); certainly they were both feared and revered.[5]

The following study does not aim to cite every depiction of serpents in Etruscan art, for which a much lengthier study would be necessary. Instead I hope to highlight one feature about these snakes that deserves special attention, namely the presence of their beards. In fact, Etruscan bearded snakes appear to have had a significant funerary role when they were held in the hands of winged figures or so-called *demons* ("guardians" is a better term) of the Underworld. These particular snakes are frequently depicted as menacing; they often fix their gaze on an approaching figure with exposed tongues. Essentially, these images convey a certain level of trepidation—especially dramatic if we imagine how they must have appeared by the light of a torch on a dark tomb wall. What better way to ward off trespassers of the tomb (which doubtlessly must have been of concern to the Etruscans)?

One might assume that the bearded snake emerged in Etruscan art in the Orientalizing period via trade with the Phoenicians, Egyptians, or early Greeks. But in fact, bearded snakes became popular only during the Archaic period, precisely when Attic black-figure vases were being imported in high numbers to Etruria. Corinthian and Attic vases from the early 6th century BCE depicting the second labor of Herakles (Herakles and the Lernean Hydra) usually show the multi-snake-headed Hydra with beards. Indeed, the Lernean Hydra myth was an early and popular serpent theme in Greek art, as can be seen on a Corinthian *aryballos* in the J. Paul Getty Museum (inv. 92.AE.4) (Fig. 2). But other Greek subjects, such as the Gorgon Medusa,

Figure 3: Drawing of the Gorgon Medusa on the west pediment of the Artemis Temple at Corfu, ca. 590–580 BCE. After Gerhart Rodenwaldt, *Korkyra II. Die Bildwerke des Artemistempels in Korkyra* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1939).

also feature bearded snakes, either in the monster's coiffure (as in, for example, the Attic black-figure amphora with Gorgons in pursuit of Perseus in the Louvre [attributed to the Oll Group or Tyrrhenian Group, Louvre E857]), or as part of her belt. The latter appears on early Greek stone sculpture such as the well-known Gorgon Medusa on the west pediment from the Temple of Artemis at Corcyra (Corfu) dating to ca. 590–580 BCE.[6] In this relief bearded snakes are not only wrapped around her waist as a belt but also project from the Gorgon's neck (Fig. 3). Black-figure vases bearing representations of the goddess Athena often include bearded snakes that adorn her legendary aegis, while Attic red-figure vases feature scenes of the Maenads in a Bacchic frenzy frequently holding animals such as hares, felines, and the occasional bearded snake.[7] Finally, there are a few Attic black-figure works that depict the Chimera with a tail in the form of a bearded serpent (for example, an Attic black-figure cup by the Heidelberg Painter in the Louvre [A478] and an Attic black-figure cup in Kiel, Antikensammlung [B539]).

J. Boardman argued that the bearded snake entered Greece via Egypt, a concept that is not hard to fathom given the numerous images of bearded serpents permeating Egyptian art, especially in the funerary realm.[8] For the Egyptians, whose myths include some thirty snake gods, the serpent represented divine nature, they were guardians and protectors of the Underworld and were both worshiped and feared.[9] Snakes are often shown protecting gods, the soul, and the deceased's travel in the Underworld. Their beards are reminiscent of the false beards worn by pharaohs. Bearded serpents are connected with Osiris (also bearded), god of the afterlife and Underworld, brother and husband of Isis. Egyptian burials often contain the false beard placed inside the sarcophagus, a direct connection to the worship of Osiris.[10] The cobra was celebrated in the uraeus (a sacred snake symbol), worn on headdresses of deities and pharaohs.[11]

With respect to ancient Greece, it is possible to conclude that the bearded snake functioned predominately in the world of myth, representing "fantastic" beasts and/or hybrid monsters that are slain by a hero. There are, however, a handful of early funerary scenes with bearded snakes, for example, the 6th century BCE Chrysapha funerary relief where a bearded snake rises behind two seated figures. Guralnick argues for an Egyptian "connection" in the iconography—especially regarding the snake.[12] Another example is an Athenian black–figure kantharos (Cabinet de Medailles, Paris, 353). The vase depicts a funeral procession and pallbearers where a bearded snake appears to decorate a tombstone (?).[13]

Bearded snakes first appear in Etruria in the 6th century BCE and, not surprisingly, on works of art depicting Greek myths, especially Herakles and the Lernean Hydra. In fact, the Caeretan Hydria workshop at Caere not only celebrated the myths of Herakles but also produced one of the best-known works of this hero and the multi-snake-headed monster in all of pre-Roman Italy (Fig. 4). The artist, known today as the Eagle Painter and described by J. Hemelrijk as the "boss" and most prolific artisan of the workshop,[14] depicted the water snake with nine serpent heads, all of them bearded. Ancient sources describe the creature as having had multiple numbers of heads, ranging from one or nine to one hundred.[15] The Eagle Painter juxtaposed the colors of the nine serpents, alternating them in black and red, with the black serpents

featuring red beards and the red serpents, black beards. The contrasting shades of black and red speak to the amazing draftsmanship of the Eagle Painter, especially his appreciation for color and detail. The main body of the serpent wraps in a thick coil with black skin decorated in red dots (perhaps indicating poison), ending in a bifurcated tail. The special effects work to balance the symmetry of the composition while creating a colorful hybrid monster. Herakles, seen on the right side of the Hydra, grabs one of the serpent heads in his hand while six other snake heads fix their gaze on him—the serpent he grabs is the only one shown with its mouth open and tongue sticking out. Iolaos, Herakles' nephew, appears on the left side of the Hydra. He too grabs a serpent head and raises a sickle to its neck.[16] Note the small fire under Iolaos, an essential part of successfully cauterizing the decapitated serpent heads so they would not grow back. One humorous element of the scene is the crab (known in Greek mythology as Karkinos) coming to the aid of the Hydra by pinching Herakles' right heel![17] Herakles goes on to defeat the Hydra and crush the crab.

Interestingly, this same artist, gifted with a great sense of Etruscan humor, illustrated another Greek myth with Herakles that includes Kerberos and Eurystheus. Like the Hydra, the hybrid dog is in fact, by birth, reptilian, as he is the mythic son of Typhon and Echnida (part female and part snake). Kerberos occupies the main scene with Herakles and Eurystheus flanking it on the sides. The Eagle Painter's love for color is once again seen in his depiction of the three-headed dog in red, white, and black (black employed for the color of the front paws and the single torso). One of the most remarkable characteristics of this image is the snakes that spring forth from the creature's front paws, snouts, and the white dog's head and partial spine. These particular snakes are not bearded—they are in fact, spotted (a reference to poison?)—but their presence attests to the striking imagination revealed by this painter; in fact there are no parallels in Etruscan or Greek art.[18] Spotted snakes appear to be a specialty of the Eagle Painter, seen on another hydria in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum 3577) depicting a maenad carrying a spotted bearded serpent.[19]

A bold example of a wonderfully symmetrical composition with bearded snakes can also be seen on a black-figure amphora from the Ivy Leaf Group, now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden.[20] Two large eyes are augmented by sinuous snakes that interlock between the eyes and face each other with open mouths, protruding tongues, exposed teeth (not fangs), and dangling beards. Obviously the overall visual message is strongly apotropaic, with the eyes and bearded serpents working to ward off evil. It could have been used in the domestic sphere but most likely was made as a funerary object.

Architectural terracotta décor also supplies noteworthy bearded snake images—in this case, again associated with Herakles.[21] Six bearded snake heads, originally mounted on coiled bodies and placed on a ledge along a raking sima, are housed in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen. A torso with a lion's skin makes up part of the narrative with the bearded snakes. J. Christiansen and N. A. Winter suggest this terracotta narrative is most likely

Figure 4: Caeretan Hydria with Herakles and the Hydra, attributed to the Eagle Painter, ca. 530 BCE. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 83.AE.346).

Figure 5: Detail of a blue "demon" on the right side of the Tomb of the Blue Demons, Tarquinia, ca. 400 BCE. Photograph by the author; photo permission by Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo—Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale.

a scene of Herakles and the Hydra.[22] Although the fragments, which date to the end of the 6th century BCE, are without provenience, it is probable that they came from Caere.[23] It is interesting to note that these bearded terracotta snakes were not employed in a funerary context, but rather on a civic or religious building.

Etruscan bearded snakes take on a whole new symbolic value beyond the boundaries of imported Greek myth by the end of the 5th century BCE, appearing in greater numbers almost exclusively within a funerary context. One explanation for this, I argue, is the symbolic funerary meaning the bearded snake acquires at this time as Underworld guardians and protectors who could instill fear when needed, maintain boundaries, and propel the chthonic properties of the Underworld. In fact, they appear in the funerary repertoire together with the "guardians" who brandish them.

The Tomb of the Blue Demons in Tarquinia, painted around 400 BCE, provides evidence of all of these new facets of the bearded snake. The entire right side of the tomb offers a landscape of the Etruscan Underworld where various "demons" or "guardians" figure alongside a family group, who most likely receive the newly deceased into the Underworld. If we focus on the right side of the right wall, we see a blue skinned "demon" (from which the tomb takes its name) who brandishes two bearded snakes in his hands (Fig. 5). A black-skinned winged "demon" with blood-shot eyes and fangs approaches as he traverses a large boulder in the Underworld (Fig. 6). Notably, the blue-skinned guardian displays the bearded snakes as frightening weapons: he holds them upright so as to threaten the approaching trespasser (essentially stopping the intruder from disrupting the journey of the newly deceased into the Underworld). In this scene, the snakes have multifaceted connotations, including danger (since they threaten the black-skinned demon); as protective devices, they are literally held in the hands of the blue figure and help him ward off an enemy and thereby protect a given boundary (most likely the entrance or liminal boundary of the Underworld).[24] Because these images are located in a funerary context, both the Underworld landscape and the

Figure 6: Detail of two Underworld figures on the right wall of the Tomb of the Blue Demons, Tarquinia, ca. 400 BCE. Photograph by Marvin Morris, photo permission by Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo—Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale.

Figure 7: Detail of the Orcus Tomb II, back right wall with Tuchulcha and Theseus in the Underworld, Tarquinia. Ca. 325 BCE. Photograph by the author; photo permission by Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo—Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale.

Figure 8: Bronze statuette of Vanth featuring two bearded snakes coiling around her arms, ca. 425–400 BCE. Photo permission, The Trustees of the British Museum.

underground chamber combine to highlight the chthonic aspects of the snakes. The snakes undoubtedly function within Etruscan concepts of the Underworld and not Greek myth.

The persistence of these ideas can be seen in Tarquinian tomb paintings, including the Orcus Tomb II, which merges Etruscan concepts with Greek mythical figures. On its back wall, Theseus and Pirithous (?) play a board game in the Underworld in the presence of the looming figure of Tuchulcha, who threatens the two men (Fig. 7). The inscription above Tuchulcha's head, which provides his name, is purely Etruscan. The features of this "demon" are somewhat horrifying: they include a large hooked nose, donkey ears, and snakes that sprout from his head. His blue-spotted wings have even been described as "snake-like" by K. Hostetler, who points out that they match the pattern on the snakes that Tuchulcha brandishes (giving the wings an overall reptilian appearance).[25] Clearly, his presence here functions to remind Theseus that he does not belong in the Underworld.[26] Below Theseus on the right, a large bearded serpent, not blue like the one held by Tuchulcha but white with brown stripes, rises from the ground as it wraps along the next wall and lifts its head toward a blue-skinned figure (unfortunately, most of the wall is damaged). The different colors chosen to represent these two snakes merit further study, as the colors may determine their specific functions in the Underworld (one being held, the other rising up from the ground).

Bronze also offers some fascinating examples of bearded snakes. For example, metal attachments for wooden funerary carts, as seen by the fragments in the Metropolitan Museum of New York recently studied by R. D. De Puma.[27] S-shaped reinforcement plates are decorated with bearded snakes, and a larger element shows two serpentine coils highlighting bearded snakes facing in opposite directions. Since the cart was probably found in a tomb from Populonia,[28] it adds to our understanding that such bearded serpents provide not only in the tomb environment but also, and more importantly, during the public funerary transport or "parade" from the home to the tomb, as the deceased was laid out on the transport cart. Additionally, an elegant bronze statuette of Vanth, now housed in the British Museum (inv. 1772,0302.15), depicts her clutching two bearded snakes that wrap around her arms (Fig. 8). She is shown walking forward and carries the snakes as if they are torches (one of her most common attributes). The visual narrative is clear and concise: the bearded serpents scare and ward off unwanted creatures, protecting her as she traverses the dark and rocky terrain of the Underworld.

Etruscan painted vases are no exception when it comes to images of bearded serpents. One of the most well-known Etruscan red-figure vases from the 4th century BCE shows the Greek myth of Alcestis and Admetus, but in a fully "etruscanized" manner (Fig. 9). On this krater, now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the lovely couple (identified by their Etruscan names, *Alcsti* and *Amite*) embraces one last time before Alcestis departs for the Underworld (having agreed to die in place of her husband).[29] The actual embrace itself is very Etruscan, as we do not see such contact in Greek representations of this myth.[30] But the flanking underworld figures on the left and right are what give this scene an even deeper local meaning. On the left we see Charu, an Etruscan guardian

Figure 9: Drawing of a detail from an Etruscan volute-krater with Alcestis and Admetus, ca. 350 BCE from the Bibliotheque Nazionale, Paris. After George Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 3rd edition (London: John Murray, 1883), vol. 2, frontispiece.

Figure 10: Etruscan stone sarcophagus with a lid carved as a roof of temple or house with two coiled snakes atop, ca. 325 BCE, from Grotta Dipinta, Bomarzo. Photo permission, The Trustees of the British Museum.

of the Underworld. He is dressed in a white chiton and winged boots and carries his best-known attribute, a mallet. The figure on the right, a Tuchulcha-like creature, clutches two snakes, at least one of which displays a beard. Using them as weapons, he thrusts the snakes toward the couple. The snakes are not only his attribute; they also assist him as he "exerts power over those who dare break the cosmic order of the Underworld,"[31] as Admetus should be going off to die, not his wife.

Stone sarcophagi offer similarly fascinating comparisons. There is a unique depiction of snakes decorating the lid of a large stone sarcophagus in the British Museum (inv. 1838,0608.12) (Fig. 10). The interlacing snakes surely evoke the afterlife and concepts of rebirth. It is difficult to distinguish beards, as the snakes are knotted with their heads lying on the "roof" of the sarcophagus, but they deserve mention all the same for their distinctive display. It is interesting to note that the sarcophagus itself is decorated with floral designs and winged underworld figures to the right and left on both sides: namely Charu with a mallet and snake, and two winged females (perhaps Vanth). Likewise, a Tarquinian sarcophagus, now housed in the Archaeological Museum of Florence, shows a reclining couple flanked by hybrid creatures. The one on the right has a serpent body with wings and a beard; they appear to be "magical" hybrids of the Underworld.[32]

I opened this brief analysis with tomb painting and here return once again to the painted tomb walls of Etruria in order to highlight one last example of bearded snakes in the Underworld. The Tomb of the Infernal Quadriga in Sarteano (found in the fall of 2003 and dating to the early 4th century BCE) presents a striking contrast to the bearded snakes held in the hands of underworld guardians both for its scale and its compositional style, which is unquestionably exceptional.[33] The back left tomb wall presents a large colorful hybrid serpent (over one meter in size), which appears very much like a mythical Hydra with multiple heads—three to be exact, and all of them bearded (Fig. 11). The serpents showcase bright red combs and two expose their teeth (not fangs) as they glare towards the tomb entrance. Without a doubt, the image is impressive for its foreboding configuration and style. The

Figure 11: Detail of the Tomb of the Infernal Quadriga, Sarteano. A three-headed bearded serpent glares towards the entrance of the tomb. Photograph by the author; photo permission by Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo—Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'Area Metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale.

serpents lunge forward as their necks rear back and their figures combine into one large python-like body that coils on the ground, ending with a single tail whipping up in the air. The colors and patterns on this hybrid creature closely resemble those of the vipers (adders) of ancient Italy, with light-colored undersides and grey, dark-spotted skin. Surely this multi-headed serpent functioned to protect the deceased in the afterlife and served, as well, to scare off intruders to the tomb. Because it was compositionally too large to be held in the hands of an underworld guardian or "demon," it literally "loomed large" and functioned alone.[34]

Even non-bearded serpents or hybrid serpent-like creatures are not uncommon in Etruscan funerary art but are beyond the scope of this present study. Nevertheless, if we just look at wall paintings at Tarquinia we see such creatures in the tombs of the Typhon, Orcus I, and the Anina, not to mention the Tomb of the Reliefs at Cerveteri and the Hescanas Tomb outside Orvieto.[35] Assuredly, cinerary urns, painted vases, bronze mirrors and sculpture all feature some sort of serpents (even bearded); a much lengthier examination of this topic will assuredly tell us more. As for the Romans, the bearded snake appears to have been passed down by the Etruscans, where it became a vital component of the household shrines in ancient Roman domestic space.[36] If we had more archaeological evidence of Etruscan homes, perhaps we may note that their function in Etruscan society spanned well beyond the grave.

What can be gleaned from this analysis of bearded snake imagery in Etruria? The fact that real serpents do not have beards, makes these hybrid serpents special—the beard is a marker, most likely indicating special underworld powers. The Etruscan bearded snake, used at first in the context of Greek myths, quickly transitioned into a purely Etruscan motif in the funerary environment. That transition to an Underworld icon raises interesting questions about the Egyptian bearded snakes and their similar role in the afterlife and Underworld. But the handling of the bearded serpent in the Etruscan Underworld by figures such as Vanth, Charu, and Tuchulcha indicates a unique and very Etruscan use of these snakes. They had a specific role as aids to the escorts or "guardians" of the newly deceased as they traversed the Underworld. They create a sense of fear and ward off undesirable trespassers while marking sacred boundaries. The very fact that they are brandished by underworld "guardians" attests to their sacred function as a protective entity—fending off intruders (in the tomb) or unwanted demons who pervade the Netherworld. In sum, bearded serpents were significant devices in Etruscan funerary iconography, guarding boundaries, instilling fear when necessary, and at the same time embodying (literally) the chthonic properties of the mysterious Underworld.

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1 I offer this article to David Soren in warm appreciation for his vibrant discussions on the Etruscans, the Romans, and much more. Special thanks goes to colleagues who engaged in serpent conversations with me and generously assisted with suggestions and/or proofread a version of this paper: Dimitrios Paleothodoros, Mario Del Chiaro, Alexandra Carpino, Audrey Gouy, Jean Macintosh Turfa, Rita Lucarelli, Cristina Hernandez, and Nancy Winter. All mistakes and mishaps are my own.

2 Kristen Hostetler, "Serpent Iconography," *Etruscan Studies* 10 (2004–20007): 203–209.

3 Marina Martelli, *La Ceramica degli* Etruschi (Novara: Instituto Geografico de Agostino, 1987), no. 41. For the possible Medea attribution, see Martelli 1987, 265. N.

T. de Grummond notes as a comparison a female figure who is demonstrably not Medea confronting a three-headed dragon on a Thracian gilt-silver plaque; Nancy T. de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History and Legend* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Antropology, 2006), 4.

4 See Hostetler 2004–2007; Adrian P. Harrison, "Animals in the Etruscan Household," in Jean Macintosh Turfa (ed.), *The Etruscan World* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 1086–1114.

5 For more on the snakes or "reptiles" in the *Brontoscopic Calendar*, see Jean Turfa Macintosh, *Divining the Etruscan World: The Brontoscopic Calendar and Religious Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 120–121, 138, 149–150, 200.

6 See Robin Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 73, fig. 31; Nigel Spivey, *Greek Sculpture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 154, fig. 6.2.

7 I thank Dimitrios Paleothodoros for bringing the Maenads to my attention. For more on this topic, see Susanne Marow, *Die Mänade in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1998), pl. 10, 231 (28).

8 John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 151. See Philippe Germond and Jacques Livet, *An Egyptian Bestiary: Animals in Life and Religion in the Land of the Pharaohs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), 177ff for more on the serpent in Egyptian iconography.

9 For more on the snake in Egypt see, The *Amduat* (*The Book of the Dead*, an important funerary text of the New Kingdom). Serpents are ubiquitous in Egyptian art; they were both feared and believed to protect sacred spaces and boundaries. Egyptian serpent iconography loomed large in their funerary art where they were guardians of the Netherworld. See Germond and Livet 2001, 177–178. For an early image of the snake in a funerary context, see the funerary stela of King Djet (fourth king of the First Dynasty) in Germond and Livet 2001, fig. 242 and Cyril Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), fig. 11. Snakes in Egypt are often horned, winged, and bearded. The false beard was worn by royalty (as pharaohs wore false beards to connect with the gods).

10 Gay Robins, "Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480–1350 B.C.," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 36 (1999): 68.

11 Germond and Livet 2001, 177.

12 Eleanor Guralnick, "The Chrysapha Relief and Its Connections with Egyptian Art," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60 (1974): 175–188.

13 See Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), fig. 15 p. 20; Donna Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), figs. 34–35.

14 Jaap M. Hemelrijk, *Caerean Hydriae* (Mainz: Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 1984), 67; also 41 (no. 23, referred to as the London Hydra, but now housed in the J. Paul Getty Museum).

15 Pausanius II, 37.4 refers to one head. Vergil describes the Hydra with one hundred heads, *Aen*. 7, 658. For more on the various numbers of heads, see Raffaella Bonaudo, *La Culla di Hermes: Iconografia e immaginario delle hydriai ceretane* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004), 123, n. 120.

16 It is worth recalling that Iolaos assisted in many of the Labors of Herakles. In fact, Apollodoros states that this specific labor against the Hydra was not considered a real achievement by Eurystheus precisely because Herakles was aided by Iolaos. See Bonaudo 2004, 123ff.

17 Compare the 6th century BCE Attic black-figure white-ground lekythos attributed to the Diosphos Painter (Louvre CA596). For more on the crab Karkinos, see Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.2. In the Greek myth, Herakles crushes the crab and kills the Hydra, but Hera placed them both among the stars as the constellations Hydra and Cancer.

18 This is a unique rendering of Kerberos with the snakes on his paws, snout and spine—in fact, probably the earliest rendition of Kerberos with three heads in Etruria. It is worth comparing a 6th century BCE Lakonian kylix that depicts one of the earliest images in Greece of Kerberos with three heads, draped in snakes with a bearded snake tail, but the paws are undecorated. See Maria Pipili, *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century BC* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1987), 6, fig. 8, no. 12.

19 See Hemelrijk 1984, no. 5, 14–15; pls. 36–38; fig. 5. Hemelrijk notes this is the only image of a maenad holding a snake outside of Attic black-figure painting.

20 Martelli 1987, no. 119, 307.

21 I thank Nancy Winter for bringing my attention to these bearded snakes in Copenhagen.

22 See Jette Christiansen and Nancy A. Winter, *Catalogue Etruria I: Architectural Terracottas and Painted Wall Plaques, Pinakes*, c. 625–200 (Copenhagen, Ny Carsburg Glyptotek, 2010), 44–45.

23 Nancy Winter discussed these fragments in person with me and suggested they could be Caeretan. Of interest is the Caeretan Hydria workshop active at this same time at Caere and where Herakles was a popular subject, suggesting craft connectivity among terracotta craftsmen and those of the painted vases.

[24] For more on boundaries in the Etruscan Underworld, see Francesco Roncalli, "Laris Pulenas and Sisyphus: Mortals, Heroes and Demons in the Etruscan Underworld," *Etruscan Studies* 3 (1996): 45–64.

[25] Hostetler 2004–2007.

[26] See Francesca, R. Serra Ridgway, "Revisiting the Etruscan Underworld," *Accordia Research Papers* 10: (2004–2006): 127–141; Mario Del Chiaro and Lisa C. Pieraccini, "Greek in Subject Matter, Etruscan by Design: Alcestis and Admetus on an Etruscan Red-figure Krater," in Stine Schierup and Victoria Sabetai (eds), *The Regional Production of Red-figure Pottery: Greece, Magna Graecia and Etruria* (Aarus: Aarus University Press, 2014), 304–310.

[27] Richard, D. De Puma, *Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 68-69, 4.26c–e.

[28] De Puma 2013, 69.

[29] John Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), 133; Del Chiaro and Pieraccini 2014.

[30] For more on the embrace, see Del Chiaro and Pieraccini 2014.

[31] See Del Chiaro and Pieraccini 2014 for a full discussion of this vase. For more on Tuchulcha exerting his power in the Underworld, see Ridgway 2004–2006, 131.

[32] The snakes are certainly images that relate to death and the journey to the Underworld. For more on this sarcophagus, see Françoise-Hélène Massa-Pairault, "Religion étrusque et culture grecque Quelques problems," in Françoise Gaultier and Dominique Briquel (eds.) *Les étrusques: les plus religieux des hommes. État de la recherché sur la religion étrusque* (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1997), figs. 10, 14.

[33] For a complete assessment of this tomb, see Alessandra Minetti, *La Tomba della quadriga infernale: Nella necropoli delle Pianacce di Sateano* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2006); for comments on the painting, see Stephan Steingräber, *Abundance of Life: Etruscan Tomb Painting* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), 215–218.

[34] For more on the wall painting and its relation to the artistic trends of this region of Etruria, see Minetti 2006, 42–44.

[35] The Tomb Orcus I shows a winged "demon" holding a serpent. It is not clear, due to the damage of the fresco, if the snake is bearded or not. In the Anina Tomb, Charu holds a serpent in his hand (appears to be not bearded); in the Tomb of the Reliefs at Cerveteri, Scylla appears (with snake legs) on the back wall; in the Hescanas Tomb, a female underworld "guardian" holds a snake.

[36] Federica Giacobello, *Larari Pomeiani: Iconografia e culto dei Lari in ambito* domestico (Milan: LED, 2008).

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Late Roman Tombs at Tróia (Portugal): The *Mensae*

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Abstract
In the Roman fish-salting production center of Tróia (Portugal), one of the largest of the Empire, many mensa *tombs have been identified in the last decades in several areas of the site. Since this type of tomb is fairly rare in Portugal and on the Iberian Peninsula, while it is rather common in Roman Africa, they are an unusual feature of Tróia in the late Roman period that may signify a strong African influence due to trade connections also reflected in a significant presence of African imports of fine wares and amphorae in the late contexts at Tróia. This paper will present and discuss the* mensa *tombs from Tróia.*

Introduction
The archaeological site of Tróia is located on the southwestern coast of Portugal, on a sand spit between the Sado River and the Atlantic Ocean (Figs. 1 and 2). In Roman times, this sand formation was probably still a line of sand islands, and the Roman settlement would have been on the island of Achale mentioned in this area by Rufus Avienus in *Ora Maritima* (v. 182–184).[1] It was certainly on the territory of the Roman city of Salacia Imperatoria Urbs (modern Alcácer do Sal) and across the river from another urban agglomeration, Caetobriga (modern Setúbal), in the Roman province of Lusitania.

Tide erosion and excavations from the 18th century contributed to the early discovery of Roman vestiges along 2 km, the most common being fish-salting vats assembled in production units, but houses, baths, wells, cemeteries, a mausoleum and an early Christian basilica have also been exposed.[2] Recent research has shown that Tróia is the largest fish-salting production center currently known on the territory of the Roman Empire.[3]

The Roman settlement of Tróia was occupied at least from the Tiberian period until the 6th century, even though the fish-salting production did not survive after the mid-5th century, the archaeological vestiges being very scarce after this date, a reflex of the dismembering of the Western Roman Empire and the consequent decline in the demand for long-distance exportable goods like salted fish and fish sauces.

Several cemeteries are known in Tróia, as well as a number of late burials over abandoned buildings like fish-salting workshops and the baths, and a great diversity of tombs is known. Cremation was practiced in the 1st and 2nd centuries, and inhumation seems to have been progressively adopted from the end of the 2nd century, to become the only funerary practice by the mid 3rd century.[4]

Among the various types of tomb in use in Tróia in Late Antiquity (plain graves, graves lined and covered with stones, bricks and tiles, amphorae with child burials, stone and brick cases of various types, and, exceptionally, stone sarcophagi) the so-called *mensa* tombs stand out. Given the considerable frequency of *mensae* in Tróia, either rectangular or sigma-shaped, compared to their rarity elsewhere in Lusitania, this funerary manifestation is a characteristic and an original feature of Tróia in Late Antiquity, suggesting close connections with Roman Africa, where these tombs were particularly common.

Mensa Tombs
Mensa tombs would have been destined for meals over the graves of the dead or for the deposition of offerings of food or perfume. Funerary banquets in which people shared meals with the deceased were a common practice for traditional Romans, and Christian converts continued this ritual, in spite of the prohibition of the Church.[5]

As their name suggests, *mensa* tombs reproduce the table for banquets. Sigma-shaped *mensae* are the most striking and tend to be semicircular, in the shape of the Greek letter sigma (C), reproducing the *mensa lunata* (half-moon shaped table) and the *stibadium*, a couch on which the guests reclined around a semicircular table for banquets. Plain *mensae* reproduce more ordinary rectangular tables.

The earliest *mensa* tomb known dates to the 2nd century CE and was discovered in Cherchell (Algeria), in the

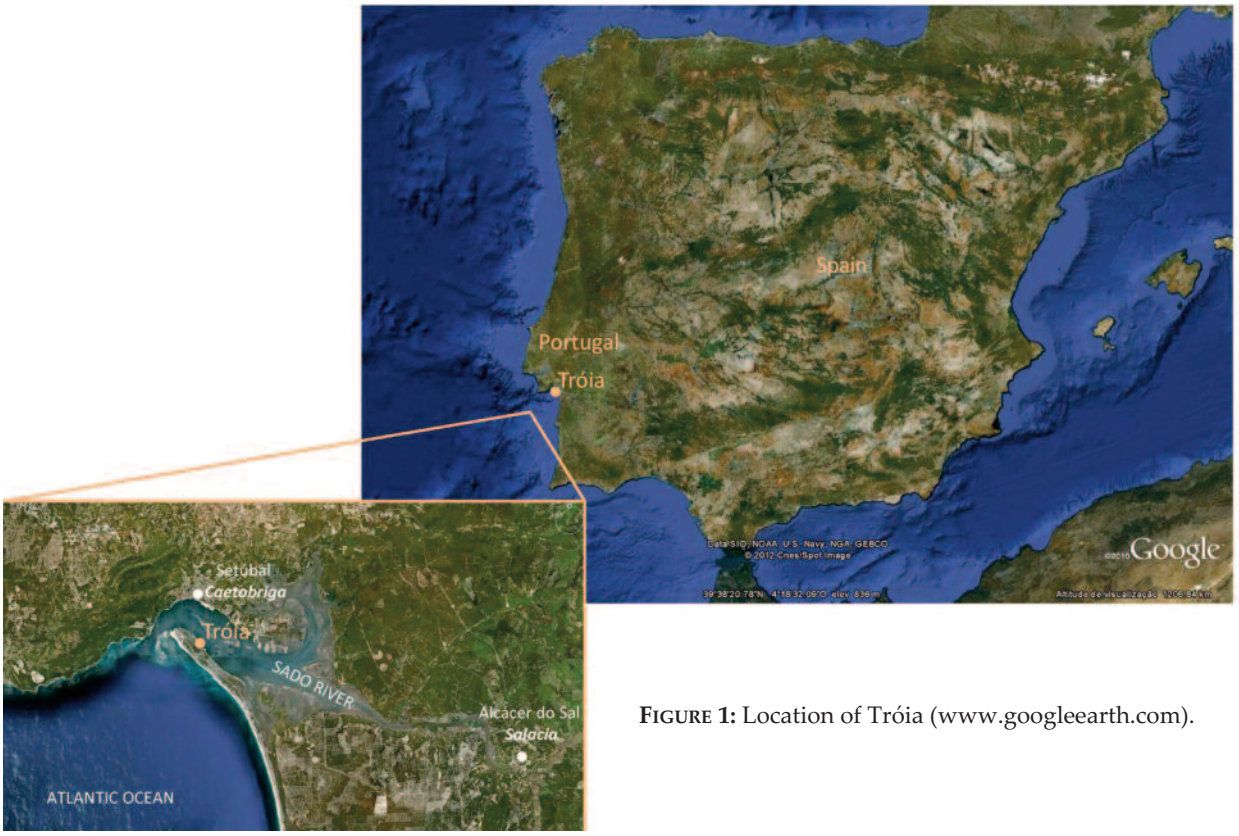

Figure 1: Location of Tróia (www.googleearth.com).

Figure 2: Aerial photo of the northwestern end of the peninsula of Tróia (photograph courtesy of Tróia Resort).

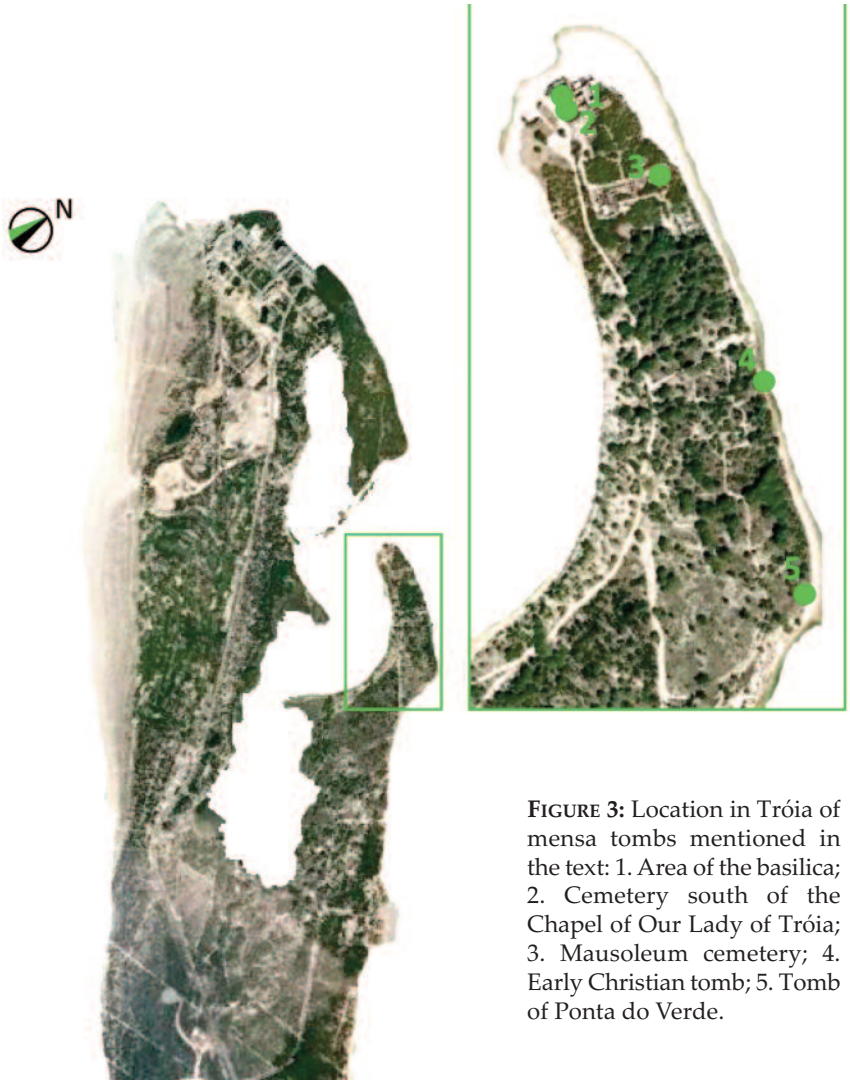

Figure 3: Location in Tróia of mensa tombs mentioned in the text: 1. Area of the basilica; 2. Cemetery south of the Chapel of Our Lady of Tróia; 3. Mausoleum cemetery; 4. Early Christian tomb; 5. Tomb of Ponta do Verde.

Roman African province of Mauritania Caesariensis, with an incineration.[6] Yet *mensae* only became common in the 4th century, especially in the same area of Tipasa (Algeria),[7] where they are frequent and continue in use until the 6th century.[8] According to P. Février, in the inscriptions of this province, the term *mensa* to designate the tomb is frequently used from the early 4th century onward.[9]

In Hispania, the earliest sigma-shaped *mensa* known, with an incineration, dates to the end of the 3rd century and was discovered in Merida[10] but remains an isolated find in that city and region. The most significant sets of *mensae*, aside from Tróia, have been discovered in Tarragona[11] and Cartagena,[12] dating respectively from the mid 4th century to the first half of the 5th century and from the end of the 4th century or early 5th.

Mensa tombs are not of a particular religious cult or practice, as the existence of incineration *mensae* prove, but the majority of *mensa* tombs in Tipasa (Algeria) are definitely Christian according to their decoration with mosaics with Christian epigraphs and themes.[13]

The Mensa Tombs in Tróia

On the archaeological site of Tróia, *mensa* tombs stand out for their coverings in *opus signinum*, a lime mortar with crushed ceramics.[14] They are either plain or sigma-shaped, and they hold inhumations.

The plain *mensae* are rectangular and slightly convex, with rounded edges and corners, while the sigma-shaped *mensae* tend to be semicircular with a lower central half-circle reproducing the table. Both can have an imbedded marble plaque reinforcing the representation of the table and they cover funerary cases, built with bricks or stones, where the bodies were laid.

In Tróia, *mensa* tombs have been found in different areas of the archaeological site (Fig. 3) and their date and religious affiliation remain a challenge to researchers.

The most numerous set of *mensa* tombs is in the area of the early Christian basilica (Fig. 4). According to earlier and recent investigations,[15] the cemetery occupied part of an abandoned fish-salting factory and part of a probable *domus* of the 2nd–3rd century. At least one of the vats of the abandoned fish-salting factory was used intensively and continuously for several burials and finally sealed at some stage with a single plain *mensa* covering. In the compartments of the abandoned *domus*, a number of *mensa* tombs with coverings in *opus signinum*, some of them with an embedded marble plaque, were installed (Fig. 5). In one of the compartments, a second level of tombs was built at a second stage (Fig. 6). Only at a later moment was the basilica built over part of this cemetery.

Since the abandonment of the fish-salting factory under the cemetery is dated to the first half of the 4th century,[16] and the basilica is most probably from the end of the 4th century or early 5th century,[17] this cemetery dates certainly

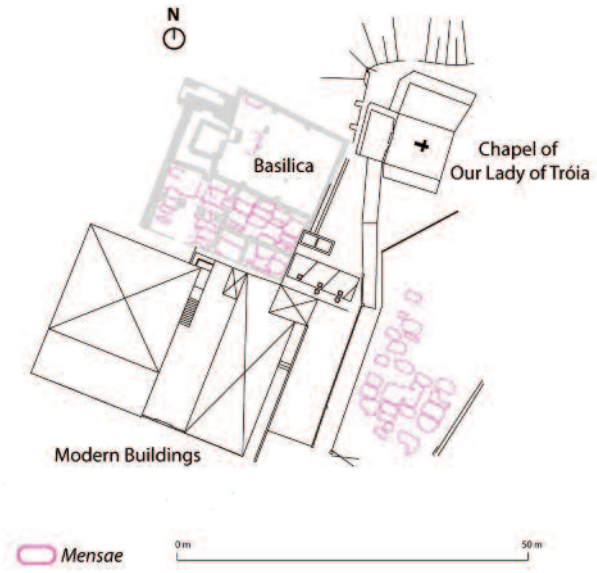

Figure 4: *Mensa* tombs in the area of the basilica and south of the Chapel of Our Lady of Tróia.

Figure 5: Plain *mensa* tombs in the compartment south of the basilica (photograph by João Almeida).

to the mid- or second half of the 4th century.

The south and southwest compartments have the most numerous set of plain *mensae*, with 36 tombs, and only one small sigma-shaped tomb or rather an unusually horse-shoe-shaped one (Fig. 7), in the second level of tombs. Some of the tomb coverings are large, as they may be as much as 3.70 m long and 2.50 m wide. Would they be collective tombs as the vat from the abandoned factory? None has been excavated.

In the cemetery south of the modern Chapel of Our Lady of Tróia (Fig. 3, no. 2 and Fig. 4), there are about ten sigma-shaped *mensa* tombs (Fig. 8), along with about 16 plain ones.[18] According to its discoverers, F. Almeida and A. C. Paixão, the observation of a violated tomb showed that its covering was laid on a structure composed of a small mound of boulders bonded with mortar, and the funerary case with the skeleton appeared at a depth of about 1.6 m. The grave goods were just a coarse-ware bowl.[19]

Even though this set of tombs is just 15 m away from the one in the compartment south of the basilica, this cemetery has its own individuality due to the type, frequency and dimension of the sigma-shaped tombs.

Although it was possible to deduce that the plain *mensa* tombs from the area of the basilica are highly probably from the mid or second half of the 4th century, this set of tombs, and in particular the sigma-shaped *mensae*, are not dated, and it is not possible to relate them to the small horse-shoe-shaped *mensa* in that area.

Figure 6: *Mensa* tombs at two different levels in the compartment south of the basilica (photograph by João Almeida).

Figure 7: Sigma-shaped *mensa* tomb among other *mensa* tombs (photograph by João Almeida).

Figure 8: Sigma-shaped *mensa* tombs in the cemetery south of the Chapel of Our Lady of Tróia (photograph by Frederico Tatá Rodrigues).

Figure 9: *Mensa* tomb of Ponta do Verde (photograph by the author).

It is tempting to consider the cemetery in the area of the basilica earlier than this one, since their prestige deserved a basilica built over or next to them, but there are no facts to prove it.

Northeast of a large fish-salting factory, behind a mausoleum probably from the 3rd century, on a mound formed by the accumulation of construction debris and refuse, a late cemetery was installed, the so-called Mausoleum Cemetery (Fig. 3, no. 3). It was partially excavated in the 60s and mostly composed of brick and stone rectangular case graves. A new, short, unpublished excavation in 2005 exposed two rectangular tombs with *opus signinum* coverings, demonstrating that *mensa* tombs are not exclusive to the basilica and its surroundings.

A tomb on the shoreline, damaged by the tides, in an area called Ponta do Verde (Fig. 3, no. 5), was subject to a salvage excavation in 2011. It revealed a large *mensa* with an *opus signinum* covering over a brick case with a pyramidal lid with stepped bricks that held the skeleton of an old woman (about 60 years old) with her head to northwest and no grave goods at all. The *opus signinum* covering, already incomplete, still kept a small, imbedded, rectangular white marble plaque, and if this plaque was centered, the original width of the *mensa* would have been 2.30m, while its length was preserved and was 3.10m (Fig. 9). The tomb was built against the wall of a building, probably abandoned at the time of its construction, whose function was not identified.

Figure 10: *Mensa* tomb with an ornamented head and concavity and canal on its covering (photograph by the author).

This tomb recalls the *mensa* tombs in the compartments next to the basilica, some of them with small, imbedded plaques of marble, and others of large dimensions, one of the largest 3.10 m by 2.10 m. These similarities suggest a similar date, probably in the second half of the 4th century.

The total absence of grave goods, including any piece related to clothing, suggests it is a Christian tomb in which the body was buried according to the Jewish tradition, simply rolled in a cloth, with no clothing or offerings.

Another *mensa* tomb, highly damaged by the tides, was identified on the shoreline of the estuary (Fig. 3, no. 4). Its head was a fresco painting on stucco showing two dark red Latin crosses bordering a recess, a square hole in the wall, with its border in brick also painted in dark red. Above the recess, possibly a third cross, and the crosses and the recess were framed by a round arch.

In the part of the *opus signinum* covering still preserved, a concavity connected to a small canal (Fig. 10) suggests that in this early Christian grave libations typical of traditional Roman rituals were performed, a practice well documented throughout Late Antiquity, with various features for that effect[20] and well attested in the early Christian cemeteries of the Iberian Peninsula.[21]

This tomb was built against the northwest wall of an earlier building that must have functioned, in this phase, as a mausoleum or a small basilica. It was not possible to excavate the compartment and date it.

Discussion

The important set of *mensa* tombs discovered at Tróia raises, first of all, the question of their date and of their religious affinity.

According to the superposition of buildings and

occupation layers in the area of the basilica, the *mensa* cemetery of that area is certainly from the 4th century, more likely from the second half of that century. On the other hand, the early Christian *mensa* tomb decorated with Latin crosses should not be so early. The cross motif appears on reliefs and coins from the end of the 4th century, but since it does not appear in the basilica wall paintings, probably dating to the end of the 4th century or early 5th century, this tomb is not earlier than the 5th century, and probably not earlier than the second half of that century, if not from the 6th century. Neither is the chronological relationship between the plain rectangular *mensa* tombs and the sigma-shaped ones clear. If the cemetery in the basilica area presents only a late, small example of these last ones, in the cemetery south of the modern Chapel of Our Lady of Tróia they appear side by side.

All that can be said is that plain, rectangular *mensae* were more common and that Tróia must have had *mensa* tombs at least in the 4th and 5th centuries. It is not such a long duration as at Tipasa, in Mauretania, where they appeared at the end of the 2nd century and lasted until the 6th century, but nevertheless the *mensa* definitely became a common tomb at Tróia in the late Roman period, appearing in many different locations of the long settlement, and probably many more are still hidden under the sand dunes.

The religious affinity of the *mensa* tombs from Tróia is another significant question, considering that there were *mensa* tombs with incinerations that were certainly not Christian in Lusitania (Merida, Spain) and Mauretania (Cherchell, Algeria).

Although the *mensa* tomb decorated with Latin crosses is definitely Christian, no other *mensa* in Tróia has such a straightforward connection to a religious cult.

As far as the *mensa* tombs from the basilica area predating that building are concerned, any affiliation would be possible, considering that in the Roman world traditional Romans and Christians were buried at first in the same cemeteries. Yet, the fact that a Christian basilica was built over part of the cemetery strongly suggests that at least some of its tombs were Christian, considering the Christian tendency to build churches over the tombs of martyrs and saints.

In the case of the Ponta do Verde *mensa*, the absence of grave goods in a large, wealthy tomb entirely built with new standardized bricks also suggests a Christian burial, as well as its northwest–southeast orientation. These features contrast strongly with burials from another cemetery in Tróia, the Cemetery of Caldeira, where graves such as n. 22, dated to the second half of the 3rd century or early 4th century and with an opposite southeast-northwest (solar) orientation had abundant grave goods.[22] The simplicity of the Ponta do Verde *mensa* points to a new religious-funerary paradigm, presumably a Christian one.

The architectural affinity of this large tomb, with an embedded marble plaque, to the large *mensae* of the area of the basilica suggests that those should also be Christian.

Surprisingly, in the large Cemetery of Caldeira, with about 150 identified burials of different types, dating from the mid-1st century to the mid-5th century,[23] and with 46% of its tombs with a presumably Christian northwest-southeast orientation, not a single *mensa* tomb was registered, which suggests a selective use of the tomb type in contemporaneous funerary spaces. How to explain this diversity in grave type? Are the more elaborate *mensa* tomb cemeteries destined for certain groups of people, like professional associations? Knowing the Christian affinities of *mensa* tombs in Mauritania, where they are very popular, it is very possible that the *mensa* tomb cemeteries in Tróia reflect the tendency for Christian cemeteries to detach from the pagan ones, as Noël Duval observed in Roman Africa.[24]

The fact that the *mensae* were particularly frequent and diversified in Roman Africa and that many of them profusely decorated with mosaics and epigraphs suggests that they were adopted on the Iberian Peninsula under African influence. Pedro Mateos[25] explains the *lectus triclinaris* and the grave mosaic in the space of the Basilica of Santa Eulália in the capital of Lusitania, Mérida, and other traces of North African influence in the Mérida funerary world by a current of influence introduced through Baetica, the Roman province of southern Spain, with Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts.

Tróia, located on the Atlantic and with great commercial activity, imported significant amounts of African Red Slip Ware in the second half of the 4th century and early 5th century[26] and African amphorae represent 50.6% of the imported amphorae in the late Empire, surpassing the imports from the neighboring province of Baetica.[27] The *mensae* suggest this large production center also received new people and new funerary practices from Roman Africa.

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Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Catullus, Serapis, and Harpocrates

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Abstract

This essay examines three Catullan references to Isiac divinities in the light of controversies over the restoration of Ptolemy XII Auletes to the Egyptian throne and popular struggles to establish sanctuaries of those deities on the Capitoline. It argues for connections between a mention of an eight-bearer litter in c. 10 and the lectica octaphoros *belonging to the king, and between an allusion to a shrine of Serapis in the same poem and current religious disturbances. In c. 74, an obscene joke about the child god Harpocrates is linked to conspiracy allegations at the trial of M. Caelius Rufus, but a comparable mention of that deity in c. 102 remains obscure. Catullus' presentation of his translation of Callimachus' "Lock of Berenice" as a gift to Q. Hortensius Hortalus might also be tangentially related to the Egyptian Question; certainly the project could have supplied him with a deeper background in Ptolemaic cosmological and religious ideology. Discussion of these references assumes that topical events would be at the forefront of Roman readers' minds. The essay concludes, however, with speculations on whether the poet's Bithynian sojourn might have exposed him to alternative perspectives on Isiac cults.*

Sometime, perhaps, in his mid-twenties, the poet C. Valerius Catullus, born probably in 84 BCE, came to Rome from Verona. While we have no evidence for the year of his arrival, his securely datable poems were all written during the period 56–54 BCE,[1] a time when Romans were preoccupied with both internal Egyptian politics[2] and attempts by adherents of Isiac religion to establish a shrine within the city.[3] In his collection Catullus explicitly mentions divinities associated with Isis three times, in cc. 10.26, 74.4 and 102.4. In this essay I will examine the poet's allusions to Isis worship in the context of senatorial debates regarding Egypt and elite concerns about the infiltration of exotic rites. My contribution is offered to David Soren in thanks for his warm collegiality and generosity in sharing his expert knowledge of ancient archaeological sites and material evidence. I have learned a great deal from him, and my teaching and research are much the better for it.

It is impossible in a brief essay to trace all the muddled ins and outs of the so-called "Egyptian Question," which originated when the ruler of Egypt Ptolemy Alexander bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans[4] and came to a head after his successor Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos, known as Auletes, was recognized as *socius et amicus populi Romani* in 59 BCE but driven from the throne by an Alexandrian mob in the following summer. The immediate cause of his deposition was the Roman annexation of Egypt's former possession Cyprus, which Auletes did nothing to prevent despite the fact that its unfortunate king, Ptolemy of Cyprus, was his own brother.[5] In autumn 58 the ex-monarch ventured to Rome seeking the assistance of leading senators, chiefly Pompey, in obtaining his restoration. He expected such help because he was heavily indebted to Roman financiers for part of the 6,000 talents he had already disbursed to Caesar and Pompey to secure his coveted status as ally.[6] During the year of his residence in Rome, living as a guest at Pompey's Alban villa, he continued his massive program of strategic bribery while borrowing funds from prominent optimates at extravagant rates of interest. His creditors were convinced that putting him back on the throne, by an armed expedition if necessary, was the only option if they wished to see their loans repaid. Though Ptolemy himself desired Pompey to undertake the mission and lobbied for him through his agents, conservative senators balked at giving the triumvir another sole command, and a fierce dispute arose over the plum assignment. Together with other prominent politicians, Rome's two leading orators Cicero and his longtime rival Q. Hortensius Hortalus championed the candidacy of P. Lentulus Spinther, consul in 57 BCE, who eventually received from the Senate a mandate to restore the king. Spinther was then prevented from taking action by the ultra-conservative Cato, who opportunely discovered a Sibylline oracle prohibiting any Egyptian military expedition.

While senators were still debating the nomination, however, the Alexandrians had sent a large embassy to Rome declaring their opposition to the restoration of the king by force. Before arriving in the city, these ambassadors were ambushed and many killed, and, although their leader Dio escaped, he himself was murdered before he could give an account of events to the Senate. Auletes, according to Cicero,[7] not only did not deny his responsibility but openly admitted it, though he subsequently thought it prudent to withdraw from Rome and take refuge at the temple of Artemis in Ephesus. Finally, in 55 BCE, Aulus Gabinius, proconsul of Syria and an associate of Pompey, illegally left his province, marched his army down to Egypt, and put Auletes back on his throne. After his return, Gabinius was subjected to a series of trials and eventually condemned on extortion charges, including receiving a substantial bribe from the once and future king.[8] The Egyptian Question was thus settled for the moment, although Rome's involvement with the country and its royal dynasty was by no means over.

As a member of the governor C. Memmius' cohort, Catullus himself was absent in Bithynia from late 57 through spring 56, when the Dio affair and its immediate fallout occurred.[9] However, if the Caelius and/or the Rufus named in some of his poems (Caelius in cc. 58 and 100; Rufus in cc. 69 and 77) is M. Caelius Rufus, prosecuted in April 56 under a *lex de vi* and successfully defended by Cicero, the poet upon his return might have taken a personal interest in the matter. Two of the charges brought against Caelius involved an attack upon the Alexandrian delegation at Puteoli and an alleged attempt on Dio's life, and on the latter count Clodia Metelli, Caelius' purported ex-mistress and Catullus' probable beloved "Lesbia," was the star witness.[10] Several of the poet's epigrams, as we will see, seem to refer to those facts. Whatever his later connection with the judicial proceedings, Catullus' poetry makes it clear that Ptolemy Auletes and the controversies surrounding him were still fresh in the public mind.

Meantime, and not perhaps incidentally, Isiac votaries were clashing with the Senate over the establishment of a sanctuary in the capital.[11] Although archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence may point to an *Iseum* on the Capitoline as early as 100 BCE,[12] and the existence of a priestly college is attested for the time of Sulla,[13] state action was certainly taken against the cult for political rather than moral reasons in 58, 53, and 48 BCE. There is, moreover, an anecdote in Valerius Maximus stating that the consul L. Aemilius Paulus personally enforced a Senatorial decree commanding the destruction of shrines (*fana*) of Isis and Serapis:[14] when workers hesitated to carry out the order, Paulus laid aside his magistrate's toga, took up an axe and beat the doors in.[15] While it is probable that the incident took place in Rome, the date is unclear; earlier scholarship assigned it to 50 BCE, but there are good reasons for moving it back to 182 and aligning it with the pronouncement against Bacchic cults four years earlier.[16] If so, it would establish an equally long pattern of senatorial hostility to Isis worship as well as Bacchic rites, and probably for much the same reason: large unsupervised popular gatherings posed a danger to civic stability.

Before the beginning of 58 BCE, as we learn from a passage of Varro quoted by Tertullian,[17] altars dedicated to Isis as well as to several Isiac deities—Serapis, Harpocrates and Anubis—had been erected on the Capitoline, destroyed by the Senate, and then rebuilt by the populace. When Gabinius, consul for 58, was about to inspect the sacrifices on the Kalends of January as the initial act of his new magistracy, the crowd prevented him from doing so because he had not pronounced (*constituisset*) upon the Egyptian gods. Upholding the decree of the senate, he banned their reestablishment.[18] Dio records another senatorial decree in late 53 closing privately built shrines of Isis and Serapis, which he considers an ominous portent of civil disturbances soon to occur in 52.[19] He also states that in 48 bees, presumably foretelling the invasion of foreign divinities, that settled near a Capitoline statue of Hercules while rites of Isis were going on led soothsayers to recommend razing the temple precincts of the Egyptian gods. When a temple of Bellona was accidentally damaged during that process, jars filled with human flesh were reportedly found.[20] These attested clashes were likely not the only incidents.

Though the sources for the socio-religious dispute are admittedly late, enough evidence survives to indicate that tensions between the government and the followers of Isis were running high during the fifties. In conjunction with the passions triggered by the ongoing Egyptian Question, this controversy suggests that any allusion to Isiac cult, even a casual one, in writings of the period might well have underlying topical significance. It is worth exploring Catullus' three overt mentions of Egyptian gods to see whether that assumption holds true.

We can begin with a reference occurring in the anecdotal c. 10. This piece is set in 56 BCE shortly after Catullus had returned to Rome from Bithynia. He has just met his friend Varus' girlfriend, patronizingly evaluated in an aside to readers as a *scortillum.../ non sane illepidum neque invenustum* ("a little whore... but certainly not uncharming nor unpretty," 3–4). When conversation turns to how he had made out financially while on Memmius' staff, Catullus complains coarsely of the poverty of Bithynia and his superior officer's stinginess. His companions press him harder: surely, though, he managed to obtain what is reported to be (*dicitur esse*, 15) the local product—litter bearers? To impress the girl, and despite the fact that (as he frankly tells us) he had no slave able to lift the foot of an old cot, Catullus modestly confesses to having acquired "eight tall fellows" (*octo homines...rectos*, 20). At which point his new acquaintance cuts in:

> *'quaeso', inquit, 'mihi, mi Catulle, paulum*
> *istos commoda: nam volo ad Serapim*
> *deferri'*
>
> "Please," she said, "Catullus dear, lend me those boys for a while,
> for I want to be carried to Serapis' shrine." (25–27)

An awkward retraction follows. Actually he misspoke: his friend Cinna—you know, Gaius—had *bought* them but he can use them whenever he likes as if he owned them. As for *you* (rounding on the girl) you're downright obtuse and obnoxious (*insulsa male et molesta*, 33), since you won't let someone speak loosely (*negligentem*, 34).

Scholarly interest in the poem centers on the manipulation of the first-person character Catullus and the partisan implications of his remarks about Memmius,[21] but intertextual echoes triggered by the verb *dicitur*, which points to statements about litters in previous texts, have likewise been noted. Employment of a litter by an able-bodied man is a polemic motif in oratory, cited as evidence of both effeminacy and arrogance.[22] In a fragment of a speech by C. Gracchus, a legate being transported back to Rome in a litter purchased abroad is castigated for cruelty to an Italian herdsman who mocked his mode of transport.[23] Cicero's abuse of Verres for conducting an administrative tour in Sicily via an eight-man litter *ut mos fuit Bithyniae regibus* ("in the style of Bithynian kings") expressly compares the corrupt procurator to Rome's current antagonist Mithridates of Pontus.[24] Both literary recollections seem perfectly suited to their present context, insofar as they comment ironically upon the speaker's own pretentiousness and his greedy preoccupation with making a fortune abroad.

These intertextual allusions, however, are overshadowed by a topical association corresponding in all particulars to the fictive circumstances surrounding the litter of c. 10. During his stay in Rome, Ptolemy Auletes was borne through the streets in a *lectica octaphoros* accompanied by a royal bodyguard. When the king himself was not using it, the conveyance, together with the bodyguard, was at the disposal of his associate P. Asicius. Some time before Caelius' trial, Asicius was prosecuted for the actual murder of Dio; on that occasion, too, Cicero procured an acquittal.[25] In a letter to his brother Quintus probably written later that spring, the orator recalls a time when he apparently borrowed the whole equipage:[26]

> *memini enim, cum hominem [M. Marium] portarem ad Baias Neapoli octaphoro Asiciano machaerophoris centum sequentibus, miros risus nos edere, cum ille ignarus sui comitatus repente aperuit lecticam et paene ille timore, ego risu corrui.*
>
> For I remember, when I was giving Marius a ride from Naples to Baiae in Asicius' eight-man litter with a hundred armed men following, I had a great laugh when he, unaware of his escort, suddenly opened the litter. He almost collapsed from fright, I from laughter.

Marius was an elderly invalid about whose health Cicero greatly worried, so employment of an ordinary litter under those conditions would have been perfectly justified. What the king's litter was doing in Naples, however, when he himself was presumably still in Rome; why the bodyguard was with the litter and not the king; and how Cicero got access to such amenities are all matters left unexplained, seemingly because Quintus already knew them. It is curious, though, that in a historical setting where a highly recognizable, indeed unique, eight-man litter really could be loaned out to third parties, the girl expresses a wish to borrow Catullus' vehicle because she desires to visit a shrine of Serapis—perhaps the disputed locale on the Capitoline. Sarcasm on her part is not unlikely, for, given those frequent civic disturbances noted above, the prudence of such an action might be questionable. Concluding that the royal litter and the turmoil involving Isiac places of worship are meaningfully linked, and that readers are expected to approach the story in that light, seems inescapable. While Catullus may have been abroad during most of Ptolemy's stay in Rome, he lost no time, it seems, in catching up with events upon his return, and the subtext of his narrative suggests lingering hostility to the king and his agents.

Two additional references to Isiac cult are epigrammatic mentions of the divine child Harpocrates (Egyptian *Ḥr-p³-ḫrd*, "Horus the Child"). In connection with Ptolemy, the aptness of the first invites conjecture. It occurs in one of seven invectives in the elegiac collection attacking a Gellius usually identified with L. Gellius Poplicola, son or, more likely, grandson of the consul of 72 BCE.[27] Incest is a running motif throughout this cycle, and c. 74 is the opening salvo:

> *Gellius audierat patruum obiurgare solere*
> *si quis delicias diceret aut faceret.*
> *hoc ne ipsi accideret, patrui perdepsuit ipsam*
> *uxorem, et patruum reddidit Arpocratem.*
> *quod voluit fecit: nam, quamvis irrumet ipsum*
> *nunc patruum, verbum non faciet patruus.*
>
> Gellius had heard his paternal uncle was primed to censure anyone who spoke or did naughty things. So that this would not happen to him, he kneaded Uncle's own wife and turned Uncle into Harpocrates. He got what he wanted, for however much he now screws Uncle himself, Uncle will not say a word.

As scholars have noted, Harpocrates' portrayal in Hellenistic art sets up the rather sophomoric double entendre.[28] Greek representations of the god show him with his finger placed just beneath his lips (Fig. 1), a gesture misinterpreted by Roman viewers as a call to mystic silence.[29] The innocent sense of the Harpocrates reference, then, is that by seducing his aunt Gellius has shamed his uncle into uttering no further reproof. *Irrumet* (5) must be construed metaphorically as "treat with contempt." Native Egyptian iconography, however, makes the child god actually suck his finger in token of his

Figure 1: Figure of Harpocrates: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

youth.[30] It is that indigenous meaning, Kitchell contends, that Catullus draws on, as an "esoteric piece of Eastern lore" (109), to stress, with *irrumet* understood on its obscene level, that Gellius has also silenced his uncle by oral rape. Perhaps, though, this earlier meaning would not have been so esoteric; because of the ongoing turmoil over the cult and its deities, Roman observers might well have known what the detail originally represented. Apart from its felicitous openness to risqué interpretation, the figure of Harpocrates is particularly appropriate in a squib denouncing Gellius for incest, since the child god was the son of Isis and her husband-brother Osiris.

Furthermore, c. 74 is linked through a series of cross-references to surrounding poems already shown to designate persons connected with the trial of M. Caelius Rufus. An earlier epigram, c. 69, attacks a Rufus for body odor: a fierce goat is said to dwell under his arms, a *mala bestia* ("evil beast") with whom no pretty girl would lie. In c. 71 an *aemulus* ("rival") is afflicted with both armpit odor and gout (*podagra*). Each poem, it has been suggested, puns on a personal name. The *bestia* of the first recalls L. Calpurnius Bestia, the biological father of Caelius' prosecutor Sempronius Atratinus, whom Caelius had previously accused of bribery.[31] Lameness (*claudicatio*) is characteristically associated with gout, and other instances of paronomasia involving the lexeme *claud-* point to a likely pun on Clodia's *gentilicium*.[32] Finally, c. 74 harks forward to c. 77, once again targeting a Rufus, which offers clues to its historical context in its opening fiscal language troping friendship as a loan and its closing metaphors of poison. Both systems of imagery refer to accusations brought against Caelius Rufus in the trial of 56 BCE, first of all borrowing money to finance the murder of the ambassador Dio and then attempting to poison Clodia.[33] Indeed, the entire sequence of epigrams from c. 69 to c. 79, in which Lesbia's identity is finally unmasked, can be read as an interconnected web wherein motif repetition and verbal parallels attach the themes of her own infidelity, betrayal of friendship by other *amici*, and familial incest to personalities and charges involved in that trial.[34]

While the Harpocrates reference in c. 74 gains point from its indirect association with the Egyptian Question, the second occurrence of the divine name is harder to explain. [35] In c. 102, Catullus pledges his silence to an otherwise unspecified Cornelius:

> *Si quicquam tacito commissum est fido ab amico,*
> *cuius sit penitus nota fides animi,*
> *meque esse invenies illorum iure sacratum,*
> *Corneli, et factum me esse puta Arpocratem.*
>
> If anything has been entrusted by a loyal friend to a man of silence whose fidelity of mind is deeply known, you will find me bound up by oath with the code of those men, Cornelius, and consider me made a Harpocrates.[36]

Edwards remarks that circulation of the epigram, whether in a published collection or independently, calls attention to a secret by betraying its existence. The presence of a confidence known but to a select few, and the privilege conferred by that knowledge, may indeed be its point. In the opening distich the notion of mutual fidelity (*fido ab amico…fides*) and the religious overtones of *iure sacratum* evoke the solemnity of initiatory rites. A striking lexical parallel occurs in Apuleius' novel when Photis begs Lucius

to keep secret the *arcana* she is about to reveal:[37]

> *sed melius de te doctrinaque tua praesumo, qui praeter generosam natalium dignitatem praeter sublime ingenium sacris pluribus initiatus profecto nosti sanctam silentii fidem.*
>
> But I have better faith in you and your training, you who apart from the great nobility of your parentage and your towering intellect surely know, having been initiated in many cults, the holy responsibility of silence.

Photis' testimonial of course foreshadows Lucius' eventual complicated and elaborate initiations into the mysteries of Isis. By adopting the pose of an initiate who verges on the brink of betraying the cult secret but does not, Catullus could be ironically recalling the fanatic tenacity of those real-life devotees of Isis who struggled with the Senate over the acceptability of their observances.[38]

One recent interpretive suggestion may bear on all these Serapic references. In c. 65 Catullus apologizes to Q. Hortensius Hortalus for his inability to compose an original poem due to grief over his brother's death. As a substitute, he sends the accompanying c. 66, a translation of Callimachus' *Lock of Berenice*. The rationale for this particular gift, Du Quesnay proposes, may have been Hortensius' prominent involvement in the dispute over the Egyptian Question. While it is perhaps going too far to regard it as a commissioned piece manifesting Hortensius' esteem for the Ptolemaic dynasty, the choice of work to translate may indeed be influenced by the recipient's known investment in settling the king's affairs.[39] In the course of rendering Callimachus' masterpiece into Latin, could Catullus have gained additional understanding of Ptolemaic religious ideology? Current scholarship on Alexandrian poetry has shown how deeply it integrates Egyptian cosmological and religious motifs with Greek myth.[40] In his compositions for the royal court, Callimachus Hellenized notions of divine kingship intrinsic to the ruler's performance of his functions as Pharaoh.[41] This is singularly true of the *Lock of Berenice*, which, through the catasterism of the Lock, suggests that Berenice, nominal "daughter" of the recently deified Arsinoë II, must herself be divine.[42] As the consort of the reigning monarch, Berenice, like Arsinoë, was venerated by her Egyptian subjects as an avatar of Isis. Although hair-sacrifice was an element of Greek funerary ritual familiar from Homer,[43] her dedication of a tress in thanksgiving for a husband's safe return assimilates her even more closely to the mourning Isis, who cut her hair upon learning of Osiris' death and dismemberment.[44] Awareness of the Egyptian royal foundation myth is therefore essential to grasp the message Callimachus had attempted to convey.

Since scholia on the *Aetia* were circulating within a generation of the author's death, it is conceivable that Catullus had much of that background information at his disposal.[45] If he was working upon the *Lock of Berenice* before his trip to Bithynia, as seems likely from the chronology, his knowledge of the sacral lore surrounding Isis might inform his casual references to Egyptian deities. In c. 10, the girl's desire to visit a shrine of Serapis would be a pointed allusion to the divine benefactor of the Ptolemaic house. If c. 74 is linked with the prosecution of Caelius for complicity in Dio's death, the Harpocrates witticism becomes more acerbic once we remember that the reigning pharaoh was identified with the divine child Horus, avenger of his murdered father. Lastly—though, admittedly, this is a bit of a stretch—when Catullus in c. 102 invites Cornelius to think of him "made Harpocrates," we might suspect a metapoetic joke, because, as we will see below, the youthful Egyptian god was also syncretized with Apollo, Callimachus' literary patron.[46]

In examining Catullus' three cultic allusions and his translation of the *Lock of Berenice*, this essay has focused upon their Roman political resonances, which would probably be of most interest to the metropolitan elites who comprised the poet's immediate readership. Yet we should recall that the influx of Egyptian religion into the capital city was part of a wider trans-Mediterranean diffusion that permeated into remoter areas of the Hellenized east, including Catullus' own province of Pontus and Bithynia.[47] Exposure to forms of worship where he was stationed or at ports of call visited on his return journey may have given him a less politicized view of these rites.[48] At Cius in Bithynia, not far from the provincial capital of Nicaea, for example, two inscriptions assigned to the first century BCE indicate that Egyptian cults were well established there.[49] In one (no. 324 Vidman), members of a *thiasos* honor a certain Anubion, holder of the liturgical office of trierarch, for properly exercising his religious functions, including those connected with the Charmosyna festival of Isis; the other (no. 325 Vidman), is a hymn of praise to various divinities—Anubis, Osiris, Zeus Kronides, Ammon, Serapis and finally Isis herself, who is accorded an exceptional genealogy as daughter of Ouranos and nursling of Erebos. Under early Ptolemaic influence, furthermore, Hellenistic cult institutions are documented for many of the *claras Asiae…urbes* ("famous cities of Asia," c. 46.6) Catullus looks forward to visiting on his way home.[50] Finally, it seems pertinent to cite as an evocative parallel one case of probable Isiac impact upon a Roman officer posted abroad. A Greek inscription found in Naples (no. 496 Vidman = *Inscriptiones Graecae* XIV.719) and belonging to the early first century CE records the dedication to Isis of a statue of Apollo-Horus-Harpocrates, one god under three names, made by the praetor M. Opsius Naevius, who lists in his *cursus honorum* the quaestorship of Pontus and Bithynia.[51] Scholars have long postulated that acquaintance with the worship of Anatolian Cybele in her homeland may underlie the singular and disturbing portrayal of Attis in c. 63; perhaps that was not the only exotic religion with which Catullus came into contact.

Previous generations of readers assumed the poet was indifferent to the political events of his time and regarded his attacks on figures like Caesar as motivated only by personal animosity, perhaps over rivalry for Lesbia. During the past three decades, however, many critics have expressed the opinion that, concerned about the state of affairs in Rome, he does indeed take serious stances on public issues.[52] This essay has attempted to build on that emerging picture of Catullus as politically aware observer by showing that, even though he does not express his own views, references to Isiac divinities contain topical implications marking him as an engaged witness to disputes over Egyptian matters. It is arguable that his familiarity with Callimachus' court poetry, along with possible encounters with Isiac practices during his overseas assignment, may have allowed him to form opinions more lenient and less politically charged than those of the senatorial class who were making Egyptian issues a bone of internal contention.[53]

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1 T. P. Wiseman, "Catullus, His Life and Times," *Journal of Roman Studies* 69 (1979), 167.

2 On events surrounding Ptolemy Auletes' ousting and restoration, see: Israel Shatzman, "The Egyptian Question in Roman Politics (59-54 B.C.)," *Latomus* 30.2 (1971): 363–369; Dorothy J. Thompson, "Egypt, 146–31 B.C.," in J. A. Crook, Andrew Lintott, and Elizabeth Rawson (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 310–326, accessed January 23, 2016, http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521256032.011; Erich S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1995 [1974]), 306–308; Mary Siani-Davies, "Ptolemy XII Auletes and the Romans," in *Marcus Tullius Cicero:* Pro Rabirio Postumo (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 1–38; Richard Westall, "The Loan to Ptolemy XII, 59–48 BCE," *Ricerche di egittologia e di antichicà copte* 12 (2010): 23–41.

3 For evidence concerning senatorial opposition to Isiac cult at this period, see Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis regina—Zeus Sarapis: Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* (B. G. Teubner: Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1995), 131–132; Sarolta A. Takács, *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World* (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill, 1995), 56–70; Miguel John Versluys, "'Isis Capitolina' and the Egyptian Cults in Late Republican Rome," in Laurent Bricault (ed.), *Isis en Occident* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 421–448; and Kaj Sandberg, "Isis Capitolina and the *Pomerium*: Notes on the Augural Topography of the Capitolium," *Arctos* 43 (2009): 141–160.

4 Cicero, *De lege agraria* ("On the Agrarian Law") 2.41. Whether the testator was Ptolemy IX Alexander I, killed in 87 BCE, or his successor Ptolemy X Alexander II, who was murdered by a mob in 80/79 BCE after a 19-day reign, remains unclear. Ernst Badian, "The Testament of Ptolemy Alexander," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 110 (1967): 178–192, champions the former; David C. Braund, "Royal Wills and Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 51 (1983), 24–28, argues for the latter.

5 In February 58 BCE, through tribunician legislation promulgated by P. Clodius Pulcher, the younger Cato was commissioned to supervise the annexation of the island, remove its king, confiscate his property, and oversee its sale at auction with the proceeds going to the treasury, most likely to finance Clodius' newly enacted *lex frumentaria* (W. Jeffrey Tatum, *The Patrician Tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher* [Chapel Hill and London: UNC Press, 1999], 121–122, 150–151, 155–156). Though Ptolemy of Cyprus was offered honorable retirement as a priest of Aphrodite at Paphos, he chose to commit suicide (Plutarch, *Cato minor* ["Life of the Younger Cato"] 35–36). Auletes' forbearance, meanwhile, may have been part of the price paid for Roman recognition (Siani-Davies 2001, 17).

6 Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* ("Life of the Deified Julius") 54; Dio Cassius 39.12.1.

7 *Pro Caelio* ("In Defense of Caelius") 23.

8 On the indictments brought against Gabinius and their outcomes, see Gruen 1995, 322–328 and Elaine Fantham, "The Trials of Gabinius in 54 B.C.," *Historia* 24.3 (1975): 425–443.

9 Although we have only Catullus' word that he served on the governor's staff, to doubt his testimony seems overly skeptical. Memmius, expressly designated *praetor* at 10.13 and 28.8, held that office in 58 BCE (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem* ["Letters to His Brother Quintus"] 1.2.16) and is celebrated as *imperator* on the reverse of a *denarius* (no. 427.1, minted by his nephew at Rome in 56), alluding to victories in Bithynia and Pontus (M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vols. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975], I.451). The numismatic evidence implies Catullus might even have seen combat.

10 For the function of these charges in the indictment and Clodia's involvement in the case, see Marilyn B. Skinner, *Clodia Metelli: The Tribune's Sister* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 105–112.

11 On the terminology of Isiac worship, the connection of other divinities to the core familial group Isis-Serapis/Osiris-Horus, and the local specificity of cult practice, see Michel Malaise, "La diffusion des cultes isiaques: un probleme de terminologie et de critique," in Laurent Bricault, Miguel John Versluys, and Paul G. P. Meyboom (eds.), *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World: Proceedings of the IIIrd International*

Conference of Isis Studies, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, May 11–14, 2005 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 19–39.

12 Versluys 2004 thinks the evidence merely has to do with private altars and shrines, but Sandberg 2009 strongly reaffirms the existence of a public sanctuary.

13 Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.30.5. While the hermeneutic issues of Book 11 (on which see the authoritative study of John J. Winkler, *Auctor & Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius's* The Golden Ass [Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1985], 204–247) might weaken trust in the factuality of this claim, its reliability is bolstered by other evidence (J. G. Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis Book [*Metamorphoses*, Book XI]: Edition with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain 39 [Leiden: Brill, 1975], 343–345).

14 "Sarapis," the Greek form of the god's name, is commonly understood as a Hellenization of Egyptian *wsir-ḥp*, the hypostasis of Osiris and the mummified Apis bull (John E. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* [Leiden: Brill, 1972], 4–5). This essay employs the Latinized form "Serapis."

15 Valerius Maximus 1.3.4.

16 Takács 1995, 57–58.

17 *Ad Nationes* ("To the Nations") 1.10.

18 Eric M. Orlin ("Octavian and Egyptian Cults: Redrawing the Boundaries of Romanness," *American Journal of Philology* 129.2 [2008], 237) suspects connections between one or more of the Senate's acts of resistance to the cult and either the general nexus of political maneuvering or the express struggle over restoring Ptolemy. As we have seen, Gabinius, the official involved in the first of these incidents, later overstepped his proconsular authority to put the king back in power.

19 Dio Cassius 40.47.

20 Dio Cassius 42.26.2.

21 On the poetic *persona* see Marilyn B. Skinner, "*Ut decuit cinaediorem*: Power, Gender, and Urbanity in Catullus 10," *Helios* 16 (1989): 7–23; William Fitzgerald, *Catullan Provocations: Lyric Poetry and the Drama of Position* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1995), 169–179; Christopher Nappa, *Aspects of Catullus' Social Fiction* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001), 87–93; Kathleen McCarthy, "Secrets and Lies: Horace *carm*. 1.27 and Catullus 10," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 71 (2013): 45–74. For a possible subtext defending Memmius' administrative record, consult David Braund, "The Politics of Catullus 10: Memmius, Caesar and the Bithynians," *Hermathena* 160 (1996): 45–57; his reading is opposed by Francis Cairns, "Catullus in and about Bithynia: Poems 68, 10, 28 and 47," in David Braund and Christopher Gill (eds.), *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome: Studies in honour of T. P. Wiseman* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2003), 165–190.

22 For the litter as a symbol of effeminacy, see Nappa 2001, 126–131.

23 The fragment is preserved in Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* ("Attic Nights") 10.3.5.

24 *Verrines* ("Orations against Verres") 2.5.27.

25 *Pro Caelio* ("In Defense of Caelius") 23–24.

26 *Ad Quintum Fratrem* ("Letters to His Brother Quintus") 2.8.2.

27 T. P. Wiseman, "Who Was Gellius?" in *Cinna the Poet and Other Roman Essays* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1974), 119–129, assembles the scattered references to various *Gellii* into a *stemma*. The incest charges that dogged the clan may stem from a celebrated incident in which the consul's son, accused of seducing his stepmother and planning the murder of his father, was tried in a family council and found not guilty (Valerius Maximus 5.9.1).

28 Kenneth Kitchell, "*Et patruum reddidit Arpocraten*: A Re-interpretation of Catullus, c. 74," in Carl Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* III (Brussels: Latomus, 1983), 100–110; F. V. Hickson, "Patruus: Paragon or Pervert?" *Syllecta Classica* 4 (1993): 21–26; R. H. Simmons, "Deconstructing a Father's Love: Catullus 72 and 74," *Classical World* 104.1 (2010): 29–57.

29 Varro, *De lingua Latina* ("On the Latin Language") 5.57; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.692; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* ("On Isis and Osiris") 68 (378C); Ausonius, *Epistulae* ("Letters") 24.27 (ed. Schenkl); Augustine, *De civitate Dei* ("On the City of God") 18.5.

30 E. S. Hall, "Harpocrates and Other Child Deities in Ancient Egyptian Sculpture," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 14 (1977): 55–58; Cristea Stefana, "Egyptian, Greek, Roman Harpocrates—A Protecting and Saviour God," in I. Moga (Coord.), *Angels, Demons and Representations of Afterlife within the Jewish, Pagan and Christian Imagery* (Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2013), 73–86.

31 At *pro Caelio* ("In Defense of Caelius") 26 Cicero refers to a Bestia who is obviously connected with the case. In the third edition of his commentary on the oration (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 154–157, R. G. Austin identified this man as the biological father of Sempronius Atratinus, who had been adopted into the Sempronian *gens*. That Catullus is punning on the name was first suggested by Nathan Dane II ("Rufus Redolens," *Classical Journal* 64.3 [1968]: 130) and argued more extensively by J. D. Noonan ("*Mala Bestia* in Catullus 69.7–8," *Classical World* 73.3 [1979]:

155–165).

[32] For puns on *claudicatio* see Cicero, *De Oratore* ("On the Orator") 2.249. Based on the goat imagery in cc. 69 and 71, John Nicholson ("Goats and Gout in Catullus 71," *Classical World* 90.4 [1997]: 251–261) identifies the *aemulus* as Caelius Rufus and contends that the echo of c. 68.69, *communes exerceremus amores*, in 71.3, *vestrum exercet amorem*, reinforces the hint conveyed by *podagra* that the *puella* in question is Clodia.

[33] So argued by D. López-Cañete Quiles, "Sobre Catulo, 77 (In Caelium)," *Habis* 34 (2003): 123–147.

[34] Marilyn B. Skinner, *Catullus in Verona: A Reading of the Elegiac* libellus, *Poems 65–116* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2003), 91–93.

[35] D. F. S. Thomson characterizes the poem as "an 'occasional' epigram, of a private kind" (*Catullus: Edited with a Textual and Interpretative Commentary* [Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1997], 53. Since it appears to have little to interest a third-party reader, one wonders why it was preserved. The addressee provides no clue: he might be Cornelius Nepos, to whom Catullus dedicates his *libellus* in c. 1, but the name, as Thomson observes, is common. D. W. T. C. Vessey ("A Cornelius Tacitus in Catullus?" *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 7.4 [1982]: 59 suggests a pun on a cognomen *Tacitus*, but even identifying a possible ancestor of the historian Cornelius Tacitus does nothing to shed light on the meaning. M. J. Edwards ("The Secret of Catullus 102," *Hermes* 118.3 [1990]: 382–38) thinks this Cornelius is the lover of the woman from Brixia mentioned at c. 67.35 and the poem is a further attempt to smear him. Nothing in the text indicates, however, that the secret confided is a disgraceful one, and an attempt to find implications of "pathic behavior" in the reference to Harpocrates founders on the fact that this time it is Catullus, not the addressee, who is rendered mute.

[36] The text is Mynors' Oxford Classical Text. In line 4, Thomson prints Schwabe's conjecture *putum*, but the word is not elsewhere attested other than in the phrase *purus putus*.

[37] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 3.15. I am not claiming that Apuleius is alluding to Catullus, but instead using the later text to show that the link between *fides* as a communal virtue and the obligation of silence imposed upon religious initiates is a natural and easily understood one.

[38] B. E. Stevens, *Silence in Catullus* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 195–196 thinks the poem makes an "ironically ostentatious" profession when juxtaposed with the "natural silence of death" encountered in c. 101.

[39] Ian Du Quesnay, "Three Problems in Poem 66," in Ian Du Quesnay and Tony Woodman (eds.), *Catullus: Poems, Books, Readers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 153–162.

[40] J. D. Reed, "Arsinoe's Adonis and the Poetics of Ptolemaic Imperialism," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 130 (2000): 319–351 and Susan A. Stephens, *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).

[41] Ludwig Koenen, "The Ptolemaic King as a Religious Figure," in Anthony Bulloch *et al*. (eds.), *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 81–113.

[42] Koenen 1993, 89–90.

[43] *Iliad* 23.162–176.

[44] Daniel Selden, "Alibis," *Classical Antiquity* 17.2 (1998): 289–412; see especially 339–340 and 344–348.

[45] P. J. Parsons and R. Kassel, "*Callimachus*: Victoria Berenices," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 25 (1977): 1–51.

[46] Merkelbach 1995, 91 and n. 2 (for illustrative examples); on Callimachus' use of this syncretism to express the dual nature of Ptolemaic kingship, consult Selden 1998, 384–405.

[47] My thanks to the referee who suggested this line of inquiry and provided helpful references for exploring it. Cult inscriptions from the province are collected in Ladislaus Vidman (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religiosis Isiacae et Serapicae* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969), 165–171, nos. 324–333. David Magie, "Egyptian Deities in Asia Minor in Inscriptions and on Coins," *American Journal of Archaeology* 57.3 (1953): 163–187 offers a brief survey of epigraphic and numismatic evidence for this entire region. For a fuller discussion, see Françoise Dunand, *Le Culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1973); Pontus and Bithynia are treated in vol. III, *Le culte d'Isis en Asie Mineure: Clergé et ritual des sanctuaires isiaques*, 105–117.

[48] Most evidence for the popularity of Isiac cults in Pontus and Bithynia, to be sure, stems from a later period. Pliny the Younger reports to Trajan that a temple of Isis at Nicomedia had been destroyed by fire (*Epistulae* ["Letters"] 10.33.1), but we do not know when it was built. Coins and inscriptions are overwhelmingly of Imperial date, and the famous "origin story" of Serapis' cult statue at Alexandria, supposedly taken by Ptolomy I Soter from a temple of Hades at Sinope on the Black Sea coast, was probably also conceived in post-Augustan times. The fullest account of its removal is Tacitus, *Historiae* ("Histories") 4.83–84; a shorter version is found in Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* ("On Isis and Osiris") 28 (361F). Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* ("Exhortation") 4.48.4–6, who preserves a report that

the statue, commissioned by the Pharaoh Sesostris, was made by a Greek sculptor named Bryaxis. For commentary on this passage, see Wilhelm Hornbostel (*Sarapis: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes* [Leiden: Brill, 1973], 35–58). On stylistic grounds, Hornhostel attributes the statue to the well-known fourth-century BCE sculptor of that name; the story of its transport from Sinope, he thinks, is an Imperial-age invention (127–130).

[49] Dunand 1973, 107–112.

[50] On the mainland of Asia Minor and the islands of the southwestern Aegean, Magie counts twenty-one sites with evidence of Isiac religion going back to Hellenistic times (1957, 180–181).

[51] Vidman 1969, 231.

[52] See H.-P. Syndikus, "Catull und die Politik," *Gymnasium* 93 (1986): 34–47; David Konstan, "Self, Sex, and Empire in Catullus: The Construction of a Decentered Identity," in V. Bécares Botas *et al*. (eds.), *Intertextualidad en las literaturas griega y latina*, Classica Salmaticensia 2 (Madrid: Ediciones Clasicas, 2000), 213–231 (online at: http://test.stoa.org/diotima/essays/konstan4.pdf); and W. J. Tatum, "Social Commentary and Political Invective," in Marilyn B. Skinner (ed.), *A Companion to Catullus* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 333–353.

[53] My thanks to Pearce Paul Creasman, director of the University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition, for providing welcome access to the *Online Egyptological Bibliography* (*OEB*).