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Special Issue Dedicated to Etruscan and Roman Archeology

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Foreword

The ***Journal of the Houston Archeological Society*** is a publication of the Society. Our Mission is to foster enthusiastic interest and active participation in the discovery, documentation, and preservation of cultural resources (prehistoric and historic properties) of the city of Houston, the Houston metropolitan area, and the Upper Texas Gulf Coast Region.

The Houston Archeological Society holds monthly membership meetings with invited lecturers who speak on various topics of archeology and history. All meetings are free and open to the public.

Membership is easy! As a nonprofit organization, membership in the Houston Archeological Society is open to all persons who are interested in the diverse cultural history of Houston and surrounding areas, as well as the unique cultural heritage of the Upper Texas Gulf Coast Region. To become a member, you must agree with the mission and ethics set forth by the Society, pay annual dues and sign a Code of Ethics agreement and Release and Waiver of Liability Form.

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Editor's Message

I am pleased to present Issue No. 138 of *The Journal*, the first issue to be published by the Houston Archeological Society in 2018. This issue is dedicated to various aspects of Etruscan and Roman archeology and history. You might think what does Etruscan and Roman archeology have to do with Houston, let alone Texas. The answer to that question is many members of the Houston Archeological Society have varied archeological interests that not only span outside Texas into North America, but throughout the world as well. One of those areas outside the United States is an intense interest by a number of HAS members in the Roman Empire, from Britain in the north, to North Africa in the south, to Asia Minor and Palestine in the east, along with the Etruscan predecessors in Italy. This issue deals with some of those far flung interests.

The first two papers cover the general subject of Etruscan archeology by Etruscan expert (and HAS member) Dr. Claudia Penati. As the Etruscan period generally preceded the rise of the Roman Republic and later Empire, it is appropriate that these two papers go first. Claudia's papers are followed an article describing the general design principal of all Roman cities – from Rome to across the Empire – and includes photos from sites in Palestine, Jordan, Turkey and Greece illustrating Roman urban planning. This is followed by two articles dealing with Roman religious subjects: the Cult of Mithras at Ostia Antica by Louis Aulbach and Linda Gorski and the Asian Cult of Artemis (Diana) by Dub Crook. Next are two papers on general Roman archeology by Louis Aulbach and Linda Gorski. These papers cover the history of who built the famous Pantheon in Rome and some little known sites in and around Rome itself. We then move to the Roman Empire outside of Italy with a paper on Boudicca's rebellion in Britain and the origin of her name by David Furlow and an article on Greco-Roman North Africa by Fred Kelly. Next is a study of Julius Caesar's use of cavalry during the Gallic Wars by newly commissioned Second Lieutenant and HAS member Joshua Farrar. Lastly, is a study on Roman ceramics from northern Palestine in the first century A.D.

Note that this issue demonstrates our new publishing policy which has an expanded the range of subjects to include any topic of archeological interest that is studied and written by a HAS member. First preference will be given to subjects along the Gulf Coast / Houston area, followed by archeological subjects within the State of Texas. Material from outside Texas and the U.S. would receive next consideration followed by any research elsewhere in the world. So if you have worked on a site in North America, Europe, Africa, Meso-America, etc., please write it up and submit it to *The Journal* for publication. We publish promptly and I can guarantee your paper will be in print within a few months of submittal.

As always, we are very open to receiving any new submission that deals with an archeological subject. Do not worry that your paper may not be "perfect"; your editor is more than willing to work with you to create a publishable result. *The Journal* is the ideal vehicle for young and older authors alike to either begin or expand your published resume. Please send all submissions and inquiries to Dub Crook at the following email address:

dubcrook@kingwoodcable.com

Or call me with questions at 281-360-6451 (home) or 281-900-8831 (cell).

Contents

A BRIEF SURVEY ON THE ETRUSCAN CIVILIZATION

Claudia Penati

Introduction

The Etruscans were the most powerful civilization in ancient Italy before the rise of Rome. They were the first great civilization of Italy and flourished roughly between the 9th and the 2nd century BCE. The Etruscans inhabited not only the territories of Tuscany and northern Latium (Etruria proper), but also part of the Po River Valley in the northern Italy (the so-called "Padanian Etruria") and part of the Campania region in the south ("Campanian Etruria"). This region encompassed a vast area of fertile lands and mountain forests and was also rich in valuable mineral resources, especially in the Colline Metallifere (Metal-bearing Hills) and Elba Island. The land provided a favorable environment for the economic development of the Etrurian region, including farming (particularly grain, olives and wine) and the mineral exploitation of iron and silver. Moreover, access to the Tyrrhenian Sea, and partially to the Adriatic, also facilitated maritime trade with other parts of the Mediterranean. Piracy was one of the forms in which the Etruscans implemented their trade (it wasn't uncommon in those times), for which they are remembered in antiquity. The Etruscans were never united as a nation, but were organized in independent city-states, each with control over the surrounding territories. This partition is reflected in the archaeological record which shows distinct variations in each area.

Generally, the Etruscan civilization was highly influenced by the Hellenic culture, especially from the middle of the 8th century on. This is particularly evident in Etruscan art, crafts and architecture. However, the Etruscans did not just completely adopt Greek culture, but instead always maintained their clear identity by adapting what they needed and making it their own.

It is common to find the term "mystery" or "mysterious" when discussing the Etruscans among the general public, as if their civilization were particularly unknown and/or incomprehensible. Actually, if we compare our knowledge of the Etruscans to that concerning other pre-Roman populations of Italy, we know at least the same, or even more. There are extensive Etruscan archaeological finds and a great deal of information is now known regarding their civilization. Unfortunately, nothing remains of their literature, so we have to rely upon the monumental, archeological and epigraphic evidence to try and deduce who they were, how they lived, and how their society evolved. While some ancient authors, both Greek and Roman, wrote about particular aspects of the Etruscans, these written sources must be critically approached, as they are frequently the product of prejudices, such as describing the Etruscans as being disposed to feasting and pleasure or being particularly cruel.

Etruscan Origins

One of the alleged "mysteries" associated with the Etruscans is their origin, where they came from before settling in Italy. Interestingly, the subject was extensively debated in antiquity as historians tried to find an answer to Etruscan cultural diversity and their perceived "oddities", notably their language and religion.

The first to write about the Etruscans' origin was the Greek historian Herodotus (5th century BCE), who claimed that they came from Lydia before the advent of the Trojan War under the leadership of King Tyrrhenus (*Tyrsenoi*/*Tyrrenoi* was their Hellenic name). In general, almost all ancient sources say that the Etruscans migrated from the east, being descendants of either the Lydians or the Pelasgians.

Disagreeing with the prevailing theory of an eastern origin, the first century BCE Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus alone proposed their autochthony, an opinion that he said he gained from the Etruscans themselves, who, called themselves *Rasenna* and not *Tyrrenoi* (actually, from Etruscan inscriptions we have evidence of this term in the form *Rasna-*).

Modern scholars from the 19th century were greatly influenced by the ancient authors and proposed theories based upon either a migration from east or autochthony within Italy, using and "bending" the archaeological data to fit their particular theory. They were actually trying to find an explana-

tion for what appeared to be (to their eyes) the sudden appearance of an advanced civilization in the middle of ancient Italy around the beginning of 7th century BCE (i.e. with the advent of the Orientalizing period, see below). The discussions on origins finally came to a halt during the middle of the 20th century when one of the greatest Etruscologists, Massimo Pallottino, underlined the pointlessness of the efforts put into finding the origin of a population. On the contrary, Pallottino stated that it was more important to investigate the formation of the Etruscan civilization rather than its provenance; a formation that took place in Italy, with roots already in the Late Bronze Age, well before the 7th century.

In recent years, the discussion on Etruscan origins has risen once more thanks to scientific progress and the possibility of DNA analysis. Different genetic studies have generated completely different interpretations which haven't brought greater clarity on the topic, but the *vexata quaestio* (troublesome question) of Etruscan origins keeps coming back. More recently, progresses in the field of linguistics are guiding the most recent discussions, especially with regard to the "Lemnian issue" (see below).

At the core of the current debate on Etruscan origins is the Etruscan language. The vast majority of the archaeologists and linguists consider Etruscan to be a non Indo-European language (unlike all the Italic languages) and not comparable to almost any other known language, ancient or modern (Figure 1). Reading Etruscan is possible; in fact, the Etruscans derived their alphabet from the Greek-Euboic one, modifying it to fit the needs of their own language. What we know of the Etruscan language is through inscriptions or depictions on stone, metal or pottery. The longest inscription is about 1200 words and is from a third century BCE document known as the *Liber Linteus* (Linen Book). The name "Linen Book" refers to what remains of a sacred calendar that was re-used as mummy bandages during the Ptolemaic period in Egypt. In general, most Etruscan inscriptions are dedications of religious or funerary subjects, so the lexicon that we know is highly restricted. Even though readable, the translations of the longest inscriptions are frequently partial with only the general meaning as opposed to a full translation understood. The vast majority are instead short dedications, the meanings of which are completely clear.

Going back to the "Lemnian issue", as asserted above, the Etruscan language doesn't have a relationship with almost any other known language. The exceptions are a few short inscriptions from the Alps (Raetic language) and others from Lemnos, an island in the Aegean Sea conquered by the Athenians in 510 BCE. The main Lemnian document is a 33 word

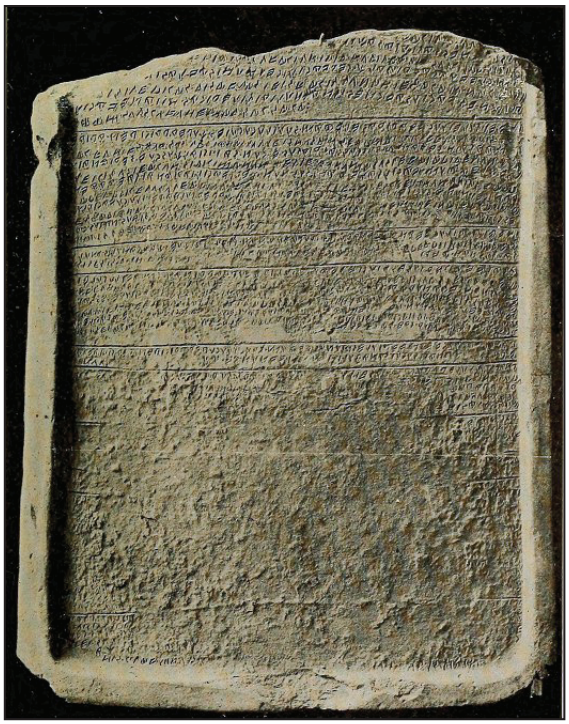

Figure 1. Example of Etruscan inscription: Tabula Capuana, 5th century BCE. (Internet Archive Book Images- https://www.flickr.com/photos/internetarchivebookimages/14590929287/ Source book page: https://archive.org/stream/ancientlegendsof00pais/ancientlegendsof00pais#page/n326/mode/1up, No restrictions, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=44348517)

inscription from a stele, generally considered to be a funerary monument, although a recent theory proposes it as part of decorative wall coverings (Bellelli 2012).

A relationship between the Lemnian and archaic Etruscan is unquestioned. However, the similarity between the two languages has been interpreted in two ways. First, it could reflect an Etruscan "migration" eastwards around the 8th century BCE in the form of a pirate settlement. Secondly, the relationship between the two languages could be explained through the existence of a common ancestral language, labeled "Proto-Tyrrenian". This language might have originated in Asia Minor, thus supporting the eastern origin theory; or, on the contrary, it could have been widely spread in prehistoric times, considering the affinity with the Raetic language of the Alps. Anyway, if the latter is true, this "contribution" of people from east should not be dated to the Iron Age but from earlier in the Bronze Age, at least

before the 10th century BCE. It should also not be considered a complete substitution of population, but the arrival of small groups that contributed to the eventual Etruscan ethnogenesis. For now, the question of Etruscan origin remains open.

Evolution of Etruscan Civilization

Regardless of an eastern contribution or autochthonous origin, the formation process of the Etruscan civilization should be located in the period of the Late Bronze Age, during the latter part of the 2nd millennium BCE. In the area of southern Etruria (northern Latium), the first stable defendable settlements appeared. These villages were mostly concentrated on the tops of hills, in naturally defendable positions. Traces of defensive walls have been found archeologically, thus testifying to the insecurity of the period including private appropriation of land. These early settlements appear to be based on family and extended family units as house structures are small enough to be suitable for extended families. There are also larger structures, which have been variously interpreted as privileged residences or storage facilities.

The archaeological evidence from this phase clearly shows influences from Central Europe, especially with regard to metallurgy and funerary rituals, notably in cremation burials. But there is also a relationship with the eastern Mediterranean area as well based on the discovery of imported artifacts from this region. This early material culture, called "proto-Villanovan", had a much larger extension than the later Etruscan civilization (as proto-Villanovan findings are located from the north of Italy to Sicily, showing peculiarities in different areas). It is only inside the region of Etruria that it is possible to appreciate the continuity and development of the principal elements of the proto-Villanovan culture, while elsewhere different material cultures followed at the beginning of the Iron Age.

In the Early Iron Age, in an area far less extended, a cultural behavior called "Villanovan" followed the proto-Villanovan. The Villanovan culture has been recognized as an expression of the Etruscan civilization, based partially on the identical geographic distribution of the Villanovan facies and the historic Etrurian region (Figure 2).

At the beginning of Iron Age, a synoecistic process brought about the coalescence of clusters of huts into what would become the most famous Etruscan

Figure 2. Map showing the diffusion of the Villanovan culture.

cities (such as Tarquinia, Veii, Caere, Orvieto/Volsinii, etc.). Archeologically, this has been confirmed as traces of these early settlements can be found in many of the same areas as major Etruscan cities. Evidence of the Villanovan culture can also be found outside Etruria proper including parts of the Po River Valley (for example at Bologna/Etr. Felsina) up to the Adriatic Sea and in Campania. In general, the site dimensions are noticeably increased compared to the previous ones in the Late Bronze Age, while the occupation of the "countryside" became less extensive. These new major settlements, whose position was strategically chosen, controlled large geographic areas, far greater than what their own agricultural needs would necessitate (they were large enough to generate excess for storage). Along with the possession of fertile lands, the Villanovans also clearly benefitted from the possession of mineral resources and of the location on trade routes.

Necropolises were located outside the villages, well separated from the living areas. The principal burial practice during the 9th century BCE was cremation. This would change in subsequent centuries as inhumation (burial) progressively increased, especially in southern Etruria (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Grave goods from a Villanovan tomb from Volterra. (Image by I. Sailko, CC BY 2.5, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid 5307640)

In this period, grave goods simply reflected the gender of the deceased without any obvious distinction with regard to social status within the community. It could be that the Etruscans were an almost egalitarian society during this phase, but it is always necessary to be alert to the implications of deriving knowledge about the organization of a society from its funerary customs. For example, it cannot be ruled out that only a portion of the population (the elite/leaders) were buried in the investigated burial sites, or it could also be that this burial uniformity reflected a precise will to represent the members of the community as equals that valued gender differentiated roles.

Progressively, during the 8th century BCE, elements of social stratification begin to appear and far richer tombs are found beside more modest ones. One of the most extensively excavated Villanovan necropolises is at Veii in northern Latium which clearly demonstrates the social "evolution" inside the community through the evolution of burial practices. At the beginning of the 8th century, very few burials stand out from the others with the exception of a few individuals recognized as the "chief" and his partner. However, by the middle of the 8th century, several different levels of wealth are present, showing a more articulated class stratification.

Burials for women are characterized by the association of spinning activity, so spindle whorls, bobbins, along with pins are common grave goods. The main role for males was as a warrior, and thus they were buried with weapons, such as helmets, swords, axes, lances and shields. Moreover, elements associated with ritual and symbolic meaning, such as ritual axes, have been found in significant burials.

In the case of cremations, the urns were mostly biconical in shape and covered with a bowl or rarely a helmet. If belonging to the head of a household, the urns were sometimes molded as huts, representing the house of the deceased. Thanks to the combination of data collected from the excavations of settlements and the representations from burials, we have a good idea of the building techniques and the general appearance of the Villanovan dwellings. In general, their houses had either an elliptical/oval or rectangular plan, with double sloping roofs decorated on the top, and an open door on the short side and a window on the longest side.

The peak of social stratification within Etruscan society takes place from the last decades of the 8th century to the start of the 6th century BCE. This phase is called "Orientalizing Period" because of the preponderance of eastern influence that can be seen in the archaeological record. Contact and trade with

Figure 4. Oinochoe in Bucchero. (Image by I. Sailko, CC BY 2.5, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4560588.

the Phoenicians and, especially, the Hellenic world, grew more and more in intensity and frequency after the settlement of various colonies in southern Italy beginning in the middle of the 8th century BCE. Through trade and exchange, a large amount of foreign artifacts arrived in Etruria, and we find them in tombs next to locally-produced items.

New orientalizing figurative patterns and models were introduced into local manufacturing (such as griffins, lions, etc.) and the diagnostic Etruscan "bucchero" pottery type starts to be produced. This fine type of pottery was fired to create a black surface and burnished, thus imitating the resemblance of more expensive metal (Figure 4). Bucchero ware was considered a luxury item and thus was exported all across the Mediterranean.

Throughout the 8th to the 6th century BCE, the villages progressively developed into proper cities. At the beginning of the 6th century BCE, fortified walls, public buildings, great temples and a well-organized road system also appeared. The "leaders" of this evolution were the settlements in southern Etruria, while in other areas, development progressed at a slower pace. In addition, new small settlements and scattered graves reappeared in the countryside, giving evidence of a repopulation of the landscape after the Villanovan synoecism.

Around the major cities, the necropolises became majestic and monumental. Large funeral mounds or "*tumuli*", in which several chamber tombs were hollowed out, are typical of the period (examples can be seen at Caere/Cerveteri, Vetulonia and other sites). There were no more individual graves and the presence of family tombs used over generations reflects a shift in the organization of Etruscan society into aristocratic family groups. The inhumation practice was generally adopted, although the practice of cremation remained in northern Etruria (for example, in Chiusi).

New ways of displaying power, derived from eastern models, were adopted along with traditional ones. The elites showed off their wealth by demonstrating their capacity to remove precious objects from general use and collecting them as grave goods inside burials. Into these princely tombs, enormous treasures accompanied the deceased, both objects locally manufactured and/or obtained through trade and exchange. These artifacts included chariots, numerous pieces of stunning jewelry (Figure 5), bronze thrones, ivory objects, and metal and ceramic vases and other elements related to the aristocratic ideal of the banquet. This ideal of aristocratic banquet was borrowed from the Greeks and adopted from now on as an essential status symbol.

Figure 5. Orientalizing Fibula (Broach) from Cerveteri. (Image by I. Sailko – Opera propria, CC BY-SA 3.0 https://commons,wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=30520908)

Gender differences with regard to funerary goods were still present, but both male and female tombs shared the characteristic accumulation of wealth status items.

Through the contact with the Hellenic world, the Etruscans also acquired the use of writing and, with the appearance of funerary inscriptions in the context of recording the names of the owners, it is possible to see the use of the "two name system" which helps us understand the existence of property ownership and inheritance. The central relevance of lineage is also reflected in practices of veneration or cult of the ancestors, as shown by statues, altars and containers for offerings in some graves. Replication of house plans and interiors in monumental burials also helps us to continue to understand how the Etruscan dwellings were built and evolved over time.

At the beginning of the 8th century BCE, the Etruscans still lived in huts, now with a rectangular plan. Later, with the evolution of the villages toward proper cities, house plans grew in complexity with bigger central halls and smaller rooms open on the long side. These new houses weren't exclusively built with perishable materials, as tiles, related to Greek types, are present beginning in the middle of 7th century BCE.

In the following Archaic period (second half of 6th to the first decades of 5th century BCE), the archaeological and epigraphic evidence reveals that the territorial expansion of the Etruscans reached its peak. Several settlements were established in the Po River Valley by migrants from the territory north of Tuscany mixing with the local Etruscans already in the region. During this period, kings of Etruscan origin also ruled over Rome. In this phase, the elite started to substantially reduce the amount of lavish goods in their tombs, and we can surmise that this was due in part to a conscious redirection of wealth toward public works, as evidenced by the evolution of new civil and religious constructions. The urbanization process into the larger cities continued resulting in the abandonment of previously flouring secondary sites. New sanctuaries, whose emergence is dated to the late 6th century BCE, were characterized by great splendor. By the beginning of the 5th century BCE, the larger cities progressively started to produce their own coinage, following the Greek

Figure 6. Tomb of the Leopards. (Image by Al Mare – Own work, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=657901)

Figure7. Tomb of the Lionesses. (Image by Gian Luca Ferme – Opera propria, CC BY SA 3.0 https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=15471331)

denominations. House plans became more complex and were often organized around a courtyard or *atrium* and were decorated with terracotta elements.

Control of the individual city-states seems to have been in the form of a local "king". The presence of long-term highly successful families is documented but it is unclear whether the kingship was hereditary or not and what were the precise functions of the king. During this period, the epigraphic evidence also shows the rise of a greater number of magistracies, implying an increase in the complexity of political life.

The burial sites around some of the major settlements (Caere, Orvieto) show a standardization of tomb types, now smaller in size and organized along an orthogonal plan. The importation of pottery shifted from Corinthian production to Attica, with its more specific representations of Hellenic myths, thus accelerating the religious syncretism between the Etruscan and Greek gods and the acquisition of new mythological narrations. The banquet, in the form of the Greek symposium, remained one of the main social status symbols of the aristocracy and representations of banquets are a common theme on decorative reliefs and painted tomb walls.

The funerary wall painting, one of the most famous expressions of Etruscan art, greatly develops during the 6th century BCE (Figures 6 and 7). The vast majority of the exquisitely painted tombs are located in Tarquinia (in northern Latium) but examples dating from the 6th to the 2nd centuries BCE have been found in both northern and southern Etruria as well. The cost to decorate these tombs with frescoes was so high that only the wealthiest of the elite could afford to have them realized. These paintings represented significant moments for the Etruscan elite, whether they recorded actual events and rituals that took place during the funerals, or they were meant to remember scenes of their earthly lives. Common depicted themes included banquets (Figure 6), dances and music (Figure 7), scenes of funerary games and rituals, hunting, fishing, etc. The general impression given about the Afterlife during the 6th century and first decades of the 5th century BCE is positive and serene, as a pleasant continuity of the earthly life. A thematic change in the style of funerary art can be seen during the second half of the 5th century when the quality and variety of the depictions diminishes. In this period, along with more realistic representations of the buried, imaginary demons, such as a terrible blue skinned demon of the underworld, Charun, made their appearance and leave us an impression of a less serene Afterlife.

The 5th century BCE was, in fact, a moment of crisis inside southern Etruria. The Etruscan hegemo-

ny in the Tyrrenian Sea was weakened and eventually ended in 474 BCE at the Battle of Cuma (a Greek colony in Campania). We don't know the reasons why the Etruscans joined with the Carthaginians against the Hellenic city. However, when faced with attack, the citizens of Cuma asked for help from Hieron, tyrant ruler of Greek Syracuse. He responded to their call for assistance and his fleet obtained a huge victory, marking the end of the Etruscan thalassocracy (sea power) in the Tyrrenian Sea and the beginning of a period of decline for southern Etruria. This phase of decline is reflected by the drop imported Attic ceramics in the tombs of the elites, by the progressive standardization and impoverishment of decoration and types of locally-manufactured pottery and bronze, and also by the lower quality of tomb frescoes. Moreover, Osco-Samnite tribes from the center of Apennine conquered the Etruscan Campanian city of Capua in 424 BCE, and by the end of the 5th century BCE, the Etruscan identity disappears from the region.

Meanwhile, the northern Etruscan city-states continued to flourish and the Padanian Etruria experienced a noticeable economic development. Greek commerce was mostly redirected toward the Adriatic coast which is evidenced by the wealth of grave goods (bronze vases and Attic ceramics) in the tombs in the Adriatic port city of Spina (Figure 8).

The southern Etruscan cities partially recovered toward the end of the 5th and during the 4th century BCE. Greek ceramics, especially black glaze pottery, were once more imported and the construction of civil and religious buildings resumed (new fortified walls, temples were erected). Houses of the elite and their tombs presented new types and were richly decorated. Tomb wall paintings show a surge in quality, and in general, art and crafts experienced a sort of "renaissance". But the 4th and 3rd century was also a difficult period for the Etruscan civilization. The Padanian Etruria was afflicted by several invasions of Celtic tribes from the north that pushed the remaining Etruscans into two main cities: Mantua, and especially, Spina. Even this important harbor on the Adriatic Sea was mostly abandoned by the end of the 3rd century BCE. The rest of what once was Etruscan territory was now characterized by a scattered Celtic population.

In Etruria proper, some cities experienced insurrections and, eventually, the area became prey for growing Roman expansionism. The first city to fall was Veii at the beginning of the 4th century BCE, with the city being destroyed and its territory allocated to Roman citizens. By the early 2nd century BCE, the Romans controlled the Etruscan territories up to the Po Valley.

The Romans intervened during the servile insurrections, frequently siding with the ruling elite and by doing so, creating a bond with the aristocratic part of the Etruscan society that continued to hold power.

Figure 8. Depiction of Kilix of Penthesilea Painter from Spina.
(Image by Giovanni Dall'Orto – Own work https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=428248)

There is archaeological and epigraphic evidence of the continuity of some aristocratic Etruscan families throughout the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. In general, the loss of political independence of the Etruscans was progressive, "in an apparent continuity with the forms of government and cultural traditions" (Pallottino 1975). The actual expropriation of lands and colonies wasn't frequent, and mostly circumscribed to the nearest territories from Rome. The majority of Etruscan cities went under the Roman political hegemony through the stipulation of alliances, imposed after military defeats.

It is possible that the Etruscan city-states did not understand the actual threat posed by Rome. Additionally, the individual city-states weren't able to systematically unify themselves to fight, despite regular meetings of the Etruscan league at the *Fanum Voltumnae* (the common "federal" sanctuary, recently discovered next to Orvieto). The gradual absorption of Etruscan civilization into Rome lasted for around two centuries until all Etruscans became Roman citizens at the beginning of the 1st century BCE. From this moment on, the Romanization process, the transformation that tended toward the cultural uniformity and adoption of Roman culture, accelerated. The Latin language progressively substituted for Etruscan and from the end of the Augustan period (27 BCE-14 CE), no inscription in Etruscan is known.

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A GLIMPSE ON ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN CONNECTIONS

Claudia Penati

Introduction

The relationship and the contacts between the Etruscan and the Roman civilizations (and in general with the Latin/Latial culture) were always close and intense beginning in prehistoric times. The geographical proximity of both cultures facilitated the interactions. They were neighbors; in fact, one of the major Etruscan cities, Veii, was only around 16 km from Rome. The presence of family names of Latin and Italic origin in Etruscan necropolises reveals the mixture of peoples, the movement between ethnicities that was characteristic of the area (Morandi Tarabella 2004). Moreover, many Etruscan immigrants lived in Rome (a survey on the related sources can be found in Ampolo 2009). Archaeological, literary and linguistic evidence contribute to defining these interactions through time. Due to different interpretations of the data, the role and the impact of the Etruscans on the formation and development of Roman civilization has been evaluated differently by scholars and has been variously emphasized or downplayed.

This paper briefly summarizes (without claiming to be exhaustive) the more relevant evidence of this enormous subject, with particular interest for the end of Orientalizing and the Archaic period in which Roman written tradition dated the Etruscan kings of Rome (the Tarquinis dynasty). The relationship between the two civilizations can be archaeologically and linguistically appreciated from the beginning of their existences until well after the overthrow of the monarchy.

Religious Influences

The contact and the proximity of the Etruscan and Roman cultures precipitated interactions from the very beginning of the "lifespan" of both ethnicities. While the Etruscan and Latial cultures were taking shape (well before the period in which we can speak of the city of Rome), it is possible to see the influences on both the religious and social structure organization that the proto-Latins exercised upon the "Etruscans to be". While it is not surprising to see the adoption of foreign deities in a polytheist pantheon, it cannot be underestimated the importance that these gods, or at least some of them, would have on Etruscan religion.

During this phase, around the 11th and 10th century BCE, a cultural hybridization can be perceived by the acquisition by the proto-Etruscan religion of deities from the proto-Latial pantheon. The introduction of these entities in the Etruscan religion is mostly due to the contact with the Latin/Latial culture, as their Etruscan names demonstrate. For several of their names, in fact, an Italic derivation has been proposed (Latin, Osco-Umbrian, or even proto-Sabellic) (Rix 1981). An additional step in the interpretation of these external influences is due in recent years to the research of Mario Torelli (Torelli 2008, 2009). The Latin Mars became Maris for the Etruscans; Minerva became Menerva/Menrva; Iuno to Uni; Neptunus to Nethuns; Silvanus to Selvans; and Saturnus to Satres (Nethuns is considered to be an Umbrian not Latin loan; Penney 2009).

In general, most of these Latin-derived deities are important entities in the Roman "Numan" calendar and are related to festivals associated with the solar New Year and, especially, the agrarian New Year (in March). Others are related to initiation rites, such as Mars and Anna Perenna, respectively, for young boys and girls; Iuno in relation to marriage practices; and Menerva in a role as protector of children. Even though the Etruscan pantheon already had an organic structure that revealed a clear and precise worldview, they acquired a number of new gods, most likely for the rituals associated with them. The practice of adoption of foreign deities in order to import some of their rites and rituals indicates the willingness of the proto-Etruscans to shape some of their own sociopolitical structures to the Latial ones. This hybridization of cultures presumes a period of a "subordination" of the proto-Etruscans to their proto-Latin neighbors.

Other meaningful cultural elements were adopted and remained part of the funerary tradition until the later Villanovan period. These include the hut shaped urns and the use of miniaturized objects as grave goods (Cristofani 1985:148; Torelli

2010b:140-141; Betti Sestrieri 1992). However, this situation of subordination changed rapidly starting around the 9th century BCE as the Etruscan civilization underwent a period of expansion and economic growth. Consequently, the Etruscan religious and funerary practices that were not influenced by the Latial culture developed independently.

The counterpart, Etruscan influence on Roman religious beliefs and rituals, is not so evident and profound. The conservative Roman religion, of purely Indo-European origin (Dumezil 2001), was not highly influenced by the Etruscans. The only terms which appear to refer to an "imported" Etruscan god seem to be Volturnalia (a festival) and flamen Volturnalis (one of the minor flamines, a type of priest related to Volturnum/Vertumnus) (Torelli 2009:119, 2010a:310-311; Cornell 1995:161). Voltumna was a major Etruscan god and the deity to whom the Etruscan league sanctuary was dedicated. Other Etruscan religious influences include the haruspicy, the practice of reading omens through the examination of entrails (Figure 1). The Etruscan haruspices (the priests that performed haruspicy) were regularly summoned during the period of the Roman Republic and even sometimes during the Empire. The Emperors had personal specialists in the Etrusca disciplina (Etruscan knowledge in divination) and local municipia around the empire had their own official haruspices as did the Roman legions, at least in Severian period (Briquel 2008).

Apart from a minor god in the Roman pantheon and a specific type of priests, the Etruscans influenced Roman cult rituals and ceremonies through the introduction of luxury in religious celebrations during the Archaic period (Torelli 2010a:323; see Cornell 1995:161-164 for a very critic discussion on the amount of influence that the Etruscans had on Roman religion).

Figure 1. Bronze model of sheep liver used for teaching divination (haruspicy), 2nd-1st century BCE. (Source: Wikipedia)

Insigna Imperii (Symbols of Power), Military Influence and Triumph

Ancient literary sources record several aspects of the Roman cultural tradition had their roots in the Etruscan culture having been introduced during the reign of the Etruscan kings in Rome. Archaeological evidence seems to support at least some of these ancient sources.

The venerable insignia imperii, the symbols of power, were explicitly said to have been introduced from Etruria (Dion. Ant Rom 3.59-62; Strabo Geogr 5.2.2; Sil. Pun 8.484-9; cf. Livy 1.8). One of the best known of these symbols are the fasces (tied bundle of wooden rods, generally including an axe) which were brought by the twelve lictors in front of the Roman Republican magistrates who held the imperium (the power to command). There is archaeological evidence of the antiquity of the fasces symbol in Etruria. Among the grave goods of the "Tomb of Lictor" from Vetulonia, dated to the 7th century BCE, a bundle of iron rods and a double axes have been recognized as the remains of a lictor "ancestor" (Camporeale 1967) (Figure 2). The use of axes as a military and political symbol of power is well known in Etruscan contexts during the 6th century BCE (a good example is in the terracotta friezes from Murlo, where one of the gods in the assembly is holding a two edge axe) and the antiquity of the symbolic value of the axe is testified at least since the Villanovan period, when ritual axes were deposed as grave

Figure 2. Fasces from the Tomb of Lictor at Vetulonia, 7th century BCE. (Modified from culturaprogress.com)

goods (Fortunelli 2008:186). Moreover, the most ancient representation of a bundle of branches (this time without axe) appears in the hand of a secondary character (i.e., a lictor) standing next to two magistrates/judges on a Etruscan commemorative relief from Chiusi from the second quarter of 5th century (Colonna 1976:188, 193 Figure 1). So, after its introduction to symbolize the kingly sacral and coercive power, this insigna became the exterior embodiment of coercive and executive power of the main Roman magistrates (Fortunelli 2008:186).

Another Etruscan power symbol that was imported into Rome was the ivory sella curulis (curule seat), the chair upon which the highest magistrates were entitled to sit on. It is believed that the Etruscans copied it during the Orientalizing period (end of the 8th century to the beginning of the 6th century BCE) from an eastern prototype used by the Greeks (diphros okladias) (Fortunelli 2008:186). Representations of this chair appear on a number of Etruscan monuments and artifacts from the 6th century BCE on. For example, members of the assembly can be seen seated on such chairs on the walls of Archaic tombs from Tarquinia (as in the Tomb of Augurs and the Tomb of Jugglers and also on the Murlo frieze (Figure 3).

In addition to the symbols of imperium, a "primitive" Etruscan influence can also be seen in the military sector. For example, the use of the trumpet in battle, essential to the transmission of orders, has been attributed to the Etruscans, along with the invention of the instrument itself (Cherici 2009:158). From this perspective, the ritual deposition of a bronze lituus-trumpet in Tarquinia, together with a folded bronze shield and a bronze axe, dated at the beginning of 7th century (Bonghi Jovino 2007), as a probable reference to military imperium, has some significance.

Some Latin military terms may also be of Etruscan derivation, or at least were considered to have come from Etruria in antiquity. These include the balteus (girded of sword), cassis/cassida (helmet/wearer of helmet), and hasta velitaris (spear of the velites – a guerrilla force). These three words might reflect the progressive specialization of the armament, especially as the last one is the definition of a precise weapon within a general category of

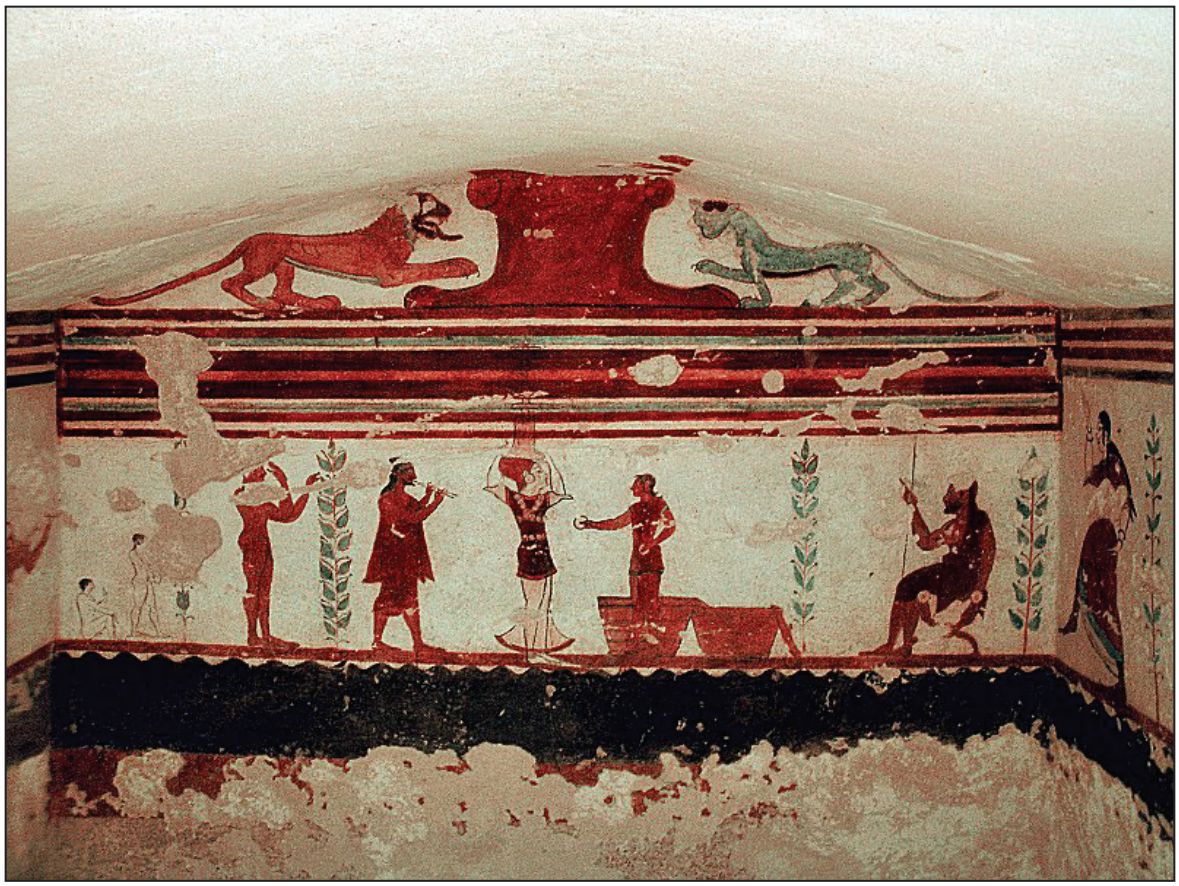

Figure 3. Tomb of the Jugglers, character sitting on a sella curulis. (Modified from Von Waugsberg - own photograph - eigene Aufnahme, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=3749472)

throwing weapons (Cherici 2009:155-156). Particularly interesting is also the Etruscan derivation of the word populus (Archaic poplo-), with the original meaning being a citizen army/armed citizens (Watmough 1997:69-102).

Ancient historians posited the possible Roman acquisition of an evolved military tactic from the Etruscans during the Archaic period. Armando Cherici (2009) has interpreted various archaeological findings as proof of the early acquisition in Etruria of hoplite (foot soldiers) tactics or, at least, of well organized military formation composed of equally armed men. In his opinion, the earlier representation of a phalanx formation is depicted on a Micali painter's amphora (RC 1042) dated at the end of the 6th century BCE. On the contrary, other scholars have interpreted this scene, involving a series of characters with same shield and helmet, as an "armed dance" (for example, see Palmieri 2005). However, unequivocal evidence of the presence of Etruscan hoplite infantry dates not later than the 5th century BCE (Cherici 1995; 2009). These elements coupled with the previously mentioned lexical terms may confirm what the ancient historians stated. This potentially more advanced military condition of Etruria did not last long as later development of Roman military tactics will bring the conquest of Etruria and, eventually, to the remainder of western Europe and the Mediterranean as well.

The ceremony connected with the celebration of a military victory in Ancient Rome was the triumphal procession or "triumph". The Roman triumph has been the subject of a number of studies, including its origin, development and the definition of the ritual itself. The origin of the triumph ritual can be considered indigenous to Rome, the first one being recorded as celebrated by Romulus following the year of Rome's foundation (even though some scholars have hypothesized a first Etruscan institution of the ritual in Archaic period or a even later introduction at the end of 4th century BCE) (Versnel 1970; restated in Versnel 2006 that disproves the later origin theory by Rüpke 2006).

A pre-Etruscan phase for the triumphal rite was proposed and theoretically reconstructed in the 1970's by Larissa Bonfante (1970). The triumphator, namely the victorious commander/king, entered the city on foot celebrating his victory followed by a procession bringing the spolia (spoils of war). Through sacrifices and rites, he cleansed the returning army from the impurity associated with killing in battle. The major deity of the celebration was Jupiter, to whom the spolia opima were dedicated by the commander himself and whose temple was the destination of the procession. To note, this was not the later Iuppiter Capitolinum temple (yet to be built), but a sanctuary of Iuppiter Feretrius, whose cult became less important over time.

The ouatio, one of the three forms of the historic "triumph" (along with the greater proper triumphal procession and the minor rite held in the Mons Albanus), involved the commander entering the Urbe (city) on foot or on horseback and may be seen as a "restoration" of the ancient rite just mentioned. Meaningfully the ouatio was for the first time recorded in 503 BCE right after the overthrow of the Etruscan monarchy (Bonfante 1970:51; Menichetti 2012:394). So, the origin of the ceremony seems to be Roman/Latin (or Italic, at least) and its roots may be traced to the ancient Saliaris rites connected to the "war calendar" that used to mark the beginning and the end of the annual warrior period (Fortunelli 2008:184-185).

What the Etruscan rulers of Rome added to this ceremony, thus transforming it into a "true" triumphal procession, were all the luxury equipment and sumptuous features that became an essential part of the ritual, along with the formal organization of the ceremony and the procession whose arrival point would be the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill (built during the 6th century BCE, under the Tarquinis dynasty). The word itself, triumphus, was derived from the Greek thriambos, but having first been mediated by the Etruscan word triumpe (it is otherwise inexplicable the phonetic shift from thriambos to triumphus) (Versnel 1970:48-55; Bonfante 1970:57; Menichetti 2012:395). The Roman scholar Marcus Terentius Varro (De lingua latina 6.68) asserted the ceremony derived its name from the cheer "io triumphe" of the soldiers taking part to the procession, an expression attested for the first time in an Archaic religious song, the carmen arvale. The triumphator finally entered the city upon a chariot, dressed with the toga purpurea (royal purple toga) and the tunica palmata (bordered), holding an eagle-topped scepter and adorned with the corona etrusca (Etruscan crown) on his head. The king, with his face painted in red, appeared as the god Iuppiter and rex. In those moments of the triumphus, the king was considered as the representation of Jupiter himself.

A possible exemplification of the triumphator's garment can be found in a statuette of Tinia (the Etruscan Jupiter), showing an example of a decorated toga and tunic (see De Grummond 2015:232 Figure 3.2.3). So, while the origin and probably the meaning of the ceremony are pre-Etruscan and some changes were likely introduced during the Hellenistic period, the general organization, the form of the rite and some meaningful external features (i.e., the insigna triumphalis) were introduced to Rome by the

Etruscan rulers or were based on earlier Etruscan models.

The Atrium House and Other Architectural Elements

The interconnections and exchange of culture between Etruria and Rome is particularly evident in the architectural sector during the Archaic period (roughly 6th – half of 5th century BCE) when great innovations were definitely stimulated by contacts and influences with the Hellenic and eastern Mediterranean world. It is difficult to establish without a doubt who, between Rome and the Etruscan cities, led the way with regard to architectural innovation. Likely the flow of knowledge and exchange of ideas went both ways creating a fertile cultural ground. Assuming a mutual exchange of ideas, if we look at domestic architecture, the 6th century BCE is the period in which the house design organized around an atrium with impluvium (a basin for collecting rainwater) first appears. And while the finds are not particularly numerous, they are of great importance.

Currently, the oldest known example of central atrium design has been recognized in the remains of a house in Roselle, in Southern Tuscany. The "casa dell'impluvium" (house of the impluvium), as it has been named by its discoverers, is dated to the 6th BCE, probably in the second half of the century. The plan (around 330 square meters) presents a large central atrium, with an opening on the roof supported by wooden posts. This structure is reminiscent of the "house with atrium tuscanicum" as described by Vitruvius (*De architectura* 6.3.1; tuscanicum meaning "remember the way of the Etruscans" or "Etruscan-inspired"; Tusci was the Latin name of the Etruscans) (Edlund-Berry 2013:695). A large room, located between the porticoed entrance and the atrium, could have served as the Roman tablinium while the main of the two rooms opened directly onto the atrium could have served as a triclinium (dining room) (Donati 1994; Bizzarri and Soren 2016:134; Cifani 2008:275). In addition, a similar plan with an atrium with impluvium has been recognized in a larger domestic building (about 1270 square meters) in central Tuscany. Again, several rooms are opened and face into the atrium (Cifani 2008:275, Cifani 2009:394).

As with the previous example, the Domus 3 from the slope of the Palatine Hill can be dated to the late 6th - beginning of the 5th century BCE. The reconstruction of this house plan has been variously questioned or accepted due to the scarcity of the actual remains underlying it (Cifani 2008:273). If we acknowledge it as a central atrium-designed house, the evidence in Rome of a domestic building organized with several rooms open around a courtyard and an open tablinium is contemporary with the ones from Etruria. Later evidence from the Etruscan city Marzabotto, a working class city, suggested that the house plan organized around a central atrium, with alae and compluvium was already well established by the first half of the 5th century BCE. There, each dwelling shares more or less the same design plan and the architectural arrangement can be considered a precursor of the typical 4th century atrium house (Govi 2007:137-146; Cifani 2008:275; Bizzarri and Soren 2016:134).

The sudden appearance of this type of house in the Etrusco-Roman world between the latter half of the 6th and first part of the 5th century BCE may have had connections with the characteristic gentilician structure of their society, to the head of the household's custom of receiving his clients (Prayon 2009:60). It may also represent a new way that the aristocracy inside the cities created, as the urban equivalent of the previous rural palaces which had been abandoned in the second half of the 6th century BCE (Cifani 2008:278).

With regard to the Tuscanic order of architecture seen on temples (as defined by Vitruvius, De architectura 4.6.6; 4.7.1-5), again it is impossible to establish who first developed the style, as the presence of high podia or three cellas is not previously present in Etruscan territory than in Rome. In fact, the first known evidence of this style of architecture comes from Rome, in the sacred area of S. Omobono, where the temple of Mater Matuta was built around 580 BCE under the reign of Servius Tullius (Colonna 2006:151; Terrenato et al. 2012; a virtual reconstruction has been made by Rice University: http://virtualreconstruction.rice.edu/santomobono.html). On the contrary, the oldest "Tuscanic" sacred buildings discovered in Etruria have been dated to the end of the 6th or at the beginning of the 5th century BCE, more than fifty years later than the S. Omobono temple (the temple at Portonaccio of Veii, see Colonna 2006:152-154 and the recently found temple of Uni at Marzabotto, Garagnani et al. 2016).

The famous temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, built during the second half of the 6th century BCE (under the Etruscan kings of Rome) on the Capitoline hill, is not a typical Tuscanic temple. Its enormous dimension and other plan characteristics have an eastern Greece derivation, for which an Ionic architect has been proposed. On the contrary, the S-E orientation is consistent with the Etruscan-Italic tradition, for which the northern part of the sky belongs to Tinia/Jupiter, as well as the presence of the three

cellas and the high podium, that fulfilled the requirement of the templum auguratum (Cifani 2009:387-393; Torelli 2010a; for the recent reconstruction of the Capitoline temple see Cifani 2008; Hopkins 2016; Mura Sommella (2009) also proposes the presence of a peristalsis; this hypothesis not generally accepted).

The roof was decorated with polychrome terracottas that were also used in public structures and houses both in Etruria and Rome. In general, the Etruscan and Roman relief revetment plaques of the 6th century show shared themes and style; some of them were even created using the same molds (the so called Veii – Rome – Velletri system) (Torelli 2010b; De Grummond 2015:229-230). Interestingly, the cult statue of Jupiter was said to have been created by Vulca, an artist from Veii, and the same sculptor created other works in Rome (Plin. Nat. 35.157).

The achievement of draining the Roman Forum via a series of water channels (Cloaca Maxima) has been generally attributed in antiquity to the Tarquins (the Etruscan royal dynasty of Rome). Modern scholars ascribed its design to Etruscan engineers that were operating in the city in that period (Potter 1987:142). If so, the Romans would have first learned their water management skills from their neighbors. Evidences of the Etruscans' water engineering achievements are in fact various, though not easily dated (see Bizzarri and Soren 2016 for a brief survey on the finds). However, despite these finds, there isn't conclusive proof that the engineers of the Cloaca Maxima were actually Etruscan. Connected with the archaic hydraulic works in Rome is the appearance of a vault system for covering cisterns and sewers larger than one meter (Cifani 2009:396-397). The development of the water management sector was certainly encouraged by the contact with the Greeks (Hopkins 2010:121), whereas the introduction of the arch/vault for the creation of functional architecture was a development indigenous to Central Italy (examples linking back to the development of the vault/arch may be found in Etruscan funerary architecture; see Cifani 2009:397 and Figures 14 & 15; Cifani 1994:194).

Remarks on the Shared Cultural Matrix

The aspects discussed above are just some of the possible connections, relationships and influences that existed between the Etruscans and Romans over the centuries. As far as the earliest phase of interaction is concerned, we must look outside Rome itself, to perceive interactions between the (proto) Latial and (proto) Etruscan cultures. While the two cultures were forming, several major Latial deities and ceremonies were introduced into the proto-Etruscan pantheon and calendar. Polytheist religions allow for the insertion of new, foreign gods, but this massive acquisition points toward the fulfillment of necessities not previously satisfied by the core of the "genuine Etruscan" gods. This hybridization in the area of religious worship, that also included aspects of funerary rituals, probably took place during a period of "subordination" of the proto-Etruscans to the Latial culture not later than the 10th century BCE. This situation would dramatically change in later centuries, especially during the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, when the Etruscan city-states flourished and Rome was the beneficiary of Etruscan culture.

The lifestyle of the Etruscan aristocracy, as evidenced in the archaeological record, was characterized by great opulence and the introduction of the luxury goods. Rituals and ceremonies in Rome could likely have followed the Etruscan model, especially since the rulers of the city were Etruscan for a certain period (720 – 509 BCE). The triumphal procession, the garments and symbols of power, all would remain as attributes of the imperium.

Linguistic loans from the Etruscan language to Latin, the majority of which occurred from the 7th-6th centuries BCE, are in general related to specific categories. In addition to the ones described above, some terms belonging to architecture (fenestra – window or favissa – pit/cistern), to performances (histrio – actor, subulo – a type of flute player, lanista - the owner of a gladiatorial school) or to the political arena (populus – armed citizens, par – of the same condition, Spurius – without parents) are worth noticing and might reflect specific fields in which the Etruscans exerted some influence on Rome (Penney 2009:92; Torelli 2008:170 and Bonfante and Bonfante 2002:113-114).

An actual "Etruscan Rome" and/or a period of direct Etruscan domination under the Tarquin dynasty has been proposed by some scholars in the past, but it is probably not likely (for a brief summary of the various position through times see Cornell 1995:151-153 and Ampolo 2009:10). In fact, even though Rome shared essentially the same material culture with some Etruscan cities, had an Etruscan quarter (the Vicus Tuscus) and its rulers come from another ethnicity for a while, the epigraphic evidence shows that Rome has always been a Latin city (Ampolo 2009). The presence of foreigners and the horizontal mobility among the aristocracies are not surprising but the fact that strangers (Etruscans!) obtained the power in Rome should have some significance.

If we consider the material evidence concerning the Archaic period, it is frequently difficult, or even

impossible, to speak of influence going only one direction. In general a common cultural environment is characteristic of the Middle Tyrrhenian Italy, in which each ethnicity should have maintained its clearly defined specificity. With respect to architecture, but also in the art and crafts there was an exchange of cultural innovations (see De Grummond 2015 for a summary on the connection in sculpture; Penny 2016 for an interesting theory about the influence of Etruscan wall painting on Romans). Noticeable similarities between Rome and some Etruscan cities, in particular Veii, are unquestionable. While some aspect of Roman custom and culture might rightfully be considered "borrowings" from their neighbors, others developed within this fertile interconnected cultural environment. Linkage to the Hellenic world clearly accelerated the spread of new ideas and innovations. A relationship between Rome and the Etruscans obviously continued after the Archaic period and the establishment of the Roman Republic. As a result of the Roman conquest of Etruria (concluded by the middle of the 3rd century BCE), the Romanization process eventually resulted in the complete disappearance of the Etruscan civilization and identity.

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THE DESIGN AND LAYOUT OF FIRST CENTURY A.D. ROMAN CITIES

Wilson W. Crook, III

Introduction

The Roman Empire (and the Republic before) was based on order: territorial order achieved and maintained through the strength of its Legions; civil order administered and enforced through a codex of laws; and architectural order created by the systematic use of urban planning that was copied all across the Empire – from Britain, Gaul and Germany in the north to Asia Minor and Palestine in the east. In fact, so prized was order the courses in logic and rhetoric were as important (if not more important) in Roman education than grammar and mathematics, especially in higher educational settings (Boldrini and Battaglini 2001; Nichols 2014).

The Romans were great admirers of Greek education and culture. Nowhere was this more evident than in the respect held for Hippodamus of Miletus, the father of modern urban planning. Hippodamus was the inventor of the "Hippodamian Plan", or the grid plan for the layout of cities still used throughout the world today (Gates 2011; Glaeser 2011). Hippodamus lived in the fifth century B.C. during the apex of Classical Greece. His plans for Greek cities were characterized by order and regularity in contrast to the chaos and warren of narrow streets common to many cities of the period. He is seen as the originator of the idea that urban city planning could embody a rational sense of order and not be subject to the whims of random street and building construction.

Hippodamus' plan envisioned that a perfect city would be inhabited by no more than 10,000 men (free male citizens), with a corresponding overall population including women, children and slaves of about 50,000 people (Campbell 2009; Gates 2011). He divided his city's population into three classes (soldiers, artisans and husbandmen) with the land also divided into three main purposes (sacred, public and private). Hippodamus' urban plan consisted of two wide main streets that intersected at right angles near the center of the city. At this intersection would be the main market or *agora*. Shops and other public functions would line these main thoroughfares while private residences were reserved for the suburban areas away from the city center. Sacred buildings would either be located near the main public areas or on top of prominent geographic features that were not strictly used for the city's defense (Johnson 1983; Campbell 2009; Gates 2011). This basic design for a city is not only still in use today but can be seen in virtually every country worldwide.

Roman Military Camps

The order and basic simplicity of Hippodamus' design strongly appealed to the Romans, especially to the military with regard to their camps and fortifications. Accordingly, Roman military camps or *Castra* (singular *Castrum*) were built all across the Empire to the basic design of the Hippodamian Plan (Johnson 1983; Campbell 2009). A major north south street (Main Street or the *Via Principalis*) was constructed with side streets at right angles. The main side street was called the *Via Praetoria* because it was interrupted at the intersection with the *Via Principalis* by the *Praetorium* or central headquarters. This building was called the *Praetorium* because it housed the *Praetor* ("first officer") or Commander of the camp (Campbell 2009). The parade / drill ground was also located near the camp center. Workshops, bakeries, baths, commissaries, etc. lined the main street with the soldiers housed in billets that filled the remaining quadrants of the rectangular pattern. Earthen or stone (depending on the length of time the unit was billeted at a given camp) were constructed around the edges of the rectangle and guard towers would also be placed periodically around the perimeter. Typically four gates were constructed; the main gate or *Porta Praetoria*, would usually be either to the left or right of the camp center as traveling through this gate would bring you to the *Praetorium*. The back gate was known as the *Porta Decumana* while the other two gates were known as the *Porta Principalis Dextra* and the *Porta Principalis Sinistra* (Johnson 1983; Campbell 2009).

While designed to be a temporary "city", many of these camps often later developed into more permanent towns, such as Eboracum (modern York,

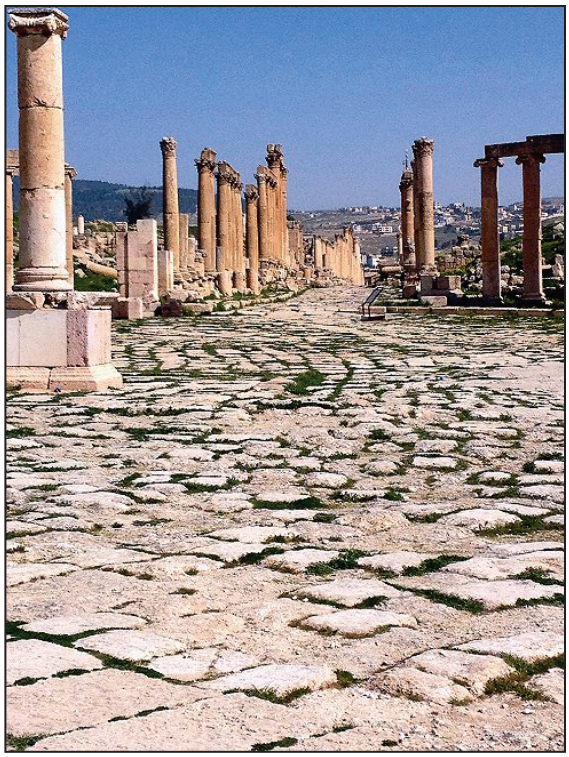

Figure 1. Main north-south colonnaded street at Jerash, Jordan.

Figure 2. North-south colonnaded street (Lechaion Road) at Corinth, Greece.

U.K.), Colonia Agrippina (Cologne, Germany), and Augusta Praetoria (Aosta, Italy) (Johnson 1983).

Roman City Design

The Romans applied the *Castrum* model to their cities across the Empire. Where possible, they built a major north-south road as the entrance way into the city. This road was known as the *Cardo Maximus*, or main road (Gates 2011). The *Cardo Maximus* served as the hinge axis for the city and was frequently lined with shops. As such, the *Cardo Maximus* was frequently colonnaded from which an awning could be hung to provide travelers and shoppers with protection from both the sun and rain. Examples of colonnaded *Cardo Maximi* can be seen at Jerash in Jordan (Figure 1) and Corinth in Greece (Lechaion Road) (Figure 2). At other cities, such as Ephesus in Asia Minor (modern Turkey), two east-west streets, Arcadian Way or Harbor Street and Curetes Street lead into the city where they both then intersect a main north-south street (Marble Street) which then serves as the Cardo Maximus for the city (Evren et al. 2015) (Figure 3-5).

At the entrance way to the city on the *Cardo Maximus* would be a gate structure. Sometimes the gate was relatively modest; in other cities, especially those that enjoyed Imperial favor, the city entrance

Figure 3. East-west street (Arcadian Way) leading eastwards from the harbor at Ephesus towards the main north-south (Marble Street).

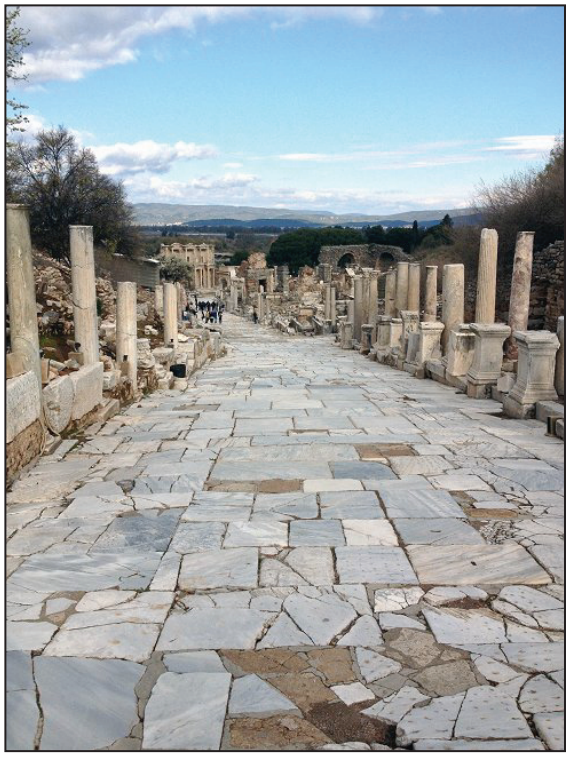

Figure 4. East-west street (Curetes Street) leading westwards into Ephesus towards the main north–south street (Marble Street).

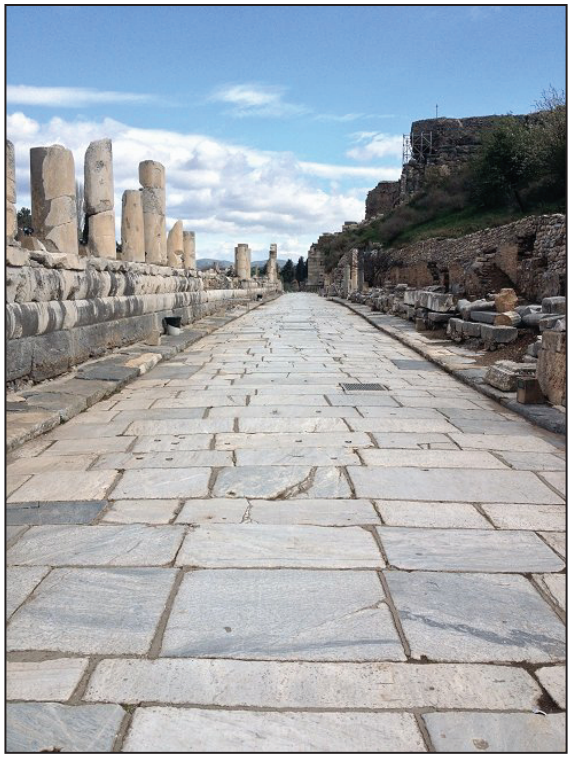

Figure 5. North-south colonnaded street (Marble Street) at Ephesus, Turkey.

could be monumentally impressive such as Hadrian's Arch at Jerash (Browning 1982) (Figure 6).

At a right angle to the *Cardo Maximus*, and usually near its mid-point in length, would be a major east-west street known as the *Decamus Maximus*. The *Decamus Maximus* served as a secondary main street and was also typically lined with shops (Figure 7). Depending on the size of the city, other east-west side streets could be built but they were usually narrower than either the *Decamus Maximus* or the *Cardo Maximus*. While the *Cardo Maximus*

Figure 6. Hadrian's Arch at main gateway to Jerash, Jordan.

Figure 7. East-west side street (Decamus Maximus) perpendicular to the main north-south (Cardo Maximus) street at Jerash.

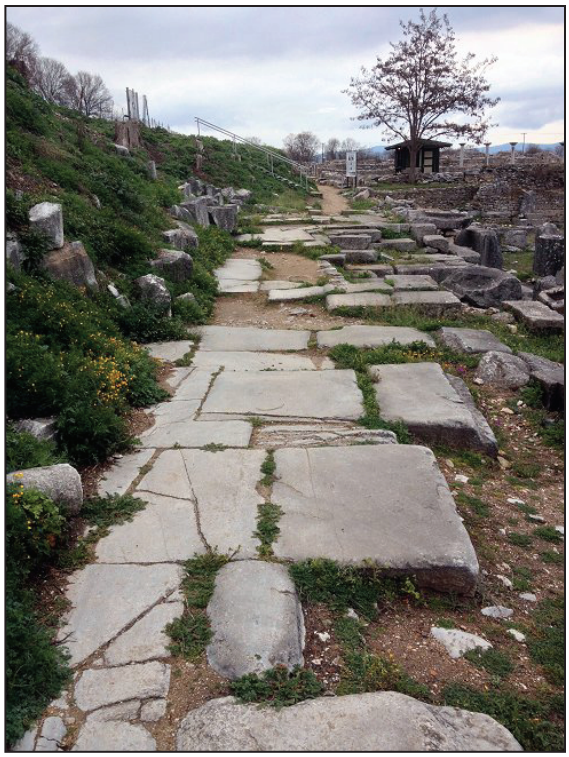

Figure 8. East-west trending Via Egnatia which served as the Cardo Maximus for the ancient Roman city of Philippi.

Figure 9. View of the Via Egnatia at Philippi looking west. Note the remains of an excellent gutter system to keep the road passable even in bad weather.

was the preferred main street for a city, sometimes due to variances in geography, the *Cardo Decamus* served as the major thoroughfare. For example, at Philippi in Macedonia, the city was built along the *Via Egnatia*, which served as the major road connecting Italy in the west to Constantinople in the east. As such, this east-west road served as the *Cardo Maximus* for the city (Charalambos and Koester 1989; Antonakis 2003) (Figures 8 and 9).

Rome's vast system of roads was arguably one of its greatest contribution to the ancient world. Roman roads were built using a unique, consistent construction style that was so effective that almost every major highway today from Britain to Continental Europe to Turkey to the Middle East follows an ancient Roman road; and in many places where there are no modern highways, the 2,000 year old Roman road can still be seen and is used today! When building a road, the Romans cleared a path 23 feet in width and three feet in depth (Nichols 2014). First, large foundation stones interlaced with sand covered the lower foot. On top of this, a foot of fine-grain gravel and pebbles was laid. Lastly, flat paving stones were laid on the surface but in a gradual arc such that the road had a crown in the middle and all water would drain to the sides. Along each side, drainage ditches were dug to catch and carry any runoff. The roads were designed so that there could be two-way traffic involving wagons, carts or chariots without the necessity for one party to pull over and wait for another to pass (Boldrini and Battaglini 2001; Campbell 2009; Nichols 2014). Through strict control and protection (the "*Pax Romana*"), the Roman road system provided not only relative speed for travelers across the Empire but safety as well. While unintended, these features allowed new ideas, such as Christianity, to spread across the entire Mediterranean world in just a few years.

At or near the intersection of the two main streets would be the central market place, or *Forum* (*Agora* in Greek; literally "assembly" or "meeting place"). This area was often lined with shops on all sides, the entrance way of which would often be sheltered by a colonnaded breeze way (forming a *Stoa*). Shops were often multi-storied structures, with the main or forum-level room being the principal store. A smaller upper story was used as living quarters for the shop owners or at least their slaves whose job was to protect the shop after closing (Figure 10). If the shop sold easily perishable food (meat, fish) or wine, the shop keepers would often construct a lower floor down into the bedrock which would keep the products cool until moved to the main shop upstairs for sale (Figure 11). Many examples of Roman *fora* can

Figure 10. Ruins of one of the better preserved shops lining the Roman Forum at Corinth. The main store is at ground level and the smaller upper floor is the area beneath the arch.

Figure 11. Ruins of lower floors of shops lining the Forum at Thessaloniki in Greece. These lower rooms would have kept perishable goods and/or wine cool.

be seen throughout the Empire of the first and second century A.D. (Figures 12-14).

If the city was located near a main seaport, the Romans would typically provide a major public bath near the main gate to encourage visitors to "clean up" before entering the more crowded main part of the city. An excellent example of such a public bath is the Baths of Eurykles located along the Lechaion Road entering Corinth (Themelis 1984; Papahatzis 2000) (Figure 15). Roman citizens enjoyed bathing which they made into a prolonged, multi-stage process. First, oil would be rubbed into the skin which would be followed by exercise. This would be followed by a stay in a "hot room", or what we would call a sauna (Figure 16). Bathers would relax and chat with friends. In men's baths (men and women had separate baths), dice games would be a common part of this ritual. Following the sauna, slaves would scrape the sweat and dirt from a bather's body using a curved bronze instrument called a *strigil* (Nichols 2014). The bather would then take a quick dip in a hot bath followed by a short swim in a cold bath . Lastly, bathers would enjoy a massage before getting clothed and going back outside.

Figure 12. Ruins of the Roman Forum at Jerash, Jordan. The columns would have provided cover for stores located around the Forum itself.

Figure 13. Ruins of the Roman Forum at Ephesus in Turkey.

Figure 14. Ruins of the Roman Forum at Corinth in Greece.

Figure 15. The Baths of Eurykles at Corinth. Roman cities that were favored by the emperor were given (1) a public bath, (2) a theater, and (3) a temple.

Roman city planners realized that with shopping and eating, people would ultimately need to relieve themselves. So large public latrines were provided, usually either along major streets and/or near to the forum. Roman latrines were rarely segregated by gender, being a unisex facility. This was aided by the fact that both men and women typically wore long robes in public which could be hiked up when sitting on the latrine while still maintaining privacy. Seats were laid out in a rectangular fashion (Figure 17). In front of the patron was a small trough that contained running water. Each seat was provided with a stick

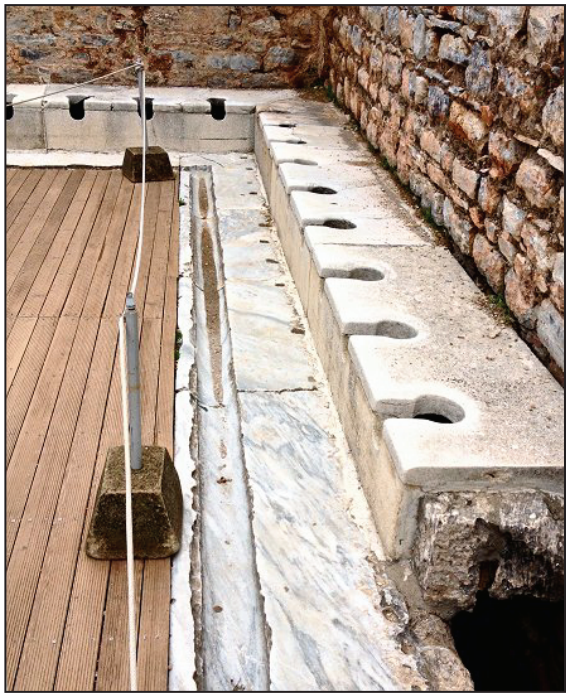

Figure 17. Roman public latrine at Ephesus. Note the small trough in front of the seats.

Figure 16. Ruins of the Roman hot bath adjacent to the Forum at Thessaloniki in Greece.

to which a sponge was affixed. The sponge served as toilet paper and each patron was obliged to clean it in the water trough for the next user before leaving. Sewage was deposited in a sewer system which carried the waste away, usually to the nearest river (Gates 2011).

Near the main market would be a "*nymphaeum*", or the location for the city's main public water supply. This was a fountain-like structure where the public was free to bring and fill their water storage vessels (Figure 18). Such structures would either be located near the center of the city, or if the city was

Figure 18. Large public nymphaeum in the center of Jerash, Jordan.

Figure 19. Remains of the large aqueduct at Caesarea in Judea (modern Israel).

large enough, there could be two or more such structures (Gates 2011).

In order to provide water for drinking, bathing and sanitation, Romans city planners were masters of water engineering, able to bring fresh water great distances to cities. The transportation of water was usually conducted through an "*aqueduct*" (Figure 19). If water was to be brought some distance, Roman engineers would take great care in surveying the entire landscape over which the water would be transported in order to select a route that contained an acceptable gradient for the entire distance. If the water flowed at too steep an angle, it would damage the aqueduct over time through scouring. If the flow was too shallow, the water would stagnate and no longer be fresh. Roman aqueducts typically tapped springs in hilly regions to ensure a sufficient fall in elevation over the distance of the flow. Catch basins would be constructed below a number of springs in order to provide a constant flow of water to the system. Most Roman water conduits flowed fairly close to the ground, but at times great arched pathways had to be built to transverse a ridge or a valley. Along the path of the *aqueduct*, the system would be pierced periodically by a series of vertical manhole shafts in order to facilitate occasional maintenance (Nichols 2014). Upon arrival at the city's outskirts, the water reached a large distribution tank known as the main "*castellum*". From there, smaller branch conduits would run to various places in the city where they would enter into a lower secondary *castella*. These branched out yet again, often with lead pipes supplying water under pressure to their final end-use destination such as fountains, nymphaeums or baths (Nichols 2014). The remains of Roman *aqueduct* systems can be found throughout Europe and the Middle East today and some are still working, bringing fresh water to the local inhabitants.

Figure 20. The bema or judgment seat at Corinth.

Roman *fora* were not utilized just for shopping. Typically, the local government house would be located either within or adjacent to the *forum*. However, within the *forum* itself, there would usually be a public platform from which city rulers could make pronouncements about new laws and regulations, etc. These platforms, known as *bemas*, also served as judgment seats where cases could be brought before a magistrate and at least temporary rulings would be made in front of the public. One of the most famous recorded cases of this occurs in the Book of Acts where the Jewish population of Corinth brought charges against the Apostle Paul (Figure 20). Gallio, Proconsul of Achaea, heard the charges and subsequently dismissed the case saying their complaint had nothing to do with Roman law (Meinardus 1972; Themelis 1984; Papahatzis 2000; McRay 2001; Cimak 2004; Walker 2008).

Near the city center would be the main location of entertainment for the populace – the amphitheater (Figure 21). Roman amphitheaters were modeled after their Greek predecessors and often built into the side of a hill to help with construction. A large central stage backed by a wall would face the semicircular audience seating. Roman theaters were typically set up in three sections: people of the highest social rank would occupy the lowest tier of seats, those of middle and lower class would sit in the middle tier, and women and children would occupy the upper levels (Nichols 2014). Amphitheaters would be designed based on the size of the city but most that have survived from the first century A.D. were built to accommodate anywhere from 10,000 to as many as 30,000-40,000 people (Figure 22). Some of the larger amphitheaters could also be used to stage gladiatorial combat but these events were also held in elongate oval racecourses known as "circuses".

Figure 21. Main Roman amphitheater at Jerash.

Figure 22. The large 30,000 seat amphitheater at Ephesus.

Two amphitheaters in one city, such as in Jerash in Jordan, were rare (Harding 1967; Murphy O'Connor 2001). If two were present, the second one was usually considerably smaller. Other smaller amphitheater-like structures were called "*odeons*". Unlike large amphitheaters, *odeons* were typically covered and provided a more intimate seating of several hundred to a few thousand. Theatrical performances were the main productions in amphitheaters whereas the *odeons* were used for poetry recitals and singing events. In Corinth, the amphitheater and the odeon are situated back-to-back with a small place for shops in between. Excavation of this middle area has revealed the presence of thousands of animal bones, mainly pork ribs and chicken parts (Cimak 2004; Walker 2008; Mousteraki 2015). Obviously placed to feed patrons of the two theaters, these shops are believed to represent some of the first "fast food" restaurants in the world (Figure 23).

In addition to watching plays and listening to music performances, Roman cities were famous for

Figure 23. Remains of the "fast food court" between the two theaters at Corinth.

Figure 24. Remains of the brothel complex at Ephesus.

more "adult" forms of entertainment. This is especially true where cities like Ephesus and Corinth were major seaports and played host to large number of sailors and visiting merchants. Romans viewed sex with a different set of morals than we have today. Sex was a "gift of the gods" and there was no such thing as sexual sin. Prostitution was very common. In Rome during the first century A.D., there were 32,000 registered prostitutes and at least twice that many who were unregistered. This represents roughly 10 percent of the population (Boldrini and Battaglini 2000; Nichols 2014).

Brothels, public and private, were common and would even be located near the main shopping area of the city. At Ephesus, an entire brothel complex was located near the intersection of Curetes Street with the Cardo Maximus (Marble Street) (Figure 24). A huge library was located across the street from the brothel complex and when it was excavated, archeologists found a tunnel had been built connecting the library to the brothels! There was even advertising for the brothels; an entire paving slab along Marble Street showed a left food, a woman's pubic triangle, and then an inscription that essentially said "turn left at the crossroads, buy the love of a woman" (Murphy-O'Connor 1971; Akurgal 1978; Walker 2008; Evren et al. 2015) (Figure 25).

Lastly, Roman cities across the empire were also the home of a number of temples. Large temples to traditional Greek gods, such as Zeus or Apollo, would frequently be located near the center of the city; lesser gods would tend to have smaller temples or shrines located more toward the outskirts. During the first century A.D., there was a strong cult following of the goddess Diana, especially in places such as Ephesus and Jerash Wright 1962; Walker 2008). A large and impressive temple to the goddess would be built, typically away from the main part of the city and frequently on top of a natural high spot overlooking the city (Figure 26). Prostitution associated with temple worship would be located near the temple itself, although almost every major Roman city

Figure 25. Sign along Marble Street in Ephesus advertising the directions to the main brothel complex.

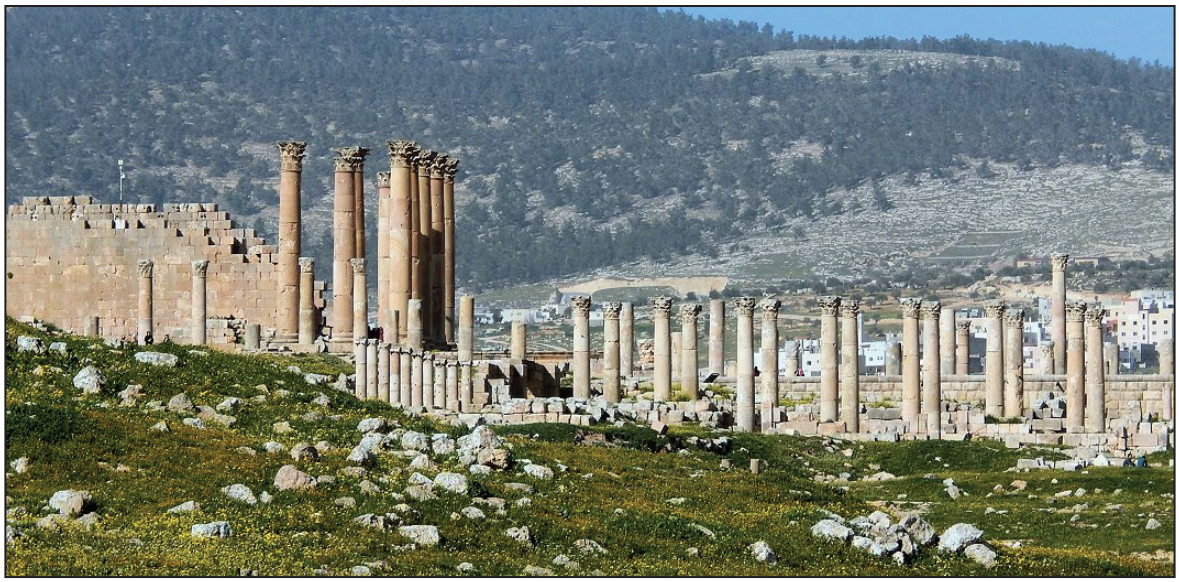

Figure 26. Large temple to Diana on a hill overlooking Jerash.

had numerous brothels located throughout the city (Abrahamsen 2009; Nichols 2014).

Conclusion

Organizing military camps in a systematic fashion across the Empire served to facilitate the transfer of troops as soldiers would be familiar with the organizational layout whether stationed in Britain or Asia Minor. The same principle served the urban design of cities across the Empire. Travelers, especially merchants, would be immediately familiar with the general layout of a city regardless of location. This was especially true in the design of cities in the eastern part of the Empire from Greece to Asia Minor to Syria and Palestine. The exceptions, of course, were those large cities, such as Jerusalem, that had long developed before becoming part of the Roman Empire. However, even cities like Jerusalem, once they were destroyed, either by natural causes (earthquake) or by military conquest (such as happened to Jerusalem in 70 A.D.), were then rebuilt to the standard Roman (Hippodamian Plan) model.

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CAN YOU KEEP A SECRET? THE KEY TO UNLOCKING THE MITHRAIC MYSTERIES AT OSTIA ANTICA

Louis F. Aulbach and Linda C. Gorski

Introduction

The town of Ostia was established as a garrison on the south bank of the Tiber River in the late 4th century B.C. (Boin 2013:18). Roman legionaries were stationed at a *castrum* or encampment at the mouth of the Tiber to prevent an attack on the city of Rome by sea. As Rome grew and its conquests expanded its control of the Mediterranean Sea, Ostia became the main port of Rome. By the middle of the first century A.D., vast amounts of trade goods flowed into the city of Rome through the wharves and warehouses of Ostia. Ostia grew to a population of about 50,000 persons by that time, and many of them were soldiers, freedmen, merchants, tradesmen and government bureaucrats involved in the operation of the port (White 2012:436).

By the middle of the second century A.D., the religious movement known today as the Roman cult of Mithras had established communities in Ostia. The cult of Mithras thrived in Ostia, and the region around Rome and Ostia was one of the major concentrations of the temples of Mithraic worship, known as *mithraea* (singular: *mithraeum*). The fifteen mithraea at Ostia represent the largest concentration of archeological remains for the Roman cult of Mithras from a single city in the Roman world (White 2012:436). It is thought that Rome may have had from 45 to 100 *mithraea*, based on its larger population, however, only thirteen *mithraea* have been identified in Rome (White 2012:436fn4).

Rome has been in more or less continuous occupation since the fall of the empire in the fifth century A.D., and construction projects over the centuries have destroyed or re-purposed many of its ancient buildings. Ostia, however, was abandoned in the ninth century A.D., and its ruins were covered by the sediments from the flooding of the Tiber River and the shifting sands of the coastal plain until excavations began in the nineteenth century A.D. (Boin 2013:6). The old city of Ostia, now known as the Archeological Park of Ostia Antica, has been preserved much like the city of Pompeii, and it offers a rare opportunity for archeological investigations into the aspects of ancient Roman society, including the Roman cult of Mithras.

The cult of Mithras had its beginnings, as can best be determined, sometime during the mid to late first century A.D. while originating from an undetermined location in the eastern Mediterranean or, possibly, on the Italian peninsula. It is simply not possible to identify a place or a specific founding group from which the Roman cult of Mithras might have originated (Chalupa 2016:95). Nevertheless, the cult of Mithras spread quickly across the Roman Empire and flourished during the second and third centuries A.D. (Chalupa 2008:177). Evidence of the cult of Mithras can be found at Rome and Ostia, as well as on the northern frontier along the Danube River, along the Rhine River, and in Roman Britain as far north as Hadrian's Wall (Chalupa 2016:92). All told, there are about 420 Mithraic sites across the Roman Empire that include about 1,000 inscriptions, 700 depictions of the tauroctony, and about 400 monuments with iconography associated with Mithras (Clauss 2001:xxi).

Yet, unlike many other religious movements in ancient Rome, there is an absence of a wide body of literature that is directly related to the religious practice of the cult of Mithras. The membership of the cult of Mithras was limited to those who had passed through a secret initiation ritual, and the initiates were forbidden to speak about the cult secrets to outsiders (Ulansey 1989).

Only a small handful of classical authors and contemporary Christian writers make references to the cult. It is only by combining those literary sources with the archeological investigations of *mithraea*, inscriptions, graffiti, and iconographic and statuary representations can the basic tenets of Mithraism be reconstructed (Mendez 2010:1).

The fifteen *mithraea* located at Ostia Antica provide an excellent venue for the study of the characteristic features of the cult of Mithras, namely, (1) the *mithraeum*, the sacred architecture of the cult, (2) the system of the seven Mithraic grades of initiation, and (3) the tauroctony, the main iconographic motif of the cult (Chalupa 2008:178). Although only about seven of the fifteen *mithraea* at Ostia are usually

open to the public, it is possible to examine each of the characteristic features of the cult in the *mithraea* that are accessible.

The Sacred Architecture of the *Mithraeum*

The temple, or place or worship, for the members of the cult of Mithras is a structure that is known today as a *mithraeum*. Each *mithraeum* in the Roman Empire was built in a specific style and with a number of common architectural features. Within the design of the cult's sacred space are elements of its core beliefs.

The third century A.D. the Neo-Platonic philosopher Prophyry of Tyre (ca. 234 A.D. - ca. 305 A.D.), in his commentary on Homer called "About the Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey" (*De Antro Nympharum*), attributes the foundation of the Roman cult of Mithras to the Persian prophet Zoroaster who dedicated a cave in honor of Mithras (Wikipedia 2017; Chalupa 2016:67):

> *"Similarly, the Persians call the place a cave where they introduce an initiate to the mysteries, revealing to him the path by which souls descend and go back again. For Eubulus tells us that Zoroaster was the first to dedicate a natural cave in honour of Mithras, the creator and father of all; it was located in the mountains near Persia and had flowers and springs. This cave bore for him the image of the Cosmos (eikona kosmou) which Mithras had created, and the things which the cave contained, by their proportionate arrangement, provided him with symbols of the elements and climates of the Cosmos. After Zoroaster, others adopted the custom of performing their rites of initiation in caves and grottoes which were either natural or artificial. (trans. Arethusa edn.)"* (Beck 2006:102)

Although the link to the ancient Persian prophet Zoroaster is quite speculative, the adoption of the cave (*speleum*) as the model for the temple of the Roman cult of Mithras is quite accurate. In Ostia, the finest example of a typical *mithraeum* is the Mithraeum of the Baths of Mithras (*Mitreo delle Terme del Mitra*) (Figure 1).

The *Mithraeum* of the Baths of Mithras is a subterranean structure built under one of the large halls of the bath complex. The low, vaulted ceiling of the long, rectangular room replicates the interior of a primordial cave. At the far end of the room is the cult niche that, in this case, contains a statuary representation of the killing of the bull by Mithras. Along

Figure 1. The subterranean Mithraeum of the Baths of Mithras portrays the basic features of a temple of the cult of Mithras. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

the sides of the long aisle are the dining couches, or benches, for the sacrificial meal. At the midpoint of each long side is a notch that divides each side into two sections. The entry alcove lies at the opposite end from the cult niche.

Each of these features of the *mithraeum* has a specific meaning in the mysteries of the cult of Mithras in which the cave is the model of the cosmos as described by Porphyry. As Porphyry indicates, those mysteries reveal the path by which human souls descend to earth and then return to the heavens after death. The decorative imagery that would have been on the floor and bases of the benches might have provided more details of the rituals and mysteries of the cult, but as can be seen in the photo, any mosaic panels that may adorned the aisle have been lost.

There is, however, another *mithraeum* in Ostia that does have decorative mosaics on the benches of its long central aisle that may be similar to those that would have been in the *Mithraeum* of the Baths of Mithras. These are in the *Mithraeum* of the Seven Spheres (*Mitreo delle Sette Sfere*), a site that is usually not open to the public. Nevertheless, it has been well documented by researchers, and the mosaics of the *mithraeum* can be seen on the website of Ostia-Antica.org (http://www.ostia-antica.org/regio2/8/8-6.htm).

The layout of the *Mithraeum* of the Seven Spheres follows the same pattern as nearly all *mithraea* (Figure 2). The cult image, the tauroctony, is at the far end of a long central aisle that is flanked by benches for the ritual meal on each side. Although not visible in the photo, mosaic images can be found on the vertical sides of the benches and on the horizontal ledges in front of the benches. A mosaic on the floor of the aisle consists of seven black mosaic arches representing the seven planetary spheres from

Figure 2.
The Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres has mosaics on the benches along the central aisle that reveal aspects of the Mithraic mysteries.
(Photo: Archer10 (Dennis), Wikimedia Commons)

which the name of the *mithraeum* is derived (Bakker 2015).

The horizontal ledges contain mosaic depictions of the twelve signs of the zodiac. Starting from the cult image, on the left side are the representations of the constellations Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo and Virgo. On the right side are Pisces, Aquarius, Capricorn, Sagittarius, Scorpio and Libra. From the order of the zodiac signs, we can deduce that the left side coincides with the astrological north, with summer and spring, and with the day. The right side represents south, winter and fall, and the night (Bakker 2015).

On the vertical sides of the benches, there are mosaic depictions of the planets of the solar system. On the left side, starting from the cult image, are images of Jupiter (with bolt of lightning and scepter), Mercury (with caduceus and staff) and Luna (the Moon shown as Diana, with an arrow, perhaps a pomegranate, and moon sickle). And, on the right side, the images are of Saturn (who is bearded), Venus (holding a veil over her head) and Mars (with a helmet, harness, lance and shield). These represent six of the seven planetary bodies of the solar system. The seventh is Sol, the sun god, who is also Mithras, the deity in the cult image at the end of the hall (Bakker 2015).

What one sees in the layout of the *mithraeum* is a sky map based on the Ptolemaic model of the universe. The interior of the *mithraeum* replicates the band of the sky in which the twelve constellations of the zodiac lie. The zodiac is an area of the sky extending about ten degrees above and below the apparent path of the sun across the celestial sphere during the course of a year (the ecliptic). It is also the area of the sky that holds the paths of the Moon and visible planets (Wikipedia 2017b). Not surprisingly, the celestial system described by the *mithraeum* has its origin where the sun's position at the vernal equinox is located, namely, for this period in time, in the constellation Aries. The image of Mithras, the sun god, is located in the position of the vernal equinox, at the far end of the long aisle.

Roger Beck, among others, sees this configuration of signs and symbols as the essential representation of the cosmos as it was explained by Prophyry in his treatise on the cave, *De Antro Nymparum* (quoted above). Beck explores in detail the possible implications for interpreting the rituals and beliefs of Mithraism based on this model, including the journey of the human soul with its descent down through and the ascent back up through the seven planetary spheres (Beck 2017; Beck 2006:102-113). The seven black mosaic arches on the floor of the *Mithraeum* of the Seven Spheres not only correspond to the planets, but they also relate to the seven grades of Mithraic initiation that we will see in greater detail in the discussion of the *Mithraeum* of Felicissimus that follows below (Bakker 2015).

The Mithraic Grades of Initiation

Since the *mithraeum*, the artificial cave of Mithras, is the place where members were initiated into the mysteries of the cosmos, an examination of the system of the seven Mithraic grades of initiation will give us some insight into the nature of the activities of the members of the cult and into the hierarchy of the membership within the Mithraic cell.

We know that the Mithraic initiation consisted of seven hierarchical grades or levels from the writings of the Saint Jerome, a Christian historian and theologian of the late 4th and early fifth centuries A.D. In

his Letter to Laeta, Jerome enumerates the sequence of the grades of initiation:

> *"Did not your own kinsman Gracchus whose name betokens his patrician origin, when a few years back he held the prefecture of the City, overthrow, break in pieces, and shake to pieces the grotto of Mithras and all the dreadful images therein? Those I mean by which the worshippers were initiated as Raven, Bridegroom, Soldier, Lion, Perseus, Sun, Crab, and Father? Did he not, I repeat, destroy these and then, sending them before him as hostages, obtain for himself Christian baptism?"* (Jerome 2017).

The only ancient source giving the complete sequence is this letter of Jerome. However, archeological investigations at other Mithraic sites during the 20th century A.D. have refined the names of the seven grades of initiation listed by Jerome to these: Raven (Corax), Bridegroom (Nymphus), Soldier (Miles), Lion (Leo), Persian (Perseus), Runner of the Sun (Heliodromus), and Father (Pater). The grades and their sequence are confirmed by the mosaic in the *Mithraeum* of Felicissimus *(Mitreo di Felicissimus*) at Ostia that represents the sequence of ladder-like squares extending up the central aisle (Chalupa 2008:179, 179fn8, 181) (Figure 3).

Figure 3. The Mithraeum of Felicissimus at Ostia contains a mosaic representation of the seven Mithraic grades of initiation. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

In the sequence of the seven Mithraic grades in the *Mithraeum* of Felicissimus at Ostia, each square depicts at least three symbols. Two of the symbols refer to traits or aspects associated with the grade, while the remaining symbol identifies the associated planet and planetary god under whose protection the grade belonged. In a recent article, Mithraic scholar Ales Chalupa has provided a summary of the current consensus regarding the identification of the symbols for each grade, and that summary is used below (Chalupa 2008:181, 183-185, 187-188).

The mithraic grades of initiation depicted at the *Mithraeum* of Felicissimus, from the lowest grade to the highest are as follows:

1. Raven: The symbols of this grade are a Raven, a Cup and the Staff carried by Mercury (*caduceus*). This grade is associated with the planet Mercury. It is presumed that the Ravens acted as servants who would assist at the Mithraic feasts (Figure 4).

Figure 4. The Mithraic initiation grade of Raven. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

2. Bridegroom: The symbols of this grade are an Oil lamp, a Diadem and a third symbol that is damaged beyond recognition. The planet associated with this grade is Venus. The role of the Bridegroom in the Mithraic rituals is speculative, but perhaps members of this grade provided a light for the rituals in the cave (Figure 5).

3. Soldier: The symbols for this grade are a Lance, a Helmet and a Bull's hind quarter. The planet associated with the grade is Mars. The symbols of this grade may show the value of persistence of the initiate in service to the deity. The realistic depiction of a bull's severed right pelvic limb hints at the image

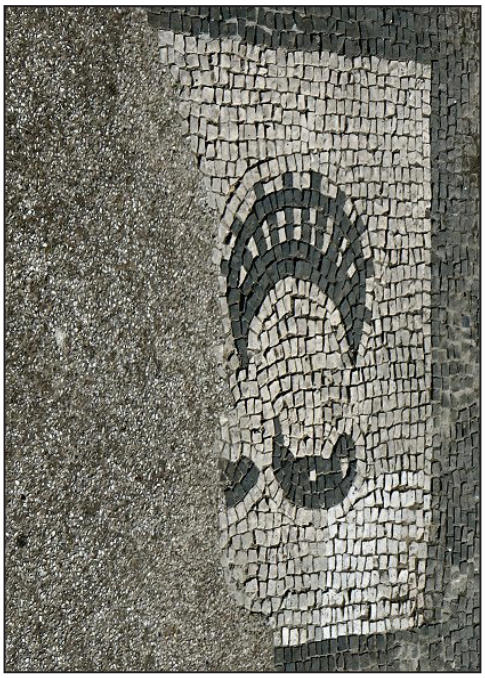

Figure 5. The Mithraic initiation grade of Bridegroom. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

of Mithras dragging the bull by its hind legs (Chalupa and Glomb:16, 16fn2, 29) (Figure 6).

4. Lion: The symbols for this grade are a Thunderbolt, a Rattle (*sistrum*) and a Fire-shovel. The associated planet is Jupiter. The symbols for this grade are associated with fire, heat and moral issues.

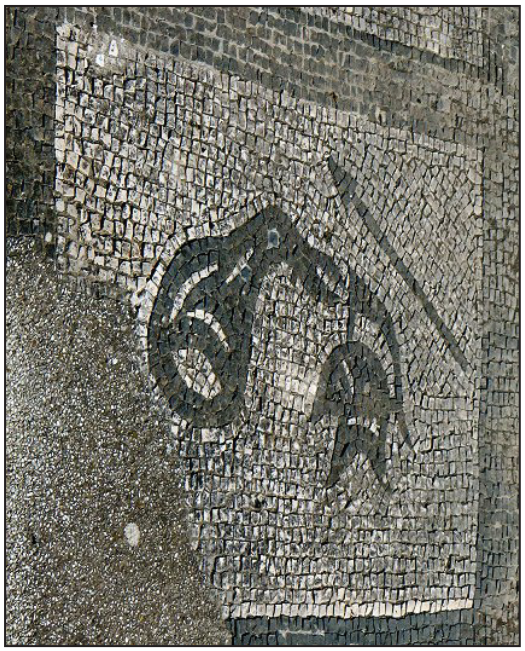

Figure 6. The Mithraic initiation grade of Soldier. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

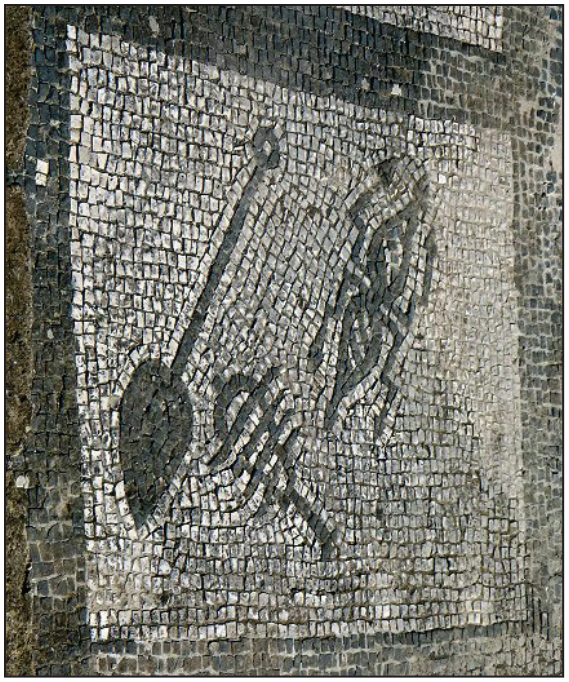

Figure 7. The Mithraic initiation grade of Lion. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

This may indicate that roles of the members of this grade were as incense burners and purifiers (Figure 7).

5. Persian: The symbols for this grade are a Persian dagger (*akinakes*), a Moon sickle, a Star and a Plough. The planet associated with this grade is the Moon. This grade may be connected with aspects of fertility (Figure 8).

Figure 8. The Mithraic initiation grade of Persian. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

6. Heliodromus (Runner of the Sun): The symbols for this grade are a Crown with seven rays, a Whip and a Torch. The planet associated with this grade is the Sun. A member of this grade may act as a surrogate for the Sun deity in some rituals, especially at the sacred banquet after the bull sacrifice, or the grade may be connected with events of solar cycle, such as the equinoxes or solstices (Figure 9).

Figure 9. The Mithraic initiation grade of Heliodromus. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

7. Pater: The symbols for this grade are a Phrygian Hat, a Staff, a Dagger (or sickle) and a Sacrifical bowl (*patera*). The planet associated with this grade is Saturn. This is the grade of the leader of the Mithraic community in religious and administrative activities (Figure 10).

The system of Mithraic initiatory grades was an integral part of the Mithraic religious ideology, and they were present in the cult from the very earliest time that Roman Mithraism is known (in the late first century A.D.). The grades were a part of almost all Mithraic communities across the Roman Empire (Chalupa 2008:177, 198).

The cult of Mithras was a religious theology based on the Greek geocentric (Ptolemaic) model of the universe described by Plato in the fourth century B.C. in which the human soul made the journey through the seven planetary spheres of the Ptolemaic cosmos. The initiatory grades, associated with the heavenly bodies of the spheres of the geocentric cosmos (Moon, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn), were a method for establishing, maintaining and transmitting the values of the Mithraists in a way that allowed them to transmit complex inferences about the nature of the world without the use of texts (Wikipedia 2017c; Chalupa 2008:198-200).

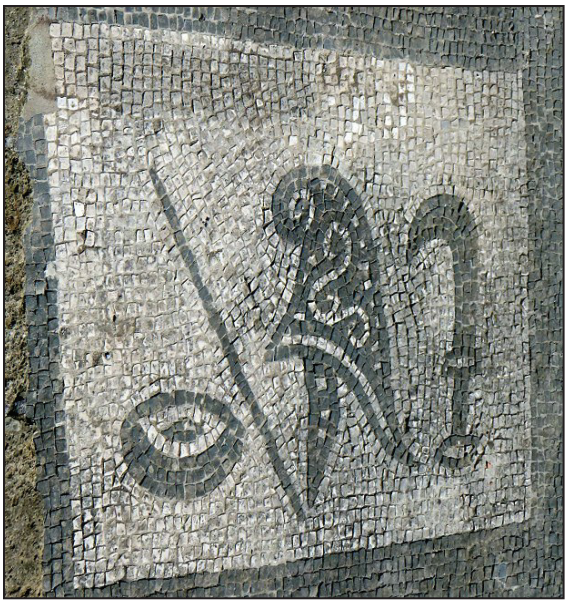

Figure 10. The Mithraic initiation grade of Pater. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

The Tauroctony

The last of the three features that characterize the cult of Mithras in the Western pat of the Roman Empire is the tauroctony, a modern term for the killing of the bull by Mithras that is derived from the Greek word tauroktonos (ταυροκτόνος) meaning "bull killing" (Wikipedia 2017d; Beck 2006:17). The tauroctony, as well as the *mithraeum* and the initiatory grades, have no clear parallels in earlier Eastern Mithraic worship. Instead, they represent a new form of Mithraic worship (Chalupa 2016:74). The iconic scene of Mithras in the act of killing the bull is found prominently displayed in nearly every *mithraeum*. The preeminence of the scene in places of worship of Mithras indicates that the icon probably holds the key to the central secret of the Mithraic mysteries. In the 1970's A.D., several scholars proposed an interpretation of the tauroctony based on the concept that the picture is actually a star map (Ulansey 1989).

At Ostia, no *mithraeum* still has an original, or even a copy, of the tauroctony relief. The Mithraeum of the Baths of Mithras has only a plaster cast of the sculptural tauroctony (the original is in the Ostia Museum). The famous relief from the Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres at Ostia was removed and installed in the Vatican Museum in 1805 A.D., and it

Figure 11. The Mithraic tauroctony relief from the Mithraeum of the Castrum Peregrinorum. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

is currently on display in the Lapidary Gallery (Vatican Museum 2017). Nevertheless, there are many examples of the tauroctony relief in the museums of Rome, and for our example, we will use the relief from the *Mithraeum* of the Castra Peregrinorum that is on display in the Museo Nazionale Romano (National Roman Museum) at the Baths of Diocletian (Figure 11).

To understand the scene of the taurocotny, we need to identify the figures in the scene. The two large figures in the center of the relief are Mithras, a young man wearing a conical Phrygian cap, and the bull. Along the lower part of the relief are a scorpion, a snake and a dog. A raven perches on the flowing cloak of Mithras. On the upper margins of the scene are a man riding a *quadriga* (on the left) and a woman riding a *biga* (on the right). In the lower left margin is a young man in a Phrygian hat who is holding a torch in a up position, while on the right there is a similar young man holding his torch in the down position.

Scholars have recognized the tauroctony as a view of the heavens, extending from Taurus in the west to Scorpio in the east. The figures in the composition are the signs for the constellations and the symbols of the sun, the moon and the planets (Beck 2006:194). The figures are the classical representations of the constellations of Greco-Roman mythology in which the bull is Taurus, the dog is Canis Major (or Canis Minor), the snake is Hydra, the raven is Corvus and the scorpion is Scorpio (Ulansey 1989; Beck 2006:195).

The two torch bearers, known as Cautes and Cautopates, represent the constellation Gemini in some cases, but in other cases, they are representative of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes respectively. Cautes holds his torch upright in the springtime, while Cautopates holds his torch downward at the beginning of autumn (Wikipedia 2017e).

The image of Sol, the Sun god, is represented by the man in a *quadriga* drawn by horses, while on the opposite side of the relief, Luna, the Moon goddess, rides in a *biga*, a two-horse chariot drawn by oxen (Beck 2006:197).

An example of an alternate depiction of the tauroctony can be seen in a sandstone relief from the Heddernheim site in Germany (Figure 12).

In this scene of the tauroctony, the figures include a lion and a large cup or vessel that represent the constellations Leo and Crater, respectively. Attached to the bull's tail are ears of wheat that represent the constellation Spica (*Alpha Virginis*, the ear of wheat in the hand of Virgo). The torch bearers Cautes and Cautopates are shown in the relief, but

Figure 12. The Mithraic tauroctony relief from the Heddernheim site near Frankfurt, Germany. (Photo: Dierk Schaefer, Wikimedia Commons)

they stand on opposite sides in this scene. The Sun god Sol and Luna are not present (Ulansey 1989; Beck 2006:195; Wikimedia Commons 2017; Wikipedia 2017f).

For decades, scholars have been trying to decipher the code of the tauroctony. Clearly, the cult of Mithras had strong ties to astrology and astrotheology, but the revelation of the theology cult is still "only an educated guess" (Wolfe 2017). The explanation of the mysteries of Mithras by any one scholar seems to depend on his interpretation of who or what the figure of Mithras is. There is no consensus on that question. Seven scholars have produced seven different results (Wikipedia 2107d).

As we have mentioned, there are no written documents that explain the belief system of the cult of Mithras, however, an example of the approach that modern scholars have set forth provides some insight into a possible explanation of the cult's theology. In 1989, David Ulansey published his interpretation of the tauroctony as the fundamental mythological event that led to the foundation of the cult of Mithras. He began with the idea that Mithras, in the scene of the bull killing, represents the constellation Perseus. In antiquity, there was a specific iconographical tradition in which the Perseus of the constellation was depicted as a young man with a Phrygian cap, just as Mithras is in the relief. The equivalence of the two is certain (Pearse 2011).

In the tauroctony, six of the seven constellations (excluding Leo) lie along the path defined by an ancient position of the celestial equator that crosses the zodiac at the equinoxes, that is, on the first day of spring and on the first day of autumn. The arrangement of the constellations in the Mithraic tauroctony matches the astronomical situation that prevailed about 2000 B.C. (Ulansey 1989).

At that time, an event occurred that upset the understanding of the unchanging cosmos. Yet, the event was not discovered until 127 B.C. In that year, the Greek astronomer Hipparchus of Nicaea discovered the phenomenon of the precession of the equinoxes. Hipparchus measured the longitude of the constellation Spica, and he compared his measurements with known data. He calculated that Spica had moved two degrees relative to the autumnal equinox, and he concluded that the equinoxes were moving ("precessing") through the zodiac at a rate of about 2,160 years per constellation (making a complete circuit every 25,920 years) (Wikipedia 2017g; Ulansey 1989) (Figure 13).

Hipparchus realized that about 2000 B.C. the vernal equinox was moved out of the constellation Taurus and into the constellation Aries. The founders of the cult of Mithras understood this profound event

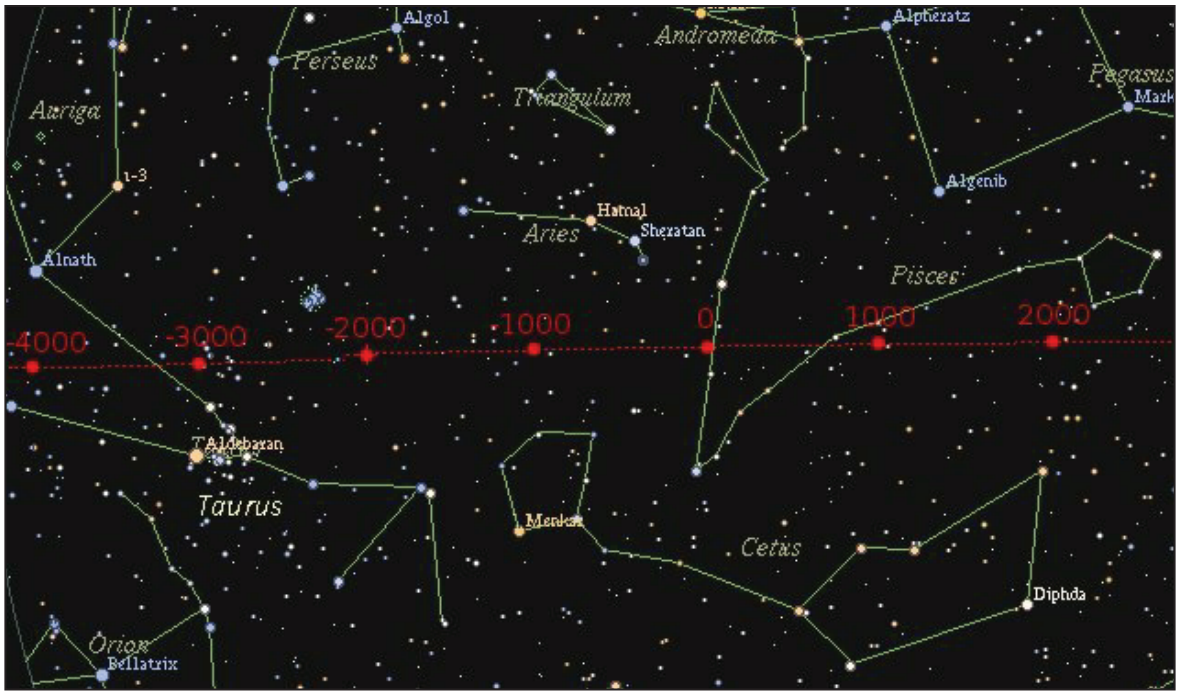

Figure 13. Diagram showing the westward shift of the vernal equinox among the stars over the past six millennia. Note that in 2000 B.C., the vernal equinox lies between the constellations Perseus (above) and Taurus (below). (Photo: Wikipedia)

that is reflected in the zodiac at the vernal equinox when the constellation Perseus is positioned above the constellation Taurus, just as Mithras stands over the bull that he is about to kill. The killing of the bull by Mithras caused the precession, and the tauroctony symbolizes the end of the reign of Taurus as the constellation of the spring equinox. The next era, the era of Aries, had begun. For the initiates of Mithraism, their secret was the knowledge that Mithras was THE force behind the precession of the equinoxes, and that was the powerful secret to be kept only among the initiates to the cult of Mithras. A deity as universally powerful as Mithras was certainly worthy of their devoted worship (Ulansey 1989).

Conclusion

The cult of Mithras flourished for about three centuries, from about 75 A.D. until the beginning of the fifth century A.D. when the edicts of the Emperor Theodosius I resulted in the suppression of the cult, and the last Mithraic communities disappeared from most regions of the empire (Chalupa 2008:178, 178fn3).

Mithraism was a cult that maintained the secrecy of their mysteries so well that they remain unknown even today. All that survives are the enigmatic inscriptions, the peculiar temples and the works of Mithraic art. All of which continue to be a source of great interest and fulsome speculation. No matter what ideas the scholars come up with, they will be looking for clues at Ostia Antica.

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THE ASIA MINOR CULT OF ARTEMIS (DIANA)

Wilson W. Crook, III

Introduction

The Greeks are well known to have worshiped a large pantheon of gods and goddesses. The Romans adopted many of the Greek gods, usually giving them Roman names. Thus Zeus became Jupiter, Hermes became Mercury, Poseidon became Neptune and so forth. One of these Greek deities was Artemis, who in Rome became known as Diana. As Rome expanded its territorial reach through the first century A.D., the Romans also adopted a number of foreign deities that were worshiped elsewhere in the Empire (outside of Greece and Rome). Two of the more prominent of these foreign deities were Isis from Egypt and the Asia Minor cult of Artemis (Diana) (Sacks and Oswyn 2009).

Artemis was originally the Greek goddess of the hunt, forestry and hills, and archery (Rose 1959; Graves 1960). Later, she also became associated as the goddess of the moon (D'Este 2005). According to Greek mythology, Artemis was the daughter of Zeus and Leto, a Titan goddess whom Zeus found irresistible and subsequently impregnated. Leto bore twins, Artemis and her brother Apollo. Artemis was born first and, according to mythology, seeing that her mother was exhausted from childbirth, she assisted in the birth of her brother Apollo the following day. From this act, Artemis also became known as a protector of mothers and childbirth (Rose 1959). Greek legends tell of Artemis growing up in the woods, hunting with her bow and frequently accompanied by deer or hunting dogs (which become her sacred animals) as well as young virgin maidens. Artemis later appealed to Zeus to forever maintain her virginity, which he granted. She was pursued by many suitors by always remained the perpetual virgin (Graves 1960).

The Greek Artemis is typically depicted as a young maiden carrying a bow and frequently accompanied by a hunting dog or a deer (Figure 1). Some-

Figure 1. Statue of the Greek Goddess Artemis in the Vatican Museum showing her as she was originally depicted in Greek mythology as the Goddess of the Hunt.

Figure 2. Statue of the Greek Goddess Artemis in the Vatican Museum showing her as the Goddess of the Hunt but with the crescent moon as part of her headdress.

where along the line of the Artemis myth, she also became the goddess of the moon. As such, she is also commonly depicted with a crescent moon either above her head, in her headdress, or at her feet (D'este 2005) (Figure 2). Never a major deity in Greek life, there were specific temples to her in Attica and on Crete (Buckert 1985).

Asia Minor Artemis

By approximately 550 B.C., the Greek goddess of Artemis had morphed into an all-together different mother goddess figure in Asia Minor, although not in Greece, at least at first. There had always been a strong mother goddess cult in Asia, including Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Palestine. Frequently, this goddess figure was the consort of the principal male god. As civilization became more sedentary and thus more dependent on cereal grain harvests, both the primary male god and his consort became fertility figures with the female goddess also taking on the role as protector of women, the home and childbirth. This goddess figure was known by a number of names: Inanna or Ishtar in Mesopotamia, Astarte-Anath-Asherah in Palestine and the Levant, Ma in eastern Asia Minor, and Cybele in Phrygia and southern Asia Minor (Wright 1962). Goddess figures from these regions vary in form but typically show a naked female figure with large pendulous breasts and wide hips – all traditional symbols associated with fertility (Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 3. Canaanite clay figurine of goddess Astarte ca. 1500 B.C. The figure is a "plaque", flat on the bottom and was believed to have been placed under the worshiper's bed in order to promote fertility in the home. (Wilson W. Crook, III Collection)

Figure 4. Judean clay figurine of the goddess Astarte/Anath from the 6th-8th Centuries B.C. Note the figure is cupping large pendulous breasts which are obvious symbols of fertility. (Wilson W. Crook, III Collection)

With the rise and subsequent fall of the Persian Empire, many of the nations that once made up Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and the Levant lost their physical, if not cultural, identity. Moreover, there was a focused effort by the Greeks after the death of Alexander the Great to "Hellenize" Asia including the introduction of Greek culture, language and religion. Somewhere between the end of the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires and the advent of Hellenization across Asia, the original Greek goddess Artemis changed identity, losing the goddess of the hunt persona and adopting the role of an overall mother goddess. As such, Artemis also became the protector of women, fertility and childbirth (Rogers 2012). As many of the Middle Eastern fertility goddesses were already associated with the moon, this characteristic was retained along with Artemis' perpetual virginity. Depictions of the new mother goddess Artemis show her as a rigid figure encased in a tapering cylinder from above the waist to the feet. She wears a crown which is often designed like city walls. Heads of bulls and rams flank her face and the lower half of her body. She is festooned with a number of egg-shaped objects across her chest which have variously been identified as female breasts, eggs, or even the testicles of bulls (Figure 5) (Rogers 2012). All vestiges of the maiden goddess of the hunt

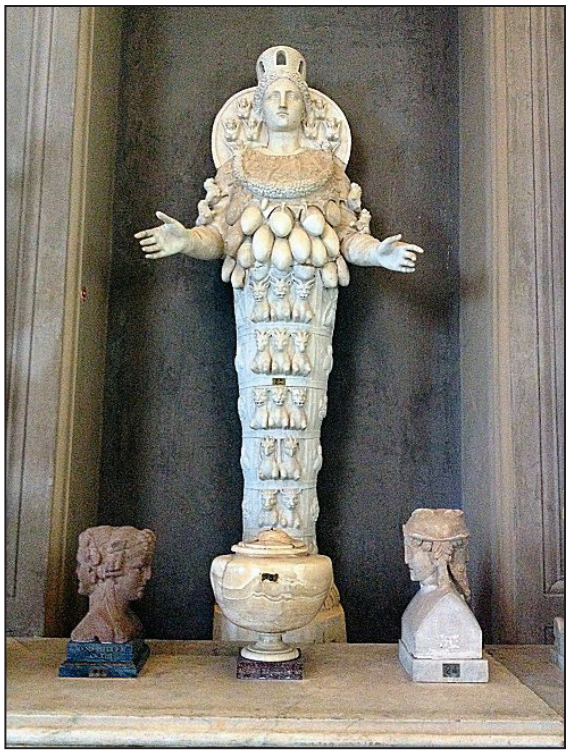

Figure 5. Artemis as Asia Minor mother goddess from a statue in the Vatican Museum. The egg shaped objects lining the figure's chest have been variously identified as female breasts, eggs or bull's testicles – all symbols associated with fertility.

are gone. When Rome conquers Asia Minor in the second and first centuries B.C., the Asian Artemis was given the Roman equivalent name, Diana, and she is worshiped thereafter in the eastern part of the Empire as either Artemis or Diana (Rogers 2012).

Worship of Artemis in Asia Minor

The change in Artemis' character from goddess of the hunt to mother goddess necessitated a change in her background story as well. The Asian Artemis was believed to have been born in the woods near the city of Ephesus in southwestern Asia Minor (modern Turkey) (Rogers 2012). She retained the filial relationship to Apollo but the story of her assisting her mother in his birth as midwife was magnified. Her birth in the region was further associated with the fall of an object from the heavens, probably a meteorite, which was said to bear the image of the goddess (Rogers 2012).

The original temple to the Asian Artemis was said to have been built at Ephesus in about 700 B.C. by the race of women warriors known as the Amazons (Abrahamsen 2009; Rogers 2012). This legend reinforced the patron relationship of the goddess to all women and especially to those who had been abandoned, divorced or widowed. This original temple was destroyed by a great flood and then rebuilt in about 550 B.C. by Croesus, the ruler of nearby Lydia. Croesus' temple to Artemis was destroyed by a major regional earthquake in 356 B.C. This was the same year that Alexander the Great was born in Macedonia and the people in Ephesus said that Artemis was so busy attending the birth of the future man-god Alexander that she was not present to protect her main temple (Abrahamsen 2009). Years later after incorporating Asia Minor into his empire, Alexander was told this story and as a result, offered to help rebuilt the temple. The Ephesians politely refused and then constructed a new temple which became one of the original Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

Known as the "Artemision", the new temple to Artemis was 450 feet in length by 225 feet in width. One hundred and twenty seven ornately carved columns, all made from the finest white marble, held up its 60 foot high roof (McRay 2001). At its center was a worship area that contained a large statue to Artemis and the smaller image of Artemis that was said to "have fallen from the sky" (Wright 1962; McRay 2001). Iron meteorites can be polished to a mirror-like finish and properly placed, could have reflected sunlight in an impressive manner. The Artemision lasted for over 700 years, finally being destroyed in a great earthquake in 401 A.D (McRay 2001). Stones from the temple were taken for other structures and the temple was never rebuilt due to the spread of Christianity over the region. Today, almost nothing remains of the great Temple of Artemis (Figure 6).

The head of the cult of Artemis at Ephesus was a chief priest, usually a eunuch, who carried the title "Megabyzos" (possibly meaning "set free by god") (Rogers 2012). Other attendant priests were referred to as "Essenes" and were usually prominent local

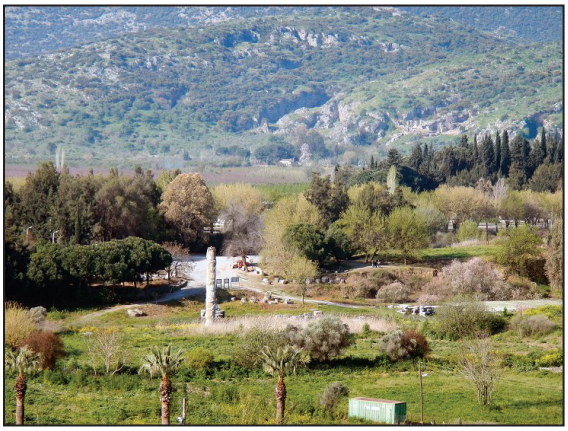

Figure 6. Remains of the Temple of Artemis overlooking ancient Ephesus.

townspeople who served for a term of one year. So many priestesses served in the temple at Ephesus that they were referred to as "melissai" or "bees" (Rogers 2012). Ancient records indicate there were at least three classes of priestesses but we no longer know what were the duties of each class. However, their importance is unquestioned as the city symbol for Ephesus became a bee (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Bronze coin from First Century A.D. Ephesus showing bee symbol. (Wilson W. Crook, III Collection)

Temple prostitution, especially alongside the pathway leading up to the temple, was very prolific. Worship of Artemis, as with many Asian fertility deities, was a sympathetic or syncretic religion. The worshipers acted out, in concert with the priests and priestesses, the role they wished the gods to play in order to promote fertility in heaven and on earth (Wright 1962; McRay 2001). As Ephesus was located along the major east-west and north-south crossroads of trade for the eastern part of the Roman Empire, great wealth poured into both the city and the temple. Many of the religious pilgrims carried with them currency from all over Asia and as a result, Ephesus, and the Temple of Artemis in particular, became great centers of currency exchange as well (McRay 2001). This further increased the wealth of the city and the temple.

As is the case with tourists today, many visitors to the Temple of Artemis wished to purchase a figure of the deity to take home with them. As a result, a large business sprang up in the manufacturing of images of the goddess from clay, ivory and precious metals, notably silver (Figure 8). These manufacturers of Artemis idols along with the cult worshipers of the goddess became some of the most ardent opponents to the Apostle Paul in his ministry in Ephesus and throughout Asia Minor (McRay 2001; Rogers 2012). The Book of Acts in the New Testament records this conflict between Paul and the idol makers in Ephesus in which they confront the apostle shouting "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians" (Ogilvie 1983).

"23 And about that time there arose no small disturbance concerning the Way. 24 For a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, who made silver shrines of Artemis, was bringing no little business to the craftsmen; 25 these he gathered together with the workmen of similar trades, and said, "Men, you know that our prosperity depends upon this business. 26 "And you see and hear that not only in Ephesus, but in almost all of Asia, this Paul has persuaded and turned away a considerable number of people, saying that gods made with hands are no gods at all. 27 "And not only is there danger that this trade of ours fall into disrepute, but also that the temple of the great goddess Artemis be regarded as worthless and that she whom all of Asia and the world worship should even be dethroned from her magnificence." 28 And when they heard this and were filled with rage, they began crying out, saying, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!" 29 And the city was filled with the confusion, and they rushed with one accord into the theater, dragging along Gaius and Aristarchus, Paul's traveling companions from Macedonia" (Acts 19:23-29).

Figure 8. Marble idol of Artemis from Ephesus. (Wilson W. Crook, III Collection)

Figure 9. Ruins of the Temple of Artemis in Jerash. A large colonnaded area (right) formed an entranceway into the main temple area (left).

Ephesus was not the only city in Asia Minor where the worship of Artemis flourished. Many of the other cities of the Roman Province of Asia (Asia Minor) had temples dedicated to the goddess as did the cities of the Decapolis in the Levant, primarily modern day Jordan. The worship of the Asian Artemis even spread back to Greece, notably in Philippi where there was a large cult to the goddess (Abrahamsen 2009). At Jerash, north of Amman in Jordan, where Artemis was the patron goddess as she was in Ephesus, there was a major temple to the goddess situated on a hill overlooking the city (Figures 9 and 10). The temple was completed in about 150 A.D. and was ornately decorated with fine marble paneling and a decorated cult statue within the main worship area (Harding 1967; Browning 1982).

Discussion

Worship of the Asian Artemis continued into the fourth century A.D. until the religion of the old Greek and Roman gods was gradually replaced by the new religion of Christianity. The worship of Artemis had been especially popular among women as many of the laws and status of the Greco-Roman world strongly favored men with women sometimes becoming forgotten citizens (Abrahamsen 2009). As such, women were some of the most ardent worshipers of Artemis as she was seen as a strong protector of women, childbirth and children, and the home. The early Christian church tried to persuade many women to its belief by promoting the fact that Christianity also had a *de facto* "mother goddess" in Mary. At the third Ecumenical Council in Ephesus in 431 A.D. (which met at Mary's house in Ephesus), many of the former titles granted to Artemis were transferred to Mary including "Perpetual Virgin", "Divine Mother", "Mother of God" and "Queen of Heaven") (Braaten and Jenson 2004; O'Grady 2002). This could also be one of the reasons that Mary is venerated to a much greater extent in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches than in Protestant religions today.

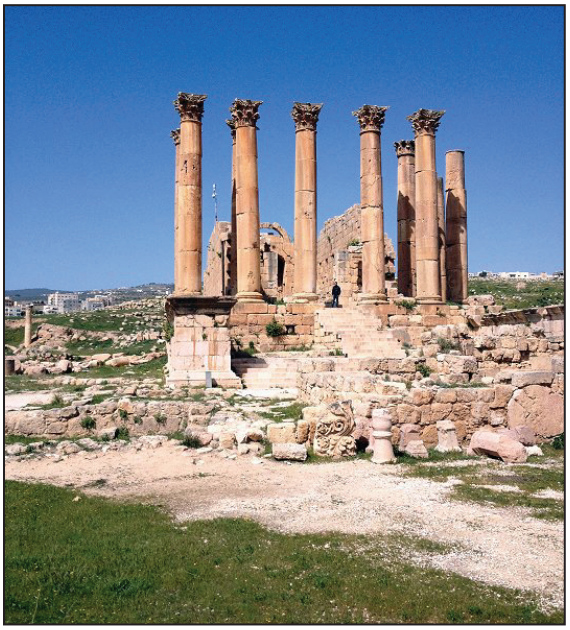

Figure 10. The main Temple of Artemis in Jerash. Note the ornately carved columns which are similar in design to the Artemision in Ephesus.

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WHO BUILT THE PANTHEON? NEW ANSWERS TO AN OLD QUESTION

Louis F. Aulbach and Linda C. Gorski

Introduction

For someone who is walking the narrow streets and alleyways of the Campus Martius region of Rome, the sight of the Piazza della Rotunda offers the hope of relief from the claustrophobic feelings brought on by the tight lanes between the four and five story buildings in this neighborhood. By entering the Piazza della Rotunda from the east side, the Pantheon with its colonnaded portico and triangular pediment becomes visible on your left at the south end of the piazza. In the center of the piazza is the Macuteo Obelisk.

The Macuteo Obelisk stands 6.34 meters (21.8 feet) high. It was originally one of a pair of obelisks from the Temple of Ra in Heliopolis, Egypt that were probably brought from Egypt during the first century A.D. by Emperor Domitian for the Temple of Isis, in the area east of the Pantheon (*Wikipedia* 2014; Bondono 2016).

The center of attention that dominates the piazza is not the obelisk, but the magnificent Pantheon with its enormous colonnaded portico and billboard-size inscription to Marcus Agrippa. Largely hidden from view is the marvelous rotunda with its huge dome that is pierced by an open air oculus in the center. These two distinct architectural parts of the Pantheon, the classical rectangular portico and the circular drum of the innovative rotunda, seem to be in direct contrast to each other. With good reason, this unique structure has been a wonder for architects, engineers and ordinary people for two thousand years (Claridge 2010:226) (Figure 1).

Figure 1. The Pantheon stands on the south end of the Piazza della Rotunda in the Campus Martius of Rome. The building has been in almost continuous use for two thousand years, and it is one of the best preserved structures from ancient Rome. The Pantheon is considered one of the finest examples of ancient Roman architecture. (Source: Wikimedia Commons, Droberta, CC-BY-SA-2.5)

The Pantheon: Design and Date of Construction

In the style of a classical temple, the Pantheon porch, or *pronaos*, has a pediment that is supported by three rows of monolithic columns of the Corinthian order that rise forty-eight Roman Feet (49.44 feet) high. The eight columns across the front and the two down each outer side are gray granite from the Mons Claudianus quarry in the Eastern Desert of Egypt. The four columns in the middle of the porch are rose-pink granite from Aswan, Egypt. The porch itself is a rectangular platform measuring 33.1 meters (108.6 feet) wide and 15.5 meters (58.9 feet) deep (Claridge 2010:226-228; Coarelli 2007:287; *Churches of Rome Wiki* 2015).

The colonnade we see today is slightly different than what it was when the building was originally built. During the Middle Ages, the left side of the Pantheon *pronaos* was damaged. In 1626 A.D., the corner column was replaced by Pope Urban VIII with a pink Aswan granite shaft from Domitian's villa at Castel Gandolfo. Forty years later, in 1666 A.D., Pope Alexander VII replaced the other two columns on the left with red granite columns from the Baths of Nero (Claridge 2010:228-229; Coarelli 2007:287; *Churches of Rome Wiki*).

The four interior columns of the Pantheon's portico form three aisles, with the central aisle slightly wider than the two side aisles. Although empty today, the semi-circular niches on the side aisles probably contained statues of Marcus Agrippa and the Emperor Augustus. The central aisle leads through the large bronze doors of the rectangular transition block connecting the portico with the rotunda. The bronze doors are among the few ancient ones that have survived, but they have been heavily restored and may not have originally belonged to this Pantheon. The entrance through these doors, nevertheless, opens into the vast expanse of the domed rotunda (*Churches of Rome Wiki;* Coarelli 2007:287-288; Wilson Jones 2013:28).

The rotunda of the Pantheon is a perfect hemisphere in which the diameter of the floor at 44.4 meters (about 150 Roman Feet) is the same as the height from the floor to the oculus in the ceiling. As small as it may seem from the floor, the oculus is actually 8.8 meters (28.9 feet) in diameter. The dome of the rotunda was derived from the contemporary designs of Roman concrete bath buildings. Yet, the dome was the widest solid construction dome ever raised. The dome was probably cast in one piece in a huge wooden mold, and it is supported by the rotunda walls that are six meters (19.7 feet) thick. Viewed from the outside, the dome of the Pantheon was covered with white stucco and it gleamed with the appearance of fine marble (Claridge 2010:226-230; Coarelli 2007:288-289).

According to the inscription on the front of the building, the Pantheon was constructed by Marcus Agrippa:

M.AGRIPPA.L.F.COS.TERTIVM.FECIT

Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, thrice consul, made this (Claridge 2010:226).

For centuries, it was assumed that the inscription was correct and Agrippa was indeed the builder of this incredible structure. However, scholars in the late 19th and early 20th centuries came to the conclusion that the current Pantheon was completed about 125 A.D. by the Emperor Hadrian. This building, in fact, was possibly the third temple on this site (Claridge 2010:226; Boatwright 2013:19).

The first Pantheon built on the site was constructed by Marcus Agrippa between 27 B.C. and 25 B.C. during his reorganization of the Campus Martius. As the name suggests, the Pantheon was dedicated to the *dodekatheon*, the twelve celestial divinities of the Greek pantheon who resided on the mythical Mount Olympus. This was a concept that well suited the Emperor Augustus's admiration of Greek culture. Agrippa also intended the sanctuary to be a dynastic temple for the deified members of the Julio-Claudian family. Agrippa suggested that the temple be named for Augustus. Augustus, however, modestly declined, and a statue of Julius Caesar was placed in the building instead (Claridge 2010:226, 231; Coarelli 2007:286, 289).

Less than two decades after the fire of Nero destroyed the southern and eastern parts of Rome in 64 A.D., the great fire of 80 A.D. devastated an area in the Campus Martius from the Baths of Agrippa to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill. The Pantheon of Agrippa suffered an unknown amount of damage, and the Emperor Domitian reportedly did some work to restore the structure. Little is known, however, about this second Pantheon building (Coarelli 2007:286, 324; Claridge 2010:226; Wilson Jones 2013:30; La Rocca 2016).

In 110 A.D., during the reign of the Emperor Trajan, lightning struck the Pantheon and the building was burned completely to the ground. It was after this disaster that the Pantheon was rebuilt to restore the building as Agrippa had originally constructed it, but in a fire proof form. To accomplish this, for example, the trusses of the portico were made of bronze instead of wood, and the rotunda was made of brick and concrete. The Pantheon was completed by the Emperor Hadrian during his reign (117-138 A.D.), and this is the Pantheon that we see today

(Claridge 2010:226; Wilson Jones 2013:30; La Rocca 2016).

Hadrian is often credited with the construction of this version of the Pantheon. The restoration of the monument was certainly completed during Hadrian's reign as Emperor, but was Hadrian the designer and architect of such an extraordinary Roman structure? The Villa of Hadrian in Tivoli was largely designed by Hadrian himself, and it showed that he had sophisticated architectural skills. But, did he design and build the new Pantheon? And, if he did, why did he not put his name on it?

Archeological surveys of the Pantheon in the 1890's produced drawings, sketches and other information about the construction of the Pantheon completed during Hadrian's reign. Brick stamps recovered from the Pantheon by Georges Chedanne indicated that the brick and concrete structure was built in the first half of the second century A.D. In the 1950's, Herbert Bloch, a prominent scholar of Roman brick stamps, dated the construction of the Pantheon to the Hadrianic period. Although Bloch realized that all of the *in situ* brick stamps in the Pantheon, except for one, were datable to the late Trajanic period (98-117 A.D.), he argued that bricks from Trajanic period were stockpiled and not used until the Hadrianic period (Wilson Jones 2013:29-30, 37; Coarelli 2007:286).

Bloch's Hadrianic construction date of the Pantheon was generally accepted until the first decade of the twenty-first century when Lise M. Hetland reanalyzed the brick stamps of the Pantheon. Although brick stamps often identified the brick maker, some of brick stamps also included the names of the consuls in Rome, and these bricks stamps can be accurately dated. These dated brick stamps begin to appear in Rome in the second decade of the second century AD, just in time for the restoration of the Pantheon (Hetland 2007:95; Hetland 2016).

Although Bloch recorded 184 brick stamps in and around the Pantheon, Hetland focused her analysis on the seventy brick stamps that were found *in situ* in the Pantheon. Of those seventy brick stamps, four have consular dates of the years 114 A.D., 115 A.D. and 116 A.D. One brick stamp is dated 123 A.D. in Hadrian's reign. Nineteen brick stamps can be defined to a narrow Trajanic time period of 100 to 117 A.D. through the study of the lives of the brick makers. A total of twenty-three of the seventy brick stamps (32.9%) can be identified as belonging to the Trajanic period (Hetland 2016).

Much of the research on those nineteen Trajanic brick stamps was done by Bloch himself. Nevertheless, Bloch argued that the Trajanic brick stamps of the Pantheon were stockpiled bricks from earlier projects of Trajan, and Hadrian used them during the construction. Hetland, on the other hand, takes the dating at face value, and she accepts the simpler explanation that Trajan commissioned the replacement of the Pantheon soon after the fire of 110 A.D., and that the demolition and planning was begun as early as 113 A.D. The construction was started under Trajan between 114 A.D. and 116 A.D., and not in 118 A.D. or 119 A.D. under Hadrian. The building was not completed by the time of Trajan's death in 117 A.D., and his successor, Hadrian, finished the project about 125 A.D. (Hetland 2007; Hetland 2016; Wilson Jones 2013:37; Claridge 2010:226; *Churches of Rome Wiki*).

If we accept the idea that the new Pantheon was begun under the Emperor Trajan, then the designer of the Pantheon was probably Apollodorus of Damascus. Apollodorus was Trajan's preferred designer and engineer who was responsible for many notable projects of the Trajanic period, including the Forum of Trajan, the Column of Trajan and the Baths of Trajan. The open air half-rotundas of the Baths of Trajan are similar in design to the rotunda of the Pantheon. In the same way, the stylistic traits in the marble decoration of the Forum of Trajan can be seen in the decorations of the Pantheon. Apollodorus had built siege engines and the Danube River bridge that showed he had the expertise to build giant timber structures such as the great centring, the temporary structure upon which stones of an arch or vault are laid during construction, employed to build the Pantheon's dome. The Pantheon that we see today was most likely the work of Apollodorus, not Hadrian (Wilson Jones 2013:31-32, 39).

If Apollodorus were indeed the designer and builder of the Pantheon, then Hadrian and his noted animosity toward Apollodorus may be the reason for some of the architectural oddities in the Pantheon. A number of improper classical design features exist in the Pantheon. At least three of them can be easily seen on the exterior, while others are less accessible and difficult to view. These oddities may have resulted after Hadrian became emperor and took over the completion of the Pantheon (Wilson Jones 2013:28, 40).

The first of these oddities is the “ghost pediment” of the Pantheon *pronaos* that has been known since the sixteenth century A.D. (Figure 2). The rectangular transitional block between the portico and the rotunda has a triangular motif like a ghost pediment on its front face. Most likely, the original design of the portico called for columns about sixty Roman Feet high. For some reason, the columns that were installed were only forty-eight Roman feet high. The triangular pediment was lower than planned and a second rectangular pediment was exposed above the triangular pediment. The trace of the originally

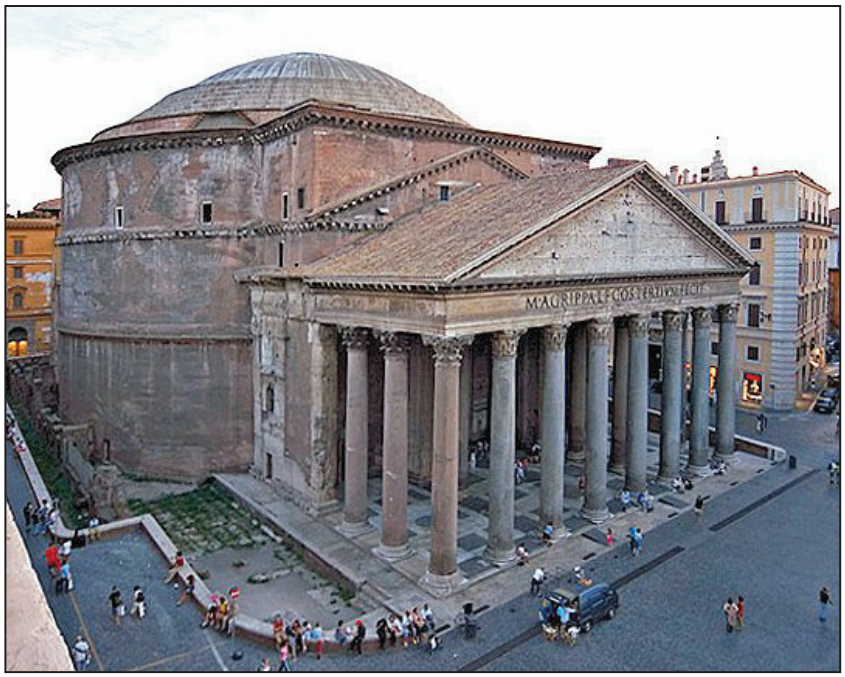

Figure 2.
The "ghost" pediment of the portico of the Pantheon can be seen on the transitional block in this aerial view from a nearby hotel.
(Photo courtesy of Rolling Rome Tours & Rentals)

planned pediment can be seen from the northeast side of the piazza (see Figure 2) (*Churches of Rome Wiki*; Claridge 2010:228; Wilson Jones 2013:32).

The reduced size of the columns of the portico also seems to be the reason that there is a second oddity in the way that the entablature of the portico and the transitional block joins the rotunda (Figure 3). The structure exhibits aesthetic issues in the awkward way that the circular and right angle features come together. The entablature of the portico abruptly stops at the wall of the rotunda, and it fails to align with the cornice that wraps around the middle of the rotunda. If the columns had been of the height originally planned, the entablature would be higher and would align properly with the cornice (Wilson Jones 2013: 28-29).

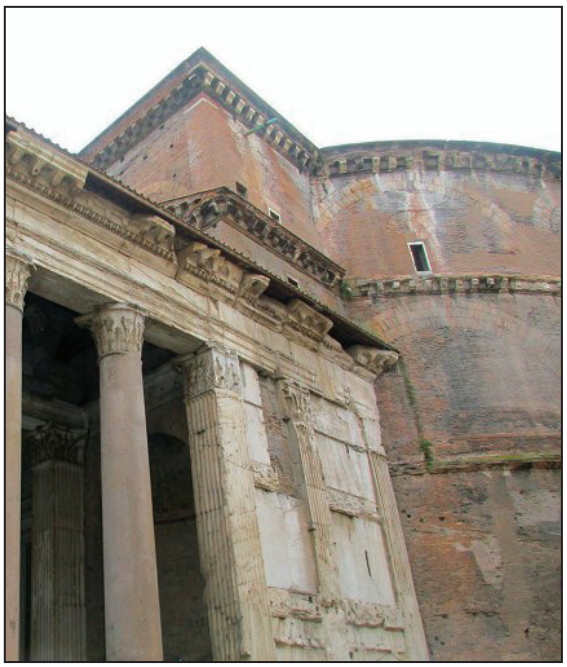

Figure 3. The entablature of the portico of the Pantheon fails to align with the cornice that wraps around the middle of the rotunda. (Photo: Linda C. Gorski)

The third aesthetic issue with the Pantheon is subtle and less visible. It also is likely the result of the lower columns. On the west side of the portico, the entablature of the portico juts out a small amount on the transitional block. The transitional block was probably already in place when the shorter columns for the portico were installed. Because those columns had slightly smaller diameters than the original columns, the entablature had to be moved inward a very small distance. But, once it was in place, the transitional block could not be adjusted, so there is a small step outward where the two forms meet (Figure 4) (Wilson Jones 2013:32-33).

As we can see, the story of the construction of the Pantheon and its remarkable rotunda is very complex. Yet, until the nineteenth century A.D., it was generally thought that the Pantheon was built by Marcus Agrippa, just as the inscription on the front of the building says. We now know that the Emperor Hadrian placed the inscription of Agrippa on the pediment, and, surprisingly, he put his own name

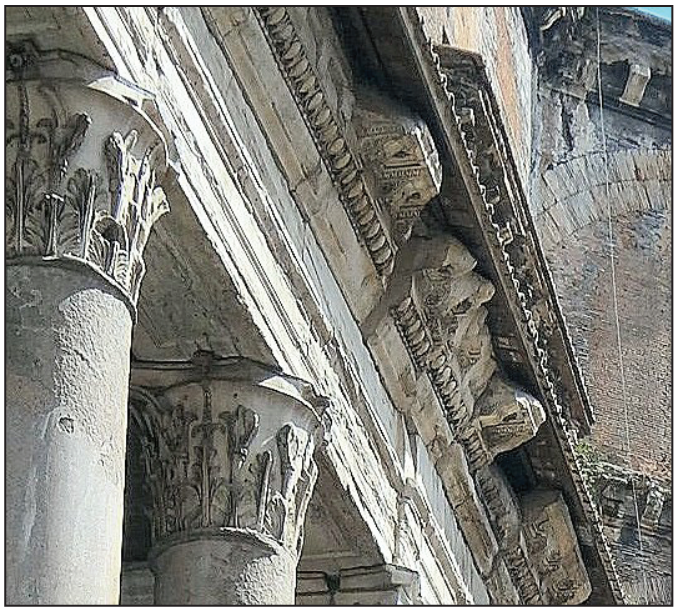

Figure 4. The entablature of the portico of the Pantheon juts out a small amount on the transitional block. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

nowhere on the building. What possible motivations could there be for that?

Perhaps the most recognizable feature of the Pantheon, at least from the outside, is the large inscription on the pediment above the columns of the *pronaos*. From far away, one can clearly read the words that inform us the Marcus Agrippa made the temple (M.AGRIPPA, etc.). The inscription itself is almost twenty-two meters (seventy-two feet) long. The letters are each about seventy centimeters (2.3 feet) tall. In antiquity, the letters were made of gilded bronze and glistened in the sun as if illuminated. The letters that we see today were reinstalled in 1887 A.D. using a metal alloy. Although prominent, they do not compare to the way the inscription appeared in the second century A.D. (Boatwright 2013:20-21).

It has been said that Hadrian recreated what Agrippa had inscribed on the earlier structure. Although the ancient historical sources do not describe the Agrippa Pantheon of 25 B.C. or what it looked like, the large size of the letters is extraordinary for such an early Augustan date. The letters are two times larger than those of any other bronze lettered inscription, even those of the Emperor Augustus. It is unlikely that Agrippa would have used an inscription with the size and the material that are on the current Pantheon. The letters, and possibly the text of the inscription itself, are due to Hadrian (Boatwright 2013:21, 23, 25).

The *Historiae Augustae* (the Augustan History), a collection of biographies of late Roman Emperors written near the end of the fourth century A.D., suggests that Emperor Hadrian modestly refrained from placing his own name on the monuments in Rome that he restored. Among these restorations were the Pantheon, the Saepta, the Basilica of Neptune and the Baths of Agrippa, and he dedicated each of them in the name of their original builder (Boatwright 2013:25; Hetland 2016).

In a recent analysis of the Pantheon, Mark Wilson Jones proposes a more nuanced reason for Hadrian to emphasize Agrippa as the builder. Hadrian may have wanted to avoid the negative connotations that would come from a building with so many architectural compromises among it features. We have mentioned a few of those compromises above. The shortcomings of the exterior might have been the outcome of compromises to the original design brought on by unforeseen circumstances, such as a lost shipment at sea of the very tall granite columns, that may have heightened the tension between Apollodorus and Hadrian. The Agrippa inscription focused the attention on Agrippa and distanced Hadrian from ownership of the project. So effective was Hadrian's action that even Dio Cassius, writing about a hundred years later, seems to have taken the Agrippa inscription literally (Wilson Jones 2013:32, 41-42; Hetland 2016).

Discussion

All of the emphasis on the Pantheon completed by Hadrian leaves one question unanswered: what did the Pantheon of Agrippa look like? Since many of the ancient writers thought that the Pantheon was the one built by Agrippa, and Hadrian had only "restored" it, few people had suspected a different original structure. In the late nineteenth century A.D., the question of an Agrippan building inspired a series of excavations in and around the Pantheon

by Georges Chedanne and Pier O. Armanini in 1892 A.D. and 1893 A.D. These excavations revealed the existence of pavements, a podium and pier structures under the current building that could only have been part of the original Pantheon of Agrippa. In 1892, the influential archeologist Rodolfo A. Lanciani suggested that the Agrippan Pantheon was a south-facing, T-shaped temple. The Lanciani model of the Pantheon was widely accepted and promoted even into the twenty-first century A.D. (Brouke 2009:27; La Rocca 2016; Alcock and Osborne 2012:332; Wilson Jones 2013: 30; Coarelli 2007: 286).

A century later, in 1990 A.D., Edoardo Tortorici re-interpreted the drawings of Pier O. Armanini in the report on the excavations of the Pantheon in 1892-1893, and he concluded that Agrippa's building was circular with an entrance to the north. Excavations by Paola Virgili and Paola Battistelli followed in 1996-1997 A.D. They found that the Pantheon of Hadrian had more in common with that of Agrippa than previously thought. Most convincing of all was the discovery of an earlier north-facing front stairs under the portico. In addition, it appears that the Agrippa's Pantheon had a large, unroofed rotunda of the same dimension as Hadrian's restored Pantheon (Simpson 1997:169-170; La Rocca 2016; Wilson Jones 2013: 30; Norena 2013:55, fn13).

In summary, the picture of the Pantheon derived from the archeological evidence indicates that the Pantheon of Agrippa, the original Pantheon, had a circular, unroofed cella that was surrounded by a barrel-vaulted ring colonnade with a rectangular porch entry on the north side (Simpson 1997:170; Alcock and Osborne 2012: 332; Brouke 2009:27).

This design of the Pantheon fits well the general plan that Augustus and Agrippa had for the development of the Campus Martius. The Pantheon and the Mausoleum of Augustus were under construction at the same time. Both buildings shared a common circular form that had an axis that went through the center of each structure. The two circular buildings formed a complex in the Campus Martius that expressed dynastic and religious concepts, while the line of sight between the Pantheon and the Mausoleum visually expressed the progression of the Julio-Claudian Emperor Augustus from a deceased mortal to the immortal fellow deities in the Pantheon (Alcock and Osborne 2012:332; Brouke 2009:27; Simpson 1997:174).

About seventy-five years after Hadrian dedicated the new Pantheon, the building needed some repairs. The Emperor Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla completed the restoration of the Pantheon in 202 A.D. Their work is noted in the small inscription located on the architrave below the Agrippa inscription, and it reads:

PANTHEVM.VETVSTATE.CORRVPTVM
.CVM.OMNI.CVLTV.RESTITVERVNT

With every refinement, they restored the Pantheum, worn by age (Coarelli 2007:286; Claridge 2010: 226)

After the fall of Roman Empire in the West, the population of the city of Rome declined significantly and the authority of the Pope in the affairs of the city increased. In 608 A.D., the Emperor of the Byzantine Empire, Phocas, donated the Pantheon to Pope Boniface IV so that it could be turned into a church. The next year, the pope consecrated the abandoned temple as a Christian church, the Church of St. Mary of the Martyrs (Santa Maria ad Martyres). The church has been in more or less continuous use since that time, and that is the reason that the Pantheon has survived in such a well-preserved state to this day (Claridge 2010:226; Coarelli 2007:286; *Churches of Rome Wiki*).

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OFF THE BEATEN PATH: A FEW OF ROME'S OTHER MONUMENTS

Louis F. Aulbach and Linda C. Gorski

Introduction

The exploits and achievements of prominent Roman statesmen, generals, politicians and emperors are memorialized in the many grand edifices of ancient Rome. These buildings and structures are clustered in the central core of the city of Rome around the Roman Forum, the Via Sacra, and the Capitoline and Palatine hills. These temples, basilicas and triumphal arches resonate with the grandeur that was and is Rome. And, it is these sites that the millions of visitors to Rome each year come to see.

For many centuries, though, the basic functioning of the city depended upon the work of the so-called lower classes. Noble plebeians and prominent patricians may have made the major decisions of government and law, but after the *Lex Claudia* in 218 B.C., the senatorial class was prohibited from large commercial activity. The non-senatorial members of the equestrian class engaged in the commercial enterprises that employed the merchants, tradesmen, and freedmen who performed the mundane tasks that kept the city going. Sites that highlight these people and the places of their work can be found throughout the modern city of Rome, and this paper examines a few of the sites that provide insight into the lives of these merchants, tradesmen, and freedmen.

Our first stop will be the wharves and warehouses of the "new" river port that was built downstream of the Aventine Hill. A second stop will focus on the aqueducts of the water supply system that enter the city from the southeast. Finally, our last stop will be at two tombs of freedmen located in the Republican era necropolis on the Esquiline Hill. Although these places are mostly quiet and uncrowded today, one can imagine the bustle of activity that was the norm at the time of ancient Rome.

The River Port Complex

The Emporium

By the late third century B.C., Republican Rome had expanded its authority over the entire Italian peninsula, and began looking to expand toward the Western Mediterranean. By the end of the Second Punic War in 201 B.C., Rome had defeated its greatest rival in the Mediterranean. The city of Rome then experienced a boom in both population and commerce that required a new port complex to meet these expanding needs. The traditional wharves near the

Figure 1. The remnants of the old wharves of the Emporium are visible along the east bank of the Tiber River, downstream of Ponte Sublicio. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Forum Boarium were unable to handle the increased trade, and a new port had to be built. The open plain south of the Aventine Hill was the most suitable place for the new wharves and warehouses of the port (Coarelli 2007:345).

The great river port in Rome was constructed in the early second century B.C., and it included a complex of buildings and wharves grouped together under the term "emporium." It was the place where goods bound for Rome were offloaded, warehoused and sold (Evans 2013; Coarelli 2007:345).

Improvements to the Emporium were made in 174 B.C. The wharf was extended to a length of 500 meters (547 yards) and it was paved with stone. The paved portion of the wharf, which covered the ninety square meters from the river to the warehouses, was subdivided with low walls, and paired flights of steps and ramps led up from the Tiber River. Large travertine blocks protruded from the docks, and ships moored using projecting mooring rings carved in the large stone blocks. The form of the wharf indicates that ships docked broadside to the embankment and were unloaded both fore and aft (Evans 2013; Coarelli 2007:345) (Figure 1).

The wharves lying downstream of the modern Ponte Sublicio were raised and redesigned in the 2nd century A.D. The surviving structural elements of the wharves (*antiguos muelles*) are mostly in *opus mixtum*, and are reconstructions made during the reign of Trajan. Archeological excavations indicate that the wharves were in use as late as the 6th century A.D. (Claridge 2010:405; Coarelli 2007:345).

The Porticus Aemilia

As a part of the new port, or Emporium, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Aemilius Paullus, the aediles of 193 B.C., built the Porticus Aemilus, a vast warehouse that was constructed about ninety meters behind the wharves (Coarelli 2007:345; Stanford University 2015; Claridge 2010:403). A restoration of Porticus Aemilia was done in 174 B.C. by the censors Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus along with the expansion of the large complex of warehouses and markets of the Emporium (Stanford University 2015).

The Porticus Aemilia was a very large building, measuring 487 meters (533 yards) long and sixty meters (66 yards) wide. The interior was divided into seven longitudinal naves and fifty aisles. This structure was covered by a series of concrete vaults perpendicular to the facade. The vast warehouse was constructed of Roman concrete faced with *opus incertum*, and the structure is one of the oldest examples of this building technique. The whole building was constructed as a wide staircase sloping downward toward the Tiber River. Even today, we can get a sense of the size of this building from the scattered, visible remains of the Porticus Aemilia that extend lengthwise from Via Beniamino Franklin to Via Marmorata, and in width from Via Giovanni Branca to Via Amerigo Vespucci 28 (Coarelli 2007:345; Stanford University 2015; Evans 2013; Claridge 2010:403).

Ruins of the Porticus Aemilia can be found on the Via Beniamino Franklin, between the Lungotevere Testaccio and the Via Giovanni Branca. A second ruin is located on the Via Giovanni Branca in the backyards of the apartment buildings. A third ruin of the great warehouse consists of four archways of the interior walls of the Porticus Aemilia that are located in a small park at the corner of the Via Rubattino and the Via Amerigo Vespucci (see Figure 2).

Figure 2.
The ruins of four aisles of the Porticus Aemila can be seen in the small park on the Via Rubattino. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Monte Testaccio

The commercial activity in and around the river port and its associated warehouses had to be enormous when viewed over the centuries of the late Republic and the Roman Empire of the first and second centuries A.D. Nevertheless, there are few records that record the amount of tonnage that was imported into the city. The population of Rome is estimated to have reached over one million residents by the beginning of the first century A.D. To supply the needs of that many people, the shipments of goods, materials and the food staples of wine, grain, olive oil and *garum* kept the businessmen, distributors and dock workers fully employed. The magnitude of the volume of imported goods that passed through the port can be gauged by the use of a certain waste disposal site near the warehouse complex of the port. This unique garbage dump is known as Monte Testaccio.

Monte Testaccio is a forested hill about five blocks southwest of the Porticus Aemilia. Trees and brush cover most of Monte Testaccio, but the street level at its base is ringed with one story restaurants, bars and night clubs. Monte Testaccio rises thirty meters (about 100 feet) high, and it has a circumference of about one kilometer. The large city block where the hill sits encompasses an area of about 20,000 square meters (five acres). What makes Monte Testaccio so significant what the mountain is composed of. It is a mountain composed entirely of discarded amphorae from the nearby port on the Tiber (Coarelli 2007:335, 346) (Figure 3).

Although deep excavations into the core of the mound have not been done, excavations on the surface of Monte Testaccio have revealed a wealth of information about the "mountain of potsherds" and the economic history of the port. Monte Testaccio consists almost exclusively of spherical oil amphorae from Spain that modern ceramics experts have named as type Dressel 20 (Coarelli 2007:5, 335, 346). Dressel 20 amphorae were produced in the Spanish province of Baetica from the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. This type of amphora was exported in very large numbers throughout the western Mediterranean, across the northwest provinces and to the city of Rome (Tyers 2014).

The amphorae of Monte Testaccio were heavy spherical jars that weighed thirty kilograms (sixty-six pounds). They held seventy-two kilograms (159 pounds) of olive oil. The jars had painted labels with dates that indicate that the amphorae on Monte Testaccio date from about 138 A.D. to the mid-third century A.D. There may even be older materials deeper in the mound's unexcavated core (Claridge 2010:402).

When one looks at this unique archeological site, it is hard not to wonder why it was created or why does it only contain one type of amphora? Some researchers have suggested that when a shipment of olive oil arrived at the port, the olive oil was decanted to bulk containers, and the amphorae were discarded because it was believed that the oil made the amphorae unsuitable for re-use. The amphorae were then disposed of in a very systematic way. They were transported to the hill where the jars were broken and stacked in levels. Retaining walls held the stacks in place, and the broken fragments were sprinkled with lime to neutralize the stench of the rancid olive oil (Claridge 2010:402). You can still see the neatly stacked jar fragments above the fence on Via Galvani (Figure 4).

Figure 3. Trendy night clubs and restaurants ring the base of Monte Testaccio, the mountain made of neatly stacked amphorae potsherds. (Photo: Linda C. Gorski)

Figure 4. The potsherds of Monte Testaccio were stacked in layers. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

It has been suggested that the reason that only the spherical amphorae have been disposed of on Monte Testaccio is that the Dressel 20 type spherical or globular amphorae were unsuitable for other uses. The tubular style amphorae from North Africa, on the other hand, could be re-used in a variety of ways. The neck and the bottom- carrying peg of the tubular style amphora could be knocked off and used to make pipes, drains or ventilation pipes (Claridge 2010:403).

In any case, the huge waste dump of Monte Testaccio is evidence of the high level of commerce in the port and warehouse district that arose south of the Aventine Hill at the beginning of the 2nd century BC and continued for the next several centuries (Coarelli 2007:5).

Aqueducts Supplied Rome with Water

Porta Maggiore

With only a few small springs in the city of Rome, the citizens realized that large volumes of water had to be brought into the city from other sources. As early as the third century B.C., an aqueduct was built to provide Rome with a supply of fresh water. The size and the population of Rome grew throughout the Republican era and Imperial times, prompting several additional aqueducts to be built and maintained to keep the water flowing to the residents of the city.

The best place to see the aqueducts in Rome and to understand the operation of the water system is the Piazza di Porta Maggiore where the beautiful white travertine facade of the Porta Maggiore stands over the entry point of the aqueducts to the city. The Porta Maggiore is a spectacular double gate consisting of the Porta Praenestina and the Porta Labicana, both of which were created as the monumental arches of Aqua Claudia that crossed above the two roadways (Coarelli 2007:21; *Wikipedia* 2015a) (Figure 5).

Porta Maggiore is located in an area known as Ad Spem Veterem, where almost all of the aqueducts of Rome converged. This part of the city is about forty-five meters above mean sea level, higher than any other part of Rome. It was advantageous to have the aqueducts enter the city at this elevated location so the water could easily be distributed to each of the districts of Rome (Coarelli 2007:202).

Six aqueducts pass through the Ad Spem Veterem neighborhood (named for the site of the Old

Figure 5. Porta Maggiore formed a dual gate for the Via Praenestina and the Via Labicana, the two roads that passed through the monumental arches of the Aqua Claudia. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

Shrine of Hope, a temple that was dedicated in 477 B.C.). The earliest aqueduct was the underground Anio Vetus (the old Anio aqueduct) that was constructed in 272 B.C. The growth of Rome in the Republican period led to the construction of Aqua Marcia in 144 B.C., Aqua Tepula in 125 B.C. and Aqua Julia in 33 B.C. The Emperor Caligula began construction of an aqueduct in 38 A.D. that would become Aqua Claudia because it was completed in 52 A.D. during the reign of the Emperor Claudius. At the same time, Claudius built a parallel aqueduct, Aqua Anio Novus (the new Anio aqueduct), that was also finished in 52 A.D. With the completion of Aqua Claudia, a plentiful supply of fresh water could be supplied to all fourteen districts of the city of Rome. Estimates are that these aqueducts carried over seventy percent of Rome's total water supply (Coarelli 2007:202; Claridge 2010:385; Pollett 2015; *Wikipedia* 2014).

Aqua Claudia and Aqua Anio Novus drew water from two different sources. The two aqueducts emerged from their underground channels and merged as two channels stacked on top of each other about eight miles (thirteen kilometers) outside of Rome. The twin aqueducts were borne on lofty arches over one hundred feet high as they passed through the countryside in what is now the Parco degli Acquedotti on their way to their entry into the city at the double gate of Porta Praenestina and Porta Labicana (now Porta Maggiore). The two channels of these aqueducts, one lying on top of the other, can be seen on the white travertine attic at the top of the Porta Maggiore gate (Claridge 2010: 385; *Wikipedia* 2014; *Wikipedia* 2015b; *Wikipedia* 2015a).

When the Aqua Claudia and its companion Aqua Anio Novus arrived at the place where Via Praenestina and Via Labicana split, Claudius built an elaborate decorative section of the aqueduct to highlight the arches over the two roads. In some ways it was viewed as a triumphal arch for the remarkable engineering feat of the aqueducts. The travertine masonry of arches and superstructure were built in the rusticated style that Claudius favored so much. Even today, you can see that the facade appears to be “unfinished” and rough (Claridge 2010:385; *Wikipedia* 2015a).

The attic above the arches of Porta Maggiore bears three inscriptions that tell the history of the aqueducts. The first inscription explains that Emperor Claudius had the Aqua Claudia built to bring water to Rome from two springs, Caeruleus and Curtius, located at the 45th milestone. He likewise built the Aqua Anio Novus to bring water from the 62nd milestone. And, with a sense of public service, he added that he did this at his own expense (*Wikipedia* 2015a).

The second inscription was posted by the Emperor Vespasian in 71 A.D. He wrote that he restored the Aqua Claudia because it had fallen into intermittent use and disrepair for nine years. Vespasian also reminded the public that he made the repairs at his own expense (*Wikipedia* 2015a).

Finally, in the last inscription on the panel, the Emperor Titus, the son of Vespasian, wrote in 81 A.D. that he had to restore the aqueduct, built by Claudius and repaired by Vespasian, with new structures all the way back to its source because it had become ruined to its foundation from age. Titus also let us know that this repair and restoration of the public water supply was done at his own expense (*Wikipedia* 2015a).

The inscriptions written on public works and monuments often reveal the nuances of governance in the Roman Empire. Ever cognizant of the opinion of the mob, even the emperor had to maintain a favorable public opinion rating!

The attic inscription also gives us a hint about the personality of the Emperor Claudius. As mentioned above, he liked the rusticated architectural style that harkened back to an older time in Roman history. The inscription includes subtle reference to the "old days" with the use of an archaic spelling of Caesar (spelled “CAISAR”). Besides letting us know of Claudius' interest in Roman history, the use of the archaic spelling lends credence to the idea that in classical Latin the name Caesar was pronounced like “Kaiser” instead of “see-sir” (Claridge 2010:385).

Porta Maggiore only became a real gate with the construction of the Aurelian Wall in 275 A.D. The Emperor Aurelian took advantage of buildings and structures, such as aqueducts, when he built his defensive wall around the city. The inclusion of the supporting arches of Aqua Claudia and Aqua Anio Novus made it easier to complete a large section of the wall, and he could secure the access into Rome with a gate on these two roads that passed under the arches of Aqua Claudia (Claridge 2010:383-385).

Porta Maggiore received its modern name in the Middle Ages because pilgrims would pass through the gate when visiting the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore (Coarelli 2007:203).

Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus

The Aqua Claudia runs northwest from the Porta Maggiore. About one quarter mile from the Porta Maggiore, a segment of the aqueduct branches off to the southwest. The arched ruins of this branch still remains in a small park on the Via Filippo Turati. The water from this branch was intended for a large fountain that was built about 226 A.D. during the reign of Emperor Alexander Severus. Today, the

Figure 6. The Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus built about 226 A.D. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

ruins of that fountain can be seen in the north end of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, a fairly large city park on the Equiline Hill dedicated to Vittorio Emanuele who, in 1861 A.D., became the first king of a united Italy since the 6th century A.D.

The Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus is an eighteen meters tall, monumental public fountain built of brick-faced concrete (Claridge 2010: 333). Situated on the highest part of the Esquiline Hill, the three stories of marble faced brickwork of the Nymphaeum made for a resplendent fountain and water distribution center for this part of the city (*Wikipedia* 2015c) (Figure 6).

Water for the Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus was supplied to the rear of the fountain from a branch of Aqua Claudia. It was long thought that the source of the water was the Aqua Julia, but the current consensus is that Aqua Claudia fed the intricate plumbing system of the fountain (Claridge 2010:333; Coarelli 2007:199).

The water entered at the rear of the Nymphaeum at a point nearly ten meters above the ground. After passing the large semicircular niche in the center of the fountain, the water poured into five channels that flowed through pipes located inside the walls to a collection tank. From there the water flowed through the central niche with a sculpture and rectangular side niches with the trophies of war. Below this level, the water went into a third basin that collected the water for distribution to the adjacent areas of the city. At the ground level, there were places where the public could draw water (*Wikipedia* 2015c; Claridge 2010:333).

The original appearance of the monument can be inferred from depictions of the Nympaeum on coins minted at the time. The upper level, with a central niche surrounded by two side arches, was decorated with a number of statues. The central niche had two statues. Some scholars believe they may be statues of Alexander Severus and his mother Giulia Mamaea. The two side arches housed two military trophies. The top of the monument was crowned with a chariot central and two statues on either side, similar to the design of many Roman triumphal arches. At the foot of the alcove on the lower floor was a large statue of the god Oceanus (Claridge 2010:333).

After the decline of the empire, the Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus fell into ruin, as did many of the buildings in Rome. In the Middle Ages, the fountain was called the Trophies of Marius because of the two marble sculptures that stood in the fountain's upper arches (*Wikipedia* 2015c; Platner 1929). The scholars of the day mistakenly attributed the sculptures to Gaius Marius in the victories over the Cimbri and the Teutons in 101 B.C. More recently, the trophies from the fountain have been dated to the time of Emperor Domitian. It is thought that the marble sculptures were carved after his victorious

Figure 7. This marble sculpture, one of the so called Trophies of Marius, was moved to the balustrade of the Piazza del Campidoglio in 1590 A.D. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

campaigns against the Chatti in 83 A.D. and the Dacians in 89 A.D (*Wikipedia* 2015c) (Figure 7).

A series of excavations at the Nymphaeum between 1982 and 1988 exposed the remains of *opus reticulatum* (diamond shaped bricks placed around a core of *opus caementicium*) from the time of Augustus. This has suggested that there was perhaps an earlier fountain on which the current structure was built (*Wikipedia* 2015c). However, the location where the trophies were prior to their placement in the Nymphaeum in 226 A.D. is not known.

In 1590 A.D., Pope Sixtus V moved the two sculptures of the war trophies, the so called Trophies of Marius, to the balustrade of the Piazza del Campidoglio, and they can still be seen there (Platner 1929; *Wikipedia* 2015c) (see Figure 7).

The Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus is in a seriously neglected state of ruin today. Yet, the fountain does appear to be the sole survivor among the fifteen monumental fountains of ancient Rome. Considering the size of the fountain and the dramatic stage effects using the flow of water, the Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus was surely the forerunner and model for the great water displays of the late Renaissance and the Baroque period in Rome that became the Trevi Fountain and the Fontana dell'Acqua Paola on the Janiculum (*Wikipedia* 2015c).

Remnants of the Esquiline Necropolis

The tombs that line the Appian Way on the outskirts of Rome form the most famous necropolis of Rome. However, almost every road leading from Rome has or had a necropolis since burials were prohibited within the boundary of the city. The necropolis on the Esquiline Hill dates to eighth century B.C., but due to the growth of the city in the early Empire, the Esquiline Necropolis was absorbed into the neighborhood as the city expanded onto the Esquiline Hill. Nevertheless, a few tombs of the old necropolis remain in the area of the Porta Maggiore.

Republican Tombs on Via Statilia

During the late 60's A.D., the Emperor Nero built an aqueduct that branched off of the Aqua Claudia and ran southwest from the Porta Maggiore toward the Caelian Hill as a part of Nero's grandiose Domus Aurea project. The aqueduct was built to channel water to it, and the extravagance of the Domus Aurea was thought by many Romans to represent the worst behavior of the imperial elite of the 1st century A.D. Only two blocks from the end of the ruins of the aqueduct of Nero is a group of tombs from the Republican period offer that a contrasting view of Roman society. Discovered in 1916 during the widening of Via Stalilia, these Republican era tombs provide insights into the lives of freedmen and freedwomen during Republican Rome of the 1st century B.C.

The Republican tombs are on the corner of the intersection in an area covered by a modern roof and surrounded by a low brick wall with an iron fence with total height of about three meters. For reference, we will refer to the tombs, from left to right, as Tomb A, Tomb B1 and B2 (it has two sections), Tomb C and Tomb D (Figure 8). Each of the four tombs can be distinguished by its architectural construction. The styles of tombs help to assign relative dates of construction, as well. The oldest tomb is Tomb A, and there seems to be a progression in chronological order through Tomb D. All of the tombs appear to date from the beginning of the 1st century B.C. or perhaps a little earlier. Three of the tombs have inscriptions that tell us the names of the individuals buried in the tombs, and aspects of their social and cultural status can be inferred from what is written about them. They lived in the Rome that dated to about fifty years prior to the time of Julius Caesar and well before the grand period of the Roman emperors.

Tomb A has a facade of volcanic tuff blocks with a central door. The door is flanked by two shields that are weathered and indistinct. The small funerary

Figure 8. The Republican era tombs A and B1-B2 date from the beginning of the first century B.C. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

chamber is nearly three meters square, and it is roofed in *opus caementicium* coated with a thin layer of plaster (Coarelli 2007:227; Di Giacomo 2010:9).

Above the door to the chamber is an inscription that indicates that the tomb belongs to Publius Quinctius, his wife Quinctia, and his concubine Quinctia Agathea. The archaic appearance of the tomb's structure and the lack of a cognomen in the owner's name places the date of this tomb to ca. 100 B.C. or slightly earlier (Coarelli 2007:227; Di Giacomo 2010:9-11). The inscription is visible, but all of the markings are not entirely discernable when viewed from the street. Recently scholars have done a good job of transcribing the inscription on Tomb A, and it looks like this:

P . QVINCTIVS . T . L LIBR
QVINCTIA . T . L . VXSOR
QVINCTIA . P. L . AGATEA . LIBERTA
CONCVBINA
SEPVLCR HEREDES
NE SEQVATUR

It is very common for Roman inscriptions to use a set of shorthand abbreviations for words that would be easily understood by contemporary readers of the inscription. The inscription of Tomb A reads like this when the abbreviations are expanded:

Publius Quinctius Titi libertus librarius /
Quinctia Titi liberta uxsor /
Quinctia Publi liberta Agatea liberta /
concubina
Sepulcrum heredes / ne sequatur

Publius Quinctius, freedman of Titus, copyist/
Quinctia, freedwoman of Titus, his wife /
Quinctia Agatea, freedwoman of the freedman Publius, his concubine /
The tomb does not follow the heirs.

The inscription of Tomb A tells us that the tomb belongs to Publius Quinctius, who was a freedman of Titus Quinctius and who was a copyist or a bookseller. The tomb also belongs to Quinctia, who was a freedwoman of Titus Quinctius and the wife of Publius. The third person of the tomb is Quinctia Agatea, who was a freedwoman of the freedman Publius, and Publius's concubine. Then, there is a common funerary formula that declares that the tomb can not be transferred to the heirs. Tomb A is often referred to as the Tomb of Quinctius (Di Giacomo 2010:9-11).

This single tomb inscription tells us a lot about Roman society in the late Republic. During the military expansion of Rome's territorial control over regions of the Italian peninsula and, later, the Mediterranean coastal regions, enslaved persons from these regions were brought to Rome to work for Roman citizens. Many of the slaves were highly skilled or educated, and they performed jobs that were much more than manual labor. In many cases, slaves were freed by their masters in a formal process of manumission. Yet, even though a man or woman became a freedman, he or she remained bound to the patron through a web of moral, social and economic ties. The slave owner's authority over his slave was redefined by manumission, rather than discontinued (Mouritsen 2011:8).

The story behind the inscription of Tomb A highlights the Roman freedman and patron relationship, as well as the legal relationships among slaves and freed slaves. These relationships can be explained in this way. Publius was originally a slave of Titus Quinctius and his occupation involved either copying books or selling books. Eventually, Publius was granted his freedom by Titus.

Publius had a girlfriend, Quinctia, who was also a slave of Titus, and since they were both slaves, their relationship was a *contubernium*, i.e., cohabitation with no legal status. Later, when both Publius and Quinctia acquired the status of freedmen (*libertus*/*liberta*), they were able to marry and their relationship became a conubium, a legal marriage. Chisel marks on the inscription seem to indicate this update to their social status.

A third person, Quinctia Agathea, became a part of this social group at some time. Quinctia Agathea was a slave of Publius who granted her freedom. Later, Quinctia Agathea became Publius' concubine.

All four persons mentioned in the inscription were bound together by kinship, mutual dependence and the system of patronage in Roman society. Now, these three freedmen are bound forever in inscription on this funerary monument.

The wall of Tomb B lies right next to the wall of the Tomb of Quinctius (Tomb A). Tomb B is referred to as the "Twin Tombs" because it is two buildings with two distinct entrances and chambers, but they were built together on a single foundation, and they share the front wall, an interior wall and the rear wall (Di Giacomo 2010:12-13).

The Twin Tombs are recognizable because of the portraits of the dead above entrances of each burial chamber. We will refer to the chamber on the left as Tomb B1 and the one on the right as Tomb B2. In addition to the portraits, there are inscriptions on each front wall of each chamber that list the owners of each chamber. The Twin Tombs is one of the oldest examples of the use of portraits of deceased on tomb facades in Rome. Since the list of the names of the deceased inscribed on the tomb are Roman names with a cognomen, it is believed that the tomb dates to the beginning of 1st century BC (Coarelli 2007:227).

The inscription on the Twin Tombs is in two sections, one for the left side tomb (Tomb B1) and one for the right side tomb (Tomb B2). The reading of the inscriptions gives us an idea of the owners of the tombs. However, the inscription has weathered poorly in some areas and it has been purposely altered in others so that the transcription is uncertain in places.

The literal transcription for Tomb B1 is:

CLODIAE . N . L . STACTE . N . CLODIVS
. N . L . C . ANNAE . C . L
L . MARCIVS . L . F . PAL . ARMITRVPHO
####### PAL
M. ANNIVS . M . L . HILARVS
########### C ###### QVINCTIONIS
C NN DE VR

An interpreted reading of the Tomb B1 inscription is as follows:

Clodia Stacte, freedwoman of Numerius Clodius;
Numerius Clodius Trupho, freedman of Numerius Clodius;
Gaius Anneius Quinctio, freedman Gaius Anneius, attached to the Palatine tribe;
Lucio Marcio Arm (---) or arm (---) son of Lucius Marcius, attached to the Palatine tribe;
Marcus Annius Hilarus, freedman of Marcus Annius.
This monument is the property of the heirs.
Do not enter. (Di Giacomo 2010: 18-19).

Although the Twin Tombs share architectural features, their owners belong to different families that do not seem have any common relationship. The portraits of Tomb B1 are of a woman, a young man and an adult man. From the inscription, we can see that a common dependence joins Clodia Stacte and N. Clodius Trupho. The portrait of these three freedmen is probably a family group of a mother, son and father (Di Giacomo 2010:18-19).

The inscription of Tomb B1 shows signs of some alteration and includes two other persons, Lucius Marcius Arm(- - -?) and Marcus Annius Hilarus. These additional names add some ambiguity to the ownership of the tomb. One possibility is that, perhaps, the sepulcher was built by freedmen family of Clodia Stacte, N. Clodius Trupho and C. Annaeius Quinctio, but they were later joined as co-owners by Lucius Marcius Arm(- - -?) and Marcus Annius Hilarus. What we cannot know is why the tomb was sold in part, sold or donated to two seemingly unrelated individuals (Di Giacomo 2010: 18).

The literal transcription for Tomb B2, the other half of the Twin Tombs, is:

C . AE A PLOTIA
APOLLONIA

The interpreted reading of the Tomb B2 inscription identifies the two women in the portrait of Tomb B2 as:

Caelia Apollonia and Plotia. (Di Giacomo 2010: 18-19).

Little additional information about these two women can be extracted from the inscription. However, the portrait of the two women offers insights into their lives. Each of the women wears a robe and a cloak, and each rests her right hand in the flap of

the cloak. The expression on their faces is characterized by a broad nose, with lips pursed and prominent ears. Each woman does, however, wear her hair in a different hairstyle. The woman on the left exhibits a singular hairstyle, held on the forehead by a ribbon. The woman on the right has her head veiled and her hair is parted into two wavy bands. Whether these are the typical Roman fashions of the day is not known (Di Giacomo 2010:16).

The next tomb in the series is Tomb C, a *columbarium*, i.e., a place for the respectful and public storage of funerary urns. Although Tomb C is adjacent to the twin tombs of Tomb B, Tomb C has been almost completely demolished. Very little of the tomb remains, and no inscription exists for Tomb C to let us know who its owner was. As a result, Tomb C is referred to as the Anonymous Columbarium (Di Giacomo 2010:20; Coarelli 2007:228).

The last tomb in the series, Tomb D, is a funerary monument in the shape of an altar. Tomb D was discovered in 1919 to right of the Anonymous Columbarium. An inscription assigns the monument to two individuals of the Aulus Caesonius family, probably brothers, and a woman named Telgennia. The tomb dates to the early 1st century BC, and it is referred to as the Tomb of the Caesonii (Di Giacomo 2010:23; Coarelli 2007:228).

The inscription, found on a rectangular block of travertine, lists the names of the owners of the tomb. The abbreviations have been transcribed with parentheses:

> A(ulus) Caesonius A(uli) f(ilius) Col(lina) Paetus
> A(ulus) Caesonius A(uli) l(ibertus) Philemo
> Telgennia P(ubli) l(iberta) Philumina v(iva)
> (Di Giacomo 2010: 23).

The names of the three owners of the tomb are listed according to a hierarchy that is probably established by their legal status (Di Giacomo 2010:25).

The first person on the list, A. Caesonius Paetus, is a Roman citizen. This is revealed in his surname and the listing of his tribe (*gens Paetus*). He is also the patron of the second person on the inscription, A. Caesonius Philemo who was freed by A. Caesonius Paetus. The third person on the inscription, Telgennia, seems to belong to a family different from the Caesonii. It appears that her relationship with other two owners of tomb is tied to her concubinage with A. Caesonius Philemo. If she were a spouse or the companion of A. Caesonius Paetus, her name would have been in the second position in the list (Di Giacomo 2010:25).

The inscription offers us only the most basic information about the persons buried in this tomb. The fact that the patron and his freedman (with his concubine) are entombed together illustrates the strong and durable bonds of the client system of Roman society. And, we do know that, in Republican times, it was important to these ordinary citizens of Rome that their memory be preserved together through this funerary monument.

The Tomb of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces

On the south side of Porta Maggiore, immediately outside of the Aurelian Wall, is a large, cube-like structure faced in white travertine. This monument is the Tomb of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, a freedman man who made his living as a baker. And, apparently, he was a very successful baker, judging by his elegant funerary monument (Claridge 2010:386).

The bakery of Eurysaces was located in an area to the east of the tomb where excavations have found that a number of large mills and bakeries operated. These bakeries operated from about 50 B.C. until about 52 A.D. when the aqueducts of Porta Maggiore (Aqua Claudia and Aqua Anio Novus) were built. Eurysaces and his fellow bakers prospered by supplying bread for the public ration in accordance with a law that went into effect in the middle of the first century B.C. (Claridge 2010:386-387).

Although Roman law prohibited burials within the *pomerium*, the ritual boundary of the city, there were few other restrictions. Tombs were often placed along the roads outside of Rome, such as the Via Appia, and other tombs, like that of Eurysaces, were built in the inner suburban areas where they were situated among the houses, shops and factories (Claridge 2010:387).

The Tomb of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces is a large and artistic funerary monument. The design features of the monument suggests that Eurysaces himself built the tomb sometime between 30 B.C. and 20 B.C. His wife Atistia appears to have preceded him in death and her ashes were also buried in the tomb (Claridge 2010:385-387) (Figure 9).

The personal touch of Eurysaces the baker is clearly evident in the design of the tomb. His pride in his profession as a baker is the motif that dominates every aspect of the memorial. The tomb has two sections that stand on a low base of volcanic tuff blocks. The upper section, clad in travertine, consists of three rows of representations of dough kneading bins lying on their sides. Rust stains in the bins suggest that the internal turning mechanism was once reproduced as well. Part of the tomb has been damaged, but these dough bins were probably five

bins to the rows and three rows high (Claridge 2010:386; Coarelli 2007:204-205).

The lower section of the tomb is a series of columns made to resemble dough bins that support the upper section. There are two sets of two columns each visible today, but the original construction most likely had three sets of two "dough bin" columns which are set between rectangular columns (Claridge 2010:386) (see Figure 9).

To highlight his beloved work, Eurysaces installed a frieze across the top section of the tomb of Eurysaces that illustrates scenes of his bakery in operation. The frieze wraps around the monument although only three sides are still intact. Along the south side, men are grinding the wheat in two mills in the center of the scene and sieving the flour on tables to the left. On the north side, the workers are mixing the flour and kneading the dough on long tables while others are placing the loaves in the typical Roman domed oven. The last scene on the west side shows the workers stacking loaves in baskets that are then weighed on a scale before being distributed to Roman officials of the public ration dressed in togas (Claridge 2010:386).

The east side of the tomb was damaged in the past, perhaps during the 19th century when the tomb was uncovered. It is thought that the east side of the Tomb of Eurysaces held a carved marble relief with life size portraits of Eurysaces and his wife. This panel is now in the collection of the Museo Nuovo Capitolino (Coarelli 2007:204).

The Tomb of Eurysaces is over two thousand years old, yet the voice of this freedman Eurysaces can be heard today as clearly as it was when he was alive. The artistic elements of the monument remind us of the pride the he had in his work, and the inscription the Eurysaces placed on the tomb calls out to us in a jovial, fun loving voice. In a band between the two sections of the Tomb of Eurysaces is an inscription in which Eurysaces humorously makes his statement:

> EST HOC MONVMENTUM MARCEI VERGILEI EVRYSACIS PISTORIS REDEMPTORIS APPARET
>
> The inscription tells us:
>
> *This is the monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, a baker and a contractor. It's obvious!* (Claridge 2010:386).

Nearly a century after the Tomb of Eurysaces was built, the area became a little more crowded. The

Figure 9. The Republican era Tomb of Eurysaces stands just outside of the Porta Maggiore. (Photo: Louis F. Aulbach)

twin aqueducts of the Aqua Claudia and the Aqua Anio Novus were built across the north face of the tomb. In 275 A.D., the aqueducts were incorporated into the Aurelian Wall which provided defensive protection to the city, but left the Tomb of Eurysaces outside of the city walls. When Emperor Honorius made improvements to the Aurelian Wall in 401 A.D., the Tomb of Eurysaces was incorporated within the central tower the city gate. It was perhaps because of this that the tomb was saved from plunder during the centuries after the fall of the empire. The tomb was exposed by demolition of the tower in the 19th century A.D., and now it is recognized as one of the finest examples of an early imperial funerary monument in Rome (Claridge 2010:385).

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THE ARCHEOLOGY OF A WARRIOR QUEEN'S SACRED NAME: BOUDICCA

David A. Furlow

Introduction

What was the name of that warrior queen who cried havoc and let slip the dogs of war on Britain's Roman conquerors? Cassius Dio, a Greek-speaking historian writing in the third century C.E., called her Buduica when he described the woman who shook Rome's world:

> [T]he person who was chiefly instrumental in rousing the natives and persuading them to fight the Romans…who directed the conduct of the entire war, was Βονδονικα (Buduica) a Briton woman of the royal family….In stature she was very tall, in appearance most terrifying, in the glance of her eye most fierce, and her voice was harsh; a great mass of the tawniest hair fell to her hips; around her neck was a large golden necklace; and she wore a tunic of diverse colors over which a thick mantle was fastened with a brooch. This was her invariable attire. She now grasped a spear to aid her in terrifying all beholders… (Dio 1932:V*III* 84-85).

Was the warrior queen's name Buduica, as Dio reported? The Roman historian Gaius Cornelius Tacitus recorded the name of the British client-king Prasutagus's widow as Boudicca when he wrote *The Annals of Rome* and the biography *The Agricola* (*De vita Julii Agricolae* and *Annales ab excess divi Augusti*, respectively; (Tacitus 1967, *Agricola* 16:103, 197-202) ("His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca generis regii femina duce…") (Tacitus 1989:14:30-31). Was either historian right – Dio or Tacitus? Or were both wrong?

To shed new light on recent excavations, cutting-edge theories linking Celtic and Germanic linguistics to early Atlantic archaeology, and the history of Britain's most bitter war, this paper advances three key propositions. *First*, the best contemporary evidence shows that Tacitus was most likely correct in spelling the warrior-queen's name (or title) as Boudicca.

Second, the name probably originated as a Celtic word that meant "Victorious Woman", making her Britain's first Victoria. Alternatively, it was a West Germanic title, "Battle-Winner", in a Belgic dialect or an ancient version of English that preceded the Roman invasion of Britain.

Third, the trendy, one-*c* Boudica name that Professor Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson, CBE, FRSE, FSA DLitt (November 1, 1909 – February 20, 1991) insisted was the one and only correct way to sound and spell the queen's name ignores the best evidence, nearly contemporaneous inscriptions of Bodiccius and Bodicca, and obscures potentially important information about the language and ethnicity of Boudicca's Iceni people.

The Modern History of an Ancient Name

Confusion about the Iceni warrior-queen's name has existed for many centuries. Tudor linguist Polydore Vergil's *Historica Anglica* called her Voadicea, Voadicea, Voadicia, and Bonduica. (Vergil 1534). Scottish scholar Hector Bőece's *History of Scotland* used Vodicia and Voada. (Bőece 1531:I:141). Elizabethan playwright Ben Jonson described her as "[o]ur own honor, *Voadicea*, or *Boodicia*, by some *Bonduica* and *Bunduca*, Queene of the Iceni…" (Jonson 1607, "The Masque of Queenes" 136 [emphasis in original]).

Stuart era dramatist John Fletcher memorialized her story in his play *Bonduca: The British heroine a Tragedy*. (Fletcher 1613). The name Boadicea came to the fore when Georgian playwrights Charles Hopkins and John Horsley summoned the queen's spirit in *Boadicea Queen of Britain* in 1697 and *Britannia Romana* in 1732, respectively. (Hopkins 1697; Horsley 1733, 28 n. ["I find in one place Voadica (*Vit. Agric.* Cap 16) and in another Boudicea] (*Annal. Lib*. XIV cap 35); in Camden and other good English writers, it is Boodicea, Boodicia, and Boadicea. I have given the preference to this last, as being composed of the two names in Tacitus, or rather being the one with a small correction from the other."). The Welsh writer Theophilus Evans gave her a Welsh name, Buddug, in *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* (Evans

1716). William Cowper called her Boadicea (Cowper 1994:275-76). Alfred, Lord Tennyson bestowed an umlaut on her in *Boädicea* (Tennyson 1864).

But what name did the warrior queen call herself? Was it Buduica, Boudicca, Bunduca, Boudicea, Budug, Voadicea, or something else? What name did the Britons shout when they followed her into battle? What name did Roman soldiers spit out in scorn and derision? Does the shape-shifting name of the name suggest anything about her origins or those of her tribe the Iceni? Was it a personal name or a title? Does the name suggest anything about the nature of the revolt or about her leadership of it?

The early twentieth century consensus about the queen's name ended in 1977 when Professor Kenneth Jackson challenged the by-then standard spelling of the name as Boudicca (Jackson 1977). Jackson, a Fellow of the British Academy, the first Chair of the Department of Celtic Language and Literature at Harvard and, later, Chair of Celtic Languages, History and Antiquities at the University of Edinburgh, commanded the utmost academic respect. Instead of calling her Boudicca, Jackson insisted that there was one and only one proper way to sound and spell the Iceni leader's name, as a single-c Boudica based on Celtic linguistic theory and Welsh history:

> "It has been the custom for some now to reject the old *Boadicea*, *Boudicea*, etc. and to adopt instead *Boudicca* but…it is nevertheless incorrect as a Celtic name….The philological fact is that the name must have been *Boudica*, pronounced in phonetic terminology boudi: ka/, or . . . "*Bowdeekah*," *ow* means the diphthong seen in *e.g*., the phrases 'tie a bow' or 'bow and arrow' and the stressed syllable is the dee, with long vowel, the final a being also long . . . If Boudicca, with short *i* and double *c* was right, its late Welsh descendant would be *Buddech*…or if the i were long, the Welsh result would have been *Buddih* or *Budduch*. But in fact the early Welsh adjective meaning "victorious" and the personal name meaning "Victoria," are respectively *budic* and *Budic*…[T]he British form of the name, in her own time, must have been *Boudica*, pronounced above as "Bowdeekah" (Jackson 1997:255; Dudley and Webster 1962:143; Webster 1993:15).

A respected authority in Romano-British archaeology, Dr. Graham Webster, followed Jackson in favoring adoption of a one-*c* Boudica:

The name of the famous queen of the Iceni was actually Boudīcā, which meant precisely "Victoria." The word appears in similar forms on inscriptions, one of the most interesting of which was found in Bordeaux in 1921. It is an altar to the goddess Tutela Boudiga, the local deity called "the victorious."… But this is not the version which has come down to us from the Latin historian Tacitus. First of all, Tacitus got it wrong by giving the lady two *c*'s calling her Boudicca; then someone copied a manuscript in the Middle Ages inscribed [sic] an a instead of a *u* and an *e* instead of the second *c* – quite easy mistakes to make. Thus the romantic Victorian poets helped to perpetuate this error which still remains with us, since most people know her as Queen Boadicea. Her actual name is Boudica… (Webster 1997:15).

Because ethnic authenticity and decolonialization were especially important in the post-imperial, post-Vietnam late 1970s, many academics began using single-*c* Boudica rather than Boudicca (Aldhouse-Green 2006; Hingley and Unwin 2005; Sealey 1999; Davies 2009; Waite 2007:21-22; Bédoyère 1999:210; Hunt 2003). Examples of the various spellings of the warrior queen's name on monuments in Britain are shown in Figures 1-3.

Although surviving manuscripts of the *Annals* and *Agricola* feature several versions of the queen's name – Boudicea, Boadicea, Booditia, Bouducea, and Voadicia – all of them are misspellings of Boudicca, the original version and the one closest to the Bodiccius and Bodicca headstones of a Romano British man and woman in the second century C.E., as discussed below.

The absence of Iron Age names beginning with Voa-, Vod-, or Vou- means that we can discard the Voudicca and Voadicea variants as errors arising from the medieval substitution of a *B* by a *V*. The suffix *–uca* does not appear in British Iron Age inscriptions or coin legends, while the suffixes *–ica*

Figure 1. Thornycroft's Bronze Chariot, London. Thomas Thornycroft used Boadicea in the sculpture on the Thames Embankment next to Parliament. (Photo by David A. Furlow)

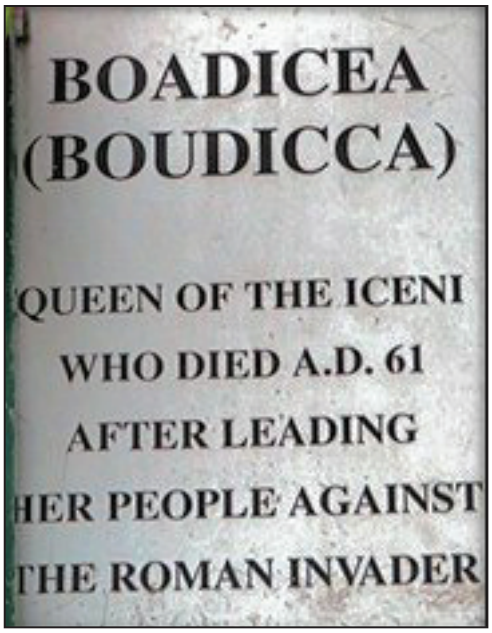

Figure 2. Boadicea plaque on Thornycroft's Statue, London.
(Photo by David A. Furlow)

Figure 3. The "Boadicea" stained glass window in the Colchester Town Hall.
(Photo by David A. Furlow)

and *–icca* appear frequently, so we can safely dismiss names such as Bonduca that end in a *–uca* suffix as the result of medieval copying errors.

The Deep Celtic Roots of the Queen's Name

The queen's name *probably* arose as a Celtic name. It meant "Victorious Woman" to first century C.E. Britons (Sealey 1999:13; Webster 1993:15; Evans 1993:575;Jones 1688, *Buddugawl*, Welsh for "victorious" and *Buddogoliaeth*, Welsh for "victory"; Jago 1887:174 [Cornish *budicaul* meant "victorious"]; MacKillop 1998:40 [Gaelic *Boadach* meant "victorious"]; Sims-Williams 2006:47-48 ["BOUD-" as "Victory," Old Irish BÚAID, Welsh BUDD]). During Queen Victoria's 1872 tour of the Scottish Highlands, for example, Scots greeted Her Highness with banners reading *Ar Buadheachas D'on Bhuadhaich*, "To Victoria, Our Gratitude" (Webster 1993:15).

Yet it is also possible that the *Boud-* sound evolved not from Celtic but from the proto-Germanic root **badwa*, or "battle" (Simek 2007:26), its variants *Bald-* and *Baud-*, or *bald,* from the Old Saxon word meaning bold; or *baldr*, the Old Norse word for brave (They trace their origins to the Indo-European term BHEL. "The American Heritage Dictionary Indo-European Roots Appendix," *American Heritage Dictionary* https://www.ahdictionary.com/word/indoeurop.html). Or Boudicca may represent a British adoption of a Belgic or West Germanic adoption of the *Boud-* Celtic personal name (Green 1992:148-163).

If the root was Celtic, the "victory" root *Boud-* began to evolve into personal names in Iberia at least seven centuries before Boudicca ran roughshod across Britain. Variations of the name appeared around Tartessos on headstones, in place-names, and on inscriptions throughout Rome's former provinces of Lusitania (Portugal) and Hispania (Spain) on the Iberian peninsula (Figure 4).

The oldest written examples of the *Boud-* root of Boudicca come from the Celto-Punic Tartessian script of southern Portugal and southwestern Spain. Linguist John T. Koch (2013) has included examples of such stelae in the article "Paradigm Shift? Interpreting Tartessian as Celtic" in the book, he and Celtic archaeologist Barry Cunliffe published, *Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature* (Cunliffe 2010:85-301). Barry Cunliffe first proposed the idea that the Celtic languages arose along western Atlantic seaways and spread eastward along the Rhine, Rhone, and Danube in his book *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and Its Peoples 8000 BC-AD 1500* (Cunliffe 2001:242-249).

Through their scholarly volume *Celtic from the West*, its two sequels, international conferences and scholarly symposia, Barry Cunliffe and John T. Koch challenged the long-standing, diffusionist "Celtic from the East" orthodoxy that Celtic language, art, and technology arose in the North Alpine Zone of west-central Europe, as exemplified by the La Tène

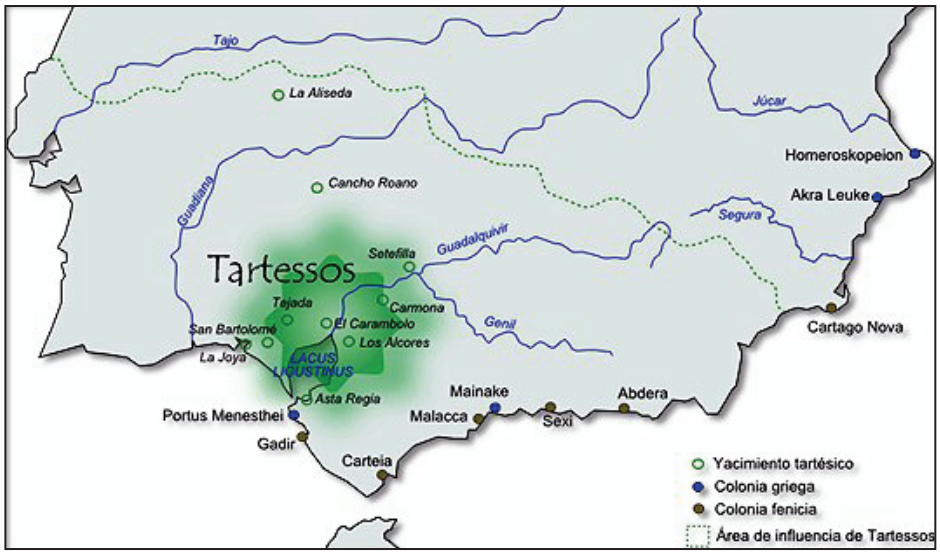

Figure 4. Map of Tartessos, Wikipedia, home to the first written Celtic language.

and Hallstatt cultures of "Celtic" art and technology (Koch and Cunliffe 2010:13-38; Karl 2010: 39-64; Koch and Cunliffe 2013; Koch and Cunliffe 2016).

Until recently, the conventional wisdom has held that Celtic art and technology arose between the Rhone and the Danube and then spread by invasion throughout Gallic France, northern Italy, Celtiberian Portugal and Spain, the British Isles, the Rhineland and the Moselle, with offshoots extending by invasions, migrations, and trade into Denmark, the Ukraine, the Balkans, and Turkey. Ruth and Vincent Megaw (2011), authors of the authoritative *Celtic Art from its Beginnings to the Book of Kells*, stated that "Celtic society and culture are generally seen as emerging around 500-450 B.C., particularly in the Middle Rhine and northeast France, in the so-called Early La Tène period. Some observers also see the earlier, violently-destroyed, sixth century B.C. Hallstatt D culture of southeast Germany, near the Danube headwaters, and eastern France, especially Burgundy, as the first that is recognizably Celtic" (Megaw and Megaw 2011:10 and *id.* 11 [Map: "The territories occupied by the Celts from the fifth century BC until the Roman conquests"]).

Simon James, a British Museum educator in prehistory and the Roman world, and a Research Fellow at the University of Durham, exemplified the previous consensus view that, "Beginning in the fifth century B.C., in a zone stretching from eastern France to Bohemia, a new Celtic culture arose, named after the archaeological site of La Tène in Switzerland where it was first identified." (James 1993:12). Mainstream Celtic scholar Jean Markale held that, "The Celts left their early homeland in the Harz Mountains to spread throughout Northern and Western Germany, along the Baltic and North Sea coasts" (Markale 1976:8).

Cunliffe and Koch disagreed. They proposed, instead, that Celtic languages and culture arose in the west rather than in the east. Using archaeological, DNA, and linguistic evidence, they theorized that a proto-Celtic language evolved as an Iberian-Atlantic maritime trading *lingua franca* and later broke up into the discrete Celtic languages of western Europe (Cunliffe and Koch 2010, 2013, 2016). The process began first in southwestern Iberia around Tartessos and then spreading outward along the coasts of Atlantic Europe and up its waterways the Rhine, Moselle, Thames, Po, and Danube until it spread throughout much of Iron Age Europe. In short, the Celtic languages, culture, art and technologies of the Galicians, Bretons, Irish, Scottish, Cornish, and Manx arose not in the heart of Europe but from millennia of shared seaborne commerce along the coasts and riverways of Atlantic Europe (Cunliffe 2010:13-38).

A headstone excavated at Vale dos Vemelhos in southern Portugal, designated J.7.2 and dated to the seventh century B.C., supports the *Celtic from the West* model by showing the popular use of an early Celtic variant of the "Boudicca" name in coastal Iberia a century before the rise of the Hallstatt D culture in central Europe (Figure 5). That tomb commemorates "Bodvohar…the man whose stone funerary monuments have been built" (Koch 2010:222 [illustration]). Koch linked this personal name to the place-name Budua in southwest Spain and to the "Gaulish personal names Boduos, Boduus, Bodua, Boduo-genus, Boduo-gnatus, Maro-boduus, etc.," the Iron Age British king Bodvoc, and the Old Irish war-god and raven, the Badb. (Koch 2010:262). All of those names represent branches of a seaborne Celtic language-tree that took root along the rocky promontories and river mouths of the ancient Atlantic.

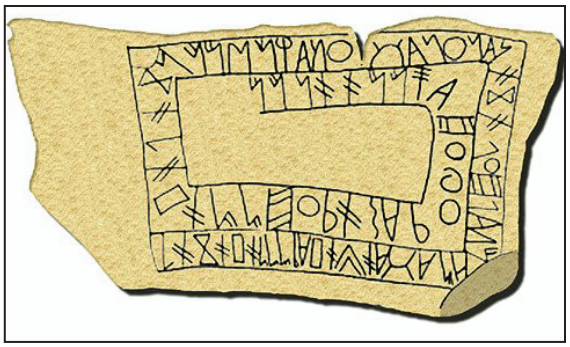

Figure 5. Reproduction of Tartessian script on the Bensafrim Stela, Fonte Velha, Lagos, Portugal, on display in the Municipal Museum of Figueira da Foz.

A similar inscribed tombstone, Mealha Nova 1, J.18.1, marked the grave of "Botieana" at the Aldeia de Palheiros Concelho de Ourique in southern Portugal. Its Tartessian script reads: "[This grave] has carried away Bōd'eana [and] the first-born daughter…of the craftsman; so they now remain [here]" (Koch 2013:11-146, 128-129 and Fig. 4.15). The personal name Bodeana shares the same Hispano-Celtic root as Boutius, Botilla, Boutilla, Bodius, Boudica, Bodecius, and the family name Boutiecum (Cunliffe and Koch 2010:242 (illustration), 262).

Iberian onomastic traditions already evident in the seventh century B.C. continued through the first century C.E. in Civitas Igaeditanorum, modern Idanha-a-Velha in Portugal:

QVINTVS MODESTI F[ILIUS A[NNORVM] XXV
PLACIDA MODESTI F[ILIA] A[NNORVM] XIII
BOVDICA FLACCI F[ILIA] MODESTVS CELTIATIS F[ILIUS] LIBERIS UXORI SIBI FECI[T].
(*Hispania Epigraphica* No. 21474) (Figure 6).

A Lusitanian citizen erected a similar stone (see below) to honor his family: "Caeno, son of Luvius, [set up this monument] to his father, Lovius, son of Caeno, and to his mother Boudica, daughter of Tongus and to his father-in-law, Cilius, son of Tapaesus, and to his wife, Cilea, daughter of Cilius" (Webster 1993:15, 135 n. 1:4; *Annee Epigraphique* 170).

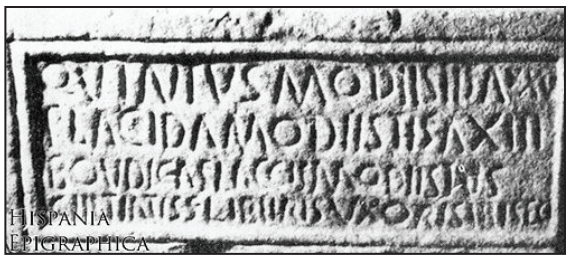

Figure 6. The Bovdica Falacci inscription from Portugal, from Hispania Epigraphica.

[L]OVIO CAENONIS F[ILIO] PATRI
BOVDICAE TONGI F[ILIAE] MATRI
CILIO TAPAESI F[ILIO] SOCRO CILEAE
CILI F[ILIAE] UXORI CAENO LOVI F[ILIO]

Boudicca, its "victorious" meaning, and many of its variants probably arose in a Proto-Celtic *lingua franca* across a vast, seaborne trading network along Europe's western Atlantic shores. Given the geographic spread of the name across many cultures and many centuries, we should neither expect nor impose uniformity on a diverse and inconsistent archaeological record.

Who was Bodicacia of Cirencester?

A recent excavation offers an opportunity to re-examine issues arising from the absence of uniformity in rendering variations of the name Boudicca. Archaeologists excavating the former Bridges Garage site on Tetbury Road in Cirencester (the Roman town of Corinium) on February 25, 2015, uncovered a honey-colored slab of Cotswold limestone that contained the name of a Romano-British woman: BODICACIA (Griffiths 2015) rather than BOUDICA. The full inscription on this 4 feet high (1.2 metres) by 2 feet wide (60cm) mausoleum headstone reads:

D.M. [DIS MANIBUS] ["To the Shades of the Underworld"]
BODICACIA
CONIVAAX
VIXIT ANNO
S XXVII

Translated, the inscription reads "To the Shades of the Underworld, Bodicacia ["Victorious Woman" or *Victori*a], wife, lived 27 years." A defaced image of the Roman god Oceanus, with crab claws, moustache, and long hair, fills the triangular frieze atop the tombstone (Figures 7 and 8).

At first, British archaeologists believed that the skeleton buried beneath the Bodicacia tombstone was the 27 year old woman named on it. If the skeleton below matched the inscription above, it would have marked the first of its kind from Roman Britain. But further examination of the inscription suggested that it dated to the second century C.E. Subsequent examination further showed that it be-

Figure 7. Photo of Bodicacia gravestone found in Cirencester, England in 2015. (Cascade News Co., U.K., Daily Mail; photo cropped for replication, Fair Use)

Figure 8. Detail of Boadicacia gravestone inscription shown in Figure 7. (Cascade News Co., U.K., Daily Mail; photo cropped for replication, Fair Use)

longed to a man, not a woman. Cotswald archeologist Ed McSloy told *Discovery News*, "We believe the tombstone to have been reused as a grave cover perhaps as long as two centuries after it was first erected".

Romano-British realities differed from late twentieth century insistence on linguistic uniformity. The tombstone's new name and distinctive iconography refutes the Jackson/Webster linguistic theory that a Romano-British version of the warrior queen's name had to be spelled "Boudica," with an *ou* dipthong and an "-*ica*" suffix (Curator 2016, "Bodicacia Tombstone – More Information," *Corinium Museum*). Yet Bodicacia, a personal name, shares the same root-word as Bodica, a variant of Boudica. Victoria L. Campbell, a Roman archaeologist who has written about Roman tombs at Pompeii, asked several important questions about the Bodicacia gravestone:

> [W]as the name *Boudica* (or one of its many variants) a popular one?...A quick search of the Epigraphik Databank Clauss/Slaby reveals that there are a number of occurrences of this name, with the initial root of *Boudic*-, *Bodic*-, and *Boudig*-. Whilst none…are found in Britain, they do originate in other provinces with some Celtic antecedents, namely Lusitania and Germania Superior. There are three funerary inscriptions from Civitas Igaeditanorum (modern Idanha-a-Velha in Portugal), all of which demonstrate a combination of Roman and Celtic names….
>
> The texts from the province of Germania are also funerary in nature. One is from Bingium (modern Bingen am Rhein), a name thought to be Celtic in origin in and of itself, and the second is found in Ingelheim am Rhein…
>
> What I find intriguing, however, is an inscription found on an altar in Bordeaux. This small monument appears to have been erected by a man as part of a vow regarding his passage from York (where the stone was sourced) to Gaul in AD 237… "[T]he name of Boudica, so often associated with an Iceni queen, with revolt, and re-appropriated during the reign of Victoria to symbolize the might of the British Empire, has a place in Roman history far beyond one individual. The name itself, in all its versions, divine or otherwise, was an example of the creation of a Romano-Celtic culture that held a place of some significance in the provinces" (Campbell 2015) [The Bodicacia tombstone is now on display in Cirencester's Corinium Museum].

Britain's Bodicca Inscriptions and Related Variations

Campbell's observations about empire-wide use of the "Victoria" name are compelling, although her list of contemporaneous inscriptions of Boudicca variants in Britain is incomplete. Contrary to any insistence on Britons' use of a single-*c Boudica* (or, for males, *Boudicus*) as a name in Britain, the tombstone of a third century standard-bearer in the III Britannorum Equitata (Third Regiment of British Cavalry) states that *Bodiccius* buried his friend *Virsuccius* at Acuminium, along the Danube, while serving in central Europe:

VIRSVCCIVS
SI EQ IMAG COH I
BRIT TVR MONTA
ANN XXXV STI XV H S E
BODICCIVS IMAG ET
ALBANUS H P

(Berlin-Brandenburger Academy of Sciences *C.I.L.* 3256 (emphasis supplied); see also Birley 1980:103, 189-190; Holder 1981-1913:I 455 fn.; Millett et al. 2016). Although we do not know where in Britain Bodiccius was born, we know from his service in a Roman cavalry unit raised in Britain that he was British. Another tombstone, this time from the Roman Lambaesis in North Africa, names a British woman with a double-*c* version of Boudicca:

D.M. [DIS MANIBUS—"To the To the Shades of the Underworld."]
T. FL[AVIVS] VIRILIS *l.* LEG. III AUG[USTUS]
l. LEG. XX V. v. VI VIC VIXIT ANNIS LXX Stip. XXXXV, LOLLIA **BODICCA** CONIUX
ET FLAVI VICTOR ET
VICTORINUS FILI HEREDES EX HS
ICC N. FACIENDUM CURAVER.
(Dessau 1892:*I.L.S.* 2653).

Translated into English, the inscription reads:

"To the Spirits of the Departed. Tiberius Flavius Virilis, Centurion of the II Legion Augusta, Centurion of the XX Legion Valeria Victrix, Centurion of the VI Legion Victrix, Centurion of the III Legion Parthica, Severus's own, commanding the 2nd Century of Hastate of Cohort 9, lived 70 years, served 45. Lollia Bodicca, his wife, and Flavius Victor and Victorinus, his sons and heirs, had this [monument] made…. " (Ireland 1992:234 Item 474).

Because historians and epigraphers have traced the career of Lollia Bodicca's husband Virilis in the Second, Twentieth, and Sixth Legions at Caerleon, Chester, and York in Britain before being transferred to the Third Legion Parthica to be based at Lambaesis in North Africa, archaeologist Anthony Birley has declared that Lollia Boudicca "is certainly British." (Birley 1980:80, 180). Oxford University Professor of Classics Dr. Roger Tomlin, MA, DPhil, FSA, the translator of the Bloomsberg construction site Roman writing tablets, advised me that Lollia Bodicca's "British origin is virtually guaranteed by her husband's career and her own nomen 'Lollia.'" (Prof. Roger Tomlin, personal communication, March 13, 1999).

Lollia Bodicca was probably the daughter of a Briton named Bodiccius whose family received a grant of Roman citizenship from Quintus Lollius Urbicus, the Roman governor of Britannia between 138 and 143 C.E. (Scullard 1979:75; Bédoyère 1999:231). In Roman Europe, daughters frequently received their father's name, resulting in a feminine form ending in a female *–a*. (Adkins and Adkins 1994:244). Lollia's sons Victor and Victorinus continued their mother's name in Latin.

The "Bodiccius" and "Lollia Bodicca*"* inscriptions refute the Jackson/Webster insistence on a uniform spelling of the warrior queen's name. Doubled-c personal names were common on Iron Age pottery stamps for Iron Age and Roman Britons, including "Bruccius" (Birley 1980:132, 201, 2015; Frere 1972; Holder 1891-1913:I 622; Collingwood and Wright 1995:274); "Buccus" (Birley 1980:133, 201; Holder 1891-1913:I 626; Hartley 1977); "Doccius" (Birley 1980:135, 201; Dickinson and Hartley 1971); "Driccius" (Birley 1980:134, 201); and both Loccius Proculus and Loccius Vibius (Birley 1980:132, 201; Dickinson and Hartley 1971). An early twentieth century scholar, John Rhys, considered both of those inscriptions that Jackson and Webster ignored, as well as a one-c Boudica inscription from Portugal discussed later in this article. Rhys concluded that, "Bōdicca is doubtless the most correct form, with the c doubled for a diminutive name" (Professor Roger Tomlin, personal communication, March 13, 1999).

Contrary to Professor Jackson's rule of Welsh philology, neither the Bodiccius nor the Lollia Bodicca inscription features the *ou* dipthong. Between the second and third centuries C.E., the British *ou* dipthong evolved into a hard *ō* (Jackson 1948:306, 312-14), perhaps in response to growing Germanization of Britain's eastern and southern coasts. Brit-

ain's native tongues consisted of "spoken language transliterated by literate Latin speakers" who wavered between "u, o, and ou" in coping with the "ou" sound. (Prof. Roger Tomlin, personal communication, March 13, 1999). The Bodiccius and Lollia Bodicca names feature a sounded doubling of a hard-*c* sound, also in violation of Jackson's rule. Each inscription conclusively demonstrates that at least some Britons pronounced their names, and the warrior queen's name, as Bō-dēk-kăh.

The "Bodicca" Names of Germania and Belgica Reflect a Germanized Version of the Traditional Celtic Name

Two variants of the Boudicca name come from Germany, as Victoria Campbell (2015) noted. The first was found in a Roman settlement of Bingium (modern Bingen am Rhein), a name thought to be Celtic:

> D[IS] M[ANIBUS]
> FOCURONI[A]E PAT / T[A]E FILI[A]E ET FIRMI
> NIO [—]ESINTO GE / NERO S[U]O LUTORIA
> BODIC[CA?] MATER
> DE SVO [VI]VA POS[V]IT.

The second of Campbell's two Germanic versions of the name comes from Ingelheim am Rhein:

> D[IS] M[ANIBUS]
> MARTIALIO MICCIONI / ET IBLIOMARI[A]E
> **BODIC[A]E** PATRIBUS / MICCIONIA AMMISIA
> FILIA F[ACIENDUM] C[VRAVIT]
> (Finke 1927:73-74, Nr. 224 (emphasis supplied)).

The doubled-c accords with the two-*c* version Tacitus gave the queen in surviving Renaissance copies of the Medici "M" Codex, copied from the original Benevantan "M" manuscript of Tacitus's *Annals* preserved at Monte Cassino (Furneaux 1907:272). Book XIV of the "M" source used the double-c *Boudicc*a at XIV.37.5; a double-c variation, *Bonducca*, at XIV.35.1; and *Boodicia*, at XIV.31. The earliest editions of Tacitus's *Agricola* identified the queen as Voadicca, with a double-*c*, and as Voaduca, with a single-*c* (Furneaux 1907:84).

The Sacred Name of a War Goddess

The translation of Boudicca as "Victoria" may be too Victorian to convey the violent connotations of the name. "Battle Winner" defines the essence of victory and corresponds to the ancient German word for "battle" (Simek 2007:26 [Badua]). It resonates with Ireland's oldest Gaelic poetry, where *The Book of Invasions* refers to a goddess, the *Badbh*, translated as "Rage" or "Violence":

> *Badbh* and *Macha*, rich in store,
> *Morrigán* who dispense confusion
> Compassers of death by the sword
> Noble daughters of *Errimas*.
> (Aldhouse-Green 1996:41)

In ancient Ireland, Badbh, also known as Badb, Badhb, Baobh, Bave, Boadach, Bodhb, Bodhbh, Bov, and Bove, came to be feared and worshipped as a victorious goddess, a Celtic valkyrie (MacKillop 1998:27, 40, 41-42). Biddis and Bidmead, for example, were renowned as Valkyries; their names reflect a blending of Celtic and Norse linguistics and culture (Ferguson 1858:212). The Irish revered the goddess under a sacred name: *Badbh Catha*, the Raven of Battle (Aldhouse-Green 1992:38 ["Badbh"[). That name corresponds with one on a Romano-Gallic altar erected in honor of *Cathubodua* or *Cauth Bova*, a goddess venerated at Haute-Savoie in France (Green 1998:38 ["Babdh"]; MacKillop 1998:42 ["Bodua"]; Ross 1967:219, 244-45):

> "**[C]ATHVBODVAE** AVG SERVILIA TERENTIA S L M."

The Iceni, like both the Celts and the German, venerated ravens, as reflected in the copper alloy ravens buried with other treasure in the Felmingham Hall Hoard in Norfolk (British Museum, "Felmingham Hoard") (Figures 9 and 10).

The religious nature of Battle-Raven imagery brings to mind the circumstances under which Boudica's revolt began: while the Roman Governor, Suetonius Paulinus, was in western Wales invading the Holy Island of Mona and burning down the Sacred Groves of the Druids who used the island as their granary and base for anti-Roman refugees and rebels (Tacitus 1989:XIV:2-30).

The Britons must have prayed that Boudicca, appearing as her people's chief priestess, in the guise of the Raven of Battle, would sweep Roman armies from the field, bring death to their native allies, and tear their flesh to shreds (Aldhouse-Green 2006:100). Thus, Cassius Dio describes how the warrior queen raised her hand toward heaven and

Figure 9.
Photo of Felmingham Hoard, Felsingnham, Norfolk, second to third century C.E. Red pot and brass patera, British Museum. (Photo by David A. Furlow)

Figure 10. Photo of hoard's ravens and solar deity. (Photo by David A. Furlow)

invoked the assistance of the British war-goddess Andraste:

> "I thank thee, Andraste, and call upon thee as woman speaking to woman…As the queen, then, of such noble men [of Britain] and such women, I supplicate and pray thee for victory, preservation of life, and liberty against men insolent, unjust, insatiable, impious…"(*Dio's Roman History VII* Book LXII).

The Britons who followed the warrior-queen must have viewed her as a Druidess, a sacred intermediary, able to invoke the terrifying vengeance of Andraste.

Another clearly sacred name, *Boudig*, was once venerated on a goddess's altar in Bordeaux, France, as the following inscription reflects:

> DEAE TUTEL[A]E BOVDIG[AE]
> M AVR LVNARIS IIIIIII
> VIR AVG COL EBOR ET
> LIND PROV BRIT INF
> ARAM QVAM VOVER
> AB EBORACI AVECT
> V S L M
> PERPETVO ET CORNE

That inscription translates as:

> In honour of the Goddess Tutela Boudiga [*or* To the Victorious Protectress]
> Marcus Aurelius Lunaris / sevir Augustalis of the colonies of Eboracum and
> Lindum, in the province of Britannia Inferior, set up the altar he vowed on starting from Eboracum.
> Willingly and rightly he fulfilled his vow,
> in the consulship of Perpetuus and Cornelianus
> (Dio 1952:116, *ILTG* 141).

Tutela personifies the protective goddess and spiritual guardian of the people of a Romano-Gallic town, Burdigala, later known as Bordeaux. The Roman merchant Lunaris asked for the goddess's protection when he traveled from Eboracum (York) to Burdigala (Bordeaux), probably in connection with the wine industry that has so long bound Bordeaux to Britain. So Lunaris bargained with Goddess Boudiga, promising to erect an altar in her honor if she gave him a safe voyage. The frieze atop the altar depicts Lunaris offering his sacrifice to Tutela Boudiga, who appears much larger than the mortal before her. She holds a cornucopia, the horn of plenty, while a priest leads a sacrificial bull. Lunaris was a merchant who possessed social standing both in York and Bordeaux. He made the vow when Perpetuus and Cornelianus were consuls: 237 C.E. (Figures 11 and 12).

Across the German Ocean (the North Sea) from the Iceni lands, the Frisian people worshipped another goddess with a similar name, Baduhenna. Tacitus wrote that nearly 900 Roman soldiers died in a battle, or a mass sacrifice, that occurred near a sacred grove dedicated to her in Frisia in 28 B.C. In Book IV, Chapters 73 and 74 of the *Annals*, Tacitus wrote,

> "mox compertum a transfugis nongentos Romanorum apud lucum quem Baduhennae vocant pugna in posterum extracta confectos, et aliam quadringentorum manum occupata Cruptoricis quondam stipendiarî villa, postquam proditio metuebatur, mutuis ictibus procubuisse."

Figure 11. Resin copy of Marcus Lunaris' 237 C.E. dedication to the Goddess Tutela Boudiga at the British Museum. The original remains at Bordeaux, France, on display in the Museeu d'Aquitaine in Bordeaux. (Photo by David A. Furlow).

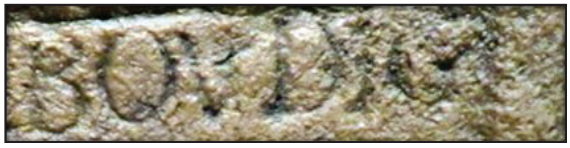

Figure 12. Detail of the Bovdig Inscription described above in Figure 11. (Photo by David A. Furlow).

When translated into English, Tacitus's passage reads as follows:

> 73. "Soon afterwards it was ascertained from deserters that nine hundred Romans had been cut to pieces in a wood called **Baduhenna**, after prolonging the fight to the next day, and that another body of four hundred, which had taken possession of the house of one Cruptorix, once a soldier in our pay, fearing betrayal, had perished by mutual slaughter." (Frost 1872:226).

Baduhenna preserves the sacred name of a Germanic war-goddess, either a British variant of *Bodua* or of a proto-Germanic **badwa*, "battle." (Simek 2007:26). The Frisians combined *Badu* with the suffix *–henna,* similar to the *-henae* element in names of Germanic matron-goddesses on votive stones and altars from the first through the fourth centuries C.E. German soldiers of an auxiliary unit, the *numerus Hnaudifridi*, preserved the similar name of the goddess *Baudihilli*a at Housesteads Fort on Hadrian's Wall (Bédoyère 1999:153; Wagner 2002:93-98):

> "DEABVS // ALAISIA/GIS **BAV/DIHILLIE** /
> et Friaga/bi et N[Vmini Aug[Vsti] / n[VmerVs] HnaV/
> DIFRIDI / V[OTVM] S[OLVIT] L[IBENS] M(ERITO)."

Auxiliary Germans, "citizens of Twenthe" inscribed a similar sacred name *Beda* on the doorjam shrine of that same Hadrian's Wall fort (Bédoyère 1999:153). Several Germanic versions of the "Boudicca" name existed in Roman Britain at the military frontier over prolonged periods of time.

Did the Iceni Speak a Celtic, West Germanic, or Belgic Language?

The doubling of the *cc* or *ck* element at the juncture of the root word and suffixes such as *–icca* and *–ekker* are common among speakers of Germanic languages and dialects, the same way that those hard *c* sounds double in the Anglo-Saxon surname Decker and the German surname Bodekker. The doubled-*c* was prominent among personal and royal names among contemporary first century Britons of Belgian descent and by Belgians or Germans on the continent. Epaticcus, the son of the Catuvellaunian king Tasciovanus and the brother of King Cunobelinus, shows that the king of a British tribe of Belgian descent could end his name in the suffix *–icca* (de Jersey 1996:30-31; Birley 1980:167).

The *–icca* suffix in Boudicca has appeared in the Low Countries for millennia. England's Patent Roll of 1273 C.E. included Bodekin and Budekin (Werf et al. 1997:12). A partial potter's stamp on a first century red amphora (wine jar) from Melden, in Belgium's Lower Scheldt River Valley, reads "[-]DICA," which might have read "BOVDICA." (Werf et al 1997:65). In Friesland, the northern Netherlands and northwestern Germany, the –ica element evolved into the e-ke suffix that appeared in more than a third of some two hundred and fifty Dutch names, including Buddeke. Parallels to double-*c* Boudicca names in lands that once belonged to Belgians and Germans. A fine silver tetradrachma coin from the Switzerland / Austria border region depicts a spear-carrying cavalry-

man above the legend SVICCA (Kellner 1999:480). Similar German surnames such as Boedecke, Bodeck, and Bodekkers, appear in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

The Iceni lands of East Anglia faced the North Sea in the east and north, and the Wash and fenlands to the west. The North Sea, known as the Germanic Ocean during the first century C.E., linked the Iceni's East Anglian homeland to Scandinavia, Germania, Frisia, the Celto-Germanic Netherlands, and Gaul during the late Iron Age and early Roman Empire. As it was during the Bronze Age, the Anglo-Saxon era, the Viking invasions, and the age of the Tudors and Stuarts, the North Sea was more of a highway rather than a moat.

Stephen Oppenheimer, an Oxford geneticist and an early participant in the *Celtic from the West* project (Oppenheimer 2010), proposed that people of Germanic ancestry and language had occupied eastern Britain, including the Iceni lands, since the North Sea drowned Doggerland, the dry land and islands between Neolithic era Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia and then again when the Beaker Folk migrated to Britain from the Low Countries (Oppenheimer 2006:263-307, 406-421; Cunliffe 2012:208-220).

According to Oppenheimer, the oldest version of Old English evolved in England as a fourth branch of the West Germanic family of languages before the Romans invaded:

> "[There is substantial] genetic, linguistic, literary and archaeological evidence for a foreign, probably Germanic-speaking presence in Britain from before the fifth century AD, and even before the Roman invasion. The genetic evidence towards north-west European influence on the east and south coasts of Britain, going back to the Neolithic, and a Scandinavian influence, affecting north-east Britain in particular....I have suggested that the colonization of Anglian and Saxon parts of England had complex but different timescales and arose from several Continental sources at different times". (Oppenheimer 2006:329-330, 414-417).

The name Boudicca could reflect Iceni adoption of a Celtic name in a West Germanic or mixed Celto-Germanic dialect in pre-Roman East Anglia. The warrior queen might have cried havoc in an ancient form of English that preceded the fifth century C.E. invasions of the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians recorded by the Venerable Bede.

In contrast with their southerly British neighbors, the Iceni maintained a distinctively different society. They built square or rectangular ritual enclosures similar to German and Belgian *viereckshanzen* enclosures in the Cologne Basin, the Moselle, and the Champagne regions of continental Europe (Davies 1999:32-33; Gregory and Gurney 1996). The absence of wine amphorae in their tribal territory reflects that the Iceni, like continental Belgian and German tribes, severely limited the right of Roman merchants to enter their territory before 43 C.E., probably for fear that luxuries might sap their warrior spirit and corrupt their morals. (Sealey 1999:6; Caesar 1992:V.1.3, II.15.4, IV.2.1, and VI).

The existence of an ancient West Germanic language in the lands of the Iceni, or the presence of a mixed Celto-Germanic Belgian language there, could help explain why so few Celtic place-names appear in eastern England, while so many appear along the western shores of Cornwall, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man. Is it possible that Boudicca's Iceni did not speak a Celtic language but, instead, a West Germanic or Celto-Germanic one? (Oppenheimer 2006:278-330).

During the Dark Ages, medieval times, and early modern England, East Anglia became a place where West Germanic Anglo-Saxon words blended with Frisian, North Germanic, Scandinavian, and Norman French tongues in a linguistic melting pot. The sacred names of the Germanic goddesses Baduhenna, Baudihillia, and Beda, the similar spelling of Tacitus's Boudicca, Lollia Bodicca and Bodiccius, and similar double-*c* names in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and central Europe, suggest that Boudicca's double-c name could reflect shared Germanic, Germano-Celtic, or Belgian origins.

Anglo-Saxon names include the same sounds as Boudicca, including Boadella, Bodda, Boadicker, and Baldechildis, the Anglo-Saxon wife of the Frankish king Clovis II (Belloc 1925:I 344; Geary 1988:186-87). The Anglo-Saxon surname Buddock, found from Cumberland through York, Lincoln, and East Anglia to London, appears to descend from a double-*c* ending, while Bodeck appeared in Warwickshire, Boddick in Northumberland and Durham, Budock in Gloucester, and Budick in Devonshire (Ewen 1946:275, 285, 292).

A thousand years after Boudicca's revolt, the Domesday Book recorded village place-names derived from the Anglo-Saxon or Nose Balder, including Bawdeswell, Norfolk and Bawdsey, Suffolk (Martin 1992:1079 [Bawdeswell, Norfolk started as Baldereswella]; 1215, 1235 1259-1260 [Bawdey, Suffolk, beginning either as Baldereseia or Baleseia]; 1204, 1207, 1208, 1216, 1220, 1245, 1254 1272, 1288, 1300, 1301 [Bedingfield, Norfolk and Bedingfield, Suffolk originated as Badingafelda]).

Boudicca's Iceni people may have been a Germanic or Celto-Germanic people, rather than a purely

Celtic one, and that some of their tribal subgroups spoke an ancient West Germanic, Belgian, or mixed Celto-Germanic language. The North Sea, then called the German Ocean, served not as a moat but as a highway that joined communities on both sides of the Channel and further north for millennia (Oppenheimer 2006:215-262, 293-383).

Caesar's *Gallic War* states that the Belgae had settled parts of coastal Britain, including the Iceni lands of East Anglia, a few decades or generations before Rome invaded the island:

> "The interior portion of Britain is inhabited by those of whom they say that it is handed down by tradition that they were born in the island itself; the maritime portion by those who had passed over from the country of the Belgae for the purpose of plunder and making war; almost all of whom are called by the names of those states from which they sprung they went thither, and having waged war, continued there and began to cultivate the lands." (Caesar *Conquest of Gaul* V:12; Cunliffe 2012:325-26, 334-335, 373, 386-400).

Germanic Frisians and Batavians lived across the southern North Sea from the Iceni in what later became the Netherlands, while Belgian tribes of Germanic descent – the Ambiani, Atrebates, Bellovaci, Caleti, Menapii, Morini, and Velocasses, lined the Channel coast south to the Marne (Oppenheimer 2006:272-279). Caesar wrote that "Diviciacus, the most powerful king in Gaul…controlled not only a large part of the Belgic country, but Britain as well." (Caesar *Conquest of Gaul* II:4.7). Celto-Germanic Belgian culture spread through Southern Britain.

Daphne Nash Briggs, an expert on Roman and Celtic coinage, proposed that "most of the names or titles of office on the Iron-Age coinage of Norfolk…may have been either philologically West Germanic or is at least suggestive of West Germanic speech habits." (Briggs, 2011:83-102, 83-84). ECEN, the tribal name on Iceni coinage, had no clear Celtic meaning but could be Germanic based on its similarity to the Indo-European word *aig- for "oak," Old Saxon êk, Old Frisian êk, Old Norse eik, Old English âc and æc, and Old High German, eih. ECEN's –(en suffix meant "made of," as in Old Frisian êzen and êtzen, Old High German eichen, and Old English. Translated into English, ECEN meant "oaken" or "Oaken One," or "Lord of the Oaks." (Briggs 2011:86-87). Or, alternatively, the word was an honorific signifying "everlasting" Briggs 2011). The Iceni were as strong as oaks, in Germany and in Britain.

> "The oldest Iceni heartlands faced the North Sea and their inscribed coinage seems to display some of the more Germanic aspects of their vocabulary and pronunciation." (Briggs 2011:96). They likely wrote in their native language for "[b]oth Gaulish and German priests and officials are known to have used writing for ritual and administrative purposes that included divination or sortilege" (Caesar *Conquest of Gaul*; VI.14.3; Tacitus, *Germania*, X).

In addition to offering a plausible Germanic root for the tribal name, Briggs suggested that personal names on Iceni coins such as AESV, AESVMINVS, SAENV, -PRASTO, ESICO, and Corieltavian – PRASV accorded with reconstructed early West Germanic speech forms. Aside from one clearly Celtic name, ANTEÐI[O], and the place-name duron, "all the names on Icenian coinage might have been drawn from an early Germanic language." (Briggs 2011:95).

In addition, early Iceni coins evoked Germanic or Norse mythological themes, for example, the loss of the German/Norse god Odin's eye and the pursuit of both sun and moon by a cosmic wolf at the end of a vast cycle of time (Simek 2007:80–81; Debord 1991(2):37–42). As Briggs observed, "[wolves were emblematic of the most dangerous kind of early Germanic war-band, wolf-warriors, akin to the berserks" (Briggs 2011:98; Simek 1007:35, 338).

Taken together with Boudicca's name, this body of evidence suggests that the Iceni or some of their leading subgroups and neighbors along the eastern coast of Britain spoke a Belgian or an ancient West Germanic language, a forerunner of English. Use of Belgic or ancient Germanic languages along the eastern coast of Britain corresponds to the ways that Barry Cunliffe's and John Koch's *Celtic from the West* model proposes that Celtic evolved in Iberia and along the western Atlantic sea-lanes that connected Iberia with Gaul, Ireland, Britain, Germany and the Netherlands.

If the Iceni spoke a West Germanic or Belgic language, archaeology and linguistics could rewrite the history of the revolt. Boudicca's accomplishment of uniting many of Britain's disparate tribes in rebellion against Rome becomes all the more remarkable, while her failure to win the war becomes more understandable. Tacitus's statement, in the *Agricola,* that British rebels "it was in this way [through rebellion] that the Germans had thrown off the yoke; and yet they were protected [only] by a river, not by the ocean" (Tacitus 1967, *Agricola* 15).

The Emperor Nero's reinforcement of Governor Suetonius Paulinus's Roman army with two thou-

sand legionaries, eight auxiliary infantry cohorts and one thousand cavalry from Germany after the revolt makes sense not only on the basis of geographic proximity but also linguistic familiarity with the rebels' Germanic language (Tacitus 1989, *Annals* XIV.38). Nero's appointment of a new procurator from the Rhineland's Treveri tribe, Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus, reflects an effort to appoint a diplomat and financial officer who could speak the rebels' language (Tacitus 1989; Sealey 1999:43-44).

The natural sympathy of like for like could explain why Classicianus sympathized with the British rebels against the province's vengeful Governor, Suetonius Paulinus. In Tacitus's words:

> "Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus, successor to Catus Decianus, was on bad terms with [Governor] Seutonius [Paulinus], and allowed his personal animosities to damage the [Roman] national interests. For he passed around advice to wait for a new governor who would be kind to those who surrendered, without an enemy's bitterness or a conqueror's arrogance. Classicianus also reported to Rome that there was no prospect of ending the war unless a successor was appointed to Suetonius, whose failures he attributed to perversity—and his successes to luck". (Tacitus 1989, *Annals* XIV.38; Collingridge 263-269).

Classicianus's reports to Rome led to Nero's dispatch of an imperial agent, Polyclitus, to resolve differences between a vengeful governor and a liberal procurator. The dispute led to the governor's recall to Rome "after Suetonius lost a few ships and their crews on the shore." (Tacitus *Annals* XIV.39; Collingridge 2006:269) (Figure 13).

The existence of a West Germanic, Belgian, or ancient version of the English language in East Anglia in Roman times could explain why that coastline attracted so many Saxons that later Romans referred to that littoral, a few centuries later, as the Saxon Shore (Oppenheimer 2006:309-313, 324, 380, 388-390, 414). It could show why Anglians, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians, and other Germans settled there in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E., as well as the near-absence of Celtic words in eastern England in general, East Anglia in particular, and English as a language (Oppenheimer 2006:270-292). It would rewrite the history of the English language and of England itself. These are a few of the reasons why the spelling and sound of a first century warrior queen's name matters not just to archaeologists but also to linguists and historians.

An Iron Age Battle Winner and Commander of Chiefs?

Whether chanted as "Boud" in Celtic, heiled under as "Sieg" in German, or proclaimed "Victor" in Latin, a winner commands respect on and off the battlefield. The same root-word *Boud-* that means Victor/Victoria in Celtic languages appeared throughout Iron Age Europe, often in combination with prefixes or suffixes that blended two or more roots together. An elaborately carved bronze vessel found at Prickwillow, Cambridgeshire, on the southwestern frontier of Iceni territory, bears the stamp "BODVOGENVS F," presumably "Victor's Son Made This" (Frere and Tomlin 1991:46; Birley 1980:130, 201; Holder 1891-1913:I 462).

Bodvoc was a king of the Dobunni tribe in western Britain in Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Glouces-

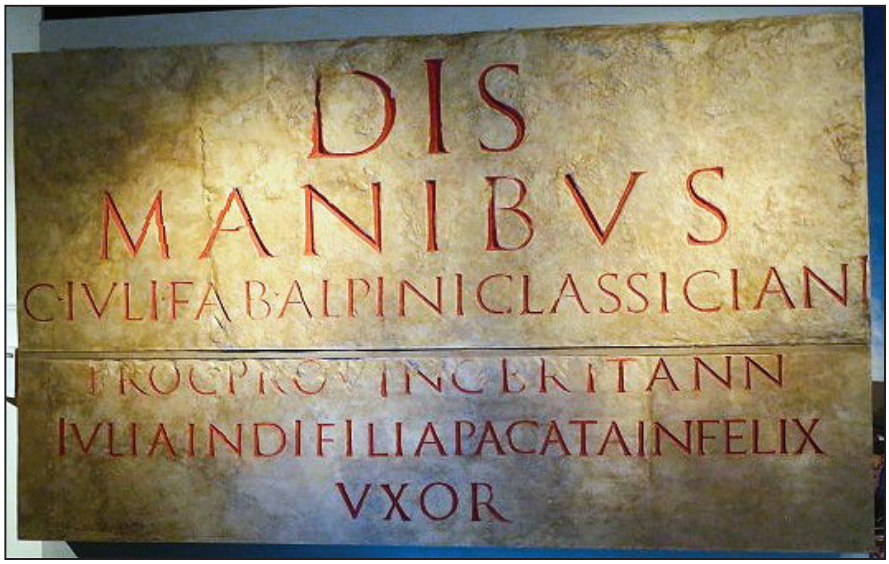

Figure 13. Reconstruction of Classicianus' headstone, Museum of London. (Photo by David A. Furlow).

tershire during the early first century B.C. He is known to us today from the heavy "BODVOC" name emblazoned across at least twenty-five different coins he minted at Bagendon in Gloucestershire between 25 and 5 B.C. (Wacher 1991:40; Salway 1991:68, 83).

Bodvognatus, whose name meant "Son of the Victorious Goddess," was a king of the Belgian Nervii tribe who lived in the first century B.C. He commanded armies of well-trained warriors in battle against Julius Caesar's legionaries during the Gallic War (Caesar *Conquest of Gaul* II. 23).

Maroboduus was a king of the first century C.E. Suebi tribe in Germany who later came to command the Germanic Marcomanni tribe's warriors in the forests of Bohemia (Dio 1932:6-7, 28, 55; Tacitus 1989, *Annals* 2.44-2.46, 2.62-2.63). He appears prominently in Tacitus's *Annals*. The name "Maroboduus" breaks out into two Celtic elements, *māro-* meaning "great," as in Welsh *mawr* and Irish *mor*, and either *Bodua* meaning "Victorious" or *Bodwos* meaning "raven," based on the Irish word *Badhb*, so the name meant either "Great Victory-Winner" or "Victorious Raven of Battle."

Bodvoc, Bodvognatus, Maroboduus, and Boudicca were all the names of military commanders. They may have been titles for a commander-in-chief elected by a tribe or a tribal coalition, the way that SACEUR refers to NATO's Commander in Chief in Europe. The tribes of Britain may have elected the warrior queen to become the allied war-leader they venerated as their Boudicca, their "Victorious Woman," the "Battle Winner" who defeated their Roman enemies (Davies 2009:141).

Conclusion

The best contemporary evidence shows that Tacitus correctly called the warrior-queen Boudicca. Tacitus wrote a century closer in time to the revolt than Dio while making a direct translation from Iceni to Latin, without the complicating effect of a Latin to Greek translation.

The name originated in Iberia and along the Atlantic seaways before the seventh century B.C. as a Celtic word, *Boud-*, that meant "Victorious Woman." To the Celtic-speaking Britons in western, central, and southern Britain who joined her rebellion in 60-61 C.E., she was Victoria. To the Iceni and other rebels in eastern Britain, she was the "Battle-Winner," a sacred tribal commander in chief who crushed the Ninth Legion and destroyed the Roman cities of Camulodunum and Londinium, along with the Romanized Belgic municipality of Verulamium.

Contemporaneous evidence from Britain, Belgica, and Germany refutes Professor Kenneth Jackson's one-size-fits-all insistence that a one-c Boudica is the one and only correct way to spell the warrior queen's name. A name with a *Boud-* root that means victorious proved consistently popular and infinitely malleable from the first time people began writing it down around Tartessos in the Celtiberian and Celtic lands of southwest Iberia until the name gained widespread usage throughout the Roman Empire's western provinces in the first and second centuries C.E.

For centuries, Catholicism bound Spain, France, and England together across the Channel and Bay of Biscay, yet the same eastern Mediterranean name appears on churches, across landscapes and in personal names as Maria in Spain, Marie in France, and Mary in English. Similarly, in the late pre-Roman Iron Age, there was no one, uniform spelling of the queen's name. It could appear as Boudica in Lusitania (Portugal), as Boudiga in Gaul (France), as Bodicca and as Boudicca, Bodiccius, and Bodicca in Britain.

There is no reason to substitute a trendy, one-*c* Boudica in place of Tacitus's traditional, two-*c* Boudicca or to adopt a Procrustean solution that cuts to pieces a reality that includes a diverse reality abundance of names that offer important clues to our knowledge to Britain's abortive first Brexit from continental Europe. Boudicca still reigns.

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THE GRECO-ROMAN CITIES OF LIBYA, NORTH AFRICA

Fred W. Kelly, Jr.

Introduction

Libya hosts five remarkably preserved Greco-Roman UNESCO Archaeological Sites that have attracted less attention than they deserve. The North African region, and Libya in particular, was very important to both the Greek and Roman Empires. Libya consists mostly of the Libyan Sahara Desert, but there is a narrow coastal zone along the Mediterranean Sea with a mild climate suitable for agriculture and with ship anchorages. The first visitors to establish themselves along Libya's coast were the Phoenicians in ca. 1000 B.C. Next came the Greeks and Romans. Tripolitania, the western coastal zone (Figure 1), provided exports to Rome of locally produced olive oil, grain, and other goods from caravans traveling across the Sahara desert from Central Africa. These exports included such things as such as ivory, slaves and wild animals for the gladiatorial games (the Coliseum in Rome once killed 5,000 wild animals in one day). Cyrenaica, the eastern coastal zone, provided wines, horses, and most importantly, a rare and very valuable herb called *silphium* which was valued both as a seasoning and for its medicinal properties. Cyrenaica later became part of the Egyptian Empire during the reign of the Ptolemies (305-30 B.C.) and the famous Roman general Mark Antony once gave it to his daughter Cleopatra Selene as a gift. Several rather spectacular Greek and Roman cities were established within the productive western and eastern coastal zones of Libya, which were separated from each other by some 400 miles of desert along the coast of the Gulf of Sirte. All of North Africa was taken over by The Arab Conquest in A.D. 643.

I was a petroleum geologist living in Libya and exploring for oil in the Sahara Desert from 1957 to 1963. When I lived in Tripoli and Benghazi, I was

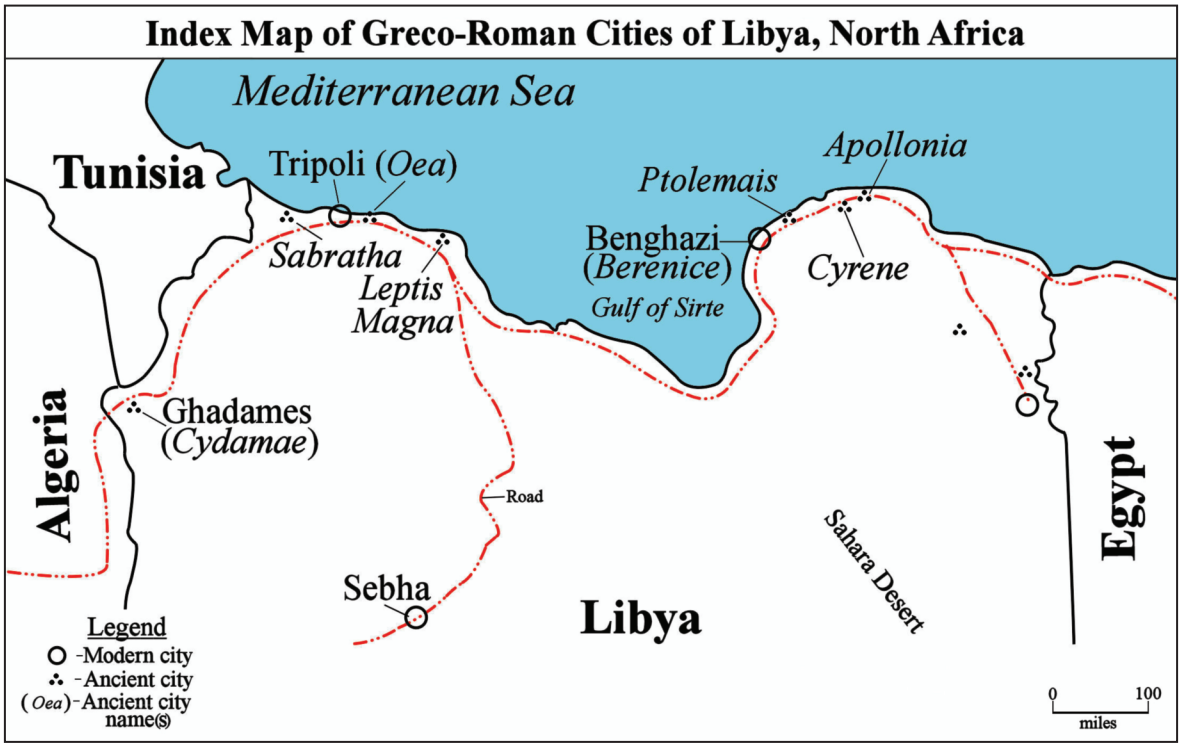

Figure 1. Index Map of Greco-Roman Cities of Libya, North Africa.

fascinated by the spectacular Roman and Greek ruins. In 1958, a close high school friend was working as an archeologist with the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and he invited me to visit his archaeological dig in Ptolmeta (Ptolmais), Libya. I have kept up with archaeological developments in Libya ever since.

Much superb archeological work had been done in Libya by Italian, French, American and Libyan archaeologists for many decades when, unfortunately, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi took over the country in 1969 by a military coup and forced most foreigners to leave. Hostility between Libya and the U.S. forced all foreign excavations to stop in 1981. Only when United Nations sanctions against Libya were lifted in 2004 were European and American archaeologists able to return to Libya. Archeological work was again halted again when civil war broke out in 2011 following the Arab Spring movement and Colonel Qaddafi was killed. Now several groups claim to be the real government of Libya and the civil war between these various factions continues to pose a threat to the antiquities of Libya; all five UNESCO archaeological sites in Libya are now on the World Heritage in Danger list. So far the most important sites, Leptis Magna and Cyrene, appear to remain undamaged except for vandalism and neglect (e.g. untamed weeds are ruining mosaic floors).

I am always pleased to tell people about the ancient Greco-Roman cities of Libya because so few people have heard much about them. It is difficult to sum up the history of the melting-pot of seven cultures over a period of 1,500 years, but I hope that this paper will serve as a brief introduction to the archaeology of the Greco-Roman cities of Libya and encourage people to take a closer look at this fascinating area.

The Geography of Libya

Strabo, the ancient Greek geographer (64 B.C.-21 A.D.), described North Africa as resembling a leopard's skin, its habitable areas being scattered like spots over a background of waterless desert; this image is a good one. The great Saharan Desert ends near the Mediterranean Sea as mountainous strips (*gebels*) and short, steep river beds (*wadis*) leave a narrow coastal plain. This coastal plain has underground water and a Mediterranean type climate with irregular rainfall. Here, various ancient civilizations were able to establish cities and ports, and engage in dry-farming and olive and fruit tree cultivation. A gap of about 400 miles of desert sand right along the coast in the center of the country (Gulf of Sirte) divides the coastal strip into the western Tripolitanian zone and the eastern Cyrenican zone. The low mountains on the southern edge of the Tripolitania do not block the desert heat very well and scorching sandstorms can damage crops. The higher mountains on the southern edge of the Cyrenaica block out the desert heat better than in the west and also provide elevated plateaus where cities with a better climate were established with improved agriculture, including vineyards.

The Ancient History of Libya

During the Early Stone Age, the climate in what is now the Sahara Desert region, consisted of moist and savanna-like conditions supporting large herds of animals and a large hunter-gatherer population.

Table 1. Brief History of Ancient Libya, North Africa.

TRIPOLITANIA		CYRENAICA
	643 AD The Arab Conquest	
533 AD - 643 AD	Byzantine Period	395 AD - 643 AD
[363 AD - 533 AD Vandal / Berber Period]		
204 BC - 363 AD	Roman Period	96 BC - 395 AD
		[322 BC - 96 BC Hellenistic (Greek) Period Under the Egyptian Ptolemies]
1000 BC - 204 BC	Phoenician Period	1000 BC - 322 BC

However in the Mesolithic Period, the Sahara region steadily dried out and created a desert barrier between North Africa and the rest of the African continent. Neolithic farming by local Berber tribes became predominant along the coast by about 6000 B.C. After 1000 B.C., the Phoenicians began setting up trading posts in Tripolitania and established the Punic cities of Sabratha, Oea and Leptis Magna to tap into the Sub-Saharan wealth in gold, precious stones, ivory, ebony and slaves.

In 630 B.C., Greek settlements were initiated in Cyrene which rapidly expanded into the five cities of the Cyrenaican Pentapolis (Barce, Berenice, Tauchira, Apollonia and Cyrene). The Greeks in Cyrenaica fought with the Phoenicians in Tripolitania for dominance in trade until the Romans defeated Carthage and then the Romans took over Tripolitania in about 200 B.C. The Romans then fought with the Greeks of Cyrenaica, who held out with help from Egypt. However, by about 300 B.C. both Tripolitania and Cyrenaica had become prosperous Roman provinces. In Tripolitania, the Romans greatly expanded the Phoenician cities of Sabratha, Oea and Leptis Magna (the name Tripolitania comes from "tri-polis" or three cities). Tripolitania reached its golden age in the second and third centuries A.D. when it became a major exporter of olive oil and grain to Rome as well as a center for the trade of ivory and wild animals for the Coliseum brought by caravans across the desert from Sub-Saharan Africa. Cyrenaica remained an important source of wines, drugs (especially the herb *silphium*) and horses for Rome. By 363 A.D., the Roman Empire was collapsing and in 429 A.D., the Vandals, a Germanic tribe, crossed from Spain and captured most of North Africa, including Libya. By 533 A.D., the Vandals had been greatly weakened and they lost their kingdom in Libya to the armies of the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire, which attempted the re-conquest of North Africa for the Eastern Roman Empire; but the region's prosperity had collapsed under the Vandals and the old Roman political and social order could

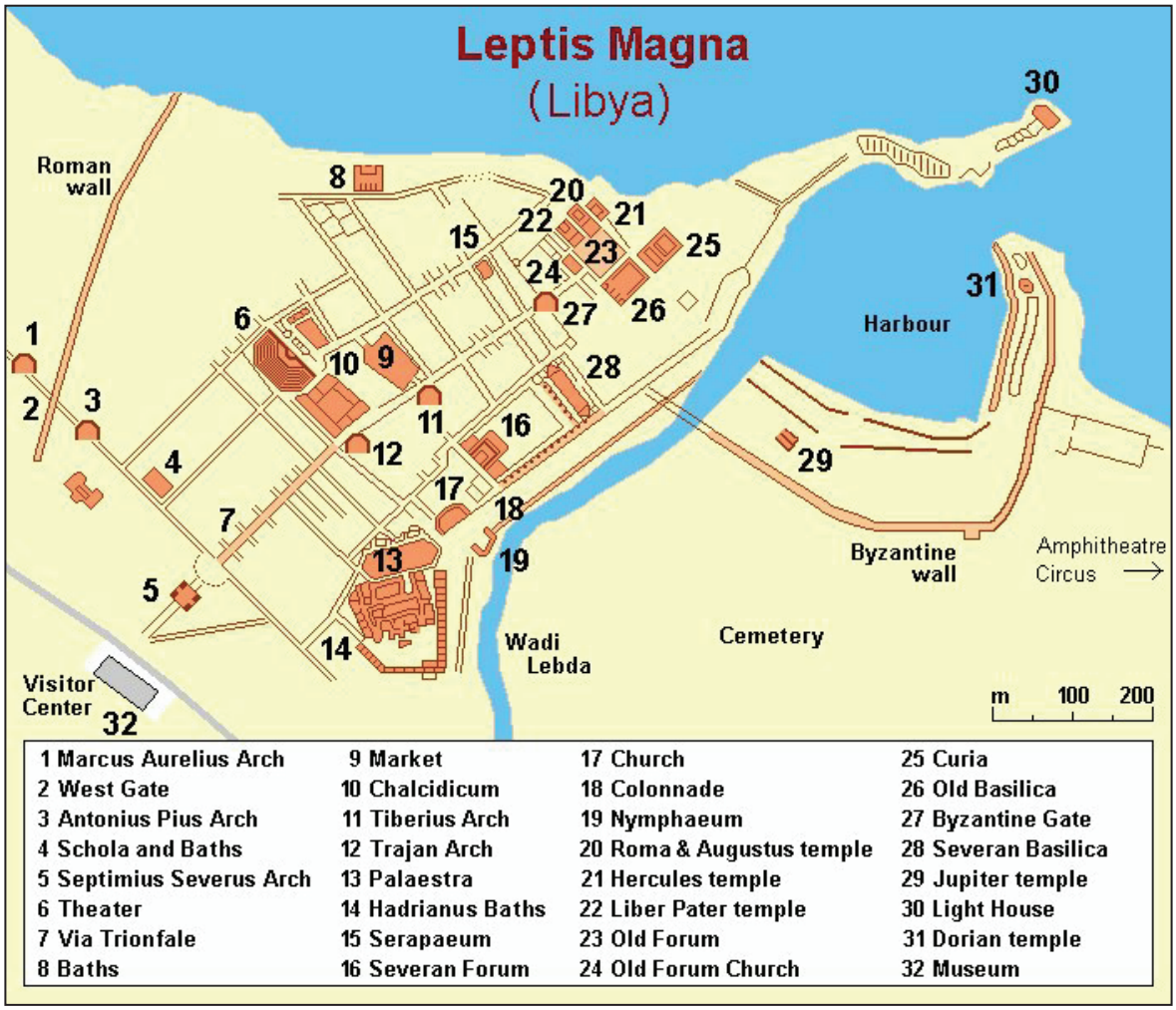

Figure 2. Map of Leptis Magna, Libya.

not be restored and many cities were abandoned. In 643 A.D., Libya was taken over by The Arab Conquest (Table 1).

Ancient Cities of Tripolitania

Leptis Magna

The city of Leptis Magna (Leptis) was first colonized by the Phoenicians of the Carthaginian Empire and became a Punic city in about 1000 B.C. In the late 2nd century B.C., Leptis became a friend of Rome and flourished under Roman protection. The city's prosperity continued under the Pax Augusta, the 250-year-long peace established by the Emperor Augustus in 30 B.C. In 9 B.C., an impressive market building with two central octagonal pavilions was built by a private citizen. In 1 A.D., the same citizen built the spectacular theater with an auditorium 300 feet across and with an impressive stage wall; an inscription in the theater in Latin and Punic gives the name of the builder. The Old Forum by the sea was built under Augustus in 18 B.C. and included temples to the goddess Roma and to Augustus (Figure 2).

Building continued under the Emperors Domitian, Trajan and Hadrian, and Leptis became one of the richest cities in the Roman Empire. Hadrian had magnificent new baths, modeled on those built by Trajan in Rome, erected in 126-127 A.D., which included an impressive communal latrine with running water that could seat 60 people. But, the most richly decorated and lavish building was done under Leptis Magna's greatest native son, the Roman Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus, who ruled from 193 to 211 A.D. Severus spoke Punic and very little Latin. A whole new quarter was added to the city after Severus visited his native city in 203-204 A.D. A huge new forum measuring 460 feet by 260 feet was built, including a columnar arcade and dominated at one end by a lofty 90 foot high Basilica (law courts and official offices) with very ornate pilasters begun by Severus and dedicated to his son and successor, Caracalla, in 216 A.D. (Figures 3-11). A large quantity of marble and pink Egyptian granite was used for the forum and large medallions of the legendary Gorgon Sister, Medusa, who was so ugly that people turned into stone by just looking at her, adorned the arcade and are the most recognizable symbols of Leptis Magna (see Figure 4). Many other spectacular projects were added during this time including a colonnaded street leading to the harbor,

Figure 4. Large Medusa head from the colonnaded porticos that lined the forum walls. The most famous features of Leptis.

Figure 3. The Severan Forum with adjoining Basilica at back. The forum was built during the reign of Emperor Septimus Severus (A.D. 193-211), a native of Leptis. The size is about the same as a football field.

Figure 5.
The very large Severan Basilica which adjoins the forum. Originally a large hall for public business and law courts, it was later converted to a church by the Byzantines.

enclosed harbor and a piazza (Figure 12). In gratitude for his huge contributions, the citizens of Leptis erected a triumphal arch to the Emperor Severus in A.D. 203. Following the rule of Septimius Severus, the will for further building activity was exhausted. The end of the fourth century A.D. brought a brief revival to the city under the Emperor Diocletian but this ended when a series of social, economic, political and military crises tormented the Roman Empire, including North Africa.

Figure 7. The spectacular Theater of classical Roman style dedicated in A.D. 1-2, with later additions. Considered one of the finest theaters in the Roman world.

Figure 6. Ornate carved pilasters over 90 feet high at the entrance to the Basilica showing acanthus scrolls with rosettes and animals springing forth. One panel shows the labors of Hercules, a patron god of Leptis.

Figure 8. Seats in the Roman Theater at Leptis Magna and a small temple of Ceres Augusta on the right.

Figure 9. Gladiator statue with a gladius sword at the front of the Theater stage; to the right is a small head of Hercules, a patron god of Leptis Magna.

During the years 363-366 A.D., the complete collapse of the Roman Empire manifested itself at Leptis by its being sacked by nomads from the interior of Libya, and then in 429 A.D., the Vandals occupied Tripolitania and parts of Leptis were destroyed. In 523-533 A.D., a Byzantine army under the Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, Justinian, defeated the Vandals and occupied Tripolitania in an attempt to reestablish the unity of the great Roman Empire. The Byzantines crudely walled off a small part of the city near the harbor and abandon everything outside these walls. They renovated the Severan Basilica and converted it into a Christian church. Then the local Berber tribes started severe revolts against the Byzantine soldiers and by 582

Figure 11. An impressive communal latrine located next to the public baths which could seat 60 people. It had marble seats and a deep flushing water channel under the seats. The small channel in front of the seats was used to rinse the sponges attached to sticks which served as toilet paper.

A.D., the Byzantines left and the area was deserted until 643 A.D. when The Arab Conquest captured all of North Africa. The deserted Roman ruins were covered with wind-blown sand, which protected them from the elements; so much so that excavation often amounts to just removing sand.

Sabratha

Sabratha is the western-most of the three cities of the ancient *Tripolis* and lies about 43 miles west of the modern city of Tripoli. By 1000 B.C., Phoenician

Figure 10. The Market, which was dedicated in 9 B.C., with much added later during the Severan period. It has an overall octagonal base with two circular kiosks with a water well in the center of each.

Figure 12. The Severan Harbor from which ships carried wild animals, olive oil and grain to Rome; imports were also handled. The remains of the lighthouse tower can be seen at the top left. Mooring blocks are seen along the harbor walls.

merchant-ships were using this port as a trading post to tap into the valuable resources coming by caravan from Sub-Saharan Africa, such as gold, precious stones, ivory, ebony and slaves. It became a permanent settlement in about the fourth century B.C. The transformation of the Phoenician town into a Roman city began near the end of the first century B.C. and the city enjoyed considerable prosperity, especially during the Severan dynasty (193-235 A.D.). Roman buildings erected included basilicas, fora, baths, temples, and fountains (Figure 13). However, the most outstanding archaeological feature still standing is the theater, which is among the best-preserved of all Roman theaters (Figure 14). Its backdrop wall has been reconstructed with 96 marble columns on three stories some 72 feet high. In the Roman Basilica in 158 A.D., Apulieus, the author of *The Golden Ass* (a tale of a man's adventures after being transformed into a donkey) defended himself against charges of witchcraft in a brilliantly inventive oration that is commonly known as the *Apologia*. Prosperity was greatly increased towards the end of the

Figure 13. Map of Sabratha, Libya. (Source: Wikipedia)

Figure 14. Roman theater built 180-192 A.D. The backdrop walls were reconstructed with 96 marble columns on three stories. It remains today as one of the best preserved Roman theaters.

first century when Leptis Magna made changes that caused its harbor to become silted up and trade shifted to Sabratha. Sabratha was badly damaged in about 365 A.D. by an earthquake and then declined rapidly in the fifth century under Vandal misrule. The city was revived by the Byzantines on a greatly reduced scale and Christian remains include a catacomb and four churches. Soon after The Arab Conquest in 643 A.D. the city ceased to exist.

Oea (Tripoli)

The site of the ancient city of Oea is now known as Tripoli, the largest and historic capital city of Libya. Oea was founded in the seventh century B.C. by the Phoenicians, and unlike nearby Leptis Magna and Sabratha, the site has been continuously occupied from the Phoenicians up to the present modern city, in part due to its natural harbor flanked on the western shore by a small easily defensible peninsula. Oea was conquered by the Romans in the latter part of the second century B.C. and became a separate Roman province under the Emperor Septimus Severus (ruled 193-211 A.D.), who was a native of Leptis Magna. It was the central city of the Roman three cities (*tris poleis* or *Tri-poli*). In spite of centuries of Roman occupation, most of the ancient city has vanished under the houses of medieval and modern Tripoli, which has made systematic excavation impossible. The orthogonal layout of Roman Oea is still reflected in the street plan of Tripoli's Old City, and traces of Roman buildings and walls have come to light at several points. The only significant visible

Figure 15. Arch of Marcus Aurelius dedicated in 163 A.D. to victories over the Parthians by Lucius Verus, an adopted brother of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The arch is all that is left of the ancient Roman city of Oea (Tripoli). (Adobe Stock Photo – Permission to Reprint Obtained by the Author)

remains are the Arch of Marcus Aurelius and a few fragments now in a museum of a little temple dedicated in A.D. 183-184 to the *Genius Coloniae,* or guardian spirit of Oea. The Arch of Marcus Aurelius is a Roman triumphal arch and still stands in downtown Tripoli near a gate to the Old City and near the harbor (Figure 15). It was built entirely of marble and dedicated in 163 A.D. to the war victories over the Parthians by Lucius Verus, an adopted brother of the reigning Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

Ancient Cities of Cyrenaica

Geographical setting

The flat coastal strip of Libya is interrupted in Cyrenaica by a mountainous region called the Jebel Akhtar ("the Green Mountain"), which consists of a series of escarpments and plateaus. The height of the mountains provides a barrier from the desert heat and creates cool damp northeast winds from the Mediterranean that provide rains and produce highly productive soils for agriculture. These conditions were very suitable for exploitation by colonists from the Greek city-states beginning in the sixth century

B.C. and the region soon produced great prosperity for its citizens from both agriculture and animal husbandry.

Cyrene

Cyrene was founded in 630 B.C. by Greek colonists from Thera under direct orders of the Delphic Oracle, and is located in a fertile valley in the Jebel Akhtar Mountains at an elevation of about 1,900 feet above sea level. Cyrene's port of Apollonia was located 10 miles below the mountains on the Mediterranean coast. Cyrene's agriculture was so prolific that at a time when Greece was suffering from famine, Cyrene was able to send large quantities of grain as relief. The city was also famous for its horses; but it's most lucrative export was a now-extinct plant species called *silphium* that resembled fennel and was said to be worth its weight in silver. *Silphium* was highly valued because of its many uses as a food source, a seasoning for food, and most importantly, as a kind of "wonder drug" medication. The stalks, sap, flowers and roots were said to constitute remedies for all kinds of ailments and were also considered as both an aphrodisiac and very effective form of birth-control.

The city also developed into a noted site for science and philosophy; famous philosophers included Callimachus. The Kingdom of Cyrene reached its peak of grandeur in about 400 B.C., when it had established relations with all Greek city-states. Architectural features built during Cyrene's Hellenistic Period include an acropolis (citadel of trade and worship), agora (forum), Terrace of Apollo with Fountain, Temple of Zeus (larger than the Temple of Zeus at Olympia in Greece), very large sanctuaries

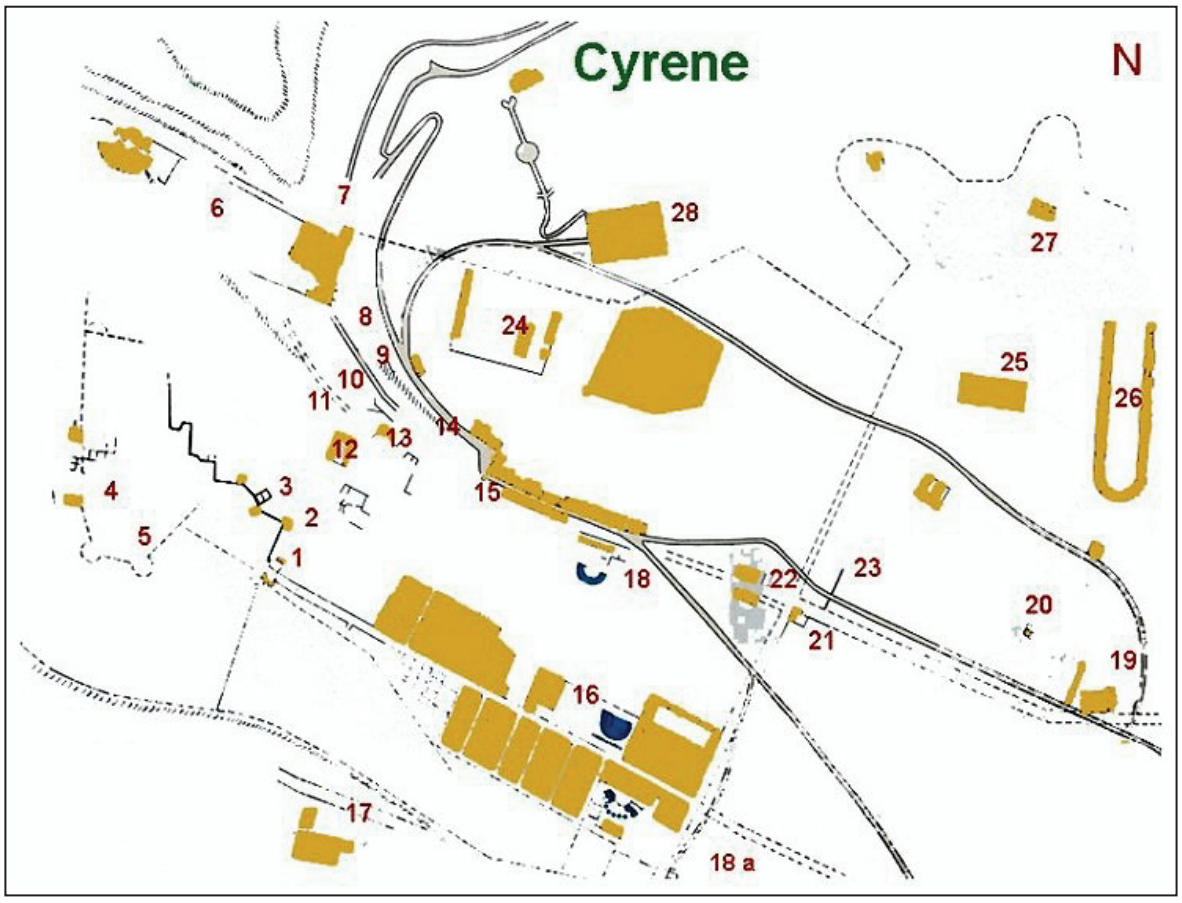

Figure 16. Map of the Archeological Site of Cyrene.
1. Entrance Gates to the Agora, 8. Hadrian's Milestone, 15. Triumphal Arch (Antonine), 22. Center of Roman City, 2. Corner Tower of the Acropolis, 9. Sacred Way, 16. Theater, 23. Byzantine Wall, 3. Sanctuary of Isis & Serapis, 10. New Fountain, 17. Temple of Demeter, 24. Tower on City Walls, 4. Roman House, 11. Passage to the Fountain, 18. Market Theater, 25. Temple of Zeus, 5. Acropolis, 12. Unidentified Building, 18a. South Gate, 26. Hippodrome, 6. Sanctury of Apollo, 13. Dionysus Mosaic House, 19, Cathedral, 27. Hilltop Temple, 7. North Gate, 14. Greek Baths, 20. Arab Tower, 21. Church, 28. Hospitum.
(https://www.temehu.com/Cities_sites/cyrene-cyrenaica.htm)

Figure 17. Overview of Cyrene on a plateau some 1,900 feet above sea level. The Mediterranean Sea is seen in the distance.

Figure 18. The Sacred Way descending diagonally into the central Cardo Maximus with the surrounding agora (forum) and markets.

Figure 19. Roman baths in the foreground with exercise yard and pool. Temple of Apollo with Doric columns in background.

Figure 20. Entrance to the very large (96 by 85 meters) Greek colonnaded gymnasium from the Second Century B.C., later converted by the Romans in the First Century A.D. into the Forum of the Caesars.

Figure 21. Greek Temple of Zeus. Larger than the main temple of Zeus at Olympia, Greece. (Photo by Tore Kjeilen/LookLex)

to the goddesses Demeter and Persephone, and a hippodrome (for horse and chariots races) (Figures 16-21).

After the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., Cyrenaica came under the control of the Egyptian Ptolemies, the Greek successors of Alexander the Great in Egypt, and Egyptian armies helped the Greeks extend their supremacy in Libya. However, the Romans finally occupied Cyrenaica in 96 B.C. when Ptolemy Apion bequeathed Cyrenaica to Rome, and in 74 B.C., it formally became a Roman province. Prosperity continued under the Romans until extensive Jewish rebellions broke out in 73 A.D. and again in 117 A.D., when rebels destroyed half the city and killed many of its inhabitants. The Roman army forcefully put down the rebellions and the city was repopulated by new settlers and army veterans. By the end of the second century A.D., Cyrene had regained its prosperity. Architectural achievements during the Roman period include a theater and a very large bath and gymnasium complex.

The Roman period ended in 395 A.D., when the Byzantine Christian Period began. Christianity reportedly had links with Cyrene from its earliest days and it is interesting to note that "Simon of Cyrene," who is mentioned in the Bible as helping Jesus bear his cross up to Golgotha for his crucifixion (Mark 15:21), was a North African from Cyrene in Cyrenaica. The Emperor Justinian (527-565 A.D.) helped rebuild the heavily damaged city and there were Christian bishops in Cyrene up until 643 A.D., when the city fell to The Arab Conquest.

Cyrene is a UNESCO Archaeological Site and also listed on the World Heritage in Danger List. Beautifully modeled after Delphi in Greece, it is today one of the most neglected and endangered sites in the Mediterranean.

Apollonia

Apollonia, named after the Greek sun-god Apollo, was established in the seventh century B.C. to serve as the seaport for the city of Cyrene. It was connected to Cyrene, which is at an elevation of 1,900 feet, by a single, steep, winding road, 12 miles long. Apollonia served during Greco-Roman times as the port for Cyrene to export such cargoes as the very valuable herb *silphium* and horses to Greece, and then later to Rome. The port also handled imports from other Mediterranean ports such as Alexandria, Egypt. The best and most protected part of the harbor was the East Port and most of this harbor is now submerged in 10 to 20 feet of water due to earthquake movements. Parts of the breakwater and the entrance to the port remain awash (Figure 22).

While originally of Greek origin, Apollonia came under Roman control and grew in power to become the capital of a Roman province and more important than Cyrene itself. The Roman period was followed by the Christian Byzantine period with Christian bishops in control up until the Arab invasion of 643 A.D. Archaeological features found onshore include an acropolis, basilicas, Roman baths, a Greek theater, and the Byzantine Palace, which served as a government administrative building during the Byzantine period Figures 23-24).

Figure 23. The ruins of the Byzantine Palace, which served as a government building in the Sixth Century A.D.

Ptolemais

Ptolmais (Tolmeta) is located on the Mediterranean coast about 100 miles west of Apollonia and was founded as a small Greek settlement in the late seventh century B.C. It was one of the Greek colonies in Cyrenaica that arose under the Empire of Alexander the Great. In 322 B.C. it came under control of the Egyptian Ptolemy kings, who were Greeks that had been put in power after the death of Alexander the Great. The city was probably founded by King Ptolemy III in ca. 47 B.C. and was orga-

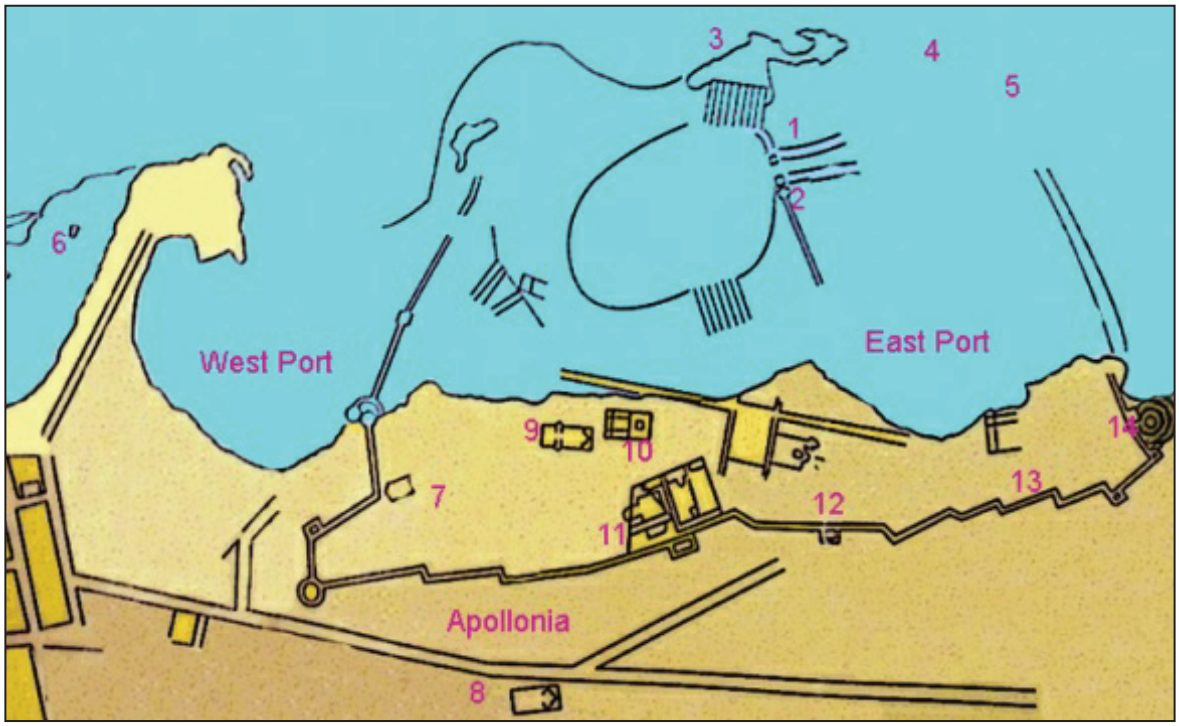

Figure 22. Map of Apollonia.
1. Entry Canal to West Port, 5.Light House, 9. Central Basilica, 2. Entry Canal to East Port, 6. West Port, 10. Roman Baths, 3. Hammam Island (Central), 7. West Basilica, 11. Dux's Palace, 4. Sharkea Island (East), 8.Triconch Cemetery, 12. Sanctuary of Callicrateia, 13. Acropolis, 14. Theater. (Source: Wikipedia)

Figure 24. Greek Theater, Apollonia. (Adobe Stock Photo – Permission to Reprint Obtained by the Author)

nized as a typical Greek city and a member of the Cyrenaican Pentapolis. It thrived on exports of grain, fruits, olive oil, honey, wine and wood; Ptolemais shipped huge quantities of grain to Greece during the famine there in 330-326 B.C. When the Ptolemaic King Apion died in 96 B.C., he willed the province of Cyrenaica to Rome. Most of the Greeks had left before this happened and a period of great confusion followed.

The region became a full Roman province in 74 B.C., but fighting over ownership of the lands continued. In 44 B.C., Roman general Mark Antony declared the region a private estate for his daughter Cleopatra Selene and Roman troops were stationed there for her protection. Prosperity continued at Ptolemais from the time of Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.) through to the reign of Trajan (98-114 A.D.) and prominent features built during this period included a theater, stadium, public baths, fountains, giant cisterns, a large tower tomb, and palatial villas (Figures 25-29). A cache of ancient Roman silver and bronze coins as well as other treasures were found in the ruins of a villa. Peace and prosperity for Ptolemais was ended by a Jewish rebellion in A.D. 115-116. When Hadrian became Emperor in 117 A.D., he put down the revolt and restored some order in Ptolemais. Under the Emperor Diocletian (ruled 284-293 A.D.), Ptolemais became the capital of

Figure 25. Two gate towers of the West or Tauchira Gate which led to the to the coastal road. Built in the Fourth Century B.C., when it was excavated graffiti was found dating downward from World War II through Arabic to Latin and then Greek.

Figure 26. The "Palazzo delle Colonna" was the most elaborate, peristyle private house found in Ptolemais. It contained sculptures, baths and mosaics.

Figure 27. Mosaic of tigress with a krater of wine from the dining room of a Roman villa. Above the tigress can be seen two medallions with mosaics of two of the four seasons.

Cyrenaica. However, following a major earthquake in the year 365 A.D., the capital of Cyrenaica was moved to Apollonia and Ptolemais fell into rapid decline and their elaborate system of water supply cisterns fell into disrepair. In 395 A.D., the area was

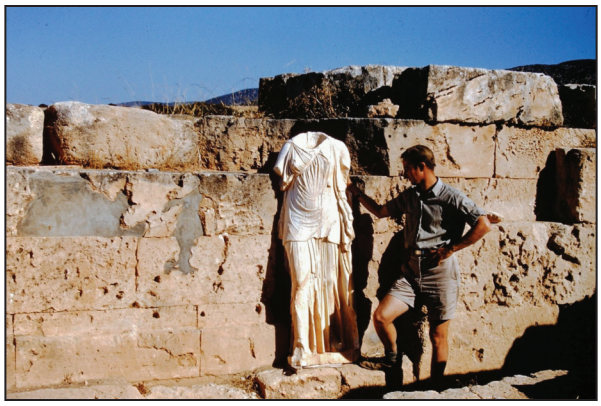

Figure 28. Statue of Artemis Colonna, goddess of the hunt, Second Century A.D. Statues are often headless because popular bodies were mass produced and then custom portrait heads inserted in the top socket.

Figure 29. Mosaic – possibly Alexander the Great or Medusa.

taken over by Christians of the Eastern Roman Byzantine Empire, but there was much political discord and the city did not thrive. The city was finally abandoned in the seventh century A.D. when the area was taken over by The Arab Conquest.

Photographs

All photographs, except where noted, were taken by the author in about 1960.

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GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR: CAVALRY DURING THE GALLIC WARS (58-50 B.C.)

Joshua R. Farrar

Introduction

Gaius Julius Caesar (100-44 B.C.) is regarded as one of the greatest military tacticians and strategists of all time. His battle descriptions have been studied by generations of scholars – notably including Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821 A.D.) and George S. Patton (1885-1945 A.D.). Caesar's Gallic Wars of 58-50 B.C., as recorded in his *Commentarii de Bello Gallico,* acted as the proving grounds for Julius Caesar as a battlefield commander and campaign strategist. The tactics that Caesar perfected in Gaul went on to define him as a commander in later struggles including the Roman Civil War of 49-45 B.C. (Note: The Gallic Wars took place in Gaul, an area encompassing modern day France, Belgium, and Luxembourg, as well as parts of Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and northern Italy. The Gallic Wars also include Julius Caesar's campaigns in Britannia, a region encompassing modern day England and Wales).

While infantry was the bedrock of Caesar's army, and many studies have analyzed Caesar's effective use of infantry throughout the Gallic campaigns, Caesar's armies also included significant cavalry contingents which tend to be overlooked (Judson 1961). The extent to which Julius Caesar's use of cavalry during the Gallic Wars led to his ultimate success as a commander therefore demands attention.

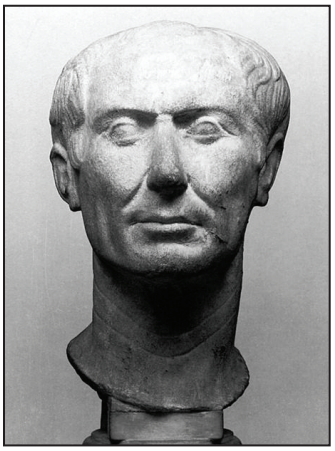

Figure 2. Dating to 50–40 B.C., the 'Tusculum portrait' is likely the sole surviving bust of Julius Caesar made during his lifetime. Museo d'Antichità, Turin, Italy. (Creative Commons: Attribution- Share Alike, Tataryn77, 2012)

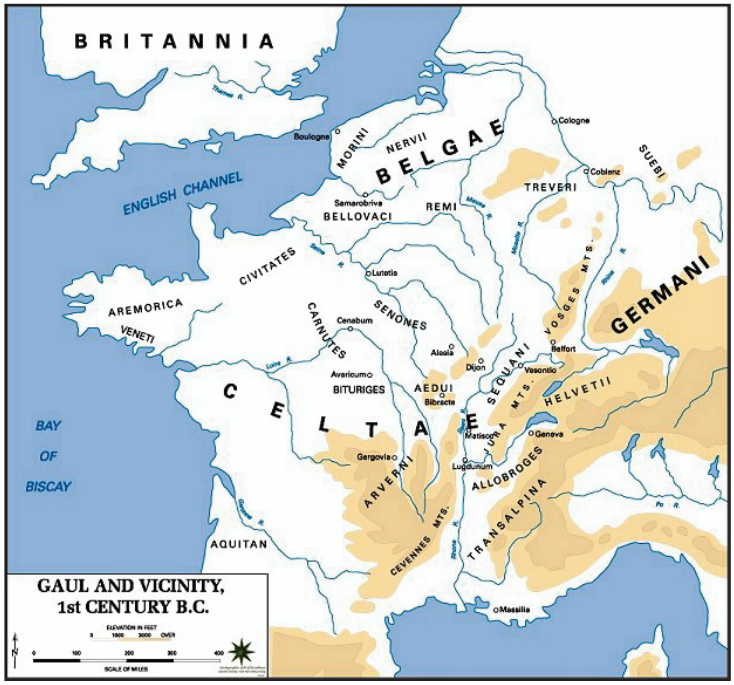

Figure 1. Map of Gaul and the vicinity in the 1st-century B.C. (Public Domain, Department of History, United States Military Academy).

Roman Republic Cavalry before Julius Caesar

In order to quantify any differences between past tactics and Caesar's deployment of cavalry, one must first look at how horses were used to support the Republican army prior to the rise of Julius Caesar. Before Caesar, the Roman army was essentially an infantry force with a small mounted contingent primarily used for reconnaissance and to guard the flanks of the main element. Although 4th to 1st-century B.C. Romans were fond of horses, enjoying equestrian sports such as horse and chariot racing, they did not develop an efficient cavalry arm (Fuller 1965).

The Macedonian general, Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.) proved that Iron Age massed cavalry could be used to great effect. Alexander tended to deploy infantry as a defensive set-piece holding the battle line, while cavalry charges initiated from the flanks acted as the principle offensive weapon. Before Julius Caesar, the Romans had only once used Alexander's tactic with success. During the Battle of Magnesia (modern Manisa, Turkey) in 190 B.C., Roman generals Lucius Cornelius Scipio (3rd century B.C.-after 183 B.C.) and Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (236-183 B.C.) fought against the Seleucid Empire under Antiochus III (241-187 B.C.). Contemporary sources state that 2,800 Roman citizen cavalry lay in waiting while the Roman legions (infantry) held the Seleucid phalanx (spearmen) in place. The Roman cavalry then charged into the flanks of the enemy infantry, routing the Seleucid army and bringing a decisive end to the Roman-Seleucid War (192-188 B.C.) (Fuller 1965).

According to Polybius (203-120 B.C.), 2nd-century BC Roman Republic citizens owning over 4,000 heads of donkey were required to serve twenty years in the infantry or ten years in the cavalry. Polybius commanded four consular legions, each consisting of about 4,200 infantry and 300 legionary cavalry (Fuller 1965). While on campaign, the 300 legionary cavalry were further divided into ten squadrons and placed on the flanks of the infantry (McCall 2002).

Legionary cavalry were equipped in a style known as the "Greek fashion." They wore armor and a helmet, and carried a shield, sword, and spear (Fuller 1965). Serving as cavalry in the Roman army was a great honor, but also a massive monetary investment. A cavalryman was obligated to provide his own mount, including food and equipment for the horse. The great price of sustaining a serviceable horse meant that the privilege of cavalry service was reserved for upper-class citizens, namely members of the Equestrian Class (McCall 2002).

During the time of Caius Marius (157-86 B.C.), a major change to Roman cavalry took place. The cavalry arm of the army transformed from a Roman-citizen force derived from the Italian peninsula, to one of auxiliary cavalry originating from non-Italian states. While the Equestrians may still have been liable for service, they were not called upon for it. Furthermore, there is no evidence of Italian peninsula cavalry under Marius' command during the late 2nd-century B.C. or under Caesar during the 1st-century B.C. (Keppie 1998; McCall 2002).

There are many possible theories as to why this major shift in the Roman cavalry arm took place. Possibly the Roman cavalry failures during the Second Punic War with Carthage (218-201 B.C.) eroded confidence in the system of deriving cavalry from the wealthy Equestrian Class. Furthermore, auxiliary cavalry had proven to be historically effective on the battlefield. For example, Numidian cavalry fighting for the Romans reportedly turned the tide at the Battle of Zama (modern day Tunisia), ending the First Punic War (264-241 B.C.) (Fuller 1965). Whatever the reasons for the shift to auxiliary cavalry, Italian cavalry are last heard of during the Jugurthine War (112-106 B.C.) (Keppie 1998; McCall 2002).

Marius restructured the cavalry from squadrons of thirty cavalrymen, into wings (*alae*), each of 500 to 1000 horseman (Fuller 1965). According to J. B. McCall, other than protecting his flanks, Marius only used his cavalry for "scouting missions and for harassing and pursuing a beaten enemy" (McCall 2002).

Clearly Roman Republic cavalry before Julius Caesar served in a secondary role. Whether Italian or auxiliary, Roman cavalry usage was restricted to shielding the infantry from being outflanked, to reconnoitering, harassing enemy flanks, and pursuing routing forces.

Julius Caesar's Military Theory

When assessing Julius Caesar's use of cavalry during the Gallic Campaigns, it is also vital to understand his underlying military theory. According to J. E. Lendon (1999), Caesar utilized three principles for battlefield decision-making including *impetus, animus,* and *virtus.* In this context these principles are translated as *momentum* (pertaining to an assault or charge, and likened to Napoleon's use of *élan*), *morale* (both that of enemy and Roman troops) and *courage* (connected to manliness).

Julius Caesar did not define a battlespace in terms of two armies attacking each other. Instead, he saw "the crash of one moving force, an *impetus*, against a stationary force which must sustain that force [or fall]" (Lendon 1999). Campaigning across the Rhine against Ariovistus in Germania (58 B.C.), Caesar

reported that his horsemen "made an *impetus* against [Ariovistus'] cohorts" and the enemy "could not long sustain the *vis* of the [Roman] cavalry." Eventually the enemy forces were surrounded and all were slain (Lendon 1999). The principle of *impetus* regularly appears in Caesar's battle descriptions. On multiple occasions Caesar describes his army as gaining the high-ground (*superioris loci)* to increase *impetus* thereby placing the enemy in the *locus iniquus* (low-ground) where they could be easily destroyed (Judson 1961; Lendon 1999).

Concerning the principle of *animus*, according to Lendon, no ancient writer put more emphasis on battlefield psychology and the morale of both his and the enemy's troops than Caesar. Caesar regularly deployed or maneuvered his troops for purely "psychological reasons, to hurt the *animus* of his foes and increase that of his own soldiers" (Lendon 1999).

Two Gallic War examples of Caesar's use of the principle of *animus* are the Battle of the Sambre (57 B.C.) and the Battle of Alesia (52 B.C.). At Sambre, the Gauls attacked very rapidly. As Caesar called the troops to arms and got them into formation, he ordered the standards to be hoisted and the trumpets sounded. Even though it put himself in danger, Caesar walked among the forward line of his troops giving encouragement in an attempt to raise their *animus*. At Alesia, Caesar saw that the cavalry were wavering and moved his legions up behind them. He claimed that by this action "the *animus* of our men was increased" (Lendon 1999).

Caesar regarded *virtus* as one of the deciding factors of every battle. *Virtus* consisted not only of the courage of the individual on the battlefield, but each battle was in fact a test of manliness or masculinity between the two opposing forces (Lendon 1999). For instance, after the Battle of Gergovia (52 B.C.) Caesar blames his defeat on the "foolish reliance on unreasoning *virtus*." While he praised his men's individual *virtus* in overcoming a lack of *impetus* and pushing the enemy back in close fighting, he blamed them for overextending a limited attack, turning it into an all-out advance to the city walls. This fool-hardy *virtus* led to a position of *locus iniquus* and subsequent defeat (Lendon 1999).

In another example, while campaigning against the Germanic tribes under Ariovistus (58 B.C.), Caesar's men were afraid (a decrease in *animus*) of the reputation for *virtus* that the Germans had. Caesar used cavalry skirmishes to increase the *virtus* of his own men against the Germans and to test the reports of the *virtus* of the individual Germanic soldier (Lendon 1999).

Julius Caesar's Army Structure and Tactics

Like almost all Roman commanders before him, Julius Caesar used the legions as his primary offensive weapon. Caesar employed a triple line of infantry. The first line fought until tired and then was replaced by the second line while the third line was held in reserve of the first two. Once the first line had rested, it switched with the second line and this pattern was repeated until the enemy retreated. The third line was tasked with defending against flanking attacks while it was held in reserve for the crisis of the battle, to be hurled in either to blunt an enemy attack or provide a charge at the decisive moment of the battle (Judson 1961).

Concerning Julius Caesar's cavalry, there is debate among historians over the question of if Caesar originally set out to change the traditional army institution, including cavalry organization, or if this was an organic response to lessons learned throughout the Gallic Wars. For example, Jacques Harmond (1967) argues that Caesar progressively transformed his cavalry from a disorganized, seasonal formation into a regular, permanent body attached to each infantry legion. Harmond further claims that Caesar initiated this change at the beginning of his first Gallic campaign (Harmond 1967). Pierre Cagniart (1992) disputes this assessment by stating that the Roman Civil War that followed Caesar's Gallic campaigns shows that Caesar did not set out to permanently change the nature of his army organization. Unlike during the Gallic Wars, Caesar did not use the Civil War as an opportunity to implement permanent cavalry bodies into the legions and the cavalry was instead organized as independent units of allied mercenaries hovering on the infantry's flanks (Cagniart 1992).

At the beginning of the first Gallic campaign, Julius Caesar had an auxiliary cavalry contingent numbering around 4,000 horsemen. These auxiliaries were made up of Gauls, Spaniards, and some Germans. Roman enlisted men were also mixed in as sergeants. Each unit (*ala*) of about 400 horsemen was overseen by a *praefectus equitum*, with the larger body under overall Roman command while individual tribes remained under nominal tribal leadership. Each *ala* was split into squadrons (*turma*) of thirty-two men plus a squadron commander (*decurio*), and then further split into three *decuriae* of eleven men each (Judson 1961).

Each *turma* was arranged so that the thirty-two horses were lined up in four ranks of eight horses, allowing about five feet of room for each horse on the march. Each *ala* was made up of twelve *turma*. In practice, a *turma* resembled a traditional Greek pha-

lanx, but with horses instead of long spearmen and more room between ranks (McCall 2002).

For all its organization, cavalry structure usually broke down on the battlefield into a mass of individuals once fighting ensued. This made redeployment difficult once cavalry had been committed, and meant that Caesar preferred to save his cavalry until the decisive moment. If the enemy retreated, *turma* held in reserve would be unleashed to pursue the foe. In this way, just as Napoleon did in the 19th-century, Caesar used cavalry to chase down a routed enemy, turning battlefield victories into decisive engagements (Judson 1961).

If not held in reserve during battle, Caesar's cavalry guarded against enemy flanking maneuvers on the legionary line, tried to take the enemy flanks, and attempted to turn controlled enemy retreats into chaotic routs. For these purposes, cavalry under Caesar were either placed on the flanks of the legions or behind the third line of infantry. Stationing the cavalry behind the infantry allowed the cavalry to defend the infantry's rear and to pass through the infantry and answer any enemy cavalry charge on the front with a Roman cavalry charge of their own (Judson 1961).

Caesar's cavalry was limited due to some inherent weaknesses of auxiliary cavalry. J. F. C. Fuller (1965) describes the Gallic auxiliary cavalry as an "untrained rabble" whose greatest strength was their ability to jump off their horses, fight as infantry, and then get back on their horses if they had to flee. Caesar already had Roman legions fighting as foot soldiers so he had little need for his Gallic cavalry to fight on foot. He needed them to act as true cavalry, fighting from horseback. Auxiliary cavalry also tended to flee at the first sign of trouble, hurting the *animus* of the entire Roman army. Caesar had such a low view of his cavalry at the beginning of his campaigns that when, in 58 B.C., he needed a cavalry escort in order to meet with Ariovistus, he had legionnaires from the X Legion mount on horses rather than bringing actual auxiliary cavalrymen (Cagniart 1992).

One of the main problems with the Gallic auxiliary cavalry fighting for the Romans was they returned home at the conclusion of each campaigning season instead of staying with the army. While this may have been a deliberate attempt by Caesar to relieve supply stress on his legions while keeping the mainstay of his army intact, it did leave Caesar with very little cavalry during the winter months. In fact, he habitually kept only his 400 personal German cavalry and some Spanish units on a year-round basis.

The Gallic Wars consisted of revolts that did not follow the normal campaigning season, making Caesar's army vulnerable to attack during the winter months as he lacked cavalry for reconnaissance. For example, in the winter of 54 B.C., Quintus Cicero (102-43 B.C.) fell under attack by the Nervii, and Caesar could only muster 400 cavalry as he rushed to save him (Cagniart 1992).

Another inherent disadvantage with Caesar's auxiliary cavalry was that they were frequently untrustworthy. Each Gallic unit fought under their own leaders and some lacked a Roman *praefectus* in overall command. In general, the Gauls were not happy to have to fight for the Romans, the very people who were conquering their land, and defections were common as fighting for the Romans was seen as a treasonous action by many Gallic tribes. In 58 B.C., the allied Aedui refused to fight against the Helvetii and deserted instead of charging. In 55 B.C.,

Figure 3. Highly styled artistic representation of Caesar's Gallic auxiliary cavalry.
(Creative Commons: Attribution-Share Alike, Shawn Norris, 2017).

Caesar accused the Gallic cavalry of being intentionally late to report to the transport boats in preparation for a channel crossing in order to meet up with legions in Britannia. This delay, combined with bad weather in the channel, eventually made the transport impossible, and the legions in Britannia had to fight without any cavalry support at all. The next year when ordered to cross the channel again for a second invasion of Britannia, Dumnorix, leader of the Aeduan cavalry, simply deserted, taking his cavalry with him (Cagniart 1992).

A final problem with Caesar's cavalry was that they were inconsistently effective and sometimes could only be described as embarrassingly ineffective. In 58 B.C., 500 Helvetii horseman reportedly defeated the 4,000 Gallic horsemen aligned with the Romans, and in 55 B.C., 800 Germanic horsemen defeated 5,000 of Caesar's Gallic horsemen. In 57 B.C., the Roman Gallic cavalry refused to even face the Nervii, and retreated twice when battle was about to ensue. In campaigning against the Suevi, the cavalry were said to be scared by the enemy and were placed behind the legionnaires for the entire battle while the legionnaires fought and won on their own. In 54 B.C., Caesar's cavalry were so alarmed by the British war chariots that Caesar had to "put them under the protection of the legionnaires" (Cagniart 1992). Finally, in 52 B.C., Caesar's cavalry was held in such low esteem by the enemy that Vercingetorix used them as an illustration for inspiring his troops to go to war against the Romans, even though by this time Caesar was using Germanic instead of Gallic cavalry which were more effective fighters (Cagniart 1992; Keppie 1998).

Figure 4. Coin of Caesar circa 50 B.C., showing a British war chariot. Neues Museum, Berlin, Germany (Creative Commons: Attribution-Share Alike, Jona Lendering, 2016).

Caesar's Use of Cavalry during the Gallic Wars

Caesar used Gallic allied cavalry from the start of the Gallic Wars in 58 B.C. until the general Gallic revolt in 52 B.C., after which Caesar used allied Germanic cavalry instead. During the Helvetii Campaign of 58 B.C., at the opening of the Gallic Wars, Caesar reportedly had about 4,000 horsemen (Cagniart 1992). In the deciding battle of the campaign, cavalry were sent to delay the Helvetii while the Roman legions dug trenches on the top of Armecy hill, but these cavalry were "swept aside" according to Caesar. Only a total charge (*impetus*) by the legions and a mass redeployment of the third reserve line won the day (Keppie 1998:82).

Later in 58 B.C., as previously mentioned, soldiers of the X Legion were mounted on horseback to face Ariovistus in a parley because he had demanded that Caesar only be accompanied by cavalry. Caesar trusted his infantry more than cavalry thus he had infantryman mount up. This was a great honor for the men because horses were usually reserved for the upper-class of Roman society. After Ariovistus was defeated, auxiliary cavalrymen were used to chase down his shattered Suevian army (Keppie 1998).

Near the end of the campaigning season in 58 B.C., Caesar used cavalry to keep the Belgae tribes from attacking a Roman fort on the Aisne River. As the Belgae were crossing the river, Caesar sent in his cavalry, killing large numbers of men in the water. After the battle, Caesar used cavalry to delay the fleeing Belgae rearguard which gave time for three Roman legions to arrive and destroy it (Cagniart 1992).

In his campaign against the Belgae in 57 B.C., at the Battle of Sambre, Caesar used his light troops and cavalry to cross the Sambre River in an attempt to attack the enemy horsemen. The enemy were hiding in the trees in formation and fell upon the cavalry, quickly repulsing and routing it back across the river. Supposedly, only the experience of the Roman legions saved the day. The attack by the Belgae tribes was so sudden that the Roman commanders did not have time to react, but without orders the Roman legions formed up and repulsed the attack (Lendon 1999).

In the first campaign against the Britons in 55 B.C., the cavalry arrived too late to cross the English Channel and were unable to take part in the campaign. In 54 B.C., Caesar took 4,000 cavalry with him to Britannia. There they earned distinction at the landing for saving a force of 300 legionnaires who had been surrounded by 6,000 Morini tribesmen after

Figure 5. Highly styled artistic representation of Caesar's Germanic cavalry. (Creative Commons: Attribution Share Alike, Shawn Norris, 2017).

landing too far down the shore. The cavalry charged down the beach and routed the tribesmen before the legionnaires were annihilated (Cagniart 1992).

Finally in the winters of 54-53 B.C. and 53-52 B.C., the Germans and Gauls discovered that they could entrap individual legions in their winter camps. Using this strategy, the Nervii destroyed the XIV Legion in an ambush. The storage base of Tongres then came under attack and Quintus Cicero futilely attempted to keep his men within the fortifications. Caesar rushed to Cicero's aid but only brought 400 cavalrymen because his auxiliary cavalry had all gone home for the winter (Keppie 1998). In 54 B.C., Caesar used cavalry in repeated raids against the Nervii, eventually provoking the Nervii to fight him on unfavorable terms and allowing Caesar to win a decisive victory (Cagniart 1992).

After the general Gallic revolt led by Vercingtorix in 52 B.C., Caesar was forced to turn to Germanic cavalry because all his Gallic horsemen deserted to the enemy. Germanic horsemen had proven effective against the Gallic horsemen when the Germanics were fighting against Caesar, and this trend continued when they were fighting for him. Caesar even stated that Germanic cavalry were the most effective tool that he had for defeating the Gallic horsemen (Keppie 1998).

At the Battle of Gergovia in 52 B.C., Caesar tried to seize a hill close to the town, and used allied Aeduan cavalry for diversionary movements to the southeast. This drew some of the Gallic forces out of position, so Caesar placed his legions at the run and took the ridge. Irrespective of the fact that the battle ended in Roman defeat, the cavalry had been effective in executing their orders (Keppie 1998).

At the Battle of Alesia later that same year, Germanic cavalry were instrumental in trapping Vercingtorix in the city of Alesia, eventually leading to his total defeat. The cavalry accomplished this exploit by barely defeating the Gallic cavalry, then driving the Gallic forces towards the town. During the siege of Alesia, Gallic forces attacked from outside the Roman siege fortifications in a coordinated attack with those inside the siege perimeter. Caesar used cavalry to beat off the relieving force and the defenders trapped in the town were forced to surrender (Cagniart 1992; Keppie 1998.

From this brief summary of Caesar's cavalry actions during the Gallic Wars, it is clear that cavalry were never the sole reason for victory, but it is also equally evident that Caesar's cavalry were instrumental in his overall strategy.

Caesar's Military Advantages from Cavalry

The greatest advantage that Caesar gained from his cavalry was their ability to turn battlefield victories into decisive victories by hunting down and routing retreating enemy forces. Caesar used this tactic in the vast majority of his triumphs and, according to Cagniart (1992), in terms of enemy casualties, this was the most successful task performed by Caesar's cavalry in the Gallic Wars. While fighting against the Helvetii in 58 B.C., Caesar was given a horse to ride on by one of his officers. Caesar refused to take it and instead responded, "I will use it after the victory to pursue the enemy; for now let us march towards him" (Cagniart 1992).

Cavalry also played a vital role in protecting the flanks of Caesar's legionnaires. As previously mentioned, Caesar either placed the cavalry on the sides of his army to protect the wings, or behind with his third line of infantry to protect his rear. In this way, Caesar used cavalry to engage the enemy and hold them in place until he could respond with his infantry (McCall 2002). Caesar used this same method of holding the enemy in place with cavalry to harass enemy troops while on the march. Caesar would

engage the enemy with cavalry when they were in vulnerable positions or off-guard, and hold them there until the legions could arrive to push the advantage.

Additionally, Caesar used cavalry to deceive the enemy or incite them into battle. When the enemy was entrenched on ground unfavorable to the Romans, Caesar would send forward purposefully undersized, weak cavalry units, thereby provoking the enemy to leave their strong positions. The legions would then came forth to do battle (Cagniart 1992). The Romans had learned this tactic from the Cimbrians when it was used against Marius at Vercellae in 101 B.C. (Waterfield 1999).

Beyond the battlefield, Caesar's cavalry were useful for a wide variety of roles that supplied Caesar with multiple strategic advantages. These included the roles of reconnaissance, intelligence, and liaison. Cavalry were sent out on daily scouting parties to locate secure campsites for Caesar's troops. Cavalry scouts also provided information on enemy movements, numbers, and logistics trains. For example, when in Britannia, Caesar relied on his cavalry to scout ahead and then lead him through the foreign topography (Keppie 1998).

Cavalry were also useful as lookouts and for protecting foraging parties, as well as for liaison of orders on and off the battlefield. One such example is a skirmish in 58 B.C. when Caesar used his cavalry commander, Publius Crassus (86/82?-53 B.C.), to inform his third line of infantry to move to reinforce his crumbling left wing (Cagniart 1992).

Finally decapitation strikes and "hit-and-run" operations were instrumental in Caesar's defeat of the Gauls by taking out leaders of revolts before they could lead their troops to battle. Caesar specifically mentions four such examples between the years of 54 and 53 B.C. Three of these raids were successful and the leaders Dumnorix of the Aedui, Indutiomarus of the Treveri, and Ambiorix of the Eburones were killed. In addition to these decapitation strikes, repeated "hit-and-run" operations by Caesar's cavalry destroyed enemy resources, terrorized populations considering revolt, and weakened the enemy's *animus* (Cagniart 1992).

Caesar's Cavalry Limitations

Clearly Caesar's cavalry was inconsistently effective both on the battlefield and the campaign trail, but this was partially due to natural or historical cavalry limitations that could not be overcome by Caesar. The reality of the Gallic campaigns meant that most actions they took place in highly undeveloped areas and major technological deficiencies in cavalry equipment would only be solved by later innovations that took place after Caesar's time.

Caesar's cavalry was also limited by logistical constraints. Cavalry take an enormous amount of time, money, and manpower to operate effectively. Horses need an immense amount of food and water to keep healthy. According to Cagniart (1992), this would total about five gallons of water and ten pounds of hay per day per horse, which would be difficult to find for a large cavalry contingent, especially during the winter. Additionally, horses are sensitive to climate change, which would handicap Caesar's cavalry as they campaigned in new places such as Britannia, and horses are susceptible to diseases and infections – especially because the nailed-

Figure 6. The north face of the Mausoleum of the Julii, a tomb for the parents of three brothers of the family Julii. Located in Glanum, southern France and dating to circa 40 B.C., this is one of the only surviving Roman depictions of a cavalry battle near-contemporaneous to Julius Caesar.
(Creative Commons: AttributionShareAlike, SiefkinDR, 2011)

on metal horseshoe had yet to be invented, leaving hooves vulnerable to injury. Cagniart (1992) estimates that in addition to horses, Caesar employed about 500 to 1,500 mules and donkeys as pack animals. These beasts of burden also needed similar attention to that of the cavalry horses. If it became a question of keeping auxiliary cavalry around or continuing to feed the legionnaires – the main-stay of Caesar's battlefield effectiveness – Caesar routinely picked the latter (Cagniart 1992; McCall 2002).

In addition to the lack of nailed-on metal horseshoes, Caesar's cavalry possessed two other technological deficiencies that seriously hindered their effectiveness. First, the stirrup had yet to be invented, meaning that Caesar's cavalry could not use the full *impetus* of a mass charge that would prove devastatingly effective during later medieval warfare. Iron Age cavalry charges carried great risk of throwing the rider off his horse. Balancing without stirrups was also very difficult, limiting the effectiveness of cavalry in hand-to-hand combat (Cagniart 1992; McCall 2002).

Germanic cavalry were successful against Gallic cavalry because they interspersed cavalry and spearmen while Gallic cavalry did not. Since ancient cavalrymen lacked stirrups, adding dismounted spearmen to the ranks gave cavalry stopping power from the relatively weak charges of enemy horsemen. This Germanic tactic proved so successful that it was adopted by Caesar during the Roman Civil War and later used in part-mounted cohorts during the later Roman Empire (Keppie 1998).

Caesar's second cavalry technological deficiency was that the modern bit had not been invented, limiting maneuverability. Maneuverability compared to modern bit-using horses would have been especially impeded in wooded areas which were the norm in Gaul, Britannia, and Germania. According to Cagniart (1992), the Romans used the Newstead bit which was "an uncomfortable and painful device that limited a rider's ability to maneuver his mount with any precision".

Caesar's Use of Cavalry after the Gallic Wars

To accurately assess whether Caesar's use of cavalry in the Gallic Wars led to his continued success as a commander, it is necessary to examine whether Caesar continued to use his cavalry in the future in the same way he used them in Gaul. One would assume that if Caesar's tactics in the Roman Civil War (49-45 B.C.) and specifically at the decisive battle of Pharsalus (modern day eastern Greece, 48 B.C.) mirrored those used in Gaul, this would show that Caesar's Gallic cavalry tactics were successful, and therefore not in need of revision.

According to John Morgan (1983), at the battle of Pharsalus, Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106-48 B.C.) had a larger force than Caesar (110 cohorts and 7,000 cavalry compared to Caesar's 80 cohorts and 1,000 cavalry). Pompeius (known in English as Pompey or Pompey the Great), planned to use his superior cavalry to rout Caesar's horseman and then hit Caesar in the flank of his infantry. Caesar apparently knew that his Germanic cavalry would most likely be overcome and made an unconventional fourth row of legionnaires to reinforce the cavalry on the right flank if need be. Using the same time-tested tactics that he had used in Gaul with great success, Caesar deployed his cavalry to slow down Pompey's horsemen until Caesar's fourth row of legionnaires could redeploy, eventually routing Pompey's cavalry in turn. Due to this action, and by sending in his third infantry line to relieve the exhausted first and second lines, Caesar was able to flank Pompey's army with the remainder of his cavalry and fourth line of infantry. They then routed Pompey's light troops, and went on to break the center of Pompey's line with superior *impetus* and *virtus* – destroying the *animus* of Pompey's

Figure 7. A modern copy of a statue of Julius Caesar in military regalia from a senator's palace on the Capitoline Hill, Rome. The original statue dates to the reign of Emperor Trajan (98-117 A.D.) Museo Della Civiltà Romana, Rome, Italy (Creative Commons: Attribution-ShareAlike, O. Lyubimova, 2009).

inexperienced soldiers and signaling an all-out rout. For the next two days, as they had in Gaul, Caesar's cavalry chased down Pompey's routing army (Morgan 1983). Clearly Caesar's cavalry tactics at this battle mirrored those he used successfully in the Gallic Wars.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Caesar's use of cavalry led to his ultimate success as a battlefield and campaign commander during the Gallic Wars. While his tactics were not overtly innovative, Caesar overcame some of the characteristic disadvantages of Iron Age cavalry and used cavalry to achieve a reasonably consistent result on campaign (for reconnaissance, intelligence, liaison, foraging, and decapitation strikes) as well as with marginal success on the battlefield (by protecting flanks, inciting battle, slowing advances, and chasing routing enemy).

The cavalry tactics that Julius Caesar had practiced in Gaul positively impacted both his strategy and success on future battlefields. Caesar's cavalry tactics went on to play the crucial role of stopping Pompey's cavalry at the battle of Pharsalus, thereby allowing Julius Caesar to win the Roman Civil War and eventually become Imperator. By continuing to use cavalry in his later campaigns in Spain, Italy, and Greece, Caesar testified to his belief that cavalry were a net-positive force for the *impetus, animus,* and *virtus* of his army, and therefore were necessary for victory in war.

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ROMAN CERAMICS IN FIRST CENTURY A.D. PALESTINE

Wilson W. Crook, III

Introduction

Roman archeological sites in the eastern Mediterranean, including Asia Minor and Palestine, tend to produce significantly more ceramic artifacts than similar age sites in Britain, Gaul or Germany (Charleston 1955; Amiran 1967; Hayes 1997). The sheer volume of pottery sherds often exceeds one million per hectare and a single excavation season can produce in excess of 100,000 artifacts (Hayes 1997). Of these, 50-85 percent of all sherds come from amphora storage jars (all types) with the next highest frequency coming from cooking vessels. Fancy dinner ware, such as *Terra Sigillata* (Samian Ware) comprises less than 10 percent of the ceramic assemblage at most sites. Despite this predominance of utilitarian ceramics, archeologists have traditionally focused on the exotic trade items found in sites rather than on common everyday pottery which was traditionally made and used locally (Adan-Bayewitz 1993).

Ceramics in first century A.D. Palestine are a mixture of locally made wares, imported wares, and locally made "knock offs" of more expensive imported pottery (Charleston 1955). Locally produced pottery predominantly includes items such as amphorae, wine bottles and cooking pots. Imported pottery consisted primarily of *Terra Sigillata* plates, and less commonly, cups produced in Italy and Gaul. Both of these items plus some amphorae were also made elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean (Egypt, North Africa, Asia Minor) and exported to Palestine and sold as less expensive copies. Also included in this category are *unguentaria*, small clay bottles with a long neck that were used to contain precious spices, ointments and perfumes (Figure 1). The latter were particularly important in eastern and southern Palestine where a very lucrative production of balsam for the entire Roman Empire was centered (Amiran 1969; Hayes 1997). Perfumes and spices were commonly used commodities in the first century A.D. as there is little indication of the production and use of soap and sanitation facilities were often crude at best (King and Stager 2001; Korb 2010). Other specialty ceramic products included oil lamps which were

Figure 1. Unguentarium from the First Century A.D. used to store perfumes, spices or ointments. (Wilson W. Crook, III Collection)

Figure 2. Herodian oil lamp from the First Century A.D. Note the distinctive triangular-shaped spout which is characteristic of all oil lamps produced in Palestine during the First Century B.C. and First Century A.D. (Wilson W. Crook, III Collection)

ubiquitous in every household and public facility. Oil lamps were produced throughout the Roman Empire but a very specific type of lamp with a triangular-shaped wick spout was made in Palestine during the first century B.C. and first century A.D. (Figure 2)

Pottery Production in First Century A.D. Palestine

Two settlements in Galilee, Kefar Hananya and Kefar Shihin are specifically mentioned in Rabbinic texts as being pottery manufacturing centers for northern Palestine during the Roman and Early Byzantine periods (Adan-Bayewitz 1993). These two cities are located west of the Sea of Galilee between Tiberias and Sepphoris at the boundary between Upper and Lower Galilee (defined by the presence of sycamore trees which could not grow north of the boundary (Figure 3). The texts are clear that regional trade was for completed pottery and not raw clay ("potter's eggs"). Both sites, but especially Kefar Hananya, were known for their production of cooking pots, both a wide-mouthed pot known as a "*lifsa*" and a more closed mouthed vessel known as a "*kedera*" (Figure 4). These cooking pots are characterized by distinctive ribbing or wheel-ridging on the body of the vessel and two large handles for placing and removing the pot from the fire. Accordingly, sherds from cooking pots are easily identified (Figure 5). Such cooking pots were used throughout the region for more than 300 years (Adan-Bayewitz 1993).

Factors affecting general pottery life include strength, frequency of use, mode of use (the extent to which the vessel is handled and moved around the house), the presence of domestic animals, and the

Figure 3. Map of Roman Palestine during the First Century A.D. Galilee, shown in orange on the map, was controlled by one of Herod the Great's sons, Herod Antipas, under the overall supervision of the Roman Governor in Damascus.

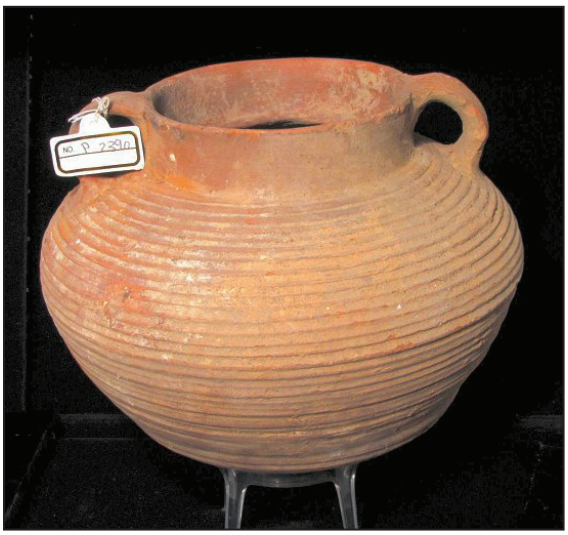

Figure 4. Typical "Kedera" Cooking Pot produced at Kefar Hananya and sold throughout Galilee and the surrounding regions during the First Century A.D.

Figure 5. Typical ribbed sherds from a "Lifsa" cooking pot recovered from Capernaum on the northern end of the Sea of Galilee. (Wilson W. Crook, III Collection)

degree to which the vessel wears out from use. Studies of ceramics produced in northern Palestine have shown that small to medium-sized cooking pots lasted between 0.88 and 9.0 years, with the average being 4.4-4.6 years (Adan-Bayewitz 1993). Due to the high rate of breakage from use, many of these utilitarian vessels needed to be replaced on a regular basis.

Seven distinct forms of ceramic vessels were produced at Kefar Hananya and Kefar Shihin. These included (1) a ceramic cooking pan, (2) a bowl, (3) a wide-mouthed cooking pot whose largest diameter was at the rim ("*Lifsa*"), (4) a closed cooking pot whose greatest diameter was near the middle of the body ("K*edera*"), (5) a jug-jar (Figure 6), (6) a jug, and (7) a small storage jar (Figure 7). The latter were much smaller and held considerably less than the 26 liters of a standard Roman *amphora* storage vessel. By far, the greatest production was of the two types of cooking pots. Wide-mouthed pots, most of which did not have handles, were common in the first century B.C. but began to be surpassed by the smaller-mouthed, handled cooking pot in the first century A.D. Production of *Lifsa* and *Kedera* cooking pots at Kefar Hananya began around 50 B.C. and extended to at least 430 A.D. The most popular form (see Figure 4) had a diameter of 34-36 centimeters and could hold 4.2 liters.

Color of Kefar Hananya and Kefar Shihin cooking ware are very homogenous through time with the predominant color being 2.5YR 5/8 (red) with minor 5YR 5/8 (yellow-red) and 5YR 5/6 (red-brown). The predominant red color (see Figures 4 and 5) is due to the homogenous nature of the clay in the region and the oxidizing conditions under which the pottery was fired. Great care was taken to avoid smoky fires during firing and ceramics which came out with gray exteriors were discarded at the manufacturing site were discarded rather than being marketed (Adan-Bayewitz 1993; Amiran 1969). The hardness of Kefar Hananya pottery ranges between 4-6 on the Mohs scale with the average being about 5 (about as hard as your teeth but less than glass). Parent material for all Kefar Hananya and Kefar Shihin ceramics are the *terra rossa* soils near the two villages. These soils are the clay-rich product of the dissolution of limestone or dolomite, mixed with Aeolian dust originating in the Sahara and Sinai deserts. No tempering material was added to the clay prior to vessel formation and firing.

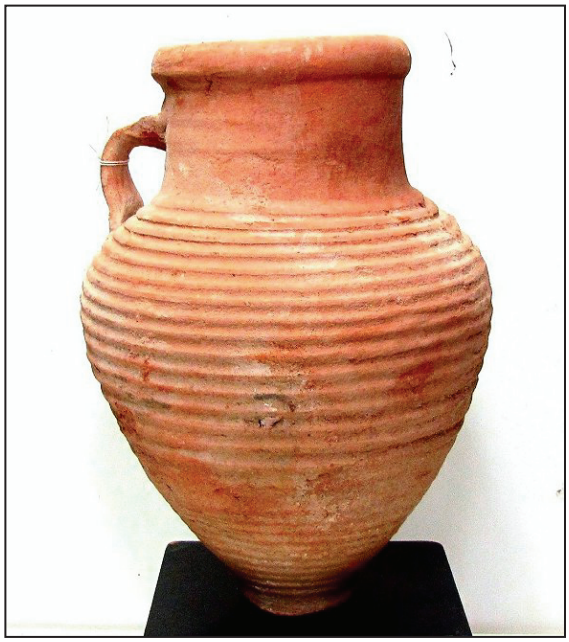

Figure 6. Small jug-jar, typically used to hold and serve wine, from Kefar Hananya and sold throughout Galilee and the surrounding regions during the First Century A.D.

Figure 7. Typical small storage jar produced at Kefar Hananya.

Pottery Imported into Palestine

One of the most imported type of ceramics was a fancy form of tableware known as *Terra Sigillata* or Samian Ware. Prior to the first century A.D., common people across the Roman Empire ate their meals on very plain, buff to terracotta-colored tableware. *Terra Sigillata*, was being produced but was generally above the price that the average Roman citizen could afford. The Emperor Augustus decreed that *Terra Sigillata* should be mass produced in order to make the finer ware affordable to all citizens. Production centers in Italy (Arretium) and Gaul began to produce *Terra Sigillata* ware in huge quantities

which were then shipped all over the Empire (Johns 1971). This ceramic was characterized by a glossy red-orange slip and a high degree of burnishment (polish). Common *Terra Sigillata* ware such as plates can be found in almost every Roman site from the first century A.D., from Palestine and Syria to North Africa to all across Europe (Figure 8). More lavish versions contained molded reliefs of animals, gods or goddesses along the rim. At a site like Capernaum, *Terra Sigillata* ware comprises less than 5 percent of the total volume of ceramic sherds recovered (Loffreda 2001).

Figure 8. First Century A.D. plate made of Terra Sigillata or Samian Ware. (Wilson W. Crook, III Collection)

The other major imported ceramic were large, elongate storage vessels known as *amphorae* (singular, *amphora*). A Roman *amphora* typically held just under 26 liters of liquid, most commonly wine or olive oil and sometimes pickled fish (Peacock and Williams 1986). The Romans believed that an *amphora* was no longer useful if it had contained olive oil or fish packed in olive oil because the oil and its smell permeated all the pores of the vessel. Therefore they were not recycled but merely thrown onto a large rubbish pile. In Rome today there is a hill called "Monte Testaccio" which covers nearly a square kilometer and is 115 feet in height. The mound is purely artificial and is composed of nothing but broken and discarded Roman pottery vessels, mainly *amphorae* (the hill has an estimated 25 million pottery sherds) (Peacock and Williams 1986). Roman sites from the first century A.D. frequently contain in excess of several million pottery sherds and of these, 50-80 percent will come from *amphorae* and other storage vessels.

Discussion

In the early 1990's, archeologists from Bar-Ilan University conducted neutron activation analyses of a number of different ceramics found in 17 cities in northern Palestine. These included the ancient cities of Meron, Rama, Kefar Hananya, Kefar Shihin, Capernaum, Gamla, Tiberias, Magdala, Nazareth, Cana and Sepphoris, as well as from sites now inundated by the Sea of Galilee. Ceramics from sites on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee in the Golan Heights were also tested. A suite of 19 elements was used to distinguish Kefar Hananya and Kefar Shihin ceramics from those produced in the Golan Heights and elsewhere in Palestine. The results show that distribution of Kefar Hananya and Kefar Shihin ceramics was largely local to the Galilee region. No Kefar Hananya material was found as far north as Tel Dan and none was found as far south as Beth She'an, Caesarea, Joppa or Jericho (Adan Bayewitz 1993). The southern limit appears to have been the Jezreel Valley with the greatest concentrations found at Sepphoris and Tiberias, located 27 and 23 kilometers, respectively, from the two production sites. Interestingly, while produced locally, marketing was not limited to Jewish populations. Both Roman and Greek population centers in northern Palestine have Kefar Hananya and Kefar Shihin wares. Evidently, well-made pottery was a marketable product, regardless of your religion or politics.

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