

“ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA” UNIVERSITY OF IAŞI  
FACULTY OF HISTORY  
INTERDISCIPLINARY CENTRE FOR ARCHAEOHISTORICAL STUDIES

STUDIA ANTIQUA  
ET  
ARCHAEOLOGICA  
*27/1, 2021*

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**IAȘI – 2018**

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**ISSN 1224-2284**

**ISSN-L 1224-2284**



Issue dedicated to Prof. Nelu Zugravu on his 60th birthday

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## Archaeometric Studies in The Aegean (30000-3000 BC and 800-200 BC): A review

Ioannis LIRITZIS<sup>1,2</sup>, Artemios OIKONOMOU<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract.** The present paper constitutes a review of the archaeometric (or archaeological sciences) studies focusing on the area of Aegean between 30000 and 3000 BC., alongside a focus on the area of Dodecanese islands (SE Aegean) for the period from 800 to 200 BC. This systematic work is part of a project (2012-2013) that aimed to create a database including metadata related to the diachronic habitation in Aegean. The current review is classified into nine broad categories, namely Chemical Analysis, Dating Techniques, Palaeoenvironment, aDNA Analysis, Archaeomagnetism, Isotopic Analysis, Restoration and Conservation and Geophysical studies. This interdisciplinary review serves as a useful guide to a significant academic discipline, that of archaeological sciences, which is progressively advanced in methods, techniques and major applications. Delving into the material culture offers valuable information to the deciphering of the human prehistoric and historic past.

**Keywords:** dating, analytical, pottery, archaeomagnetic, conservation, geophysical, palaeoenvironment, chemical, aDNA, spectroscopy

### Introduction

Archaeological Science or Archaeometry is an interdisciplinary field that applies science and scientific tools and techniques on the study of archaeological materials and artefacts of cultural heritage (Liritzis *et al.* 2020). Therefore, archaeometry entails interdisciplinarity, since it combines many different disciplines, mainly Physical Sciences and Humanities effectively complementing each other.

The main objective of this review paper is the collection and presentation of the total of archaeometric studies which have been carried out at the area in the Aegean (Fig.1) in the period spanning 30000 to 3000 BC and especially the area of the Dodecanese islands during the period from 800 to 200 BC. This assemblage of archaeometric studies has been digitized and is available to the scientific community and the public through keyword and / or geographical areas of interest search engines.

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**Figure 1.** Map of Greece with the Aegean Islands (in yellow), the Dodecanese islands (red) and Kastelorizo (Megisti) (red arrow). The multi-insularity of Aegean archipelagos counts 1,200 to 6,000 islands, depending on the minimum size. The number of inhabited islands is variously cited as between 166 and 227. Roughly extends in latitude between 34° – 41°N and longitude 29° to 23°E. In this region, including the coasts of Anatolia (today Turkey) the cradle of most important civilization, and the cultural base of modern European, was flourished during the Anthropocene, and for several millennia, where modern Greek people are descending from Mycenaean and Minoan cultures.

The broad term “archaeometric studies” refers to dating techniques used in organic and inorganic materials, geophysical analyses, analysis- characterization- provenance of inorganic materials, mainly ceramics, metal and glass, study of dietary patterns in the past, preservation and restoration of cultural heritage monuments,

DNA studies of ancient preserved genetic materials , study and characterization of inorganic-organic pigments, and 3D reconstruction of monuments and/or objects of cultural heritage.

There exists a significant number of applications of archaeometric studies in Greece and especially in the Aegean region, covering a wide range of different time periods via multiple techniques. The Aegean area from prehistory to late antiquity was particularly important and great civilizations developed in its wider geographical boundaries (Treuil *et al.* 1996). Special role in the development of the Aegean over time played the existence of sea routes which facilitated the movement of people, materials, technologies and cultures throughout the continental and insular world (Stampolidis *et al.* 2015).

The aim of this project, i.e. the documentation of the archaeometric studies, was fulfilled through an Integrated Program for Island Research (IPIR) of the University of the Aegean Project<sup>4</sup> completed in 2013. On the premises of this program an open access website was constructed and is available both to the relevant researcher and the general public, rendering access to a vast amount of information organised in a detailed database regarding the history, archaeology and archaeometry of the Aegean area, including maps, images, tables, metadata, bibliography etc. (<http://archipelago.aegean.gr/>). Since then, until today our project has been enriched with further works. Proper use and management of the archaeometric data results to sustainability and economic development (cultural tourism) on a local, regional and national scale (Liritzis and Korka 2019).

### Method of research

The compilation of the archaeometric studies involved thorough research using specific key words through the basic electronic data bases used in academia<sup>5</sup>. Furthermore, the bibliographic research was complemented with visits in libraries in various academic institutions, such as the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the British School at Athens, the University of Athens, the University of Ioannina, the University of the Aegean and the University of Nottingham. The bibliographic lists of the relevant papers were further examined, in order to explore the citations of interest. After thorough research, 87 studies that refer to archaeometric studies in the area of Aegean Sea from 30000 to 3000 BC and in the area of Dodecanese islands from 800-200 BC were located. These studies can be divided into the 9 broad categories, according to the field of study (Table 1).

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<sup>4</sup> 'The University of the Aegean, the prominent and driving factor for the economic and social growth of the wide Aegean area' of the Operational Program 'Education and Lifelong Learning'. <https://www.researchgate.net/project/Integrated-Program-for-Island-Research-IPIR-of-the-Program-The-University-of-the-Aegean-the-prominent-and-driving-factor-for-the-economic-and-social-growth-of-the-wide-Aegean-area>.

<sup>5</sup> such as [www.scopus.com](http://www.scopus.com), [www.researchgate.com](http://www.researchgate.com), [www.academia.edu.com](http://www.academia.edu.com), [www.google.com/scholar](http://www.google.com/scholar) and [www.sciencedirect.com](http://www.sciencedirect.com).

**Table 1.** The nine categories of the review study and respective publication numbers.

Field of study	Number of studies
Chemical Analysis	27
Dating Techniques	18
Paleoenvironment	15
DNA Analysis	7
Archaeomagnetism	25
Isotopic Analysis	5
Restoration and Conservation	6
Geophysical studies - GIS	4

## Results

### i. Chemical Analysis

Chemical analyses in inorganic materials are distinguished in four broad sub-categories depending on the analyzed material: ceramics-pottery, glass, obsidian and various materials (metals, steatite etc.). The relevant studies are focused on chemical characterization, the technology of the raw materials and provenance studies.

Pottery and ceramics are investigated with an array of different techniques, including spectroscopic, X-ray related techniques, optical and electronic microscopy and nuclear methods. In particular, Papageorgiou and Liritzis (2007) investigated and compared Neolithic ceramics from Aegean and mainland Greece (Ftelia at Mykonos, Gyali and Pergoussa near Nissiros, Rhodes island, Sarakinos cave in Boeotia), Cyprus (two settlements) and Asia Minor (Ulucak near Smyrna) by means of X-ray Fluorescence spectroscopy and by application of multivariate statistical techniques. The paper by Quinn *et al.* (2010) explores Neolithic pottery from Youra island located in the North Aegean (in Sporades, close to Alonnessos island) with a combination of petrographic analysis and Neutron Activation Analysis. In addition, Liritzis *et al.* (1991) studied Neolithic pottery from Aghios Petros (North Aegean, Sporades) and the neighboring sites of Thessaly Dimini and Sesklo in an effort to explore the degree of contacts and influences among these sites through trace element analysis by Neutron Activation Analysis (iNAA) and Cluster Analysis. Furthermore, Hein *et al.* (2008) studied wine transport amphoras from Kos island (part of the Dodecanese complex) using Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA), Xray Diffraction and Petrographic analysis for chemical and mineralogical composition respectively. Moreover, they investigated the mechanical properties of amphoras and their mechanical performance with simulated computer models. Karatasios *et al.* (2013) examined ceramic microstructure, chemical and mineralogical composition of Hellenistic ceramic beehives from Agathonisi island (in the Dodecanese complex) using Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM), Xray Diffraction and petrographic analysis providing a first insight into the ceramic technology of Aegean beekeeping and honey production. On top of that, a data base of

analytical results of analyses of diachronic pottery covering a wide range of areas in Greek region including a series of Aegean islands was published by Hein and Kilikoglou in 2012 (Hein and Kilikoglou 2012). Hein *et al.* (2004) sampled 17 clayey raw materials from seven different locations in Central and Eastern Crete, an area rich in archaeological pottery and, thus, very popular for ceramics provenance studies. All samples were characterised using chemical and mineralogical analysis, as well as petrography. Using this approach, it was possible to distinguish seven deposits, although some deposits presented compositional relations. Furthermore, the samples were compared to Neogene clay deposits in the same area, showing that the variability among the examined red clayey deposits was clearly higher and exceeded by far the intra-deposit variability.

Glass studies have been focused on the Dodecanese islands covering the historical period from 800 to 200 BC and combining various analytical techniques such as Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM), Electron Probe MicroAnalysis (EPMA), Xray Fluorescence (XRF), Raman spectroscopy and Fiber Optics Microscopy.

In particular, Brill (1976, 1999) laid the scientific foundations for the analysis of Mycenaean, Hellenistic and Roman glass from the Hellenic region. In particular, Brill in his work of life in the 3-volume publication of *Chemical Analyses of Early Glass* (Brill 1999; Brill and Stapleton 2012) included analyses of glass belonging to the Hellenistic glass workshop in Rhodes island. The techniques he applied combined Flame Photometry, Optical Emission Spectroscopy, Atomic Absorption, Inductively Coupled Plasma Spectroscopy and occasionally X-ray fluorescence and Electron Microprobe in special glasses, when the sample size was extremely small, in order to reconstruct the production technology (to identify raw materials and define melting conditions).

The study by Rehren *et al.* (2005) focuses on the study of Hellenistic glass excavated in Rhodes island. Based on the analytical results obtained by an Electron microprobe analyser (EPMA), an attempt was made to assess whether or not primary glassmaking did occur on the island of Rhodes. The studies of Oikonomou *et al.* (2008, 2012, 2014, 2018) investigate glass beads excavated in Rhodes island dating to the archaic period (640-600 BC), in an effort to identify the technology and raw materials and give answers regarding the provenance of the primary glass. These studies used Raman spectroscopy, mostly SEM-EDS and XRF analysis, while there is one paper investigating the trace element fingerprint of the beads using the LA-ICPMS method. Triantafyllidis *et al.* (2012) have investigated an assemblage of a special category of glass, the so-called core formed vessels dating from Late Bronze Age to late Hellenistic period (13<sup>th</sup> c. BC to 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD) from Rhodes island by means of SEM-EDS. This study revealed special technological characteristics highlighting the importance of Rhodes as a glassmaking center in Eastern Mediterranean. In addition, Beltsios *et al.* (2012) compared the glass beads from two different archaeological sites, Thebes and Rhodes, in order to identify differences in glass technology and production using data derived from SEM/EDX and XRF analysis. Furthermore,

a non-destructive approach was carried out on glass from the Dodecanese islands dating to 5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC by Cheilakou *et al.* (2013). The combination of Fiber Optics Microscopy and Scanning Electron Microscopy gave interesting results regarding the manufacturing technique.

Similar to glass studies, various techniques, such as X-ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy, Scanning Electron Microscopy, Neutron Activation Analysis and Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry have been applied on obsidian artefacts to answer mainly provenance questions. Obsidian is an ideal material for the investigation of prehistoric social interaction, trade and exchange networks among ancient civilizations. Artefacts made from obsidian usually can be linked to their geological source with a high degree of reliability using such analytical techniques. Obsidian studies have been mainly focused on Aegean and in particular covering the Aegean sources of Melos, Antiparos and Gyali. In particular, Perlès *et al.* (2011) investigated obsidian blades from Coşkuntepe in Northwestern Turkey which were compared with three samples from the Cycladic island of Melos using both X-Ray Fluorescence and Laser-Ablation High Resolution Inductively- Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry confirming that certain coastal villages in the Turkish coast occasionally acted as nodes of exchange for Aegean seafarers in the late 7th millennium BC. Furthermore, Acquafredda *et al.* (1999) investigated non-destructively obsidian from 6 main Mediterranean sources including samples from Gyali and Melos islands in the Aegean using SEM-EDS instrumentation. According to this paper, it is possible to discriminate the six sources by using major elements analysis, such as SiO<sub>2</sub>, Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>, CaO, Na<sub>2</sub>O and K<sub>2</sub>O. Similarly, in a recent paper Milić (Milić 2014) examined obsidian from central Anatolia, the Aegean and the Carpathians and managed to successfully discriminate the provenance of such artefacts using portable XRF underscoring its usefulness, since it can offer non-destructive on-site analyses in contexts in which sampling of artefacts is often difficult if not impossible.

A different approach in obsidian studies was adopted by Kilikoglou *et al.* (1997) who compared the INAA and ICPES methods for their discriminative power in obsidian source characterisation. According to this study, both techniques worked successfully, however, INAA proved to be more efficient, as it offers interregional discrimination (discrimination of neighbouring sources). In the same line, De Francesco *et al.* (2008) examined obsidian samples from Mediterranean including samples from Melos and Gyali using XRF analysis and in particular they compared two different methods i.e. a non-destructive analytical method using wavelength-dispersive X-ray fluorescence (WDXRF) and the classical XRF method on powders (crushing, powdering and pelletizing). According to their results, the non-destructive approach is an extremely valid method for the attribution of the provenance of the archaeological obsidian from Neolithic sites. Finally, Frahm *et al.* (2014) tested two portable XRF instruments, in an attempt to distinguish the four Aegean obsidian sources: Melos (Nychia and Dhemenegaki), Antiparos and Gyali. Although in both cases the sources were distinguished

successfully, the newer model between the two offered superior precision for most elements and shorter measuring times.

The last category of inorganic materials includes metals, steatite, volcanic tephras and inorganic pigments. In particular, Pelton *et al.* (2014) investigated ancient metallurgical slags from the island of Kea, located in central Aegean Cyclades, by thermodynamic simulations with a view to understand the ancient metallurgical processes. According to their results, these slag samples resulted possibly from copper processing activities. Jones *et al.* (2007) investigated steatite from Crete island using ICP-MS in tandem with INAA, attempting to identify its chemical composition and its origin. With the application of this technique Jones *et al.* managed to partially differentiate four sources of steatite in central Crete. Galloway and Liritzis (1992) applied Gamma spectrometry using a hyper-pure Ge detector on volcanic tephras from Aegean and, in particular, from the islands of Santorini, Yiali, Nisyros, Kos and Rhodes, in order to identify volcanic eruptions and to correlate with the Santorini eruption of about 1650 BC. Katsaros *et al.* (2009) using a combination of techniques, such as SEM-EDS, XRD and Raman spectroscopy managed to characterise a wellknown pigment named *melian earth* and suggest that the site of Kontaros in Melos island could be the place of extraction of *melian earth*.

Finally, Secondary Ion Mass Spectrometry (ToF-SIMS) and Quad-SIMS have been applied for both the evaluation of the surface topography, as well as the detection of remaining organic compounds via various amino acids, that may have been trapped in the surfaces, in Ikaria and Youra in Sporades (Laskaris and Liritzis 2020).

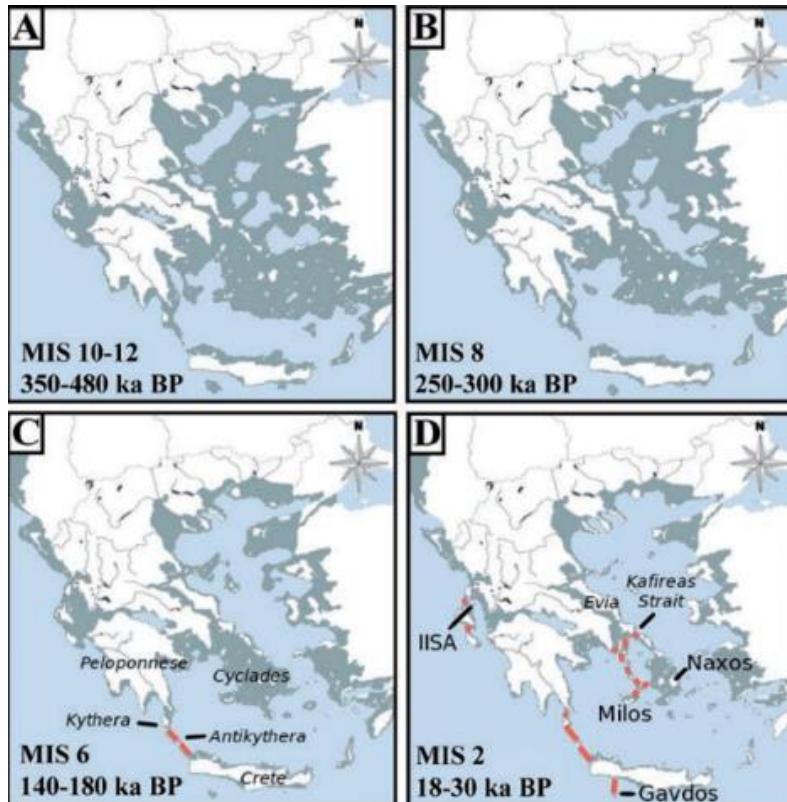
## *ii. Dating techniques*

In the field of dating the archaeometric studies focus on the early period (30000-3000 BC.) and are divided in 3 sub-categories depending on the technique which was applied: 1. Carbon 14 dating 2. TL-OSL dating and 3. Obsidian hydration.

### *1. Carbon 14 dating*

Facorellis *et al.* (1982) investigated marine and terrestrial materials from the deserted island of Youra and more specifically from the Cyclope cave. The aim of this research was twofold: a) to date charcoal-seashell pairs, in order to determine the marine reservoir effect in this region, based on samples spanning from the end of the 8th millennium to the beginning of the 7th millennium BC and b) to date the stratigraphy of the site, by using the calculated  $\delta R$  value, in conjunction with the marine calibration curve. According to their results, Cyclope cave (in Alonissos island) is one of the oldest human settlements found on an Aegean island even though Pleistocene occupation has been traced elsewhere (Carter *et al.* 2019). In fact, hominins were present in the region by 200 ka ago, accessing the chert quarry during a glacial low stand when exposed land connected Anatolia to continental Southeast Europe, by seafaring, or through some combination of the two (Fig. 2). Throughout the remainder of the Pleistocene, this region was occupied and/or traversed at least sporadically, including by early *H. sapiens* ~40 to 30 ka ago (who may have arrived by boat), and later by indisputably seafaring

Mesolithic hunter-gatherers of the Early Holocene (Papoulia 2016). Fig.2 shows insular- sea interaction, due to sea level changes and subsistence in the Aegean Sea, during the past 400 Ka. The alternated glacial and interglacial periods formed land routes for transition and migration, yet sailing was practiced facilitating trade and general transitions.



**Figure 2.** Sea level changes in the Aegean archipelagos referred to islands and coastal areas. Shaded parts imply joining with the mainland (from Papoulia 2016, Fig.4).

Ammerman *et al.* (2008) applied a combined method using high quality cores and AMS dating, in an attempt to trace (or identify) the beginning of the Neolithic period in northern Aegean and in particular in Thrace, constituting up to that time a missing piece in the jigsaw puzzle of the arrival of agriculture in Europe. In addition, the method applied traced the edge of the marine transgression dating to later times (ca. 2900 years ago), which implies that various sites/settlements located near the coastline in early Neolithic times most likely have been lost in the sea.

Furthermore, Mavridis and Tankosić (2009) examined pottery from Ayia Triadha cave in Euboea, in order to explore early maritime connections in the Aegean during the Late Neolithic I and II and the Early Bronze Age. Even though they examined pottery with an archaeological approach, they also provided archaeometrical data i.e. dating of a trench using charcoal performed by Dr Y. Maniatis.

Two years later, the paper by Maniatis and Papadopoulos (2011) gives new insights about the transitional period known as the Final Neolithic-Early Bronze Age in Greece which falls within the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC. In particular, the paper presents archaeological evidence and radiocarbon dates from Aghios Ioannis site on Thassos, the northernmost Aegean island. The 14C dates obtained fall towards the end of the 4th millennium, suggesting presence of human activity during this period, a find of particular environmental and cultural significance.

Finally, Strasser *et al.* (2011), showed that Palaeolithic artefacts in the Plakias region in southwestern Crete are associated with geological contexts that can be dated to the late Middle or early Late Pleistocene. Since Crete has been separated from the mainland throughout the Pleistocene, the presence of Pleistocene age artefacts there suggests that early hominins were able to cross open water.

## 2. TL-OSL dating

TL-OSL dating is applied on various inorganic materials such as obsidian, rocks, soils and special architectural remains i.e. an archaemetallurgical kiln.

More specifically, Zacharias *et al.* (2006) have investigated archaeometallurgical kiln remains from two prehistoric sites on the island of Seriphos (Cyclades, Greece) using TL dating, thus, providing information on the chronological period of the corresponding activities. This study provided absolute ages for the kiln assemblages, as well as highlighting sources of potential errors through its methodological approach.

Vafiadou *et al.* (2007), using OSL dating, investigated rock samples and associated underlying surface (floor) soils of geo- archaeological significance from three regions, Greece, Sweden and a modern surface stone-sample from a Danish site. Following a single-aliquot regenerative-dose (SAR) protocol and luminescence signals from quartz and feldspars using blue light and IR stimulation respectively, the obtained geo- archaeological ages were in good agreement with independent age estimates.

The area of Itron, Gulf of Mirabello in eastern Crete, was investigated by Zacharias *et al.* (2009), attempting to date the sediments using optical stimulated luminescence (OSL). Their approach provided information on the landscape evolution of the area. Using also various other analytical techniques, such as field-survey, geophysical prospection, and archaeological excavations, chemical and spectrometric studies on selected deltaic deposits enlightened paleoenvironmental differentiations that prevailed at neighboring sites. According to their

study, landscape evolution was influenced mainly by environmental changes at an area occupied by the man since Neolithic onwards.

Polymeris *et al.* (2010) applied luminescence techniques (Thermoluminescence-TL and Optically Stimulated Luminescence-OSL) on obsidian samples to investigate its potential for dating purposes. They concluded that the artificially irradiated samples indicate all promising luminescence features and the signal does not relate to quartz, but in fact to other silicates. However, the lack of bleaching ability for NTL signal, along with a peculiar shape of NOSL, provide major difficulties in dating applications.

Liritzis (2010) investigated the excavated coastal prehistoric settlement of Strofilas on Andros Island (Cyclades, Greece) in the Aegean providing dates for its construction. In particular, he applied luminescence dating on two samples from the fortified wall bearing engraved ships yielding an average date of 3520 ( $\pm 540$ ) BC.

In the same year, Athanassas and Zacharias (2010) published an OSL dating framework for raised marine sequences in the South-West coast of Greece during Upper Quaternary. The paleontological investigations and Geographic Information System (GIS) analysis on various elevated marine landforms have proved that a record of uplift and eustacy exists in South Greece since the Early Pleistocene (~1.6 Ma). Therefore, in their paper they tested the suitability of the SAR methodology for recuperated-OSL (Re-OSL) on coarse-grained quartz aliquots from emerged nearshore outcrops.

Kanavou *et al.* (2014) using OSL dating with a modified SAR protocol calculated the ages for the Upper Pumice samples from Nisyros island with average values of  $15.3 \pm 8.6$  ka BP and  $40.3 \pm 23.1$  ka BP respectively, and for a paleosol ages varied from  $29.6 \pm 10.2$  ka BP to  $39.0 \pm 15.1$  ka BP respectively; all corresponding to successive volcanic eruption phases.

### 3. Obsidian Hydration

In this field of dating Liritzis *et al.* (2004) proposed a new approach in dating ancient obsidian artifacts. This approach is based on the modeling of water diffusion profiles and multiple archaeological test cases of known age were used to evaluate the method. The method is based on the H<sub>2</sub>O concentration versus depth profiles which are modeled, so as to produce diffusion ages. Secondary Ion Mass Spectrometry was used to date fourteen obsidian specimens of well-known age and have been compared with radiocarbon ages producing an excellent convergence validating the new approach.

Furthermore, Liritzis *et al.* (2008) tested a new method, SIMS-SS dating, by investigating the limitations derived from the surface roughness of obsidian by incorporating in the study Atomic Force Microscopy (AFM) images. According to this study, anomalies on the obsidian surface, such as presence of wells, cracks, pits, crystals and/or crests can induce uncertain errors in the dating procedure.

Likewise, Liritzis (2010) investigated the excavated coastal prehistoric settlement of Strofilas on Andros Island (Cyclades, Greece) in the Aegean. In particular, he applied SIMS-SS method on two blades for obsidian hydration, suggesting that the main settlement occurred during the Final Neolithic period.

Moreover, Laskaris *et al.* (2011) provided new results of absolute dating with new obsidian hydration dates by employing the novel SIMS-SS method. This contribution shed new light on the Late Pleistocene/Early Holocene exploitation of obsidian sources on the island of Melos in the Cyclades reporting dates of c. 13th millennium until the end of 10th millennium B.P. which are concordant with the excavation data. Archaeological evidence regarding the presence of obsidian in levels that antedate the food production stage suggests that it could have been the result of usage or intrusion of small obsidian artifacts from overlying Neolithic layers.

### *iii. Paleoenvironment*

A significant volume of work has been done in the broad field of paleoenvironment. There are many works related to the coastline of specific areas, geo- archaeological investigations of archaeological sites and study of the archaeobotanical remains.

An early investigation of coastlines of Greece and especially the Aegean was performed by Tjeerd and Shackleton (1982). According to the results of this study, many islands, among which Euboea and the northern Sporades, were connected with the mainland, while most of the Cyclades were joined together in a semi-peninsula. The post-glacial rise of sea level took place between 15000-9000 y. B.P. restored the coastal geography to almost its present configuration. As it can be assumed, this change affects significantly the archaeological environment. For example, the island of Melos, a known source of obsidian for toolmaking since at least 10000 B.P., may have been discovered considerably earlier, when access to the island was largely over land.

The paper by Perissaratis and Conispoliatis (2003) investigates the tentative coastline configuration in three major periods, namely 21500 cal y B.P., 11500 cal y B.P. and 8000 cal y B.P. Based on the results, many islands were connected with each other and with the mainland during the first period, while in the second period most of the gulfs were overflowed by the advancing sea and only a few islands remained connected with the mainland. Finally, at 8000 cal yr BP onwards, the sea intruded the lowlands and the gulfs. Subsequently many human settlements and old cities that were maritime during Hellenistic or older times are now a few to tens of km inland.

Megaloudi (2006) provided in a monograph a synthesis of information on Greek food plants recovered mainly through archaeobotanical studies. This study provided a diachronic overview of the use of vegetal species in the Eastern Aegean region in the period spanning the millennia between the Early Neolithic (ca. 7000 BC) and Classical times (4th century BC). The

data obtained from this study shed light on several aspects of ancient food and diet, including the geographical and chronological distribution of cereals and legumes, the beginnings of arboriculture in Greece, and the use and symbolic meaning of plants in ancient times.

Pavlopoulos *et al.* (2007) was the first geoarchaeological investigation of Istron area, in northeastern Crete, Gulf of Mirabello in recent years. The importance of the area is evident by indications of human installations from the Neolithic to the Roman period, proving the continuous human activity in this area. A variety of methods Was implemented, such as geomorphological mapping of the coastal area, excavation of six trenches, pollen and microfaunal (benthic foraminifera and ostracodes) analyses, AMS and Conventional radiocarbon dating. Sea level rise along with sea-land interactions to the landscape evolution and the transgression of sea in 5000BP have been verified. Furthermore, several implications for the use of land and human impact civilization have been revealed.

The paper by Theodorakopoulou *et al.* (2009) examined the application of several geoarchaeological methods to provide useful information regarding the paleoenvironment of Istron-Kalo Chorio, Gulf of Mirabello, in eastern Crete. In particular, the combination of detailed field-survey, geophysical prospection, archaeological excavations, along with geomorphologic observations, analyses and dating on deposited sediments, gave evidence of the paleogeographical evolution of the area and its impact on prehistoric, classical and Roman establishments. The study suggests that landscape evolution of the area was influenced both by environmental changes and human presence during the Holocene.

Pavlopoulos *et al.* (2010) investigated the Palamari Bay, located on the northeastern coast of Skyros Island (Sporades Islands, Aegean Sea), attempting to reconstruct its palaeoenvironment and landscape evolution, since at the northern edge of the bay a fortified prehistoric settlement is found, dating between 2800 and 1700 BC (Early Bronze Age II-Middle Bronze Age I). Thus, three main sedimentary units were recognized: the lowermost sedimentary unit A, deposited between before 7500 and 3500 cal B.P., the overlying unit B (ca. 3500-800 cal B.P.) and the uppermost sedimentary unit C which corresponds to a backshore environment dominated by aeolian activity modified by fluvial processes. Furthermore, a strong human presence since the Neolithic was identified by evidence of cultivating and grazing activities in the vicinity of the lagoon.

The review paper of Colonese *et al.* (2011) investigate the exploitation of marine molluscs from sites dating from Lower to early Upper Paleolithic in Mediterranean, including the Aegean Sea. In particular, they investigate the consumption of molluscs by humans, however, the scale of mollusk exploitation is still unclear, due to biases produced in the coastal archaeological record especially by Late Glacial and post-Glacial sea level rise. In addition, the consumption of shellfish, and of other small animals (aquatic and continental), probably contributed to the success of the flexible and opportunistic subsistence strategies adopted by Mediterranean hunter-gatherers for much of prehistory.

Aidona and Liritzis (2012) investigated marine sediments from the Aegean, in order to identify their magnetic susceptibility and its correlation with the alpha- and beta-particle radioactivity. The sediments were obtained using cores covering the Holocene period. In addition, closely spaced data have been sampled from all cores. By applying a new statistical elaboration of the final time series, they showed that there is a significant correlation between the magnetic susceptibility and the radioactivity data.

Tourloukis and Karkanas (2012) investigate the gap in early human geography of the Mediterranean, due to the scarce Pleistocene record. In this paper through a synthetic study they provide the Lower Palaeolithic record of Greece. In essence, using a geo-archaeological approach they identified that this gap is due to the high-magnitude site loss and not a real absence of hominins. In such dynamic landscapes, the geomorphic processes can significantly bias archaeological patterns. Another outcome of their study was that in the early Pleistocene, the Aegean was important bio-geographical land-bridge and new routes can be envisaged for hominin dispersals within Eurasia and between Africa-Eurasia.

Theodorokapoulou *et al.* (2012) aim to reveal the depositional environment of Istron and its sedimentological response to Holocene climatic events. By applying a multi-disciplinary geoarchaeological approach they gathered information on the depositional environment and the palaeoenvironmental evolution of the area during the Holocene. In particular, using sediment cores and analytical studies, such as OSL dating and XRF analysis, they provided evidence for landscape evolution of the coastal area.

Livarda and Kotzamani (2013) published a synthetic work on the archaeobotany of Crete from Neolithic to Bronze age Crete. This paper explores various aspects, such as agricultural practices and resource management and mobilisation, so as to give new insights into the social dynamics of Neolithic and Bronze Age Crete. Data was obtained from six sites, namely Kephala Petras, Prynatiikos Pyrgos, Aghia Fotia, Knossos Little Palace North, Sissi and Zominthos and allowed an in-depth study of a total of 80 archaeobotanical records. Furthermore, the dataset was analysed according to its temporal, spatial and contextual distribution across the island providing a contextualised picture of their availability and use, and identifying lacunae and interpretational potential.

Mourtzas and Kolaiti (2013) based on geomorphological and archaeological indications identified three distinct sea levels on the coast of Aegina island which were also dated. According to their results, there is sea level stability for at least 2100 years, from Middle Bronze Age to Roman times. Furthermore, with the aid of the paleogeographical reconstruction of the coast, they found that the ancient harbour installations could potentially stretch up to 1600 m of coastline.

Drinia *et al.* (2014) investigated the north Evoikos gulf in central Aegean Sea by studying six gravity cores taken from different physiographic settings of the Gulf, aiming to identify their benthic foraminiferal content. In this way, they were able to reconstruct the local

and regional palaeoenvironmental changes having taken place in the Gulf. In particular, they managed to recognize two main palaeoenvironmental settings, the first dominated by Biofacies Ia and Ib, while in the second setting, the species typical of shelf environment (*C. laevigata-H. balthica*) giving way to opportunistic species (*B. spathulata*) and species that are more resistant to bottom water changes (*B. marginata*).

The study of Stiros *et al.* (2014) focuses on an enigmatic coastal uplift and subsidence along the coasts of Rhodes island through the investigation of a Hellenistic harbor in Rhodes. In particular, the paper investigates the remains of a ship shed which was built around 250-225 BC. and some decades later it was repaved, after a major earthquake. According to the results, the only reasonable explanation for the ramp reconstruction was to counteract a 1 m seismic subsidence, which took place at around 220 BC. or earlier.

#### iv. *aDNA analyses*

Another poorly explored field is the genetic studies through ancient aDNA. These studies focus on the investigation of Y-chromosome on Crete (Malaspina *et al.* 2001; Martinez *et al.* 2007; King *et al.* 2008) and on the origin of Minoans and Mycenaens (Lazaridis *et al.* 2017). There is only a single work referring to aDNA derived from amphora remains (Foley *et al.* 2012).

The first approach in aDNA analysis has been performed by Malaspina *et al.* (2001) who focused on a microsatellite-defined Y-chromosomal lineage (network 1±2) whose geographic distribution and antiquity appear to be compatible with the Neolithic spread of farmers. The research team set a network 1.2 in the Y-chromosomal phylogenetic tree, dated it with respect to other lineages associated with the same movements by other authors, examined its diversity by means of tri- and tetra-nucleotide loci and discussed the implications in reconstructing the spread of this group of chromosomes in the Mediterranean area. According to their results, a tripartite phylogeny within HG 9 (Rosser *et al.* 2000) is defined, with the deepest branching defined by alleles T (Haplogroup Eu10) or G (Haplogroup Eu9) at M172 (Semino *et al.* 2000), and a subsequent branching within Eu9 defined by network 1±2. Population distributions of HG 9 and network 1±2 show that their occurrence in the surveyed area is not due to the spread of people from a single parental population but, rather, to a process punctuated by at least two phases. The analysed data identified the wide area of the Balkans, Aegean and Anatolia as the possible homeland harbouring the largest variation within network 1±2. In addition, the use of recently proposed tests based on the stepwise mutation model suggested that its spread was associated to a population expansion, with a high rate of male gene flow in the Turkish-Greek area.

Martinez *et al.* (2007) investigated the geographic stratification of the contemporary Cretan Y-chromosome gene pool, which was assessed by high-resolution haplotyping aspiring to investigate the potential imprints of past colonization episodes and the population substructure. In addition, this study includes samples from the isolated interior of the Lasithi Plateau, a mountain plain located in eastern Crete. Comparisons of Y-haplogroup frequencies

among three Cretan populations, as well as with published data from additional Mediterranean locations revealed significant differences in the frequency distributions of Y-chromosome haplogroups within the island. The most outstanding differences were observed in haplogroups J2 and R1, with the predominance of haplogroup R lineages in the Lasithi Plateau and of haplogroup J lineages in the more accessible regions of the island. Y-STR-based analyses demonstrated the close affinity that R1a1 chromosomes from the Lasithi Plateau shared with those from the Balkans, but not with those from lowland eastern Crete. In contrast, Cretan R1b microsatellite-defined haplotypes displayed more resemblance to those from Northeast Italy than to those from Turkey and the Balkans.

Furthermore, King *et al.* (2008) tried to investigate farmers in Crete and mainland Greece and their debated origin from Anatolia and whatthe role of maritime colonization was. To achieve this, they collected 171 samples from areas near three known early Neolithic settlements in Greece together with 193 samples from Crete. They performed an analysis of Y-chromosome haplogroups and determined that the samples from the Greek Neolithic sites showed strong affinity to Balkan data, while Crete shows affinity with central/Mediterranean Anatolia.

Foley *et al.* (2012) have tested the remnant aDNA inside empty amphoras excavated in Classical/Hellenistic greek shipwrecks which were archived at the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities in Athens, Greece. They showed that ancient DNA can be isolated and analysed from inside the empty jars from either small amounts of physical scrapings or material captured with non-destructive swabs. Collected DNA samples reveal various combinations of olive, grape, Lamiaceae herbs (mint, rosemary, thyme, oregano, sage), juniper, and terebinth/mastic (genus Pistacia). General DNA targeting analyses also revealed the presence of pine (*Pinus*), and aDNA from *Fabaceae* (Legume family); *Zingiberaceae* (Ginger family); and *Juglandaceae* (Walnut family). The results of this paper demonstrated that amphoras were much more than wine containers. DNA analysis showed that these transport jars contained a wide range of goods, bringing into question long-standing assumptions about amphora use in ancient Greece. Ancient DNA investigations open new research avenues, and will allow accurate reconstruction of ancient diet, medicinal compounds, value-added products, goods brought to market, and food preservation methods.

Finally, a work led by Lazaridis and a large scientific group (Lazaridis *et al.* 2017) has produced valuable results after gathering and reporting genome-wide data from nineteen ancient individuals in an effort to identify the origins of the Bronze Age Minoan and Mycenaean cultures. The data obtained by Minoan individuals from Crete, Mycenaeans from mainland Greece, and their eastern neighbours from southwestern Anatolia. This extensive study showed that Minoans and Mycenaeans had at least three quarters of their ancestry from the Neolithic farmers of western Anatolia and the Aegean showing that they were genetically similar. The remainder are coming from ancient populations, such as the Caucasus and Iran.

Furthermore, the Mycenaeans derived additional ancestry from an ultimate source related to the hunter-gatherers of eastern Europe and Siberia, which was the main difference between Minoans. The results of this study showed and supported the idea of continuity and that the populations of the Aegean were not isolated before and after the time of its earliest civilizations.

##### v. Archaeomagnetism

In Greece, systematic archaeomagnetic investigations for recording the secular variation (SV) started at the late 1970s (Walton 1979; Liritzis and Thomas 1980; Thomas 1981; Aitken *et al.* 1989; Downey and Tarling 1984; Papamarinopoulos 1987; Tarling and Downey 1989).

The aim has been to construct the archaeomagnetic intensity (including inclination and declination) curves of the past 8000 years, where available ceramic material and well fired kilns/hearths could be found. Most archaeomagnetic work is on Greek mainland, rather than in the Aegean islands. However, in the Aegean area earlier works focus on the Minoan Crete, as well as other islands of the Aegean, such as Santorini, Chios and Paros. In particular, these works refer to the intensity and directional data (Tarling *et al.* 1989; Liritzis and Thomas 1980; Walton 1990; Liritzis and Thomas 1980; Liritzis 1985a, 1985b; Downey and Tarling 1984; Downey and Liritzis 2013; De Marco *et al.* 2008; Nachasova *et al.* 2007, 2008) studying ceramics imported from the Greek islands of Kos, Lesbos, Thasos, Chios and Rhodes and from Asia Minor (Heracleia and Sinop), found at the archaeological sites of Nymphaion and Pantikapaeum at the Crimean Peninsula, using as geographic coordinates the Chios Island (Lat = 38.60°, Long = 26.10°).

In Mainland Greece including some data of the southern Balkans have been reported by: Walton 1979, 1984; Xanthakis and Liritzis 1991; Tema and Kondopoulou 2011; De Marco *et al.* 2008; Spatharas *et al.*, 2000). A step forward in intensity measurements was made in Oxford laboratory by I. Liritzis and colleagues from Oxford on well dated tiles (by inscription) from Byzantine monasteries from Greece (Aitken *et al.* 1989) and revealing rapid variations of the archaeomagnetic intensity field peaked around 1300 AD (Liritzis 1989; Aitken *et al.* 1989; Liritzis and Kovacheva 1992; Kovacheva *et al.* 1999).

The most recent SV curve (Tema and Kondopoulou, 2011) data were based on all data within a 700 km circle centred at Thessaloniki (40.60°N, 23.00°E). The sliding moving window technique, was used to calculate a continuous SV curve for intensity while the directional SV curves were calculated using the bivariate extension of the Fisher statistics. These curves are well constrained and clearly show the main features of the geomagnetic field variation in this region during the last eight millennia, comparable to earlier attempt (Xanthakis and Liritzis, 1991). Comparisons with the predictions of the SCHA.DIF.3K and SCHA.DIF.8K regional and the CALS7K.2 and ARCH3K.1 global geomagnetic field models show a good agreement for the last 3000 years, however some differences were noticed for older times. The Balkan SV curves identify several rapid changes of the geomagnetic field, already pinpointed by Liritzis (1989),

Aitken *et al.* (1989) and Liritzis and Kovacheva (1992), which can be used as reference curves for archaeomagnetic dating in the Balkan Peninsula. However, although enriched the earlier archaeointensity curve, their reliability is marginally improved and of the same order of uncertainties with those of earlier data (Thomas 1981; Liritzis 1989; Kovacheva 2003; Kovacheva *et al.* 2009).

A comparison of archaeomagnetic intensity curve for the Greek area including some Aegean sites with limnomagnetic curves has been made by Xanthakis and Liritzis (1991) applying robust statistical techniques of comparison of smoothed data.

Spectral analysis of these intensity and directional data have been applied also aiming to define any periodic variation (Liritzis 1985a, 1985b; Xanthakis and Liritzis 1989, 1991).

#### *vi. Isotopic analysis*

Isotopic analysis is a well-established methodological tool for detecting dietary and migrating patterns in archaeological population. Furthermore, it is widely used to detect geological features of the paleoenvironment. No or little attention is paid to the area of Aegean Sea in the period from 30000-3000 BC and especially the area of the Dodecanese during the period from 800-200 BC.

One of the earliest studies of isotopic measurements were carried out by Liritzis *et al.* (1995). In this early study the differences in the radon isotope measurements in Nissiros Caldera and the Susaki geothermal field showed that are depended on the lithology and geothermal activity of the two regions. Furthermore, the distribution of radon and thoron in these areas was correlated as expected with the complicated geology of these two geothermal fields.

Aksu *et al.* (1995) investigated paleoclimatic and paleoceanographic changes from late glacial to Holocene periods in Aegean Sea using an array of different indicators, such as records of calcareous and organic-walled marine microfossils, pollen and terrestrial spores and oxygen isotope data in cores from the Aegean Sea basins. According to the results of this study, the late Glacial-Holocene transition in the region was associated with a large warming of surface water of around 5°-10°C from ~14,000 to ~9600 yr B.P. In addition, transfer function results indicate corresponding 1.0 to 1.5‰ salinity reductions for this time (ca. 6400–9600 yr B.P.) throughout the Aegean Sea. Pollen, dinoflagellate and isotopic data show that the early Holocene excess fresh water originated from rapid melting of the northern European and Siberian ice sheets, supplied primarily from the Black Sea by the opening of Bosphorus and Dardanelles Channels, during the post glacial sea-level rise, and supplemented by major rivers entering the Aegean Sea.

Nafplioti (2011) presents a map of biologically available  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  signatures for the Aegean in an effort to investigate past population movement and residential mobility. The  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  values recovered mainly from archaeological animal dental enamel and modern snail shells from sites largely distributed in the southern part of Aegean. Local biologically available

$^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  signatures show clear geographical patterning among mainland sites of the Pindos and Parnassos zones and the islands of south-eastern Aegean crossed by the Sub-Pelagonian zone, and sites in the central Cyclades and the north-eastern Aegean islands falling into the Attic-Cycladic metamorphic belt and the Vardar zone, respectively. In addition, the biologically available  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  values from sites on central Euboea, south-eastern Attica, the western Cyclades, and on Crete were found to be relatively high, but still lower than those recorded for the central Cyclades and the north-eastern Aegean.

Vika and Theodoropoulou (2012) measured for the first time isotopes from fish bones in a rather wide chronological period from the Mesolithic to the Classical times. The main aim of this work is to identify whether the absence of fish data is a matter of dietary preferences in the past or just a methodological approach issue. According to their results, regional trends are stronger than temporal ones in fish isotope values. The range of values overlaps with terrestrial resources, making it difficult or impossible to reject fish consumption based on isotope data alone. Frequent consumption of fish will not be directly evident isotopically.

Bajnóczi *et al.* (2013) performed stable isotope analysis in a big assemblage of Spondylus objects, mainly ornaments and beads, from sites in Hungary, neolithic Greece, modern shells from the Aegean and the Adriatic, as well as fossil Spondylus and Ostrea shells from the Carpathian Basin. The identification of the source of Spondylus objects is essential for the interpretation of Late Neolithic exchange systems and the social role of shell ornaments. The use of oxygen and strontium isotopes was essential to find similarities and differences between the different groups of shells. Even though the focus of this paper is on Hungarian Neolithic objects, it yields values for Aegean Neolithic artefacts which can be further used in future research.

#### vii. Restoration and conservation

Restoration and conservation of Cultural Heritage is a well-established field, with a history of more than 150 years. In this field, there are only few studies regarding the conservation and restoration of monuments during the early period (30000-3000 BC) and historical times (800-200 BC) in the area of interest. These studies are focused mainly on Rhodes island and refer to investigation of building materials and conservation strategies of various sites on the island such as Sarantapicho and Erimokastro acropolis (Bakolas *et al.* 2013; Delegou *et al.* 2010; 2012; 2013) as well as the investigation of historic mortars (Moropoulou *et al.* 2000).

Moropoulou *et al.* (2000) performed mortar sampling on historical constructions, masonry and architectural surfaces of Rhodes island. They have investigated the different mortar technologies aiming to answer questions regarding their finality, i.e. whether their differences arise mainly from the various historical periods of construction or from the purposes they had to serve, imparting to the mortars the properties required by their function in the structure. Various techniques, such as mineralogical, chemical, physical and mechanical

investigations have been performed on characteristic samples with gradation. Hence, parameters determining the diversification of the resulting mortar/matrix types concern the raw materials employed as binding materials and the production processing.

Delegou *et al.* (2010) applied GIS modelling and analysis operations to accomplish strategic planning of materials and conservation interventions, for the damage rehabilitation of the Sarantapicho Acropolis and Erimokastro Acropolis in Rhodes, Greece. In this study, GIS thematic maps were developed presenting characteristic parts of the walls of the two Acropoles. Using orthophotos as the GIS base-map, various materials/decay data collected after the application of non-destructive testing, evaluation techniques in-situ and analytical techniques in lab after sampling, comprised the attribute data sets which describe the characteristics of the spatial entities. All this information resulted in the development of building materials and decay thematic maps. In addition, they compiled databases containing the physicochemical characteristics and linked with the internal database file of the corresponding GIS materials/decay mapping project of the Acropoles walls. Finally, using geo-processing analysis the conservation intervention thematic map was produced, where data from both materials and decay themes were incorporated into the new output theme, contributing to the strategic planning of materials and conservation interventions, for the damage rehabilitation of the Sarantapicho Acropolis and Erimokastro Acropolis. It was concluded that GIS modeling and analysis operations of the developed materials/decay/conversation interventions thematic maps along with the corresponding relational databases, can contribute decisively to the monuments monitoring, as well as to the management and control of building materials life cycle.

Labropoulos *et al.* (2010) investigated the building materials of the walls at the Ialyssos Acropolis (Sarantapichos) and the Acropolis of Erimokastro in Rhodes island using various analytical techniques such as ultrasonics, ground penetrating radar, infra-red thermography and fibre optics microscopy which were supported by a range of characterization techniques which included polarized Optical Microscopy, X-ray diffraction, Scanning Electron Microscopy, Mercury Porosimetry, conductivity measurements and mechanical testing. This multi analytical approach was carried out to characterize the structural materials and the decay products of the walls. According to the results, there is extensive bio-decay present on the two types of stones, grey compact limestone and off-white limestone that results in cracking, delamination and detachment of original material.

In Delegou *et al.* (2012) a combination of diagnostic strategies involving the application of in-situ non-destructive testing and in-lab techniques, GIS modelling and analysis operations were used to plan materials and conservation strategies at the walls of Erimokastro Acropolis Rhodes. In particular, Polarized Optical Microscopy Mercury Porosimetry, Scanning Electron Microscopy, determination of total soluble salt content, Fibre-optic Microscopy, Ultrasonics

and Infra-red Thermography were used to characterize the building material and its decay products to further assess the conservation treatments.

Bakolas *et al.* (2013) investigated the building materials of the walls at the Ialyssos Acropolis (Sarantapichos), in Rhodes island applying a wide range of in- situ analytical techniques, such as Ultrasonics, Infra-red Thermography, Fibre optics Microscopy and ground penetrating radar combined with in lab instrumentation such as Polarized Optical Microscopy, X-ray diffraction, Scanning Electron Microscopy and Mercury Porosimetry. According to the results, there is extensive bio- decay present on grey compact limestone, as well as cracking, delamination and detachment of original material.

Delegou *et al.* (2013) used the geometric documentation of characteristic parts of the walls of the Sarantapicho Acropolis and Erimokastro Acropolis in Rhodes, Greece, together with GIS modeling and analysis operations in order to accomplish the mapping of building materials, decay patterns and conservation interventions of both investigated sites. In particular, they have applied a similar approach, as in their 2010 study, using ortho-rectified images as base-maps and the building materials and decay data, comprised the spatial and attribute data sets. By collecting various data from the building materials and the techniques applied they managed to develop thematic maps of building materials and decay. Moreover, using geoprocessing analysis the thematic map of conservation interventions was produced incorporating attribute data from both building materials and decay themes. This multidisciplinary approach provides the basis for the compatibility assessment of conservation interventions (whenever applied) and for monitoring of the preservation state of building materials, contributing decisively to the sustainable protection of both investigated sites.

The monastery of St. John the Theologian in Patmos, which dates back to the 11th century, is today a major spiritual and artistic entity in the Mediterranean archaeological, ecclesiastical and cultural history and it is included in the UNESCO World Heritage list. The 84 valuable Coptic archaeological textiles, in the monastery, dated between the 4th and 7th centuries A.D., were recently analysed for conservation and preservation purposes with the application of scientific techniques to identify the fibres structure and the dyes used, via  $\mu$ FTIR (fourier transform infrared), SEM, optical microscopy (OM), Surface Enchased Raman Spectroscopy (SERS) and SEM methods (Karydis *et al.*, 2019). The provided information concerns the decoration, weaving patterns, condition (stains, tears) and past conservation treatments on the textiles which are all recorded. Moreover, through the application of three different analytical techniques ( $\mu$ FTIR,  $\mu$ Raman and SERS) it was identified the dyes used on these textiles, in particular, madder, indigo, granule (kermes) and weld which are common for this type of textiles. Finally, through the application of SERS technique it was managed to avoid the fluorescence phenomenon and enhance the Raman spectra so as to make the particular peaks more visible and more identifiable.

#### viii. Geophysical studies - GIS

There are only few geophysical studies focused on the Aegean and the Dodecanese during the time periods examined herein. One of these refers to the investigation of buried archaeological relics on the island of Mytilene using electric resistivity and resistance and magnetic measurements (Papamarinopoulos *et al.* 1985). Furthermore, there is a study regarding a palaeoenvironmental reconstruction on Crete island by the application of GIS (Siart *et al.* 2010) and an investigation of ancient Mediterranean seafaring (Leidwanger 2013).

In particular, Papamarinopoulos *et al.* (1985) investigated a gridded archaeological site in Lesvos island by performing total geomagnetic field intensity measurements with a portable magnetometer. According to their results the measurement analysis reveals linear features which corresponded to ancient buried relics. In addition, they applied resistivity soundings on the same area allowing estimates of the thickness of the soil with respect to bedrock and revealed artificially made voids.

Siart *et al.* (2010) in their multidisciplinary study applied an approach in order to evaluate the potential of colluvial fillings for reconstructing the geoarchaeological landscape in mount Ida, central Crete. They have conducted remote sensing and GIS analyses, geophysical prospection (refraction seismics, earth resistivity tomography) at the most promising archive locations. In addition, they performed selective percussion drilling within the sinkholes which provided vibra-cores for further analysis such as mineralogical and sedimentological investigations (grain size distribution, heavy- and light minerals, X-ray diffraction, thin sections) as well as AMS 14C dates. According to their results the dolines are partially filled by loose material and, thus, offer valuable information about the environmental history. The diversified sediment constitution indicates several geomorphodynamic oscillations and a polygenetic nature of the colluvial fills. XRD-spectra of clay minerals and quartz-grain morphology both indicate a significant aeolian dust contribution to soil formation and pedosediments. Glass shards and substantially heterogeneous heavy mineral compositions point to supra-regional origin and external volcanogenic deposits (Minoan eruption of Santorini, 3.6 ka). Regarding the hitherto discussed distribution of Z2 tephra in the Mediterranean, the spatial fallout must be revised as great amounts have also been deposited in the high mountains of Crete. Moreover, the redeposition of the sedimentary fills proves to be comparatively young since most materials were accumulated within the dolines post-eruptively. Huge and previously unknown subsurface archaeological remains strongly suggest that year-around settlement in the mid-Holocene might have been possible under better climatic conditions.

The work of Leidwanger (2013) focuses on the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to integrate environment and technology as analytical tools for exploring the complexity of seaborne connectivity. Their methodology involved the sailing days as practical units of distance and an Archaic Greek shipwreck off Turkey was used as a case study, in an effort to demonstrate how a more nuanced spatial approach can inform the human geography and socioeconomic structures of ancient maritime interaction.

A series of GIS applications has been made by Sarris *et al.* from the Institute of Mediterranean Studies, Crete in Crete. The Aegean Minoan 3D GIS Project was initiated in 2007 to produce a three-dimensional (3D) full-color mapping of the archaeological sites of the Minoans in the Aegean Sea area using Google Earth. It is intended to be a definitive geographical reference available to everyone (<http://www.etana.org/node/10848>). Also Minoan sites building a cultural landscape model of Minoan peak sanctuaries through a GIS approach (Soetens *et al.* 2002).

## Conclusions

Through this intensive and systematic study, we were able to locate and gather the majority of archaeometrical investigations which refer to the islandic area of the Aegean from 30000-3000 BC and the Dodecanese islands from 800-200BC. The data obtained are mostly available on the <http://archipelago.aegean.gr> website (here updated since 2013) which comprises an extensive database including metadata files.

Upon completion of the present work, more studies would be expected given the importance of the region in the archaeological record. However, there has been a trend especially the last ten years suggesting a stable increase in the archaeometric studies in numbers and quality and this is due to the establishment of Archaeological Science/Archaeometry in the field of Archaeology.

It is noteworthy that a lot of archaeometrical studies do exist, but they are focused in later periods, e.g. Late Bronze Age or/and Roman-Byzantine period, so do not fall in the scope of this study.

**Acknowledgements:** The initiative of the project with Prof I.Liritzis as PI and AO as researcher, was mainly supported by the Integrated Program for Island Research (IPIR) of the University Project: 'The University of the Aegean, the prominent and driving factor for the economic and social growth of the wide Aegean area' of the Operational Program 'Education and Lifelong Learning', which was co-funded by the European Union (European Social Fund) and National Resources. Since 2013 the work is extended as part of Sino-Hellenic Academic Project ([www.huaxiahellas.com](http://www.huaxiahellas.com)) for which IL is thankful for support from Key Research Institute of Yellow River Civilization and Sustainable Development & Collaborative Innovation Center on Yellow River Civilization of Henan Province, Henan University, Kaifeng, China. Dr Maria Kaparou is greatly acknowledged for proof reading this paper.



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## The Israelite-Judaean Military Service in the Armies of Assyria

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**Abstract.** *The Israelite-Judaean Military Service in the Armies of Assyria has not been fully discussed, and this article is an attempt to offer a fuller picture of this phenomenon. This article is composed of two parts. The first will concentrate and discuss all the evidence we have for Israelite and Judaean units that were absorbed into the Assyrian army, which will be used as a foundation for the second half of the article. All this will attempt to show that the inscription detailing the Assyrian capture of 200 Israeli chariots, rather than 50 as is written in two other inscriptions, is the more accurate one, and then discuss the implications of such a conclusion. The second part is the first attempt to concentrate all the names of possible Assyrian soldiers who are of Israelite and/or Judaean origin. The first and second parts together encompass the first attempt to concentrate all the evidence for Israelite and Judaean service in the Assyrian army in one place. This will prove that Israelites and Judaeans served in the Assyrian army in a continuous manner from at least the fall of Samaria until the fall of the Assyrian Empire.*

**Rezumat.** *Servicul militar al iudeilo în armatele asiriene nu a fost supus unei discuții exhaustive, iar articolul de față vine să completeze imaginea acestui fenomen. Prima parte a articolului va aborda evidența unităților din Israel din armata asiriană. Partea a doua se concentrează pe numele soldașilor asirieni care ar putea avea o origine idee/israelită.*

**Keywords:** Kingdom of Israel, Kingdom of Judea, Assyria, Chariots, Ancient warfare, Battle of Qarqar.

Between the tenth and the ninth centuries BCE, in the days of the heirs of King Solomon, the United Monarchy of Israel split into two entities – the Kingdom of Judea, in the southern parts of the land of Israel, and the Kingdom of Israel to the north, which was the larger, stronger and more important of the two. At the end of the eighth century BCE, the Kingdom of Israel (also known as the Kingdom of Samaria, after the name of its capital city) was conquered by the Assyrians. At the time, the Assyrian Empire was the largest empire in the Near East and a major power in developing and utilizing cavalry in war.<sup>2</sup> The Assyrians exiled most of the inhabitants of Samaria and dispersed them across the vast areas of their empire. While doing so, the Assyrians recruited many of the exiles to their army and even integrated entire units of the defeated enemy's army into the Empire's army. Their service in the armies of the Empire may indicate the reputation of the Israelites and the willingness of Israelites and Judaeans to enlist into a non-Jewish army.

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<sup>2</sup> About the Assyrian cavalry, see: DEZSÖ 2012b.

This article is composed of two parts. The first will concentrate and discuss all the evidence we have for Israelite and Judaean units that were absorbed into the Assyrian army, which will be used as a foundation for the second half of the article. All this will attempt to show that the inscription detailing the Assyrian capture of 200 Israeli chariots, rather than 50 as is written in another inscription, is the more accurate one, and then discuss the implications of such a conclusion. The second part is the first attempt to concentrate all the names of possible Assyrian soldiers who are of Israelite and/or Judaean origin. The first and second parts together encompass the first attempt to concentrate all the evidence for Israelite and Judaean service in the Assyrian army in one place. This will prove that Israelites and Judaeans served in the Assyrian army in a continuous manner from at least the fall of Samaria until the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

### **Exile as a Method**

Before dealing with the testimonies regarding the conquest of Samaria by the Assyrians, we first need to understand the Assyrians' methods of conquest and subsequent expulsion of populations. Whenever the Assyrians conquered new territories, or had to subdue rebellious areas, they normally exiled the native population to another part of the Empire. Yet, they never expelled the entire population; not even a majority of it. They always expelled the elite of the population and thus, prevented them from inciting and leading a rebellion, as well as the soldiers and craftsmen, who could professionally and materially sustain a rebellion.<sup>3</sup>

The expelled elite would end up in another territory administered by the Assyrians.<sup>4</sup> In the new location, the exiled elite actually replaced the original local one which had also been expelled and transferred to a third territory.<sup>5</sup> The elite, settled among the local foreign population, retained their status and rank thanks to the Assyrian regime, so in return they owed service to the Assyrians.<sup>6</sup> They acted as the administration of their new territory and provided a garrison and a reserve force in the area allocated to them. Sometimes, they provided troops to the Royal Army i.e. the field army of Assyria.

This recruitment of mercenaries and soldiers from the armies of conquered enemies was very common during antiquity.<sup>7</sup> The Assyrian army was no different than any other army

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<sup>3</sup> For further reading about the Assyrian method of expulsion, see: NA'AMAN 1989; For the usage of exiled people in the Assyrian army, see: DEZSŐ 2016, 39-40.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding the Assyrian methods and its implementation in Samaria see also: KOCH 2019; RADNER, 2019.

<sup>5</sup> OLSHANETSKY 2017.

<sup>6</sup> On another exile, Jehoiachin's Exile see: GLATT-GILAD 2017.

<sup>7</sup> DEZSŐ 2016, 39-40.

and such recruitments of many nationals are well documented before the eighth century BCE,<sup>8</sup> and not only of Israelites and Judaeans.

### Evidence for the Recruitment of Israelites from the Fall of Samaria

There are various depictions, both literary and artistic, of the Assyrian conquest of Samaria. One of those of interest to us comes from two findings from the modern-day city of Khorsabad, once the ancient city of Dur-Sharrukin. The first is a display inscription while the second is taken from the Annals, whose missing parts were completed according to the same display inscription.<sup>9</sup> In both, Sargon II declared that he had besieged the city of Samaria, conquered it and expelled 27,290 inhabitants. Furthermore, the Assyrian king mentioned that he had formed a new unit composed of 50 chariots and their crews, who had been taken from amongst the captives.<sup>10</sup> The number fifty was preserved in full in both inscriptions. It is written as so in the complete display inscription:

"I besieged and conquered the city Samaria. I took as booty 27,290 people who lived there. I formed a unit of 50 chariotry from them, and I allowed the rest to pursue their own skills. I set my governor over them, and I imposed upon them the (same) tribute as the previous king."<sup>11</sup>

As we can see, Sargon formed a unit based entirely on chariots and crew from the defeated Kingdom of Israel.<sup>12</sup> From this, we can deduce that the Israelites were highly skilled in the art of chariotry and were sought after by the Assyrians in that capacity.<sup>13</sup> It will be examined in later pages whether a unit comprised of non-Assyrian soldiers, whose origins were centred in one geographical location, was the norm or an uncommon feature in the Assyrian army.

This extract from the Annals suggests that chariots are not the sole form of Israelites' service in the Assyrian Army. One should notice the phrase, "I allowed the rest to pursue their own skills".<sup>14</sup> As mentioned, after the conquest of foreign lands and peoples, the Assyrians tended to deport the elite, craftsmen and soldiers. Therefore, does this specific

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<sup>8</sup> See Kaplan's research that deals with the recruitment of non-Assyrians to the Assyrian army in the ninth and eighth centuries BCE: KAPLAN 2006; see also Kaplan's first part of his MA thesis that was published in English as a book chapter: KAPLAN 2008.

<sup>9</sup> TADMOR 1958, 33.

<sup>10</sup> Both sources explicitly mention the number 50, including in parts of the annals which were complete. Both texts can also be found in: COGAN 2003, 57-61, 63-66.

<sup>11</sup> DALLEY 1985, 34-35.

<sup>12</sup> In both II Kings and in the Babylonian chronology, both mention that the Assyrian king that conquered Samaria was Shalmaneser V. But in 8 inscriptions, Sargon II is proclaimed as the conqueror of Samaria. Sung Jin Park solved the conundrum by showing a new angle that settles the conflicting evidence. He claimed that Sargon II was actually a general in the army of his half-brother Shalmaneser V, and he conquered the city in this capacity. After Sargon II finished to conquer the city, he used his army to commit a coup d'état against his half-brother: PARK 2012.

<sup>13</sup> DALLEY 1985, 35-37.

<sup>14</sup> It was suggested by ASTER-ZELIG (2019, 602) that it could be also translated to "I trained the remnant in their crafts".

phrase refer to the inhabitants of Samaria that were left there after the destruction of the kingdom, or to all the other Israelites that had been exiled, except for the crews of the 50 chariots?<sup>15</sup> In my opinion, it seems that the second option is more probable if the translation offered by Stephanie Dalley is preferred. However, it is impossible to know for certain. If Sargon II did indeed allow all the Israelites to pursue their old professions in their new settlements, this will mean Israelite soldiers, by profession, started to serve in garrisons and units of the Assyrian Army.

A further source on the conquest of Samaria is the Prism inscriptions of Nimrud,<sup>16</sup> which will be compared to the contents of the Annals describing the same events:

"The Samaritans, who had [conspired?] against the king my [predecessor] not to endure servitude nor to bring tribute, became angry(?) and did battle. With the army of the great gods my lords I fought against them. I counted as spoil [x+] 7280 people including [their] chariotry and the gods their help. I formed a unit of 200 chariots from them as part of my royal army, and I resettled the rest of them in Assyria. I repopulated Samaria more than before, and put into it people from the countries which I had conquered."<sup>17</sup>

When looking at the Prism inscription, its similarity to the inscription in the Annals is clear, especially regarding the number of Samarian deportees recorded in both. With regards to the x+, the scholar Hayim Tadmor suggested that it should be two, thus bringing their total number to 27,280. In addition, he explained that the ending of the number of deportees mentioned in the Annals is a bit murky, which may allow for reading it as either 80 or 90. This makes the full number of deportees 27,280 or 27,290, similar to, or even just the same as the one recorded in the display inscription from Dur-Sharrukin.<sup>18</sup>

From the quoted section above, we can gauge the method of deportation the Assyrians used. The description of the expulsion and the exchange of populations is similar to what we learn from other scribes about places conquered by the Assyrians.<sup>19</sup> If indeed the basic method of deporting soldiers was preserved in the procedures used in Samaria,<sup>20</sup> then it strengthens the assumption that Israelite soldiers composed a meaningful number among the deportees. Moreover, if deportees had generally maintained their profession and occupation, as suggested in the display inscription, then these soldiers would have continued as military personnel serving their new rulers.

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<sup>15</sup> Regarding the debate to who this phrase was meant for, see: ASTER-ZELIG 2019, 602-603.

<sup>16</sup> Cogan refers to it as a display inscription (כְּתֻבַת רָאוּה/סִיכּוֹם): COGAN 2003, 62.

<sup>17</sup> DALLEY 1985, 36.

<sup>18</sup> TADMOR 1958, 34-35.

<sup>19</sup> DALLEY 1985, 36.

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the Assyrian methods and its implementation in Samaria see also: KOCH 2019; RADNER, 2019.

Furthermore, these sources assert that the Israelite chariots were formed as one unit comprised entirely of Israelites. Yet, we need to remember that both Na'aman and Cogan only mention that the chariots were recruited among the Israelites but not as a unit of their own.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, Stephanie Dalley and Shawn Aster-Zelig were in favour of the translation, "I formed a unit of ... chariots from them."<sup>22</sup> I am more inclined to accept the opinion of the latter since it seems that *akṣurma* should be read as "to form into a unit."<sup>23</sup>

Both the display inscription from Dur-Sharrukin and the Prism inscriptions of Nimrud are in tandem in not mentioning either captured horses or Israelite cavalry,<sup>24</sup> which fits with the idea that there were none in the Samarian (Israelite) Army.<sup>25</sup>

However, there is a salient discrepancy between the two accounts when it comes to the number of Israelite chariots captured by the Assyrians. While the Annals claim 50 chariots, the Prism inscription speaks of about 200.<sup>26</sup> Discrepancies between Assyrian inscriptions are very common. There could be a number of reasons for those discrepancies: political reasons, the sources used by the author of the inscription, different styles of writing, mistakes, etc.<sup>27</sup> If indeed the number 200 is the correct version, it would have meant three things. Firstly, the army of Israel had a significant chariot force until the very end which consisted of many more than 200 chariots, as it is highly likely they lost a considerable number on the battlefield. Secondly, the chariot unit held and managed by the Israelites inside the Assyrian army was a significant portion of the entire Assyrian equestrian force.

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<sup>21</sup> COGAN 2003, 62; NA'AMAN 1989, 50.

<sup>22</sup> DALLEY 1985, 36; ASTER-ZELIG 2019, 602.

<sup>23</sup> The second definition of *kaṣāru*, which is: "to organise, assemble a body of soldiers into a military formation, to form a herd of animals, to make regulations, to organise a group, a country, to set up a battler (array), to prepare for battle, to plot evil." See CAD, Volume K, p. 257 of the Assyrian dictionary.

<sup>24</sup> The current article is following the footsteps of Dalley's article (1985), But the current article tries to bring new knowledge and insights in comparison to Dalley's article, relating to the Israelite army, its strength and the size of its chariot force.

<sup>25</sup> It is certain that Israelites knew how to ride a horse. But we do not have any real evidence for the use of cavalry in battle and for the existence of a cavalry arm in the army of the Kingdom of Israel. Chaim Hertzog and Mordechai Gichon claimed that an Israelite cavalry arm existed and that their number in Qarqar was so small "as not to have deserved a mention." However, that is not in tandem with the Kurkh monolith, which even mentions the 10 chariots from the army of Arqad and the 30 chariots from the army of Shian. It is especially puzzling as Hertzog and Gichon quoted the Kurkh monolith on the same page they made the remark. They even claimed that there were cavalry units in earlier periods in the army of Israel without bringing any evidence: Hertzog and Gichon 1978, 116, 118; It seems that Dean is repeating a similar claim by relying on Hertzog and Gichon's publication. He claims that there was a cavalry arm in the army of the Kingdom of Israel and that King Ahab had chosen to bring to Qarqar only his chariots and not his cavalry. Dean did not bring any proof for his claims: DEAN 2017, 35.

<sup>26</sup> OLSHANETSKY 2017.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding the numbers in Assyrian inscriptions and the different reasons for that, see: SAAS - III.

Thirdly, that the kingdom of Israel was a significant economic power until the very end of the kingdom.<sup>28</sup>

In order to find which of the two given numbers is closer to the truth, we shall check the Horse Lists. These lists were found in Fort Shalmaneser (also known as the Review Palace) situated in the modern city of Nimrud. This document contains a detailed list of officials, equestrian officers and units in Sargon's Army. The Lists differentiate between two types of units. One section is devoted to units whose origins are in Assyria proper, while the other section deals with non-Assyrian units. The Samarian unit is the sole non-Assyrian unit identified by nationality or city of origin. This means the Israelites were privileged by being allowed to keep a whole unit of their own. This privilege may have been given due to the Assyrian appreciation of the Israelites' skills,<sup>29</sup> and their importance in the defence of the Empire.<sup>30</sup>

In my opinion, getting permission to erect a unit of their own inside the Assyrian army indicates that the Assyrians saw the Israelites as especially loyal, who would not break their oath. Thus, concentrating them in such organic units would have brought no danger to the empire. There were prominent leaders in the Kingdom of Israel such as Hoshea Ben Elah, who betrayed Assyria,<sup>31</sup> but their deeds did not necessarily indicate the common loyalty among the Israelites, especially among the lower classes. This instance of a non-Assyrian unit composed entirely of one ethnicity can suggest that certain acts made by certain leaders did not affect the reputation of the common Israelite people with regards to their loyalty.

According to the Horse Lists, there were 13 officers in the Samarian unit,<sup>32</sup> each of them holding the title "commander of teams" (*rab urâte*).<sup>33</sup> Here, the term "teams" meant

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<sup>28</sup> It is widely agreed that chariots needed many more horses, the equivalent of 2 to 4 cavalry men to one chariot. On the other hand, O'DANIEL CANTRELL (2011, 70-72) claimed that chariots were not that expensive, especially for the Kingdom of Israel, thereby countering all other opinions saying otherwise. There are a few problems with her claim. She suggests that since there were no prices found for chariots from the Iron Age, other than in the Bible, this meant that chariots were actually very cheap and easy to maintain and manufacture. She parallels this with the lack of prices for large kraters, which we know were homemade and were not traded. The difference between the two is obvious. Many men are needed to produce or extract the materials needed for chariot production and transport them to the craftsmen. Moreover, many different craftsmen were needed to produce chariots. Her solution to these issues is that the material was in abundance and all the men required in the production chain of a chariot were slaves, including the craftsmen. The only expense was the food for the slaves. There is a logical problem with this argument. If indeed the Kingdom of Israel had hundreds or thousands of chariots, this would mean that the King had thousands, if not tens of thousands, of slaves who produced the material and thousands of craftsmen maintaining and building the chariots. Even if so and the purchase of slaves was free, the facilities needed to maintain, train, house and feed them would cost a fortune.

<sup>29</sup> On the matter see also: O'DANIEL CANTRELL 2011.

<sup>30</sup> DALLEY 1985, 32.

<sup>31</sup> Kings II. 17: 1-6.

<sup>32</sup> CTN III 99: Obv II 16-23; the list is repeated almost identically in: 108: CTN III 108: iii 33-41.

<sup>33</sup> Regarding the term see DALLEY 1985, 32; CTN III, 170-179.

teams of chariots and chariooteers and not of cavalry,<sup>34</sup> as nowhere in the display inscription or the Prism inscription was there any mention of cavalry among the plunder from Samaria.<sup>35</sup>

Thirteen teams mean a very large unit, the second largest in the Horse Lists,<sup>36</sup> and probably in the whole Assyrian Army, which alludes to the important role the Samarian unit may have played in the Empire's Army.<sup>37</sup> If it was indeed the second largest equestrian unit in the Assyrian Army, then it makes sense that it was composed of more than 50 chariots. It would also be considered logical if there were 200 chariots, as we know that the kingdom of Israel had the infrastructure to train and maintain numerous horses and chariots, as is evident from the excavations in Megiddo.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, this number can be considered more accurate as in the century preceding the fall of the Kingdom of Israel, this kingdom had a significant military force. For example, massive chariot forces were recorded as being deployed by the Israelites, as can be seen in the Kurkh Monolith, where the battle of Qarqar from 853 BCE is depicted.<sup>39</sup> According to this monolith, King Ahab's Israelite force included 2000 chariots.<sup>40</sup> Another inscription from the period which mentioned their military might is the Tel Dan Stele, where the armies of the Kingdom of Israel under King Jehoram, and of the Kingdom of Judaea under Ahaziah of the House of David, had 2000 chariots at their disposal.<sup>41</sup>

Moreover, the list of officers of the Samarian unit included names that were clearly of West-Semitic origin. However, only two of them have the theophoric component ia'u, which refers to the God of Israel. Most of the names have no parallel in the bible, with

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<sup>34</sup> Regarding the terms and its uses, see DEZSŐ 2012/2, 130-132.

<sup>35</sup> There is lack of evidence for the use of cavalry by the kingdom of Israel: OLSHANETSKY 2020; On the other hand we have plenty of evidence for the use of chariots by the kingdom: O'DANIEL CANTRELL 2011; fourteen kings of Israel and Judah are mentioned in the bible in connection to chariots until the time of the fall of Samaria: Saul: First Samuel 13:5; Second Samuel 1:6; David: Second Samuel 8:4, 10:18; Solomon: First Kings 10:26-29; Rehoboam: First Kings 12:18; Asa: Second Chronicles 14:8-10, 16:8; Zimri: First Kings 16:9; Omri: First Kings 16:16; Ahab: First Kings 22:34-35; Jehosaphat: First Kings 22:29; Jehoram king Judah: Second Kings 8:21; Ahaziah: Second Kings 9:27; Jehoram king of Israel: Second Kings 9:24; Jehu: Second Kings 9:33; Jehoahaz king of Israel: Second Kings 13:7.

<sup>36</sup> You can see the list neatly organized in: DEZSŐ 2012b, 204.

<sup>37</sup> DALLEY 1985, 32.

<sup>38</sup> O'DANIEL CANTRELL, FINKELSTEIN 2006; FRANKLIN 2019.

<sup>39</sup> HERTZOG, GICHON 1978, 118; SCHNEIDER 1995; O'DANIEL CANTRELL 2011, 36-37; DEAN 2017, 32-33; OLSHANETSKY 2020, 28-30.

<sup>40</sup> Cogan sees this number as exaggerated. In his opinion the scribes made a mistake and wrote 2000 instead of 200: COGAN 2016; Na'Aman thought so too. Regarding his opinion that the Kingdom of Israel did not have the economic and logistic capability to match the Assyrians: NA'AMAN 2005, 4-10; Na'Aman's opinion was mentioned by Grabbe, who in turn argued that Na'Aman was looking at it with modern eyes. Hence, he offered explanations on why this would be feasible for the Kingdom of Israel: GRABBE 2007, 81; O'DANIEL CANTRELL (2011) and FRANKLIN (2019) are of the opinion that the numbers in the Kurkh Monolith are accurate because of the stables that were found in Megido, and the Tel Dan Stele.

<sup>41</sup> The different translators agree that the number of chariots mentioned is 2000: SCHNIEDEWIND 1996; LEMAIRE 1998; KOTTSIEPER 2007; O'DANIEL CANTRELL 2011, 38.

regards to either Israelites or Judaeans.<sup>42</sup> I believe this is evidence for the diversity of the names of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Israel. Due to this fact, when attempting to find Israelites or Judaeans in the Assyrian army through the usage of theophoric components such as *-ia-ú/u*, we will find only a fraction of the Israelites and Judaeans who served in that army. However, the names of the Samarian officers in the Horse Lists are completely different from the Biblical names. So even if we broaden the search to all the names that are remotely close to Biblical names that relate to Israelites or Judaeans, it would still only be a fraction of the numbers which actually served. Yet from the names that we do find, we have enough of them to prove that the Israelites and Judaeans served in a continuous manner, at least from the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel until the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The origins of that service may even be from before the fall of the Kingdom of Israel.

The names of the men serving in the Samarian unit were not the only ones of West Semitic origin. Other West Semitic names, found on an ostracon in the same building where the Horse Lists were found, belonged to another unit whose name is unknown. Scholars assume this unit to be a different foreign unit that has not been mentioned in the Horse Lists, but due to a lack of any geographical identification, its origins are attributed either to Samaria/Israel or to Ammon.<sup>43</sup> Thus, the possibility of more than one unit based entirely of Samarians cannot be rejected off-hand.

Israelite units were not the only ones to be recruited, raised and absorbed into the Assyrian army. As it seems, units that were composed of Judaeans could also be found in the ranks of the Empire's army. There is evidence for such units close to the time of the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel. This testimony comes from Hezekiah's surrender to Sennacherib, the Assyrian king, which is backed by three different versions.<sup>44</sup> In those versions, the *Urbi* and the elite force that were brought to Jerusalem by Hezekiah were taken to Nineveh by Sennacherib.<sup>45</sup> *Urbī* is a term meaning "a band of mercenaries"<sup>46</sup> which due to the recent events of the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel, may have been Israelite soldiers or immigrants who searched for a new life. Yet, it is unclear who the *Urbī* were, but it is clear that entire units from the defeated Judaean army were moved to Assyria proper and were most probably absorbed by its army as organic units. According to Tadmor, at least the force

<sup>42</sup> The names as they appear in CTN III 99: Obv ii 16-23 : (ib-ba-da-la-a), (da-la- PAP), (ia-u-ga-a), (a-tam-ru), (PAP-id-ri), (ab-di-mil-ku), (EN- BAD), (na-ar-me-na-a), (gab-bi-e), (sa-ma-a), (PAP-id-ri), (ba-hi-e), (PAP-i- ú) ; They appear in Dalley's article as: "ib-ba-da-la-a, da-la-a-ahu(PAP), ia-u-ga-a, a-tam-ru, ahu(PAP)-id-ri I, ab-di-mil-ku, bel(EN)-dúri (BAD), na-ar-me-na-a (variant armenā?), gab-be-e, sa-ma-a, ahu(PAP)-id-ri II, ba-he-e, ahi(PAP)-i-ú." DALLEY 1985, 32.

<sup>43</sup> DALLEY 1985, 32.

<sup>44</sup> These are the Taylor Prism, the prism of the Eastern Institute in Chicago and the Rassam Cylinder: TADMOR 2006, 275.

<sup>45</sup> OIP III 33: III 39.

<sup>46</sup> This is the definition of *Urbī* in: CAD, Volume U/W, p. 213 of the Assyrian dictionary.

that is described as the "elite force" or the "chosen force" was composed of Judaeans.<sup>47</sup> It is also possible that except for those two units, there were other Judaean units that were taken away and may have been used by the Assyrian army. And so, we can see that there were more than one incident at the end of the eighth century BCE in which a unit from the geographical area of the land of Israel was absorbed into a foreign army, the army of the Assyrian Empire.

### **Other Testimonies for Judaean-Israelite Service**

The once vast Assyrian Empire has left us many documents which may guide us to better understand the realities of that empire. By searching through all these documents, we can find many Western-Semitic names that could have belonged to the Israelites or Judaeans. For example, the groom Salamanu's name is found as the third witness on a document from the second half of the seventh century BCE,<sup>48</sup> relating to the purchase of a house. This example demonstrates the problem in searching after Israelites or Judaeans who have served in the Assyrian army. Firstly, a groom could either be a military or a civilian role. Secondly, Salamanu is a general Semitic name, not necessarily unique to Jews. Yet, there is a similarity between this name and other Israelite and Judaean names, for example King Solomon. It is important to note that the name was only partially complete in the original document. The scholars thought that, according to the missing letters, the name is most probably Salamanu.

Another Salamanu was a commander of a unit that was connected to the king's mother and was most probably assigned to protect her.<sup>49</sup> His name appears in a document listing members of the royal court. In the same document, there is another man with a general Semitic name, who is possibly an Israelite. His name was Hanunu,<sup>50</sup> a commander of a different military unit, this time not subordinate to the Queen's mother but to the Chief Eunuch. On the same list, we also find the name of the guardsman Gada.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that this Gada is the same Gada that is defined as a bodyguard (ša-šēpi)<sup>52</sup> and appears in a separate document from Nineveh which refers to the accommodation of higher ranking personnel.<sup>53</sup> In another high ranking personnel list from Nineveh, there is a third mention of a man named Gada.<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, his specific role was lost; it is possible that all three references are for the same person.

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<sup>47</sup> TADMOR 2006, 276-282.

<sup>48</sup> ([sa-la-m]a-nu), SAA XIV 262: r.4.

<sup>49</sup> (Sa-lam-a-nu), SAA VII 5: II.30.

<sup>50</sup> (Ha-nu-nu), SAA VII 5: II.10.

<sup>51</sup> (ga-da-a), SAA VII 5: II.33; Kaplan (2006, 36) defined him as “בָּנְרָק”.

<sup>52</sup> According to Dezső (2012a, 120-123), bodyguards that were defined in that manner existed only from 791 BCE until the military reforms of Sargon II.

<sup>53</sup> (ga-da-a), SAA VII 9: r.i 26; KAPLAN 2006, 36.

<sup>54</sup> SAA VII 11: r5.

In a document from the days of Esarhaddon, we find a person named Danī who seems to be in charge of the royal bodyguards.<sup>55</sup> This name is also a Western-Semitic name and not necessarily a Jewish one. From this period, we have a few other texts that speak about a high-ranking official named Salamanu<sup>56</sup> whose position is unclear. What is certain is that he was an important administrator who also had to take care of military business, for example deserters from the army.

While West-Semitic names are not certain to be of Israelite or Judaean origin, we do have other documents which contain names ending with the theophoric suffix of ya'u, which appears in the Assyrian texts as -ia-ú/u. A theophoric suffix of this nature was defined by scholars as the only definitive way to verify that the person believed in the God of Israel.<sup>57</sup> While other theophoric suffixes, similar in sound, could also be referred to other deities, the -ia-ú/u suffix refers only to the God of Israel.<sup>58</sup>

The first example is Nadbi-Ya'u the charioteer,<sup>59</sup> whose name appears as the fourth witness on a contract from the year 709 BCE. The contract was for the purchase of slaves by Šumma-ilani, a charioteer in the royal army, of Sargon II.<sup>60</sup> The fact that the buyer was a charioteer in the royal army explains why one of the other witnesses would also have been a charioteer. It is probable that Nadbi-Ya'u was Šumma-ilani's friend and served with him in the same unit. Even if this is not so and they were not friends, the professional connection between the two is clear and would still indicate that Nadbi-Ya'u was a charioteer in the Assyrian army.

One prominent figure in the Assyrian documents is Sama (Sa-ma-a), whose name appears as part of the Samarian chariot unit in the Horse Lists found in Nimrud. Dalley suggested that he had been the same person that we have met in a few documents from Nineveh.<sup>61</sup> In those four documents he appears at the head of the list, which means he was a very prominent figure. In three of them, his role is defined as *murabbânu ša mār šarri*, which means the horse breeder of the king's heir.<sup>62</sup> In the fourth document, his title is *murabbânu ša Nergal-šumu-[ibni]*, which means the horse breeder of Nergal [...].<sup>63</sup> In all of the lists, other

<sup>55</sup> (*da-ni-i*), SAA XVI 90: r.7.

<sup>56</sup> SAA XVI 136: 3; SAA XVI 137: 3; SAA XVI 138: 3; SAA XVI 140: 3.

<sup>57</sup> KAPLAN (2006, 37) refers to this assertion in his sub-chapter 2.1.6. There he relies on the opinion of Efal. Kaplan claims that while the theophoric suffix should be attested to Jews only, while the theophoric prefix could belong to Jews and Arabs as well; DALLEY (1990, 21-22) claims that there is a larger number of theophoric suffixes that indicate a belief in the God of Israel.

<sup>58</sup> Regarding the use of these names by Judaeans in Babylonia, even in later centuries long after they were exiled, see: PEARCE, WUNSCH 2014; PEARCE 2016; PEARCE 2018.

<sup>59</sup> (*Na-ad-bi-ia-u*), SAA VI 34: r.9.

<sup>60</sup> KAPLAN (2006, 38) refers to this in his research.

<sup>61</sup> DALLEY 1985, 40; KAPLAN (2006, 41-42) was also of the same opinion.

<sup>62</sup> SAA VI 37: r.7; SAA VI 39: 16; SAA VI 40: r.4.

<sup>63</sup> SAA VI 41: r.5.

members of the chariot force appear, strengthening the assumption that Sama was a member of the army and that he was the same Sama mentioned in the Horse Lists.<sup>64</sup>

We find many Israelites in high-ranking positions, but we do not always know their exact role. For example, we have a list of officials, where one of their names is Ahi-Yau.<sup>65</sup> This list is from the reign of Esarhaddon, dated to between 672-669 BCE and deals with crimes that occurred in Guzana. Three Israelite/Judeans appear in a different document linked to the same event including Niri-Ia'u, the accountant of the province who is in charge of the budget, and Palti-Ia'u, the deputy governor.<sup>66</sup> They appear as witnesses in the first half of the document. As deputy governor, Palti-Ia'u was also in charge of military logistics, such as preparing food stores for the army, for both day to day use and for times of emergency.<sup>67</sup> A third man named Halbišu is certainly from the land of Israel due to the fact that the document explicitly mentions that he is from Samaria.<sup>68</sup> Yet, his name is not typically Jewish and the date of the document is much later than the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel. It is always possible that he was not a native of Samaria, but was settled there by the Assyrians and later moved to Guzana. As the document is fragmented, we are not certain of the role of Halbišu. We only know that he served the king and it was suggested that he may have been the informant who reported the investigated crimes.

From the reign of Ashurbanipal, we find a text mentioning a bodyguard named Azar-Ya'u,<sup>69</sup> which is dated between the years 663 to 661 BCE.<sup>70</sup> There is also a commander of a unit consisting of 50 soldiers, stationed in the area of Ahabū, whose name was also Azar-Ya'u. However, we do not know the exact date of this document.<sup>71</sup> Another testimony of a member of the army, who was certainly a Jew, is the archer Ahi-Ya'u who may have been a mounted archer.<sup>72</sup> He was the third witness of what was left from a document that we are not certain of its nature. This document arrived from Nineveh and it is believed to be from the second half of the seventh century BCE.

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<sup>64</sup> KAPLAN 2006, 41-42.

<sup>65</sup> SAA XVI 51: 5.

<sup>66</sup> SAA XVI 63: 4, 27.

<sup>67</sup> Regarding the military logistics of the Assyrian army, and the roles of governors and their deputies in it, see: DEZSŐ 2016, 73-76.

<sup>68</sup> (*hal-bi-šu*), SAA XVI 63: r.9.

<sup>69</sup> (*a-zar-ia-u*), SAA VII 118: II.3.

<sup>70</sup> Azar-Ya'u was also mentioned in: KAPLAN 2006, 38.

<sup>71</sup> (*a-zar-ia-u*), SAA XI 183: 6.

<sup>72</sup> SAA XIV 421: r.3.

### **Conclusions**

The Kingdom of Israel was so confident in its capabilities in this type of warfare that they never bothered to create a meaningful cavalry force; they mostly, if not solely, relied on the expensive chariots, which needed many horses and regular maintenance. Their confidence in their capabilities brought Ahab to create and nurture one of the largest chariot forces of the time, maybe even of all time. Their prowess received fame among the nations and so the Assyrians were glad to recruit Israelites into their ranks after the conquest of the Israelite kingdom. The Assyrian respect can be seen in the unique privilege of allowing them to create a unit entirely composed of Israelites, which was highlighted by the name of the unit. This unit was the second largest among the mounted units in the Assyrian army and the largest chariot unit in their army. This meant that it was an essential element in the protection of the borders of the empire. The unit's ethnical segregation to Israelites only may have been due to the unique nature of Israelite chariot tactics. The number of officers in this unit, according to the Horse Lists, supports the number of 200 chariots given in Sargon II's Prism found in Nimrud, as more accurate than the number of 50 chariots found in an inscription from Dur-Sharrukin. The number 200 also indicates that the Israelite army still had a decent number of chariots and, as a result, financial capabilities until the very end of the Kingdom. The Israelites in this unit were not the only Israelites serving in the Assyrian army. We have the names of many soldiers and officers of Israelite or Judaean origin, in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. They provide evidence that loyalty and the word of honour were a main feature in Judaean-Israelite belief and culture. Furthermore, the military profession, including soldiers and mercenaries in non-Jewish armies, was well established among those believing in the one God. All in all, the Israelite-Judaean service in the Assyrian army can be considered as continuous, at least from the fall of Samaria until the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

### **Acknowledgments:**

The author would like to thank Professor Shawn Aster-Zelig for reading the article and his invaluable advice and suggestions.

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## Spartan King Agesilaus and the Case of Sphodrias

Larisa PECHATNOVA<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** The article explores the tradition about the unsuccessful attempt of the Spartan *harmost* Sphodrias to capture Piraeus in 378 BC. Since Sphodrias acted without an order, in Sparta he was brought to trial as a state offender. He owed his acquittal solely to king Agesilaus. The analysis of the tradition of Sphodrias' trial leads the author to the conclusion that Agesilaus controlled the entire administration of Sparta, including the judicial panel. In Sphodrias' trial the opinion of one person – Agesilaus – decided the outcome of the vote. The acquittal of Sphodrias initiated by Agesilaus is a weighty testimony to the great authority which this king possessed in the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (before the battle of Leuctra).

**Rezumat.** Articolul explorează tradiția despre încercarea nereușită a spartanului Sphodrias de a captura Pireul în 370 a. Chr. Sphodria a acționat fără vreun ordin și a fost adus în Sparta pentru judecată în calitate de inamic public. Își datorează achitarea doar regelui Agesilaos. Autoarea ajunge la concluzia că Agesilaos controla întreaga administrație spartană, inclusiv cea judecătorească.

**Keywords:** Agesilaus, Cleombrotus, Sphodrias, Phoebidas, Xenophon, Diodorus, Plutarch, Sparta, Thebes.

There is not so much extant information on war crimes committed by high-ranking Spartan officers and the reaction to these incidents among the Spartans. Therefore, the data on Sphodrias (Σφοδρίας), the Spartan *harmost* of Boeotian Thespiae, who at the beginning of 378 BC<sup>2</sup> decided to deploy a large force to attack Piraeus, the port of Athens, becomes all the more valuable. Regarding Sphodrias' instigators, the particulars of the campaign, the trial of the *harmost* and the role Agesilaus played in it, the extant tradition contains significant discrepancies.

By way of introduction, we would like to note that the first three decades of king Agesilaus' reign more or less coincide with the rise and fall of the Spartan Empire. At the time of Agesilaus' death Sparta already was a lesser state, having lost Messenia and even the position of the leader of the Peloponnesian League. And herein lies the paradox – how was it possible for Sparta to undergo that catastrophic a metamorphosis under the rule of such a talented politician and military leader as Agesilaus (as he is portrayed in the sources)? We will not take it upon ourselves to provide a comprehensive answer to this question here. Rather, we will try to examine one aspect of the problem – to what degree Agesilaus' priorities affected the

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<sup>2</sup> On the timeline of this offensive, see: CAWKWELL 1973, 56.

foreign policy of Sparta. As evidenced by all our sources, during his reign Agesilaus' politics was inseparable from that of Sparta<sup>3</sup>. The support that Agesilaus showed to Sphodrias, who was in fact a war criminal, seriously damaged Sparta's reputation and alienated its allies, which later resulted in the formation of an anti-Spartan coalition.

In this article we will endeavour to evaluate Agesilaus' role in the case of Sphodrias. In order to do so, we will examine the existing sources and attempt to collate them while bearing in mind our main purpose.

The most comprehensive account of all the issues regarding Sphodrias' intended attack on Piraeus is given by Xenophon. Apparently, Xenophon's mentioning Sphodrias' raid in his '*Hellenica*' may be explained by the historian's intention to once again portray Agesilaus as a paragon of virtue and loyalty to friends, and also to emphasize the immense authority he held in Sparta. Xenophon's detailed account of Sphodrias' exploits gives us a rare opportunity to gain at least a basic understanding of the power dynamics in Sparta and Agesilaus' social status in the *polis*.

We should now turn to Xenophon's actual account. The Athenian historian clearly connects Sphodrias with king Cleombrotus (380-371 BC). According to his account, Cleombrotus, returning home after the unsuccessful invasion of Boeotia at the beginning of 378 BC, left Sphodrias as the *harmost* of Thespiae with a body of troops and the rest of the money he had at his disposal (Hell. V. 4. 15). Such an appointment is likely to be a testimony to the high position Sphodrias held in the army and the trust the young king placed in him.

Next, Xenophon proceeds to recount the story of Sphodrias' raid itself. He claims that the idea to use Sphodrias for the provocation designed to drive a wedge between Athens and Sparta originated in Thebes. According to him, 'They (the Thebans – L.P.) persuaded Sphodrias, the Lacedaemonian governor at the Thespiae, – by giving him money, it was suspected, – to invade Attica, that so he might involve the Athenians in war with the Lacedaemonians' (Hell. V. 4. 20, hereinafter translated by C.L. Brownson). Although Xenophon does not sound absolutely certain talking about the bribe, mentioning that 'it was suspected', it should be noted that, being hostile to Thebes, Xenophon definitely holds the Thebans culpable for initiating Sphodrias' raid or at least wishes to impress this speculation on his readers. That is not surprising, taking into account his obvious animosity towards Thebes. This explains why, describing the Thebans' behaviour, Xenophon claims that they adopted 'the following expedient' (*τούόνδε μηχάνημα*) persuading the greedy and narrow-minded Spartan to implement such a patently reckless scheme.

According to Xenophon, Sphodrias agreed to the Thebans' suggestion partly because the task did not seem difficult to him – the reconstruction of the Long Walls started by Conon apparently had not been completed and the harbour did not have the gates yet (Xen. Hell. IV.

<sup>3</sup> RUZÉ 2018, 346.

8. 10; Diod. XIV. 85. 2–4)<sup>4</sup>. Sphodrias, planning to make a surprise attack, decided to set off at night<sup>5</sup>.

Xenophon mentions Sphodrias' abnormal behaviour during the march, namely the fact that 'he made no effort to escape observation' (Hell. V. 4. 21). Sphodrias did not attempt to conceal the movement of his troops either when entering the territory of Attica or when leaving it. On the contrary, Xenophon even claims that 'when he [Sphodrias] had turned about, [he] seized cattle and plundered houses' (Hell. V. 4. 21), i.e., openly looted from civilians. As a result, by the break of day Sphodrias was only able to reach the Thriasian plain east to Eleusis. By that time the Athenians already knew 'that a very large army was coming against them' (Hell. V. 4. 21). For a commander intent on keeping his plans secret from the enemy for as long as possible Sphodrias' behaviour seems inexplicable. He was either a bad strategist or had no intention to reach Piraeus in the first place. In any case, Xenophon portrays Sphodrias as a thoughtless and short-sighted person incapable of carefully devising and successfully executing his plans.

The abortive attempt to capture Piraeus led to disastrous consequences for the relationship between Athens and Sparta. The fragile peace was jeopardized. Xenophon writes about what became of the Spartan envoys<sup>6</sup> who were in Athens at that time; they were staying at Callias', the Spartan *proxenos*. These envoys, according to Xenophon, just happened to be in Athens during Sphodrias' raid. Xenophon says nothing about their mission. On hearing about Sphodrias' foray, the Athenians immediately detained the envoys 'in the belief that they too were concerned in the plot' (Hell. V. 4. 22). However, Xenophon argues that this was not the case and 'that the Lacedaemonian state was not cognizant of this attempt'. That, naturally, was the official narrative, the one Sparta would continue to promote. The envoys assured the Athenians, sincerely, it would seem, that fitting punishment would be administered to Sphodrias as a war criminal (V. 4. 23). They managed to prove their innocence, so the Athenians set them free (V. 4. 24).

It cannot be ruled out that the Spartan envoys' visit to Athens at that time was not a mere coincidence, and neither was Sphodrias' raid. Shortly before these events, a problem

<sup>4</sup> We believe that the explanation offered by G.L. Cawkwell for why there were no gates is the only plausible one. In his view, 'they had been forbidden, forbidden by the terms of the King's Peace... Athenian naval power was the real Greek threat to the King's interests in Asia; the King might well have demanded that the port be kept open to surveillance... In any case, how else is the oddity of the Piraeus being without gates in 378 to be explained?' : CAWKWELL 1973, 54. This opinion is shared by V. Parker (2007, 29). The hypothesis is also in line with what Xenophon writes about the acquittal of Sphodrias, after which 'the Athenians furnished Piraeus with gates' (Hell. V. 4. 34), since they deemed the King's Peace unequivocally broken by Spartans.

<sup>5</sup> From the Boeotian border to Piraeus, the troops would have to cover about 50 km, which is too great a distance for a night march. Ch. Hamilton believes that Sphodrias miscalculated the time it would take to cover such a distance: HAMILTON 1991, 167.

<sup>6</sup> One of the three envoys was Etymocles, a friend of Agesilaus (Hell. V. 4. 32)

arose that could negatively affect the relationship between Athens and Sparta – in the winter of 379/8 BC the Theban exiles, who had previously taken refuge in Athens, overthrew the pro-Spartan regime in Thebes. They received support from Athens; according to Xenophon, it was covert (Hell. V. 4. 9-10), while Diodorus writes that the aid was given openly (XV. 25. 4-26)<sup>7</sup>. In an attempt to reconcile these two theories P. Rhodes suggests that the Athenian troops were only sent to the border of Boeotia but entered its territory of their own accord<sup>8</sup>. That was probably the reason why the Athenians, taking into consideration the still existing Spartan threat, passed the death sentence on two of the three *strategoi* leading this army (Hell. V. 4. 19; Diod. XV. 27. 3). If so, the envoys could have arrived in Athens to voice a protest against the action in support of Thebes by the Athenians.

There is another possible reason for the Spartan envoys' visit to Athens. G. Cawkwell believes that the Spartan *ephors* reacted to the first steps Athens had taken to create the Second Athenian League. The envoys' goal was to protest against this development. In G. Cawkwell's opinion, later the Spartan government showed leniency toward Sphodrias, knowing that he had valid reasons for the radical action he had taken<sup>9</sup>.

After giving an account of the events related to the Spartan envoys, Xenophon proceeds to the last part of Sphodrias' story. As was often the case with transgressing *Spartiates* who were stationed abroad, Sphodrias received the *ephors'* order to return home immediately. In Sparta they 'brought out capital charges against him' (Hell. V. 4. 24). However, according to Xenophon, Sphodrias did not attend his hearing "out of fear", nevertheless, he was acquitted *in absentia*. In Sparta, it was fairly common for the accused facing a death sentence to fail to appear in court. It was done by many a nobleman, including kings; although it should be mentioned that none of them, apart from Sphodrias, was acquitted. One may say that Sphodrias' case is unique in its own way. Regarding this, P.

<sup>7</sup> Diodorus directly states that 'the Thebans... dispatched envoys to Athens... to request the Athenians to come with all their forces and assist them in reducing Cadmeia before the arrival of the Lacedaemonians' (XV. 25. 4, hereinafter translated by C.H. Oldfather). In response to their plea Athenians passed a decree 'to dispatch as large a force as possible for the liberation of Thebes' (26. 1) and in the winter of 379/8 BC deployed a large detachment headed by Demophon to Thebes, which detachment participated in the siege of 1,500-strong Spartan garrison that had occupied Cadmeia since 382 BC (26. 2-4). Dinarchus, a 4<sup>th</sup>-century BC orator, also claims in his speech '*Against Demosthenes*' that the aid from Athens was official. He even names the originator of this *psephisma* – one Cephalus, 'who proposed the decree and who... moved that the Athenians should march out to help the exiles who had taken Thebes' (Dinarch. I. 39, translated by J. O. Burtt). In the scholia on Aeschines' speech '*On the Embassy*' (2. 117) it is stated unequivocally that it was the Athenians that ousted the Spartan garrison from Cadmeia (Scholia in Aeschin. Dilts, 85, 257).

<sup>8</sup> RHODES 2006, 229.

<sup>9</sup> CAWKWELL 1973, 55. The opinion that the core of the Second Athenian League had been formed before Sphodrias' raid can be found in the works by the following authors: RHODES 2006, 229–230; SEAGER 2008, 166; HORNBLOWER 2011, 240. While not rejecting the hypothesis, Ch. Hamilton points out that this conjecture is mostly based on Diodorus' account; and the latter is known for frequent mistakes in his chronology (1991, 169). For theories explaining other possible reasons for the Spartan mission, see: PARKER 2007, 22, N. 34–35.

Cartledge notes that ‘in any other Greek city at almost any time Sphodrias’ failure to appear at his trial would have been enough by itself to condemn him’<sup>10</sup>.

Xenophon, who understood how highly irregular the situation was, felt compelled to give a detailed explanation of the reason for this seemingly inexplicable acquittal. To achieve that, Xenophon had to bring two new characters into the story, namely, Cleonymus, son of Sphodrias, and Archidamus, son of Agesilaus. Xenophon writes that they were lovers, and that Archidamus as the older one took his young friend under his wing<sup>11</sup>. At the behest of Cleonymus Archidamus approached his father with a request to spare Sphodrias’s life. Agesilaus refused, stating that he could not acquit a person if, in order to amass wealth, he acted to the detriment of his motherland (Hell. V. 4. 30). Xenophon’s using this phrase indicates that there was no doubt in the king’s mind about Sphodrias’ guilt.

Still, Sphodrias’ trial ended in acquittal under pressure from Agesilaus. Xenophon felt compelled to explain the king’s motives to the reader. Agesilaus believed that Sphodrias deserved leniency and had to be acquitted on the grounds that in the past he had been a model *Spartiate*; ‘but that when, as child, boy, and young man, one has continually performed all the duties of a Spartan, it is a hard thing to put such a man to death; for Sparta has need of such soldiers’ (Hell. V. 4. 32). For Agesilaus, the main or rather, the sole argument in favour of Sphodrias’ acquittal was his exemplary behaviour in the past, which, in the king’s opinion, should have guaranteed his immense value to the state in the future.

It should be noted that, according to Plutarch, a year before Sphodrias’ raid Agesilaus used similar reasoning for openly defending Phoebidas. In the presence of his outraged compatriots Agesilaus stated ‘that they must consider whether the act itself was serviceable or not...’ (ὅτι δεῖ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτήν, εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἔχει, σκοπεῖν) (Ages. 23.4, hereinafter translated by B. Perrin). The key phrase here is τι χρήσιμον (lit. ‘something useful’). It appears to have been Agesilaus’ credo – any war crime benefitting Sparta merits approval and justification even if it violates all the international norms and existing agreements.

But speaking out in defence of Sphodrias, Agesilaus could not even claim that the former’s crime was in any way beneficial to Sparta – for Sphodrias’ raid appeared an ill-advised and dangerous provocation, harmful to Sparta’s reputation and resulting in nothing but disgrace. Therefore, Agesilaus went no further than pointing out Sphodrias’ value *per se*. So, in this instance the main and, it would seem, the sole defence argument was the testimony that in the past Sphodrias had successfully completed all the stages of Spartan

<sup>10</sup> CARTLEDGE 2000, 20.

<sup>11</sup> In I.E. Surikov’s opinion, it cannot be ruled out that the story narrated by Xenophon is an anecdote, originating fairly early on to be used as a reason why Agesilaus chose to protect a person that was not even one of his followers: SURIKOV 2015, 118.

upbringing<sup>12</sup>. The defence method employed by Agesilaus seems to have been met with approval due to the following reason.

In Spartan society, an opinion of this or that *Spartiate* was subject to change during all the years he spent in the barracks and it was well-known to the authorities (Xen. Lac. Pol. 4. 6; Aelian. V. h. 14. 7). A citizen's conduct as a child and then a teenager had a profound impact on his further career. The duty of observation of younger generations was entrusted to numerous adult *Spartiates* who were either appointed as special supervisors (Lac. Pol. 2. 2)<sup>13</sup> or did it as part of their responsibilities as Spartan citizens (2. 10; 3. 3). In all likelihood, Xenophon did not exaggerate the active role that citizens played in the upbringing of young people. Every young *Spartiate* was closely observed by the collective body of citizens and judgements were formed about him not only within a close-knit group of officials, but within the whole community *in corpore*. Taking into account the egalitarian trend existing within the Spartan community, one should note that even boys from noble families could not expect to succeed as a matter of course, they needed to make an effort themselves.

Apparently, Sphodrias' career progressed so well mainly due to the following two factors: his noble lineage and his spectacular achievements in the course of *agoge*. It was probably the result of these circumstances that he became part of an elite *syssitia* whose members could further his career advancement<sup>14</sup> and was selected to join the *hippeis*<sup>15</sup>. The high probability of this scenario was pointed out by Ph. Davies, who wrote, 'However, admission to the *hippeis* is a further achievement which we might count among Sphodrias' *kala*'<sup>16</sup>.

One can infer the approximate balance of power in the *polis* from Xenophon's account of Sphodrias' trial. Xenophon counts Sphodrias among the friends of king Cleombrotus, Agesilaus' co-ruler (Hell. V. 4. 25). Opposing them were Agesilaus' supporters; according to Xenophon, there were also those adopting a neutral attitude. Such an arrangement implies that Sphodrias' judges (presumably it was the *gerontes* and the *ephors*)<sup>17</sup> split into three

<sup>12</sup> Xenophon lists specific terms denoting younger age groups in Sparta: παῖς, παιδίσκος, ἥβῶν. They reappear in his 'Lacedaemonian Politeia' (2. 2).

<sup>13</sup> Ph. Davies calculates that 'by the age of twenty any given *Spartiate* youth might have been closely observed from such offices by more than fifty individuals': DAVIES 2018, 484.

<sup>14</sup> According to Plutarch (Lyc. 12. 5-6), it was the messmates who decided whether or not to admit a youth to their 'dining club'. The new member of *syssitia* was likely to find himself among his relatives and elders. The latter became the newly-admitted members' mentors, backers and sexual partners. Consequently, at the age of twenty young people became part of a fairly exclusive club in which their mindset was shaped and social connections were forged.

<sup>15</sup> On the *hippeis*, see: FIGUEIRA 2006, 57–84; DUCAT 2007, 327–40.

<sup>16</sup> DAVIES 2018, 488.

<sup>17</sup> According to *periegetes* Pausanias, 'the court that sat to try a Lacedaemonian king consisted of the senate, "old men" as they were called, twenty-eight in number, the members of the *ephorate*, and in addition the king of the other house' (III. 5. 2, translated by W.H.S. Jones et al.). At present, the consensus among scholars is that the most serious

factions – Agesilaus' friends, Cleombrotus' friends, and finally those who did not openly support either of the kings. But on this occasion all three factions unanimously agreed 'that he (Sphodrias – *L.P.*) had done a dreadful deed' (δεινὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει πεποιηκέναι) (Hell. V. 4. 25). And since Sphodrias, as if adding insult to injury, failed to appear in court, a guilty verdict appeared to be a foregone conclusion. However, the judges' attitude changed dramatically after Agesilaus expressed his stance on it.

It follows from Xenophon's account that Agesilaus was disinclined to consider other people's opinions, including his own son's requests. Xenophon presents the king's decision to aid Sphodrias as taken of his own free will. Neither does the historian offer comments on the way Agesilaus' supporters changed their opinion completely since they were used to following their leader (Hell. V. 4. 32). One person's point of view – that of king Agesilaus – outweighed other considerations and in their *archagetas'* wake the judges voted to acquit Sphodrias.

Xenophon's account of Sphodrias' trial leaves a rather ambivalent impression. On the face of it, it appears comprehensive and detailed, but in reality this is not the case. An attentive reader will notice Xenophon's attempts to gloss over the facts likely to damage Sparta's reputation. For example, there is no information on Sphodrias' actions once he received the *ephors'* order to return to Sparta. Xenophon's attitude to Sphodrias' acquittal is not very clear either. It would seem that privately he shared the general opinion of the Spartans 'that that the decision in this case was the most unjust ever known in Lacedaemon' (V. 4. 24). However, he chose not to denounce Agesilaus' position on Sphodrias' case publicly<sup>18</sup>.

Apart from Xenophon's account, the information on Sphodrias' raid can be found in the writings of the later authors Diodorus and Plutarch. Diodorus presented a concise account of the events, most probably, by seriously abridging Ephorus. At the beginning of his narrative he evaluates Sphodrias' moral character, calling the Spartan *harmost* thoughtless, greedy and imprudent. In Diodorus' account the role of the instigator of the raid is played by king Cleombrotus, who, according to the historian, persuaded Sphodrias 'without the consent of the *ephors* to occupy the Peiraeus' (XV. 29. 5). Just this phrase is enough to portray Cleombrotus as a reckless opportunist putting his subordinate up to committing gross misconduct. But the king, who had just ascended the throne, would have hardly dared to take such a step. In all likelihood, Diodorus simply repeats the anecdote originating with king Agesilaus' supporters, who were not averse to maligning the colleague and potential rival of

criminal cases were tried by the panel consisting of the *ephors* and the *gerontes*: RICHER 1998, 411–412; CARTLEDGE 2000, 18.

<sup>18</sup> Sphodrias' acquittal had far-reaching negative consequences for Sparta. Athens held Sparta accountable for breaking the peace treaty concluded earlier (Diod. XV. 29. 5–6). That resulted in an alliance between Athens and Thebes against Sparta, which was swiftly followed by the finalization of the Second Athenian League – in February or March of 377 BC (Diod. XV. 28. 4; IG II<sup>2</sup> 43 = Tod 123, 1–5).

their leader. It should be noted that Diodorus is the only one identifying Cleombrotus as Sphodrias' instigator. Unlike Xenophon, he also quotes a figure of more than 10,000 troops under Sphodrias' command (XV. 29. 6), which is probably a gross exaggeration<sup>19</sup>.

Sphodrias' trial and acquittal are described by Diodorus in a single sentence: 'He was then denounced before the council of the Spartans, but since he had the kings to support him, he got off by a miscarriage of justice' (XV. 29. 6). According to Diodorus, Sphodrias was wrongfully acquitted through the agency of both kings. In contrast to Xenophon, Diodorus does not single Agesilaus out as the main character responsible for determining Sphodrias' fate and concludes his account with the phrase: 'As a result the Athenians, much vexed at the occurrence, voted that the truce had been broken by the Lacedaemonians' (XV. 29. 7). Diodorus presents Sphodrias' raid as a reckless gamble, and not only from a military point of view. The Athenians deemed his invasion of the territory of Attica as unequivocal peace-breaking and later used his actions as *casus belli*.

Let us now turn to Plutarch, who touches upon our subject matter in two of his biographies – those of Agesilaus and Pelopidas. As a patriot of Boeotia, Plutarch focuses on the famous Theban politicians Pelopidas and Epaminondas, whereas Xenophon studiously avoids all mention of them. Researchers have long noticed this lacuna. Apparently, as V. Parker put it, 'Xenophon's general refusal to mention the two chief architects of the Theban hegemony bespeaks an extreme hostility which might have operated in this case as well'<sup>20</sup>.

Let us start with 'Agesilaus'. Plutarch is very specific about Sphodrias' position regarding the distribution of political power, mentioning that he was among Agesilaus' opponents. In his typical ambivalent manner, Plutarch confers both virtues and vices on his character – on the one hand, Sphodrias is a brave and ambitious man, o the other hand, 'he always abounded in hopes rather than in good judgement' (24. 3, hereinafter translated by B. Perrin). Plutarch claims that even before any interference on the part of the Thebans Sphodrias already dreamed of seizing glory like Phoebidas who 'made himself famous far and near by his bold deed at Thebes...' (24. 3). This assertion led some researchers to believe that Sphodrias could have acted on his own authority, inspired by the example of Phoebidas. Among such researchers is Ph. Davies, who argues that Sphodrias might have tried to attack Piraeus hoping to impress the Spartan authorities with a bold venture and thus raise his standing at home<sup>21</sup>.

Following in Xenophon's footsteps, Plutarch identifies the direct instigators of Sphodrias' raid as the Thebans and even mentions their names. They were the *boeotarchs* Pelopidas and

<sup>19</sup> UNDERHILL 1900, 205.

<sup>20</sup> PARKER 2007, 28.

<sup>21</sup> DEVIES 2018, 495.

Melo<sup>22</sup>. Speaking about their ploy, Plutarch uses the same term as Xenophon – μηχάνημα (Ages. 24. 4). Plutarch claims that the agents, sent to the Spartan *harmost*, called themselves Laconian loyalists and in their dealings with Sphodrias relied solely on flattery. Plutarch terms Sphodrias' undertaking as 'lawless and unjust' (πρᾶξιν ἄδικον... καὶ; παράνομον) (24. 4). The description of the raid itself, given by Plutarch, coincides with Xenophon's account. The only difference from the Athenian historian is that Plutarch's narrative contains more details to heighten dramatic effects and also more value judgements. Among those is the fear of sacred Eleusis the soldiers felt, their pillage and plunder, their ignominious and disgraceful retreat to Thespiae (24. 5).

Proceeding with his narrative, Plutarch strictly adheres to Xenophon's version while slightly abridging the latter's account: the description of the balance of power (Ages. 25. 1), the 'cast', the arguments that Agesilaus put forward are the same, to the extent of textual similarities. For instance, in Xenophon's account, Agesilaus concludes his speech in defence of Sphodrias with the phrase 'for Sparta has need of such soldiers' (τὴν γὰρ Σπάρτην τοιούτων δεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν) (Hell. V. 4. 32), while according to Plutarch, the words are 'the city needed just such soldiers' (τὴν πόλιν... τοιούτων στρατιωτῶν δεομένην) (Ages. 25. 4).

In his 'Pelopidas' Plutarch also mentions Sphodrias. However, there are discrepancies between this version and the narrative of 'Agesilaus'. It would appear that at least some details, especially those concerning the Thebans, are more precise. The scheme to set Sparta and Athens at loggerheads was devised by the two *boeotarchs* Pelopidas and Gorgidas<sup>23</sup> (14. 1). Plutarch refers to Pelopidas as the mastermind behind the provocation. According to him, Pelopidas 'privately' (ἰδίᾳ) sent a merchant he was acquainted with to Sphodrias with a task to bribe the latter and incite him to attack Piraeus (14. 2). It should be noted that there is no mention of bribery in 'Agesilaus'. On the whole, Plutarch's version does not differ significantly from Xenophon's account. Plutarch merely added some details that he must have learned from the Boeotian tradition.

In conclusion, our sources do not provide a definite answer to the question of who might have been behind Sphodrias' decision to attack Piraeus. Xenophon and Plutarch consider the Thebans as Sphodrias' instigators while Diodorus is of the opinion that it was king Cleombrotus. Let us first examine the version with the Thebans. There are scholars refuting this hypothesis, A. MacDonald among them. While he alleges that Xenophon fabricated events that had never happened and ascribed to the Thebans something, they had

<sup>22</sup> In 379 BC the Theban exiles liberated Thebes, overthrowing the pro-Spartan 'tyrants' and ousting the Spartan garrison, and restored the former regime. Electing the *boeotarchs* presaged the restoration of the Boeotian Confederacy, which happened shortly afterwards.

<sup>23</sup> A close associate of Epaminondas and the one who formed the famous Sacred Band consisting of 300 warriors, apparently, in imitation of the Spartan *hippeis* (Plut. Pelop. 18-19).

never done<sup>24</sup>, A. MacDonald does not produce any compelling evidence in support of this theory.

We believe it is counterproductive to reject this hypothesis as either false or Xenophon's fabrication simply on the grounds that he was extremely hostile to the Thebans and was willing to spread any scurrilous rumours about the Theban leaders. We share the much more balanced view expressed by R. Seager, the author of the chapter devoted to the King's Peace and the Second Athenian Confederacy in CAH (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). In R. Seager's opinion, the Thebans were most probably the instigators behind Sphodrias' raid, for they were particularly interested in provoking a war between Sparta and Athens, thus 'the motive ascribed to the Thebans is rational and cogent'<sup>25</sup>.

While expressing certain reservations, V. Parker, nevertheless, accepts this narrative as well. He believes it was the Thebans who incited Sphodrias to try to seize Piraeus, but casts doubt on Xenophon's assertion that Sphodrias was corrupt. In Parker's opinion, this detail is Xenophon's fabrication. He points out that the motif of resorting to bribery to influence military commanders is a *topos* frequently used by Greek historians<sup>26</sup>. We would like to note, however, that Xenophon is unlikely to have fabricated this story, but he may well have spread the rumours floating around in Sparta. This is a possible interpretation of his comment 'it was suspected' (*ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο*) about the bribe offered to Sphodrias (Hell. V. 4. 20). Apparently, every time Spartan military leaders committed any dubious or questionable acts, rumours abounded that the said leaders had been bribed<sup>27</sup>.

In the wake of Diodorus some researchers consider king Cleombrotus as a possible instigator behind the raid. Such assumptions are largely based on guesswork and inference – since Cleombrotus appointed Sphodrias as *harmost* of Thespiae, it logically follows that the latter belonged to the king's inner circle. For instance, A. MacDonald, the author of an article on Sphodrias' raid, suggests that Sphodrias received a secret order from Cleombrotus to invade Attica and capture Piraeus. MacDonald believes that it was impossible for Sphodrias to act on his own initiative and that there must have been one of the kings behind it. Since Agesilaus, according to MacDonald, became implicated in this case *post factum*, it leaves Cleombrotus as the only possible instigator of the attack on Piraeus. Apart from the above-mentioned conclusion, MacDonald does not present any compelling arguments in favour of this hypothesis<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> MACDONALD 1972, 38–39.

<sup>25</sup> SEAGER 2008, 167.

<sup>26</sup> PARKER 2007, 23, n. 38.

<sup>27</sup> In Sparta it was common practice for judges to convict even those whose guilt was not conclusively proved. For instance, that was the case with the kings Cleomenes (Hdt. VI. 82; 50; 64) and Agis II (Thuc. V. 63; Diod. XII. 78), and possibly with Pasippidas, the *nauarch* in 410/409 BC (Xen. Hell. I. 1. 32).

<sup>28</sup> MACDONALD 1972, 38–44. CM. ТАКЖЕ CARTLEDGE 2000, 19.

However, other researchers tend to share Ed. Meyer's point of view and as a rule, consider it unlikely that it was king Cleombrotus who incited Sphodrias. According to these scholars, Cleombrotus, who had just become a king, was in the shadow of his much more powerful co-ruler king Agesilaus and would have never dared to give such a suicidal order. As for Diodorus, the conclusion he arrived at was based on Xenophon's reference to Sphodrias as a friend of Cleombrotus (Hell. V. 4. 25)<sup>29</sup>.

In our view, the most reasonable explanation was proposed by Ch. Hamilton. According to him, there is a kernel of truth in both versions about Sphodrias' instigators that our sources provide. King Cleombrotus left Sphodrias in Boeotian Thespiae, and the instructions the latter received should have been general in nature rather than specific. The king probably ordered Sphodrias to prevent any anti-Spartan actions on the part of Athens, whereas the Theban *boeotarchs* sent their agents to Sphodrias to incite him to commit a rash act by reminding him about Phoebidas' 'remarkable feat' of capturing Cadmeia, which turned him into a hero in many of his compatriots' eyes<sup>30</sup>.

Although none of our sources offers even a slight hint about Agesilaus' influence on Sphodrias, the former is frequently perceived as a manipulator using the latter as his puppet. Scholars probably reach this conclusion since it would conform to the image of Agesilaus as the central figure of Spartan history for several decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The researchers viewing Agesilaus as the mastermind behind Sphodrias believe that it would not be possible to think of any significant foreign policy move that did not involve Agesilaus<sup>31</sup>. Despite that, they offer no explanation that would cover the total silence of our sources in this case. Sometimes researchers try to establish the connection between Sphodrias and Agesilaus through Phoebidas. As we know, in the summer of 382 BC Phoebidas and his troops seized Thebes and helped to install a pro-Spartan regime there. The act was absolutely unlawful since at that time the King's Peace still remained in force. It is speculated that the mastermind behind Phoebidas' actions was Agesilaus<sup>32</sup> and, unlike the case of Sphodrias, evidence of this can be found in the sources.

For instance, Plutarch writes about persistent rumours circulating among the Greeks and Spartans, 'that while Phoebidas had done the deed, Agesilaus had counselled it' and adds later that 'his subsequent acts brought the charge into general belief' (Ages. 24. 1). Diodorus goes even further than this and attributes the capture of Cadmeia to a secret order allegedly given to all the Spartan military leaders, 'if ever they found an opportunity, to take

<sup>29</sup> MEYER 1902, 379; LUR'E 1935, 317.

<sup>30</sup> HAMILTON 1991, 169.

<sup>31</sup> See: MEYER 1902, 205, 294.

<sup>32</sup> SMITH 1954, 279; CAWKWELL 1976, 79; SEAGER 2008, 160.

possession of the Cadmeia' (XV. 20. 2). This assertion of Diodorus is, in all likelihood, a gross exaggeration<sup>33</sup>.

Keeping his hero and patron's misdeeds secret, as was his wont, Xenophon does not state directly that Agesilaus instigated Phoebidas to seize Cadmeia. However, the Athenian historian broadly hints at Agesilaus' involvement in Phoebidas' case and his vested interest in the latter's acquittal. Agesilaus' defence proved effective and although the court found Phoebidas guilty of criminal wrongdoing and imposed a huge fine of 100,000 *drachmas* (approx. 17 *talents*) on him (Plut. Ages. 6. 1; Diod. XV. 20. 2), still, Cadmeia remained under Sparta's control<sup>34</sup>. It implies that the Spartan authorities sanctioned the capture of Cadmeia, while Phoebidas' trial and fine were nothing but a fig leaf to cover up blatant aggression. In all probability, Agesilaus himself could have paid the fine for his protégé. It would be in keeping with his policy of supporting those demonstrating unswerving loyalty to him. Even after the trial Phoebidas remained part of Agesilaus' inner circle and enjoyed his full confidence (Hell. V. 4. 41).

But while there is extant information about Agesilaus' influence on Phoebidas, in the case of Sphodrias it is but guesswork and speculation. It is hardly surprising that when Lur'e wished to prove that the figure behind Sphodrias was also Agesilaus, he proposed a hypothesis that even he himself called 'somewhat fantastic'. He speculated that the *boeotarchs* Melo and Pelopidas, who incited Sphodrias to attack Piraeus (Ages. 24. 4), had been sent by Agesilaus<sup>35</sup>; while the narrative of it being the Boeotian stratagem, which Xenophon promoted, appeared among the Spartan establishment *post factum* and its authorship should be attributed to Agesilaus. According to S. Lur'e, local Boeotian historians happily took up the anecdote while suitably embellishing it and it was this source that Plutarch later borrowed the information from<sup>36</sup>.

The hypothesis suggested by Lur'e is speculative and implausible, for the existing tradition does not contain a shred of evidence of secret control Agesilaus might have exercised over Sphodrias. Xenophon makes it very clear that Sphodrias' backer was Cleombrotus and not Agesilaus. Regarding the king's unexpected decision to speak in Sphodrias' defence, the reason probably lies in Agesilaus' attitude to every *Spartiates* as being of value to the city. It is also possible that Agesilaus wished to demonstrate the level of control he had over the court to his younger co-ruler. This behaviour indicates that Agesilaus was skilled at political manipulation and knew how to create a favourable impression and secure the desired results.

<sup>33</sup> SEAGER 2008, 160.

<sup>34</sup> On Phoebidas' trial, see also: Polyb. IV. 27. 6; Nepot. Pelop. 1. 3.

<sup>35</sup> LUR'E 1935, 318.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

Throughout his life Agesilaus took pains to appear a modest person temperate in all things (Xen. *Ages.* 8. 6–7; 11. 11); when circumstances warranted it, he would readily make a considerable financial sacrifice (Xen. *Ages.* 11. 3; 8; 11; Plut. *Ages.* 4. 1). His efforts bore fruit – he won numerous supporters in Sparta, forming his clientage in this way. It should be noted that Agesilaus did not limit himself to Sparta alone. He had a vast circle of guest-friends (*xenoi*) in many Greek cities including religious sites influential throughout the Greek world, such as the Delphic oracle<sup>37</sup>. Some of these connections were inherited from his forefathers; some were forged by Agesilaus himself (Xen. *Hell.* V. 3. 13). As a result of his long-standing efforts to form a ‘cohort of friends’, a significant part of high-ranking magistrates, including the *ephors* and the *gerontes* (*Ages.* 4. 3), fell under Agesilaus’ sway, which gave him an opportunity to use their votes in court as he saw fit. As N. Birgalias put it, such powerful and long-reigning kings as Agesilaus definitely could have used the *gerousia* to pass off their own political ambitions as group decisions<sup>38</sup>.

Xenophon admired this characteristic of Agesilaus – his dedication to helping and supporting his friends in any way, sparing no expense, nor effort. He called this peculiar trait of the king’s character ‘love for friends’ (*φιλεταιρία*). In P. Pontier’s words, Xenophon portrays Agesilaus as the embodiment of a military or political leader who prefers scattering wealth among friends to amassing it<sup>39</sup>. In Xenophon’s wake Plutarch also elaborates on the theme of love for friends. According to the author, Agesilaus was willing to support his friends even if they had committed a crime, for he prioritized friendship over law – ‘Indeed, although in other matters he (Agesilaus. – L.P.) was exact and law-abiding, in matters of friendship he thought that rigid justice was a mere pretext’ (*Ages.* 13. 3).

Concerning Agesilaus’ intervention first on behalf of Phoebidas and later Sphodrias, it is very difficult to draw a line between the private and public interests. The line is blurry indeed. But this utmost care he took of forging and maintaining friendships, which both Xenophon and Plutarch view as a special virtue, occasionally incited the king to unfathomable actions, his defence of Sphodrias being one of them. Since the sources give no clear answer, a wide range of views concerning Agesilaus’ possible motives exists.

For instance, P. Cartledge believes that intervening on Sphodrias’ behalf, Agesilaus wanted to wrest a powerful supporter from his co-ruler Cleombrotus, since ‘Sphodrias once acquitted would now owe nothing less than his life to Agesilaos and might therefore be expected no longer to support his likely original patron, Agesilaos’ rival king

<sup>37</sup> Regarding Delphi, Agesilaus spared no expense. While waging war against the Persian king in Asia Minor, in the span of two years (396–395 BC) he donated a huge sum – more than a hundred *talents* – to the Delphic oracle (Xen. *Hell.* IV. 3. 21; *Ages.* 1. 34).

<sup>38</sup> BIRGALIAS 2007, 348.

<sup>39</sup> PONTIER 2016, 291.

Kleombrotos...<sup>40</sup>. However, in our opinion, Cleombrotus was not that powerful a figure to make Agesilaus intervene in the trial solely to poach one of his friends.

Ch. Hamilton speculates that among the reasons why Agesilaus chose to support Sphodrias one was that ‘Agesilaus may have wished to reduce the degree of opposition to himself and his policies from Cleombrotus’ faction<sup>41</sup>. This conclusion is in line with what Plutarch writes about Agesilaus’ objective to widen the circle of people indebted to him. To achieve this goal the king could have aided those potentially hostile to him in order to turn them into his friends (Ages. 20. 4).

Another possible explanation of Agesilaus’ goodwill towards Sphodrias is provided by R. Seager. In his view, Agesilaus felt confident about his *polis*’ power. He definitely overestimated Sparta’s resources and capabilities thinking that his state was able to fight on two fronts against both Thebes and Athens<sup>42</sup>. Therefore, Agesilaus was not overly concerned about Sphodrias’ offering the Athenians an opening to break the King’s Peace. We believe that R. Seager’s version has some plausibility to it. In the course of his long years as a ruler (399-360 BC) Agesilaus consolidated both political and military power in his hands (Xen. Ages. 1. 7; Diod. XIV. 79. 1; Plut. Lys. 23; Ages. 6). However, even experienced politicians are not immune to making mistakes. The king might have overestimated the Athenians’ tolerance and carelessly disregarded their demand that Sphodrias should be punished for invading Attica. As we see it, choosing to intervene on Sphodrias’ behalf, Agesilaus had a variety of reasons. Among them probably was the desire to save Sphodrias from execution by any means necessary and let him retain full civil rights. This is the conclusion reached by P. Cartledge, Ch. Hamilton and I.E. Surikov<sup>43</sup>. They believe that another factor which could have affected Agesilaus’ position on Sphodrias was the need to keep alive each and every Spartan citizen, since the long-term process of *oliganthropia*<sup>44</sup> did not go unnoticed by the king. This concern might have arisen from the fact that the Spartan authorities had become acutely aware how severe the problem was with the falling numbers of *Spartiates* joining the army. Thus, as I.E. Surikov observes, ‘the king’s statements that it is not appropriate to squander valiant warriors, wrongdoers though they are, could have been made in a sincere and responsible manner’<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> CARTLEDGE 2000, 20.

<sup>41</sup> HAMILTON 1991, 172.

<sup>42</sup> SEAGER 2008, 168.

<sup>43</sup> CARTLEDGE 1987, 158; HAMILTON 1991, 172; SURIKOV 2015, 119.

<sup>44</sup> By the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC the process of population decline – so-called *oliganthropia* (ολγανθρωπία - lit. ‘fewness of persons’) – had reached catastrophic proportions. In his “*Lacedaemonian Politeia*” Xenophon calls Sparta one of the least populated cities in Greece (1.1). No other Greek *polis* suffered from such a phenomenon as *oliganthropia*. See: DORAN 2018, 1-106.

<sup>45</sup> SURIKOV 2015, 119.

Without Agesilaus' intervening in Sphodrias' trial the guilty verdict would have been a foregone conclusion, as evidenced by all our sources. There is no other such case in the history of Sparta when one person's opinion became a sufficient reason to acquit a known war criminal. Naturally, the kings attending a hearing in court along with the *gerontes* and the *ephors* did have a certain influence on some of the judges, but never before had this influence been as absolute as in Agesilaus' case. This indicates that, unlike all the previous Spartan kings, Agesilaus managed to concentrate real power in his hands, effectively sidelining his co-rulers. Judging by the outcome of Sphodrias' trial, Agesilaus had the majority of votes in the *gerousia* as well. Since the ruling class in Sparta was rather small in number, it was enough to win over several dozens of *Spartiates* from among the *gerontes*, the *ephors* and the generals. Apparently, Agesilaus succeeded admirably in it: he led a demonstratively simple life, showed proper deference to the magistrates (Plut. Ages. 19) and gave generously to the fellow citizens in distressed circumstances, all of which helped him to draw into his orbit quite a few supporters from the Spartan elite. During the long years of his reign Agesilaus managed to avoid conflict with the *ephors* and the *gerontes*, as a result he was never brought to trial. Very few kings both before and after him had such an achievement to their name. The example of Sphodrias' acquittal is enough to demonstrate that at the time Agesilaus had a powerful influence on the court. The king's power, which was bolstered by military achievements and personal prestige, turned Agesilaus into the most influential Spartan politician. But his cynical disregard of conventional moral norms, his unwillingness to reckon with the allies and his defiance of international law would sometimes produce the results he had never expected. For instance, his intervention in Sphodrias' trial led to disastrous consequences both for Sparta and for himself.

It should be noted that there is an obvious connection between Sphodrias' acquittal and the formation of the Second Athenian League. In this case Agesilaus proved to be a short-sighted politician incapable of foreseeing all the consequences of his decision to save Sphodrias by any means possible. This is a conclusion that Ch. Hamilton arrives at. According to him, 'Contemporaries of Xenophon must have recognized that the Athenian decision to go forward with the diplomatic efforts to establish a second maritime alliance was the result of Agesilaus' decision about Sphodrias, and thus it represented for him a foreign policy failure of great proportions'<sup>46</sup>. From that moment on, Agesilaus' popularity started to decline both in Sparta and outside of it, for, as Plutarch puts it, '...he had opposed the course of justice in a trial and made the city accessory to great crimes against the Greeks' (Ages. 26. 1).

The too long time spent in office by the king who was ambitious and valued power above all else was not always in the best interests of Sparta. Agesilaus, being well-versed in manipulation and intrigue, succeeded in getting under his sway not only the weak and

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<sup>46</sup> HAMILTON 1991, 173.

inexperienced kings from the Agiad dynasty but also a large portion of the ruling elite, although not all of it. The trials of Phoebidas and Sphodrias demonstrated that part of the leadership elite opposed the too aggressive and heavy-handed foreign policy implemented under Agesilaus<sup>47</sup>. But Agesilaus, controlling the majority of votes in the *gerousia* and commanding the support of the *ephors*, was able to suppress criticism on the part of the opposition. Even when a known war criminal was put on trial, Agesilaus still managed to subjugate those doubters and force his opinion on them. Several clearly erroneous verdicts that were initiated by Agesilaus and forced on the *gerousia* had devastating consequences for Sparta. The situation connected with the case of Sphodrias that we explore in this article sheds light on the position Agesilaus occupied in Sparta and allows us to assess the extent of his responsibility for wrecking the Spartan Empire.

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<sup>47</sup> RUZÉ 2018, 340.

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## *Alieni in Corduba, Colonia Patricia: desde la fundación de la ciudad hasta la Antigüedad tardía*

José ORTIZ CÓRDOBA<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** This paper aims to provide an overview of the immigration of extra-Peninsular origin recorded in Colonia Patricia (Córdoba, Spain) based on the analysis of the available literary and epigraphic documentation. Starting from the foundation of the Roman city and its subsequent conversion into a *colonia civium Romanorum*, we will carry out an analysis of those individuals who, from the 2nd century BC, arrived in the city from non-Hispanic territories. We will deal with important aspects such as the regions and cities of origin of these immigrants, their professional occupations, the causes that determined their mobility and the activity they developed in Corduba after their arrival. Chronologically, our contribution covers the long period of time between the foundation of Corduba in the 2nd century BC by the consul M. Claudius Marcellus and the 5th century AD, which is the date of the latest case of mobility we have documented.

**Resumen.** Este trabajo pretende ofrecer una visión general sobre la inmigración de origen extrapeninsular registrada en Colonia Patricia (Córdoba, España) a partir del estudio de la documentación literaria y epigráfica disponible. Partiendo de la fundación de la ciudad romana y de su posterior conversión en *colonia civium Romanorum* realizaremos un análisis de aquellos individuos que, desde el siglo II a.C., llegaron a la ciudad procedentes de territorios no hispanos. Abordaremos aspectos tan importantes como las regiones y ciudades de origen de estos inmigrantes, sus ocupaciones profesionales, las causas que determinaron su movilidad y la actividad que desarrollaron en Corduba tras su llegada. Cronológicamente nuestra contribución abarca el amplio periodo temporal comprendido entre la fundación de Corduba en el siglo II a.C. por obra del cónsul M. Claudio Marcelo y el siglo V d.C., momento al que corresponde el caso de movilidad más tardío que hemos documentado.

**Rezumat.** Articolul furnizează o privire de ansamblu asupra imigrației de origine extra-peninsulară din Colonia Patricia (Córdoba, Spania), fondată pe documentația literară și epigrafică disponibilă. Autorul tratează și doar originea imigranților, ci și profesiile, ocupările acestora, cauzele care le-au determinat mobilitatea și activitatea desfășurată în Corduba după sosirea lor. Perioada cuprinsă este între sec II a. Chr. și sec. II p. Chr.

**Keywords:** immigration; mobility; *alieni*; *Corduba*; *Colonia Patricia*; Hispania; epigraphy.

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## 1. Introducción

La conquista romana transformó radicalmente la realidad indígena de la Península Ibérica mediante la implantación de un nuevo modelo organizativo basado en la *civitas*. La trascendencia histórica de este proceso es incuestionable, pues propició un cambio sustancial en las relaciones entre Italia y las provincias. El establecimiento de este nuevo modelo socio-jurídico hubiera sido imposible sin la ayuda de las corrientes migratorias que acompañaron a la conquista y que aseguraron a Roma un mejor control del territorio. Los primeros contingentes migratorios que llegaron a *Hispania* se remontan a los momentos iniciales de la conquista y estuvieron compuestos fundamentalmente por militares y por grupos de población civil interesados en la explotación de los recursos económicos de la región. Su incidencia fue particularmente importante en la costa levantina y en los valles del Ebro y el Guadalquivir, las regiones inicialmente ocupadas por Roma<sup>2</sup>. Numéricamente la proyección de esta inmigración debe considerarse limitada, aunque conviene subrayar su trascendencia en cuanto a la introducción de nuevas formas culturales y de explotación de los recursos. Esta primera emigración se yuxtapuso a los núcleos urbanos preexistentes, en algunos de los cuales se crearon estructuras jurídicas ajenas al mundo indígena, como los *conventus civium Romanorum* que la tradición literaria documenta en varias ciudades del sur hispano<sup>3</sup>.

En los años posteriores el avance de la conquista y la estabilización del dominio romano ayudaron al incremento de la inmigración. Este hecho se produjo en un contexto histórico sumamente complejo, puesto que las provincias hispanas no fueron ajenas a las consecuencias de la crisis planteada en Roma a partir del 133 a.C. En el marco de las guerras civiles que asolaron la República *Hispania* conformó un escenario recurrente de estos enfrentamientos, destacando la trascendencia que para ella tuvieron la guerra sertoriana (83-73 a.C.) y la disputa entre César y los partidarios de Pompeyo (49-44 a.C.). Durante esos años la Península Ibérica siguió recibiendo inmigrantes de origen itálico, algunos de ellos miembros de la clase dirigente romana que escapaban de los enfrentamientos y de la represión política en Italia<sup>4</sup>. Sin embargo, el momento de mayor impacto demográfico estuvo constituido por la colonización cesariana y augustea, que implicó el asentamiento en suelo hispano de numerosos veteranos itálicos. La importancia de este programa ha sido subrayada por Suetonio (*Caes.*, 42, 1), que alude a los 80.000 ciudadanos que César planeaba llevar a las provincias, y por la *Res Gestae*, donde se menciona que 300.000 ciudadanos fueron asentados en nuevas colonias o enviados de vuelta a sus ciudades de origen (RGDA, 3)<sup>5</sup>. La colonización romana generó grandes cambios en *Hispania*, tanto cuantitativos, al propiciar la llegada a la

<sup>2</sup> Al respecto *vid.*, entre otros, MARÍN DÍAZ 1986-1987, 53-63; 1988, 47-93; NAVARRO CABALLERO 2000, 281-297; GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN 2010, 13-32.

<sup>3</sup> Al respecto *vid.* MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 88-92.

<sup>4</sup> ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2016, 318-325.

<sup>5</sup> Al respecto *vid.* asimismo las consideraciones realizadas por BRUNT 1971, 255-259 y KEPPIE 1983, 49-86.

Península de un notable volumen de población, como cualitativos, puesto que los nuevos colonos facilitaron la romanización del territorio<sup>6</sup>. Con posterioridad, ya durante el Principado, observamos un notable aumento de la movilidad geográfica y una mayor diversidad en su composición. Para este periodo la documentación epigráfica certifica la presencia en *Hispania* de numerosos itálicos, a los que debemos sumar ahora la llegada de poblaciones procedentes de la Galia y del norte de África, regiones con las que la Península Ibérica mantuvo estrechos contactos. A ellos hay que unir la llegada de gentes procedentes de Grecia, el Mediterráneo oriental y las zonas fronterizas del Rhin y el Danubio<sup>7</sup>. Esta inmigración se concentró principalmente en los grandes centros urbanos, entre los que destacaron ciudades portuarias como *Carthago Nova*, *Barcino* u *Olisipo*<sup>8</sup>, y, sobre todo, en las capitales provinciales, que acogieron a la mayor parte de estos inmigrantes, como hemos constatado en sendas contribuciones dedicadas a *Tarraco* y *Augusta Emerita*<sup>9</sup>.

El trabajo que ahora presentamos pretende estudiar la inmigración de origen extrapeninsular documentada en *Colonia Patricia*. La evolución histórica de esta ciudad presenta una larga trayectoria en la que se distinguen dos etapas bien diferenciadas: por un lado, su fundación como realidad urbana, que tuvo lugar en el siglo II a.C.; por otro, su promoción jurídica al *status de colonia civium Romanorum*, un acontecimiento que debemos fechar en el último tercio del siglo I a.C. Ambos acontecimientos supusieron el establecimiento en la ciudad de un importante grupo de población itálica. Con posterioridad, tras su designación como capital provincial, *Colonia Patricia* se convirtió en un importante centro receptor de población foránea cuyo estudio resulta esencial para conocer la evolución histórica de la ciudad. Por ello, en este trabajo vamos a abordar aspectos relativos al origen, a la condición jurídica y a las causas que determinaron la movilidad de estos inmigrantes, prestando igualmente atención al papel que desempeñaron en su ciudad de acogida. El concepto de movilidad que hemos empleado para desarrollar este trabajo viene marcado por mostrar un carácter de migración, es decir, de permanencia en el lugar de destino, lo que lo diferencia de otro tipo de movimientos de población que poseían un carácter temporal, puesto que implicaban el retorno de sus protagonistas a su lugar de origen. La base fundamental de nuestro análisis está conformada por la documentación epigráfica, para cuya recopilación hemos empleado tres criterios: la mención de una *origo* de carácter foráneo<sup>10</sup>; la presencia en *Colonia Patricia* de tribus ajenas a los *cives* de la colonia, que fueron inscritos en

<sup>6</sup> Sobre la colonización romana en *Hispania* vid. ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2021a.

<sup>7</sup> GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1959b, 119-154; HALEY 1986, 137-175; HALEY 1991, 27-52; GALLEGUERO FRANCO 1997, 341-362; LEFEBVRE 2006, 101-203; BELTRÁN FORTES 2013, 185-204; ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2019a, 151-201; ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2019b, 1-22; ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2020c, 31-50.

<sup>8</sup> ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2018, 115-122; ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2020a, 41-67.

<sup>9</sup> ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2020e, en prensa; ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2021b, en prensa.

<sup>10</sup> Sobre la *origo*: LASSÈRE 2005, 128-136; GRÜLL 2018, 139-150.

las tribus *Sergia* y *Galeria*<sup>11</sup>; y la detección de determinados *nomina* o *cognomina* que remiten a un horizonte no hispano. En ausencia de *origo* su testimonio puede ayudarnos a identificar la presencia de población foránea en la ciudad, si bien es cierto que se trata de un criterio que debemos emplear con prudencia<sup>12</sup>. Sobre esta base hemos elaborado un *corpus* documental compuesto por 33 referencias, literarias y epigráficas, que mencionan a un total de 36 personajes diferentes.

## 2. La fundación de M. Claudio Marcelo y los primeros habitantes de la *Corduba* romana

Los orígenes de *Corduba*, nombre del asentamiento indígena que precedió a la colonia romana, deben buscarse en una pequeña colina situada al suroeste de la ciudad actual, bajo el Parque Cruz Conde, donde ha sido hallado un asentamiento de notable extensión cuyos orígenes remiten a la Edad de Cobre<sup>13</sup>. Junto a esta realidad indígena, primero tartésica y luego turdetana, fue establecida la ciudad romana, obra del cónsul M. Claudio Marcelo en la primera mitad del siglo II a.C. (Estrabón, III, 2, 1). Esta cronología ha sido confirmada por la documentación arqueológica, que ha permitido fechar los niveles más antiguos de este asentamiento en el segundo cuarto del siglo II a.C.<sup>14</sup>. Sin embargo, la fecha concreta de la primera fundación romana sigue generando cierto debate, ya que Marcelo estuvo en dos ocasiones en *Hispania*. La primera de ellas, fechada en el bienio 169-168 a.C., lo hizo en calidad de pretor de las dos provincias peninsulares; en la segunda, que debemos situar en el periodo 152-151 a.C., actuó como procónsul de la *Citerior*. Aunque la mayoría de los autores parece decantarse por la fecha baja a nosotros nos parece más apropiada la fecha del 169-168 a.C., ya que en esos años Marcelo, al ser pretor de ambas provincias, tenía jurisdicción sobre la *Ulterior* y contaba con la capacidad legal para fundar una nueva ciudad<sup>15</sup>. Quienes han defendido esta fecha se han apoyado también en un pasaje de Polibio (XXXV, 2, 2) que alude a las campañas contra celtíberos y lusitanos desarrolladas por Marcelo en 152-151 a.C. Gracias a este texto sabemos que tras haber conquistado *Nertobriga* se retiró a *Corduba* para pasar el invierno<sup>16</sup>. Al relatar este hecho Polibio no alude a la fundación de la ciudad, lo que permite suponer que ésta ya existía en aquellos años, siendo, además, bien conocida por Marcelo, una circunstancia que habría facilitado su elección como cuartel de invierno<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> WIEGELS 1985, 101.

<sup>12</sup> SCHULZE 1966; CONWAY 1967; KAJANTO 1982.

<sup>13</sup> STYLOW 1990, 261; VAQUERIZO GIL 2005, 166-167; VAQUERIZO GIL, GARRIGUET MATA y MURILLO REDONDO 2011, 10.

<sup>14</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2004, 7; JIMÉNEZ SALVADOR y MURILLO REDONDO 2002, 184; VAQUERIZO GIL 2005, 173; VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2008, 89; 2009a, 380; 2011b, 34; VAQUERIZO GIL, GARRIGUET MATA y MURILLO REDONDO 2011, 11-12; MELCHOR GIL 2017, 29.

<sup>15</sup> Al respecto, ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2021a, 99, con bibliografía actualizada sobre este debate en nota 305.

<sup>16</sup> Algunos autores consideran posible la existencia en la zona de un *castellum* o de un *praesidium* que sería anterior a la fundación de Marcelo. Sobre esta cuestión, *vid.* KNAPP 1983, 9; JIMÉNEZ SALVADOR y MURILLO REDONDO 2002, 185-187; VAQUERIZO GIL 2005, 171-172; MELCHOR GIL 2017, 29.

<sup>17</sup> CANTO 1997a, 262-266; MELCHOR GIL 2017, 30.

Desde un punto de vista jurídico algunos autores han planteado que la fundación de Marcelo habría tomado la forma de una colonia latina<sup>18</sup>, aunque lo más probable es que nos encontremos ante un asentamiento de carácter estipendiario<sup>19</sup>. Por tanto, debe descartarse la afirmación de Estrabón de que *Corduba* fue la primera colonia (*proté apoikía*) establecida por los romanos en “estos lugares”. Semejante consideración contrasta con la existencia en *Hispania* de otras fundaciones romanas de cronología anterior entre las que destacaba, por su indiscutible carácter de colonia latina, la ciudad de *Carteia*, fundada en el 171 a.C. De igual modo, el planteamiento de Estrabón puede rechazarse atendiendo al contexto histórico en el que se produjo la fundación de *Corduba*, que tuvo lugar, en el mejor de los casos, treinta años antes de que Roma aprobase la creación de *Iunonia* en el solar de la antigua Cartago, siendo esta la primera colonia de ciudadanos romanos proyectada en ultramar (Veleyo Patérculo I, 15 y II, 7). Asimismo, debe reseñarse que las fuentes literarias que narran la guerra civil entre César y Pompeyo mencionan la existencia en *Corduba* de un *conventus civium Romanorum* (*Bell. Civ.*, II, 19, 3; *Bell. Alex.*, 57, 5; 58, 4; 59, 1), un tipo de organización que por su naturaleza resulta incompatible con la existencia de una colonia romana. Estas referencias nos sitúan entre los años 49-48 a.C., ofreciéndonos de esta manera un *terminus post quem* para la fundación de la *colonia civium Romanorum*, que en ningún caso habría estado constituida jurídicamente antes de esta fecha<sup>20</sup>. Para solventar estas contradicciones se ha recurrido tradicionalmente a interpretaciones amplias y flexibles de las palabras de Estrabón. De esta manera, la expresión “estos lugares” o “estas regiones” empleada por el geógrafo de Amasia ha sido entendida como una referencia concreta al valle del Guadalquivir<sup>21</sup>, mientras que el término *apoikía* ha sido interpretado en un sentido humano, entendiendo que aludiría al “contingente de emigrados” que participó en la fundación y no a la situación administrativa de la ciudad<sup>22</sup>. Este punto del pasaje de Estrabón ha sido reinterpretado recientemente por E. García Fernández. En su opinión, este texto, pese a su brevedad, sería bastante más complejo de lo que se ha supuesto tradicionalmente, ya que en tan pocas palabras estaría aludiendo tanto a la fundación de Marcelo como a la posterior colonia romana, constituyendo así un resumen de la vida constitucional de la ciudad desde su fundación a mediados del siglo II a.C. hasta su promoción colonial un siglo después<sup>23</sup>.

El texto de Estrabón alude también a la naturaleza y procedencia de los primeros habitantes de la ciudad, que fue poblada con un grupo de romanos e indígenas seleccionados

<sup>18</sup> GALSTERER 1971, 66, nº 22; LE ROUX 1982, 36; KNAPP 1983, 11; WIEGELS 1985, 31; STYLOW 1990, 262; CANTO 1997a, 274; VAQUERIZO GIL 2005, 173, nota 19; VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2008, 100; 2011b, 32; VAQUERIZO GIL, GARRIGUET MATA y MURILLO REDONDO 2011, 11; BELTRÁN LLORIS 2011, 138-139 y 142-143; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ 2002, 265-266; 2014, 174.

<sup>19</sup> VITTINGHOFF 1951, 72; WILSON 1966, 16; BRUNT 1971, 215; MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 132; MELCHOR GIL 2017, 31.

<sup>20</sup> WILSON 1966, 16; MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 132 y 205-206; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1992, 184; AMELA VALVERDE 2017, 140.

<sup>21</sup> GALSTERER 1971, 9, nota 21; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1988, 215; CANTO 1991, 848-849 y nota 14; STYLOW 1996, 80.

<sup>22</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1988, 216; 1992, 181.

<sup>23</sup> Al respecto, GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ 2002, 265-272; 2014, 173-187.

por el propio Marcelo. Los pobladores autóctonos procederían seguramente del cercano *oppidum* turdetano del Parque Cruz Conde, aunque entre ellos también pudieron haber sido incluidos algunos de los indígenas que sirvieron en las tropas auxiliares romanas<sup>24</sup>. Lo más probable es que estos indígenas especialmente seleccionados perteneciesen a la oligarquía local de este *oppidum* o a los estratos altos de otras localidades del entorno. Podemos suponer que todos ellos mostrarían un cierto grado de romanización en el momento en que fueron seleccionados para instalarse en la nueva fundación, lo que sin duda habría facilitado su integración en ella. Más complicado resulta determinar la procedencia y condición social del segundo contingente de población establecido en la ciudad, los “romanos selectos” que Estrabón engloba bajo la categoría de *Romaioi*. Este término resulta lo suficientemente ambiguo como para no saber si con él se estaba refiriendo a ciudadanos romanos en sentido estricto o a la población de origen itálico asentada en la provincia, que sería lo más probable<sup>25</sup>. Podemos suponer que este grupo habría estado compuesto principalmente por los veteranos, romanos e itálicos, que participaron en las campañas de Marcelo contra celtíberos y lusitanos<sup>26</sup>. En cualquier caso, no podemos descartar tampoco la posibilidad de que en él hubiesen sido incluidos algunos de los inmigrantes itálicos que desde el siglo II a.C. llegaron a la Península Ibérica atraídos por sus posibilidades económicas, o incluso los *hybridae* resultados de la unión entre soldados romanos o itálicos y mujeres indígenas, a semejanza de lo sucedido en *Carteia* algunos años antes<sup>27</sup>. Desconocemos la condición jurídica de estos primeros habitantes y sus posteriores descendientes. F. Vittinghoff y A. García y Bellido supusieron que habrían recibido en bloque la ciudadanía romana<sup>28</sup>. Sin embargo, esta consideración debe descartarse, ya que no encuentra respaldo en las fuentes y, además, iría en contra del marco histórico en el que se produjo la fundación de *Corduba*, caracterizado por las reticencias del Senado a la extensión de la ciudadanía romana al ámbito provincial<sup>29</sup>. Por ello, lo más probable es que la mayoría de estos primeros habitantes hubiese continuado como *peregrini*, siendo la obtención de la ciudadanía un privilegio al que ellos mismos o sus descendientes habrían accedido de forma gradual y limitada hasta la época de las guerras civiles<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1988, 217-218; 1992, 182; 2004, 7; 2017, 372; KNAPP 1983, 13; MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 133; STYLOW 1990, 262; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ 2002, 267; 2014, 176; JIMÉNEZ SALVADOR y MURILLO REDONDO 2002, 184 y 187; VAQUERIZO GIL, GARRIGUET MATA y MURILLO REDONDO 2011, 11; MELCHOR GIL 2017, 31-32.

<sup>25</sup> Este hecho ya fue subrayado por P. A. BRUNT (1971, 215), que advirtió del carácter ambiguo del término *Romaioi*, que en algunas tradiciones literarias puede ser asimilado también a *Italikoi*. Asimismo, RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1988, 217; 2005, 318; MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 133; SAYAS ABENGOECHEA 1989, 42; STYLOW 1996, 78; GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN 2010, 16.

<sup>26</sup> WILSON 1966, 24; GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN 1981, 84 y 97; MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 133; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1992, 180; 2004, 7; 2005, 318; 2017, 372; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ 2002, 267; 2014, 176.

<sup>27</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1988, 218; 1992, 181-182; 2004, 7-8; 2005, 318-319; 2017, 372.

<sup>28</sup> VITTINGHOFF 1951, 72; GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1959a, 452.

<sup>29</sup> MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 133.

<sup>30</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1992, 183; 2005, 320.

Las consideraciones realizadas a partir del referido pasaje de Estrabón han llevado a diversos autores a plantear la existencia en la *Corduba* republicana de una comunidad mixta, tanto en el plano étnico como en el jurídico<sup>31</sup>. Esta compleja realidad habría podido tener su correspondiente reflejo en el urbanismo de la ciudad, donde contamos con dos *vici* de curiosa denominación, el *vicus Forensis* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 272) y el *vicus Hispanus* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 273). Aunque en época imperial ambos *vici* serían ya simplemente dos barrios más de una ciudad que había crecido mucho, una hipótesis con bastante predicamento en la historiografía considera que el nombre de ambos distritos recordaría la separación étnica existente entre los distintos componentes de la ciudad primigenia mencionados por Estrabón. De esta forma, el *vicus Forensis* habría estado habitado por la población romana o itálica asentada por Marcelo, mientras que el *vicus Hispanus* habría sido ocupado por la población indígena que tomó parte en la fundación de la ciudad. Esta dualidad se reflejaría también en la localización de ambos *vici*, existiendo un claro contraste entre la ubicación del *vicus Forensis* en la zona alta ciudad, junto al foro, y el emplazamiento extramuros del *vicus Hispanus*<sup>32</sup>.

Con posterioridad a su fundación y aprovechando su estratégica posición junto al *Baetis*, *Corduba* se convirtió en un importante foco de atracción para los inmigrantes itálicos. Así lo demostraría la presencia en la ciudad de un *conventus civium Romanorum*. Las fuentes literarias nos transmiten el importante papel desempeñado por esta asociación de ciudadanos romanos durante la guerra civil, ya que fueron sus miembros quienes decidieron cerrar las puertas de la ciudad al legado pompeyano Varrón (*Bell. Civ.*, II, 19, 3), desobedecer al gobernador cesariano Casio Longino (*Bell. Alex.*, 57, 4-5) y quienes, finalmente, se vieron abocados a negociar con las legiones *Vernacula*, II y V para evitar que atacasen la ciudad (*Bell. Alex.*, 58, 4; 59, 1). Este tipo de entidades, que Kornemann definió como una forma de organización intermedia entre una asociación (*collegium*) y una comunidad ciudadana, fueron frecuentes en centros peregrinos que contaban con un importante sector de población itálica o romana<sup>33</sup>. En el caso de *Corduba* es posible que este *conventus* hubiese estado compuesto por *negotiatores* itálicos asentados en la ciudad, aunque no podemos descartar que se hubieran incorporado a

<sup>31</sup> MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 133-134; SAYAS ABENGOCHEA 1989, 58, nota 22; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1988, 219-220; 1992, 179; 2005, 320-321; JIMÉNEZ SALVADOR y MURILLO REDONDO 2002, 187. Por su parte, E. GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ (2002, 267) y D. VAQUERO GIL (2005, 173), aunque aceptan el carácter mixto de la primera fundación, plantean que no puede hablarse realmente de una dípolis, la primera porque considera que este concepto no existió en el mundo romano; el segundo porque cree que el caso cordobés no se adecúa a los modelos conocidos en otros lugares del imperio, por lo que prefiere considerarlo un caso de sinecismo o de *contributio*.

<sup>32</sup> CASTILLO 1974, 191; KNAPP 1983, 13-14; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1988, 219-220; MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 134; TSIRKIN 1989, 138 (este autor realiza, además, una curiosa traducción del nombre *vicus forensis* como “*vicus of the foreigners*”, es decir, “barrio de los extranjeros”, que serían precisamente los romanos en él asentados); RODRÍGUEZ NEILA, 1992, 179; MELCHOR GIL 2004, 108; 2017, 32. En contra de esta propuesta se ha mostrado A. U. STYLOW (1990, 278-279; 1996, 79).

<sup>33</sup> KORNEMANN, RE. IV, 1, col. 1173. Sobre los *conventus civium Romanorum* en *Hispania* vid. MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 88-92.

él algunos de los descendientes de los pobladores instalados por Marcelo<sup>34</sup>. En este sentido, como bien subrayó R. Knapp, los romanos del *conventus* cordubense no habrían conformado un grupo totalmente cerrado y apartado de la comunidad indígena, con la que habrían establecido muy probablemente lazos familiares y económicos tras varias generaciones de convivencia<sup>35</sup>. Dentro de una sociedad tan heterogénea como era la de la *Corduba* republicana, esta organización habría ejercido un importante papel social y político, actuando como interlocutor ante los gobernadores y altos magistrados romanos y dirigiendo, en cierta medida, los asuntos públicos de la ciudad<sup>36</sup>.

Pese a contar con toda esta información resulta muy complicado individualizar a los inmigrantes itálicos que residieron en *Corduba* con anterioridad a la fundación de la colonia romana. La tradición literaria recoge, aunque de forma puntual, referencias concretas sobre algunos de estos personajes en el contexto de las guerras civiles. Destacan particularmente las alusiones incluidas en el *Bellum Hispaniense*, cuya prosopografía nos aporta una valiosa información sobre la procedencia y el *status* social de algunos de los individuos que participaron en este conflicto<sup>37</sup>. Gracias a esta obra conocemos la presencia en la región de varios miembros del *ordo ecuestre*, un hecho que debemos relacionar fundamentalmente con la emigración económica generada por la explotación de los recursos del sur peninsular, aunque tampoco deben obviarse como causas de esta movilidad los condicionantes políticos y militares propios del contexto histórico en el que se encuadran estas referencias<sup>38</sup>.

La mayoría de los personajes mencionados en esta obra están relacionados con fundaciones antiguas, aunque no privilegiadas, como *Italica*, o con comunidades peregrinas que albergaron en su interior un *conventus civium Romanorum* y que posteriormente fueron convertidas en colonias, como *Hispalis*, *Asta* o la propia *Corduba*. De hecho, algunos de los individuos nombrados en el *Bellum Hispaniense*, o sus familiares inmediatos, parecen tener proyección epigráfica en estas mismas ciudades. Quizás el caso más destacado sea el de *Hasta Regia*, donde la inscripción *CIL II*, 5405 menciona a un *Baebius* que podemos relacionar con el caballero homónimo que se pasó al bando cesariano antes de la batalla de *Munda* (*Bell. Hisp.*, 26, 2)<sup>39</sup>. Una circunstancia similar puede observarse en *Corduba*, donde *T. Mercello Persinus*

<sup>34</sup> BRUNT 1971, 215 y 245; GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN 1981, 100; SAYAS ABENGOECHEA 1989, 42; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1992, 185; 2005, 317 y 321.

<sup>35</sup> KNAPP 1983, 12.

<sup>36</sup> BRUNT 1971, 220; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2005, 321. E. MELCHOR GIL (2017, 31) considera, de hecho, que *Corduba* pudo haber sido hasta época de César un *oppidum* subordinado al control político de este *conventus* de ciudadanos romanos.

<sup>37</sup> Al respecto *vid.* GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN y MARÍN DÍAZ 1981-1985, 17-36; 1994, 241-318; GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN 1986-1987, 65-77; 2005, 281-309.

<sup>38</sup> El exilio por motivos políticos fue un fenómeno bastante frecuente durante la etapa final de la crisis republicana. Al respecto *vid.* ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2016, 319-320.

<sup>39</sup> GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN 1986-1987, 69; 2005, 295, nº 4. Así, C. CASTILLO (1975, 636) y B. DÍAZ ARIÑO (2008, 199) consideran que serían un familiar, mientras que J. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ (2011, 232) propone directamente la identificación de este personaje con el caballero *A. Baebius* referido en el *Bellum Hispaniense*.

Marius, miembro de la élite colonial en época de Augusto<sup>40</sup>, ha sido vinculado con el italicense *L. Mercello*, uno de los participantes en la conjura del 49 a.C. contra Q. Casio Longino. En su caso la pertenencia al *ordo equester* no está testimoniada, aunque sin duda formaba parte de los grupos privilegiados de la sociedad provincial (*Bell. Alex.*, 52, 4; 55, 4)<sup>41</sup>. También en esta ciudad destaca la figura de *Annius Scapula*, otro de los instigadores de la conjura contra Longino. Este personaje participó también en la sublevación de las legiones del sur de *Hispania* contra el gobernador cesariano Trebonio en el año 46 a.C., optando por suicidarse mientras las tropas cesarianas asediaban *Corduba* (*Bell. Hisp.* 33, 3-4). La referencia más explícita a su *status social* aparece recogida en el *Bellum Alexandrinum* (55, 2), que alude a su *maxima dignitas*, una consideración que constata el disfrute de una posición privilegiada dentro de la élite provincial<sup>42</sup>.

Junto a las referencias literarias contamos también con dos inscripciones que podrían estar aludiendo a sendos inmigrantes itálicos residentes en *Corduba* con anterioridad a la *deductio colonial*. El principal elemento que nos permite plantear esta propuesta está conformado por las tribus de ambos personajes, que no pueden relacionarse con los asentamientos de población ejecutados en la ciudad por César y Augusto, cuyos colonos fueron inscritos en las tribus *Sergia* y *Galeria*, respectivamente<sup>43</sup>. El más antiguo de estos dos personajes está documentado en la *sortitio* de *Ilici*, datada en el último tercio del siglo I a.C.<sup>44</sup>. En ella se recoge un listado de diez ciudadanos romanos que fueron beneficiados con parcelas de tierra en el *ager Ilicitanus*. Entre ellos encontramos individuos de origen hispano, itálico y también a tres personajes naturales de *Icosium*, cuya localización es objeto de debate<sup>45</sup>. Una de las peculiaridades más destacadas de esta pieza es la pertenencia de los individuos hispanos a tribus antiguas y escasamente representadas en la epigrafía peninsular. De hecho, algunas de ellas, como la *Horatia*, la *Veturia*, la *Falerna* o la *Maecia*, se documentan ahora por primera vez. Este hecho indicaría su temprano acceso a la ciudadanía, que fue incluso anterior a la promoción de sus comunidades de origen o residencia y a la fundación de la propia *Ilici*, ya que sus tribus no coinciden con las que fueron asignadas a sus respectivas poblaciones en el

<sup>40</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 311: *T(ito) Mercelloni Persino / Mario aedil(i) IIvir(o) / coloni et incolae*

<sup>41</sup> GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN 1986-1987, 71; MELCHOR GIL 2006, 255.

<sup>42</sup> GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN 1986-1987, 68; 2005, 283 y 294, n<sup>o</sup> 1.

<sup>43</sup> WIEGELS 1985, 30.

<sup>44</sup> IRILAD I, 12: *Sicci iug(era) CXXX et traiect(a) / ex l(imite) V / (cardine) III iug(era) VI et ex / l(imite) IIII / (cardine) III iug(era) VIIs h(ominibus) X / superist iug(era) XI in sin(gulos) iug(era) XIII / C(aius) Annius C(ai) f(lilius) Gal(eria) Seneca Icos(i) / C(aius) Aufustius C(ai) f(lilius) Gal(eria) Icosi / C(aius) Tettius C(ai) f(lilius) Sca(ptia) Praeneste / M(arcus) Marius M(arci) f(lilius) Gal(eria) Vibone / L(ucius) Aemilius L(uci) f(lilius) Hor(atia) Ulia / P(ublius) Horatius P(ubli) f(lilius) Quir(ina) Malaca / C(aius) Marius C(ai) f(lilius) Vet(uria) Corduba / L(ucius) Valerius L(uci) f(lilius) Fal(erna) / Aurelia Cariss(a) / L(ucius) Fabius L(uci) f(lilius) Gal(eria) / Icosi / Q(uintus) Fufius Q(uinti) f(lilius) Mae(cia) / Balearicus. Sobre esta inscripción vid. CHAO FERNÁNDEZ, MESA SANZ y SERRANO 1999, 417-424; ARIÑO GIL, GURT ESPARRAGUERA y PALET 2000-2001, 223-226; MAYER I OLIVÉ y OLESTI VILA 2001, 109-130; OLESTI VILA 2006, 47-61.*

<sup>45</sup> SEGUÍ MARCO 2017, 261-272.

momento de su promoción jurídica<sup>46</sup>. Por ello, lo más probable es que estos personajes hubieran obtenido la ciudadanía mediante concesiones individuales que les habrían beneficiado a ellos mismos o a sus antepasados, miembros de familias itálicas instalados en comunidades aún peregrinas<sup>47</sup>. Así pudo haber ocurrido con *C. Marius*, inscrito en la tribu *Veturia* y que se dice procedente de *Corduba*. Precisamente, uno de los elementos que más llama la atención en su caso es el empleo del nombre turdetano de la ciudad para indicar su procedencia o domicilio, ya que éste dejó de aparecer en la documentación oficial tras la fundación de *Colonia Patricia*, aunque su uso se mantuvo como *origo* en la documentación epigráfica de carácter privado, donde convivió junto al oficial *Patriciensis* durante el periodo altoimperial. Por todo ello, creemos que su presencia en este documento catastral, de carácter indudablemente público, no es una mera casualidad. Más bien al contrario, indicaría que *C. Marius* residía en *Corduba* con anterioridad a la fundación de la colonia. Sin embargo, pese a su vinculación con la ciudad, creemos que el origen de este personaje, o de su familia, debería buscarse en Italia, puesto que su tribu, la *Veturia*, no cuenta con otros paralelos en la epigrafía hispana. Esta circunstancia y la temprana fecha de la inscripción permiten plantear la posibilidad de que *C. Marius* descendiese de una familia de inmigrantes itálicos instalada en la *Ulterior* en época republicana, sin descartar que él mismo hubiese sido el protagonista de la movilidad. Sobre su acceso a la ciudadanía existen dos posibilidades: por un lado, que *C. Marius* o su familia hubiesen llegado a la Península siendo ya ciudadanos<sup>48</sup>; por otro, que este personaje o sus antecesores hubiesen recibido este importante privilegio mediante una concesión individual en suelo hispano. Todo ello permite considerar la posibilidad de que *C. Marius* hubiese formado parte de la comunidad romano-itálica existente en *Corduba* en época republicana. Más complicado resulta determinar las razones que motivaron su traslado a *Ilici*, aunque recientemente se ha sugerido que este hecho pudo haber sido consecuencia de las represalias desencadenadas contra los partidarios de Pompeyo tras la guerra civil<sup>49</sup>.

El segundo de estos posibles inmigrantes es *T. Acclenus*, que perteneció también a una tribu, en este caso la *Quirina*, que resulta ajena a los *cives* de *Colonia Patricia*<sup>50</sup>. Su inscripción ha sido fechada por A. U. Stylow en época de Augusto (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 287*), mientras que E. Serrano y R. Atencia optaron por situarla de forma genérica en el siglo I d.C. (*ILMMalaga, 23*), una fecha que sigue E. W. Haley, para quien la mención de la tribu *Quirina* permitiría llevar esta inscripción hasta época Flavia. De hecho, a partir de esta evidencia incluyó a *T. Acclenus* entre aquellos

<sup>46</sup> MAYER I OLIVÉ y OLESTI VILA 2001, 113-114.

<sup>47</sup> DÍAZ ARIÑO 2008, 87.

<sup>48</sup> Su pertenencia a la tribu *Veturia* nos permitiría relacionarlo con alguna de las ciudades itálicas cuyos *cives* fueron inscritos en esta tribu. Según el catálogo de J. W. KUBITSCHKE (1889 (reed. 1972), 272) esta circunstancia se produjo únicamente en *Ostia*, *Placentia* y *Bergomum*.

<sup>49</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2011b, 40 y nota 82.

<sup>50</sup> *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 287: T(itus) Acclenus T(iti) f(ilius) Qui(rina) cent(urio?) / Annia T(iti) l(iberta) Helena uxor / frugi summa qum probitate / fide magna concordes indigne / morbo excruciat morte obierunt // D(ecimus) Vergilius Amarantus a(nnorum) LXXX.*

inmigrantes que habrían llegado a *Colonia Patricia* desde alguno de los numerosos municipios flavios de la Bética<sup>51</sup>. En nuestra opinión esta propuesta debería descartarse por dos motivos. El primero de ellos es la temprana fecha de la inscripción recogida en *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*. El segundo, la onomástica del personaje, donde destaca la ausencia de *cognomen* y la presencia del *nomen* *Acclenus*, que conforma un *hapax* en la Península Ibérica y, bajo esta forma, también en el mundo romano, donde conocemos otras variantes como *Aeclanius*, *Aecclanius*, *Eclanius* y *Aclenius*. Estos gentilicios suelen ponerse en relación con la ciudad samnita de *Aeclanum*, por lo que podrían vincularse con el mundo itálico<sup>52</sup>. Por todo ello no sería descartable que nos encontrásemos ante un inmigrante de origen itálico o ante un miembro de una familia itálica llegada a *Hispania* años atrás. Por tanto, la pertenencia de *T. Acclenus* a la tribu *Quirina* habría de remontarse a época preflavia y sería fruto de una concesión individual de ciudadanía. Su caso cuenta con un importante paralelo en la *sortitio* de *Ilici*, donde *P. Horatius* fue inscrito también en la tribu *Quirina* con anterioridad a que su ciudad de origen, *Malaca*, se organizase como municipio en época Flavia, indicio claro de la existencia de una concesión individual de ciudadanía.

Igualmente curiosa resulta la presencia en esta inscripción de la abreviatura *CENT*. Por su posición se ha pensado que podría estar aludiendo al *cognomen* de *T. Acclenus*<sup>53</sup>. Sin embargo, al cotejar los listados elaborados por H. Solin y O. Salomies, o los recogidos más recientemente en el vol. II. de *OPEL*, observamos que son muy pocos los *cognomina* que comienzan por *CENT*<sup>54</sup>. Además, la escasa difusión de casi todos ellos hace improbable que el autor de la inscripción hubiese optado por abreviarlo, circunstancia poco frecuente y que, además, habría dificultado su lectura. Por ello consideramos que esta abreviatura debería desarrollarse como *CENT(uro?)*, señalando así el rango militar de este personaje (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 287). La indicación abreviada de este puesto cuenta con algunos paralelos en *Hispania* en inscripciones procedentes de *Acinipo* (*CIL II*, 1346) y *Castilruiz* (*HEp*, 11, 2001, 487). Por desgracia, la mención del centurionado no va acompañada del nombre de la unidad en la que fue ejercido, una circunstancia que nos priva de una interesante información. La aceptación de que tras la abreviatura *CENT* se esconde el rango militar de *T. Acclenus* permitiría plantear la posibilidad de que este personaje hubiese obtenido la ciudadanía romana como consecuencia de su servicio en el ejército, quizás durante los complicados años de la guerra civil, optando posteriormente por establecerse en *Corduba*.

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<sup>51</sup> HALEY 1986, 229, nº 325.

<sup>52</sup> PENA GIMENO 2004, 79.

<sup>53</sup> PENA GIMENO 2002, 60.

<sup>54</sup> SOLIN y SALOMIES 1988, 312; OPEL II, p. 50.

Onomástica	Cron.	Origen	Tribu	Lugar de hallazgo	Status	Función Social	Ref.
<i>Annius Scapula</i>	Fines del s. I a.C.	<i>Corduba.</i> Ascendencia itálica			<i>civis Romanus</i>		<i>Bell. Hisp.</i> , 33, 3-4
<i>T. Acclenus</i>	Época de Augusto	Prob. itálico	<i>Quirina</i>	Córdoba	<i>civis Romanus</i>	?Centurio?	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 287</i>
<i>C. Marius</i>	Último tercio s. I a.C.	<i>Cordubensis.</i> Ascendencia itálica	<i>Veturia</i>	La Alcudia de Elche	<i>civis Romanus</i>		<i>IRILAD I, 12</i>

Tabla 1. Inmigrantes anteriores a la fundación de la colonia.

### 3. La fundación de *Colonia Patricia*: los primeros colonos y sus descendientes

El último tercio del siglo I a.C. estuvo marcado por el traslado a las provincias de los enfrentamientos civiles que asolaron la República. En el ámbito hispano el más importante de ellos fue la guerra entre cesarianos y pompeyanos, un conflicto en el que *Corduba* desempeñó un destacado papel<sup>55</sup>. La capital de la *Ulterior* fue la ciudad elegida por César para celebrar en el otoño del año 49 a.C., tras su victoria sobre los legados pompeyanos en *Ilerda*, una asamblea provincial donde exigió fidelidad a los representantes de las ciudades de la región. En esta reunión César se mostró generoso y magnánimo, concediendo numerosos beneficios a comunidades y particulares (*Bell. Civ.*, II, 21)<sup>56</sup>. Pese a ello, la situación en la provincia se desestabilizó rápidamente como consecuencia del mal gobierno de Q. Casio Longino, a quien César otorgó el gobierno de la *Ulterior* antes de volver a Roma. Su deficiente administración y su conducta prepotente favorecieron el resurgir de la oposición, que llegó a tramar una conjura contra él en la que participaron numerosos itálicos de la provincia, como hemos referido anteriormente. Tras estos acontecimientos *Corduba* se convirtió en una de las plazas fuertes del partido aglutinado en torno a los hijos de Pompeyo. Ante la gravedad de los hechos César se trasladó nuevamente al sur de *Hispania* con la intención de forzar a los pompeyanos a una batalla en campo abierto. Estos, sin embargo, contando con el respaldo de las ciudades de la región, optaron por convertir la lucha en una sucesión de asedios que desgastase la moral y las fuerzas de las tropas cesarianas. El desarrollo del conflicto puso de manifiesto la ruptura interna que vivían las ciudades de la región, donde convivían partidarios de César y seguidores de Pompeyo. Esta situación llegó a su final en marzo del 45 a.C., cuando César consiguió forzar a las fuerzas pompeyanas a un combate en campo abierto en la llanura de *Munda*. En las semanas que siguieron a esta batalla los legados cesarianos tomaron *Munda* y *Urso*, mientras que el dictador hizo lo propio con *Corduba*. Según el relato

<sup>55</sup> Un detallado estudio del papel de *Corduba* en este conflicto en RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2005, 313-360.

<sup>56</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2004, 11; 2005, 332.

del *Bellum Hispaniense* (13, 33-34) más de veinte mil personas murieron durante el asalto a la ciudad, mientras que los supervivientes fueron vendidos como esclavos (Cass. Dio., XLIII, 39, 1-2). Las consecuencias del asedio se observan también en el registro arqueológico de la ciudad, puesto que la estratigrafía del foro republicano muestra la existencia de un importante nivel de incendio que ha sido fechado a mediados del siglo I a.C. y que podría relacionarse con la destrucción de la ciudad durante la guerra civil<sup>57</sup>.

Tras la jornada de *Munda* César reunió una nueva asamblea en *Hispalis*, donde reprochó la deslealtad y la ingratitud de las ciudades de la *Ulterior* en un agresivo discurso que contrasta con el talante generoso mostrado en la reunión del año 49 a.C. (*Bell. Hisp.*, 42, 4-7)<sup>58</sup>. Esta asamblea marcó el inicio de la reorganización de la *Ulterior*, cuyas líneas maestras conocemos gracias a un pasaje de Dion Casio (XLIII, 39, 5). En él se recoge claramente el plan de actuación de César, que recurrió al castigo como escarmiento a las traiciones y que empleó el privilegio como pago de lealtades y colaboraciones. Así, sus enemigos fueron penados con expropiaciones de tierras e importantes cargas fiscales, mientras que sus partidarios fueron compensados de tres formas diferentes: mediante exenciones impositivas y concesiones de tierras; mediante el otorgamiento de la ciudadanía; y, finalmente, mediante la conversión de muchos de ellos en colonos. De hecho, el principal instrumento empleado por César para articular esta nueva fase histórica fue una colonización de largo alcance nutrida por sus veteranos y partidarios más fieles. Este proceso tuvo una especial incidencia en el valle del Guadalquivir, donde la resistencia pompeyana fue más enconada. Allí, los núcleos urbanos que habían dado soporte a la misma fueron desposeídos de una parte de sus tierras y obligados a acoger colonos cesarianos. Una de las ciudades afectadas fue *Corduba*, que recibió un asentamiento de veteranos y fue rebautizada como *Colonia Patricia*. Esta promoción jurídica fue planificada por César, aunque su ejecución efectiva tuvo lugar tras la muerte del dictador y la aprobación, en ese mismo año 44 a.C., de la *Lex Antonia de actis Caesaris confirmandis* y de la *Lex Antonia de colonis deducendis*<sup>59</sup>. Entre las colonias autorizadas por esas leyes pudieron encontrarse las fundaciones proyectadas por César en la *Ulterior*, que fueron ejecutadas finalmente por el gobernador C. Asinio Polión<sup>60</sup>. Su intervención se constata claramente en la ley colonial de *Genetiva Iulia*<sup>61</sup> y se ha planteado también para el caso de *Colonia Patricia*. Destacan al respecto las consideraciones realizadas por A. Ventura Villanueva tras el hallazgo en Córdoba de un fragmento de lastra campana<sup>62</sup>. Teniendo en cuenta que el principal

<sup>57</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA y MÁRQUEZ MORENO 2005, 431; VAQUERIZO GIL, GARRIGUET MATA y MURILLO REDONDO 2011, 14.

<sup>58</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2005, 356; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2017, 250.

<sup>59</sup> MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 194; CABALLOS RUFINO 2006, 336-338.

<sup>60</sup> La documentación disponible actualmente permite plantear la posibilidad de que Polión hubiese sido el encargado de llevar a cabo las *deductiones* coloniales planificadas por César en la *Ulterior*. Al respecto, vid. ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2021a, 37.

<sup>61</sup> CABALLOS RUFINO 2006, 338-362.

<sup>62</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2008, 85-106.

productor de este tipo de piezas durante la segunda mitad del siglo I a.C. fue el propio Asinio Polión, que contaba con varios talleres en Italia, planteó la hipótesis de que este personaje hubiese sido el encargado de formalizar la *deductio* planificada por César, un hecho que habría tenido lugar entre los años 44 y 43 a.C., es decir, en el mismo horizonte cronológico que la fundación de *Genetiva Iulia*, una fecha que encasaría también con la estancia de Polión en *Corduba* que conocemos a través de la correspondencia de Cicerón<sup>63</sup>. Los motivos decorativos que presenta este singular fragmento de terracota, entre los que destaca la presencia de aves rapaces en pleno vuelo que podrían estar relacionadas con fórmulas propias del *ius auguralis*, han llevado también a A. Ventura a plantear la posibilidad de que esta pieza hubiese pertenecido al *auguraculum* desde el que se habría desarrollado la *inauguratio* de la nueva colonia<sup>64</sup>.

De esta forma, Polión habría sido el encargado de establecer en la ciudad a los colonos cesarianos, que fueron inscritos en la tribu *Sergia*. Por desgracia, es muy poca la información que poseemos sobre ellos, aunque podemos suponer que este primer contingente de población habría estado compuesto por veteranos de la guerra civil<sup>65</sup>. En este asentamiento pudo haber participado *L. Cornelius*, que fue *aedilis* y *duumvir* en época de Augusto o Tiberio<sup>66</sup>. Conocemos a este magistrado local gracias a dos inscripciones que recogen la donación de un conjunto de fuentes públicas que habrían contribuido a mejorar el servicio de distribución de aguas prestado por la nueva *Aqua Augusta*<sup>67</sup>. La pertenencia *L. Cornelius* a la tribu *Sergia* y la temprana fecha de las inscripciones que lo documentan permitirían incluir a este personaje entre los colonos cesarianos o sus descendientes inmediatos<sup>68</sup>.

Posteriormente, en época augustea, *Colonia Patricia* recibió un segundo aporte de población compuesto por veteranos de las guerras cántabras. Así lo indican los tipos monetales presentes en las acuñaciones realizadas por la ciudad a partir de los años 13-12 a.C., donde podemos observar un águila legionaria dispuesta entre dos *signa* (*RPC I*, 128)<sup>69</sup>. Por desgracia, ninguna de estas acuñaciones recoge el nombre o el numeral de las unidades que participaron en este segundo asentamiento, aunque si seguimos el ejemplo de otras colonias

<sup>63</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2004, 11; VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2008, 93-94.

<sup>64</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2008, 96 y 100.

<sup>65</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2008, 88; 2011b, 40; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2017, 251-252; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2017, 373.

<sup>66</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 218: *Aq[ua Augusta] / L(ucius) Corne[lius - f]ilius Serg(ia) aed(ilis)] / Ilvir lac[us siliceos / effigies aheneas(!) de / sua pecunia fecit]; CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 219: [L(ucius)] Corneli[us - f]ilius] / Serg(ia) aed(ilis) Ilvir / lacus siliceos / effigies aheneas(!) de sua pecunia / fecit*

<sup>67</sup> Un estudio de estas inscripciones en BERMÚDEZ CANO, HIDALGO PRIETO y VENTURA VILLANUEVA 1991, 291-308.

<sup>68</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2009a, 389; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2017, 380.

<sup>69</sup> VITTINGHOFF 1951, 73-74; GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1959a, 453; KNAPP 1983, 29; MARÍN DÍAZ 1988, 205-206; STYLOW 1990, 263; 1995, 119; 1996, 80-81; GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ 2002, 270 y 272; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2005a, 46, nota 20; 2005b, 406; 2017, 252, nota 15; GARCÍA-BELLIDO 2006, 257; VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2008, 100-101; 2009a, 377-378 y 387; 2011b, 41-42; VAQUERIZO GIL, GARRIGUET MATA y MURILLO REDONDO 2011, 19; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2017, 373.

hispanas podemos pensar que habrían sido miembros de al menos dos legiones<sup>70</sup>. E. Kornemann y H. Galsterer defendieron que los veteranos augusteos procederían de las legiones *V Alaudae* y *X Gemina*<sup>71</sup>, aunque M.<sup>a</sup>. P. García-Bellido y A. Ventura han planteado recientemente la posibilidad de que estos soldados hubiesen pertenecido a la *I Augusta* y a la *XVI Gallica*<sup>72</sup>. Este segundo asentamiento de población, ejecutado quizás por Agripa, pudo haber tenido lugar en el 19 a.C.<sup>73</sup>. Los elementos que permiten plantear esta cronología son dos: por un lado, el epitafio de *Abullia Nigellia* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 397), el más antiguo de la Bética, donde figura una datación consular que remite al 1 de agosto del año 19 a.C., un hecho excepcional que ha permitido considerar que la exactitud de esta fecha sería consecuencia de su importancia en la historia de la ciudad<sup>74</sup>; por otro, la propuesta realizada por M.<sup>a</sup>. Paz García-Bellido de localizar en *Corduba* a partir del 19 a.C. la ceca imperial de áureos y denarios creada por Agripa para pagar a las legiones desmovilizadas tras las guerras cántabras<sup>75</sup>. Otros autores, sin embargo, prefieren retrasar la llegada de estos veteranos hasta el bienio 15-14 a.C., coincidiendo con el tercer viaje de Augusto a *Hispania*, momento en que el *Princeps* habría designado a *Colonia Patricia* como capital de la *Provincia Baetica*<sup>76</sup>.

Los nuevos colonos augusteos fueron inscritos en la tribu *Galeria*, reproduciendo de esta manera el mismo patrón que podemos observar en otras colonias de la provincia. Con este segundo asentamiento podríamos relacionar a *L. Manlius Bocchus*, cuya inscripción ha sido datada entre finales del reinado de Augusto y comienzos del de Tiberio<sup>77</sup>. Gracias a ella sabemos que este personaje fue *tribunus militum*, *duumvir* y *praefectus iure dicundo*. Tradicionalmente se había planteado que el primero de estos puestos lo desempeñó en la *legio XV* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 284). Sin embargo, la reciente reaparición de la inscripción ha permitido a A. Ventura Villanueva revisar el texto y concluir que la unidad en cuestión sería más bien la *legio XVI Gallica*<sup>78</sup>. Esta unidad fue reclutada por César en los primeros meses del año 49 a.C. para

<sup>70</sup> GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1959a, 453. Para M. P. GARCÍA-BELLIDO (2006, 257) sólo habría sido asentada una legión.

<sup>71</sup> KORNEMANN, RE. IV<sub>1</sub>, col. 527, nº 82; GALSTERER 1971, 10. Su opinión es seguida por GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 1989, 138; 2005a, 46, nota 20; 2005b, 406; 2017, 252, nota 15. Por su parte, A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO (1959a, 453) consideró que los veteranos instalados por Augusto pudieron haber pertenecido a las legiones *II Alaudae* y *X Gemina*.

<sup>72</sup> GARCÍA-BELLIDO 2006, 257; VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2008, 100; 2009a, 386-387; 2011b, 41-42.

<sup>73</sup> GARCÍA-BELLIDO 2006, 262-263; VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2008, 100-101; 2009a, 377-378 y nota 15 y 387; 2011b, 41-42; AMELA VALVERDE 2016, 98-99; 2017, 143; MELCHOR GIL 2017, 44; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2017, 373 y 391-392.

<sup>74</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2009a, 387; 2011b, 42; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2017, 391-392.

<sup>75</sup> GARCÍA-BELLIDO 2006, 258-264. Comparten su opinión, VAQUERIZO GIL, GARRIGUET MATA y MURILLO REDONDO 2011, 19; VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2008, 100-101; 2009a, 387; 2011b, 41-42; MELCHOR GIL 2017, 44; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2017, 382.

<sup>76</sup> KNAPP 1983, 29; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 1989, 138; STYLOW 1990, 263; 1996, 80; MELCHOR GIL 2004, 108 (años 15-12 a.C.). Por su parte, J. F. RODRÍGUEZ NEILA (2017, 373), aunque sitúa este segundo asentamiento en el 19 a.C. y lo atribuye a M. Agripa, considera que habría sido refrendado por Augusto durante su estancia en *Hispania* en el año 13 a.C.

<sup>77</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 284: *L(ucio) Manlio A(uli) f(ilio) / A(uli) n(epoti) Gal(eria) Bocco / trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XV / Ii vir(o) praefect(o) / iur(e) dic(undo) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) c(oloniae) P(atriciae)*.

<sup>78</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA, 2009a, 385-386: *L(ucio) Manlio A(uli) f(ilio) / A(uli) n(epoti) Gal(eria) Bocco / trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XV[I] / Ii vir(o) praefect(o) / iur(e) dic(undo) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) c(oloniae) P[atriciae]*.

emplearla en la guerra contra Pompeyo, aunque nada se conoce de su intervención en este conflicto. Tras la muerte de César quedó integrada en el ejército de Octaviano, siendo trasladada al norte de África tras la batalla de *Actium*. Desde allí pasó a la Galia, donde participó en la pacificación de *Aquitania* (año 28 a.C.), siendo finalmente trasladada a *Germania* (12 a.C.)<sup>79</sup>. Según el citado autor, una vez culminado su servicio en esta unidad, *L. Manlius Bocchus* habría sido desmovilizado y asentado en *Colonia Patricia*, formando parte de la hornada de colonos establecidos por Augusto en la ciudad, donde habría sido inscrito en la tribu *Galeria*<sup>80</sup>. Una vez allí se habría incorporado rápidamente a la élite local, pues conocemos su desempeño como *duumvir* y como *praefectus iure dicundo*, tareas que habría realizado con gran eficiencia, puesto que el *ordo* local le concedió una estatua ecuestre. Si aceptamos este planteamiento su caso sería similar al de otros oficiales militares asentados en colonias hispanas que posteriormente accedieron a la carrera municipal, como *C. Vettius* en *Genetiva Iulia* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/5, 1025*), *L. Caninius Pomptinus* en *Astigi* (*AE 2001, 1204*) o el *tribunus militum* de nombre desconocido registrado en *Tarraco* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/14, 1023*)<sup>81</sup>.

En nuestro caso creemos que la propuesta realizada por A. Ventura debería matizarse en algunos puntos. El primero de ellos es la nula vinculación de la *legio XVI Gallica* con la Península Ibérica, ya que nunca estuvo destinada en ella<sup>82</sup>. Este hecho contrasta con la dinámica existente en el resto de colonias hispanas, donde los *veterani* asentados formaron parte de unidades que operaron en suelo peninsular durante las guerras civiles o en el marco de la guerra cántabro-astur, por lo que *Bocchus* conformaría una curiosa excepción a esta “regla”. A este hecho debemos añadir una segunda circunstancia sobre la que no se ha reparado demasiado. Se trata de la presencia en la inscripción de una filiación de dos generaciones con la que *L. Manlius Bocchus* honró la memoria de su padre y de su abuelo. Esta indicación adquiriría pleno sentido si admitimos que la familia de *Bocchus* ya formaba parte de la élite colonial patriciense, dado que este gesto no sería propio en un recién llegado que carecía de raíces familiares en la ciudad. En consecuencia, consideramos más apropiado identificar a este personaje como hijo o nieto de alguno de los colonos asentados por Augusto. De esta forma, su pertenencia a la élite de *Colonia Patricia* habría facilitado el desarrollo de su *cursus honorum*, que comienza con un tribunado militar. Posteriormente, tras finalizar su servicio en el ejército, habría retorna a su patria de origen, donde accedió a las magistraturas locales. Por ello creemos que su trayectoria se asimilaría más bien con la de *L.*

<sup>79</sup> Sobre la historia de esta unidad *vid. RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 378-381.*

<sup>80</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2009a, 385. Asimismo, RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 2017, 380.

<sup>81</sup> ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2020b, 289-294; ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2020d, 512-516; ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2021a, 66-67, 128-129 y 305-306.

<sup>82</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2009a, 386-387, ha considerado que esta unidad pudo haber participado brevemente en la resolución final del conflicto cántabro, traída por Agripa desde *Aquitania*.

*Blattius Ventinus*, un tribuno descendiente de colonos cesarianos que tras su carrera militar retornó a *Hispalis*, su ciudad natal, donde fue elegido *aedilis* y *duumvir* (*CIL II*, 1176)<sup>83</sup>.

Es posible que también hubiese pertenecido al contingente de colonos establecido en época augustea el *primus pilus* de onomástica desconocida registrado en *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 287a<sup>84</sup>. Aunque la temprana fecha de su inscripción permitiría plantear esta propuesta, el problema de la pieza radica en su estado fragmentado, ya que de ella sólo conocemos la esquina superior derecha, habiéndose perdido la onomástica de este soldado y el nombre de su unidad. Pese a ello, A. Ventura Villanueva lo ha vinculado con los contingentes de la *legio I Augusta* presuntamente asentados *Colonia Patricia*, aunque a nuestro juicio la falta de datos concluyentes en este sentido nos lleva a tomar con prudencia su afirmación<sup>85</sup>.

Junto a estos veteranos también pudieron haber sido integrados en la nueva *civitas* algunos de los itálicos que residían en *Corduba* desde época republicana, especialmente aquellos que apoyaron la causa cesariana durante la guerra civil. Este hecho se desprende de la propia tradición literaria, pues sabemos por el *Bellum Hispaniense* que durante la campaña de *Munda* los partidarios de César en *Corduba* le enviaron una carta comunicándole que contaría con su apoyo si atacaba la ciudad (*Bell. Hisp.* 2). A este grupo de itálicos pudo haber pertenecido *T. Acclenus*, al que ya nos hemos referido con anterioridad, y quizás también la familia de *T. Mercello Persinus Marius*, cuya inscripción remite a época de Augusto, momento en que fue homenajeado por los *coloni et incolae* de la ciudad<sup>86</sup>. Este personaje sirvió como *aedilis* y *duumvir* en *Colonia Patricia*, emprendiendo posteriormente la carrera ecuestre, tal y como constata su desempeño como *procurator Augusti*, cargo que conocemos gracias a un homenaje que le decretó el *ordo de Segida Augurina* y que es posterior a la inscripción documentada en *Corduba*<sup>87</sup>. Su onomástica permite sugerir una ascendencia itálica, ya que *Mercello* es un gentilicio de origen etrusco o latino con escasa difusión en *Hispania*, donde sólo conocemos otro ejemplo más<sup>88</sup>. El personaje que lo porta es el italicense *L. Mercello*, uno de los participantes en la conjura contra *Q. Casio Longino* (*Bell. Alex.*, 52, 4; 55, 4)<sup>89</sup>. Este hecho ha llevado a E. Melchor a sugerir la existencia de un vínculo familiar, quizás paterno-filial, entre este personaje y *T. Mercello Persinus Marius*<sup>90</sup>. En consecuencia, podríamos encontrarnos ante una familia perteneciente a la élite de *Italica* que se habría desplazado a la capital provincial. Allí, uno de sus miembros, en este caso *T. Mercello Persinus Marius*, probablemente ya nacido en *Corduba*, habría ejercido las magistraturas locales y emprendido la carrera ecuestre. De igual

<sup>83</sup> Sobre la trayectoria de este personaje y su papel en *Hispalis*, ORTIZ CÓRDOBA, 2021a, 149-151.

<sup>84</sup> *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 287a: [- -] *Philocli patri* / [- -] *matri* / [- -] *u|xori* / [- -] *prim(us) pil(us)*

<sup>85</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2009a, 387; VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2011b, 42.

<sup>86</sup> *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 311: *T(ito) Mercelloni Persino / Mario aedil(i) IIvir(o) / coloni et incolae*

<sup>87</sup> *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/5*, 1296: *T(ito) Mercelloni / Persino Mario / procuratori / Augusti d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*

<sup>88</sup> SCHULZE 1966, 301, 361 y 400; CONWAY 1967, 575; GONZÁLEZ ROMÁN 1986-1987, 71; ABASCAL PALAZÓN 1994, 185.

<sup>89</sup> Sobre la participación de este personaje en la conjura contra Casio Longino *vid. González Román 1986-1987*, 71.

<sup>90</sup> MELCHOR GIL 2006, 255.

modo, el *cognomen Marius* ostentado por este personaje permitiría sugerir también la existencia de algún tipo de parentesco con la poderosa familia de los *Marii*, propietaria de numerosas minas de cobre y oro en Sierra Morena<sup>91</sup>.

Onomástica	Cron.	Origen	Tribu	Status	Cursus honorum/ Función Social	Ref.
<i>L. Cornelius</i>	Época de Augusto o Tiberio	Prob. itálico o descendiente de itálicos	<i>Sergia</i>	<i>civis Romanus</i>	<i>Aedilis; duumvir</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 218 y 219</i>
<i>L. Manlius Bocchus</i>	Época de Augusto o Tiberio	<i>Patriciensis.</i> Descendiente de itálicos	<i>Galeria</i>	<i>civis Romanus</i>	<i>Trib. Mil. legg. XV vel XVI; duumvir; praef. iure dicundo</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 284</i>
<i>T. Mercello Persinus Marius</i>	Época de Augusto	<i>Patriciensis.</i> Descendiente de itálicos		<i>Eques Romanus</i>	<i>Aedilis; duumvir; procurator Augusti</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 311</i>
<i>c?</i>	Época de Augusto			<i>civis Romanus</i>	<i>Primus pilus</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 287<sup>a</sup></i>

Tabla 2. Posibles colonos y descendientes de colonos relacionados con la *deductio de Corduba Patricia*.

#### 4. Inmigración posterior a la fundación de la colonia

Con posterioridad a la fundación de la colonia la documentación epigráfica certifica la existencia de una continuidad en la afluencia de inmigrantes no hispanos hacia *Corduba*. Éstos presentan una notable variedad de orígenes y su distribución temporal abarca, aunque con diferentes tendencias, el periodo comprendido entre los siglos I y V d.C. Atendiendo a las causas que determinaron su movilidad, hemos distribuido a estos inmigrantes en tres grupos diferentes que nos permiten estudiar mejor las inscripciones incluidas en este apartado.

##### 4.1 Movilidad económico-laboral

La documentación epigráfica registrada en las principales ciudades hispanas constata la existencia de una importante movilidad asociada al desarrollo de actividades económicas. Las referencias profesionales incluidas en muchas inscripciones nos permiten aproximarnos a este tipo de movilidad, que estuvo relacionada fundamentalmente con el desempeño de trabajos manuales, actividades productivas o comerciales y profesiones liberales. Algunas de estas inscripciones presentan, no obstante, una importante limitación que ya advirtió E. W. Haley. Este autor subrayó que la epigrafía hispana no suele indicar expresamente las causas económicas o laborales de la movilidad, por lo que estas deben inferirse en muchas ocasiones

<sup>91</sup> Sobre esta relación vid. MELCHOR GIL 2006, 254, nota 13.

por el contexto general de la inscripción<sup>92</sup>. Así sucede, por ejemplo, con muchos de los epígrafes que podemos vincular con actividades mineras o con el comercio. Buena parte de esta movilidad económica estuvo protagonizada por libertos. En el caso de *Colonia Patricia* contamos con un nutrido grupo de inscripciones relativas a miembros de este colectivo que podemos suponer de origen foráneo. Aunque muchos no indican su *origo*, la presencia en su onomástica de *cognomina* orientales con escasa difusión en *Hispania* permite plantear la hipótesis de que nos encontramos ante individuos llegados de fuera de la Península Ibérica.

La mayoría de estos libertos se dedicó al desarrollo de actividades productivas. Así podemos observarlo en la inscripción del *marmorarius signarius P. Publicius Fortunatus*, nacido posiblemente en Roma (*verna urbicus*) y que fue liberto público de la provincia *Baetica*<sup>93</sup>. Su trabajo estuvo centrado en la elaboración de objetos de mármol sobre los que se representaban diversos *signa*, probablemente de contenido religioso. Este personaje pudo haber desarrollado su actividad laboral en el seno de un grupo de artesanos contratados o pertenecientes a la familia pública que habrían tenido su sede en una *oficina marmorea* instalada en *Corduba*. De hecho, no sería descartable que este liberto público hubiese destinado una parte de su producción a la realización de obras para embellecer las ciudades de la provincia, que en el siglo II d.C. vivieron su momento de mayor desarrollo urbano<sup>94</sup>. Su muerte a los 75 años en *Colonia Patricia* indicaría que *P. Publicius Fortunatus* había elegido esta ciudad como lugar de residencia tras su retiro laboral.

Igualmente interesantes resultan las inscripciones que mencionan a libertos vinculados con las *societas publicanorum* que operaron en las minas de propiedad estatal localizadas en los alrededores de *Corduba*. Dos de estas compañías, la *societas Sisaponensis* y la *societas Aerariarum*, han proporcionado diversas evidencias epigráficas que resultan útiles para este trabajo. La primera de estas corporaciones se encargó de explotar las minas de plata de Sierra Morena y las minas de cinabrio y mercurio existentes en *Sisapo*. Estos dos últimos minerales eran particularmente importantes para la pintura y para la obtención de oro mediante el procedimiento de la amalgama, por lo que su explotación y posterior exportación a Roma generaron grandes beneficios económicos. La *societas Sisaponensis* tuvo una de sus sedes en las cercanías de la Puerta Norte de *Corduba*, donde ha sido hallada una servidumbre de paso a su favor (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 669a*). También en esta zona fue encontrada la inscripción que recoge el epitafio de tres libertos de la compañía (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 415a*)<sup>95</sup>. Gracias a ella sabemos que esta *societas* contó con esclavos propios que tras su manumisión adoptaron el *nomen Argentarius*, un gentilicio alusivo a su antigua actividad laboral. Uno de ellos, *M. Argentarius Philinus*, presenta

<sup>92</sup> HALEY 1986, 380; HALEY 1991, 89.

<sup>93</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 301: *P(ublius) Publicius / provinciae / Baetic(ae) lib(ertus) / Fortunatus / marmorarius sig/narius verna ur/bicus ann/orum LXXV / p(ius) i(n)s(uis) / [h(ic) s(itus)] e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*

<sup>94</sup> GIMENO PASCUAL 1988, 26-27.

<sup>95</sup> VAQUERIZO GIL 2001, 140.

un *cognomen* oriental con apenas tres ejemplos en *Hispania*, una circunstancia que permitiría plantear su origen foráneo<sup>96</sup>.

Una situación similar podemos observar en el caso del *medicus M. Aerarius Telemac(h)us*, que fue liberto de la *societas Aerariarum* en el siglo I d.C. y cuyo *cognomen* remite también al ámbito oriental del Imperio<sup>97</sup>. Hemos de suponer que, al menos durante su periodo como esclavo, *Telemac(h)us* habría sido el médico encargado de auxiliar a los miembros de esta corporación, aunque no es descartable que tras su manumisión hubiese continuado trabajando para esta *societas*. Tras su emancipación, y siguiendo la práctica usual en la nomenclatura latina, recibió el *nomen* de la persona o entidad que lo liberó. Como en este caso se trata de una *societas* de *aerarii* su gentilicio fue *Aerarius*, un *nomen* poco común derivado de la actividad de la compañía, que estuvo relacionada con la explotación del cobre de la sierra cordobesa<sup>98</sup>. Es posible que la *societas Aerariarum* hubiese tenido una de sus sedes en el entorno del Palacio de la Merced de Córdoba, donde han sido documentadas actividades de fundición de cobre con abundantes escoriales. Esta *officina* debió contar con un importante número de trabajadores para poder permitirse el lujo de disponer de un médico propio, algo que sin duda habría ayudado mucho a los miembros de esta *societas*, puesto que el trabajo del metal generaba importantes complicaciones de salud<sup>99</sup>. La inscripción de este *medicus* ha sido vinculada también con el hipogeo monumental localizado en el segundo sótano del mencionado palacio<sup>100</sup>. En época romana esta tumba se ubicó en un lugar privilegiado junto a la Puerta Norte de la ciudad, donde confluyan la *Via Augusta*, el *Iter a Corduba Emeritan* y el llamado *Camino del Pretorio*. En las inmediaciones de este recinto fueron encontradas varias inscripciones funerarias, entre ellas la de *Telemac(h)us*. La morfología de esta pieza, una placa destinada a ser colocada en una estructura mayor, y su cronología, coincidente con la del mausoleo, llevaron A. Ventura Villanueva a proponer que la tumba hubiese pertenecido a este *medicus*<sup>101</sup>. De ser así, podríamos suponer que *Telemac(h)us* habría conseguido una buena posición económica gracias al ejercicio de su profesión, puesto que fue capaz de financiar la construcción de este hipogeo monumental<sup>102</sup>.

También podría suponerse un origen foráneo para otros libertos vinculados con el ejercicio de actividades productivas que portan *cognomina* griegos escasamente difundidos en la Península Ibérica. Sería el caso del *brattiarius D. Aemilius Nicephorus*, cuya inscripción remite

<sup>96</sup> SOLIN 1982, 885-886.

<sup>97</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 334: *M(arcus) Aerarius soc(ietatis) aerar(iorum) l(ibertus) / Telemac(h)us medicus / hic quiescit vale*. Sobre el *cognomen* *Telemac(h)us*, vid. SOLIN 1982, 518.

<sup>98</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1999, 59.

<sup>99</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1999, 59-60; VENTURA VILLANUEVA y GASPARINI 2017, 181.

<sup>100</sup> Sobre el mismo, VAQUERIZO GIL 2001, 140-141.

<sup>101</sup> Al respecto, VAQUERIZO GIL 2001, 140, con las correspondientes referencias bibliográficas.

<sup>102</sup> ALONSO ALONSO 2011, 94.

a época de Augusto<sup>103</sup>. Este tipo de artesanos altamente especializados eran los encargados de preparar las láminas con las que debían trabajar los *inauratores* (doradores), para lo cual golpeaban el metal hasta reducirlo a planchas muy finas que posteriormente eran empleadas en la doradura o fabricación de diferentes tipos de joyas<sup>104</sup>. Una circunstancia similar podría plantearse para los *purpurarii* *Diocles* y [- -] *Jotimus*, documentados en *Colonia Patricia* en el siglo I d.C. y que por sus *cognomina* podemos suponer de origen griego<sup>105</sup>. El término *purpurarius* designaba al tintorero especializado en el teñido de la púrpura o al comerciante que vendía tintes o telas de dicho color. Puesto que su obtención requería el uso de una gran cantidad de moluscos, los clientes de este tipo de mercancías solían ser gentes de cierto poder adquisitivo que por lo general pertenecían a las oligarquías locales, para quienes este color era un símbolo de distinción<sup>106</sup>. Por ello, los artesanos que trabajaban en este ámbito solían obtener importantes beneficios económicos con los que podían mejorar su posición social. Este hecho se observaría claramente en el caso de *Diocles* y [- -] *Jotimus*, cuya inscripción respondía, según H. Gimeno Pascual, al modelo de placas funerarias que solían emplear en el siglo I d.C. los libertos enriquecidos<sup>107</sup>. Esta situación también podría hacerse extensiva a *Nicephorus*, cuyo epítafio habría formado parte de un monumento funerario de cierta entidad que demostraría que este *brattiarius* había alcanzado una situación económica lo suficientemente buena como para costear su construcción<sup>108</sup>.

Quizás también tuviera un origen griego el *vestia[rius]* [-] *Pomponius Pamphilus*, documentado en una inscripción del siglo I d.C.<sup>109</sup>. Este liberto desarrolló su actividad laboral en el mundo de los tejidos, puesto que la raíz *vest* se relaciona con los oficios vinculados a la confección<sup>110</sup>. Sin embargo, la línea del texto donde figura la profesión de este personaje se encuentra incompleta, por lo que se han propuesto varias hipótesis para reconstruir este término, considerando que *Pamphilus* pudo haber sido un comerciante de tejidos al por menor (*vestiarus*), la opción más aceptada, un sastre (*vestifex*, *vestificus*) o bien un especialista en el planchado (*vestiplex*, *vestiplicus*)<sup>111</sup>. No se trata, en cualquier caso, de la única evidencia relacionada con el sector textil que conocemos en Córdoba, donde se ha registrado también la presencia de un *sagarius* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 323), es decir, un comerciante de tejidos, y de una

<sup>103</sup> *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 333: *D(ecimus) Aemilius D(ecimi) l(ibertus) / Nicephorus / brattarius / Aemilia D(ecimi) l(iberta) / Quarta*

<sup>104</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1999, 66; ALONSO ALONSO, IGLESIAS GIL Y RUIZ GUTIÉRREZ 2007, 533.

<sup>105</sup> *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 335: [- -] *Diocles purpurarius pius / [- -] mater pia / [- -]ema ex test(amento) fratris f(acientum) c(uravit) / [- -] *Jotimus purpurarius* h(oc) m(onumentum) h(ereditatem) n(on) s(equetur). Sobre el origen de ambos personajes, GIMENO PASCUAL 1988, 42, nº 49; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1999, 88.*

<sup>106</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1999, 88.

<sup>107</sup> GIMENO PASCUAL 1988, 42, nº 49.

<sup>108</sup> GIMENO PASCUAL 1988, 18, nº 13.

<sup>109</sup> *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 343: [-] *Pomponius* [- -] / *Pamphilus vestia[rius]* / *Pomponia* [a(?)] *T(it) l(iberta) Anu[- - -] / Pomp[onia] F[- - - / - - -] J[A[- - -]*

<sup>110</sup> GIMENO PASCUAL 1988, 45.

<sup>111</sup> GIMENO PASCUAL 1988, 40; RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1999, 85, nota 136.

*sarcinatrix* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 339), esto es, una costurera, circunstancia que debemos relacionar con la calidad de la lana de la Bética que señala Estrabón (III, 2, 6).

A este grupo de libertos habrían pertenecido también *Speudon* y su esposa *Antonia Rhodoe*, a quienes conocemos de forma indirecta por la inscripción que ambos cónyuges dedicaron a su hijo *T. Flavius Antoninus* en el siglo II d.C.<sup>112</sup>. Tras su muerte, seguramente joven, *Antoninus* fue honrado por el *ordo* de *Colonia Patricia* con la concesión de los correspondientes honores funerarios: gastos del sepelio, lugar de sepultura y estatua conmemorativa. Gracias a esta inscripción sabemos que *Speudon*, el padre de *Antoninus*, fue un liberto imperial que ejerció como *tabularius provinciae Baeticae*. La dedicación de este homenaje por parte del *ordo* de *Colonia Patricia* reflejaría la importante posición social alcanzada por esta familia en la ciudad, puesto que la concesión de estos honores en memoria de *Antoninus* se debió muy posiblemente a la elevada responsabilidad ocupada por su padre en la administración imperial. De hecho, fueron los progenitores del difunto quienes, agradecidos por el honor concedido, levantaron el monumento corriendo con los gastos correspondientes. El decreto decurional pudo haber servido de esta manera para consolar a unos padres que habrían depositado en su hijo la esperanza de una promoción social que ellos tenían limitada por su condición de libertos<sup>113</sup>. La onomástica de *Speudon* puede ser reconstruida tomando como referencia la de su hijo, de forma que el nombre completo de este *tabularius provincial* sería *T(itus) Flavius Speudon*<sup>114</sup>. En él destacan tanto su gentilicio, que vincularía a esta familia con la dinastía Flavia, como el *cognomen* griego *Speudon*, escasamente documentado en *Hispania* y que permite plantear el origen foráneo de este personaje. Una circunstancia similar podemos hacer extensiva a su esposa, puesto que el *cognomen* *Rhodoe* remitiría también al ámbito griego. Por ello, es posible que este matrimonio se hubiese desplazado hasta *Corduba*, donde probablemente nació su hijo, como

consecuencia de las obligaciones de *Speudon* en la administración imperial.

Finalmente, podríamos incluir también en este apartado al *coactor argentarius L. Persius Diallus*<sup>115</sup>, documentado en una inscripción de mediados del siglo I d.C., y al *magister grammaticus Graecus Domitius Isquilius*, que falleció en *Colonia Patricia* durante el siglo II d.C. a la venerable edad de 101 años. El primero de ellos actuó como cobrador (*coactor*) y banquero (*argentarius*), ejerciendo tareas relativas al préstamo de dinero, a la custodia de depósitos, al cambio de moneda y a la recaudación de tributos<sup>116</sup>. Su *cognomen*, que es de origen griego y

<sup>112</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 290: *T(ito) Flavio T(iti) f(lilio) Cl(audia) / Antonino / huic ordo c(olonorum) c(oloniae) P(atriciae) funeris / in pensam locum sepulturae / statuam decrevit / Speudon Aug(usti) lib(ertus) tab(ularius) / provinciae Baetic(ae) / et Antonia Rhodoe / parentes honore usi / piissimo posuerunt*

<sup>113</sup> MELCHOR GIL 2003, 133.

<sup>114</sup> CABALLOS RUFINO 2011, 192.

<sup>115</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 342: *Diis / Manibus / sacrum // L(ucius) Persius Diallus / coactor argent(arius) / h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)] s(it) t(ibi) [t(erra) l(evis)] / C[---/- -]*

<sup>116</sup> RODRÍGUEZ NEILA, 1999, 97.

podría estar indicando el *status liberto* de *Diallus*, cuenta con una escasa representación en la epigrafía latina, donde únicamente conocemos dos ejemplos más, uno en Roma (*CIL VI*, 23084) y otro en *Tolosa* (*CIL XII*, 5388), ciudades con las que quizás podríamos relacionar a este personaje. Por su parte, *Domitius Isquiline* desarrolló su actividad en el campo de la enseñanza de la gramática<sup>117</sup>. Sin embargo, el término *Graecus* consignado en la cuarta línea de su inscripción ha generado ciertas divergencias historiográficas en cuanto a su interpretación, ya que J. Beltrán lo considera una referencia geográfica relativa al origen griego de este personaje<sup>118</sup>, mientras que para M<sup>a</sup>. A. Alonso dicho término debería vincularse más bien con su labor docente, que habría estado centrada en la enseñanza de la lengua griega<sup>119</sup>. Este hecho contrastaría con la onomástica de *Domitius Isquiline*, plenamente latina y que induce a pensar que su nacimiento habría tenido lugar en la *pars occidental* del Imperio. En este sentido, su *cognomen*, *Isquiline*, de origen latino y claro contenido geográfico al derivar posiblemente de *Esquiline*, uno de los barrios de Roma, permitiría plantear un posible origen o ascendencia itálica para este personaje<sup>120</sup>.

X	Cron.	Origen	Status	Función Social	Ref.
<i>D. Aemilius Nicephorus</i>	Siglo I d.C.	¿Griego?	<i>Libertus</i>	<i>Brattiarus</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 333</i>
<i>Antonia Rhodoe</i>	Siglo II d.C.	¿Oriental?	<i>Liberta</i>		<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 290</i>
<i>M. Aerarius Telemac(h)us</i>	Siglo I d.C.	¿Griego?	<i>Libertus</i>		<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 334</i>
<i>M. Argentarius Philinus</i>	Siglo I d.C.	¿Griego?	<i>Libertus</i>		<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 415a</i>
<i>Diocles</i>	Siglo I d.C.	¿Griego?	<i>Libertus</i>	<i>Purpurarius</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 335</i>
<i>Domitius Isquiline</i>	Siglo II d.C.	¿Itálico?	<i>Libertus vel ingenuus</i>	<i>Magister grammaticus Graecus</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 336</i>
<i>[T. Flavius] Speudon</i>	Siglo II d.C.	¿Oriental?	<i>Libertus</i>	<i>Tabularius provinciae Baeticae</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 290</i>
<i>L. Persius Diallus</i>	Mediados s. I d.C.	Itálico vel. Galo	<i>Libertus</i>	<i>Coactor argentarius</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 342</i>
<i>[ ] Pomponius Pamphilus</i>	Siglo I d.C.	¿Griego?	<i>Libertus</i>	<i>Vestia[rius]</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 343</i>

<sup>117</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 336: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Domitius Isquiline / magister gramm(aticus) / Gr(a)ecus annor(um) / CI / h(ic) s(itus) est s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*

<sup>118</sup> BELTRÁN FORTES 2013, 187 y 196.

<sup>119</sup> ALONSO ALONSO 2015, 296.

<sup>120</sup> KAJANTO 1982, 48, 50, 53 y 184.

P. Publicius Fortunatus	Siglo II d.C.	Romanus	Libertus	Marmorarius <i>signarius</i>	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /7, 301
[---]otimus	Siglo I d.C.	¿Griego?	Libertus	Purpurarius	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /7, 335

Tabla 3. Movilidad relacionada con actividades laborales y económicas.

#### 4.2 Actividades de carácter lúdico-deportivo: los juegos gladiatorios

Dentro de la muestra epigráfica recopilada para este trabajo contamos con un grupo de inscripciones que podemos relacionar con actividades de tipo lúdico-deportivo, puesto que en ellas se alude a un importante conjunto de gladiadores. Las principales ciudades hispanas, sobre todo las capitales provinciales, fueron dotadas de importantes edificios de espectáculos. Entre ellos destacaron los circos, destinados a las carreras, y los anfiteatros, donde tenían lugar los combates de gladiadores, una actividad muy apreciada en las grandes ciudades del mundo romano. En el caso de *Colonia Patricia* los restos de su anfiteatro fueron encontrados en 2003 durante las excavaciones realizadas en el solar de la antigua Facultad de Veterinaria, situada extramuros hacia el Oeste de la ciudad romana, en el llamado *suburbium occidentale*<sup>121</sup>. El anfiteatro fue construido junto al ramal septentrional de la vía que unía *Corduba* con *Hispalis*. Esta calzada llegaba a la colonia a través de la Puerta de Gallegos, dando origen a partir de ese momento al *decumanus maximus*, que permitía unir el anfiteatro con el foro de la ciudad<sup>122</sup>. Los restos exhumados han permitido situar la construcción de este recinto en los años centrales del siglo I d.C., una fecha que coincide con la datación proporcionada por los epitafios gladiatorios más antiguos de *Corduba*. Su edificación supuso también la urbanización de este sector de la ciudad, que fue convertido en un *vicus* residencial. Asimismo, es de suponer que en las cercanías del anfiteatro se hubiesen ubicado otros espacios relacionados con el almacenamiento de las armas para la lucha, el entrenamiento de los gladiadores o quizás incluso la propia sede del *ludus*<sup>123</sup>. En ellos habrían desempeñado su labor los miembros de la *familia gladiatoria*, compuesta por un numeroso personal que comprendía entrenadores, médicos, cocineros, encargados de armas y, por supuesto, a los gladiadores, que eran la cara más visible del espectáculo. Este colectivo, por las propias características de su oficio, presentó un alto grado de movilidad, puesto que sus servicios eran requeridos en distintos lugares. Ello dificulta su vinculación estable o permanente con *Colonia Patricia*, lugar en el que muchos de ellos simplemente murieron y recibieron sepultura en las cercanías del anfiteatro. Asimismo, la posición jurídica de estos luchadores, generalmente de origen servil, condiciona la interpretación que podemos realizar sobre sus desplazamientos, ya que éstos estuvieron

<sup>121</sup> Sobre el anfiteatro de la ciudad, *vid.* VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2004, 73-74; GARRIGUET MATA 2010, 466-480; VAQUERIZO GIL, GARRIGUET MATA y MURILLO REDONDO 2011, 26-27.

<sup>122</sup> GARRIGUET MATA 2010, 467; SÁNCHEZ y VAQUERIZO GIL 2010, 480.

<sup>123</sup> VENTURA VILLANUEVA 2004, 73.

condicionados por los intereses deportivos y económicos de los lanistas, por lo que su movilidad no puede ser considerada voluntaria.

En Córdoba han sido halladas la inmensa mayoría de las inscripciones gladiatorias de *Hispania*, una circunstancia que ha permitido plantear la hipótesis de que *Colonia Patricia* hubiese acogido la sede del *ludus Hispanianus*, única escuela de luchadores documentada en *Hispania*<sup>124</sup>. En apoyo de esta propuesta podría esgrimirse, además de la notable cantidad de inscripciones gladiatorias encontradas, el hallazgo en Córdoba del epígrafe de un *doc(tor) ret(iariorum)*, es decir, de un entrenador de retiarios, especialidad de lucha caracterizada por el uso de un tridente y una red (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 360). Todos los gladiadores documentados en la epigrafía cordobesa figuran en inscripciones funerarias que presentan una gran homogeneidad en tres aspectos: el material empleado y las características externas de los soportes, puesto que la mayoría de ellas fueron grabadas en estelas con cabecera redondeada; los formularios epigráficos empleados; y el lugar de hallazgo, ya que casi todas las inscripciones proceden del Camino Viejo de Almodóvar, una zona de necrópolis situada al sur del anfiteatro que quizás fue adquirida por la *familia gladiatoria* para acoger las sepulturas de sus luchadores<sup>125</sup>. En contraste, la cronología de estos epígrafes ha generado ciertas divergencias historiográficas, existiendo dos visiones contrapuestas. Por un lado se encuentran los planteamientos realizados por J. Gómez-Pantoja (EAOR, VII), que defendió una datación homogénea para este conjunto, situando sus inscripciones entre mediados y la segunda mitad del siglo I d.C.; por otro, las consideraciones de A. U. Stylow (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*), que ofreció una cronología más amplia para estas piezas, que, en su opinión, abarcarían desde el siglo I al III d.C.<sup>126</sup>.

Los formularios empleados en estas inscripciones presentan un modelo común en el que se recogen como principales elementos el nombre del gladiador, su especialidad de lucha (*armatura*), el *ludus* al que perteneció, el número de combates librados (*pugnae*), las victorias obtenidas, su edad de fallecimiento y, finalmente, la información relativa a los dedicantes de la inscripción. Sin embargo, desde el punto de vista de este trabajo el aspecto que más nos interesa son las menciones de *origo* que figuran en muchas de estas piezas, puesto que nos permiten constatar la procedencia extrapeninsular de la mayoría de los luchadores. A partir de la información que estas referencias nos proporcionan podemos dividir la muestra epigráfica estudiada en dos grandes grupos. El más numeroso está compuesto por los gladiadores que procedían de la zona oriental del Imperio. En este grupo se incluyen los

<sup>124</sup> SÁNCHEZ y VAQUERIZO GIL 2010, 488; VAQUERIZO GIL, GARRIGUET MATA y MURILLO REDONDO 2011, 27.

<sup>125</sup> SÁNCHEZ y VAQUERIZO GIL 2010, 485.

<sup>126</sup> En nuestro caso hemos optado por seguir la cronología recogida en *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, tal y como indicamos en la tabla 4. Un resumen de las distintas fechas ofrecidas para las inscripciones gladiatorias de *Colonia Patricia* lo podemos encontrar en SÁNCHEZ y VAQUERIZO GIL 2010, 500.

testimonios de *Ampliatus* y *Studiosus*, naturales de Siria (*Natione Syrus*)<sup>127</sup>; de *Aris[tob]ulus?*<sup>128</sup> y *Cerinthus*<sup>129</sup>, originarios de Grecia (*Natione Graecus*); y de *Faustus*, nacido en Alejandría (*Alexandrinus*)<sup>130</sup>. El segundo grupo reúne a aquellos gladiadores que proceden de la parte occidental del Imperio y a él corresponden las inscripciones de *Ingenuus*<sup>131</sup> y *Probus*<sup>132</sup>, dos luchadores de origen germano (*Natione Germanus*); de *Amabilis*, natural de la Galia (*Natione Gallus*)<sup>133</sup>; y de *Amandus*, un *thraex* oriundo de la ciudad itálica de *Placentia*<sup>134</sup>. Finalmente, conviene reseñar que contamos con cuatro inscripciones cuyo mal estado de conservación impide determinar la procedencia de los luchadores mencionados en ellas<sup>135</sup>.

Es importante destacar que en la mayoría de los casos la procedencia de estos gladiadores se indica mediante los términos *natio* o *natione*, una fórmula que suele ir acompañada de un adjetivo geográfico relativo a una entidad territorial de gran tamaño o de una referencia étnica que menciona a una comunidad lo suficientemente conocida como para ser identificada a muchos kilómetros de su ubicación<sup>136</sup>. Este tipo de fórmulas fueron empleadas de forma recurrente por los *peregrini*, tal y como ha puesto de manifiesto J. M. Lassère, aunque su uso también se extendió a los ciudadanos, teniendo especial eco en el ejército, sobre todo en la epigrafía funeraria de los militares del periodo Julio-Claudio, según ha señalado S. Perea Yébenes<sup>137</sup>. Aunque tradicionalmente se ha aceptado que el concepto *natio* posee un rango cultural menor que el de *origo*, su utilidad para abordar el estudio de la movilidad geográfica de los gladiadores está fuera de toda duda, ya que la *natio* se hace constar para indicar que el

<sup>127</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 356: *Mur(millo) / Ampliatus n(atione) Syrus / pugn(avit) X[X]XIII ann(orum) XXX tr(aex) Studiosus / frater d(e) s(uo) p(osuit) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).*

<sup>128</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 358: [---?]/*Aris[tob]ulus (scil. ludi) His/[p]ani (scil. pugnavit) XXII / [na]t(ione) Graec(us) / [ann(orum)] XXI / [h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi)] t(erra) l(evis) / ----- ?.*

<sup>129</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 359: *Mur(millo) / Cerinthus (scil. ludi) Ner(oniani - - ) II / nat(ione) Graecus an(norum) XXV / Rome coniunx ben[e] / merenti de suo pos(u)it / te r(ogo) p(raeteriens) d(icas) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).*

<sup>130</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 361: *M(urmillo) / (contra)r(ete) / Faustus (scil. ludi) Ner(oniani) / (- - -) XII ver(na) Alex(andrinus) / an(norum) XXXV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Apollonia uxor / et Hermes tr(aex) de / suo posuerunt.*

<sup>131</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 362: *Esse(darius) / Ingenuus (scil. ludi) Gallicia(ni) / an(norum) XXV pal(marum) XII / natione Germanus / familia universa / de suo fac(iendum) cura(vit) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).*

<sup>132</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 363: *Mur(millo) / (contra)r(ete) / Probus / PAVIL LXXXIX / natione Germa(nus) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) / Volumnia Spera[ta] / coniuci pio / merenti / P(ublius) Volumnius / Vitalis patri pio / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).*

<sup>133</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 354: *Alypus / an(norum) XXX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) / posuit Amab/ilis de suo / Amabilis ann/o(rum) XXX nat(ione) Gall(us) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) l(apis) l(evis).*

<sup>134</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 355: *Tr(aex) / Amandus / (scil. luci) Ner(oniani) (scil. pugnavit) XVI ver(na) / Placent(inus) an(norum) / XXII mur(millo) / Pudens lib(eratus) / -----.*

<sup>135</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 364: ----- / R[- - -] / nation[e - - -] / tr(aex) / Sagitta [-]M[- - -] / natione Hispanus / h(ic) s(it) s(unt) s(it) v(obis) t(erra) l(evis) / conservi de suo [b]ene merentib(us); CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 366: [---?]/Trium[phalis] / (scil. pugnavit?) XX nat(ione) [- - -] / -----; CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 368: ----- / na[t(ione)] / pugn(avit) [- - -] / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis); CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 369: ----- / [---] na[t(ione)] / [- - a]n(norum) XXX / [- - ]VIII / -----.

<sup>136</sup> Al respecto vid. LASSÈRE 2005, 128-136.

<sup>137</sup> LASSÈRE, 2005, 128-136; PEREA YÉBENES 2004-2005, 166.

lugar de nacimiento u origen no se corresponde con el de fallecimiento<sup>138</sup>. Sólo se separan de esta dinámica *Amandus* y *Faustus*, los únicos gladiadores que indicaron su procedencia aludiendo a dos ciudades concretas como son *Placentia* y Alejandría. En ambos casos el nombre de estas poblaciones viene precedido por el término *ver(na)*. Esta fórmula ha sido asociada tradicionalmente con el *status servil* de estos personajes<sup>139</sup>, aunque J. Gómez-Pantoja no descartaba que en esta ocasión dicha expresión estuviese sustituyendo a los conceptos *natio* u *origo*, por lo que quizás debería interpretarse como una acepción temprana de ambos términos<sup>140</sup>.

Las inscripciones gladiatorias también nos aportan información sobre la especialidad de combate y la trayectoria deportiva de estos luchadores. Hemos podido identificar en esta muestra la presencia de dos *thraeces*; cuatro *murmillones*, dos de los cuales se identifican expresamente como *contraretiarii*; un *essedarius* y seis luchadores donde la mala conservación de sus inscripciones no permite determinar sus *armaturae*. La mayoría de ellos falleció a una edad temprana, comprendida entre los 21 años de *¿Aris[tob]ulus?* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 358) y los 35 de *Faustus* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 361)<sup>141</sup>. Eso no impidió que algunos de estos gladiadores participasen en un buen número de combates, como podemos observar en los epitafios de *Ampliatus*, (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 356), *¿Aris[tob]ulus?* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 358) y *Trium[phalis]?* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 366), puesto que el primero de ellos luchó 33 veces, mientras que los otros dos alcanzaron la veintena de enfrentamientos. Varios de estos luchadores indicaron también la obtención de palmas en la arena, tal y como ocurre con el *essedarius Ingenuus* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 362), que menciona la consecución de doce *palmae*, y con el gladiador de onomástica desconocida documentado en *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 369, que obtuvo al menos tres de estos trofeos, aunque en su caso el numeral está incompleto y no nos permite precisar mucho más.

También es interesante la información que podemos extraer sobre el *status social* y las relaciones familiares de estos luchadores. Lo más probable es que la mayoría de ellos tuviesen una condición servil, aunque este hecho únicamente se explicitaría en las inscripciones de *Amandus* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 355) y *Faustus* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 361), donde el término *verna* estaría aludiendo a

<sup>138</sup> PEREA YÉBENES 2004-2005, 167-168.

<sup>139</sup> GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1960b, 130; PIERNAVIEJA 1977, 154, nº 57 y 159, nº 61.

<sup>140</sup> GÓMEZ-PANTOJA 2006, 173-174; GÓMEZ-PANTOJA 2009, 100-101. Este uso ha sido documentado en *Corduba* en otras dos inscripciones que son completamente ajenas al ámbito anfiteatral (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 390 y 393).

<sup>141</sup> Mención especial merece la inscripción del *murmillo Probus* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 363), en cuya tercera línea figura el numeral LXXXIX, que podría estar aludiendo a los combates en los que participó este gladiador. A primera vista resulta un número muy elevado, aunque podemos encontrar un ejemplo parecido en una inscripción de Pompeya donde un gladiador afirma haber alcanzado 88 victorias (*CIL VI*, 2387). Sin embargo, la ausencia de la edad del difunto llevó a J. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA (2009, 102) a considerar que esta cifra tan elevada podría ser un error del lapicida, que habría unido en una misma cifra el número de combates y la edad del difunto. En la misma línea se ha mostrado A. CEBALLOS HORNERO (2004, 501), sugiriendo que tras el numeral LXXXIX podrían esconderte realmente dos conceptos diferentes que no habrían sido separados correctamente, el número de victorias y el número de coronas obtenidos por este gladiador, algo documentado, sin ir más lejos, en la inscripción *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7*, 365, encontrada también en *Corduba*.

esclavos nacidos en la casa del dueño<sup>142</sup>. En los casos restantes no tenemos una indicación tan clara, aunque las estructuras onomásticas sumamente simples de todos estos gladiadores apuntarían hacia un *status servil*. Podría suponerse, no obstante, que aquellos luchadores que explicitan la existencia de un vínculo matrimonial con una *uxor* o una *coniux* serían hombres libres, aunque lo más probable es que se tratase de uniones ilegítimas<sup>143</sup>. En muchas ocasiones fueron estas *uxores* las encargadas de dedicar los epitafios, como podemos observar en las inscripciones de *Cerinthus*, que fue honrado por su esposa *Rome*<sup>144</sup>, y de *Faustus*, cuyo epitafio fue levantado por su esposa *Apollonia* y por otro gladiador, un *thraex* llamado *Hermes*, que debió pertenecer a su mismo *ludus*<sup>145</sup>. También documentamos una relación familiar en el caso de *Probus*, que fue homenajeado por su mujer, *Volumnia Sperata*, y por su hijo, *P. Volumnius Vitalis*. La situación personal de este gladiador resulta bastante curiosa, puesto que se encontraba unido con una mujer que por su onomástica con *dua nomina* podemos suponer libre. En este sentido, el contraste entre la onomástica simple de *Probus* y el *cognomen* materno que porta su hijo permite suponer la existencia de una unión ilegítima donde la condición servil del padre impedía la transmisión de su *nomen*. Sin embargo, J. Gómez-Pantoja consideró también la posibilidad de que el gentilicio de este gladiador fuese el que porta su hijo, algo que sería posible si ambos cónyuges tuviesen el mismo *nomen*, un hecho documentado con frecuencia en el mundo antiguo, por lo que no descartaba que el apelativo *Probus* fuese simplemente un nombre deportivo<sup>146</sup>.

Junto a estas dedicaciones familiares encontramos también en los epitafios gladiatorios de Córdoba varios homenajes realizados por los compañeros de oficio. Algunas de esas menciones se hicieron a título individual, como podemos observar en las inscripciones de *Ampliatus*, que fue conmemorado por su hermano *Studiosus*, gladiador de tipo *Thraex*, y de *Faustus*, cuyo monumento funerario fue dedicado por su esposa y por el *thraex* *Hermes*. En otras ocasiones el homenaje fue costeado por todos los miembros del *ludus*, como ocurrió con el *essedarius Ingennuus*, cuyo epígrafe fue dedicado por la *familia gladiatoria*. Se trata del único ejemplo hispano de una práctica documentada con bastante frecuencia en otros lugares del Imperio<sup>147</sup>. El uso de la fórmula *familia universia* indicaría la actuación de la misma como un colegio funerario con el objetivo de repartir el costo de las exequias. Semejantes consideraciones pueden hacerse extensivas a la expresión *conservi* empleada en *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 364*,

<sup>142</sup> CRESPO ORTIZ DE ZÁRATE 2003, 48-49 y 57.

<sup>143</sup> SÁNCHEZ y VAQUERIZO GIL 2010, 486.

<sup>144</sup> Esta se declara *coniux* del difunto, aunque, según A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO (1960b, 128), en realidad eran *contubernales*.

<sup>145</sup> Aunque *Apollonia* sea denominada *uxor* lo más probable es que nos encontremos ante dos *contubernales*. Sin embargo, S. CRESPO ORTIZ (2003, 57) considera que el término *uxor* indicaría la existencia de una evidente unión matrimonial.

<sup>146</sup> GÓMEZ-PANTOJA 2009, 102.

<sup>147</sup> GÓMEZ-PANTOJA 2009, 93.

que posiblemente estuviese aludiendo a los miembros de la familia gladiatoria a la que pertenecían los difuntos.

Onomástica	Cron.	Origen	Pugna e	Palma e	Edad de muert e	Statu s	Armatura	Referenci a
<i>Amabilis</i>	Siglo II d.C.	<i>Natione Gallus</i>			30			<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 354</i>
<i>Amandus</i>	Transició n ss. I al II d.C.	<i>Placentinus</i>	16		22	<i>Verna</i>	<i>Thraex</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 355</i>
<i>Ampliatus</i>	Siglo II d.C.	<i>N(atione) Syrus</i>	33		30		<i>Murmillo</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 356</i>
<i>¿Aris[tob]ulus ?</i>	Transició n ss. II al III d.C.	<i>Natione Graecus</i>	22		21			<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 358</i>
<i>Cerinthus</i>	Siglo II d.C.	<i>Natione Graecus</i>	2		25		<i>Murmillo</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 359</i>
<i>Faustus</i>	Siglo I d.C.	<i>Alexandrinu s</i>	12		35	<i>Verna</i>	<i>Murmillo contraretiari us</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 361</i>
<i>Ingenuus</i>	Primera mitad s. II d.C.	<i>Natione Germanus</i>		12	25		<i>Essedarius</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 362</i>
<i>Probus</i>	Transició n s. I al II d.C.	<i>Natione Germanus</i>	¿99?				<i>Murmillo contraretiari us</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 363</i>
<i>Studiosus</i>	Siglo II d.C.	<i>Natione Syrus</i>					<i>Thraex</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 356</i>
<i>Trium[phalis] ?</i>	Finales s. I d.C.	<i>Nat(ione) [- - - -]</i>	20					<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 366</i>
<i>Ignotus</i>	Siglo I d.C.	<i>Nation[e -- -]</i>						<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 364</i>
<i>Ignotus</i>	Segunda mitad s. II d.C.	<i>Na[t(ione) - -]</i>						<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 368</i>
<i>Ignotus</i>	Ss. I o II d.C.	<i>Na[t(ione)]</i>		+3	30			<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 369</i>

Tabla 4. Movilidad geográfica relacionada con los juegos gladiatorios.

#### 4.3 Otros casos de movilidad

No podemos determinar con seguridad las causas que motivaron el desplazamiento de los restantes inmigrantes no hispanos documentados en *Colonia Patricia*. Dentro de este grupo, que incluye cinco inscripciones, contamos con dos itálicos, con un individuo de ascendencia macedónica, con otro de origen posiblemente tracio y, finalmente, ya en época tardía, con un quinto inmigrante oriundo de la Galia. La procedencia de todos ellos ha sido determinada a partir de la *origo* y de la tribu, aunque en algunos casos hemos recurrido también a las peculiaridades onomásticas que presentan estos personajes al considerar que constituyen un buen indicativo de su origen foráneo.

La más antigua de las inscripciones reunidas en este apartado es la de *L. Salven[us] Sedatus*, que ha sido datada entre finales del siglo I y comienzos del II d.C.<sup>148</sup>. La condición social de este personaje ha sido objeto de discusión atendiendo al significado otorgado al término *verna* que figura en la tercera línea del texto epigráfico. Inicialmente, A. García y Bellido defendió que *Sedatus* habría nacido como hijo de esclavo en la ciudad de Roma, habiendo recibido tras su manumisión la onomástica de su amo<sup>149</sup>. Se trataría, en consecuencia, de un liberto, opinión que han seguido autores posteriores como J. Mangas y S. Crespo Ortiz de Zárate, para quien *Sedatus* habría nacido esclavo en Roma y tras su liberación se habría trasladado junto a su antiguo amo hasta *Colonia Patricia*, uno de los centros económicos más importantes de la Bética, donde falleció a los 75 años<sup>150</sup>. Sin embargo, J. Gómez-Pantoja consideró también la posibilidad de que el término *verna* hubiese sido empleado en este caso como una acepción temprana de las locuciones *natio* u *origo*, planteando de esta manera que no debería relacionarse con el *status social* de *Sedatus*, quien, por su onomástica con *tria nomina*, podría ser considerado también un ciudadano romano<sup>151</sup>. Esta acepción del término *verna* ha sido propuesta para otras inscripciones encontradas en Córdoba, dos de las cuales, *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 355* y *361*, han sido comentadas en el apartado dedicado a los gladiadores.

Al siglo II d.C. pertenece la inscripción de *L. Stertinius Maxumus*, cuyo origen itálico puede inferirse por su pertenencia a la tribu *Horatia*<sup>152</sup>. La presencia de esta tribu en la epigrafía hispana debe valorarse como excepcional, puesto que únicamente contamos con otro ejemplo, procedente en este caso de *Ilici*, donde esta tribu figura en la onomástica de uno de los colonos establecidos en su *ager* en el último tercio del siglo I a.C. (*IRILAD I, 12*). La *Horatia* es

<sup>148</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 393: *L(ucius) Salven[us] / Sedatus / verna Roman(us) / an(norum) LXXV / pius in suis / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).*

<sup>149</sup> GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1960a, 190, nº 24.

<sup>150</sup> MANGAS MANJARRÉS 1971, 479; CRESPO ORTIZ DE ZÁRATE 2003, 40.

<sup>151</sup> GÓMEZ-PANTOJA 2009, 100-101.

<sup>152</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 384: *L(ucio) Stertinio L(uci) f(ilio) / Hor(atia) Maxumo / P(ublius) Cornelius Phi/loclis l(ibertus) Auctus*

una de las dieciséis tribus rústicas de Roma y en ella fueron inscritos los habitantes de varias ciudades de Italia y África<sup>153</sup>. En consecuencia, es posible proponer un origen foráneo, singularmente itálico, para *L. Stertinus Maxumus*, algo que en su momento ya hizo E. W. Haley<sup>154</sup>. También la onomástica de este personaje apuntaría hacia la Península Itálica, puesto que su gentilicio, que allí se documenta entre campanos, latinos y volscos, cuenta con una limitada presencia en *Hispania*, donde se concentra fundamentalmente en *Lusitania* y la *Baetica*<sup>155</sup>. Desconocemos, sin embargo, las causas que motivaron el traslado de *L. Stertinus Maxumus* a *Corduba*, donde fue homenajeado por el liberto *P. Cornelius Auctus*.

A un momento posterior corresponde la tercera inscripción incluida en este apartado, encontrada en el barrio de la Judería y datada entre finales del siglo II y comienzos del III d.C. Está compuesta por un bloque de mármol donde fueron grabados dos *carmina* funerarios en columnas paralelas. Ambas composiciones recuerdan a un joven llamado *Festus* tras su prematuro fallecimiento<sup>156</sup>. La inscripción de la columna izquierda, que apenas se conserva, recoge la dedicación realizada por los familiares y la nodriza (*pia nutrix*) del difunto, mientras que en el texto de la columna derecha, que está prácticamente completo, fueron consignados los datos relativos a la vida y al origen de *Festus*. Gracias a ellos sabemos que este joven falleció con apenas 15 años y sin haber podido tomar la *toga virilis*<sup>157</sup>. Esta ceremonia constituía un momento de gran trascendencia en la sociedad romana, pues marcaba el paso de la niñez a la edad adulta, un tránsito simbolizado en la sustitución de la *toga praetexta* por la *toga virilis*. Esta inscripción nos permite saber también que la familia de este joven procedía de la lejana región de Macedonia, aunque su traslado a la Península Ibérica debió haber tenido lugar algún tiempo atrás, ya que el nacimiento de *Festus* se produjo en tierras béticas (*sum genere Macedon set in arvis Baeticae partus*). Las causas que motivaron la instalación en *Corduba* de esta familia son difíciles de determinar, aunque R. Thouvenot las relacionó con el traslado a *Hispania* en tiempos de Marco Aurelio de un contingente de soldados macedonios para contener la invasión de los *Mauri*<sup>158</sup>. Esta original propuesta ha sido considerada poco consistente en los comentarios sobre esta inscripción recogidos en *AE* 1972, 276 y en *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/7, 389. Conviene

<sup>153</sup> KUBISTSCHKE 1889 (reed. 1972), 271.

<sup>154</sup> HALEY 1986, 140; HALEY 1991, 30.

<sup>155</sup> CONWAY 1967, 585; ABASCAL PALAZÓN 1994, 223.

<sup>156</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 389: [- - N]overat unum / [- -]at et pia nutrix / [- - c]oepit et unus / [- -]A fiant / [- -] mater habebit // *Sum genere Macedon set in arvis Baeticae partus / quintus post decimum revolutus fugerat annus / et iam iamque viro toga se sociare parabat / deficiunt fata totus labor excidit hora / hic ego sum positus festus de nomine Festi*

<sup>157</sup> Conocemos una situación similar en un epígrafe procedente de *Celsa*: - - - - / [Var(o) eq(---)] / [praetextae I- -] / [quoius et in] vita maxum(us) / [esset hon]os / [Hilar]us paedagogus / posuit (HEp 1, 1989, 648).

<sup>158</sup> THOUVENOT 1973, 154-155. Esta hipótesis ha sido también recogida por J. MELLADO y J. M. VILLA (1972, 323) y E. W. HALEY (1986, 154 y 1991, 39).

reseñar igualmente que la ascendencia macedónica de la familia de *Festus* contrasta con el nombre del difunto, claramente latino<sup>159</sup>.

En este mismo periodo se encuadra la inscripción de *C. Valerius Avitus*<sup>160</sup>, que muestra la particularidad de ser una composición parcialmente poética, ya que al *praescriptum* en prosa le siguen tres versos hexamétricos conservados fragmentariamente y cuya interpretación resulta complicada<sup>161</sup>. En ella destaca el origen foráneo de este personaje, puesto que los restos conservados de su *origo* confirmán que no era un *cives Cordubensis*. Por desgracia, la pérdida de buena parte de la tercera línea del texto nos impide determinar con certeza su lugar de nacimiento. De la *origo*, que comienza con el término *natio*, se han conservado únicamente una *T* y parte de una segunda letra que E. W. Haley consideró una *A*. Por ello restituyó la *origo* de *Avitus* como *natione Ta[porus?]*, vinculando a este personaje con el *populus* lusitano de los *Tapiro*<sup>162</sup>. Su planteamiento fue considerado válido por A. U. Stylow en la revisión de esta inscripción realizada en *CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 394*, donde también restituyó la *origo* como *natione Tal- - -J*. En nuestro caso creemos que esta reconstrucción debería tomarse con prudencia, ya que el concepto *natio* alude generalmente a una entidad territorial más amplia que la conformada por un simple *populus* como eran los *Tapiro*. Por ello, C. Fernández Martínez y R. Carande Herrero han ofrecido una lectura diferente (*CLEBetica*, CO04). Para estos autores la letra que figura tras la *T* no sería una *A*, sino una *H*, lo que permitiría restituir la *origo* como *natione Th[- - -]*. De ello derivaría la posibilidad de reconstruir la parte perdida del texto como *Th(rax)* o *Th(racius)*, un término que se adaptaría mejor a las letras conservadas y que encajaría también con el empleo del concepto *natio*. Esta propuesta cuenta con un paralelo cercano en *Ossigi Latonium* (Cerro Alcalá, Jaén), donde conocemos el epítafio de un esclavo que indicó su origen mediante la expresión *natione T(h)racie* (*CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 24*). Conviene reseñar igualmente que el empleo del término *natio* seguido del nombre de la región de origen ha sido documentado en el epítafio de varios gladiadores fallecidos en *Corduba* (*vid. supra*). Sin embargo, la posibilidad de incluir a *C. Valerius Avitus* entre estos luchadores debería descartarse por dos razones: la primera es su *tria nomina*, circunstancia que aleja su onomástica de las estructuras simples que solemos encontrar en el mundo gladiatorio; la segunda es el lugar de hallazgo de su epítafio, que no presenta ninguna relación con el Camino Viejo de Almodóvar, donde han aparecido prácticamente todas las inscripciones gladiatorias de *Corduba*.

<sup>159</sup> KAJANTO 1982, 28, 62 y 221; SOLIN y SALOMIES 1988, 331.

<sup>160</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 394: *D(is) [M(anibus) s(acrūm)] / C(aius) Val(erius) Avitus [- - -] / natione Ta[- - -] / gemma quod est AV[- - -] / quod tenebris[- - -] / sic inter A[- - -] / -----*

<sup>161</sup> Para un mayor detalle remitimos al comentario de esta inscripción realizado por FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍNEZ y CARANDE HERRERO, 2007, referencia CO04.

<sup>162</sup> HALEY 1986, 229, nº 320; HALEY 1991, 66, nº 332.

El último caso incluido en este apartado, que es también el que presenta una cronología más tardía, es el epítafio de *Samon*, un personaje originario de la ciudad gala de *Tolosa* (*civis Tolosianus*) que falleció en *Corduba* a los 53 años durante la primera mitad del siglo V d.C.<sup>163</sup>. Se trata de una inscripción cristiana, tal y como atestigua el crismón de más de veinte centímetros de diámetro que adorna la parte central de esta lápida de mármol blanco. El texto que fue grabado en ella es muy breve, por lo que la información que poseemos sobre *Samon* es escasa. En cualquier caso, su presencia en *Corduba* constataría el mantenimiento de las relaciones entre provincias vecinas en un periodo tan tardío como el siglo V<sup>164</sup>.

Onomástica	Cron.	Origen	Tribu	Status	Ref.
<i>Festus</i>	Transición ss. II-III d.C.	<i>Genere Macedon</i>			<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 389</i>
<i>L. Salven[us] Sedatus</i>	Transición ss. I al II d.C.	<i>Romanus</i>		<i>Libertus / civis Romanus</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 393</i>
<i>Samon</i>	Siglo V d.C.	<i>Tolosianus</i>			<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 655</i>
<i>L. Stertinius Maxumus</i>	Siglo II d.C.	Probablemente itálico	<i>Horatia</i>	<i>civis Romanus</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 384</i>
<i>C. Valerius Avitus</i>	Transición ss. II al III d.C.	<i>Natione Ta[--] o Th[---]</i>		<i>civis Romanus</i>	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 394</i>

Tabla 5. Otros casos de movilidad.

## 5. Conclusiones

La *Corduba* romana presenta una larga trayectoria histórica en la que podemos distinguir dos etapas claramente diferenciadas: por un lado, su fundación como realidad urbana, obra de M. Claudio Marcelo en el siglo II a.C.; por otro, su conversión en *colonia civium Romanorum* entre los años 45-43 a.C. como consecuencia de los acontecimientos derivados de la guerra civil entre cesarianos y pompeyanos. Desde su misma fundación la ciudad acogió a un importante grupo de población foránea. Sabemos que sus inicios estuvieron marcados por el asentamiento de un grupo de “romanos selectos” elegidos por el propio Marcelo a los que Estrabón se refiere como *Romaioi*. Estos itálicos, de los que prácticamente no tenemos ninguna evidencia, serían fundamentalmente veteranos de las campañas militares de Marcelo en *Hispania*, aunque entre ellos pudieron encontrarse también algunos de los inmigrantes civiles que desde el siglo II a.C. se habían instalado en la Península Ibérica atraídos por sus posibilidades económicas. Durante todo el periodo republicano parece continuar la afluencia hacia *Corduba* de gentes de origen foráneo, ya que durante el siglo I a.C. conocemos la

<sup>163</sup> CIL II<sup>2</sup>/7, 655: *Samon civis / Tolosianus re/ces(s)it in pace d(ie) oc/tavo K(a)l(endas) Novembres / vixit annos LIII*

<sup>164</sup> Wierschowski 2001, 42, nº 39.

existencia en la ciudad de un *conventus civium Romanorum* que habría agrupado a la comunidad itálica residente en una *Corduba* aun peregrina. Esta corporación habría estado compuesta fundamentalmente por *negotiatores* establecidos en la ciudad, aunque con el tiempo también se habrían incorporado a ella algunos de los descendientes de los pobladores instalados por Marcelo. A esta comunidad, que tuvo un importante papel durante la guerra civil, habría pertenecido *Annius Scapula*, al que el *Bellum Hispaniense* menciona como uno de los principales instigadores del intento de asesinato contra el gobernador cesariano Q. Casio Longino. Entre los itálicos o descendientes de itálicos que residían con *Corduba* en época republicana se encontrarían también *C. Marius* y *T. Acclenus*, cuyas tribus *Veturia* y *Quirina* indican un acceso temprano a la ciudadanía romana (tabla 1). Tras la victoria cesariana en *Munda* se inició la segunda etapa histórica de la ciudad, marcada por su conversión en una colonia romana que recibió el nombre oficial de *Colonia Patricia*. Este hecho, junto a la designación de la ciudad como capital provincial en época de Augusto, favoreció su conversión en un importante centro receptor de población durante todo el periodo altoimperial. La mayoría de esos inmigrantes procedían de los territorios hispanos<sup>165</sup>, aunque también fueron muchos los que llegaron desde las provincias extrapeninsulares, como hemos podido observar en este trabajo. En total hemos reunido 33 referencias (epigráficas y literarias) que aluden a 36 personajes de origen no hispano. En el gráfico nº 1 observamos la existencia de un cierto equilibrio entre las referencias que aluden a personajes oriundos de las provinciales occidentales del Imperio (15 sobre 36, un 41,6%) y aquellas otras que se refieren a inmigrante originarios de su zona oriental (14 sobre 36, un 38,88%). Se trata de un hecho bastante curioso y que contrasta con las dinámicas que podemos observar en las otras capitales provinciales hispanas, donde la afluencia de inmigrantes originarios de las provinciales occidentales es mayoritaria<sup>166</sup>. En el caso de *Colonia Patricia* los datos que poseemos se encuentran muy condicionados por las especificidades propias de la ciudad, entre las que destaca la presencia de un alto número de inscripciones gladiatorias que aluden a luchadores originarios del oriente imperial y también la presencia de un importante colectivo de libertos cuyos *cognomina* remiten a esta zona del Imperio.

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<sup>165</sup> HALEY 1986, 186-193; MELCHOR GIL 2006, 251-279.

<sup>166</sup> ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2020e, en prensa; ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2021b, en prensa.

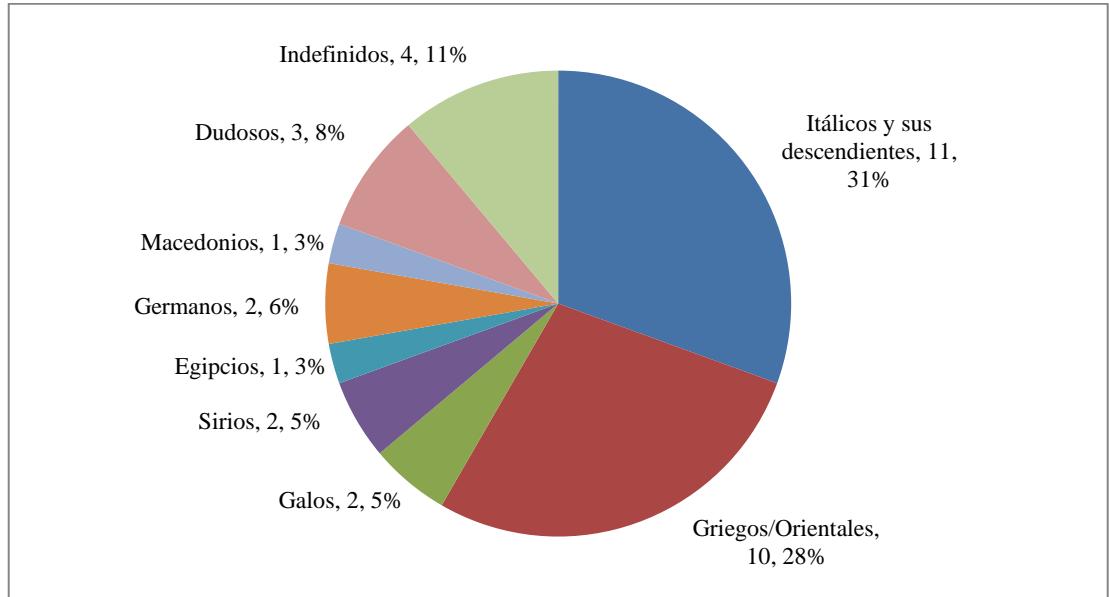


Gráfico 1. Distribución por origen de los personajes estudiados.

Cronológicamente la movilidad estudiada se distribuye de forma desigual (gráfico nº 2). El momento de mayor impacto demográfico fue sin duda la *deductio* fundacional de *Colonia Patricia* en el último tercio del siglo I a.C., que implicó la conformación de un cuerpo cívico compuesto por varios miles de colonos de origen mayoritariamente itálico<sup>167</sup>. La dinámica general del periodo y la información recogida en las acuñaciones monetales de la ciudad permiten suponer que este primer censo colonial estuvo compuesto principalmente por veteranos (tabla 2). Algunos de estos colonos han podido ser identificados gracias a la documentación epigráfica. Así sucede con *L. Cornelius*, asentando probablemente en época de César, y con *L. Cornelius Bocchus*, que sería descendiente de uno los colonos establecidos en época augustea. Por desgracia, son pocas las inscripciones conservadas de este periodo, lo que sin duda condiciona la información contenida en el gráfico nº 2. Con posterioridad a la *deductio* la llegada de inmigrantes no hispanos se distribuye de forma más o menos homogénea a lo largo del alto Imperio, siendo el siglo II d.C. el periodo más destacado. Por el contrario, esta inmigración se reduce bruscamente a partir del siglo III d.C., un hecho que debemos relacionar con las circunstancias históricas del momento, marcadas por la inestabilidad, y con los nuevos parámetros sociales derivados de la unificación jurídica que trajo consigo la *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Entre ellos se encuentra la simplificación del sistema onomástico romano, donde la mención de la *origo* fue decayendo progresivamente, un hecho que limita nuestro conocimiento sobre las dinámicas de movilidad en la Antigüedad tardía.

<sup>167</sup> Sobre el tamaño de las colonias hispanas, vid. ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2021a, 361-363.

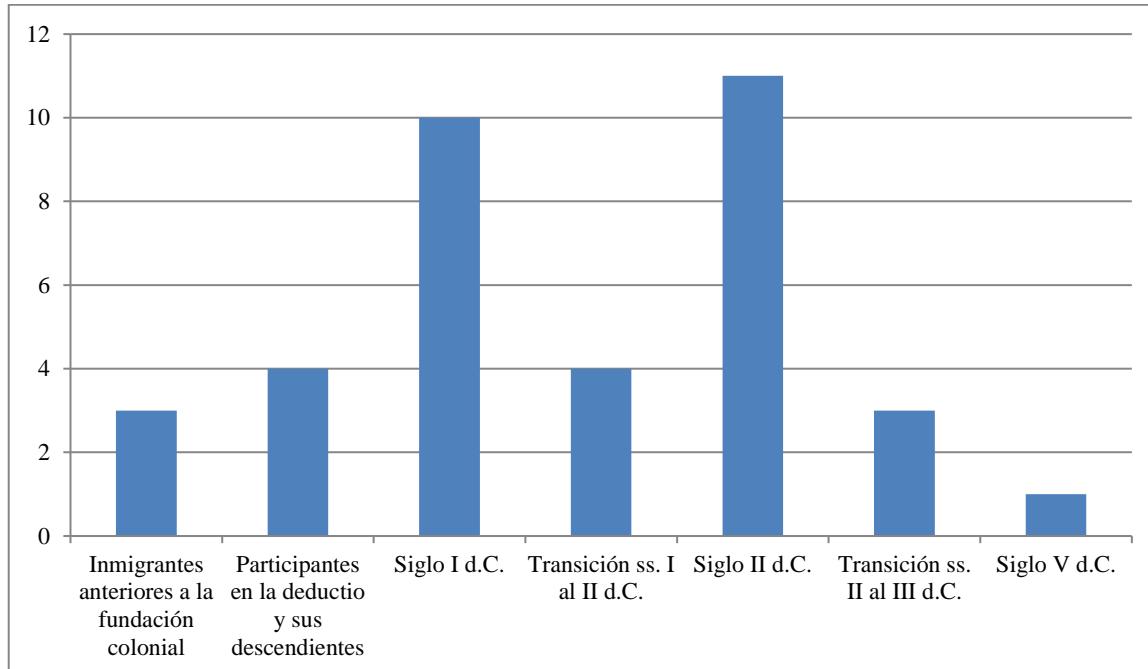


Gráfico 2. Distribución cronológica de los personajes estudiados.

Igualmente interesante resulta el estudio de las causas que motivaron la movilidad de los personajes estudiados. A partir de la documentación analizada hemos distribuido a estos inmigrantes en varios grupos. En primer lugar se encontrarían aquellos personajes que llegaron a *Corduba* como consecuencia de la fundación de la ciudad en época de Marcelo o de la posterior *deductio* colonial en el periodo cesariano. Es evidente que este grupo sería, con mucha diferencia, el más numeroso. Sin embargo, las evidencias documentales que poseemos actualmente sobre sus componentes son limitadas, una circunstancia que debemos relacionar con la escasa extensión del hábito epigráfico en esos momentos. Con posterioridad a la *deductio* de *Colonia Patricia* la inmigración que se proyectó sobre la ciudad tuvo una naturaleza principalmente económica y laboral. Así podemos observarlo en los datos recogidos en la tabla 3, donde se constata la existencia de un importante grupo de libertos dedicados al desarrollo de actividades productivas. Si nos guiamos por sus *cognomina* orientales, la mayoría de ellos escasamente representados en *Hispania*, podemos plantear la posibilidad de que muchos de estos personajes hubieran llegado a Córdoba como consecuencia del desarrollo de sus actividades laborales. Asimismo, debe reseñarse la peculiaridad que presenta esta ciudad respecto a la movilidad relacionada con los juegos gladiatorios, puesto que en ninguna otra comunidad hispana se ha documentado una concentración tan importante de inscripciones de este tipo (tabla 4). Finalmente, conviene señalar que hemos detectado también cinco personajes cuyas inscripciones no aportan información concluyente sobre las causas que motivaron su movilidad (tabla 5).

Otras consideraciones que podemos realizar tienen que ver con la distribución por sexos o con el *status jurídico* de los inmigrantes estudiados. En relación a la primera destaca el claro predominio masculino de esta muestra, ya que 32 de los 36 personajes analizados, es decir, un 88,88%, son hombres, mientras que tan sólo hemos documentado a una mujer (2,77%). Existen igualmente tres personajes de onomástica desconocida (8,33% de la muestra), aunque al estar documentados en inscripciones gladiatorias es muy probable que se trate también de tres hombres. Más diversa es la muestra en lo que se refiere al *status jurídico* de sus protagonistas, ya que en ella podemos observar una movilidad donde conviven ciudadanos romanos y libertos. A ellos debemos añadir el caso peculiar de los gladiadores, cuyo *status jurídico* debió ser mayoritariamente el de siervos, aunque no en todos los casos.

El último aspecto que nos gustaría resenjar está relacionado con el papel que desempeñaron estos inmigrantes en su ciudad de acogida, para cuyo conocimiento la documentación epigráfica que hemos estudiado aporta una información limitada aunque interesante. El mejor ejemplo de integración está compuesto por aquellos personajes que hemos identificado como miembros del primer censo colonial (tabla 2), puesto que casi todos ellos fueron rápidamente incorporados a la élite local. Así lo certifica el ejercicio de las magistraturas cívicas, una circunstancia que podemos observar en las inscripciones de *L. Cornelius*, que fue *aedilis* y *duumvir*; de *L. Manlius Bocchus*, que ejerció como *duumvir* y *praefectus iure dicundo*; y de *T. Mercello Persinus Marius*, que antes de ser designado *procurator Augusti* desempeñó también la edilidad y el duunvirato en *Colonia Patricia*. Sin embargo, ninguno de los inmigrantes del periodo posterior accedió a posiciones de poder en la colonia, una circunstancia que sí hemos documentado en *Barcino* y *Tarraco*<sup>168</sup>. Por el contrario, la incidencia de estos inmigrantes en las estructuras y relaciones sociales de *Corduba* fue mínima a tenor de la información recogida en sus inscripciones, que apenas reflejan la existencia de vínculos familiares o de parentesco. Únicamente parecen salirse de esta dinámica *T. Flavius Speudon* y su esposa *Antonia Rhodoe*, cuya buena posición dentro de la ciudad, que se desprende de los honores funerarios que el *ordo* local decretó a su hijo prematuramente muerto, sería consecuencia de las importantes tareas desempeñadas por *Speudon* al frente del *tabularius* provincial. En este contexto merecen una mención especial los numerosos gladiadores documentados en la colonia. En sus epígrafes mencionan su pertenencia al *ludus gladiatorius Neronianus* o al *ludus Julianus*, pero en ellos nunca se hace referencia a una escuela gladiatoria propia de *Corduba* que confirmara su residencia estable en la capital provincial. Por ello, estos gladiadores más que inmigrantes deberían ser considerados personas de paso por la ciudad, por lo que su incidencia en la estructura social o en las relaciones sociales que pudieron desarrollarse en *Colonia Patricia* debió ser mínima.

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<sup>168</sup> ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2020b, 294-302.

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## Arse-Saguntum, la ciudad de los dos nombres

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**Abstract.** One of the most notable features of ancient Sagunto (Valencia) is its toponymic duality, especially remarkable in coin legends from the 130s BCE onwards, which is an exceptional fact for Hispania Citerior, in both qualitative and quantitative terms. Both toponyms, Arse and Saguntum, are not simultaneously attested in other sources: they are virtually absent in Republican epigraphy and literature only mentions the second one, in diverse variants. This paper analyses the data relative to this double toponymy in order to historically contextualize this phenomenon, linking it with the Latinization of the city and its explicit movements towards Rome during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BCE, a process that we propose to articulate in four main milestones, according to the preserved documents. Besides, this paper offers an explanation to the prevalence of the toponym Saguntum (of local origin and possibly referred to the port) regarding Arse (also local and referred to the city), independent from the elaboration of the foundational myth that links the Iberian settlement with the Ionian island of Zacynthos, since it is very likely that this legend was not created until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

**Resumen.** Una de las particularidades más llamativas de la antigua ciudad de Sagunto (Valencia) es su dualidad topográfica, que se manifiesta de forma meridiana en las fuentes numismáticas desde la década de los 30 del siglo II y que constituye una excepcionalidad, en términos cualitativos y cuantitativos, en la numismática contemporánea de Hispania Citerior, especialmente teniendo en cuenta que los topónimos que exhiben las monedas, Arse y Saguntum, no están documentados en la epigrafía y en la literatura de forma tan equilibrada como en la numismática. En este artículo se analizan todos los datos relativos a esta doble topografía con la finalidad de contextualizar históricamente este fenómeno, poniéndolo en relación con la latinización de la ciudad y su explícito acercamiento a Roma a lo largo de los siglos II y I a. C., proceso que aquí se propone articular en torno a cuatro grandes hitos. En segundo lugar, se ofrece una explicación a la prevalencia del topónimo Saguntum sobre Arse en la que, a diferencia de otros trabajos anteriores, no se fundamenta en el mito fundacional que relaciona el emplazamiento ibérico con la isla jónica de Zante, ya que posiblemente este no fue elaborado hasta bien avanzado el siglo I a. C.

**Rezumat.** Una dintre trăsăturile cele mai importante ale vechiului Saguntum (Valencia) este dualitatea toponomică, remarcabilă pe legendele monetare începând cu 130 a. Chr., ceea ce constituie un caz exceptionál pentru Hispania Citerior. Articolul analizează informațiile privitoare la această dublă toponimie pentru a contextualiza istoric fenomenul, legându-l de latinizarea orașului și de orientarea sa către Roma în sec II-I a Chr..

**Keywords:** Saguntum, Toponymy, Iberian language, Roman Hispania, Romanization, Latinization, Ancient Coinage of the Iberian Peninsula.

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Una de las particularidades más llamativas de la antigua ciudad de Sagunto (Valencia) es su dualidad topográfica,<sup>2</sup> que se manifiesta de forma meridiana en las fuentes numismáticas desde la década de los 30 del siglo II. Sin embargo, los topónimos que estas recogen, *Arse* y *Saguntum*, no están documentados en la literatura y en la epigrafía de forma tan equilibrada como en la numismática: en las inscripciones de época republicana ambos están prácticamente ausentes y en la literatura solo comparece el segundo, atestiguado en diversas variantes. En este artículo se analizarán todos los datos relativos esta doble topografía, se cotejarán con las anteriores hipótesis al respecto, y se pondrán en relación con la evidencia arqueológica con el objetivo de buscar una explicación histórica a este fenómeno, así como su relación con el mito fundacional que relaciona este emplazamiento con la isla jónica de Zante.

### I. *Sagunto: historia, arqueología, epigrafía, numismática*

Sagunto tuvo una importancia capital en el curso de la Segunda Guerra Púnica, constituyendo el sitio cartaginés de 219 a. C. un *casus belli* perfecto que le valió a Roma de pretexto para declarar un *bellum iustum* a su rival Cartago. El Pacto del Ebro suscrito en 226 a. C. entre ambas potencias que acordaba tácitamente el reparto de territorios a ambos lados del río, al parecer, podría haber contemplado una cláusula relativa a Sagunto en virtud de la cual esta ciudad, aunque estuviera al sur del Ebro y, por tanto, en territorio de dominio cartaginés, quedaba bajo influencia romana.<sup>3</sup> Poco después del durísimo asedio, Roma desembarcó en Ampurias para hacer frente a los púnicos en la península Ibérica y cuatro años más tarde Sagunto pasó a formar parte de los territorios dominados por Roma en calidad de *ciuitas foederata*. La ciudad mantuvo este estatus hasta c. 56 a. C. con seguridad y poco después promoción a colonia hasta que a finales del siglo I a. C., en una fecha que no es todavía precisable, pasó a ser *municipium*.<sup>4</sup>

Los restos arqueológicos de Sagunto se corresponden con el puerto, El Grau Vell, y el hábitat amurallado, El Castell, entre los que median c. 6'5 km<sup>5</sup>; asentamientos a los que podría

<sup>2</sup> Aunque no los trataremos, otros dos topónimos están vinculados a esta ciudad: Κραβασία y Murviedro. Sobre el primero, ver SANTIAGO 1990, 125 y 1994, 53-54; para el segundo, medieval, utilizado hasta que se retomó "Sagunto", ver CORELL 2002, 16 n. 22. Sobre la cuestión de la duplicidad del topónimo, ver Jacob 1989: 247-271, Aranegui 1988, Santiago 1990, Corell 2002: 16-18 con bibliografía en n. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Sobre esta compleja cuestión, cf. SANCHO 1976, BELTRÁN 1984, JACOB 1989, TSIRKIN 1991, DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2011-2012: 399 con bibliografía, HERNÁNDEZ 2012.

<sup>4</sup> En 56 a. C. Sagunto era una ciudad federada según Cicerón (*Balb.* IX 23) y, según sabemos por la numismática, la ciudad promoción a colonia latina durante la segunda mitad del s. I a. C. (RIPOLLÈS, VELAZA 2002). El estatus municipal se confirma gracias a la inscripción CIL II 3827, del 4/3 a. C. (BELTRÁN 1980, n.º 10 y 380-386), cf. AMELA 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Sobre la distancia entre el puerto y la ciudad en los autores antiguos, ver ARANEGUI 2001-2002, 13; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2011-2012, 405-406:

sumarse también el santuario de Montaña Frontera.<sup>6</sup> El puerto y el *oppidum*, que gozaban de buenas comunicaciones entre sí, sufrieron intensas transformaciones tras el paso del ejército anibálico.

Por lo que respecta al puerto, los resultados de las excavaciones han descartado la tradicional hipótesis de que pudiera haber sido una colonia empórica de fundación griega<sup>7</sup> y han confirmado que El Grau Vell era en origen un yacimiento ibérico cuyas actividades comerciales se remontan al siglo VI a. C.<sup>8</sup> En El Grau Vell, un puerto excepcional por su alta cronología y su capacidad de redistribución de materiales dada su estratégica posición, se efectuaban transacciones a gran escala<sup>9</sup> y, por tanto, debió de ser funcionalmente un espacio multicultural: las excavaciones han revelado cerámica púnico-ebusitana y ática, además de abundantes ánforas que demuestran sus lazos comerciales con el Círculo del Estrecho y también con Ampurias y Marsella. Sin embargo, no se ha conservado ningún epígrafe directamente vinculable a fenicios o griegos; únicamente se han hallado piezas en ibérico.<sup>10</sup>

Como se ha adelantado, el puerto sufrió una transformación tras la guerra, a comienzos del siglo II a. C., coincidiendo con el acondicionamiento de la parte oriental de la colina de El Castell. Se construyeron edificios perpendiculares al mar, alrededor de una gran torre que pudo haber actuado como faro. Este dato sugiere el establecimiento de un comercio de gran afluencia entre Roma y Sagunto, en el contexto de una expansión exponencial de la economía romana debido a las transformaciones agrarias de la península Itálica y al control romano del puerto de Delos. Las excavaciones de la parte oriental del *oppidum* en El Castell demuestran un alto nivel de importaciones desde Italia.<sup>11</sup>

La operación de reconstrucción de la ciudad sobre las ruinas que habían dejado los cartagineses verosímilmente se sirvió de la ayuda de Roma, cuyos senadores empatizaron con los miembros de la embajada saguntina de 205 a. C., devolviéndoles el dinero que estos traían y prestándoles *munera* (...) ac *naves* (Liv. 30.21), intervención que explicaría la clara inspiración en modelos itálicos de las estructuras que se han podido documentar. De esta operación son testigos las imponentes murallas<sup>12</sup> y el lugar destinado al edificio de culto que se ha podido identificar, ubicado, pese a que las características del terreno no eran las más idóneas, en el

<sup>6</sup> Sobre este santuario, NICOLAU 1998; CIVERA 2014-2015. Acerca de sus inscripciones, ver CIL II2/14 656-86; CEBRIÁN 2000: 143-144, CORELL 2002, 466-493 y SIMÓN 2012. Sobre el poblamiento del área saguntina, ARANEGUI 1994, 32-35; 2004, 43-47.

<sup>7</sup> Como proponía GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1948, I, 26; II, 61-63. Ver RIPOLLÈS, LLORENS 2002, 337-339.

<sup>8</sup> ARANEGUI 2001-2002, 17-19, 21. Sobre EL GRAU VELL, ARANEGUI 2004, 59-93.

<sup>9</sup> ARANEGUI 2006, 63-65.

<sup>10</sup> Una lámina de plomo (ARANEGUI 2004, 76-78; VELAZA 2008, 303-304) y un par de grafitos, el primero sobre cerámica ática de la primera mitad del siglo IV a. C. (BDHesp V.04.47) y el segundo, en cerámica languedociana del siglo III a. C. (ARANEGUI 1982, 84, fig. 34, no. 2).

<sup>11</sup> ARANEGUI 2006, 68-71.

<sup>12</sup> PASCUAL, ARANEGUI 1993, 189-203.

mismo emplazamiento que ocupaba el santuario anterior. Este nuevo templo monumental “a la romana” presentaba una *cella tripartita* y un posible *mundus* que, sin embargo, se colmató ya en el siglo I a. C., privando a este templo de una de sus estructuras rituales fundamentales.<sup>13</sup> Esta nueva planificación urbana diferenció claramente la ciudad antigua de la nueva y la colina de El Castell adquirió en ese momento un aspecto monumental, con el complejo cívico en la cima este de la colina conectada con la costa por un camino.

Sin embargo, pensamos, la presencia de estructuras de incontestable carácter romano, como el templo que se acaba de mencionar, no es suficiente para inferir que en Sagunto se asentase una colonia estable de itálicos:<sup>14</sup> la documentación epigráfica del periodo republicano, relativamente abundante, está casi completamente redactada en ibérico.<sup>15</sup> El único texto en latín datable con seguridad en época republicana está inserto en una inscripción bilingüe ibérico-latina encargada por, al menos, un liberto de probable origen foráneo.<sup>16</sup> Si en torno al 200 a. C. una colonia de itálicos se hubiera asentado en la ciudad tras trabajar en la nueva apariencia de El Castell, posiblemente tendríamos constancia epigráfica de ello (p. ej. leyendas monetales e inscripciones públicas y privadas, del mismo modo que ocurre en otros asentamientos republicanos como *Carthago Noua*, *Valentia* o La Cabañeta de El Burgo de Ebro, Zaragoza).<sup>17</sup>

De hecho, la reconstrucción “a la romana” de la ciudad tras el asedio cartaginés tampoco tuvo su reflejo inmediato en las leyendas monetarias,<sup>18</sup> que siguieron estando en lengua y escritura ibéricas (también la iconografía siguió exhibiendo tipos locales): las leyendas monetarias en latín comenzaron a grabarse setenta años más tarde, en la década de los 130 a. C., junto con textos en ibérico, dando lugar así a una de las mayores producciones de moneda bilingüe del Occidente romano.<sup>19</sup> Como se aprecia en la Tabla 1, el latín fue la única lengua de

<sup>13</sup> ARANEGUI 2003; ARANEGUI 2006, 65-66.

<sup>14</sup> Es la idea que expresa ARANEGUI 2004, 102: “la dípolis saguntina (GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1948, vol. I, 26-27; vol. 2, 61-63 [que la interpretaba como una dípolis dividida en áreas étnicas]), entendida como un desdoblamiento étnico de la población, si fuera una propuesta acertada, solo tendría una escenificación física en el dimorfismo de la ciudad de este momento [c. 200 a. C.]”.

<sup>15</sup> Todas ellas fueron halladas en contextos secundarios, de modo que no es posible realizar una topografía de la epigrafía saguntina, que habría sido muy útil para determinar si todas las inscripciones ibéricas procedían de la ciudad vieja o también de la nueva. Sobre la epigrafía de Sagunto, BELTRÁN 1980; ALFÖLDY 1981; CORELL 2002; ESTARÁN e. p.

<sup>16</sup> La inscripción está incompleta. Sobre ella, ver ESTARÁN 2016, I16. Una inscripción hallada en un bloque de piedra en Montaña Frontera, actualmente perdida, con el texto [--]cilius/ -----? podría estar fechada en época republicana, a juzgar por sus rasgos paleográficos arcaicos, en opinión de DÍAZ (2008, 146).

<sup>17</sup> Sobre la epigrafía latina republicana de Hispania, ver DÍAZ 2008.

<sup>18</sup> Sobre la ceca de Sagunto, una de las más antiguas y productivas de la península Ibérica, RIPOLLÈS, LLORENS 2002.

<sup>19</sup> ESTARÁN 2016, 301-308. No tomaremos en consideración la hipótesis de BARZANÒ 1992, 139, consistente en la existencia de dos ciudades diferentes, *Arsi* y *Saguntum*, a juzgar por el pasaje de Ptolomeo (ver nota 30) que gestionaban en común la misma ceca porque, a nuestro juicio, carece de fundamentos documentales.

la ceca cien años después de la aparición de las primeras emisiones bilingües (en la década de los 40/30 a. C.).

Periodo y datación <sup>20</sup>	Valor	Leyenda anv.	Leyenda rev.
I, ca. 350?-195 a. C.	Óbolos		keŕ o ōke
	Dracmas, óbolos y hemióbolos		arsesken
	Dracmas		aŕsbikistekiar, arseetar
	Hemidracmas	aŕsbikistekiar <sup>21</sup>	arseetar
	Óbolos y hemióbolos		arseetarkiterter
	Hemióbolos		etebanar
	Hemióbolos		arsetar
	Dracmas		arskitar
	Mitades		arseetar
II, ca. 195-130 a. C.	Dracmas		arskitar
	Unidades		arse
III, ca. 130-72 a. C.	Unidades y media		arse
	Unidades y media	ikorbeles balkakaltur̄	arse
	Unidades y media	Saguntinu.	arse
	Unidades y media	Q. Valeri. M. Ae.	arse
	Unidades y media	Saguntinu.	M. C. Q. S. arse
	Unidades y media	Saguntinu.	L. B. M. P. arse

<sup>20</sup> Sigo la periodización y clasificación de RIPOLLÈS 2002. Para otras periodizaciones, ver VILLARONGA 1967 (modificado por BELTRÁN 1980, 383) y MARCHETTI 1978.

<sup>21</sup> aŕsbikistekiar contiene una vibrante diferente que podría apuntar a una interpretación de *aŕs* no como topónimo sino como nombre personal (*aŕsbikis-te-ekiar*). En ese caso, se trataría de la firma del abridor de cuño, que sería paralela a la producción numismática de Kamarina en 425 a. C. (JENKINS 1966, n.º 149). Sin embargo, como señala LUJÁN 2005, 478, la interpretación como topónimo no es completamente descartable. Ni RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS 2002 ni LUJÁN 2005 dan importancia al cambio de vibrante.

	Unidades y media	<i>Saguntinu.</i>	<i>M. P. arse</i>
	Cuartos		<b>aiubas</b>
	Cuartos		<b>kai</b>
	Cuartos		<i>P. V. C. A. arse</i>
	Cuartos		<i>C. S. M. Q.</i>
	Cuartos		<i>Sagunt.</i>
IV, ca. 72 a. C.-40/30 a. C.	Unidades y media	<b>biulakoś balkaltur'</b>	<i>Sagu. arse</i>
	Unidades y media	<i>Q. Popil. M. Acili.</i>	<i>Sagu. arse</i>
	Unidades y media	<i>L. Aem. [---]ae aed. col.</i>	<i>Sagu.</i>
	Unidades y media	<i>M. Fabi M. Aemili aed.</i>	<i>Sagu.</i>
	Unidades y media	<i>Cn. Baebi. Glab. L. Calpurn. aed. c. S.</i>	<i>Sagu.</i>
	Cuartos		<i>M. A. M. B.</i>
	Cuartos		<i>M. Q.</i>
	Cuartos		<i>M.</i>
	Ases	<i>Baeb. Glob. M. Pop. Ru. [a]e[d. col.]</i>	<i>Sagu</i>
	Ases	<i>L. Sempr. Vetto M. Sag.</i>	<i>L. Fabi. Post.</i>
	Ases		<b>ΣΑΓ. ΠΟΛ.</b>
	Dupondios, ases y semis		<i>L. Sempr. Valer.</i>
	Semis		<i>L. Aem. M. Baeb.</i>

Tabla 1: Leyendas de la ceca de Sagunto (según Ripollès, Llorens, 2002, cuadro 13)

### I. La dualidad toponímica de Sagunto

A lo largo de las dos últimas centurias antes del cambio de Era, periodo durante el cual toda la península Ibérica sufrió un proceso de latinización, todos los topónimos paleohispánicos, en mayor o menor medida y según las circunstancias históricas de cada

emplazamiento, se latinizaron (*i. e.*, se adaptaron morfológicamente a lengua de Roma, que fue el proceso más frecuente) o “romanizaron” mediante su substitución por otro nombre completamente distinto del anterior, a causa del asentamiento de emplazamientos de colonización junto a la ciudad indígena u otras causas (*p. ej.* *Vrso* se convirtió, tras su traumática experiencia durante la Guerra Civil, en *Colonia Genetiuia Iulia*). Conocemos este proceso de cambio topográfico en buena medida gracias a la numismática (por emisiones bilingües o por la consecución de dos topónimos, uno local y otro, en latín, en las emisiones de una misma ceca) y a la combinación de esta con la literatura clásica y la epigrafía.

Sin embargo, la dualidad topográfica que consta en las fuentes numismáticas de la ciudad edetana es un fenómeno excepcional por varias razones. En primer lugar, por la prolongadísima coexistencia de dos topónimos tan diversos entre sí (*Arse* y *Saguntum* o *Saguntinum*, en su forma adjetival) en su producción numismática:<sup>22</sup> salvo la saguntina, el resto de las emisiones bilingües ibérico-latinas en realidad reflejan el topónimo indígena con su transcripción en alfabeto latino, por lo que no se trata de dobles topónimos en sentido estricto sino las dos versiones, local y latina, del mismo nombre: véanse las leyendas *Cel - kelse* (BDHesp Mon.21), *Osi - usekerte* (BDHesp Mon.26),<sup>23</sup> *Gili - kili* (BDHesp Mon.34), *Saetabi - śaiti* (BDHesp Mon.35)<sup>24</sup> y *Obulco - ipolka* (BDHesp Mon.100).<sup>25</sup> Segundo, por su alta datación, prácticamente un siglo anterior al resto de emisiones bilingües de la Hispania Citerior;<sup>26</sup> y, por último, por la deliberada manipulación de la epigrafía e iconografía monetaria con el fin de mostrar su vínculo con la capital del imperio.<sup>27</sup> Es en esta idea en la que queremos profundizar en el presente trabajo y, concretamente, sobre la elección del topónimo de origen local *Saguntum* y su transformación e instrumentalización para proyectar una imagen más “clásica”

<sup>22</sup> En Hispania este fenómeno es único, con respecto de lo que ocurre en el resto de culturas epigráficas paleoeuropeas, donde este no existe. Sí ocurre, en cambio, en la moneda púnica. Sobre la relación entre las monedas bilingües púnicas y paleohispánicas, ESTARÁN 2012.

<sup>23</sup> No es posible saber con certeza si las abreviaturas de dos de estas cecas esconden transcripciones o adaptaciones morfológicas de los topónimos al latín puesto que falta la parte final del epígrafe: *Cel(sa?, -se?) - kelse; Osi(cerda?, -cerde?) - usekerte*.

<sup>24</sup> La abreviatura en *Saetabi - śaiti* ocurre en la versión ibérica, si aceptamos que el valor del signo *ti* en este caso es [t], como también podría ocurrir en las monedas *kaštilo* [kastlo]; o bien, el silabograma *ti* podría ser la manera en la que el escribiente expresara por escrito la secuencia *muta cum liquida*. Sobre esta cuestión, ver CORREA 1983 y 2009, JORDÁN 2012, 39, ESTARÁN 2016, 315, n. 160. La leyenda *śaiti* sería, por tanto [sait], la abreviatura del topónimo, que en su versión desarrollada sería *śaitabi*, como puede comprobarse en la leyenda *śaitabikitaban* (BDHesp Mon.35.1). Sobre ellas, ESTARÁN 2016, 21-22, 293-325.

<sup>25</sup> En el caso de Obulco no hay tanto consenso sobre la adscripción lingüística de sus leyendas. Ver ESTARÁN 2016, 323, con bibliografía.

<sup>26</sup> En toda Hispania solo es comparable Obulco, sita en la Ulterior (provincia cuyas características numismáticas son radicalmente distintas), cuyas también abundantes emisiones bilingües son de mediados del siglo II a. C. (ARÉVALO 1999, 238-239).

<sup>27</sup> BELTRÁN 2011, 30-33.

de la ciudad. Para ello, considero necesario presentar sucintamente la documentación relativa a ambos topónimos en las fuentes epigráficas, numismáticas y literarias.

#### a. Arse

“Arse”, siempre documentado en signario paleohispánico, aparece en las leyendas monetales desde el siglo IV a. C. hasta el último tercio del siglo I a. C. como se ha visto (Tabla 1). Este topónimo, cuyo radical *ars-* está documentado fuera de la numismática quizás en la inscripción sobre plomo hallada en Sagunto *arskoꝝiteniſuniar*,<sup>28</sup> contiene un afijo *-e*, como tantas otras cecas paleohispánicas, que podría estar haciendo referencia a la ciudad pero también a sus habitantes, en el sentido romano de *civitas*.<sup>29</sup>

Sin embargo, no hay ninguna evidencia de este topónimo en otras fuentes con excepción, quizás, del siguiente pasaje de Claudio Ptolomeo<sup>30</sup> en el que se describen las ciudades edetanas (que él confunde con “sedetanas”) en el cual se alude a una ciudad llamada “Αρσί”, que comparece diferenciada de “Σάγουντον”, mencionada en el último lugar de la misma nómina y separada de esta por otros nombres de ciudad:

Ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν Βαστιτανῶν καὶ τῶν Κελτιβήρων Ἡδητανοὶ καὶ πόλεις μεσόγειοι Καισαραγούστα ὁδῷ δ' (L') μαρτυρίᾳ Βέρναβα ὁδῷ ζ' μαρτυρίᾳ δέ γού σ' Εβόρα ὁδῷ γού μαρτυρίᾳ Βέλεια ὁδῷ ζ' μαρτυρίᾳ Λδ' Αρσί ὁδῷ γού μαρτυρίᾳ Δαμανία ὁδῷ L' (ζ') μαρτυρίᾳ Λεονίκα ὁδῷ γού μαρτυρίᾳ δέ Οσικέρδα ὁδῷ μαρτυρίᾳ ζ' Ητόβησα ὁδῷ γ' λαθούσιρα ὁδῷ Λγ' λαθούσιρα γού Ἡδητα ή καὶ Λείρια ὁδῷ γιβ' λαθούσιρα γού γιβ' Σάγουντον ὁδῷ Λιβ' λαθούσιρα γού (γ')

Más al Este de estos, tanto de los bastitanos como de los celtíberos, están los edetanos y sus ciudades interiores: César Augusta 14° 15' (30') 41° 30', Bérnaba 14° 10' 41° 15', Ébora 14° 40' 41° 00', Belia 14° 10' 40° 45', Arsi 14° 40' 40° 40', Damania 14° 30' (10') 40° 30', Leónica 14° 40' 40° 15', Osicerda 14° 15' 40° 15', Etobesa 14° 20' 39° 45', Lassira 14° 50' 39° 40', Edeta (o también Liria) 14° 25' 39° 25', Saguntum 14° 35' 39° 40' (20').<sup>31</sup>

Aunque no hay consenso sobre la etimología de este topónimo,<sup>32</sup> la ubicación de la ciudad en plena región ibéricoparlante, el uso documentado del topónimo *Arse* con varios sufijos ibéricos y el uso de la variante levantina de la escritura paleohispánica necesariamente

<sup>28</sup> BDHesp V.04.25. En MLH V.2, p. 101 se interpreta el segmento *ars* de este plomo como nombre personal. Otro plomo procedente del Camp de Morvedre (SILGO, TOLOSA 2000) contiene el texto *nkearsboiltiī*, que también contiene este segmento (sobre ello, ver ORDUÑA 2003).

<sup>29</sup> Ver MLH V.2, p. 100. Sobre la problemática propia de la identificación de los topónimos en las inscripciones ibéricas, ver LUJÁN 2005 (para *ars* / *ārs* ver LUJÁN 2005, 475, 477-478).

<sup>30</sup> Ptol., *Geog.* II 6.62.

<sup>31</sup> Adaptación propia de la traducción de A. Encuentra Ortega, cuya versión griega también reproduzco aquí, en BELTRÁN 2013. Claudio Ptolomeo indica las millas que separan estas ciudades, ordenadas de norte a sur y de este a oeste. Sobre este pasaje, ver BELTRÁN, SANCHO 1979, 315-322 y BELTRÁN 2013, 122-123.

<sup>32</sup> Ver MLH VI, p. 615. VILLAR 2000, 263, 270, 294 postula un origen indoeuropeo del término, que relaciona con la raíz \*ers, ‘fluir’. La interpretación en clave ibérica es mayoritaria (ver p. ej. VELAZA 2002, 133-134, RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS 2002, ORDUÑA 2003, LUJÁN 2005). HEISS 1870, 221 propuso una relación entre *Ars-* y lat. *ark* que no ha tenido recorrido.

lo vinculan con la cultura y la lengua ibéricas desde que se tiene constancia por primera vez, en el siglo IV a. C., dato que me interesa subrayar.

**b. Saguntum**

Con excepción del testimonio de Ptolomeo que se ha citado, el resto de las fuentes literarias se refieren a la ciudad como Ζάκανθα, Ζάκυνθος, Σάγουντον y Saguntum, como se puede observar en la Tabla 2.

Datación	Autor, obra	Forma del topónimo
s. V a. C.	Santiago 1990	Σαιγάνθη (sobre esta forma, <i>vid. infra</i> )
s. II a. C.	Plb., III 6.1; III 17.1; III 15.1; III 16.5; XXI 6.4; XXVIII 1	Ζακάνθης, Ζάκανθαν, Ζάκανθαῖοι; Ζακανθαῖων
	St. Byz. sv. Ζάκανθα (= Apollod., FrGrHist 244 F13)	Ζάκανθα
	Celio Antípatro FRH 15 F 7	<i>Saguntinorum</i> (?)
s. I a. C.	Diod., XXV 15.1	Ζακανθαῖων
	Nic. Dam., FrGrHist 90 F127 XII	Ζάκυνθιοι
	Sall., <i>Hist. [Maurenbrecher]</i> II 64, 65)	<i>Saguntini</i> , <i>Sagantium</i>
	Cic.*	<i>Saguntum</i>
Cambio de Era	Str. III 4.6, III 4.9., III 5.1	Σάγουντον, Σαγούντου
	Liv.*	<i>Saguntum</i>
	CIL XI 3284 (17 a. C.)	<i>Sagunto</i>
	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /14 305 (8 o 4/3 a. C.)	<i>Saguntíní</i>
	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /14 327	<i>Saguntum</i>
s. I	Plin., HN. III 20; XVI 216	<i>Saguntum</i> , <i>Sagunti</i>
	CIL II <sup>2</sup> 14 353	<i>Sa[gu(ntini)]</i>
	CIL XI 3283 (47)	<i>Sagunto</i>
	CIL II <sup>2</sup> 14 379	<i>Saguntinus</i>
	CIL II <sup>2</sup> 14 378	<i>S(aguntini)</i>
	CIL XI 3282 (88)	<i>Sagynto</i>
	CIL II <sup>2</sup> 14 358	<i>Sagunt(ina)</i>
	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /14 371	<i>Saguntus</i> (!)
	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /14 372	<i>Saguntu[m]</i>
Fin s. I - com. s. II	Plut., Vit. Sert. XIX 2, XXI 1	Σέγουντίαν, Σέγουντινων
	CIL II <sup>2</sup> /14 630	<i>Saguntina</i>

	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup> 14 330</i>	<i>Sagu[ntini]</i>
s. II	App.*	Zάκανθαν, Ζακάνθηι, Ζάκανθαῖοι, Ζάκανθαίους, Ζακάνθαῖων, Ζάκανθαῖοις
	Ptol., II 6.63	Σάγούντον
	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup> /14 655</i>	<i>Sagunti</i>
	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup> /14 1192</i>	<i>Saguntino</i>
	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup> /14 328</i>	[ <i>S</i> ]ag[untum]
	<i>CIL II/14 1134 = RIT 274</i>	<i>Saguntino</i>
s. II – III	D. C. (Zon., III 9)	Zάκυνθος
	<i>CIL XI 3281 (204)</i>	<i>Sagyntum</i>
	<i>CIL II<sup>2</sup> /14 38</i>	<i>Sagunt[um], Sagunto</i>
	<i>CIL II supp. 6254, 9; CIL XV 2632</i>	<i>Sagynto</i>
s. III	<i>Itin. Ant.</i> 400, 2	<i>Saguntum</i>
	<i>CIL VI 28743</i>	<i>Saguntinus</i>
s. IV	<i>CIL VIII 20301</i>	<i>Saguntinais (I)</i>
s. VI	St. Byz. sv. Ζάκυνθος	Zάκυνθος
	St. Byz. sv. Σάγουντος	Σάγουντον
s. VI-VII	Isid., <i>Etym.</i> XV 1.68	<i>Saguntum</i>

**Tabla 2: El topónimo Zάκανθα / Zάκυνθος / Σάγουντον / Saguntum en las fuentes literarias y epigráficas (datación de las inscripciones según Corell 2002; para los Vasos de Vicarello, Herrmann 2007: 161-163)**

De esta tabla se desprende que (exceptuando la lámina de plomo procedente de Ampurias, que trataremos más adelante), el testimonio más antiguo corresponde a Polibio, quien se refiere a la ciudad como “Ζάκανθαν”.<sup>33</sup> En el siglo II a. C. también se encuadra la cita de Apolodoro de Atenas, “Ζάκανθα”, según el testimonio de Esteban de Bizancio.<sup>34</sup> Este término está posteriormente atestiguado también en Diodoro Sículo y en Apiano, en múltiples ocasiones.<sup>35</sup> A partir de la segunda mitad del siglo I a. C. las fuentes literarias (Nicolás de Damasco, Dión Casio y Esteban de Bizancio) ofrecen una segunda forma del

<sup>33</sup> No tomamos en consideración la hipótesis sobre la relación entre un *titulus pictus* de Liria, *sakuštiko*, y el topónimo *Saguntum* (*cf.* MLH VI, s. v. *Saguntum*).

<sup>34</sup> Esteban de Bizancio sv. Ζάκανθα (= Apolodoro de Atenas, FrGrHist 244 F13): Ζάκανθα, πόλις Ἱβηρίας, ἥν εῖλεν Ἀννίβας, ως Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικῶν τρίτη.

<sup>35</sup> Referencias en SANTIAGO 1990, 130-131 y CORELL 2002, 17.

topónimo, “Ζάκυνθος”, y, de forma simultánea, una tercera, “Σάγουντον” (Estrabón, Ptolomeo y, posteriormente, también Esteban de Bizancio), que no es sino la transcripción de la versión latina del topónimo *Saguntum*. Por último, Plutarco emplea la forma con *e*, posiblemente por analogía con los topónimos celtas hispanos derivados de la raíz \**Seg-*.

Por lo que respecta a las fuentes latinas, según sabemos por Carisio, la primera mención del topónimo *Saguntum* ocurre en la obra de Celio Antípatro (muy probablemente datable en el último tercio del siglo II a. C.<sup>36</sup>), quien habría empleado la forma “*Saguntinorum*”.<sup>37</sup> Los testimonios epigráficos (todos latinos y datables a partir del cambio de Era)<sup>38</sup> contienen unánimemente el topónimo “*Saguntum*”<sup>39</sup> (ver Tabla 2<sup>40</sup>).

Como se ha adelantado más arriba, existe otro documento que posiblemente atestigüe el antiguo nombre de la ciudad de Sagunto. Se trata de una lámina en plomo procedente de Ampurias que contiene una carta en griego fechada en el siglo V a. C.<sup>41</sup> El texto contiene el dativo / locativo Σαιγάνθη (de \**Saigantha* o \**Saiganthe*).<sup>42</sup> En esta epístola, “Σαιγάνθη” es el lugar donde un individuo de nombre ibérico, *Basped[--]*,<sup>43</sup> debía llevar a cabo unas transacciones comerciales, para las cuales la carta le da unas detalladas instrucciones. La editora de este plomo, R. A. Santiago, puso en relación Σαιγάνθη con Sagunto, hipótesis sobre la que no ha habido un consenso;<sup>44</sup> y, además, propuso la posibilidad

<sup>36</sup> CORNELL 2013, vol. I, 256.

<sup>37</sup> “‘*Saguntinorum*’ Coelius, *Saguntium Sallustius*, ut *Paulus in Coelii historia libro I notat*”, Charis. 181 (Carisio se refiere a Celio Antípatro FRH 15 F 7 y Sal., *Hist. [Maurenbrecher] II* 64, 65). Sobre este fragmento, CORNELL 2013, vol. II, 245.

<sup>38</sup> BELTRÁN 1980, CORELL 2002.

<sup>39</sup> La forma *Sagynto* (abl.) (CORELL 2002 no. 448) que encontramos en la epigrafía saguntina de época imperial no es sino un hipocultismo que pretende contribuir a afianzar el mito, al estrechar los lazos con la isla de Záynthos mediante la homofonía de ambos topónimos.

<sup>40</sup> Tabla elaborada a partir de los testimonios recogidos en SANTIAGO 1990, MLH VI y EDCS. Los autores con asterisco mencionan el topónimo en múltiples ocasiones. Las inscripciones CIL II/14 371 y 372 se han colocado orientativamente en el periodo correspondiente al siglo I d. C., puesto que, al estar perdidas, no es posible afinar más su datación. Hemos seguido los criterios arqueológicos ofrecidos por BERNI 2008: 70 para fechar el sello CIL XV 2632 en el tránsito al siglo III d. C.

<sup>41</sup> SANTIAGO 1990, SANTIAGO 2003, IGEP 129.

<sup>42</sup> Σαιγάνθη comparece en las líneas 1 y 4 de la carta. SANTIAGO no lo interpretó así en la línea 4 sino “Σαιγάνθηον ὄντοςθαι” (genitivo plural del etnónimo) en una primera edición (1990). En una revisión de la edición (2003) corrigió esta lectura por “Σαιγάνθη ὄνωντοςθαι”, que sigue M. P. De Hoz en IGEP.

<sup>43</sup> VELAZA 1992 y MONCUNILL 2016, 82-83.

<sup>44</sup> A favor: CORELL 2002, 18; DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2011-2012; escéptico: DE HOZ 2010, 647; en contra: ARANEGUI 1994, 39 y 2002, 27-28, que no cree que esta forma se usase en un momento tan precoz, cuando no aparece en los relatos geográficos de Hecateo de Mileto o Avieno (aunque lo cierto es que estas obras no se escribieron con ánimo de exhaustividad). Argumenta, además, que la distancia que separa Ampurias de Sagunto sería demasiado amplia para dicho periodo; aunque en El Grau Vell se han recuperado ánforas masaliotas en los estratos del siglo VI a. C. (ARANEGUI 2004, 75-76). Ver también ARANEGUI, VIVES 2006, 98, n. 4. Sin embargo, creo que está sobradamente demostrado el enorme radio de acción del puerto de Sagunto a finales del siglo VI - comienzos del V a. C., que incluía intercambios con el Círculo del Estrecho y con el Golfo de León (unas relaciones que quedan claramente probadas no solo por los

de que se tratase de la transcripción griega de un topónimo de origen local,<sup>45</sup> lo cual parece perfectamente lógico, a juzgar por el registro material y epigráfico que ha arrojado El Grau Vell (ver nota 9).

Aunque el plomo de Ampurias no es todo lo explícito que desearíamos, creo que no hay inconvenientes que impidan la identificación de “Σαιγάνθη” (dat./loc.) con “Ζάκανθα”. No olvidemos que median unos tres siglos entre ellos y que, además, el griego que escribió la carta de Ampurias posiblemente hizo una transcripción posiblemente fonética de dicho nombre<sup>46</sup> (como ocurre con los nombres de persona ibéricos del bronce de Áscoli, por ejemplo). Por otra parte, quizás no estemos ante el nombre oficial y normalizado del puerto, que pudo haber presentado algunas variantes. Si Σαιγάνθη (dat./loc.) es, en efecto, la transcripción griega de un topónimo indígena podríamos, quizás, distinguir en esta forma el elemento onomástico ibérico *sai-*<sup>47</sup> seguido de *-kant*,<sup>48</sup> o, quizás, postular un origen indoeuropeo.<sup>49</sup>

Otra cuestión es el posterior cambio del timbre vocálico de la segunda sílaba, de la *a* de “Σαιγάνθη” y “Ζάκανθα” a la *u* de “Ζάκυνθος” y “Saguntum”,<sup>50</sup> documentado por primera vez en la epigrafía sobre moneda (ver Tabla 1), de forma prácticamente simultánea al testimonio de Celio Antípatro,<sup>51</sup> lo cual es un hecho extraordinariamente interesante, puesto que

materiales cerámicos sino también por el diseño de las primeras emisiones monetales de la ceca saguntina, ya que RIPOLLÈS, LLORENS 2002, 183-184 sugieren que el grabador de alguno de esos primeros cuños pudo ser originario de una región helenística, concretamente de Sicilia o Magna Grecia), circunstancia que lo convertía en un puerto comercial de una envergadura mucho mayor que cualquier otro en la costa valenciana. Las instrucciones que se le dan a *Basped-* son muy precisas y probablemente esos protocolos de actuación solo ocurrieron en puertos realmente relevantes, como lo era el de Sagunto.

<sup>45</sup> SANTIAGO 1990, 127. Posteriormente, rectificó y se planteó la posibilidad de que fuera un topónimo latino “absolutamente opaco, que, en todo caso, incorpora una de las formas *Sag-*/*Seg-* que aparecen en otros topónimos latinos peninsulares (...). La forma latina *Saguntum* se forjaría tardíamente ligada a la leyenda de alianzas romano-saguntinas” (SANTIAGO 1994, 55).

<sup>46</sup> DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2011-2012, 404.

<sup>47</sup> Encontramos este elemento entre los formantes antropónimos (*Sailacos* en el mosaico de La Alcudia de Elche, BDHesp A.10.04) y, quizás, también en topónimos como el de la vecina *Saitabi*.

<sup>48</sup> Véanse los plomos de La Serreta de Alcoy (*asgandis*, BDHesp A.04.01a) y el de Los Villares ([---]nkantobante, BDHesp V.07.01).

<sup>49</sup> Se ha propuesto la alternativa de que fuese un topónimo indoeuropeo: VILLAR 2000, 312-313 señala que *Saguntum* sería una formación en *-(u)nt-* a partir de la raíz \**sag-* que se enmarcaría en la “toponimia meridional ibero-pirenaica”.

<sup>50</sup> Podría pensarse en un debilitamiento vocálico como el que se tiene documentado en *Táranton* (gen.)-*Tarentum*, *bar'keno-Barcino*, *kaštilo-Castulo* o *baitolo-Baetulo*; pero en estos casos el cambio vocálico es el esperado, cosa que no ocurre en el topónimo que nos ocupa. Podría, en última instancia, considerarse que el cambio fuera debido al proceso de adaptación que sufre el topónimo en un contexto de cambio lingüístico del cual no tenemos información suficiente.

<sup>51</sup> Para ARANEGUI 1994, 41 y SANTIAGO 1994, 52, en cambio, “*Saguntum*” surgió “en el ambiente de la ciudad reconstruida a partir del siglo II a. C., donde puede entenderse la romanización cultural de la población ibérica, así como la

estaríamos ante la manipulación del topónimo original (con timbre *a* en la segunda sílaba, de acuerdo con el plomo de Ampurias, Polibio y Apolodoro de Atenas, que son los testimonios más antiguos) para convertirlo en “Ζάκυνθος” / “Saguntum”, con timbre *u*, una metamorfosis cuidadosamente ideada a instancias de las élites urbanas, de origen ibérico,<sup>52</sup> en consonancia con el resto de elementos de las monedas. Una vez expuestos los datos, pasemos a analizar en el próximo apartado las razones de esta reelaboración.

## II. Dos nombres y un mito etiológico

De acuerdo con nuestra hipótesis, el topónimo del puerto fue convenientemente latinizado por las élites ciudadanas, dando como resultado la forma “*Saguntum*”, que pasaría a denominar el conjunto del emplazamiento. Como se ha dicho, este término se grabó persistentemente en las monedas junto con el nombre de la ciudad, *Arse*, al que el sistema de escritura paleohispánico atribuía una connotación de pertenencia a la cultura ibérica. Este mensaje seguramente llegó a los usuarios de la moneda de forma muy directa, en una clara oposición a *Saguntum* y sus variantes, escritos en alfabeto latino.

Si el objetivo era llegar con más facilidad al público itálico y concretamente romano, como pensamos, una de las estrategias posibles habría sido adoptar un topónimo que fuera ya conocido en el imaginario de esta cultura. Para ello se escogería el nombre del puerto, puesto que resultaba más conocido en los circuitos comerciales más lejanos y seguramente por ello más familiar para los romanos que “*Arse*” y también porque podía establecerse una relación pseudoetimológica con el nombre de la isla griega de *Zakynthos*, la actual Zante.<sup>53</sup> Nótese que la transcripción en caracteres latinos del nombre de la isla griega en época republicana habría sido “*Sacunto*”<sup>54</sup> y que, de hecho, hasta la década pasada se atribuían las higueras “*Sacontinas*” de Catón a la ciudad valenciana y no a la isla jónica a la que en realidad hacía alusión el autor

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evocación de la leyenda romana que la elevaba a la categoría de modelo de fidelidad entre los aliados”. ARANEGUI 2004, 42-43 señala que la asunción del nombre “*Saguntum*” por parte de la ciudad es una decisión política: tras la victoria romana sobre Aníbal, *Ars(e?)* habría acordado fusionar su nombre con *Saguntum*, que acabó estando en el bando ganador, fusión que, sin embargo, carece de apoyo en las fuentes numismáticas y, por supuesto, en las epigráficas. Afirma, además, que no habría que descartar la posibilidad de que una población “consienta en cambiar de nombre sin necesidad de que su demografía sea alterada sustancialmente”. Como trataré de explicar, no es exactamente “consentir” el verbo que mejor describe lo que ocurrió; sino “decidir”.

<sup>52</sup> Aunque se inspirasen claramente en modelos romanos. La leyenda *Saguntiuu* (RIPOLLÉS, LLORENS, 2002, 440, *addenda*), probablemente letrado en el sistema de escritura paleohispánico, es una prueba manifiesta de que los elementos latinizantes de estas piezas tienen origen local. En Sagunto no hubo una élite dirigente procedente de la península Itálica, ver apartado 1.

<sup>53</sup> “El proceso habría sido (...) buscar una interpretación inteligible dentro de sus habituales claves interpretativas, en las que, entre otras, la etimología juega un papel fundamental.” (DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2011-2011, 404-405). GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1948, vol. I, 26-27; vol. II, 61-63 fue el primero que formuló esta hipótesis.

<sup>54</sup> MORALEJO 2011, 295-296.

de *De Agricultura*,<sup>55</sup> en la que para muchos investigadores ha sido la referencia más antigua en latín del nombre de la ciudad.

La hipótesis de que *Arse* fuese el nombre de la ciudad y de su comunidad cívica y no del puerto puede sostenerse por su constante presencia en la numismática desde el principio de las emisiones en el siglo IV a. C. Por un lado, las monedas revelan el nombre de la ceca (de la ciudad) y no de otros asentamientos del territorio, y también por la disposición de este texto en el reverso de los rótulos en las monedas bilingües: la numismática paleohispánica reserva este lugar para la información topográfica mientras que en los anversos suelen disponerse otro tipo de datos (marcas de valor, abreviaturas del topónimo y otro tipo de signos o leyendas complementarias, y, lo que nos interesa aquí, también la versión “romanizada” de los topónimos en el caso de las monedas bilingües).

En los trabajos que ya se han dedicado a la doble denominación de la capital edetana suele introducirse un elemento que, a mi juicio, distorsiona la explicación: el mito fundacional, el momento en el que este se gestó y los posibles intereses que contribuyeron a forjarlo. Aunque la hipótesis que propongo aquí trata de desvincular el proceso de cambio de topónimo y la elaboración del mito, creo conveniente describirlo de forma sucinta y exponer brevemente el estado de la cuestión.

Este relato tenía como objetivo dotar a la ciudad de Sagunto de un pasado legendario que estableciera un vínculo con los elementos más poderosos de la propia historia romana: Grecia, el Lacio y la Guerra de Troya. De acuerdo con la versión liviana de dicha leyenda (Liv. 20. 7), que es la más antigua de la que se tiene constancia,<sup>56</sup> la ciudad de Sagunto sería una fundación de colonos procedentes de la isla jónica de Zácyntos,<sup>57</sup> a los que se añadió un aporte de población rútula procedente de Ardea, sita en el Lacio: “*Oriundi a Zácynto insula dicuntur,*

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<sup>55</sup> El término *Sacontinas*, referido en Cat., *Agr.* VIII 1, que se vinculaba tradicionalmente a Sagunto, en realidad se refiere a la isla de Zácyntos; no a Sagunto, como ha demostrado HERNÁNDEZ 2011.

<sup>56</sup> Según R. A. Santiago, algunos pasajes de Dionisio de Halicarnaso y Pausanias contendrían el germen de este mito (Paus., VIII 24.3; D. H., I 50). En ellos se describe cómo el héroe Zákyntos, procedente de la isla del mismo nombre (y que había sido propiedad de Ulises, *Il.* 2, v. 634), era hijo de Dárdano, que en última instancia era fundador de Troya. Este héroe, según indica la autora citando una leyenda italiana recogida por P. Grimal, sería originario de la etrusca Cortona, una razón que movería a Eneas a volver a la península Itálica tras la guerra de Troya. De acuerdo con Santiago, estos pasajes demostrarían cómo se habría llevado a cabo “una pequeña operación de maquillaje del nombre [de Sagunto] y se habría forjado un *aition* que explicaba el origen griego de Sagunto y quizás apuntaba ya el parentesco de su héroe epónimo con Eneas”. Sin embargo, en realidad, en estos pasajes solo se menciona la isla griega de Zákyntos, su héroe epónimo y el parentesco de este con Dárdano; y no se alude explícitamente a la ciudad edetana de Saguntum.

<sup>57</sup> BARZANÒ 1992, 142 confiere veracidad a la legendaria llegada de población zacintia a Sagunto basándose en las relaciones que pudieron tener mercenarios iberos y zacintios enrolados en el ejército de Dionisio de Siracusa durante el siglo V a. C.

*mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis*".<sup>58</sup> El autor patavino vincula explícitamente la ciudad de Sagunto con la isla griega de Zákynthos y con la ciudad latina de *Ardea*, posiblemente por su homofonía con *Arse*,<sup>59</sup> al tiempo que pasaba conscientemente por alto el origen ibérico de esta ciudad con la finalidad de exponer un pretexto para la entrada de Roma en la guerra contra Cartago.

Posteriormente, en el poema épico *Púnica* de Silio Itálico hallamos el relato mucho más desarrollado (en los dos primeros cantos) y pleno de artificios, como le corresponde a su género: el enfrentamiento entre ambas potencias se convierte en una gran epopeya en la que también luchan, en última instancia, el orden contra el caos.<sup>60</sup> El poeta añade un nuevo elemento a la leyenda con respecto de Livio al diferenciar dos fases en la fundación de la ciudad: la primera, el entierro del héroe *Zacynthos*, en la colina sobre la que se asentaría posteriormente Sagunto (*Sil.*, I 270-280), ya que murió envenenado por una serpiente cuando volvía de luchar contra Gerión, acompañado de Hércules.<sup>61</sup> En un segundo momento, colonos fugitivos de la isla de *Zacynthos* se habrían asentado en dicho lugar, a los que se unieron, como "refuerzos" jóvenes de Árdea, emigrados a causa de una crisis de superpoblación (*Sil.*, I 288-293). Que esto es una autojustificación de época altoimperial de la entrada en Roma en guerra contra Cartago queda claro en la frase final de este mito: "La libertad de este pueblo y la dignidad de sus ancestros se contemplaban en un pacto que negaba a los cartagineses el derecho a gobernar la ciudad" (*Sil.*, I 290-300, ver también I 658 ss.).

<sup>58</sup> R. A. SANTIAGO (1990, 135) propone que las fuentes en las que Livio se basó para la (escueta) mención de este mito etiológico fuesen los analistas de la segunda generación (c. 100 a. C.); aunque, según explica, el mito lo forjarían los primeros analistas en torno a mediados del siglo II a. C. (SANTIAGO 1990, 133).

<sup>59</sup> Ver VILLAR, PRÓSPER 2005: 222. Sobre el significado de *Ardea* en el imaginario latino, ver Bourdin 2005. Según Estaban de Bizancio, uno de los nombres de *Ardea* era *Troya* (Steph. Biz. s. v. Ἀρδέα) (COARELLI 2001, § 5).

<sup>60</sup> El comienzo de este poema se ubica en Sagunto, y en los dos cantos que se localizan en esta ciudad tratan de retratar la *perfidia púnica* al atacar a una ciudad emparentada con Roma, como demuestra la leyenda (ver SANTIAGO 1990, 134-139; BERNSTEIN 2016).

<sup>61</sup> Sobre la fundación de diversas ciudades occidentales por parte de Hércules, entre las que está Sagunto, MARTÍNEZ PINNA 2004, 256-257. El hallazgo de figuritas de bronce y de un recipiente cerámico con representaciones de Hércules, que también se ha aducido como prueba de una refundación de la ciudad tras el sitio púnico y de la elaboración del mito en dicho momento, mediante el establecimiento de una relación entre estos dos objetos con figuraciones de Hércules y el mito fundacional en consonancia con la reformulación urbanística del 200 a. C. (ARANEGUI 2006, 66-68). Creo que habría que ponderar en su justa medida estos hallazgos: el fragmento de vaso de barniz negro procedente de las excavaciones de 1932 podría estar representando también a Dionisos (ARANEGUI, GIL-MASCARELL 1978, 13, n.º 2 y la pequeña figura de bronce procedente del llamado templo de las trece estatuillas, tiene una factura posiblemente centroítálica (BLETCH 1989, 77-81, 91), como la de otra pieza coetánea, y podría datarse en torno al año 100 a. C. (BLETCH 1989, 89; ARANEGUI 2006, 68); no en el 200 a. C. Un dato más concluyente podría ser la inclusión de la cabeza imberbe de Hércules en las dracmas acuñadas a finales del siglo III a. C. (RIPOLLÈS, LLORENS 2002, 91-94). Sin embargo, la iconografía relativa a este héroe se difundió a tal nivel por todo el Mediterráneo occidental a partir del siglo III a. C. (BURGALETA MEZO 1988; MARTÍNEZ PINNA 2004), incluidas las monedas, que, a no ser que ocurra un nuevo hallazgo excepcional que confirme esta hipotética refundación bajo la égida de Hércules, quizás sea más prudente no forzar más la documentación.

La fecha de elaboración de la leyenda es una cuestión controvertida: pese a que, como he puesto de relieve, se documenta por primera vez en Tito Livio, para algunos autores este mito fundacional fue elaborado en Roma más de doscientos años antes, en el contexto de la Segunda Guerra Púnica, puesto que sería la excusa perfecta para Roma de haberse inmiscuido en la guerra, al estar defendiendo a un emplazamiento “hermano” de la amenaza cartaginesa.<sup>62</sup> Para F. Coarelli, en cambio, la creación de la leyenda habría sido incluso anterior,<sup>63</sup> ya que la vincula con la temprana presencia de los griegos en el territorio de Sagunto. Por su parte, S. Wicha<sup>64</sup> se muestra discordante con las propuestas previamente expuestas, ya que entiende la leyenda etiológica como una elaboración de época augústea<sup>65</sup> que se enmarca en el programa de propaganda imperial, del mismo modo que la creación del colegio de los Salios en Sagunto, entre otros elementos. Esta propuesta en virtud de la cual se rebaja la cronología de elaboración del mito es sumamente interesante, ya que explica limpiamente por qué este comparece por primera vez en las fuentes gracias a la pluma de Tito Livio. De lo contrario, no se entendería el mutismo de los autores grecolatinos al respecto, a no ser que nos acojamos a un argumento *ex silentio*.

Sin embargo, a nuestro parecer, la leyenda debería haberse forjado con anterioridad, concretamente a partir de mediados del siglo I a. C. y en Sagunto, con el fin de obtener el estatuto colonial, a juzgar por la emisión con leyenda griega “ΣΑΓ. ΠΟΛ.”,<sup>66</sup> que precisamente se acuña antes de dicha promoción, mediante la cual se ofrecía una inédita imagen filohelena de la ciudad. La versión “oficial” de dicha leyenda está documentada por primera vez en Livio, por lo que la gestación de dicho relato hubo de ser forzosamente unos años anterior a Augusto.

### **III. La construcción de la identidad cívica saguntina y la creación del topónimo “Saguntum”**

Si en realidad “Σαιγάνθη” (dat./loc.) / “Ζάκανθα” es un topónimo indígena transscrito en griego, la vaga y habitual afirmación de que los dos nombres de la ciudad se corresponden con

<sup>62</sup> GARCÍA Y BELLIDO 1948, vol. I, 26-27; vol. II, 61-63 (la elaboración de la leyenda correría a cargo de los historiadores helenísticos); PIGANIOL 1979, 252-255 (su propuesta atribuye la autoría del mito a la aristocracia marsellesa con el fin de que sus intereses comerciales no se vieran afectados por el estallido de un conflicto a gran escala); SANTIAGO 1990: 133, 136 (la construcción del mito correría a cargo de las élites romanas, la primera generación de analistas concretamente, quienes habrían elaborado una estrategia propagandística para que Roma entrara en guerra contra Cartago dentro de la cual estaría la creación “artificial” del topónimo reflejado en Polibio, Zákantha, que no habría tenido recorrido); ARANEGUI 1994 y SANTIAGO 1994, 52 (ver nota 52); DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO 2011-2012, 402-408.

<sup>63</sup> COARELLI 2001 § 7. Para él, “Saguntum” puede explicarse simplemente como una transcripción en latín arcaico de “Zakynthos”, el nombre de la isla griega. Sin embargo, no tiene en cuenta en su razonamiento el topónimo “Zakantha”.

<sup>64</sup> WICHA 2002-2003.

<sup>65</sup> ARANEGUI (1994, 38) ya había sugerido que la construcción de la leyenda fuese de época altoimperial.

<sup>66</sup> AMELA 2012.

sus dos “identidades”, la ibérica y la grecorromana, a través de los topónimos *Arse* y *Saguntum* respectivamente, se revela imprecisa, al menos en origen, puesto que ninguno de los dos nombres es griego o romano, sino que ambos tienen un origen local. Y, sin embargo, aquel es exactamente el mensaje que quisieron proyectar las élites saguntinas ya en el último tercio del siglo II a. C. a través de sus monedas, una idea que, como se ha visto, todavía hoy se reproduce con frecuencia en la producción científica.

A la luz de los datos que he presentado, creo muy verosímil que la aristocracia arsetana llevase a cabo una política planificada de reelaboración de una identidad cívica con vistas a insertarse culturalmente en la órbita de Roma cuyo comienzo podría ubicarse a comienzos del siglo II a. C., a juzgar por la construcción de infraestructuras y edificios de corte inequívocamente romano que se ha descrito en el primer apartado de este trabajo y en la que se encuadra también el aumento de bienes de consumo de origen itálico. Sin embargo, tras esta incipiente primera fase, que únicamente tendría impacto a nivel local, el primer gran impulso de aculturación y su publicidad a mayor escala habría de ocurrir inmediatamente después de la fundación de la cercana colonia romana de Valencia en 137 a. C., hecho que afecta a la ciudad de Sagunto a todos los niveles: económico, arqueológico, numismático y, presuntamente también, ideológico.<sup>67</sup> De acuerdo con F. Beltrán, la construcción de una colonia latina en las inmediaciones de Sagunto incitaría a las élites saguntinas a mantener una suerte de competición en romanidad con *Valentia* a través del medio de comunicación de larga distancia que tenían a su alcance: la moneda. Por ello, aunque está sobradamente documentado gracias a las inscripciones que en Sagunto se hablaba y escribía en ibérico en torno al 130 a. C., en esta innovadora producción numismática se decidió incluir una leyenda en latín que contuviera el recién creado (de acuerdo con nuestra propuesta) topónimo “latino” *Saguntum*.

Possiblemente tras las Guerras Sertorianas, una vez que con la destrucción de Valencia la colonia latina ya no eclipsa a la muy romana ciudad federada de Sagunto, se aprecia un tercer esfuerzo por parte de las élites en la misma línea que el anterior, esta vez con vistas a conseguir el estatuto privilegiado de colonia latina, conseguido en algún momento posterior al 56 a. C. En esta campaña podría enmarcarse la remodelación arquitectónica de la fachada sur de la colina de El Castell (80-50 a. C.<sup>68</sup>), que conferiría una gran monumentalidad al entorno del templo mediante la construcción de estructuras de similares características a las de los santuarios laciales, y parecidas a las que se habrían levantado recientemente en *Praeneste*,<sup>69</sup> intervención urbanística para la que los saguntinos requerirían, de nuevo, la presencia de itálicos. A esta iniciativa pertenecería también la acuñación de una serie con leyenda griega, ΣΑΓ. ΠΟΛ. (ver Tabla 1), elección lingüística que hasta la fecha no tenía una

<sup>67</sup> Hipótesis propuesta por BELTRÁN 2011, 31-32.

<sup>68</sup> JIMÉNEZ 2014, 34.

<sup>69</sup> ARANEGUI 1994, 37.

explicación fundamentada, puesto que desde el punto de vista de la composición sociolingüística de la población no tenía sentido (el colectivo grecoparlante no era tan potente como para forzar una emisión con letrero griego);<sup>70</sup> pero sí desde la perspectiva del uso interesado y propagandístico del griego y su alfabeto. Este constituiría, quizá, el primer testimonio, aunque indirecto y poco explícito, de la construcción del mito que ubicaría en Zante el origen de los primeros saguntinos, que pudo haberse elaborado en la propia Sagunto con la finalidad de alcanzar el estatuto colonial. Si analizamos estas monedas desde este enfoque, la elección del griego para las leyendas no parece una decisión excéntrica sino todo lo contrario. La elección lingüística no es en absoluto inocente y los magistrados eran perfectamente conscientes de ello: otro claro ejemplo es que la emisión que recogía por primera vez el estatuto colonial de Sagunto fue acuñada sobre un cuño precolonial en el que figuraba la leyenda *arse*, en lengua y escritura ibéricas, que fue convenientemente eliminada.<sup>71</sup>

Finalmente, en época de Augusto y por las causas enumeradas por S. Wicha, se produce un cuarto esfuerzo de vinculación con Roma, plasmado en los nuevos equipamientos urbanos del foro y el teatro,<sup>72</sup> que podría estar relacionado con la obtención del estatuto municipal, esta vez mediante la fijación de la versión “oficial” del mito fundacional (que, según nuestro razonamiento, se había ido gestando a lo largo del siglo I a. C.), resultado del cual es la versión liviana primero (al menos, que tengamos documentada) y, en último término, la de Silio Itálico. También la inscripción en la que se rememora la victoria romana sobre Aníbal; el establecimiento del colegio de los Salios, así como el abandono de la escritura ibérica (y probablemente poco después la lengua) para la epigrafía de la ciudad (que, sin embargo, siguieron utilizándose durante un tiempo para cuestiones religiosas, como se aprecia en el conjunto epigráfico del santuario de Montaña Frontera).

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En conclusión, se ha propuesto aquí desvincular el origen de la doble toponimia saguntina del mito fundacional, que claramente se sirvió de aquella. La adjudicación de un nombre “latino” a la ciudad, un nombre basado en la latinización del topónimo indígena por el que el emplazamiento era conocido en las redes del comercio internacional (que era el del puerto), habría sido una de las iniciativas filorromanas de las élites saguntinas en el contexto de competición con *Valentia* que estas quisieron difundir gracias a la masiva acuñación de moneda bilingüe. Este topónimo les era familiar: la casi total homofonía con el nombre de la actual Zante dio pie a la reelaboración del topónimo “latino” “*Saguntum*”, que exigió un cambio de timbre en la segunda vocal, cosa que tampoco exigiría demasiado esfuerzo a los

<sup>70</sup> VER ESTARÁN 2019, 177-178.

<sup>71</sup> RIPOLLÈS 2002, 293, cf. AMELA 2011, 154.

<sup>72</sup> JIMÉNEZ 2014, 34.

saguntinos, dado que era un término que, por el momento, solo se utilizaría en las leyendas monetarias. Además, estas monedas contenían códigos iconográficos que los romanos podían comprender perfectamente, como las proas con victoria alada. Si, como habitualmente se aduce, el topónimo *Saguntum* se hubiera creado en el momento de la Segunda Guerra Púnica para justificar la entrada de Roma en la guerra, habría que explicar por qué los testimonios literarios más antiguos hablan de “Ζάκανθα” en griego y por qué los primeros documentos en latín en los que se atestigua “*Saguntum*” son de finales del siglo II a. C.

*Ars(e)*, el nombre con el que los propios habitantes de la ciudad la conocían y se identificaban, fue obviamente el topónimo elegido para representar la vertiente ibérica de la identidad saguntina en el marco de la iniciativa llevada a cabo por las élites, y así lo pusieron de relieve al escribirlo en signario paleohispánico. Lo contrario (mantener en ibérico el nombre del puerto y latinizar *Arse*) posiblemente habría tenido escaso éxito, ya que el nombre del *oppidum* no estaba tan difundido en los circuitos comerciales como el del puerto. “*Arse*”, que había representado a la ciudad en las monedas durante casi trescientos años solo era conocido a escala local, como demuestra incontestablemente su ausencia de las fuentes literarias. Si se llegase a confirmar su presencia en los discos de plomo de Sagunto y del Camp de Morvedre, habría más argumentos para afirmar que *Arse* era el endotopónimo del *oppidum* de El Castell.<sup>73</sup>

En definitiva, parece claro que las aristocracias saguntinas albergaban un deseo de vinculación a Roma que les llevaba continuamente a crear o reelaborar elementos culturales o sociales que fuesen compatibles con la capital del imperio. Muestra de ello es la elección lingüística para la producción numismática, que contrasta con la del registro epigráfico, durante los siglos II-I a. C.,<sup>74</sup> pero también, según se ha expuesto aquí, es la creación del topónimo “latino” *Saguntum*, un nombre *ad hoc* que servía perfectamente para colocar a la ciudad edetana en el gran mapa del imperio romano en plena fase de expansión. En este movimiento se percibe una evolución ascendente hacia la aspiración a formar parte del cuerpo cívico romano, que comienza a finales del siglo II a. C., tiene un pico en la década de los 30 del siglo II a. C. con la fundación de *Valentia*, avanza tras la destrucción de esta, se completa a mediados del siglo I a. C. con la obtención del estatuto colonial y se culmina en época de Augusto con municipalización y también la latinización completa de la ciudad a nivel escrito. El registro arqueológico está en consonancia con esta evolución; aunque el equipamiento urbano de tipo romano es anterior, de época de la posguerra. En esta escalada hacia la romanidad se deja atrás el pasado ibérico (al menos a nivel “oficial”) a mediados del siglo I a. C.: *Arse*, el antiguo topónimo de la ciudad, se desvanece para siempre de las monedas para dar paso de forma definitiva a *Saguntum*.

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<sup>73</sup> VER ORDUÑA 2003.

<sup>74</sup> Sobre la latinización de Sagunto, ver ESTARÁN e. p.

**Agradecimientos y financiación:** Agradezco a M. Á. Rodríguez Horrillo y a F. Beltrán Lloris la atenta lectura del manuscrito y sus oportunas sugerencias. La elaboración de este trabajo ha sido posible gracias a la financiación del proyecto ERC Starting Grant LatinNow (GA: 715626), a un contrato Juan de la Cierva – Investigación (IJC-2016-27589) y a un contrato Ramón y Cajal (RYC2018-024089-I, Fondo Social Europeo / Agencia Estatal de Investigación).

## Abreviaturas

BDHesp: Banco de Datos de Lenguas Paleohispánicas *Hesperia* (<hesperia.ucm.es>)

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CNH: L. Villaronga, *Corpus numnum Hispaniae ante Augusti aetatem*, Madrid 1994.

EDCS: Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss Slaby (<db.edcs.eu>)

IGEP: M. P. De Hoz, *Inscripciones Griegas de España y Portugal*, Madrid, 2014.

MLH: *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*

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## Manipulating the Past: Antiquarian Comments in Cicero's *De Haruspicum responso*<sup>1</sup>

Konstantinos ARAMPAPASLIS<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract.** This article identifies antiquarian excerpts in *De Haruspicum responso* and discusses their function with respect to Cicero's argumentation. The arrangement of the material by subject aptly illustrates how thematically connected passages can serve multiple purposes within individual arguments. The analysis of each passage reveals Cicero's manipulation of antiquarian information with the intention of tarnishing Clodius' image or extolling himself and the senate. Through the implicit comparison with the actions and customs of the ancestors, the orator further achieves a broader goal, i.e. to sketch his opponent as a public enemy and himself as a statesman in defense of the *respublica*. All these excerpts gradually serve the main purpose of successfully elevating his personal case into a matter of state significance.

**Rezumat.** Acest articol identifică excepțele anticearilor în *De Haruspicum responso* și discută funcția acestor excepțe în argumentația lui Cicero. Analiza dezvăluie manipularea de către Cicero a excepțelor anticearilor cu intenția de a prezenta negativ imaginea lui Clodius sau de a se evidenția pe sine și Senatul.

**Keywords:** antiquarianism, rhetoric, Cicero, *De haruspicum responso*, manipulation, Clodius Pulcher

### Introduction

Soon after Cicero's return from self-exile in 57 B.C.E., reports of a loud noise in the *Ager Latinensis* prompted the Senate, who acknowledged the prodigy, to refer the matter to the haruspices. Clodius Pulcher took advantage of the haruspical response<sup>3</sup> which was open to alternate exegesis and attacked Cicero in a *contio*,<sup>4</sup> claiming that the latter provoked the gods' wrath because he reoccupied his house<sup>5</sup> where Clodius had built a shrine for *Libertas*.<sup>6</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> The cited text is from Peterson's 1911 edition. Whether the original title used the plural *responsis* (*Quint. Inst. 5.11.42*) instead of the singular *responso* (*Asc. 70C*), which is adopted throughout this article, is of minimum significance.

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<sup>3</sup> The original response of the haruspices is not preserved, but a reconstruction based on the text of the speech has been proposed by Wissowa 1912, 545 n. 4, and subsequently adopted by scholars. The haruspical college asserted that "expiation must be offered to Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, Tellus, and the celestial gods" (*Cic. Har. resp. 20.13–14*) for i) "neglect and impiety in the organization of games" (*Cic. Har. resp. 21.2–3*), ii) "the desecration of holy places" (*Cic. Har. resp. 30.1*), iii) "the assassination of foreign ambassadors" (*Cic. Har. resp. 34.1–2*), iv) "violation of oaths" (*Cic. Har. resp. 36.1–2*), as well as v) "sacrilegious conduct during ancient and secret sacrifices" (*Cic. Har. resp. 37.2–3*).

<sup>4</sup> Corbeill 2018 reconstructs Clodius' lost speech based on passages from *De Haruspicum responso*, supplementing it with information from fragmentary speeches attributed to Clodius or other opponents of Cicero, as well as from several other Ciceronian works.

<sup>5</sup> *Cic. Har. resp. 30.2*.

early 56 B.C.E.<sup>7</sup> Cicero delivered *De haruspicum responso* in the senate, countering Clodius' arguments and rebutting claims of responsibility, while redirecting the accusations back to him. The speech is essentially an invective against his opponent, whose vicious personality and misdeeds are presented in such a way that he appears as the source of the grave dangers currently threatening the *respublica*.<sup>8</sup> Most importantly, the nature of the speech –*De haruspicum responso* is a political oration concerned chiefly with an issue of public religion– and the prevailing circumstances (i.e. the crisis of the 50's)<sup>9</sup> afforded Cicero ground to incorporate antiquarian information in his argumentation in order to sketch Clodius as an enemy of the state and, eventually, elevate a personal case into a matter of public interest.

The selected excerpts provide information about certain aspects of the religious, social, and cultural past of Cicero's time which were also treated by antiquarian authors, thus affirming their peculiarly antiquarian character. By carefully choosing topics whose details are shady at best, Cicero is able to manipulate such material in various ways to fit the framework of individual arguments intending to debase Clodius or exalt himself and the senate, but all together serve his major purpose, that is, to depict his opponent as a public enemy and himself as a statesman in defense of the *respublica* par excellence. When Cicero differentiates his opponent in terms of behavior from the rest of his family members<sup>10</sup>, he launches an *ad hominem* attack based on Clodius' unworthiness of his own origin and family tradition. The antiquarian digressions make things worse for Clodius by underlining the customs of the forefathers which are allegedly the views of the audience, leading to his isolation from the rest of the community, at least in the listeners' mind. By contrasting his enemy's actions with the practices of the forefathers whom Romans considered the highest authority in religious matters,<sup>11</sup> Cicero manages to raise the individual case to a matter of public concern. Besides, that is the purpose of the whole *De haruspicum responso* as he mentions at the end of the oration: *sed haec oratio omnis fuit non auctoritatis meae, sed publicae religionis*.<sup>12</sup> In the end, he shows that he rather offers a service to the state's religion than argue for his own case, thus exciting ideas that might have been latent in the mind of his audience.

<sup>6</sup> For the events that took place between the prodigy and the speech's delivery, see LENAGHAN 1969, 22; BELTRÃO DA ROSA 2003, 25–26; BEARD 2012, 20–21.

<sup>7</sup> For issues concerning the dating of the speech see COURTNEY 1963; LENAGHAN 1969, 22–28; BELTRÃO DA ROSA 2003, 25.

<sup>8</sup> CAIRO 2020, 76–78.

<sup>9</sup> For the political situation in Rome before the speech's delivery see LENAGHAN 1969, 11–21.

<sup>10</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 26.5–6.

<sup>11</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 18.8–9.

<sup>12</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 61.12–13.

## Cicero and antiquarianism

After Momigliano's seminal study in the 50's, scholars adopted<sup>13</sup> the term 'antiquarianism' to describe Latin prose works which used "original authorities" to gather in non-chronological order information about the political institutions as well as the cultural, religious, and social life of Rome throughout the ages.<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Rawson traced the foundations of Roman antiquarianism as a distinct genre during the last turbulent decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. in M. Iunius Gracchanus' *De potestatibus*. However, both before and after this development passages with strong antiquarian character were frequently found in works of generic proximity such as *Historiae* and *Annales*.<sup>15</sup> Of course, antiquarianism, like any other genre, kept evolving in the intellectual milieu of Republican Rome, and, when the opportunity arose,<sup>16</sup> authors would avail themselves of antiquarian sources, methods, and material also in other prose genres.

The influence of antiquarianism on Cicero's philosophical works, most notably *De Re Publica* and *De legibus*, has already been noted by Elizabeth Rawson, who also argued that the statesman exploits documentary sources in some speeches; thus his method resembles, at times, that of an antiquarian.<sup>17</sup> The use of antiquarian methods and material was a conscious choice since Cicero seems to have considered antiquarian knowledge an indispensable tool of the good orator as we infer from two passages in *De oratore*.<sup>18</sup> Both list *antiquitas* among those fields, of which a rhetor must have good command (e.g. poetry, history, civil law, senatorial rules, organization of the state, pacts, and treaties). The concept is not further explained, but

<sup>13</sup> Few scholars still reject the idea of antiquarianism as a separate genre arguing, instead, that it is simply one of the different modes of historiographical writing. See, for example, MACRAE 2017, 115–36.

<sup>14</sup> MOMIGLIANO 1950, 286–87. The beginnings of Roman antiquarianism, its generic affiliations, and its classification as a scientific genre were further explored by RAWSON (1972), whose conclusions are now widely accepted among scholars. L. Aelius Stilo Praeconinus, M. Iunius Congus, M. Terentius Varro, Verrius Flaccus, and C. Iulius Hyginus were some of the most notable Roman antiquarians. For a brief history of Roman antiquarianism and its main representatives see BRAVO 2007, 523–24. RAWSON (1985) focuses predominantly on Varro.

<sup>15</sup> RAWSON 1985, 234. RÜPKE (2012, 146) traces the generic birth of antiquarianism in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. with Sergius Fabius Pictor's work on the pontifical law.

<sup>16</sup> RAWSON 1972, 35: The development of Roman antiquarianism was peculiarly linked to periods of political and social upheaval. It flourished as a result of the Romans' effort to seek answers to institutional crises by turning to the actions of their ancestors. Therefore, apart from its scholarly value, antiquarianism played a significant role towards the stability of the *respublica* by showing contemporary Romans the correct path to restore order.

<sup>17</sup> RAWSON 1972, 33 based on Cic. *Dom.* 138.8–9: "ex rebus palam per magistratus actis ad conlegiumque delatis, ex senatus consulto, ex lege"; 35–39 for Cicero's antiquarian interests and methods in his treatises. WISSE (2002, 351–52) briefly discusses some passages from Cicero's rhetorical works which suggest an interest in antiquarianism.

<sup>18</sup> Cic. *De or.* 1.158–9: (Crassus) *Legendi etiam poetae, cognoscendae historiae, [...] perdiscendum ius civile, cognoscendae leges, percipienda omnis antiquitas, senatoria consuetudo, disciplina rei publicae, iura sociorum, foedera, pactiones, causa imperi cognoscenda est;* and 1.165: (Scaevola) *etiamne illa neglegere possumus, quae tu oratori cognoscenda esse dixisti, de naturis hominum, de moribus, de rationibus eis, quibus hominum mentes et incitarentur et reprimerentur, de historia, de antiquitate, de administratione rei publicae, denique de nostro ipso iure civili?*

it appears to be somehow distinct from both *historia* and the other fields. But if *historia* deals with past events, and the rest focus on specific, self-evident subjects, then what does *antiquitas* entail? The most plausible answer is that in these passages from *De oratore* Cicero uses *historia* in its strict sense, i.e. a chronologically organized narrative of past military and related political events, while the other branches of knowledge deal with the current status of their titular subjects. Therefore, *omnis antiquitas* probably includes events outside the concern of *historia* strictly construed, and developments which pertain to Roman religious, social, and cultural life. In other words, *antiquitas* is the research field of antiquarianism as it was defined by Momigliano and Rawson, and studied by notable erudites such as Varro, Fulvius and Numerius Fabius Pictor.<sup>19</sup>

### **Antiquarianism in *De Haruspicum responso***

The following excerpts from *De Haruspisum responso* seem to presuppose, in various ways, Cicero's familiarity with antiquarianism. Instead of grouping the passages together based on each one's function in the context of a single argument, I discuss them by topic to show the versatile role that thematically connected information can have within the orator's argumentation.

#### i. The Bona Dea cult

The first set of passages in which Cicero exploits antiquarian information concerns the cult of the Bona Dea and, more specifically, the annual sacrifice held at the residence of the highest-ranking official present in Rome.<sup>20</sup> Offering his interpretation of the haruspices' response who claimed profanation of *sacrificia vetusta occultaque*, he argues that the perpetrator of the sacrilege in question was Clodius, who violated the goddess' rituals by being unlawfully present during the sacrifice at the house of Caesar.<sup>21</sup> Cicero underlines the antiquity of the ritual:

de illo ipso sacrificio quod fit pro salute populi Romani, quod post Romam conditam huius unius casti tutoris religionum scelere violatum est...<sup>22</sup>

or that very sacrifice which is offered for the welfare of the Roman People and which has never, since the founding of Rome, been violated except by this holy champion of religion.<sup>23</sup>

Its great antiquity is emphatically stressed again later in the speech:

Etenim quod sacrificium tam vetustum est quam hoc quod a regibus aequale huius urbis accepimus?<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cicero calls the first *diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis* in *Brut.* 60.10, and the last two *iuris et litterarum et antiquitatis bene peritus* in *Brut.* 81.5.

<sup>20</sup> BROUWER 1989, 359–79 discusses in length this secret ceremony, and the events which took place when it was performed in Cicero's and Caesar's house in December 63 and 62 B.C.E. respectively.

<sup>21</sup> LENAGHAN 1969, 75–76 (*ad 8.2 and 8.2–3*).

<sup>22</sup> *Cic. Har. resp.* 12.5–7.

<sup>23</sup> This and all subsequent translations of *De Haruspicum responso* are from Shackleton Bailey 1991.

For what sacrifice is as ancient as this one, which came to us, coeval with this city?

These passages present the sacrifice as part of the religious tradition handed down to the Romans by the earliest kings, and as old as the city itself. Information concerning the origin and purpose of rituals were a favorite topic of antiquarian research, and the introduction of cults by the old kings was among the subjects that Varro would later treat in his *Antiquitates rerum divinarum*<sup>25</sup>. But was the cult and the sacrifice of the Bona Dea as old as Cicero claims? The identity of this goddess as well as the roots of her worship remain a mystery, and modern scholars are still far from reaching a consensus. Some identify her with the Greek Damia, whose cult was imported to Rome during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E. from Magna Graecia, while others regard her as a native Italian goddess, most probably Fauna, whose original cult underwent changes due to the introduction of Damia, and their subsequent assimilation.<sup>26</sup>

These modern uncertainties regarding the nature and cult of the Bona Dea are instructive, if only because they remind us that such thorny questions are precisely the types of problems that ancient antiquarian writers concerned themselves with unraveling.<sup>27</sup> With respect to the Bona Dea specifically, Varro explored several aspects of her worship, including the identity problem, and recognized the goddess as Fatua Fauna<sup>28</sup>, while Verrius Flaccus identified her with Damia<sup>29</sup>. In fact, if contemporary scholarly debates about the Bona Dea can be taken as indicative of ancient problems, we might imagine Cicero's claims about the antiquity of the cult as representing one side of an antiquarian debate for which the other side is conveniently suppressed to the advantage of his argument.

The excerpts underline two significant points, that is (1) the ritual was coeval with the foundation of the city, and (2) it had not been violated by anyone since its establishment, except for Clodius. Cicero deliberately disregards other possible explanations for the origin of the Bona Dea, and conveniently attributes the establishment of her cult to the old kings. In any event, all speculations aside, the continual stressing of the antiquity of the sacrifice helps the orator furnish Clodius' crime with more *gravitas* by presenting him as the sole transgressor of a tradition which had remained intact throughout the ages. Clodius is not the personal opponent of Cicero anymore, but since religion was considered the source of social order, the alleged violation of an ancient ritual sketches him first as an enemy of ancestral tradition and, eventually, of the community itself.

## ii. The Pontifical college

<sup>24</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 37.11-12.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. fr. 35-39 Cardauns.

<sup>26</sup> For the suggestions on the identity and origin of the Bona Dea in modern scholarship see BROUWER 1989, 231 n.1.

<sup>27</sup> RÜPKE 2014, 253.

<sup>28</sup> Fr. 218 Cardauns; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 1.22.10

<sup>29</sup> Festus 60L.

Antiquarian influence can be traced also in a set of excerpts concerned with the traditional authority of the Pontiffs. Discussing the identity of the “sacred place” (*locis sacris religiosis*<sup>30</sup>) mentioned in the haruspices’ answer, and Clodius’ subsequent claim that it refers to Cicero’s house, the orator counterargues that the pontifices had already reached a verdict on this issue, absolving him of any wrongdoing:

ad pontifices reicetur, quorum auctoritati fidei prudentiae maiores nostri sacra religionesque et privatas et publicas commendarunt. quid ergo ii possunt aliud iudicare ac iudicaverunt?<sup>31</sup>

the matter will be referred to the Pontiffs, to whose authority, integrity, and experienced judgment our ancestors have commended rites and cults both public and private. What other reply can they give than the one they have already given?

This statement follows immediately after another claim about the jurisdiction of the Pontiffs, where he refers to their authority as judges, and that the voice of a single member of the college is enough to elucidate questions of religion:

ita est enim interpretatio illa pontificum, ut eidem potestatem habeant iudicium, religionis explanatio vel ab uno pontifice perito recte fieri potest.<sup>32</sup>

for the Pontiffs' interpretative function is of such a nature that they have the power of judges; whereas in a matter of religious observance an elucidation can properly be given by a single experienced member of the College.

The history, deeds, and role of the priestly colleges in Roman life were among the favorite topics of antiquarian research. It appears that Varro also dealt with the powers and duties of the pontifical college in Book 2 (*De pontificibus*) of his *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* just as he did with the *sacra privata* (Book 12), and the *sacra publica* (Book 13).<sup>33</sup>

Cicero’s discussions of the traditional powers of the Pontiffs form part of a broader argument underscoring the authority invested in the decision that the priests had recently made about his house, i.e. that his property could be restored without further religious offence, while simultaneously undercutting and automatically discrediting Clodius’ allegations that Cicero had caused divine displeasure because he had reoccupied his house. Just as Junius Gracchanus who wrote a work *De Potestatibus* to set straight the powers of Rome’s magistrates at a time when social upheavals had made them uncertain, the orator’s claims here function in a similar fashion.<sup>34</sup> In other words, while Clodius questions the

<sup>30</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 11.12.

<sup>31</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 14.9–12.

<sup>32</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 13.6–8.

<sup>33</sup> See the reconstruction in RÜPKE 2001, 64–65, and the commentary in Cardauns 1976: 161–62 (*de pontificibus*); 181 (*de sacris privatis*); 182 (*de sacris publicis*).

<sup>34</sup> RANKOV 1987, 90: Marcus Junius Congus the Gracchan wrote his *De potestatibus* as a response to Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus’ *Libri magistratum* (Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.13.21; Gellius, *NA* 13.15.4). Both works were politically motivated as

legality of reoccupying the house, Cicero reminds his audience that it is not up to his opponent (at the time an aedile), but the priests, who should and have already decided, based on the authority granted to them by their position.

Moreover, the reference to the ancestors' trust in the pontiffs concerning religious matters<sup>35</sup> should be viewed as an effort to indirectly influence the senators on his favor by exciting their sense of duty and stirring feelings of pleasure at his view of their conduct. Having already adopted the priestly decision which affirmed that Cicero could reoccupy his house, the senate, the orator alleges, took the right decision because their ancestors would have dealt with the matter in the same way, i.e. by accepting the recommendation of the priests. Concomitantly, Clodius' motion to re-introduce the matter in the senate is presented as an action which does not comply with the *mos maiorum* and should be denied exactly because of the lack of ancestral precedent.

In the context of the pontifical decree regarding his house Cicero makes another comment, claiming that the college had never convened before in such numbers for any matter, even the most serious ones:

nego umquam post sacra constituta, quorum eadem est antiquitas quae ipsius urbis, ulla de re, ne de capite quidem virginum Vestarium, tam frequens conlegium iudicasse. [...] tamen sic reperiatis, frequentiores pontifices de mea domo quam umquam de caerimoniis virginum iudicasse.<sup>36</sup>

I declare that never since rituals were instituted, and they are coeval with Rome herself—on no subject, not even on capital charges against Vestal Virgins, has the College made a ruling in such numbers. [...] And yet you will find that the Pontiffs ruled on my house in larger numbers than have ever ruled on the rites of the Virgins.

Even if Cicero's claim about the great number of the priests who decided his case cannot be disputed, it is certainly misleading. The members of the pontifical college were three until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E. when their number was raised to nine, and subsequently to fifteen under Sulla.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, it would have been impossible for any previous college to consist of more members than the current one, and Cicero's statement should be considered an exaggeration. This overstatement, however, would not have raised any objections among the audience since Cicero is, at least in absolute numbers, right.

Tuditanus was an Optimat and sworn anti-Gracchan, while Congus was a fervent supporter of the 'democratic' fraction, and the proposed Gracchan reforms. For a detailed discussion on these two authors and their respective works see SEHLMAYER 2003, 157–71.

<sup>35</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 14.9–12.

<sup>36</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 13.1–4, and 13.9–11.

<sup>37</sup> WISSOWA 1912, 503 and note 4 on the same page.

The repeated, indirect comparison between his case and that concerning a Vestal virgin invites the audience to regard the former as one of equal significance, not in the religious level but in the social sphere. Relying on an argument which is based on 'strength in numbers', Cicero implicitly elevates his case to one of public interest in the audience's mind: since cases involving a Vestal virgin had serious repercussions for the Roman society,<sup>38</sup> and even in these instances the college never convened in such numbers, but an unprecedent number of pontiffs decided on the issue regarding Cicero's house, then the college deemed the matter as important as a case of a Vestal's violation. Thus, Clodius' attempt to refer the matter back to the senate for discussion in an effort to overturn the original decision is sketched as an attack against the religious institution, and in turn, the community itself. Finally, by highlighting once again the traditional powers of the Pontiffs, Cicero contests his opponent's claims and casts him as an outsider who goes against an old and well-established procedure.

iii. P. Valerius Publicola, the first consul of the republic

The point regarding the almost unanimous decision of the Pontiffs in favor of Cicero becomes clearer, when he compares his own public benefits with those gained by Publius Valerius Publicola:

P. Valerio pro maximis in rem publicam beneficiis data domus est in Velia publice, at mihi in Palatio restituta; illi locus, at mihi etiam parietes atque tectum; illi quam ipse privato iure tueretur, mihi quam publice magistratus omnes defenserent.<sup>39</sup>

Publius Valerius was publicly granted a house on Velia Hill in recognition of his signal services to the Commonwealth; my house on the Palatine has been publicly restored. He was given a site; I have been granted walls and roof. He had to maintain his title himself under private law, mine is under public protection by all magistrates.

*Consul suffectus* in 509 B.C.E., Publicola is one of the legendary figures of Roman history. He was provided with a house on the Velian Hill at public expense for his services to the republic. Considering that his figure moved between myth and reality, it is no surprise that the events surrounding his life were explored by biographers (Plutarch), annalists (Livy), and most certainly antiquarians. Q. Asconius Pedianus' commentary on *In Pisonem* attests that Varro had also dealt with the honor bestowed upon Publicola by the state.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps Cicero

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<sup>38</sup> TAKÁCS 2008, 83: "The Vestals were anomalies in regard to womanhood, but as if to compensate for their state-ordered asexuality, the state's prosperity and continuity were in their care. These female individuals, severed from their socially determined role, were sub-ordinated to the state for which they were the guarantors of prosperity and continuation, a most extraordinary inversion".

<sup>39</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 16.5–9.

<sup>40</sup> Asc. 13C.

became aware of this story through literary or antiquarian sources. Or again he might have learnt about it through some monumental inscription<sup>41</sup> which would have commemorated certain events of Publicola's life, thus bringing his method closer to that of an antiquarian as Rawson argued.<sup>42</sup> In any case, information concerning Rome's 'prehistory' always had a peculiarly antiquarian character, even if it was included as a digression in chroniclers or historians.<sup>43</sup>

Cicero's reference to the ancestral conduct in the case of Publicola should be viewed as an attempt to influence the emotions of the audience. Since the ancestors had made an identical judgment based on their customs, the senate's current verdict is also on the right path, that of the *mos maiorum*. Such an allusion would have stirred the feeling of delightfulness at Cicero's view of the senate. At the same time, it would have also excited a feeling of duty, urging the senators not to deviate from the ancestral tradition by allowing Clodius' motion to move forward.

The comparison with P. Valerius also reveals an indirect effort to exalt Cicero's services to the republic, thus upgrading his personal case into a public matter. As Lenaghan marks, the orator's claims bear a "certain elusive honesty" since other notable Romans were equally honored, but Cicero's case is "less honorific" since the senate simply restored what was previously his property.<sup>44</sup> Nonetheless, he places himself in the same level with Publicola, not so much because he wants to be assimilated with him, but mostly in order to underline the significance of the senate's decision regarding his house. By mentioning the honor granted to Publicola for his *maximis in rem publicam beneficiis*, Cicero invites the senators to view their own decree to restore his house at public expense not only as a rectification of injustice, but a reward for his services to the state, though less great than those of Publicola.

#### iv. The origin of the Megalesian games

Cicero's claims about the Magna Mater and the Megalesian games also seem to presuppose, in various ways, a familiarity with antiquarian sources, information, and methods. Since these passages form part of a single attack against Clodius, it is appropriate to treat them together. First let us consider Cicero's introduction of the *ludi Megalesis* as the probable games which were violated according to the haruspices:

<sup>41</sup> E.g. CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2832 a: Dating back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., the inscription on the *Lapis Satricanus* reads: - - -iei steterai Popliosio Valesiosio/suodales Mamartei. Some scholars have identified the name with the first consul of the Roman republic: Cornell 1995, 144; Raaflaub 2005, 8; Wiseman 2008, 311. CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1327 which reads P. Valesius Valesi f. Poplicola was excavated in the area of the Velian Hill where the house of Publicola probably stood.

<sup>42</sup> RAWSON 1972, 33.

<sup>43</sup> The survey of the 'ancient past' in ancient Greece was the subject of *archaeologia* which MOMIGLIANO (1950, 288) found to be in proximity with Roman antiquarianism; see also MOATTI 2015, 94–95. BRAVO 2008, 517: "The notion of erudition or of antiquarian literature allows us to group, in order to situate them historically and to understand them, all works that (1) refer to a period in the past their authors considered as 'ancient'..." .

<sup>44</sup> LENAGHAN 1969, 102 (*ad* 16.19).

Eos (sc. ludos) quorum ipsi di immortales atque illa mater Idaea te, – te, Cn. Lentule, cuius abavi manibus esset accepta, – spectatorem esse voluit.<sup>45</sup>

Those at which the Immortal Gods themselves and the Mother from Mount Ida ordained that you, Gnaeus Lentulus, whose ancestor's hands welcomed her to Rome, should be a spectator.

Although the original answer of the haruspices included only the names of Juppiter, Saturn, Neptune, and Tellus as the offended deities, Cicero decides to introduce the Magna Mater as another goddess to whom sacrifice is due. But this attempt would have raised objections on behalf of the audience, unless there was some link between the response and Cicero's interpretation. Thus, Bruwaene has rightly claimed that the orator equates the Magna Mater with Tellus through religious syncretism.<sup>46</sup> This kind of connection presupposes familiarity with the religious history which was an appropriate topic for antiquarian research. Information on the identity of gods, and their different names and faces were included in Varro's *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* (*sic pater magnus, mater <mag>na, hi sunt Caelus <Tellus>*).<sup>47</sup>

Cicero introduced intentionally the *Ludi Megalesia* as a possible interpretation of the haruspices' response. The identification of the offended goddess with the Magna Mater would not raise any objections from the audience since she was considered another face of Tellus. Most important though is that the Megalesia, during which Clodius had made uproar, took place quite recently (April 4-9), and hence the orator's claim would have been received without further explanation.<sup>48</sup> Apart from this, the reminiscence of Clodius' actions was still vivid in the mind of the senators who attended the Megalesia from the front seats of the theatre. The image of slaves' presence during the games<sup>49</sup> which only freemen were allowed to attend would have caused greater displeasure for Clodius, and the senators would be more favorable towards Cicero's cause.

The origin and the specific circumstances under which the rituals of the Magna Mater were introduced to Rome are described in two other excerpts:

Ne hoc quidem tibi in mentem veniebat, Sibyllino sacerdoti, haec sacra  
maiores nostros ex vestris libris expetisse?<sup>50</sup>

Did it not enter your mind, as a priest of the Sibyl, that our forebears were prompted to seek those rites by the books of your College?

...sacra ista nostri maiores adscita ex Phrygia Romae conlocarunt;<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 22.2–4.

<sup>46</sup> BRUWAENE 1948, 87. Of course, the original response need not be hostile to Cicero for him to introduce the Megalesia as a possible interpretation (LENAGHAN 1969, 115 [*ad 22.25*]).

<sup>47</sup> Fr. 64 Cardauns.

<sup>48</sup> LENAGHAN 1969, 114–15 (*ad 22.25*).

<sup>49</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 22.27–28.

<sup>50</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 26.12–14.

<sup>51</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 27.2–3.

our forebears adopted these rites from Phrygia and established them in Rome. These traditional stories about the introduction of foreign cults would be included in Book 2 (*De feriis*) of Varro's *Antiquitates rerum divinarum*. An account identical to that of Cicero concerning the advent of the Magna Mater in Rome and the Megalesia is found in Varro's *De Lingua Latina*.<sup>52</sup>

The references to the history and introduction of the Megalesia are part of the greater argument which intends to debase Clodius on account of his violation of the rules of the rituals. However, each excerpt narrows down the accusation: Clodius not only profaned the games in the presence of the goddess<sup>53</sup>, but also broke the continuation of the ancestral tradition.<sup>54</sup> The repetition of the words *sacra* and *maiores* are representative of Cicero's point of focus: the practice of religion according to the *mos maiorum*. Furthermore, Clodius committed the sacrilege while he held the office of the Sibylline priest<sup>55</sup>, and thus, by mentioning the role of the sibylline books in the importation of the cult of the Magna Mater, Cicero adds even more to the seriousness of his opponent's crime.

The reference to Phrygia is also worth discussing because it reveals another form of Ciceronian manipulation of antiquarian information. There were two different stories in antiquity concerning the place from where the cult was transferred to Rome: Varro claims that the Romans brought the deity from Pergama with permission from king Attalus<sup>56</sup>, while Livy's account places this event in Pessinus, which was the center of Cybele's worship<sup>57</sup>. Cicero was probably aware that the correct version was that of Varro, but he deliberately chose to leave the location vague (Phrygia) in order to allow the audience to connect the event with Pessinus.<sup>58</sup> This implicit suggestion will serve him conveniently in the next paragraph where he mentions Clodius' activities in Pessinus, ravaging the seat of the Magna Mater and installing Brogitarus as high priest of her temple and king of Galatia in exchange for money.<sup>59</sup> Given that Rome had been in good terms with Pessinus, and that Deiotarus<sup>60</sup>, Brogitarus' father in law and by the time king of Galatia, was a staunch ally of the Romans, the elevation of Brogitarus to the kingship would be viewed by Cicero's audience as an act undermining the interests of the state. By avoiding naming specifically Pergama, the orator allows the audience to connect the advent of the Magna Mater in Rome with Pessinus, thus

<sup>52</sup> Varro, *Ling.* 6.15: *Megalesia dicta a Graecis, quod ex Libris Sibyllinis arcessita ab Attalo rege Pergama ; ibi prope murum Megalesion , id est templum eius deae , unde advecta Romam.*

<sup>53</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 24.7–9.

<sup>54</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 26.12–14 and 27.2–3.

<sup>55</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 26.12–14.

<sup>56</sup> Varro, *Ling.* 6.15.

<sup>57</sup> Livy, *Epit.* 34.3.8.

<sup>58</sup> LENAGHAN 1969, 130 (ad 27.5).

<sup>59</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 28.1–9. The events surrounding the Pessinus affair are discussed in detail in Coşkun 2018.

<sup>60</sup> OCD s.v. Deiotarus.

sketching Clodius as a theomach and an enemy of Rome simultaneously, a person who did not hesitate to harm his own country for his personal gain.

### Conclusions

Using *De Haruspicum responso* as a case study, I hope to add a small piece to the puzzle of Roman intellectual life of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. by elucidating some ways in which antiquarianism interacts with Ciceronian oratory. The discussion of each passage's thematic connection with later antiquarian works, most notably Varro's *Antiquitates rerum divinarum*, establishes their peculiarly antiquarian character. The analysis of individual excerpts illustrates clearly and in a compelling manner how the orator manipulates antiquarian knowledge to simultaneously enhance his position and escalate the invective against Clodius. At the same time, all these comments function cumulatively to turn his personal case into a state affair.

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## Territorial modelling using Ancient viticulture parameters in Roman Times. A case study in the betic colony of *Hasta Regia*

Pedro TRAPERO FERNÁNDEZ<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** This article analyses the Roman viticulture in *Hasta Regia* colony, southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, as an ideal place to model historical and economic conditioning factors of this activity. We propose a model that includes an analysis of the territory, the “Riparian” resources necessary for the vineyard, the conditioning factors of the ancient vineyard and finally the economic implications that derive from it. The method allows us to get closer to the management of this economic reality, as well as being able to check whether the various estimates are correct.

**Rezumat.** Articolul analizează viticultura romană în colonia *Hasta Regia* (Betica). Propunem un model care include analiza teritoriului, resursele necesare pentru viticultură, factorii care condiționau viticultura antică și implicațiile economice care derivă din aceasta.

**Keywords:** ancient viticulture, GIS analysis, *Hasta Regia* colony, quantitative method.

### Introduction

Although wine production in Roman times was part of the Mediterranean triad, it nevertheless had an important relationship with both *annonae* and luxury goods trade.<sup>2</sup> The different qualities of wine, together with the different complex cultivation techniques required, make it a product with a certain specialization, whose basic parameters are found in the profuse Latin agronomy and specifically in the agriculture books by Lucio Junio Moderato Columella.<sup>3</sup>

In this paper we analyse a study case in the south-west of *Ulterior Baetica* province, the colony of *Hasta Regia*,<sup>4</sup> an actual and past wine-growing area,<sup>5</sup> at the ancient mouth of the Guadalquivir river, an actual marshland that in the past was the ancient coast.<sup>6</sup> The method combines different materials for create the data modelled, and for that, we analyse:

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<sup>2</sup> Chic 2006; Remesal 1986; Tchernia, Brun 1999.

<sup>3</sup> Tovar 1975; Lagóstena, Trapero 2019.

<sup>4</sup> Montero 2012; Martín-Arroyo 2018.

<sup>5</sup> López, Ruiz 2007.

<sup>6</sup> Roos, Arteaga 1995; Lagostena 2016.

- the archaeological study and location of *villae* in the territory
- the modelling of the possible fundus of each centre, attending to survey criteria
- the agronomic factors for optimum wine areas, using the need for wood, ropes and stakes
- the needs of specific types of soil, elevation and direction of the crops, according to agronomists such as Columella
- the real needs of the various production centres such as labour, hectares of crops or even food for workers.

With all this, we propose an analytic model, which starts from theoretical values collected from classical sources and the assimilation of these typologies with the present day. Despite this possible disjunctive, it is a contrastable model, where each parameter has strong bases about the management of wine production.

The aim is to model the various agronomic parameters, along with their current correspondence in physical conditions, to analyse the potential productivity of the vineyard<sup>7</sup> and be able to know more about the management of this wine economy production.

Therefore, the main contribution of this paper is not the different parameters used, but how they are related to being able to sense new data. It is an inductive model, which gives rise to deductive parameters, with a relative value, but which allow for historical comparisons. In the same way, it supposes a verification criterion to be able to understand if the proposed premises are correct or not. In our case, the main one is if the territorial modelling present in the next chapter has a historical relationship with the supposed wine product for each *villae*.

## Materials and methods

### *Fundi and villae analysis*

We start from the analysis of the Roman rural population to elucidate which are the main *villae* of the territory. These spaces, as production centres, are the reference points for modelling the viticulture in this region, the territory of *Hasta Regia*, whose limits were defined in previous publications.<sup>8</sup>

We have been especially interested in considering which of these spaces can be *villae* in surface surveys, following criteria of size, the appearance of sumptuous materials or

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<sup>7</sup> GOODCHILD 2007.

<sup>8</sup> RUIZ et al. 2019.

emerging structures.<sup>9</sup> Most of the information came from few survey prospections without integrative perspective or specific period specialization.<sup>10</sup>

Once we systematized the archaeological information, we wanted to understand how would work the *fundi* of each *villae*.<sup>11</sup> For that reason, we wanted to model the potential area of *fundi* knowing their productive centre.

That is why we start with a simple Thiessen analysis with the software ArcGIS. This shows the average distances between the sites in a mathematical way, not representing reality, but allowing us to have an idea of it. To improve this approach, we adapted this averages to the natural limits, like the ancient coast, giving a very characteristic distribution of the population, where the farms would be very large, between 250 and 500 Ha, coinciding with the classic agronomists patterns.<sup>12</sup> Several polygons must correspond to gaps in the research or areas that are not part of the farms, in the case of *saltus*.

In any case, this mathematical approximation is not historical, so to propose a possible cadastre, we use the parameters by latin surveyors to delimit plots and farms. The principle is the same as in the case of defining the territory of the *civitates*.<sup>13</sup> Based on this analysis of average distances, we look for possible natural or artificial boundaries in the area to propose their possible limitation and propose a map for model the potential *fundus* (Fig. 1). In this sense the criteria have been:

- The first natural and clear limit has been the ancient coast itself, although, in the case of small islands, these have been included in the centre of the nearest *villae*.
- The natural criteria to delimit the properties, hills, streams and water basins.
- No human criteria have been recognised, such as the case of boundary markings and similar, although the current roads have been taken into account in the case when they are in natural paths.

This analysis assumes a theoretical framework, based on survey criteria to define the possible maximum *fundus* of these *villae*. Some of those areas would have areas where could be non-discovered *villae* or also some parts of the *saltus* of the city. With this approach, we take into account all *Hasta Regia* territory, but it is not a problem since we use these parameters to induce the model and extrapolate this information with the maximum wine production. Some of these parcels could be enough, too large or small, given us a deductive way to know if this way to model the potential *fundus* may correspond to reality.

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<sup>9</sup> ANGULO, PORRES 2006; TRAPERO 2020.

<sup>10</sup> PONSICH, 1991; LAGOSTENA, in press.

<sup>11</sup> MARTÍN ET AL. 2017; REVILLA 2012, 2018.

<sup>12</sup> FERNANDEZ et al. 2014

<sup>13</sup> DILKE 1971; CAMPBELL, 2000

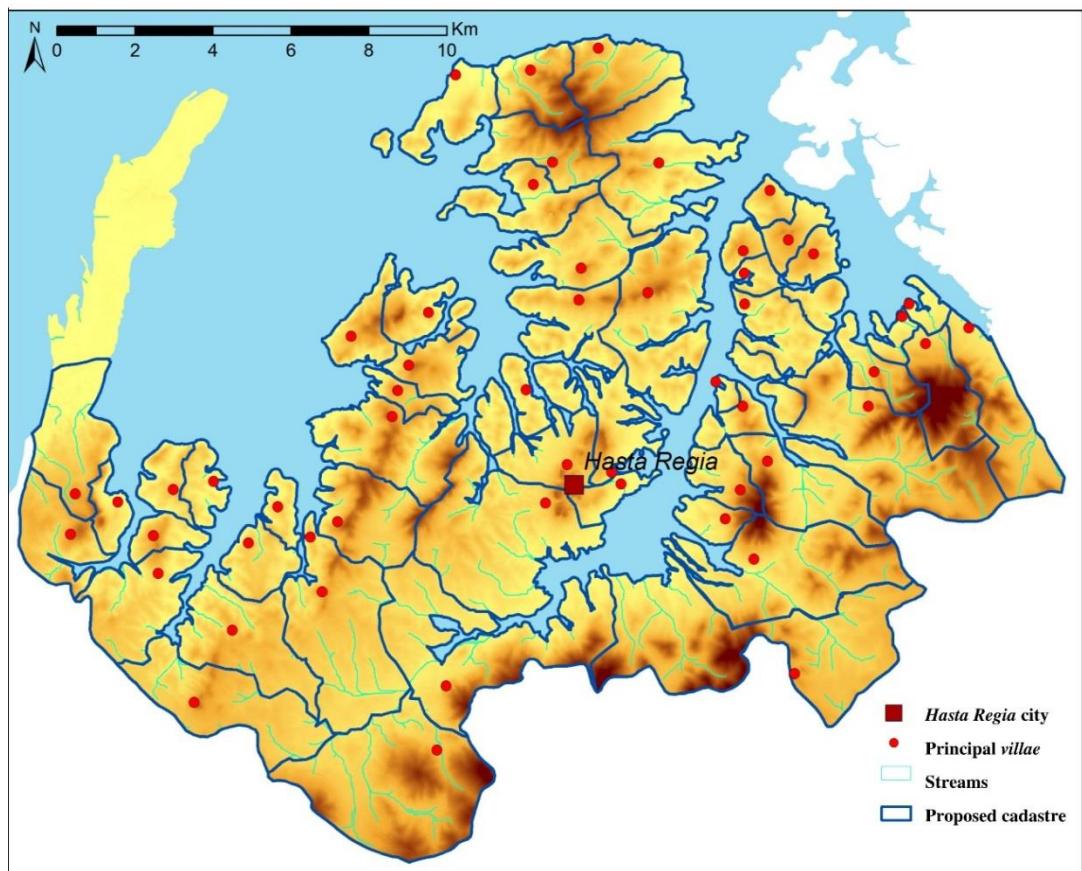


Fig. 1: Proposed cadastre and the main framework for the model.

#### **Model “Riparian” conditions**

After defining the plot of land, we are interested in analysing those determining factors directly related to viticulture. The use of a cane, esparto and chestnut or other tutors, is necessary for the correct planting of a Roman vineyard and need to be cultivated or harvested on the same farm.<sup>14</sup> Most of this type of plant products are closely related to "riparian" spaces,<sup>15</sup> that have water needs and for our study framework can only be achieved in the immediate area of the ancient coast (salt water) or streams and springs (freshwater).

<sup>14</sup> Columella, *Rust.* 4.30.1

<sup>15</sup> HERMON, 2010

Relevant is the case of the areas of the stream for the canes, as well as the ancient coast for the esparto grass. The tutors as tree species would not need this condition.

Because of this, the potential areas of having these conditions can be modelled. We used a 10 meters buffer on each side of streams, which means a very small area. This has been compared with the maximum width of most of the streams in the area. The hole territory has 26,400 ha and the analysis with a 10-meter buffer for the streams giving us a total of 479.9 ha of the territory that may have this potential for freshwater "riparian" spaces. In the case of the ancient coast, we consider also 10 meters giving us very similar values to the previous ones of 490.9.

This means that approximately 0.4 % of the territory can be left in good conditions for the cultivation of plant species such as esparto grass in the paleo-river and another 0.4 % of freshwater species in the vicinity of streams. Therefore, the total potential of the territory for these species would be 0.8%, a really low percentage, if we consider above all the entrances and exits that the paleo-mouth of the Guadalquivir has.

### ***Modelling viticulture***

The main criteria are modelled according to Latin agronomists to establish the best conditions for Roman vineyards, taking into account the types of soil, slope and orientation.<sup>16</sup> This method has been already published in previous papers.<sup>17</sup>

The following text can give an idea of what the negative agents are for the vineyards: "Furthermore, they are defects of the place, which generally lead to the ruin of the vineyards, the weakness and sterility of the soil, salty or bitter humidity, sloping and steep position, a valley that is too shady and without sun"<sup>18</sup>.

First, we analyse the soil type for viticulture use. In our territory the best will be calcareous regosols, followed by vertisols and luvisols or sandy soils, which the recommendations are made by Columella and also the best current soils for viticulture.<sup>19</sup> In (Table 1) is expressed the values used for ponderate each soil type.<sup>20</sup> Some others could be usefull for wheat or being pooper for crops. This assignment of values does not reflect the best or worst disposition of the different soils; in fact, we consider as good all those that are associated with values of five, eight and ten. The differentiation here is in being able to distinguish which types of soils appear next when combined with other types of criteria. In

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<sup>16</sup> OLSON 1943.

<sup>17</sup> TRAPERO 2016A; 2016B; LAGÓSTENA, TRAPERO 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Proper translation. Columella, Rust. 4.22.8. *Loci porro vitia sunt, quae fere ad internacionem vineta perducunt, macies et sterilitas terrae, salsa vel amara uligo, praeceps et praerupta positio, nimium opaca et soli aversa vallis.*

<sup>19</sup> TERESO 2012; CORZO 1977.

<sup>20</sup> SÁEZ, 1995.

this way, the simple mathematical calculation that adds up the values will give a different composition, if it is a question of one type of soil or another.

Second, about the slopes of the terrain, we have to consider at this point, the reality that much of the territory is optimal from this point of view, for the gentle hills that mark the area of study.<sup>21</sup> We considered slope as an average slope of 7 degrees, as the limit of the flat areas, and up to 11 as an ideal hill area, values given by considering the elevations of the territory itself. With all this, the highest values of this gradient cannot be considered as optimal, since they will be too steep.<sup>22</sup>

These values are reclassified in GIS so that a value of 10 is applied for slopes of less than 7 degrees; 20 between 7 and 11; and finally 30 for more than 11 degrees. The application of these values is thus made to be able to differentiate, with a simple mathematical sum, the values of the different combinations. In this case, for example, the value of 26 would correspond, to the soils of calcareous regosols in a gradient of between 7 and 11, while 25 would be the same gradient, but another type of soil.

Third, we add the orientation of the land. We originally only need to consider an average orientation of the best areas towards where there is more light, that is, to the south. The East is usually well-considered, but, given that for the area due to the influence of the east wind is not recommended, we should consider its use.<sup>23</sup>

The reality is that, for the area of study at present, the Levante or East wind does not affect with the same intensity as for the case of the current coast of the Bay of Cadiz. Therefore, it is considered for this analysis that the East of the hills can be a good position, as well as that of the West. The North orientation is not usually recommended because of its lower luminosity and we continue to consider the South as bad, because, although it does not affect the Levant, the warm winds coming from the Strait have a special incidence in the area and can cause serious problems for this type of delicate crop.

Value	Edaphic Unit
0	Takiric Solonchaks and Gleic Solonchaks
2	Calcium Fluvisols
1	Verticals, Chromic Vertisols and Calcium Cambisols with Calcium Regosols
1	Calcium Cambisols, Calcium Luvisols and Chromic Luvisols with Lithosols and Calcium

<sup>21</sup> Columella, *Rust.* 3.1.8.

<sup>22</sup> Varro *R.R.* 1.6.5.

<sup>23</sup> Columella, *Rust.* 3.12.6.

	Fluvisols
3	Albic sands, humic cambisols and dystric gleysols
0	Nutritional Planosols, Gleic Luvisols and Plastic Luvisols
6	Calcium Regosols and Calcium Cambisols with Lithosols, Calcium Fluvisols and Rendsins
4	Calcium Luvisols, Calcium Cambisols and Chromic Luvisols with Calcium Regosols
5	Calcareous Vertisols, Rendsins and Regosols
5	Chromic Vertisols and Verticals with Calcium Cambisols, Calcium Regosols and Pelic Vertisols
6	Nutritional Regosols, Dystrophic Regosols and Albic Aerasols
5	Pelvic Vertisols and Chromic Vertisols
6	Nutritional Regosols, Capillary Xerosols and Lithosols
1	Vertical Cambisols, Calcium Regosols and Chromic Vertisols with Calcium Cambisols
4	Calcium luvisols, chromic luvisols and gleic luvisols
4	Chromic Luvisols Calcium Cambisols and Lithosols
1	Calcium Cambisols and Calcium Regosols with Lithosols, Calcium Fluvisols and Vertical Cambisols
0	Molecular Planosols, Pelic Vertisols, Calcareous Phaleozems with Sandy Rankers

Table 1: values assigned for the model to the different types of soil.

We will consider the different general orientations, where we will consider as optimal the areas to the E and W, as intermediate those immediately in connection SE, SO, NE and NO and finally as worse the N and S. This will be done with values of hundreds to combine them in a sum of the different GIS processes with the others. In this sense, the values 100 will be associated to N and S, 200 to the intermediate ones and 300 to E and W. In the case of flat land areas, we consider them as if they were intermediate. The values obtained from this analysis require another treatment, which consists of unifying the resulting polygons.

The model takes out pixels that are dispersed but very close together, giving spots of optimal locations for the vineyard. However, when calculating the total areas, this is a problem, so a 5-meter buffer is made around these polygons to unify them, since the planting of the vineyard, where chosen, would be extensive.

The territory has a total of 26,409 ha, of which a total of 1,492 ha corresponds to high-quality soils for viticulture based on the above data. This represents approximately 5.6% of the total land. Currently, the specific weight in the territory of the viticulture is higher, over the 4,000 ha dedicated to the cultivation of vineyards. This analysis, however, is only partial, since it is taking the unit measurements from the data pixel that is analysed, of 5x5 meters. Without doubt, there would be no holes in the area of production, so if the potential of continuous farms is considered, these results could be greater (Fig. 2).

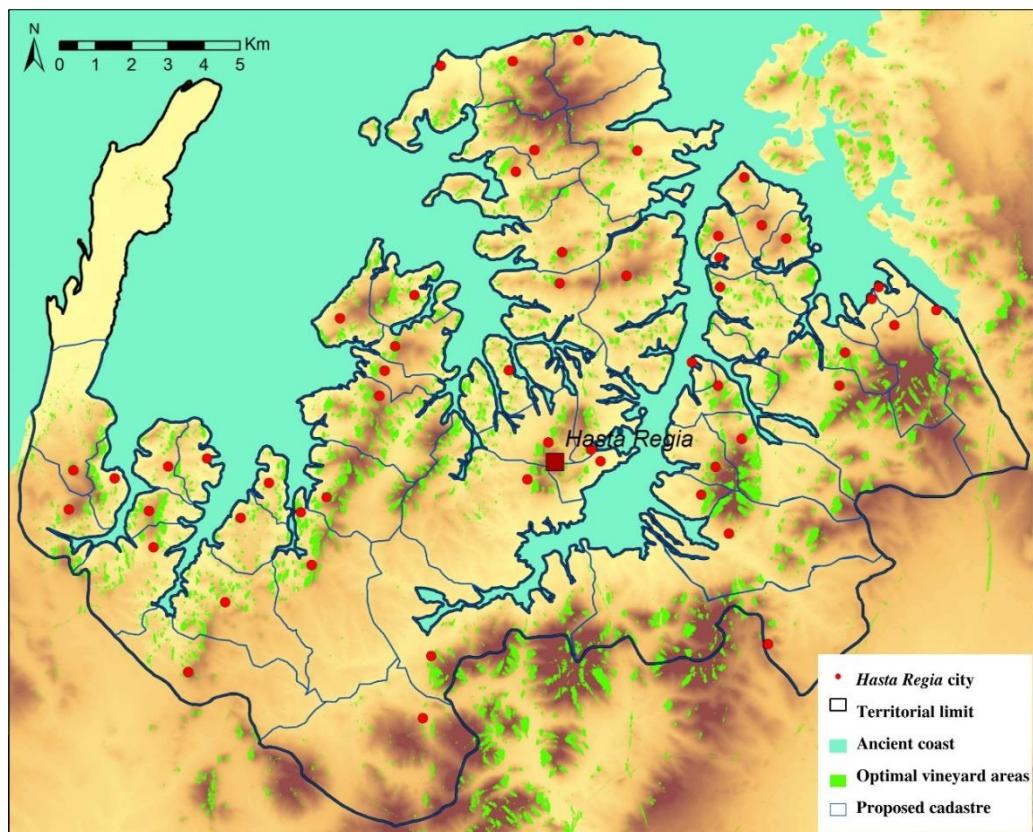


Fig. 2: Optimal vineyard areas in each proposed cadastre.

#### Wine production parameters

With all the spatial components, we only need to analyse the wine production parameters to apply. We can propose some values of wine production of about 3 cups per *iugera*. This average is achieved in the information provided by Columella regarding the minimum yield he considers. Speaking specifically of these calculations, we have several examples that show the possible productivity of the vineyards for Roman times<sup>24</sup>. All the following references are based in Columella (*Rust.* 3.3.2-3):

<sup>24</sup> For the analysis of these values, we use the following reference table, for the transcription of the different measures of weight, volume and area. Columela, *De los trabajos*. p. 317 *iugera*: 2518,21 m<sup>2</sup> / Amphora: approx. 26,26 L / Culeo: 20 Amphoras 527,27 L / Urn: ½ Amphora 13,132 L.

- In the texts of Cato and Varro, there is a yield of six hundred urns per hectare of land.
- In the case of the fields of Seneca, each hectare produces eight cupolas.
- For Ceretan fields of Silvino, one vine produces more than two thousand bunches.
- For Columella, eight hundred plants could be crop after two years of grafting reach two thousand bunches, together with the new vines that produce one hundred amphorae per hectare.

A minimum of three hundred or at least two hundred amphorae per yard is proposed as the average value for this management, although for Grecino it very low, says that even if it were 20 amphorae, it would be equally profitable.<sup>25</sup> The minimum profitability of these productions would be one cube per yard.<sup>26</sup> Finally, Columella ends up recommending remove vines that produce less than 3 culeos per *iugera*.<sup>27</sup> The value of 3 culeos comes precisely from this last value provided by Columella as a recommendation. (Table 2).

	Urn / <i>Iugera</i>	Amphora / <i>Iugera</i>	Culeos / <i>Iugera</i>	Litres / <i>Iugera</i>	Litres / m <sup>2</sup>	Litres / Ha
Cato and Varon's maxims	600	300	15	7.879,200	3,129	31.288
Farms in Seneca	320	180	8	4.202,240	1,669	16.687
Columella's new vineyards	200	100	5	2.626,400	1,043	10.429
Grecino's profitable minimum	40	20	1	525,280	0,209	2.085
Columella's recommendation	120	60	3	1.575,840	0,626	6.257

Table 2: Different vine yields according to Columella's text

We think that the least recommended to add to the analysis is vineyards at *Ceret*, since it only gives us the productivity by the number of plants, eight hundred vines that

<sup>25</sup> Columella, *Rust.* 3.3.7.

<sup>26</sup> Columella, *Rust.* 3.3.10.

<sup>27</sup> Columella, *Rust.* 3.3.11

produce 7 culeos, a value impossible to take to the previous calculation, since there are many models of distributing the vines.<sup>28</sup>

In the same way, Silvino's case is paradigmatic, but should not be interpreted as representative of production. Columella also criticizes the maximum values expressed by Cato and Varro, precisely because they are too high. In general, we could say that we would be between the great productivity of Seneca's farms and the minimum expressed by Grecino, putting values such as Columella's 3 culeos, as an approximate average.<sup>29</sup>

If we compare these values with the current ones, we can sense if these production would be very far from reality. In the case of “Marco del Jerez” region, the actual territory of the ancient *Hasta Regia* colony, in the 2002 campaign, to give an example of production, it is estimated that the cultivated area is around 10,000 hectares with an average yield of 10,000 kg per hectare, which means approximately 100 million kilos of grapes, which proportionally can be more than 70 million litres of wine produced in the year.<sup>30</sup>

## Results

### ***Estimated wine production***

With these productive values and the combination of the modelled areas of vineyard, we can estimate the wine production of *Hasta Regia* at 9,336,135 litres per year, from an ideal vineyard extension of 1,492 ha and a yield of three cupolas, approximately 6,257.778 L/ha. This means if we compare it with the calculation of the actual “Marco del Jerez”, production up to five times less.

About the vine consumption in Roman Times, several theoretical and generalist estimates have been made, which usually coincide around 250 litres per person per year.<sup>31</sup> In any case, it can be used as a maximum parameter, especially if it is calculated for the total possible population, as a representative average.<sup>32</sup> With these values, the territory's production would be sufficient to supply a population of approximately 45,000 people.

This theoretical value give us two main clues. The first one is that the value is much lower than actual wine production. This could be by the better actual techniques or management, but, also that we do not have in this analysis the near cities, like *Gades* or *Nabrissa Veneria*, which also were important winegrowing cities. The second issue is that the

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<sup>28</sup> Columella, *Rust.* 5.3.5

<sup>29</sup> INDELICATO 2017.

<sup>30</sup> AA.VV. 2002.

<sup>31</sup> PURCELL 1985.

<sup>32</sup> BRUN 2003; MARTÍN 2015.

production would be very large for the substance of the specific city, even for the region. This is an indirect proof of the commercialization of wine out of the province.

#### **Needs of other conditions**

This analysis is a generic and theoretical approximation of the territory's production. However, we must complete it by adding not only viticulture but also other activities within the same farm.

We based in the model of Martín-Arroyo<sup>33</sup>, who shows us the analysis of these agricultural activities, mainly based on the "riparian" areas necessary to cultivate the vineyard. These basic parameters are based on Columella's quote about the need for one winegrower for every 7 yards of vineyards.<sup>34</sup> It assumes per capita wheat consumption for this person, which is estimated to be about 51 *modii* of wheat per year.<sup>35</sup> Seeing the total yield that wheat can have in the Roman world, which is usually three to one and based on the area of production of this amount per Columella (*Rust.* 2.9.1) 4.25 yards of wheatland would be needed for the winegrower's consumption. This value is increased by adding the seed that is necessary for the next harvest and a three-year system of rotation of the same, which would amount to 18,414 *iugera* for the maintenance of the same.

We must add the proportion the land that has to be set aside to be able to put the vineyard into operation, namely, osier bed, cane and chestnut groves. The ratio is that each yoke of brick is worth twenty-five of vine, twenty of cane and twenty of chestnut to stake as well as the cane<sup>36</sup>.

This means a proportion of 0.63 *iugera* of "riparia" (chestnut trees, which do not have these water needs, are removed from the model) and is put about the total non "riparia" land required. It is 7 *iugera* of vines, the 18,414 of wheat for the winegrower and the part reserved for chestnut trees, which amounts to 0.35, giving a value of approximately 25.764 of non "riparia" for every 0.63 of "riparia". Besides, a correction is added if cane is considered as non-riparian, the proportion being 26.114 as against 0.28.

The application of this model is an attempt to understand the potential of this type of crop, relating it to the potential of "riparian", as a preferential and not marginal place within Roman agriculture. This type of analysis, however, does not achieve great results in our area of study, since only five of the 54 villages under study do not have access to the paleo-river, the ideal place for the cultivation of some of these "riparian" products.

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<sup>33</sup> MARTÍN-ARROYO, TRAPERO FERNÁNDEZ 2015; MARTÍN-ARROYO 2016; MARTÍN-ARROYO, REMESAL 2018; MARTÍN-ARROYO, CASTRO 2019.

<sup>34</sup> Columella, *Rust.* 3.3.8.

<sup>35</sup> Cato. *Agr.* 56; Duncan 1974, 147.

<sup>36</sup> MARTÍN, REMESAL 2018, 217.

### **Wine management and production**

Following these ideas, a calculation has been made of the proportion of land dedicated to cereals based on the need to supply one person, a winegrower, who will work 7 *iugera* of land. However, if we consider a different scale, specifically the one we have modelled for the territory of *Hasta*, we can get an idea of the workforce needed to put these vineyards into operation, the amount of land, in wheat, needed to supply food and the conditions of other associated crops for the vineyards.

We start from a series of previous historical conditions, such as Cato's model, which involves 13 slaves for 100 *iugera* of wine and 15 slaves for 240 *iugera* of olives.<sup>37</sup> We are talking about the management measures of a property, not so much the minimum extension itself,<sup>38</sup> so it could be used in Columella chronology as well. Varro makes some very interesting assessments regarding the number of workers commented on by Cato for each of these activities. Through Varro, we also know Saserna's opinion in which he generically refers to the need for one person for every eight *iugera*.<sup>39</sup>

We have already commented that proportionally the work values of Cato can be assimilated, concerning what Columella recommends, with the difference that, for this second, the work of the winegrower is specialised. But to see the minimum number of workers needed in the cereal lands, we must undoubtedly consider Columella again. He gives a proportion of eight people and two pairs of oxen for every two hundred *iugera*<sup>40</sup> "a field of two hundred *iugera* can be cultivated with two pairs of cattle, an equal number of teamsters and six labourers, provided it has no trees"<sup>41</sup>. These values can serve as a basis for working on a potential model in which to integrate the different agricultural management activities, necessary for understanding Roman viticulture.

If we compare with medieval times, we can have an average of approximately 1.5 ploughs of vines, which is what is usually leased to a peasant family. This means approximately 6,708 m<sup>2</sup>,<sup>42</sup> which, if we compare it with the 7 *iugera* that a slave winegrower can carry, would be 17,627.47 m<sup>2</sup>.

We should establish these basic parameters, considering also the potential of the analysis to these other eight people who would be entirely dedicated to the cultivation of

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<sup>37</sup> EL BOUDIZI 2003.

<sup>38</sup> LO CASCIO 2009, 33.

<sup>39</sup> Varro R.R. 1.18.1-2.

<sup>40</sup> Columella, *Rust.* 2.12.7.

<sup>41</sup> Proper translation. Hac consummatione operarum colligitur posse agrum ducentorum iugera subigi duobus iugis bovum totidemque bubulcis et sex mediastinis, si tamen vacet arboribus.

<sup>42</sup> BORRERO 2003.

wheat. We understand that they do not have to dedicate all their time to the cultivation of wheat, which is much more seasonal than the vine and, therefore, these people could be in other activities, in the case of livestock or the care of the vegetable gardens. Besides, if we consider the existence of olive groves, Cato gives us an average of the people we may have associated, with which we can weigh the workers needed to put into operation an area of cereal, olive groves and vineyards.

We consider that for the feeding of a slave, starting from the model expressed above, it is necessary to have 6,138 *iugera* of wheat.<sup>43</sup> In the same way, that the Roman system of a plantation would be biannual, so the total area needed would be 12,276.<sup>44</sup> If we also add an ideal farm of 200 *iugera* of farmland dedicated to wheat, we would sum up the consumption of the eight people needed to make this system work, which would be 98,208 *iugera* of land, plus the winegrower, 110,484 *iugera*. This means an approximate extension of the land of almost 28 hectares, dedicated to cereal production for own consumption.

In (Table 3) we present the data and results of this model, under the following criteria:

- The potential areas of vineyard previously analysed have been used in comparison with the total of the territory, identifying the theoretical fundus that has been assigned with the cadastral model.
- In the same way, the values of "riparian" potential, in section 3.2.5. Associated crops were used to add in this table the estimated values of possible area for these uses.
- After this, an analysis was made of the minimum areas of cane and wicker that corresponded to the minimum "riparian" necessary to be self-sufficient. Also, we considered other crops such as chestnuts, which would not be strictly riparian.
- Finally, we propose the number of people that might be necessary, an average of one vinedresser for 7 *iugera* and eight workers for two hundred *iugera* of cereal, to which we add their possible wives and children, doubling this value and also adding the foreman and his wife.

Villae	Fu n d us h a	Opti mal vine yard	Vi ne ya rd	Modelled marshla nd and streams	Min.c ereal cultiv ation in ha	Min. total área need e in ha	Min. ripari an area in ha	Min. other crops área in ha	Min. vineyar d worker s require	Total workers (Manager , slaves, families)
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<sup>43</sup> MARTÍN-ARROYO, REMESAL 2018, 217.

<sup>44</sup> GARCÍA 1979.

Territorial modelling using Ancient viticulture parameters in Roman Times. A case study in the betic colony of *Hasta Regia*

								d		
Alam edini lla III	59 0, 8	62,9	10 , 7	19,1	465,9	537,6	5,7	3,1	9,0	37,9
Alve ntus	37 3, 7	19,1	5, 1	19,8	158,5	180,3	1,7	1,0	2,7	12,9
Bera ngo	17 2, 0	14,5	8, 4	7,3	125,9	142,4	1,3	0,7	2,1	10,3
Carra nza	60 7, 8	16,4	2, 7	19,5	139,6	158,3	1,5	0,8	2,3	11,4
Casa de la Galla rda	1. 35 5, 2	39,2	2, 9	54,7	299,2	343,8	3,5	2,0	5,6	24,4
casa del Águil a	16 3, 9	28,6	17 , 4	6,6	225,1	257,8	2,6	1,4	4,1	18,3
Casa del Águil a	44 3, 0	23,2	5, 2	13,3	187,1	213,5	2,1	1,2	3,3	15,2
Casar ejo 3	54 7, 7	25,9	4, 7	20,6	206,3	235,8	2,3	1,3	3,7	16,8
Caser on de Evori lla	20 6, 0	10,3	5, 0	6,6	96,6	108,3	0,9	0,5	1,5	7,9
Casit	44	18,5	4,	13,2	154,5	175,6	1,7	0,9	2,6	12,6

a Palo mare s	2, 1		2							
Cerro Capit a	29 4, 3	24,9	8, 5	15,1	199,1	227,5	2,2	1,2	3,6	16,2
Cerro de las Vaca s	46 0, 5	4,0	0, 9	16,3	52,8	57,4	0,4	0,2	0,6	4,3
Cerro de los Castil lejos	38 7, 4	35,9	9, 3	18,3	276,4	317,3	3,2	1,8	5,1	22,5
Cerro Gibra ltar	96 ,4	0,3	0, 4	3,4	26,9	27,3	0,1	0,1	0,1	2,2
Corc hitos 2	11 1, 2	0,1	0, 1	10,2	24,7	24,7	0,1	0,1	0,1	2,0
Corc hitos 3	99 ,6	0,2	0, 2	8,6	25,6	25,8	0,1	0,1	0,1	2,1
Cortij o de Alijar	82 9, 8	16,0	1, 9	21,4	136,9	155,2	1,4	0,8	2,3	11,2
Cortij o de Ceste lo	1. 12 2, 7	24,9	2, 2	33	199,1	227,5	2,2	1,2	3,6	16,2
Cortij o de Ébor a 5	18 7, 6	12,3	6, 6	9,7	111,1	125,2	1,1	0,6	1,8	9,1
Cortij o de	28 5,	38,1	13 ,4	15	291,9	335,4	3,4	1,9	5,4	23,8

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Monteagudo	1									
Crespellina	915,6	38,4	4,2	39,6	293,6	337,3	3,5	1,9	5,5	23,9
El Cementerio	47,6	2,7	5,7	3,9	43,7	46,8	0,2	0,1	0,4	3,6
El Olivar Casarejo	474,3	20,4	4,3	19,3	167,8	191,1	1,8	1,0	2,9	13,7
El Pastor	109,7	15,6	14,2	4,7	134,0	151,8	1,4	0,8	2,2	10,9
El Peñón	358,9	30,6	8,5	13,3	238,8	273,6	2,7	1,5	4,4	19,5
El Pino 1	1.771,1	72,6	4,1	51,9	533,8	616,6	6,5	3,6	10,4	43,5
Espartina	240,5	12,7	5,3	8,7	113,9	128,4	1,1	0,6	1,8	9,3
Finca el Olivillo	105,6	29,6	28,0	5,8	232,3	266,1	2,7	1,5	4,2	18,9
Haza de la Torre 2	628,4	40,9	6,5	17,7	311,1	357,7	3,7	2,0	5,8	25,3

La Galguera	1.320,0	71,8	5,4	46	528,3	610,2	6,5	3,6	10,3	43,0
Loma de Alijar	720,6	37,8	5,2	21,1	289,5	332,5	3,4	1,9	5,4	23,6
Loma de Cartuja 3	560,5	52,2	9,3	12,3	390,7	450,3	4,7	2,6	7,5	31,8
Loma de Espartina VII	348,3	40,8	11,7	14,7	310,5	356,9	3,7	2,0	5,8	25,3
Loma de Maina	584,8	32,7	5,6	20,8	253,8	291,1	2,9	1,6	4,7	20,7
Loma de Ventosilla	142,4	11,4	8,0	8,5	104,5	117,5	1,0	0,6	1,6	8,5
Los Villares	865,9	27,6	3,2	37	218,1	249,5	2,5	1,4	3,9	17,8
Mojón Blanco	177,3	1,3	0,7	4,6	33,5	35,0	0,1	0,1	0,2	2,7
Mojón Blanco 2	122,0	2,5	2,1	4,6	42,4	45,3	0,2	0,1	0,4	3,5
Molino de Mont	266,6	28,4	10,6	11,8	223,5	255,8	2,6	1,4	4,1	18,2

Territorial modelling using Ancient viticulture parameters in Roman Times. A case study in the betic colony of *Hasta Regia*

eagu do										
Monjas	26 5, 9	20,3	7, 6	12,2	166,6	189,7	1,8	1,0	2,9	13,6
Mont egil de Buen avista	43 2, 5	36,3	8, 4	7	278,9	320,2	3,3	1,8	5,2	22,7
Norie ta Gran de	16 2, 9	32,4	19 ,9	6,3	251,4	288,3	2,9	1,6	4,6	20,5
Olivillo Alto	29 1, 3	11,9	4, 1	10	108,1	121,7	1,1	0,6	1,7	8,8
Painobo	72 1, 0	72,3	10 ,0	26	531,5	614,0	6,5	3,6	10,3	43,3
Portugalejo	1. 31 4, 3	114, 4	8, 7	38,2	826,8	957,2	10,3	5,7	16,3	67,3
Portugalejo II	26 2, 5	30,2	11 ,5	13,4	236,0	270,4	2,7	1,5	4,3	19,2
Pozos del Rosario	38 1, 0	25,6	6, 7	15,2	204,2	233,4	2,3	1,3	3,7	16,6
Redondón	38 0, 7	21,6	5, 7	11,6	175,8	200,4	1,9	1,1	3,1	14,3
Regaj	15	7,6	4,	9,2	78,1	86,8	0,7	0,4	1,1	6,4

o 1	6, 7		9							
Regaj o 3	35 9, 9	17,9	5, 0	26,4	150,3	170,7	1,6	0,9	2,6	12,2
Viña Cabe za Alcai de	14 2, 0	7,9	5, 6	7	80,1	89,1	0,7	0,4	1,1	6,5
Viña de Arca de	15 04	13,0	0, 9	41,8	115,5	130,3	1,2	0,6	1,9	9,4
Viña Rosar io	41 0, 3	27,1	6, 6	26,6	214,5	245,3	2,4	1,4	3,9	17,5
Zarp a 2	1. 08 7	68,3	6, 3	42,2	503,3	581,2	6,1	3,4	9,8	41,0
Aver age	4 8 9, 1	27,6	4, 4	9	218,3	249,8	2,5	1,4	3,9	17,8
Total s	2 6. 4 0 9	1.49	10 0	970,8	1.178 8	13.48 8	134	74,6	213,1	854,2

Table 33: Farm areas analysed concerning optimal vineyards, riparian areas, workers and other criteria.

## Discussion

### General issues

With this analysis, we can debate some minor issues about the winegrowing production.

First, the question about of higher yield or higher quality comes in. Without a doubt, the study area does not occupy a quarter of what is currently the Marco del Jerez, although it

does take in a large part of the particularly good areas, such as the north of the actual cities Jerez, all of Trebujena and a good part of Sanlúcar. These maximum production values are reasonable, considering the average production for the territory, which is these three cubic metres of wine.

In addition, not all wine production would be dedicated to wine. Probably, the areas closest to cities, such as the outlying villages of *Hasta Regia*, could not only be used for wine production but also fresh grapes or even raisins. In the same way, knowing the export of products such as *defrutum*, no doubt part of these productions would be destined to these uses or products such as vinegar. The relevant question here is if for this type of production, which is not so main, it would be necessary to use the best croplands or it would be enough to use more normal lands.

Second, about the “riparian” needed, we see the importance of this economical activity that need to be part of farm management. Although, given the small amount of land required and the potential of the territory to have wells, there could be the possibility of watering these certain resources if necessary.<sup>45</sup> In this case, the need of those spaces would not be so relevant for this analysis.

Third, about the labour, it is difficult for all the agricultural activities we have in a vineyard to be carried out by a single person. The vine grower is strictly dedicated to the constant tasks required by the vineyard, such as digging, pruning, plucking, etc. However, to cultivate the vine and especially in the harvest, other people would be needed, either other slaves from the same farm or hired workers for these seasons.<sup>46</sup> Those people could be the ones we analyse in our model.

### **Management and feedback**

With this model, we propose a theoretical model that would give us the minimum real extension necessary to be able to cultivate some areas of vines, which have been modelled as optimum, in the context of a certain fundus that corresponds in turn to the average distances between sites analysed and historical criteria for their delimitation.

This analysis must be understood with caution, especially when considering the small and medium property that would surely exist between the large wine estates. That is why the main parameter is the optimal areas of the vineyard, which simply answers the question of, if these areas were planted with vines, how much of other resources would be

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<sup>45</sup> BOWMAN 2013; FRANK 2004; WILSON 2014.

<sup>46</sup> MEIGGS 1989.

necessary.<sup>47</sup> Under this premise, the model addresses the theoretical potential put into practice, since the parameters used are entirely based on classical agronomy.

The values that can be observed in Table 3 are not strange for a product area such as Jerez, where current viticulture surpasses these values in area and productivity. The number of people that we consider, approximately eight hundred and fifty for all the main towns in the area, does stand out at first sight.

We should also mention Cerro Gibraltar or Corchitos 2 and 3, where the model has barely registered optimal areas for vineyards, despite being areas with important archaeological remains that show us potential *villae* in the area. Perhaps the effect of the data chosen, especially the soil typology, is the explanation for these values since all these sites are very close to the ancient coast.

It is also important to highlight in (Table 3) the maximum areas needed for the vineyard, adding up the area of the vine itself, with those of "Riparia" and other crops, and finally the estimated area of cereal to maintain the members of the estate itself. There are *fundi* that are smaller than the areas that have been proposed, especially in the case of the smallest ones. This contradiction is a value in itself of the model itself, as it can serve to correct and contemplate the viability of a given theoretical wine farm. Probably the *finia* defined among these *fundi* do not fit the existing reality in the background. The cases of *villae* such as Lomas de Espartinas VIII, Portugalejo 2 or Cortijo de Monteagudo, whose suitability for vine cultivation is very high, are interesting, but the potential area of the same would not be sufficient in our theoretical model to produce the own food consumption and requirements of the vine for that estate. This surely confirms that not all the optimal area would be used for vine cultivation since even in a case of specialization of the vine; other crops would not be abandoned secondarily.

If we assume, for a moment, that the farm was only dedicated to wine production, this would be the minimum land that a slave-run farm should have, in the conditions described by Columella. Evidently, on this matter, there can be controversy, since the feeding of the people in the village would not be only of wheat, as the cultivation of other vegetable species in the fallow land or the own cattle raising that could have in the property. However, we find this an interesting methodological approach, since be based our study entirely on values expressed by agronomy.

Along with this, we must consider whether the need of eight people for every two hundred yards of cereal land. We are probably dealing here with a type of work that would involve salaried workers, possible peasants or free settlers who could carry out certain support tasks. In any case, if these parameters are possible for the village described by

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<sup>47</sup> CARANDINI 1987.

Columella, these workers would occupy other tasks once the sowing and harvesting are finished, such as helping in the maintenance of the vineyard itself or other activities. That is why we believe that the analysis is quite logical and exportable to other areas.

Finally, we should highlight the potential of implementing this same model with oil production, which undoubtedly should have existed in the background in our territory, but is mainly in other areas of the Betica or outside it.

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New information on roman monetary discoveries in the vicinity of the Tropaeum Traiani (com. Adamclisi, county Constanța) in the context of the second century AD

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**Abstract.** The authors analyze a monetary hoard fragment found in 2012 that was only partially recovered. The hoard was located at a distance of approximately four km, in a straight line of the western gate of the Roman-Byzantine fortress Tropaeum Traiani. The 36 recovered coins are Roman Imperial denarii struck between the years 100 and 169/170 AD and belong to the following issuers: Traianus, Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius, Diva Faustina and Marcus Aurelius. If this structure given by the issuers respects the general composition of the hoard, it can be assumed that the hoard was hidden in the context of the events that developed in 170 AD, known as the military and robbery incursion lead by the Costoboci people in the Balkan Peninsula. Epigraphical and archaeological evidence regarding the impact of the incursion were found in Tropaeum Traiani. These evidences can now be associated with the monetary proof.

**Rezumat.** Autorii analizează un fragment de tezaur monetar descoperit în cursul anului 2012 și recuperat parțial, la o distanță de aproximativ patru km. în linie dreaptă de poarta de vest a cetății romano-bizantine Tropaeum Traiani. Cele 36 de monede recuperate sunt denari romani imperiali bătuți în perioada 100-169/170 p.Chr. și aparțin următorilor emitenți: Traianus, Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius, Diva Faustina și Marcus Aurelius. Dacă această structură de emitenți respectă compoziția generală a tezaurului pare să fi fost îngropată în contextul evenimentelor desfășurate în cursul anului 170 p.Chr. cunoscute ca incursiunea militară și de jaf a costobocilor în Peninsula Balcanică. La Tropaeum Traiani sunt dovezi epigrafice și arheologice privind impactul acestei incursiuni. Acestea le poate fi asociată de acum și dovedă monetară.

**Keywords:** hoard, denars, Antonine dynasty, Tropaeum Traiani, Dobruja.

## 1. Introduction

During the year 2015 it has been brought to our attention that a hoard was found by chance as a result of some floods caused by the heavy autumn rainfalls.<sup>3</sup> Specifically, the coins

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<sup>3</sup> Daniel Bușcă was the finder, a local from Adamclisi and unqualified worked, who attended many archaeological research campaigns at the fortress and who also worked with many of the archaeologists conducting excavations on the site at least during the last two decades of this century. Our request to the discoverer was to donate the finding to

had leaked through the gravel at the bottom of the valley. This happened during the systematic archaeological excavations at the Tropaeum Traiani site (Adamclisi Commune, Constanța County), in the southern district of the Roman and Roman-Byzantine city. The hoard fragment was found during 2012 near the wagon road between Zorile (Adamclisi Commune) and Șipotele (Șipotele Commune, Constanța County), not far from the route of the aqueduct that connected the water sources that supply the city of Tropaeum Traiani with water and its western gate.<sup>4</sup> The aqueduct presents *tubules* of the *canalis structilis* type (NAR code 61728.05) and starts from the south of Șipotele locality, crosses the ridges of two hills (on a level curve of 70 m) and then descends along a valley that ends up intersecting with Urluia valley.<sup>5</sup> Once at the western gate of the fortress, the water was captured in a reservoir that will be transformed by the religious enthusiasm specific to the early Byzantine era into a basilica.<sup>6</sup>

We will now proceed to the presentation of the 36 denarii catalog, arranged in the order of the issuers and according to the moment of their minting.

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the Museum of National History and Archeology in Constanța, but he asked for time to think. According to the finder's account, the coins were found in a ravine that was oriented perpendicularly towards a road located relatively on the bottom of a not very deep valley, between the two localities. The coins were disorderly arranged in a gravel area, being found after two rainy autumn days (October). After completing the annual research at the fortress we went back to Constanța and the contact was lost, so that in 2017 we would find out by chance the person passed away suddenly. It seems that, during that year he also worked at the Daewoo Shipyard in Mangalia. Today, the family can no longer provide information on the existence and fate of the coins. The photography of the coins and the picking up of the technical data (diameters, weighs etc.) were conducted at the local museum in the autumn of 2015. The available light from the museum in Adamclisi did not help us to take the respective photos in good condition. As I noticed, some of the coins had been cleaned by the discoverer, being much shinier than others. This fact contributed to the change in the general patina of the coins in the hoard.

<sup>4</sup> The information was communicated briefly by telephone in 2015 to the scientific director of the Tropaeum Traiani archaeological site at that time, the professor Alexandru Barnea.

<sup>5</sup> ȘTEFAN 1972, 47; RĂDULESCU 1988, 174; PAPUC, IONESCU, CONSTANTIN 2011, 323-341.

<sup>6</sup> MĂRGINEANU-CÂRSTOLU 1977, 235-250; BARNEA 1977, 221-234.

## 2.Catalogue

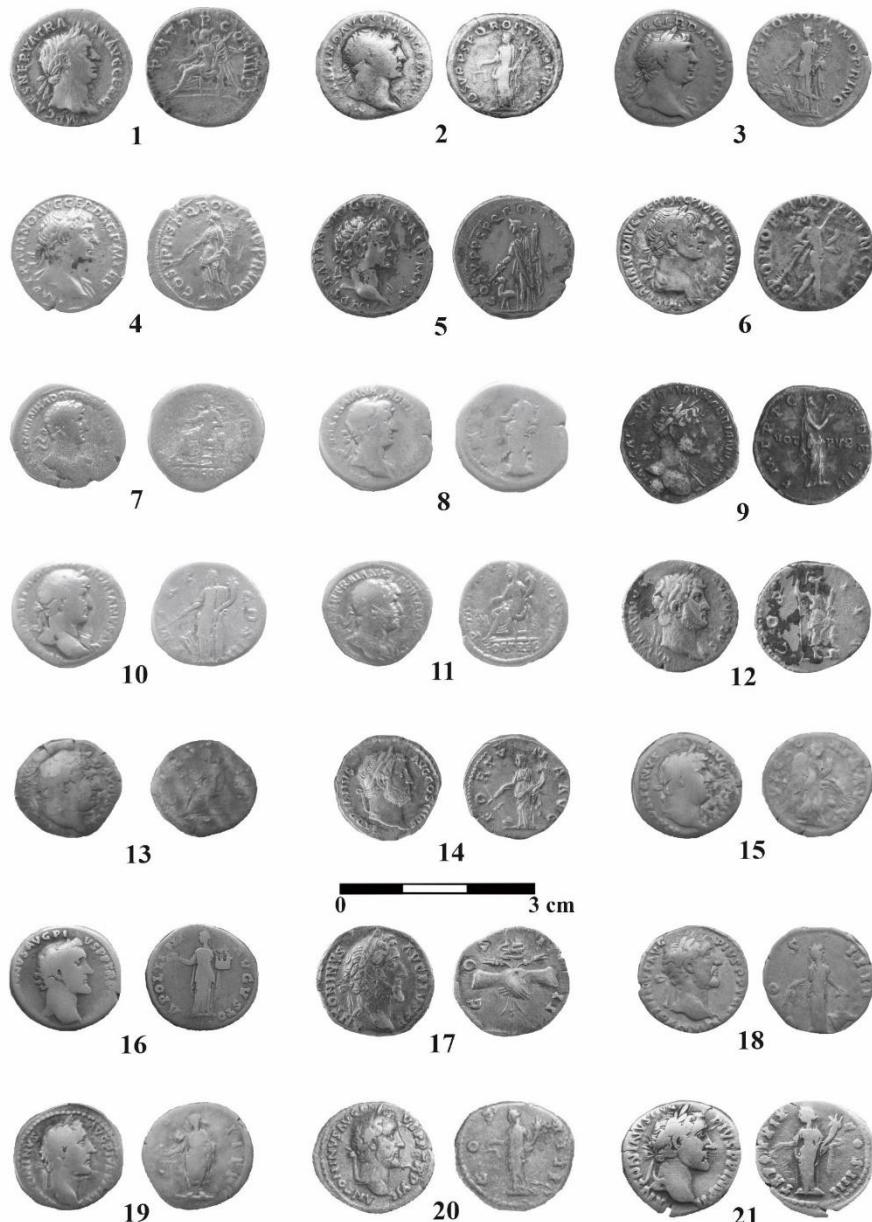


Figure 1. Roman Imperial denarii minted for Trajan (no. 1-6), Hadrianus (no. 7-15) and Antoninus Pius (no. 16-21).

### **TRAIANUS**

1.Denarius; 6h; 3.00 g; 18.5 mm; Figure 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 1.

Obverse: Head of emperor, laureate, to the right; the legend: IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM.

Reverse: Victory, draped, seated left on seat without back, holding patera in right hand and palm in left: the legend: P M TR P COS III P(P).

Catalogue: RIC II, 247, n<sup>o</sup>. 41, Rome mint, 100 AD.

2.Denarius; 6h; 3.58 g; 18 x 17.5 mm; Figure 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 2.

Obverse: Bust of emperor, laureate, draped, to the right (sometimes with aegis) (sometimes draped on left shoulder): the legend: (I)MP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P.

Reverse: Aequitas, draped, standing left, holding scales in right hand and *cornucopiae* in left: the legend: COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC.

Catalogue: RIC II, 252, n<sup>o</sup>. 118, Rome mint, 103 - 111 AD.

3.Denarius; 6h; 3.31 g; 18.5 x 17.8 mm; Figure 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 3.

Obverse: Bust of emperor, laureate, draped on left shoulder, to the right; the legend: (IMP TRAIANO) AVG GER DAC P M TR P.

Reverse: Fortuna standing left, holding rudder attached to prow in right hand and *cornucopiae* in left; the legend: COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC.

Catalogue: RIC II, 252, n<sup>o</sup>. 122, Rome mint, 103 - 111 AD.

4.Denarius; 6h; 2.95 g; 18 mm; Figure 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 4.

Obverse: Head of emperor, laureate, to the right; the legend: IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P.

Reverse: Pax, draped, standing left, holding olive-branch and cornucopiae; the legend: COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC.

Catalogue: RIC II, 252, n<sup>o</sup>. 125, Rome mint ?, 103-111 AD.

5.Denarius; 6h; 3.32 g; 19 x 18.5 mm; Figure 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 5.

Obverse: Bust of emperor, laureate, draped, to the right: the legend: IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P.

Reverse: Arabia, draped, standing left, holding branch in right hand extended over camel walking left before her and bundle of cinnamon upright in left; the legend: COS V PP S P Q R OPTIMO (PRINC).

Catalogue: RIC II, 253, n°. 142, the provinces, 103 - 111 AD.

6.Denarius; 6h; 3.47g; 19 mm; Figure 1, n°. 6.

Obverse: Bust of emperor, laureate, draped (on left shoulder?), to the right; the legend: IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS VI PP.

Reverse: Mars, helmeted, naked, except for cloak round waist, advancing right, holding transverse spear in right hand and trophy over left shoulder, in left; the legend: S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI.

Catalogue: RIC II, 263, n°. 269-270, Rome mint, 112 - 114 AD.

### **HADRIANUS**

7. Denarius; 6h; 3.28 g; 17.5 x 17 mm; Figure 1, n°. 7.

Obverse: Bust of Hadrian, laureate, bare chest, traces of drapery on far shoulder usually visible, to the right; the legend IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIAN OPT AVG (GER DAC).

Reverse: Concordia seated left on throne, holding patera and resting on figure of Spes; cornucopia under throne; the legend (PARTHIC DIVI TRAIAN AVG F) P M TR P COS PP // CONCORD (in exergue).

Catalogue: RIC II, 339, n°. 4c, Rome mint, 117 AD.

8. Denarius; 6h; 3.16 g; 18 mm; Figure 1, n°. 8.

Obverse: Bust of Hadrian, laureate, bare chest, traces of drapery on far shoulder usually visible, to the right; the legend (IMP CAE)SAR TRAIAN H/ADRI(ANVS AVG).

Reverse: Felicitas, standing left, holding caduceus and cornucopia; the legend: P M TR (P COS II) /FEL (AVG) (in field).

Catalogue: RIC II, 345, n°. 40a, Rome mint, 118 AD.

9. Denarius; 6h; 3.24 g; 18.5 mm; Figure 1, n°. 9.

Obverse: Laureate bust of Hadrianus to the right; the legend: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG.

Reverse: Pietas standing right with hands raised: the legend P M TR P COS DES III VOT-PVB.

Catalogue: RIC II, 346, n°. 52; Rome mint, 118 AD.

10. Denarius; 6h; 3.72 g; 18 mm; Figure 1, n°. 10.

Obverse: Laureate head of emperor to the right, with slight drapery on his left shoulder; the legend: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN H/ADRIANVS AVG.

Reverse: Fortuna standing front, head to left, holding rudder in her right hand and cornucopiae in her left, resting her left arm on column; the legend: P M TR P COS III.

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Catalogue: RIC II, 351, n°. 86, Rome mint, 119-122 AD.

11. Denarius; 7h; 3,19 g; 17.5 x 17 mm; Figure 1, n°. 11.

Obverse: Laureate head of emperor to the right, slight drapery on left shoulder; the legend (IMP C)AESAR TRAIAN H/ADRIANVS AVG.

Reverse: Fortuna Redux seated left, holding rudder on globe and *cornucopiae*; the legend P M TR P COS III, FORT RED (in exergue).

Catalogue: RIC II, 355, n°. 122, Rome mint, 119-122 AD.

12. Denarius; 6h; 3,13 g; 17.5 mm; Figure 1, n°. 12.

Obverse: Laureate head of emperor to the right, slight drapery on left shoulder; the legend HADRIANVS / AVGVSTVS.

Reverse: Minerva standing right, foot on globe (or helmet?), holding parazonium and spear; the legend: COS / III.

Catalogue: RIC II, 359, n°. 160d, Rome mint, 125-128 AD.

13. Denarius; 6h; 2,75 g; 16.5 x 16 mm; Figure 1, n°. 13.

Obverse: Laureate head of emperor to the right, draped left shoulder; the legend: (HADRI)ANVS AVGVSTVS.

Reverse: Roma seated left, holding branch and spear (scepter?), shield behind; the legend: COS III.

Catalogue: RIC II, 360, n°. 165, Rome mint, 125-128 AD.

14. Denarius; 7h; 3,09 g; 16.5 x 16 mm; Figure 1, n°. 14.

Obverse: Laureate head of emperor to the right; the legend: HADRIANVS / AVG COS III PP.

Reverse: Fortuna stading left, holding rudder on globe and cornucopiae; the legend FORTV/N/A AVG.

Catalogue: RIC II, 368, n°. 244, Rome mint, 134-138 AD.

15. Denarius; 6h; 2,85 g; 17 mm; Figure 1, n°. 15.

Obverse: Laureate head of emperor to the right; the legend: HADRIANVS AVG CO(S III PP).

Reverse: Victory or winged Nemesis walking right, drawing out neck of robe, and pointing downward with branch; the legend: VICTO/RIA AVG.

Catalogue: RIC II, 372, n°. 282, Rome mint, 134-138 AD.

**ANTONINUS PIUS**

16.Denarius; 6h; 3.17 g; 18 mm; Figure 1, n°. 16.

Observe: Laureate head of emperor to the right; the legend: (ANTON)INVS AVG PI / VS PP TR P C(OS III).

Reverse: Apollo standing left, holding patera and lyre; the legend APOLLINI / AVGVSTO.

Catalogue: RIC III, 33, n°. 63Bc, Rome mint, 140-143 AD.

17.Denarius; 6h; 3.20 g; 18 mm x 17.5 mm; Figure 1, n°. 17.

Observe: Laureate head of emperor to the right; the legend: ANTONINVS / AVG PIVS PP.

Reverse: Clasped hands holding grain ears and caduceus; the legend: C / OS / II / II.

Catalogue: RIC III, 42, n°. 136, Rome mint, 145-161 AD..

18. Denarius; 6h; 3.67 g; 17 mm; Figure 1, n°. 18.

Observe: Laureate head of emperor to the right; the legend ANTONINVS AVG / PIVS PP TR P XI.

Reverse: Annona standing left, holding grain ears, left hand on modius set on prow; the legend: COS / IIII.

Catalogue: RIC III, 46, n°. 162-163, Rome mint, 147-148 AD..

19. Denarius; 6h; 3.30 g; 17 mm; Figure 1, n°. 19.

Observe: Laureate head of emperor to the right; the legend ANTONINVS / AVG PIVS P P TR P XI.

Reverse: Antoninus Pius, veiled, draped, standing left, with patera in right hand sacrificing over lighted tripod- altar and holding roll in left; the legend COS IIII.

Catalogue: RIC III, 46, n°. 168, Rome mint, 147-148 AD.

20. Denarius; 7h; 2.88 g; 18 mm; Figure 1, n°. 20.

Observe: Laureate head of emperor to the right; the legend ANTONINVS AVG PI / VS PP TR P XII.

Reverse: Aequitas standing, head left, holding scales and cornucopia; the legend COS / IIII.

Catalogue: RIC III, 48, n°. 177, Rome mint, 148-149 AD.

21. Denarius; 12h; 3.37 g; 18 mm; Figure 1, n°. 21.

Observe: Laureate head of emperor to the right; the legend ANTONINVS AVG / PIVS PP TR P XIX.

Reverse: Pax standing left, holding branch and cornucopiae; the legend TR POT XIX / COS IIII.

Catalogue: RIC III, n°. 246 (obv) and n°. 252 (rev), hybrid, mint ?, 155-156 AD. ?.

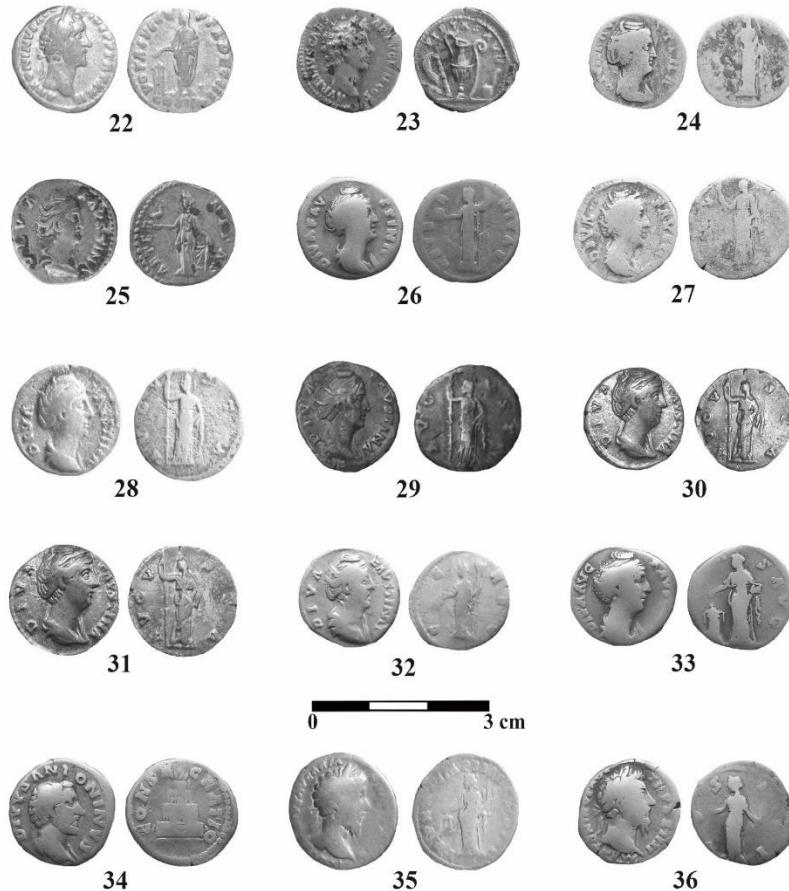


Figure 2. Roman Imperial denarii from Antoninus Pius (no. 22), Marcus Aurelius Caesar (no. 23), Diva Faustina (nos. 24-33), Divus Antoninus (no. 34) and Marcus Aurelius (nos. 35-36).

22.Denarius; 7h; 3,26 g; 18 mm; Figure 2, n°. 22.

Observe: Laureate head of emperor to the right; the legend ANTONINVS AVG / PIVS PP TRP XXII.

Reverse: Antoninus standing left, over tripod altar in sacrifice; the legend VOTA SVSCE / PTA DEC III, COS IIII (in exergue).

Catalogue: RIC III, 62, n°. 294b, Rome mint, 158-159 AD.

#### **MARCUS AURELIUS CAESAR under (ANTONINUS PIUS)**

23.Denarius; 6h; 3.40 g; 18 x 17 mm; Figure 2, n°. 23.

Obverse: Head of Marcus Aurelius, bare, to the right; legend: AVRELIVS CAE / SAR AVG PII F COS.

Reverse: Emblems of priesthood: from left to right, knife, sprinkler, jug, *lituus*, and *simulum*; legend: PIETAS AVG.

Catalogue: RIC III, 79, n°. 424a, Rome mint, 140-144 AD.

#### **DIVA FAUSTINA I under ANTONINUS PIUS**

24. Denarius; 6h; 2.72 g; 16.5 mm; Figure 2, n°. 24.

Observe: Bust of Faustina I, draped, to the right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top; the legend DIVA FAV / STINA.

Reverse: Juno or Aeternitas standing left, hand raised, holding scepter; the legend (AETERNITAS).

Catalogue: RIC III, 69, n°. 344, Rome mint, after her death in 141 AD. (posthumous commemorative).

25. Denarius; 6h; 3.42 g; 18 x 16.5 mm; Figure 2, n°. 25.

Observe: Bust of Faustina I, draped, to the right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top; the legend DIVA / FAVSTINA.

Reverse: Aeternitas, draped, standing left, holding phoenix on extended right hand and raising fold of skirt with left; the legend AETER / NITAS.

Catalogue: RIC III, 69, n°. 347, Rome mint, after her death in 141 AD. (posthumous commemorative).

26. Denarius; 6h; 3.49 g; 18 mm; Figure 2, n°. 26.

Observe: Bust of Faustina I, draped, to the right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top; the legend DIVA FAV / STINA.

Reverse: Fortuna standing left, holding globe and rudder; the legend AETER / NITAS.

Catalogue: RIC III, 70, n°. 348, Rome mint, after her death in 141 AD. (posthumous commemorative).

27. Denarius; 6h; 2.76 g; 18 mm; Figure 2, n°. 27.

Observe: Diademed and draped bust to the right; the legend DIVA / FAVST(INA).

Reverse: Ceres, veiled, standing left, holding torch and scepter; the legend (AV)GV(STA).

Catalogue: RIC III, 70, n°. 356, Rome mint, after her death in 141 AD. (posthumous commemorative).

28. Denarius; 6h; 2,86 g; 18.5 mm; Figure 2, n°. 28.

Observe: Bust of Faustina I, draped, to the right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top; the legend DIVA / FAVSTINA.

Reverse: Ceres, veiled, standing left, holding torch and raising robe; the legend AVGV / STA.

Catalogue: RIC III, 71, n°. 362, Rome mint, after her death in 141 AD. (posthumous commemorative).

29. Denarius; 6h; 2.65 g; 18 mm; Figure 2, n°. 29.

Observe: Bust of Faustina I, draped, right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top; the legend DIVA / FAVSTINA.

Reverse: Ceres, veiled, standing left, holding torch and raising robe; the legend AVG / VSTA.

Catalogue: RIC III, 71, n°. 362, Rome mint, after her death in 141 AD. (posthumous commemorative).

30. Denarius; 6h; 3,23 g; 18 mm; Figure 2, n°. 30.

Observe: Bust of Faustina I, draped, to the right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top; the legend DIVA / FAVSTINA.

Reverse: Ceres, veiled, standing left, holding torch and raising robe; the legend AVGV / STA.

Catalogue: RIC III, 71, n°. 362, Rome mint, after her death in 141 AD. (posthumous commemorative).

31. Denarius; 6h; 2.78 g; 18.5 x 18 mm; Figure 2, n°. 31.

Observe: Bust of Faustina I, draped, to the right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top; the legend DIVA / FAVSTINA.

Reverse: Ceres, veiled, standing left, holding torch and raising robe; the legend AVGV / STA.

Catalogue: RIC III, 71, n°. 362, Rome mint, after her death in 141 AD. (posthumous commemorative).

32. Denarius; 5h; 3.28 g; 17 mm; Figure 2, n°. 32.

Observe: Draped bust to the right; the legend DIVA / FAVSTINA.

Reverse: Ceres standing left, holding grain ears and long torch; the legend CE / RES.

Catalogue: RIC III, 72, n°. 378, Rome mint, after her death in 141 AD. (posthumous commemorative).

33 Denarius; 6h; 3.16 g; 18 x 17 mm; Figure 2, n<sup>o</sup>. 33.

Observe: Bust of Faustina I, draped, to the right, hair elaborately waved in several loops round head and drawn up and coiled on top; the legend DIVA AVG FAVS(TINA).

Reverse: Pietas standing left, sacrificing over altar; the legend (PIET)A / S AVG.

Catalogue: RIC III, 74, n<sup>o</sup>. 394a, Rome mint, after her death in 141 AD. (posthumous commemorative).

#### **ANTONINUS PIUS under MARCUS AURELIUS**

34. Denarius; 6h; 3.29 g; 18 x 17.5 mm; Figure 2, n<sup>o</sup>. 34.

Observe: Bare head of the deified Antoninus Pius, facing right, drapery over far shoulder; the legend DIVVS ANTONINVS.

Reverse: Funeral pyre with four tiers, decorated with hangings and garlands, surmounted by quadriga; the legend CONSE / CRATIO.

Catalogue: RIC III, p. 247, n<sup>o</sup>. 438, Rome mint, after 161 AD. (memorial coin).

#### **MARCUS AURELIUS**

35.Denarius; 6h; 2.90 g; 18.5 mm; Figure 2, n<sup>o</sup>. 35.

Obverse: Laureate head of emperor, to the right; legend: M (ANTONIN)VS AVG ARM / (PARTH MAX).

Reverse: Aequitas, draped standing facing, looking left, holding scales and *cornucopiae*; legend: TR P XXI IMP IIII COS III.

Catalogue: RIC III, 227, n<sup>o</sup>. 171, Rome mint, 166-167 AD.

36.Denarius; 6h; 2.76 g; 17.5 x 17 mm; Figure 2, n<sup>o</sup>. 36.

Obverse: Head of Marcus Aurelius, laureate, to the right; legend: M ANTONINVS AVG / TR P XXIV.

Reverse: Diana, draped, standing front, head left, holding arrow in extended right hand and bow, vertical, in left hand; legend: COS / III.

Catalogue: RIC III, 230, n<sup>o</sup>. 212; Rome mint, 169-170 AD.

### **3. Commentary**

The Costoboci are one of the Dacian tribes left out of the Roman dominion for almost a century after the conquest of Dacia by Decebalus. Pliny the Elder (*Hist. Nat.*, VI, 7, 19) identified them as neighbors of Sarmatians and Tyragetae, while Ptolemy (*Geographia*, III, 5,9) located them in the vicinity of the Taurisci and the Anartes.

In 170 AD, the great invasion of the Costoboci in the Roman Empire took place. The Moesian Province was defenseless, because the 5<sup>th</sup> Macedonian Legion (transferred from Moesia to Dacia) and the 11<sup>th</sup> Claudia Legion (from Durostorum) were engaged in the wars waged by Marcus Aurelius against the Marcomanni.<sup>7</sup> Not only the Dobruja area and its fortresses fell victim to the invasion, but also large geographical areas from the Roman Empire to Greece.<sup>8</sup> With the gradual extension of the invasion and the dissipation of the Costoboci's army, at the urging of the Romans, the territory inhabited by the Costoboci people, located in the northern area of Roman Dacia was occupied according to Dio Cassius (*Hist. Rom.*, LXX, 12) after 170 AD by the Germanic Hasdingi.

In the context of the great invasion of the Costoboci, the Tropaeum Traiani fortress, which had already reached the rank of *municipium* under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, suffered a first and very violent destruction in its short history.<sup>9</sup> One of the detachments of the 11<sup>th</sup> Claudia Legion present in the fortress, at least during the reign of emperor Antoninus Pius, had recently been withdrawn.<sup>10</sup> Some of the epigraphic sources discovered in the Tropaeum fortress are closely related to the attack of the year 170 AD. One piece of information comes from the limestone funerary stele of Lucius Fufidius Lucianus, *decurio* and *duumvir* of the fortress, which was initially found on the *via principalis*. Then, for unknown reasons, it was abandoned in the fortress and rediscovered in the summer of 1960.<sup>11</sup> The mentioned character seems most likely to have died during the fortress defense activity against the attack of the Costoboci people. The second monument is a partially preserved stele, dedicated to the memory of Daizus Comozoi. He, Comozoi's son, was killed at the age of 50 by Costoboci, and his funeral altar was erected by his sons, who bear Roman names.<sup>12</sup> Above the inscription is rendered the Thracian Knight, an extremely popular deity during at the time.<sup>13</sup> The stele was discovered in 1891, on *via principalis*, near the cistern basilica<sup>14</sup> and attests to the presence of the Thraco-Getae in the fortress and the surroundings of Tropaeum Traiani.

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<sup>7</sup> ISM IV, 160.

<sup>8</sup> ISM IV, 160, n<sup>o</sup>. 49.

<sup>9</sup> RĂDULESCU 1988, 149.

<sup>10</sup> VULPE, BARNEA 1968, 161.

<sup>11</sup> ISM IV, 159-160, n<sup>o</sup>. 49: "D(is) M(anibus) L(ucius) Fufidius Lucianus dec(urio) m(unicipii) deceptus a Castabocis Ilvir(atu) suo cui merito titul(um) posuit Ulp(ia) Marcia coiuxs".

<sup>12</sup> PÂRVAN 1911, 7; POPESCU 1964, 195; ISM IV, 161-162, n<sup>o</sup>. 50; "DM Daizi Comozoi vixit an L interfectus a Costobocis Iustus et Val patri BM posuerunt".

<sup>13</sup> RĂDULESCU 1988, 162.

<sup>14</sup> ISM IV, 161.

From an archaeological point of view, a strong arson caused by the Costoboci attack was stratigraphically observed in Tropaeum, similar with what was noticed during the archaeological survey conducted in the eastern half of the fortress<sup>15</sup>. At the same time, after this attack, at the end of the second century AD, the second phase of the fortress' enclosure is built<sup>16</sup>.

Another important document attesting to the events of 170 BC is the monetary one. A decade ago, a hoards horizon was identified in the southwestern part of Dobruja. It was constituted of hoards findings from Alfatar (Silistra, Bulgaria), Goleş (Silistra, Bulgaria) and Silistra (Silistra, Bulgaria).<sup>17</sup> All these hoards would have been hidden or lost due to the invasion of the Costoboci people in 170 BC.<sup>18</sup> The one from Alfatar was found in 1947 and it comprised an unknown number of Roman imperial denarii, of which only 52 denarii could be identified due to the fact that they got to a jeweler from Silistra (issuers Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius, Faustina I and Faustina II).<sup>19</sup> The last specimens belong to the years 161-176 AD<sup>20</sup>. From Silistra come two hoards that seem to belong to this horizon. The first one was found in 1964, in a place called „Malkia ceair”, in a ceramic vessel containing 940 denarii issued during the second century AD. Germanicus, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasianus, Titus, Julia Titi, Domitianus, Nerva, Traianus, Marciana, Hadrianus, Sabina, Aelius Caesar, Antoninus Pius, Faustina I, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus are listed as issuers.<sup>21</sup> The second hoard was found in 1978, during the archaeological excavations lead in the *canabae* of the 11<sup>th</sup> Claudia Legion in the north-eastern area of the city, in an ancient burned house. It was composed of 35 Roman Republican and Imperial denarii (issuers Marcus Antonius, Vespasianus, Domitianus / princeps Juventutis, Traianus, Hadrianus, Sabina, Antonius Pius, Diva Faustina, Marcus Aurelius Caesar, Marcus Aurelius and Faustina II) and was buried on the occasion of the invasion of the Costoboci in Moesia Inferior, from 164-168 AD.<sup>22</sup>

The one from Goleş was found near the village, in 1964, and consisted of an unspecified number of Republican and Imperial denarii, from which only 32 coins were recovered (issuers Marcus Antonius, Vespasianus, Titus, Traianus, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Divus Antoninus,

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<sup>15</sup> BARNEA *et al.*, 1979, 228.

<sup>16</sup> BARNEA *et al.*, 1979, 62.

<sup>17</sup> CUSTUREA, TALMAṬCHI 2011, 60-61.

<sup>18</sup> A recent discussion concerning the percentage composition by emperors of all these hoards constituted of Roman denarii see in MARIN, PETAC 2020, 321-322.

<sup>19</sup> GERASIMOV 1950, 319; CUSTUREA, TALMAṬCHI 2011, 135, n<sup>o</sup>. 7.

<sup>20</sup> MARIN, PETAC 2020, 323.

<sup>21</sup> GERASIMOV 1965, 249; CUSTUREA, TALMAṬCHI 2011, 334-335, n<sup>o</sup>. 140-XXIII.

<sup>22</sup> HRISTOV 1987, 17-26, pl. I, 1-4; CUSTUREA, TALMAṬCHI 2011, 338, n<sup>o</sup>. 140-XXIX; MARIN, PETAC 2020, 323.

Diva Faustina, Marcus Aurelius and Faustina II).<sup>23</sup> Given the fact that the last coin in the hoard is dated in 180 AD, it is quite possible that it cannot be integrated into this hoarding horizon. The situation is similar to the hoard found in the village area of Gruncearovo (Siliстра, Bulgaria) in 1912 and that was constituted of 600 Republican and Imperial denarii.<sup>24</sup>

The attack of the Costoboci people, particularly violent and focused on robbing the precious goods, generates an atmosphere of fear and insecurity in the central area of Dobruja, not only in the south-west territory. Thus, we know a hoard found in the area of Ulmetum *vicus*, on the site of the future Ulmetum fortress (Pantelimonu de Jos Commune, Constanța County). The epigraphic information concerning the *vicus* are not very numerous. We know an altar from 140 AD, from the time of Antoninus Pius and another one dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in 163 AD. Then about the possibility of inhabiting the *vicus* only by Bessi, by Roman and Bessi, respectively about the *vici* status of the inhabitants, it is mentioned on an altar erected by „*Iulis Teres magistra(n)s vico Ulmeto*”.<sup>25</sup> This hoard was partially recovered and comprises 18 Imperial Roman denarii struck for Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. The last specimens belong to the years 167-168 AD.<sup>26</sup>

The hoard fragment in the catalog includes a number of 37 Imperial Roman denarii as follows: Trajan (6 pieces/16.66% of the total), Hadrianus (9 pieces/25% of the total), Antoninus Pius (7 pieces/19.44% of the total), Marcus Aurelius Caesar (one piece/2.77% of the total), Diva Faustina (10 pieces/27.77% of the total), Divus Antoninus (one piece/2.77% of the total) and Marcus Aurelius (2 pieces/5.55% of the total). As can be seen, half of the denarii of the treasure fragment are beaten under Antoninus Pius (along with Diva Faustina and a denarius from Marcus Aurelius Caesar), with 18 denars (50% of the total).

All coins belong to the Nerva-Antonine dynasty, chronologically the first issue belongs to the year 100 AD and the last to the years 169-170 AD. More specifically, for Trajan there are denarii struck in the years: 100 AD (one piece), 103-111 AD (four pieces) and 112-114 AD (one piece). For Hadrianus are identified denarii struck in the years: 117 AD (one piece), 118 AD (two pieces), 119-121 AD (two pieces), 125-128 AD (two pieces) and 134-138 (two pieces). For Antoninus Pius there were identified denarii struck in the years: 140-143 AD (one piece), 145-161 AD (one piece), 147-148 AD (two pieces), 148-149 AD (one piece), 155-156 AD (one piece),

<sup>23</sup> GERASIMOV 1965, 247; HRISTOV 1987, 87-92; CUSTUREA, TALMATCHI 2011, 210-211, n°. 54.

<sup>24</sup> PAUNOV, PROKOPOV 2002, 53, n°. 82; CUSTUREA, TALMATCHI 2011, 212, n°. 57.

<sup>25</sup> PÂRVAN 1913, 348, n° 8; PÂRVAN 1915, 277, n° 11; MUNTEANU 1970, 212; ISM V, 83-85, no. 62, 85-86, no. 63, 87, no. 64, 94-96, n°. 69.

<sup>26</sup> TALMATCHI, LUNGU 2006, 389-392, n°. 12- 43.

158-159 AD (one piece) and after 161 AD (Divus Antoninus, postum under Marcus Aurelius). Postum denarii are identified only for Diva Faustina, struck after the year 141 AD with ten pieces (under Antoninus Pius) and for Antoninus Pius (under Marcus Aurelius, type *DIVUS ANTONINUS*) struck after the year 161 AD. Finally, for Marcus Aurelius are identidied postum denarii struck in the years: 140-144 AD (one piece, Caesar under Antonius Pius), 166-167 AD (one piece) and 169-170 AD (one piece).

34 denarii are struck in the mint of Rome (94.44% of the total), one in the province and one is a hybrid piece, with uncertain mint (5.55% of the total). The last one presents the corresponding obverse for RIC II 246 and the reverse for RIC II 252, being probably dated to the years 155-156 AD.

### 3. Conclusions

This armed conflict that took place at Tropaeum Traiani fortress was not a long lasting one, being only a dramatic short moment in the path traveled by the Costoboci, mentioned above, from Moldova, through Dobruja to Macedonia and central Greece. It is attested epigraphically, archaeologically and monetary at Adamclisi.<sup>27</sup> As a result, although some consequences were more long lasting, the restoration of the city and the return to the previous life standards of the inhabitants does not seem to have been hampered in the long run. Undoubtedly, the area most affected must have been that belonging to the rural world surrounding the city, totally exposed from a military point of view and extremely attractive for food supplies and other resources that could be quickly gained by robbery.

Given the context and the known situation, concerning the recovery of the hoard, we can speculate that it is not yet fully discovered. Even so, with adequate caution, we would consider it buried in the context of the attack of the year 170 AD lead by the Costoboci people. It is quite possible that the coins recovered so far express the main structure of the hoard<sup>28</sup>. In the fortress of Tropaeum Traiani a hoard consisting of denarii from the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius was found in 1968, but also of the subsequent chronological rulers of the Roman Empire: Commodus, Pertinax, Clodius Albinus and Septimius Severus (the last piece

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<sup>27</sup> BARNEA 1980, 97-98.

<sup>28</sup> According to the research plan of the systematic archaeological campaign of the year 2021 we want to carry out with the support of the team of specialists from the Museum of National History and Archaeology in Constanța a thorough field survey in the area initially indicated by the finder, in the hope of finding more clues about the hidden context of the hoard. The fact that the former finder did not have a metal detector encourage us to look for that place and, perhaps, with a little luck, to be able to offer a publication of the entire monetary hoard.

being dated in 201-210 AD).<sup>29</sup> In total, this hoard contained 1548 Roman Imperial denarii, minted from Nero to Septimius Severus.<sup>30</sup> Certainly, the two hoards do not have the same accumulation period, respectively burial moment.

The finding place of the fragment of hoard presented in the catalog seems to have belonged to the rural world, possibly to a merchant who was going to pay for certain products. Or anyway an accumulation of silver cash from the rural area, but obviously not far from the urban one of the fortress. It should be noted that there is a different state of preservation of the recovered parts. Its loss or burial seems to coincide with the time of the attack of the Costoboci and most likely ended with the death of its owner.

For the moment, given its partial recovery, we stop here with other considerations. Any other data that may occasionally appear in the near future regarding the finding will be able to provide more accurate details on the time of its burial, its structure on issuers and others.

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<sup>29</sup> BARNEA 2011, 53, n° 1517.

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A Dacian soldier from Mauretania Caesariensis. The case of Decineus and his *frater*

Casian GĂMĂNUȚ<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** An epitaph discovered at Sour Djouab, Algeria, was erected by Decineus, who names himself the brother of the deceased, for a certain veteran named Fulvius Felix. The death of the latter occurred, most probably, towards the end of the 2nd century AD. Despite the doubts about the biological tie between Decineus and his frater, the presence of a Dacian anthroponym at that time in an extremely militarized area of the Roman Empire is enough to raise curiosity regarding the career of this soldier. The author makes use of historical context and archaeological data in order to understand, at least in general lines, how the career of Decineus evolved. This paper aims to reconstruct, as much as possible, the life and military activity of Decineus, as well as to answer questions concerning his recruitment, belonging to an auxiliary unit and eventual life after his release from military service.

**Rezumat.** Un epitaf descoperit la Sour Djouab, Algeria, a fost ridicat de Decineus, care se numește frate al decedatului, un oarecare veteran pe nume Fulvius Felix. Dincolo de dubiile legate de legătura biologică dintre Decineus și Felix, prezența unui antroponim dacic către sfârșitul sec. II p. Chr. e suficientă pentru a stârni curiozitatea legată de cariera acestui militar.

**Keywords:** epitaph, Roman army, Mauretania Caesariensis, *auxilia*, anthroponym.

## 1. Introduction

A funerary stele discovered during the 1948-1949 archaeological campaign that took place in Sour Djouab was dedicated to a certain veteran named Fulvius Felix, who died at the age of 60<sup>2</sup> (figure 1). The epitaph was placed by Decineus, who calls himself the *frater* of the deceased. The complete epigraphical text is the following:

*Diis Manibus. Folvio Felici veterano vix(it) an(nis) LX, Decineus frat(er) eius pius fecit*

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<sup>2</sup> AÉ 2 1951, 144.



(Le Glay 1951, fig. 14)

Marcel Le Glay, who carried out the excavations and discovered the inscription, notes that the stele was later used for another grave in order to cover the defunct, probably during the 4th century. Except for a crescent, the stone lacks any other decorations and its form is a fairly simple one. The gravure is executed in a refined manner, while the letters F, V, X, A and M have an aspect typical for the 3rd century<sup>3</sup>.

## 2. Onomastics.

One thing that needs to be questioned is the fact that Decineus is indeed the brother of the veteran who died. Despite his choice of words, there is an obvious difference between the character of the names, the first bearing a purely Latin anthroponym, while the latter having a Dacian one. If we exclude the possibility of a very unusual case of siblings who were named according to two different onomastic habits, then we have to doubt the biological tie of the two and to admit that Fulvius Felix and Decineus were brothers in the comradely sense of the word and not actual relatives<sup>4</sup>. We can admit, however, that they were part of the same military unit and most probably Decineus was a veteran too at the moment of Felix's death, even if the military status of the first one is not mentioned in the inscription. This hypothesis would explain how they created such a strong brotherly relationship. The epigraphical text lacks any information regarding the origin of the two and any facts about their careers have to be formulated based on correlations with other epigraphical and archaeological sources.

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<sup>3</sup> LE GLAY 1951, 74-75.

<sup>4</sup> DANA, MATEI-POPESCU 2009, 225.

The Dacian character of Decineus's name is obvious and the sole historical connotation to one of the most important figures of Dacian origin should be enough to confirm his ethnic roots<sup>5</sup>. This doesn't necessarily imply that he was recruited from actual Dacia, considering that many epigraphical sources coming from Lower or Upper Moesia mention anthroponyms that are undoubtedly of the same origin<sup>6</sup>.

From Moesia Inferior comes an honorific inscription that mentions a certain Δικεναῖος<sup>7</sup>. A few other cases of people who bore similar names are known around the Roman Empire. Two military diplomas belonged to veterans who had the same patronymic<sup>8</sup>, while a soldier from the Eastern Desert of Egypt was named Dekinais<sup>9</sup>. We can find the same name in Luceria at the beginning of the 1st century, this time belonging to a freedman<sup>10</sup>. However, the presence of such an anthroponym towards the end of the 2nd century in North Africa is surprising, even if probably not as „absolutum aberrant” as Marcel Le Glay considered it to be<sup>11</sup>. The name of his „brother” appears in a very similar form in another funerary inscription from Dougga<sup>12</sup> while both Fulvius and Felix are fairly common onomastic forms in the African provinces.

### 3. Auxiliary unit.

The inscription does not mention in which auxiliary unit Fulvius Felix and Decineus served before their release from service. The fact that the first one was buried at Rapidum, this being most probably the place of his death, allows us to admit that the unit that they belonged too was none other than the one who was stationed there. There are no doubts that for the most part of the 2nd century Rapidum was garrisoned by *cohors II Sardorum*<sup>13</sup>, many inscriptions that mention this particular unit being discovered there<sup>14</sup>. The *castrum* was, in fact, built by and for the soldiers of this cohort around 122 AD<sup>15</sup>, probably during a rebellion that burst out around this year and required military intervention or right after the conclusion of those conflicts. Towards the end of the 2nd century the military function of this

<sup>5</sup> DANA 2003a, 143-147.

<sup>6</sup> MATEI-POPESCU 2017, 139-159.

<sup>7</sup> IGB V 5281.

<sup>8</sup> RGZM 31, WEIB 2007, 160-172.

<sup>9</sup> DANA 2003b, 175.

<sup>10</sup> AÉ 1983, 211.

<sup>11</sup> LE GLAY 1951, 75.

<sup>12</sup> KHANOUSSI, MAURIN 2002, 413.

<sup>13</sup> BENSEDDIK 1982, 60-62.

<sup>14</sup> AÉ 1929, 133, CIL VIII 9198, AÉ 1951, 145, CIL VIII 9200, CIL VIII 9207.

<sup>15</sup> AÉ 1975, 953. SESTON 1928, 157.

fort loses some of its importance, while another line of defensive fortifications, known as the *nova praetentura*, appeared to the south of Mauretania Caesariensis<sup>16</sup>. This was caused by an actual territorial expansion initiated by Septimius Severus which resulted in the increasing of the area that the Roman Empire controlled in North Africa<sup>17</sup>. In this context, *cohors II Sardorum* was transferred to Altava<sup>18</sup>, a newly formed *castrum* that was part of the *nova praetentura*, no later than 208<sup>19</sup>.

There is a certain possibility that Decineus and Fulvius Felix were mounted soldiers. Two funerary steles discovered during the same archaeological campaign include representations in bas-relief of horsemen who were members of *cohors II Sardorum*<sup>20</sup>. More than this, after the unit's transfer to Altava its commander was Titus Julius Germanus, *decurio* of *ala II Thracum*<sup>21</sup>. If *cohors II Sardorum* was actually a *cohors equitata* then they could have been two of the few members of such a unit that were not pedestrians, but mounted soldiers. AE 1929, 133, CIL VIII 9198, AE 1951, 145, CIL VIII 9200, CIL VIII 9207.

On the other hand, it was assumed that *ala II Augusta Thracum pia fidelis* was present at some point in the same location<sup>22</sup>, but there is no source which could prove the fact that this unit was actually stationed there at full capacity (an extremely improbable fact considering that Rapidum was already occupied by a *cohors quingenaria*) or for a long period of time. The presence of this unit was suggested by the discovery of a stele belonging to a former *miles* who died at Rapidum before his release from service<sup>23</sup> and of an honorific inscription erected by a *decurio* of the same troop<sup>24</sup>. Most probably these sources prove that *ala II Augusta Thracum* sent, at some point, a *vexillatio* that was supposed to support the soldiers of *cohors II Sardorum* during a military intervention, a lengthier presence being out of question<sup>25</sup>.

#### 4. Military career..

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<sup>16</sup> LAPORTE 1983, 261.

<sup>17</sup> LAPORTE 2011, 122-125.

<sup>18</sup> RUIU 2002, 1419-1424.

<sup>19</sup> AE 1932, 31, CIL VIII, 10949. The cohort is attested at Altava in the time of Severus Alexander: AE 1891, 5.

<sup>20</sup> AE 1951, 145, CIL VIII, 9200. LE GLAY 1951, 63-64, 75-76.

<sup>21</sup> CIL VIII, 10949, AE 1932, 31.

<sup>22</sup> R.E., I, 1266.

<sup>23</sup> CIL VIII 9203.

<sup>24</sup> AE 1929, 135.

<sup>25</sup> BENSEDDIK 1982, 44-45.

As we have seen, Marcel Le Glay, the one who discovered and published the inscription, considered the epitaph to be raised at the beginning of the 3rd century, based not only on the gravure of the letters, but on the reuse of the stele in a 4th century cemetery as well<sup>26</sup>. Florian-Matei Popescu and Dan Dana argued for an earlier dating, suggesting that such a late enlistment of a Dacian soldier for a unit that was stationed in Mauretania Caesariensis is unusual<sup>27</sup>.

The fact that *cohors II Sardorum* left Rapidum for Altava no later than 208 might imply that Decineus was liberated at least a few years before this event, especially if he was the same age as Fulvius Felix. Rapidum was not, in fact, completely abandoned at the beginning of the 3rd century, but only ceased to play an active military role, enough traces of inhabitance in the next two centuries being discovered during the excavations that were carried out here<sup>28</sup>. More than this, it's still possible that Decineus and his *frater* were transferred to Altava with the rest of the unit and they returned at Rapidum after the ending of their service. In other words, we can conclude that the recruitment of Decineus happened after 122, while his discharge took place probably no later than 208, but this are extremely safe assumptions.

On the other hand, we could not doubt the fact that the gravure of the letters suggests a later period. However, this could mean any year from the ending of the 2nd century onwards. What we think is the most relevant aspect in this problem is the evolution of the recruitment politics at a larger scale. In fact, the presence of a Dacian soldier in North Africa is something quite common in the first half of the century, but the lack of late military diplomas coming from Mauretanian provinces<sup>29</sup>, as well as the generalization of provincial and then local recruitment makes from Decineus's case a rather surprising one if we consider him to be an active soldier during the Severan dynasty.

In this case, the most appropriate thing to do is to assume that Fulvius Felix died somewhat at the end of the 2nd century, in the first years of Septimius Severus's reign. In the same time, we must consider Decineus to have a similar age as his comrade at that moment. If his recruitment from Dacian or Moesian provinces took place when he was 20 years old (more or less) and he was around 60 years old when his brother-in-arms died, then he was enlisted and sent to Mauretania Caesariensis in the first years of the second half of the 2nd century, after the conclusion of the well-known military conflicts that occurred around 149-151 in North Africa<sup>30</sup>. Even if it's no more than a supposition, we could correlate this case with the last known *dilectus* that took place in Dacia or Moesia. This is undoubtedly the one in which

<sup>26</sup> LE GLAY 1951, p. 75.

<sup>27</sup> DANA, MATEI-POPESCU 2009, 216.

<sup>28</sup> LAPORTE 1983, 261.

<sup>29</sup> ROXAN 1973, 855. There are no diplomas that could be dated before 160.

<sup>30</sup> CARCOPINO 1943, 227. RACHET 1970, 195-202.

Dacian soldiers were recruited and sent to Britannia, because the last diploma for an auxiliary soldier of Dacian origin dates in 178, meaning that they were enlisted in 153. Unfortunately, we do not know if this wave included soldiers that were meant to be sent to North Africa. However, this would fit well in the cycle of recruitments that were observed by Dan Dana and Florian-Matei Popescu<sup>31</sup>.

We can conclude, even if we must still have some reservations, that the most probable chronological limits for Decineus's military career are 153-178. After his discharge, he remained in Rapidum, the fort of his former unit, for at least 15 years, when he buried Fulvius Felix, one of his comrades. Even if this hypothesis can't be possibly verified entirely, we can perceive it as the one with the highest probability.

Regarding the events that marked his career, he probably came to Mauretania Caesariensis too late to be part of the troops that fought the local rebellion that burst out at the middle of the 2nd century and ended his service too early to be one of those who extended the military control to the south and created the *nova praetentura*. He was probably released from service a few years before the reconstruction of the *thermae* of the same fort, somewhere between 184 and 190<sup>32</sup>. Members of *cohors II Sardorum* were present at some point during the 2nd century at Ain Khial<sup>33</sup>, but the precise moment and the reason for this intervention remain unclear. Decineus could have been, however, one of those soldiers who participated in this military action. Otherwise, his career probably was a rather peaceful one.

## 5. Conclusion

If we take into consideration factors like the aspect of the epitaph, the history of Rapidum and the recruitment policy in the Roman Empire, we can safely admit that Decineus was a member of *cohors II Sardorum* in the second half of the 2nd century, most probably in the interval between 153 and 178. He was recruited in a *dilectus* made in Dacia or one of the Moesian provinces and he spent the rest of his life, after his release from service, in Rapidum, the former fort of the unit that he belonged to. We can't make any assumptions regarding the year of his death, but he could have been one of those inhabitants of Rapidum after its abandonment by *cohors II Sardorum*. This means that he represents one of those few Dacian soldiers which we know were active during the second half of the 2nd century in an auxiliary unit.

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<sup>31</sup> DANA, MATEI-POPESCU 2009, 234-243.

<sup>32</sup> AÉ 1929, 133.

<sup>33</sup> AÉ 1889, 54.

**Acknowledgement.** This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-0383, within PNCDI III.

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## L'éducation chez les anciens Israélites. Une analyse de la perspective de la pédagogie moderne

Bogdan Constantin NECULAU<sup>1</sup>

**Résumé.** L'étude présente vise à montrer des séquences de la vie des habitants de la Palestine d'autrefois (les anciens Israélites, ayant Abraham comme ancêtre), en mettant un accent particulier sur l'éducation et la formation: éducateurs, stratégies, formes, contenus, etc. Nous ferons notamment appel aux textes scripturaires de l'Ancien Testament, d'où nous extrairons les informations dont nous avons besoin et qui serviront de base à celles exposées. Notre objectif est de présenter la manière dont l'éducation était transmise et assimilée à cette époque, en accord avec les traditions culturelles, avec la mentalité et avec les coutumes de l'époque et du peuple d'Israël, mais aussi de proposer une analyse dans la perspective de la pédagogie moderne, avec des arguments sur la validité ou les limites de certains éléments. L'étude fera également référence à des aspects liés à la vie sociale des anciens Israélites, à leurs occupations, mais aussi aux intérêts qui tiennent de sciences et d'arts, tels qu'ils ressortent soit des livres de l'Ancien Testament, soit des recherches et des études qui ont été publiées sur le sujet proposé.

**Abstract.** The present study aims to show sequences of the life of the inhabitants of ancient Palestine (the ancient Israelites, having Abraham as their ancestor), with particular emphasis on education and training: educators, strategies, forms, contents, etc. In particular, we will use the scriptural texts of the Old Testament, from which we will extract the information we need and which will serve as a basis for that presented. Our objective is to present the way in which education was transmitted and assimilated at that time, in accordance with the cultural traditions, with the mentality and with the customs of the time and of the people of Israel, but also to offer an analysis from the perspective of modern pedagogy, with arguments on the validity or limits of certain elements. The study will also make reference to aspects related to the social life of the ancient Israelites, to their occupations, but also to interests which derive from the sciences and the arts, as they emerge either from the books of the Old Testament or research and studies that have been published on the proposed topic.

**Rezumat.** Studiul de față își propune să prezinte secvențe din viața locuitorilor Palestinei de odinioară (vechii israeliți, avându-l ca strămoș pe Avraam), cu accent special pe educație și formare: educatori, strategii, forme, conținuturi etc. Vom face apel, în mod special, la textele scripturistice ale Vechiului Testament, de unde vom extrage informațiile de care avem nevoie și care vor fi folosite și ca fundamentare a celor expuse. Scopul nostru este de a prezenta felul în care se transmitea și era asimilată educația în vremea respectivă, în acord cu tradițiile culturale, cu mentalitatea și obiceiurile epocii și ale poporului israelit, dar și de a propune o analiză din perspectiva pedagogiei moderne, cu argumente în privința validității sau limitelor anumitor elemente. Studiul va face referire și la aspecte care țin de viața socială a israeliților de odinioară, la ocupațiile, dar și la preocupările legate de științe și

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*arte, aşa cum reies fie din cărțile vechi-testamentare, fie din cercetările și studiile care au fost publicate în legătură cu tematica propusă.*

**Keywords:** education, moral education, family, law, sciences, ancient Israelites

### **Considérations introductives. Argument**

Nous nous proposons, dans cet article, de mettre en évidence la manière dont l'éducation se déroulait chez les Juifs d'autrefois, habitants de la Palestine (comme on appelait le pays à l'époque gréco-romaine<sup>2</sup>). Évidemment, pour connaître et comprendre la façon dont un peuple se rapporte à la culture et à l'éducation, aux sciences et aux arts, vous devez connaître et comprendre les coutumes, les traditions, les expériences et l'environnement culturel, la mentalité de l'époque, etc. Nous présenterons brièvement des aspects de la vie des anciens Israélites, afin de mieux comprendre leur conception sur l'éducation. Nous ferons également référence – à travers une approche analytique –, au fonctionnement, aux traditions et aux rôles de la famille israélienne, puis nous élargirons la présentation à la société de cette époque, ayant un rôle dans la formation du futur adulte, impliqué dans la vie sociale et ayant un rôle dans la continuité d'une civilisation, d'autant plus qu'il s'agit du peuple élu.

Notre objectif est d'analyser, en termes de validité et d'actualité, certains préceptes, contenus et stratégies pédagogiques utilisés à cette époque. Nous ferons certains commentaires, le cas échéant, sur leur acceptation ou non par la pédagogie moderne. Certes, tout doit être conforme aux particularités de l'époque et de la société israéliennes, dans notre cas.

Nous nous appuierons, dans notre étude, sur les textes scripturaires de l'Ancien Testament, mais aussi sur les recherches réalisées jusqu'à présent ou sur nos propres analyses. Nous précisons que nous utiliserons généralement une seule citation scripturaire pour étayer / argumenter une idée, bien qu'il y a des témoignages sur les mêmes aspects et ils puissent être trouvés à plusieurs endroits / livres dans la Sainte Écriture de l'Ancien Testament. Le cas échéant, nous y ferons cependant les références nécessaires.

La Terre Sainte des anciens Israélites (qui avaient Abraham pour ancêtre<sup>3</sup>) était située entre l'Afrique et l'Asie, bordant deux mers, la Méditerranée et la Mer Morte<sup>4</sup>, mais

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<sup>2</sup> Pendant l'époque biblique, son nom était La Terre de Canaan (Sainte Écriture, le Lévitique, 18, 3, Livres des Juges, 5, 19), La Terre Promise ou La Terre d'Israël (plus tard) (cf. SEMEN 2008, 40).

<sup>3</sup> Le premier entre les Patriarches de l'Ancien Testament s'appelait Abram, jusqu'au moment où Dieu s'est montré et Il lui a dit: „Tu ne seras plus appelé du nom d'Abraham, ton nom sera Abraham, car je fais de toi le père d'une multitude de nations”. Nous utilisons, pour la traduction des citations de la Sainte Écriture la version en ligne de AELF (<https://www.aelf.org/bible/Gn/17>, consulté le 25 septembre 2021).

<sup>4</sup> „Les Manuscrits” de la Mer Morte sont utiles (découverts près de Khirbet Qumran entre 1947-1956, qui datent du IIIe siècle avant J.-C. et le Ier siècle après J.-C.). Voir aussi NEAGA 1964, NEGOITĂ 1993.

aussi le désert du Sinaï, autrefois parcouru par de nombreuses caravanes de voyageurs ou de marchands; elle était donc au carrefour de quelques civilisations impressionnantes: l'gyptienne et la mésopotamienne (assyro-babylonienne), qui ont influencé, sans aucun doute, la civilisation juive.

### L'institution de la famille et ses rôles à l'intérieur de celle-ci chez les anciens juifs

Le terme « famille » (*baith* en hébreu) désignait à la fois les parents et les enfants, ainsi que leurs descendants, quelles que soient les générations auxquelles ils appartenaient. De plus, le même terme désignait également le logement dans lequel vivaient les membres d'une famille<sup>5</sup>.

La société israélite était éminemment patriarcale, la femme étant en quelque sorte «gouvernée» par l'homme, une fois qu'elle devenait sa femme et qu'elle emménagait dans sa maison. Cet aspect peut aussi être interprété comme une conséquence du péché originel, après quoi Dieu dit à la femme : « Je multiplierai la peine de tes grossesses ; c'est dans la peine que tu enfanteras des fils. Ton désir te portera vers ton mari, et celui-ci dominera sur toi. »<sup>6</sup>. En fait, la formule d'adresse d'une femme à un homme est souvent *ba'al* (qui se traduirait par maître). Le Livre de la Genèse nous montre explicitement que la femme a été créée pour aider l'homme: «Il n'est pas bon que l'homme soit seul. Je vais lui faire une aide qui lui correspondra.»<sup>7</sup> La femme dans la société israélienne était celle qui s'occupait surtout de la maison, des tâches ménagères, sa vocation principale considérée comme «assez sacrée en elle-même, pour couvrir tous les devoirs d'une femme, à l'exception de tous les autres devoirs religieux, qui ne peuvent être remplis à n'importe quel moment, donc incompatibles avec ses tâches particulières»<sup>8</sup>; sa mission étant de donner naissance et d'élever des enfants, y compris l'éducation, au moins dans leurs premières années de vie<sup>9</sup>.

Mais il existe des livres scripturaires (par exemple, *Le Deuxième Livre des Rois*) qui parlent d'égalité entre les deux époux; de plus, on constate que dans l'ancienne société israélite, il y avait des femmes qui ont acquis une reconnaissance sociale et même l'accès à certaines tâches de la vie publique. L'une d'elles était Deborah, juge et prophétesse, rôles à grande autorité dans la société juive d'antan – «Or, Débora, une prophétesse, femme de Lappidoth, jugeait Israël en ce temps-là. Elle siégeait sous le Palmier de Débora, entre Rama et Béthel, dans la montagne d'Éphraïm, et les fils d'Israël venaient vers elle pour faire arbitrer

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<sup>5</sup> Il y avait des situations où les représentants de plusieurs générations vivaient sous le même toit.

<sup>6</sup> Sainte Écriture, Genèse, 3,16.

<sup>7</sup> Sainte Écriture, Genèse, 2, 18.

<sup>8</sup> EPSTEIN 2001, 215.

<sup>9</sup> Voir aussi MIHOC 1985, donner naissance à des enfants était le but principal du mariage, tant dans la période de l'Ancien Testament que du Nouveau.

leurs litiges»<sup>10</sup> On peut aussi se référer à Bathsheba, épouse du roi Daid et mère du roi Salomon, à Esther, à Judith, etc.

Lorsqu'une femme donnait naissance à un enfant, son rôle et son statut dans la famille changeaient, surtout lorsqu'elle a un fils. Par exemple, lorsque Léa, la femme de Jacob, donne naissance à un garçon, elle dit: «Léa devint enceinte et enfanta un fils qu'elle appela Roubène car, dit-elle, « le Seigneur a vu ma détresse et maintenant mon mari m'aimera»<sup>11</sup>. La même chose est renforcée après la naissance du deuxième fils. De Saintes Écritures nous apprenons que la relation entre Léa et Jacob n'était pas fonctionnelle, mais la naissance d'un fils avait apporté tellement de joie à son père (cela signifiait aussi la continuité de la famille et du nom) que l'enfant a également contribué au renforcement de la famille. La psychologie du couple montre que l'apparition d'un enfant rapproche et renforce les relations entre les deux époux, dans la majorité des cas.

Les enfants étaient un signe de bénédiction divine: «Ta femme sera dans ta maison comme une vigne généreuse, et tes fils, autour de la table, comme des plants d'olivier»<sup>12</sup>, et leur absence était le signe que la bénédiction de Dieu n'était pas descendue sur cette famille, occasion d'isolement social, également. La femme qui n'accouche pas n'était pas bien vue la société et sa situation familiale en souffrait souvent. Par exemple, lorsque Rachel donne naissance à un fils, elle s'exclame «Dieu a enlevé ma honte»<sup>13</sup>. Le nom de l'enfant était, généralement, donné par la mère. La Sainte Écriture nous dit que Léa, dont j'ai parlé plus haut, a donné au premier fils le nom de Roubène, «Elle devint encore enceinte et enfanta un fils. Elle dit: « Le Seigneur a compris que je n'étais pas aimée et il m'a encore donné cet enfant! » Elle l'appela Siméon. Elle devint encore enceinte et enfanta un fils. Elle dit: « Maintenant, cette fois-ci, mon mari va s'attacher à moi car je lui ai donné trois fils! » C'est pourquoi on l'appela Lévi»<sup>14</sup>. Une autre situation est celle d'Anne, la femme d'Elcana: «Anne conçut et, le temps venu, elle enfanta un fils; elle lui donna le nom de Samuel (c'est-à-dire: Dieu exauce) car, disait-elle: « Je l'ai demandé au Seigneur. »<sup>15</sup>

On a enregistré aussi, dans la Sainte Écriture de l'Ancien Testament, situations où le nom de l'enfant a été donné par le père: « Oui, vraiment, ta femme Sara va t'enfanter un fils, tu lui donneras le nom d'Isaac. J'établirai mon alliance avec lui, comme une alliance éternelle avec sa descendance après lui»<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Sainte Écriture, Juges, 4, 4-5.

<sup>11</sup> Sainte Écriture, Genèse, 29-32.

<sup>12</sup> Sainte Écriture, Psaumes, 127, 3-4.

<sup>13</sup> Sainte Écriture, Genèse, 30, 23.

<sup>14</sup> Sainte Écriture, Genèse, 29, 33-34, une situation similaire est présentée dans Genèse, 35, 18.

<sup>15</sup> Sainte Écriture, Samuel, 1, 20.

<sup>16</sup> Sainte Écriture, Genèse, 17, 19 et l'Exode, 2, 22, pour le fils de Moïse.

Un autre exemple serait Guerschom, le fils de Moïse ou, dans la Sainte Écriture du Nouveau Testament, Saint Jean Baptiste, dont le nom fut choisi par son père, Zacharie, par ordre divin, transmis par l'ange<sup>17</sup>.

Le nom était lié au destin et au comportement de l'enfant, tenant compte soit de sa mission (prévisible ou souhaitée par les parents)<sup>18</sup> soit de sa personnalité, en l'occurrence étant un souhait exclusif des parents ou d'une personne ayant autorité dans la famille, en étant impossible de parler, à la naissance, de l'évidence des inclinations de l'enfant. Elles représentent un important fonds de prédisposition interne, et, si elles sont découvertes et valorisées au moment propice, elles peuvent conduire plus facilement au bien-être, au confort et à la performance personnelle, professionnelle et sociale.

Il ne ressort pas de ce qui précède que le père de l'enfant ne se souciait pas de son éducation et de son progrès mais, en règle générale, cette tâche, surtout au début, incombaît à la mère, le père ayant pour principal soin d'assurer les ressources nécessaires au bien-être de toute la famille. Mais en répondant à Dieu pour tous les membres de sa famille (on a affaire à l'éducation des enfants mais aussi à l'éducation des adultes), il ne manquait aucune occasion de leur enseigner Dieu et ses commandements<sup>19</sup>.

Les occupations pratiques se retrouvaient, évidemment, dans la famille israélite, étant nécessaires pour assurer les vivres, pour produire des biens pour ses membres (par exemple, travaux des champs, soins des troupeaux, dans les familles plus aisées) ou encore certains métiers/de l'artisanat appris des Égyptiens, telle la poterie ou le travail en bois (n'oublions pas que Joseph, le père de Jésus-Christ, le Sauveur, était menuisier), activités qui étaient généralement reprises par les générations futures. La paresse devait être arrêtée par des recommandations spécifiques, car elle attirait du déséquilibre et de la dégradation humaine et sociale : «Interdis tout sommeil à tes yeux, et tout répit à tes paupières [...] Va vers la fourmi, paresseux ! Regarde-la marcher et deviens sage [...] Ou regarde l'abeille comme elle est laborieuse et quel merveilleux travail accomplit»<sup>20</sup>

L'éducation par et pour le travail préparait l'enfant à la vie personnelle et sociale, en n'ignorant pas les valeurs morales. Les enfants devaient à leurs parents un respect inconditionnel, en leur promettant une récompense consistant en une bonne et longue vie. – «Honore ton père et ta mère, afin d'avoir longue vie sur la terre que te donne le Seigneur ton Dieu»<sup>21</sup>

Le commandement, qui fait partie du Décalogue (les Dix Commandements donnés par Dieu sur le mont Sinaï, par l'intermédiaire de Moïse, au peuple juif), fait également

<sup>17</sup> Sainte Écriture, Évangile selon Luc, 1, 13.

<sup>18</sup> Sainte Écriture, Juges, 6, 14.

<sup>19</sup> EISENBERG2006. Nous recommandons, en ce qui concerne l'institution de la famille dans l'Ancien Testament, les études signées par PAPUC (1960) et SEMEN (1994).

<sup>20</sup> Sainte Écriture, Proverbes, 6, 4; 6, 6-8. Voir aussi CHIALDA1955.

<sup>21</sup> Sainte Écriture, L'Exode, 20, 12.

référence au devoir de protection et des soins des parents par les descendants – «Mon enfant, quand je mourrai, enterre-moi dignement. Honore ta mère et ne l'abandonne pas aussi longtemps qu'elle vivra. Fais ce qui lui est agréable et ne l'attriste en rien. Souviens-toi, mon enfant, de tous les risques qu'elle a courus pour toi quand tu étais dans son sein. Quand elle mourra, enterre-la auprès de moi, dans le même tombeau»<sup>22</sup>. Le respect envers les parents se retrouve aussi chez les peuples anciens, mais aussi chez les pédagogues chrétiens des époques ultérieures et, certes, jusqu'à nos jours, indépendamment de l'école ou de l'espace. Le manque de respect envers les parents était puni à la fois par la loi divine et par la société juive: «Celui qui maudit son père ou sa mère sera mis à mort»<sup>23</sup>. La punition était fixée par les vieux sages de la cité, qui pouvaient également se prononcer lorsque les parents portaient plainte contre leur fils<sup>24</sup>. L'Ancien Testament met sur le même plan l'honneur dû aux parents et le jour du sabbat, et sa violation entraînait la peine de mort<sup>25</sup>.

La vie de famille a toujours été considérée comme l'environnement le plus propice à la formation. Il était naturel que l'éducation familiale ait un rôle particulier, les parents étant alors, comme aujourd'hui, ceux qui connaissaient le mieux les besoins et les particularités de l'enfant. Le devoir moral des parents était de cultiver la bonté et la vertu, de guider les enfants sur les chemins de la morale. On y retiendra une idée parfaitement valable aujourd'hui: les inclinations acquises sur la ligne héréditaire représentent un bagage interne, qui devient une réalité positive et ne conduit(sen)t à la performance que dans des conditions favorables d'environnement et d'éducation. En effet, les pédagogues de toutes les époques recommandent une attention accrue aux caractéristiques héréditaires de l'enfant, afin de bien utiliser les bonnes et corriger les inadéquates.

### **Comment éllever et éduquer les enfants chez les anciens israélites**

En ce qui concerne l'éducation des enfants, la Sainte Écriture de l'Ancien Testament contient de nombreuses références à la manière, mais surtout au but de l'éducation de la jeune génération. Dans son ensemble, l'Ancien Testament est par excellence un écrit pédagogique<sup>26</sup>, mais la plupart des recommandations se trouvent dans les livres: *Lévitique*, *Deutéronome*, *Psaumes*, *Proverbes*, *Livre de la Sagesse de Salomon*, *Livre de la Sagesse de Ben Sira le Sage*, les deux derniers étant considérés comme non canoniques<sup>27</sup>. Le but de l'éducation chez les anciens Juifs était, avant tout, d'apprendre la loi divine, transmise par Moïse: « Rassemble le peuple auprès de Moi, je leur ferai entendre mes paroles pour que, tout au long de leur vie sur la terre, ils apprennent à me craindre et qu'ils l'apprennent aussi à

<sup>22</sup> Sainte Écriture, Le Livre de Tobie, 4, 3-4. Il y a plusieurs recommandations concernant le respect dû à la mère, dans l'Ancien Testament (Proverbes, 20, 20, 23, 22; 30, 17; Le Livre de Ben Sira le Sage, 3, 1-14).

<sup>23</sup> Sainte Écriture, L'Exode, 21, 17. Voir, dans ce sens, Le Lévitique, 20, 9 et L'Exode, 21, 15.

<sup>24</sup> Sainte Écriture, Le Deutéronome, 21, 20-21.

<sup>25</sup> Sainte Écriture, L'Exode, 31, 15.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. SEMEN 2008, 92-93.

<sup>27</sup> Livres non inspirés par le Saint Esprit, mais adéquats à la lecture.

leurs fils»<sup>28</sup> suivie de son application dans la vie personnelle et sociale. On y retrouve un principe moderne de pédagogie, de joindre la théorie à la pratique, afin de fixer les savoirs assimilés, mais aussi la nécessité de les appliquer, ceci étant la finalité première d'un entraînement efficace pour assurer l'équilibre individuel, la sagesse et la performance.

En fait, les familles israélites obéissaient strictement à la Loi et étaient obligées de la transmettre de génération en génération – «Ces paroles que je te donne aujourd'hui resteront dans ton cœur. Tu les rediras à tes fils, tu les répéteras sans cesse, à la maison ou en voyage, que tu sois couché ou que tu sois levé; tu les attacheras à ton poignet comme un signe, elles seront un bandeau sur ton front; tu les inscriras à l'entrée de ta maison et aux portes de ta ville»<sup>29</sup>.

On constate que les stratégies d'«enseignement» des préceptes pédagogiques sont parmi les plus diverses : de la répétition, pour les approfondir, à leur placement physique dans les lieux les plus variés. On note d'ici l'usage de ce que nous appellerions aujourd'hui le principe d'intuition, en mettant l'accent sur l'apprentissage sensoriel, mais aussi sur l'accessibilité du savoir, au sens d'un acquis visant une compréhension et une application faciles.

La lecture et la mémorisation sont aujourd'hui, tout comme autrefois, deux méthodes d'apprentissage spécifiques, mais pour l'intériorisation et l'application des contenus, la mémorisation doit être logique, suivie de l'exemple du formateur et du désir du disciple d'appliquer les connaissances/compétences acquises. L'idéal dans la société israélite était qu'à l'âge de 12 ans, l'enfant connût la Loi divine, pour la préserver, afin d'éviter l'apparition d'éléments étrangers, qui pourraient provoquer des déséquilibres, mais aussi pour l'appliquer. «Quand le père fut convaincu que son fils pouvait comprendre ce que signifiaient les commandements divins, il fixa les phylactères<sup>30</sup> sur son bras (afin de ne pas oublier que la Loi doit être accomplie) et sur son front (pour suggérer qu'il fallait la mémoriser). La boîte de phylactères était attachée au bras gauche de telle manière que lorsque le bras était plié ou que les mains étaient jointes en prière, la boîte de phylactères couvrait le thorax près du cœur, montrant que la Loi devait être aimée de tout cœur et, certes, accomplie.»<sup>31</sup>

En ce qui concerne le moment du début de l'éducation, nous constatons qu'il se produisait tôt. Les Saints Parents de plus tard, mais aussi la psychologie moderne du développement confirment l'idée du début précoce de l'éducation, lorsque les informations sont facilement assimilées, en tant que fondement important, nécessaire et obligatoire pour

<sup>28</sup> Sainte Écriture, Le Deutéronome, 4, 10.

<sup>29</sup> Sainte Écriture, Le Deutéronome, 6, 6-9.

<sup>30</sup> Morceau de parchemin contenant des versets de la Bible, qui fonctionnait en tant que talisman chez les Juifs anciens (Micul Dictionar Academic, 2010).

<sup>31</sup> SEMEN 2008, 94.

les contenus ultérieurs. Le rôle des parents, de la famille (par excellence positif, éducationnel, l'éducation assumant le côté positif de l'apprentissage) est décisif pour l'âge de l'enfance et de l'adolescence, en termes d'évolution ultérieure. L'expression "L'éducation fait l'adulte" n'est point dépassée si, de manière obligatoire, parents sont éduqués à leur tour pour être capables d'éduquer leurs enfants.

Nous retenons également l'exemple personnel du parent, essentiel pour apprendre et appliquer ce qui est transmis, et nous n'avons pas besoin de faire un plaidoyer particulier sur le rôle de l'exemple dans l'éducation. Elle génère des comportements similaires ou un changement dans le sens souhaité par l'adulte, surtout là où l'autorité existe, et cette dernière se fait sentir à coup sûr, dans la famille israélite. L'application de la Loi par l'exemple personnel, en transposant dans la pratique ses préceptes, a facilité l'acquisition des connaissances. En termes modernes, l'exemple a été utilisé pour mieux maîtriser la théorie.

Un autre élément important dans l'éducation des enfants était lié aux visites au Temple et à la participation effective au culte, une préoccupation commune dans les familles israélites, pour un contact direct et effectué le plus tôt possible avec la loi divine, fait qui facilitait l'apprentissage, la compréhension et l'application de celle-ci. Il est recommandé encore aujourd'hui d'approcher l'enfant d'une certaine activité, mais avec une gestion prudente et en tenant compte de ses souhaits, afin de ne pas obtenir l'effet inverse, de rejet.

Un rôle important dans l'éducation religieuse et morale, composante essentielle de toute l'éducation qui était transmise à l'enfant/adolescent, était joué par les prêtres et les Lévites<sup>32</sup>, qui avaient le devoir d'apprendre les «fils d'Israël tous les décrets que le Seigneur a édictés pour eux par l'intermédiaire de Moïse»<sup>33</sup>. De temps en temps, Dieu envoyait également des prophètes, pour faire connaître sa volonté, surtout lorsqu'il y avait des écarts par rapport à la Loi ou une décadence morale. Leurs discours parfois durs (Saint Elie le Prophète, Saint Jean-Baptiste, le dernier prophète de l'Ancien Testament) faisaient appel à la moralité et au repentir et étaient d'une importance éducative impressionnante<sup>34</sup>.

Les familles plus aisées ont même fait venir un pédagogue/éducateur pour leurs enfants, ceci n'excluant pas l'intervention des parents dans l'acte éducatif. Par exemple, le prêtre Éli nous est présenté en tant qu'enseignant pour le jeune Samuel<sup>35</sup>. Nous n'apprenons beaucoup sur l'éducation des filles dans la Sainte Écriture de l'Ancien Testament. Elles étaient éduquées pour être de bonnes mères et épouses, pour élever et éduquer leurs enfants dans

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<sup>32</sup> Il s'agit des héritiers de Lévi et ils avaient le rôle d'aider les prêtres au Temple ; ils étaient une sorte de diacre actuel.

<sup>33</sup> Sainte Écriture, Lévitique, 10, 11.

<sup>34</sup> Voir aussi COMAN 1988; Sainte Écriture, Le Livre de Michée, 7, 3, 5-6.

<sup>35</sup> Samuel (Samuil), prophète et juge (dirigeant) des juifs au IXe siècle av. J-C. Il a annoncé la venue de Mésie et il a proclamé Saoul et David les rois du peuple d'Israël (STOIAN 1994); voir aussi, en ce qui concerne la vie et le rôle des prophètes MONLOUBU 1983.

l'esprit de la loi et de la morale divines. Mais les filles aidaient aussi aux travaux agricoles ou s'occupaient du tissage, du filage, voire du traitement naturel de certaines maladies, etc.<sup>36</sup>

L'absence d'éducation des enfants a été condamnée par la société. Par exemple, le vicaire Éli, serviteur dans l'un des centres religieux les plus importants de Terre Sainte, est réprimandé par un prophète pour le comportement de ses fils Hofni et Pinhas, prêtres à leur tour, qui ont commis un péché «très grand devant le Seigneur car ces hommes traitaient avec mépris l'offrande destinée au Seigneur»<sup>37</sup>. «Le signe en sera pour toi ce qui va arriver à tes deux fils Hofni et Pinhas: ils mourront tous deux le même jour»<sup>38</sup>. Il n'est pas rare aujourd'hui que des parents, par ignorance ou par amour mal appliqué, sont tolérants et permissifs vis-à-vis de certains comportements erronés de leurs enfants, les considérant – jugeant subjectivement les choses – normaux ou autorisés.

La punition était utilisée dans la société israélite, à l'aide d'outils coercitifs aujourd'hui inacceptables: «Qui ménage sa trique n'aime pas son fils, qui l'aime vraiment veille à le corriger»<sup>39</sup>. Les enfants pourraient recevoir des réprimandes ou même des punitions corporelles si elles avaient de la force éducative et un caractère constructif.

La loi mosaïque identifie trois types de punitions: la mort, punitions corporelles et l'amende. Les crimes contre Dieu, contre la nature et contre l'homme étaient considérés comme des crimes par les Juifs anciens. Dans une telle situation, la peine de mort était prévue. En fait, en toute période et dans la plupart des cultures, «la perversion de la foi entraîne une punition»<sup>40</sup>. La modernité même s'accorde avec la sanction d'une «personne qui s'est rendue coupable d'un acte répréhensible»<sup>41</sup>. Aujourd'hui, la punition corporelle est inconcevable, mais nous considérons qu'une sanction morale, constructive, consciente, juste et différenciée est nécessaire, selon la gravité de l'acte, afin d'éviter ou d'empêcher sa répétition. L'irrespect des traits ci-dessus, l'usage abusif de la punition, peuvent conduire au découragement et même à l'abandon du désir de corriger un comportement dans le sens souhaité par l'adulte.

Nous retenons l'idée que l'enseignement, privé des normes et des règles, ne peut pas accomplir sa mission.

### **L'éducation morale – élément essentiel dans la société israélite ancienne**

Une place importante dans l'éducation des enfants et des jeunes était occupée par l'accent mis sur la moralité des jeunes, en particulier des filles, et sur la tâche des parents et de la société de veiller à l'éducation morale des enfants et des jeunes, car l'émergence et la

<sup>36</sup> Sainte Écriture, Proverbes, 31, 10-30.

<sup>37</sup> Sainte Écriture, Premier Livre de Samuel, 2, 17.

<sup>38</sup> Sainte Écriture, Premier Livre de Samuel, 2, 34.

<sup>39</sup> Sainte Écriture, Proverbes, 13, 24. Voir aussi Proverbes, 22, 15; 29, 15.

<sup>40</sup> HÂRLĂOANU 2001, 180.

<sup>41</sup> SCHAUB, ZENKE 2001, 217.

l'acceptation de l'immoralité auraient eu des répercussions sur toute la société, la nation et la nature.«Ne déshonore pas ta fille en la livrant à la prostitution, de peur que le pays ne se prostitue et ne se remplisse de débauche»<sup>42</sup>.

L'immoralité et la débauche étaient sévèrement combattues (jusqu'à la peine de mort, éliminant ainsi le mal<sup>43</sup>), et la moralité en étant récompensée par la bénédiction de Dieu et l'héritage de la terre par ses descendants<sup>44</sup>. Un éventuel enfant d'une femme débauchée était totalement banni par la société, et d'autres grands péchés étaient inimaginables: «Quand un homme couche avec un homme comme on couche avec une femme, tous deux commettent une abomination; ils seront mis à mort, leur sang retombera sur eux»<sup>45</sup> et «celui qui couche avec une bête sera mis à mort»<sup>46</sup>.

La punition des habitants des villes de Sodome et Gomorrhe pour immoralité est célèbre. Les Pères de l'Église du christianisme primitif et de plus tard mettent également l'accent sur la moralité et attirent l'attention sur le vice de la fornication, aspect qui fait encore partie de l'éducation religieuse aujourd'hui<sup>47</sup>.

Concernant le côté socio-moral de l'éducation, les livres du Lévitique et du Deutéronome proposent diverses recommandations, à titre d'obligation, étant de nature divine. En voici deux d'entre elles : «Tu n'exploiteras pas ton prochain, tu ne le dépouilleras pas : tu ne retiendras pas jusqu'au matin la paye du salarié. Tu ne maudiras pas un sourd, tu ne mettras pas d'obstacle devant un aveugle»<sup>48</sup>. «Si tu vois errer le bœuf ou le mouton de ton frère, tu ne t'en détourneras pas, tu dois le ramener à ton frère».<sup>49</sup>

Nous retrouverons ces préceptes plus tard, chez les Trois Hiérarques, car l'Écriture de l'Ancien Testament a été et restera un fondement essentiel pour celle du Nouveau Testament, mais nous y trouvons les lignes directrices d'une incontestable modernité en ce qui concerne les relations sociales.

En nous rapportant au présent, nous constatons avec regret qu'il existe de nombreux cas dans lesquels les parents ne prêtent pas assez d'attention au côté spirituel du développement de la personnalité des enfants, en étant plus soucieux de la situation matérielle, trop pressés d'assurer le confort des enfants et leur éducation intellectuelle (un enseignant privé fait partie du paysage commun de nos jours), en laissant au second plan la formation religieuse et morale, sans laquelle la personnalité ne pourrait atteindre la

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<sup>42</sup> Sainte Écriture, Lévitique, 19, 29.

<sup>43</sup> Sainte Écriture, Deutéronome, 22, 21; Lévitique, 20, 10.

<sup>44</sup> Sainte Écriture, Le Livre de Tobie, 4, 12.

<sup>45</sup> Sainte Écriture, Lévitique, 20, 13.

<sup>46</sup> Sainte Écriture, L'Exode, 22, 18.

<sup>47</sup> Saint Grégoire de Nysse, 2003.

<sup>48</sup> Sainte Écriture, Lévitique, 19, 13-14; voir aussi Lévitique, 19, 10-11; 19, 17-18.

<sup>49</sup> Sainte Écriture, Deutéronome, 22, 1.

plénitude. D'autre part, la société est, elle aussi, responsable de l'absence de l'éducation morale, qui, par son modèle social, constitue une occasion constante de corruption.

### La préoccupation pour les sciences et les arts des anciens israélites

L'écriture en Palestine ancienne était utilisée pour rédiger des textes sacrés, et les premières indications de son apparition remontent au deuxième millénaire avant J.-C., par opposition au Moyen-Orient, où elle était apparue environ deux millénaires auparavant. Au temps du Patriarche Abraham, l'écriture cunéiforme<sup>50</sup> était utilisée, tandis qu'au temps de Moïse (le chef des Israélites à la sortie d'Égypte et celui qui reçut les Tables de la Loi sur le mont Sinaï) et de Josué (son successeur pour le peuple juif) il y avait plusieurs systèmes d'écriture (XIIIe siècle av. J.-C.)<sup>51</sup>. Il y a des témoignages que les prophètes ont écrit leurs enseignements: «Ainsi parle le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël: Écris dans un livre toutes les paroles que je t'ai dites»<sup>52</sup> et Moïse, à l'ordre divin, a consigné les événements de l'histoire du people juif – «Écris cela dans le Livre pour en faire mémoire et déclare à Josué que j'effacerai complètement le souvenir d'Amalec de dessous les cieux! »<sup>53</sup>, Moïse en étant prêt à accomplir les paroles de Dieu.

Au retour des Juifs de l'exil babylonien, le paléo-hébreu, utilisé après la fondation de l'État juif par David et Salomon et nommé ainsi «pour être distinct de l'écriture hébraïque carrée, qui est en fait la langue araméenne»<sup>54</sup>, serait remplacé par l'araméen, la langue parlée par le Christ, restant à n'être 'utilisée que pour la rédaction de textes sacrés.

On écrivait sur des pierres, sur des tablettes d'argile ou de bois, sur lesquelles on mettait une couche fine d'argile et sur laquelle on écrivait avec un bâton ; celles-ci pouvaient être réutilisées. Les rouleaux de cuivre<sup>55</sup> étaient également utilisés comme support d'écriture, sur lesquels les lettres étaient grattées ou collées. Le papyrus ou le parchemin était en usage. Le texte était écrit sur des colonnes et le support d'écriture était enroulé sur un rouleau de bois ou de métal<sup>56</sup>.

La peinture et la sculpture n'ont pas particulièrement évolué dans l'ancien état juif, car l'interdiction du culte des idoles<sup>57</sup>, particulièrement mise en valeur par le Premier Commandement du Décalogue, a atténué leur développement, ainsi que de l'astronomie : «Prends garde lorsque tu lèves les yeux vers le ciel et que tu vois le soleil, la lune et les étoiles,

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<sup>50</sup> A l'appui de cette idée sont les 382 tablettes céramiques de Tell el Amarna, datées vers le milieu du XIVe siècle av. J.-C. Quelques tablettes offrent des informations sur les anciens juifs.

<sup>51</sup> Holman Bible Dictionary, p. 1425.

<sup>52</sup> Sainte Écriture, Livre de Jérémie, 30, 2; voir aussi Livre de Jérémie, 36, 28 ou Livre d'Isaïe, 8, 16.

<sup>53</sup> Sainte Écriture, L'Exode, 17, 14.

<sup>54</sup> SEMEN 2008, 107.

<sup>55</sup> Tout comme celui découvert à Qumran.

<sup>56</sup> Voir aussi HERING 1960.

<sup>57</sup> On connaît très bien le moment où Moïse, descendu du mont Sinaï, trouve dans le camp israélite un veau d'or ou l'attitude du Prophète Élie par rapport au dieu Baal.

toute l'armée des cieux ! Ne te laisse pas égarer, ne te prosterne pas devant eux pour les servir. Ceux-là, le Seigneur les a donnés en partage à tous les peuples qui sont sous le ciel»<sup>58</sup>

Ils avaient une vague connaissance du calcul du temps, nécessaire à l'élaboration du calendrier et mis en accord avec le déroulement et le rythme des travaux agricoles.

Cependant, ils se préoccupaient de l'histoire et de la géographie de leur pays et des pays voisins et, dans une certaine mesure, de la philosophie. Les événements historiques ont été enregistrés et transmis, oralement ou par écrit. Par exemple, à la cour du Roi étaient notés, comme dans une sorte d'agenda, les événements du règne et, comme nous l'avons montré plus haut, les prophètes enregistraient la volonté de Dieu, mais aussi des données objectives de l'histoire. Nous remarquons également une description de la Terre Sainte dans le Livre de Josué. De toute évidence, les enfants ont acquis des connaissances d'histoire et de géographie dans le cadre familial, en mettant l'accent sur la connaissance de l'histoire du peuple juif. Les préoccupations des anciens Israélites pour la philosophie et la connaissance humaine étaient peu nombreuses, et en tout cas elles étaient étroitement liées aux traditions, à la spiritualité et à la loi divine.« Le savoir commence avec la crainte du Seigneur ! Sagesse et instruction, l'insensé les méprise»<sup>59</sup>

En effet, «les débuts de la pensée philosophique, au vrai sens du terme, ne peuvent être prononcés qu'après l'exil, lorsque certains penseurs comme Philon d'Alexandrie<sup>60</sup> tentèrent de concilier la philosophie de l'époque avec la religion mosaïque révélée»<sup>61</sup>.

Il y eut aussi d'essais timides, typiques pour l'époque, d'approfondir les sciences naturelles, les mathématiques et la médecine, cette dernière étant appliquée de manière rudimentaire dans la famille et connue plutôt par les prêtres, qui avaient le devoir d'examiner les lépreux, de constater l'existence de la maladie et de poursuivre son évolution. Les Prophètes font également référence à l'existence de médecins : «N'y a-t-il pas de baume en Galaad ? N'y a-t-il pas de médecin là-bas? »<sup>62</sup>

Les plantes médicinales, les fruits, le vin et l'huile d'olive étaient utilisés pour la guérison (du Nouveau Testament, nous apprenons que le Samaritain miséricordieux a oint les blessures de celui tombé parmi les voleurs avec de l'huile et du vin).

La poésie était éminemment religieuse, et pendant les règnes des rois David et Salomon, la musique, la littérature et la poésie atteignirent leur apogée. Des instruments de musique ont été construits, et il y avait probablement de bons connasseurs de leur métier, qui ont enseigné aux autres. Nous apprenons du Livre de la Genèse, sur Youbal, qu'«il fut le

<sup>58</sup> Sainte Écriture, Deutéronome 4, 19.

<sup>59</sup> Sainte Écriture, Proverbes, 1, 7.

<sup>60</sup> Philon d'Alexandrie a vécu au Ier siècle après J.-C., il a été un philosophe hellénistique qui a essayé d'interpréter les dogmes et les textes traditionnels judaïques en accord avec les théories du stoïcisme, de Pithagore et de Platon.

<sup>61</sup> SEMEN 2008, 109.

<sup>62</sup> Sainte Écriture, Jérémie, 8, 22.

père de tous ceux qui jouent de la cithare et de la flûte»<sup>63</sup>. Si nous analysons les textes de l'Ancien Testament, nous constaterons qu'il existait à l'époque divers instruments de musique, tels que la cymbale, la trompette (Dieu a été glorifié dans le Temple des 120 trompettes), le cor, le sifflet, la harpe, le tambourin, le triangle (instrument métallique, ayant la forme d'un triangle, dont les côtés étaient frappés avec un élément métallique, produisant ainsi certains sons), le sistre (semblable au triangle, sauf qu'il avait une forme ovoïde). Un élément important à retenir est lié au fait que les filles de familles plus aisées pourraient recevoir une éducation musicale, au sens de savoir se servir d'un instrument<sup>64</sup>.

### **En guise de conclusion :**

- En tant que formes d'éducation, on ne retrouve pas chez les anciens israélites tout ce qui est reconnu par la pédagogie moderne. Concernant l'éducation formelle, on peut dire qu'il n'y avait pas d'écoles, au vrai sens du terme. Quant à l'éducation informelle, on valorise l'éducation familiale, qui commence tôt, les premières années étant à la charge de la mère. Au niveau de la société il y a une préoccupation dans ce sens, mais on ne peut parler d'une structure organisée.
- L'accent dans l'éducation était mis sur l'acquisition et la pratique de la Loi divine, sur les valeurs morales, sur la vertu et la perfection, etc., ce qui fera que les Saints Pères du christianisme primitif se réfèrent souvent à la littérature antique et à la période de l'Ancien Testament.
- L'éducation était une préoccupation pour les anciens Juifs, son absence conduisant à la dégradation de l'État et à la décadence humaine et sociale. On pourrait parler d'une éducation des enfants, des jeunes, des adultes (le chef de famille s'occupait de tous ses membres), des filles (notamment pour accomplir leur vocation, celle d'accoucher et d'élever des enfants, dans l'esprit de la Loi et des traditions judaïques).
- La famille, les prêtres, les Lévites, la société (surtout les seigneurs) étaient chargés de l'éducation des enfants. Ils pouvaient exercer, selon Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), l'action éducative avec autorité sur les jeunes qui n'étaient pas prêts pour mener /avoir une vie sociale.
- Comme aspects de l'éducation transmise, on peut parler, dans des proportions différentes, d'éducation religieuse, d'éducation morale, d'éducation intellectuelle, d'éducation pour le travail, voire d'éducation patriotique.
- L'éducation chez les Juifs met en évidence des aspects que nous retrouverons à l'époque du christianisme primitif et, pour certains, encore aujourd'hui. Nous nous rapportons, bien entendu, aux finalités de l'éducation, aux idées transmises

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<sup>63</sup> Sainte Écriture, Genèse, 4, 21.

<sup>64</sup> Sainte Écriture, I Rois, 18, 6.

ou aux méthodes utilisées. Quant à la notion de punition, cependant, elle ne peut être pleinement acceptée (il s'agit, certes, de punitions corporelles ou de la loi du talion).

- Parmi les principes et les stratégies d'apprentissage que l'on retrouve chez les juifs d'autrefois, assimilables à la modernité, nous mentionnons le principe de combiner la théorie avec la pratique, le principe d'accessibilité des connaissances, le principe de l'intuition, l'exemple (à la fois positif et négatif), la lecture, l'exposé, la conversation, la mémorisation (même si l'on optait parfois pour la mémorisation mécanique), l'observation guidée, la comparaison, l'étude de cas, etc.

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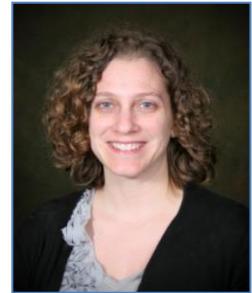
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Archaeology across the ocean  
Interview with Professor Ashley Dumas - University of West Alabama

Vasile Diaconu<sup>1</sup>

European archaeology has always been connected to scientific accomplishments from across the ocean and thought currents or historical concepts have often had their origins in the American intellectual environment. American archaeologists have taken the science of the human past to another level through their approach, which focuses more on historical evidence and less on the testimonies left behind by human communities. Prof. Ashley Dumas from the University of West Alabama can also be included in this group of specialists.



Although she is part of the younger generation of researchers, Prof. Ashley Dumas has a rich career and a significant scientific repertory. A graduate of the University of South Alabama (1996), Prof. Dumas earned her Ph.D. from the University of Alabama in 2007 with the topic "The Role of Salt in the Late Woodland to Mississippian Transition in Southwest Alabama."

She later served as an assistant researcher at the Center for Archaeological Studies, and as an Assistant Instructor, at the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work, University of South Alabama.

Between 2009 and 2014 she was Assistant Director of the Black Belt Museum in the Division of Educational Outreach and Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the Department of History and Social Sciences, University of West Alabama. Afterwards, until 2016, she held the position of Assistant Professor of Anthropology, at the Department of History and Social Sciences, Director of the Fort Tombecbe Archaeological Site, and Curator of Archeology with the Black Belt Museum, University of West Alabama. She is currently an Associate Professor of Anthropology, at the Department of History and Social Sciences, Director of the Fort Tombecbe Archaeological Site and Curator of Archeology with the Black Belt Museum, University of West Alabama.

Among her areas of research are the archeology of salt, late prehistory in the Southeast, slave housing in the Southeastern U.S. and French colonial archeology.

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She was a member of several research grant projects whose theme was related to the exploitation and use of salt, the study of ceramics, as well as military forts of the 18th century.

Her scientific activity also includes participations in a series of national and international events and hostin several archaeology conferences.

She has participated at and coordinated the excavation of several archaeological sites related to salt exploitation from prehistory to the modern era.

She is a member of several American scientific organisations, such as the Society for American Archaeology, the Alabama Trust for Historic Preservation, the Society for Historical Archaeology and the Alabama Archaeological Society.

Dumas is a member of the editorial boards of several archaeological publications and a reviewer for specialized journals, such as the Midcontinental Journal of Archeology, Southeastern Archeology, American Archeology and American Antiquity.

Because she is a researcher with broad visions, Prof. Dumas has published and edited several interdisciplinary works dedicated to the archaeology of salt, prehistoric pottery and remains related to the life of slaves and military fortifications in the 18th century.

*Professor Ashley Dumas, you are very well-known in the academic environment as a specialist with various interests in archaeology and anthropology. What determined your focus on these areas?*

Since childhood I have been drawn to the vestiges of previous lives, such as the sites of old farmhouses, cemeteries, and roads, and wanted to understand what connected them to us today. I did not know about anthropology, or that archaeology was a part of it, until I was in university. I had good professors who fostered my love for human cultures and provided opportunities to work with them on archaeological sites. I have developed a wide-ranging set of interests, which include the transition to agriculture and complex society in eastern North America, the importance of salt in human society, European colonization of this region, and the use of material culture to understand the effects of slavery. This means that it's difficult to be an "expert" of any single subject, but I enjoy diverse research.

*Was there a personality in the scientific world who influenced your passion for archaeology? Did you believe in the Indiana Jones model, or did you want to do a different kind of archaeology?*

I was a young girl when the Indiana Jones movies were introduced, and I was definitely an admirer of his adventures! Like most of the general public, I was drawn to the idea of exotic, lost civilizations. When I was around 10 years-old, I documented an old cemetery and was inspired to invent a business called "Ashley's Archaeological Services". However, as I grew older, I forgot about archaeology and did not know that it could be a viable career until I was at university. Today, I think that Indiana Jones or Lara Croft and similar characters are useful

for igniting a spark for archaeology, as long as further education about its realities is eventually obtained. More recently, the problem for American archaeology is the popularity of television shows that feature untrained individuals who dig up sites only for entertainment or the monetary value of what they find. They set a terrible example for the public, and I must often correct the misconceptions that my students learn from these shows.

*It is well-known that in the second half of the last century were laid the foundations of the New Archaeology, under the guidance of the American professor Lewis Binford. Later, this current was transformed into Processual Archaeology. How can you define the American school of archaeological theory today?*

American theorists today focus less on approaches to gathering data and more on including diverse interpretations. The school of thought is often referred to as Post-Processual, a view developed by Ian Hodder during his long-term excavations at Çatalhöyük, Turkey. A Post-Processual approach focuses on using the archaeological record to understand the thoughts and beliefs of past peoples. In the American Southeast, for example, archaeologists and ethnohistorians have made enormous progress in their understanding of the iconography represented on prehistoric pottery and in the organization of space. As a result of this collaborative, focused effort, we are more confident that we understand the belief systems of native peoples. Additionally, there are increasing attempts to interpret material culture through the eyes of women, children, and ordinary people who exercised agency in their everyday lives to effect culture change. This is an approach borrowed from sociologists Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu, whose work is not new but has been applied to archaeology only in the last twenty years. Finally, the most recent approach in American archaeology is to “decolonize” our work. Our history and prehistory has been excavated, interpreted, and taught largely by white men of European descent. Thus, American archaeology has been a field *about* indigenous or enslaved people, but it has not *included* the voices of their descendants. It is past the time for archaeologists to include descendant communities in every part of the process - excavation, analysis, and interpretation - especially as American archaeology is grounded in Anthropology. Students here receive university degrees in Anthropology, not archaeology, and often refer to themselves specifically as anthropological archaeologists, meaning that we incorporate comparative culture theory in our interpretations. Followers of American archaeology will see increasing references to decolonization of our field.

*Among your scientific interests is the topic of salt in archaic societies, especially in the Southeastern United States. For the European specialists, could you please explain the defining elements of what salt archaeology means in the USA?*

The study of salt is a tiny subfield of American archaeology, and those of us in active salt research probably number less than thirty. I suspect this is due to two factors. First, the USA lacks the impressive mountains of salt and vast salt mines like those in Europe that have been in use for thousands of years. The visible salt resources here are primarily salt lakes (in the west) or salt springs (in the east). Our salt mines have been in use only since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Second, indigenous peoples of North America have not made or traded salt for more than 300 years, so we have very few ethnohistoric records to tie salt to the past. Nevertheless, the archaeology of salt and its importance to indigenous peoples has gained more attention among those who study agricultural societies (about AD 1000-1600 in the east). Because of the work of Ian W. Brown and Jon Muller especially, salt is recognized as another important item of trade and perhaps ritual significance.

*You know to some extent the most important aspects of prehistoric salt mining in Europe. If we were to make a comparison with the American space, could you tell us the common elements but also the different ones in terms of salt mining techniques and the role of this mineral in the economy of human communities?*

Unlike continental Europe, especially in the Carpathians, there are few rock salt outcroppings in North America. There are several places in the American Southwest with evidence for mining salt, but these are unusual. Most of our salt resources are in the form of salt lakes or salt springs, whose brine must be evaporated to obtain crystallized salt. Another difference is that, unlike the long history of salt making in Europe, indigenous peoples in North America began to practice intensive agriculture around A.D. 900, and it did not spread to some regions until a couple of hundred years later. Thus, our archaeological salt deposits represent a smaller amount of time. The basic techniques of reducing brine to salt follow the same principles as those found in Europe and elsewhere - the application of solar or fire heat to containers of brine. It is interesting, however, that briquetage in the form of augets and pedestals, as seen throughout many of the world's salt production sites, is quite rare here. Apart from these differences, I believe that the use of salt among indigenous peoples as a dietary supplement, trade item, and ritual object is comparable to other communities around the world.

*Although not necessarily related to archaeology, it would be interesting to know how the Amerindian peoples managed the salt. Did it only have economic or social values?*

We are fortunate to have an ethnohistoric record of salt among indigenous Americans in Eastern North America dating to the earliest 16<sup>th</sup>-century colonization. European explorers, colonizers and, later, Euro-American settlers sometimes observed native peoples making salt

or participating in the salt trade. The economic importance of salt may have been partly responsible for the establishment of a large administrative town along the northern Gulf Coast around A.D. 1100. For insight into other values of salt, so far we rely solely on the ethnohistoric record, where in Euro-Americans recorded certain taboos and proscriptions regarding the use of salt. I do hope that we will find some archaeological, material representation of the ritual value and meaning of salt.

*I noticed that you are taking an interest in the investigation of ceramics, especially from an interdisciplinary perspective. For Southeastern U.S. prehistory, how can the social value of pottery be defined?*

There has been a strong emphasis on the study of pottery fabrics, forms, and decorations to establish culture history sequences across the region. In the past two decades, archaeologists have taken a special interest in deciphering the iconography incised on indigenous pottery. Through careful methodology, often drawing from the work of art theorists, ethnohistorians, and conversations with living native peoples, we have succeeded in using designs on pottery to better understand indigenous beliefs about the cosmos, origins, death, and how these perceptions changed over time. Pottery has also been used to define matrilineal communities of practice in prehistory. I often use these studies to demonstrate to my students that it is possible to use broken pieces of pottery to get into the minds of prehistoric people.

*A special aspect of your work is the research of some archaeological sites from relatively recent periods, such as forts or slave dwellings. What is the place of this type of investigation in the landscapes of American archaeology?*

I understand that an 18<sup>th</sup>-century fort is almost too recent for most European archaeologists to bother with. In the U.S., however, any archaeological site from the 16<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup> centuries will be a site of culture contact between European colonists (from a variety of countries), native people, and sometimes enslaved Africans. These sites are also on the frontier of the globalized world, where access to material goods and political power was reduced. These diverse relationships often led to hybrid, or creolized, adaptations to life reflected in unique forms of architecture, pottery, and other material culture. The military sites can be surprising, because the written documents, meant for military leaders, tell a very different story from what archaeologists find in the ground.

My interest in slave dwellings grew from the fact that I live in a region of the Southeast that had a high percentage of enslaved Africans. The legacy remains tangibly present our current social, economic, and political lives. On my drive to and from work, I would pass by old farms and small towns that have changed little since the end of the American Civil War (1861-

1865) and where one can find the extant structures used to house slaves. So little of the personal lives of slaves was recorded, but the places where they lived can offer insight into their daily experiences. These places also serve as structures about which we can begin productive conversations about a painful part of our past. After documenting the patterns of slave dwelling architecture and landscapes, I hope to excavate one with the help of local descendants.

*You visited Romania and got in touch with our academic environment. You also have a collaboration with colleagues from the University of Iași regarding the editing of the articles of the First International Congress on the Anthropology of Salt. For the specialists in this field, but also for the general public, could you tell us, from the perspective of the foreign archaeologist, how important do you think is the archaeological heritage related to the exploitation of salt in the Romanian domain?*

Romania is fortunate to have a wide range of salt sources and a cadre of talented scholars interested in understanding how humans have exploited those sources. Not only are some of the oldest salt production sites located in Romania, which provide insight into the human adoption of salt as a commodity, but salt is still used in traditional ways by contemporary Romanians. The opportunity to observe people making and using salt, and to speak with them about its significance to them, is an extraordinary privilege nearly unique to Romania.

I have been extremely impressed with the leadership of Romanian archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians in establishing the anthropology of salt and making valuable contributions to the research. They have also created long-term, fruitful collaborations with scholars across Europe and in other parts to the world, which demonstrates a commitment to scholarly excellence. It has been my pleasure and honor to learn from my Romanian colleagues, and I hope to continue doing so in the quest to understand the importance of salt in human societies.



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Fig. 1. Professor Ashley Dumas on the Fort Tombecbe Archaeological Site



Fig. 2. Professor Ashley Dumas at the 3rd salt congress in Vitoria-Gasteiz (2018)

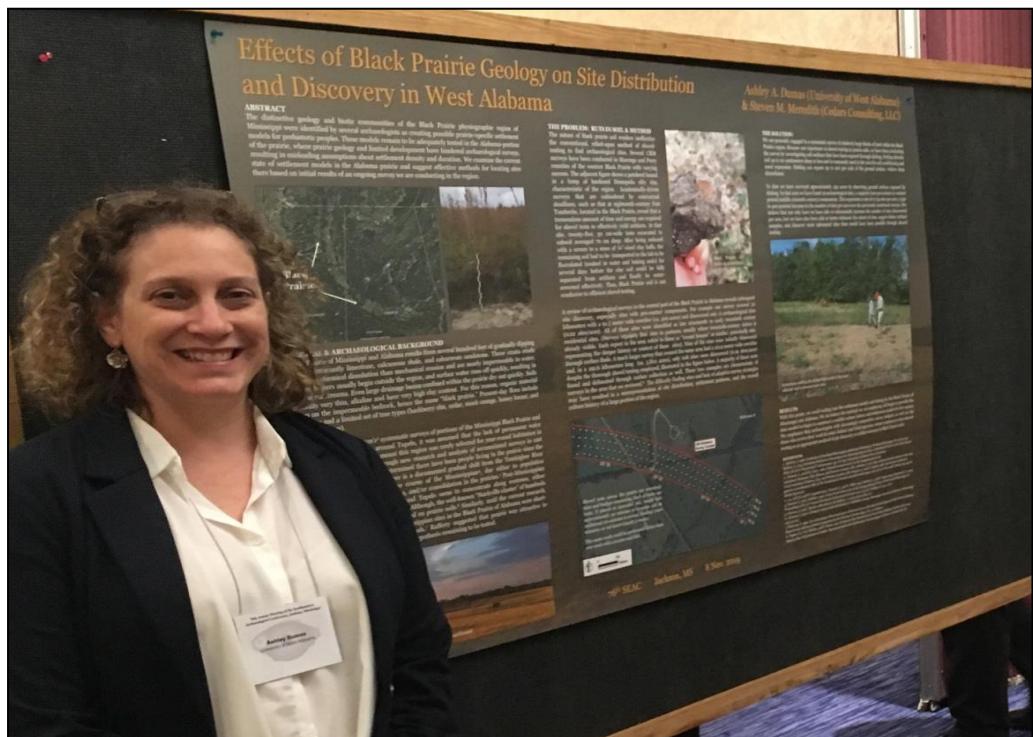


Fig. 3. Professor Ashley Dumas at the Southeastern Archaeological Conference in 2019.