New Classicists

Selected papers from

MEANING, MEMORY, AND MOVEMENT
ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL SPACES

Issue 4 - January 2021

KING'S College LONDON
Funded by the Department of Classics

ISSN 2732-4168

Table of Contents

Foreword

The idea for a conference that brought together scholars interested in the study of space came from conversations enjoyed at the Arts and Humanities Research Council's (AHRC) Midlands3Cities [now Midlands4Cities (M4C)] introductory trip to the University of Leicester in 2018. There, the editors of this issue, Ben Salisbury (University of Birmingham) and Ben White (University of Nottingham), met for the first time Chris Rouse (University of Birmingham) and Curtis Lisle (University of Birmingham). Our research foci held several themes in common, but most striking was the prevalence of an appreciation for the study of space by whatever means. Over the weeks and months that followed this initial meeting, in which time we were joined by Liam McLeod (University of Birmingham) and Tom Quigley (University of Manchester), we went about putting into writing some of the central themes of spatial studies in which we were interested. These central themes included space and cultural memory, the organisation of space, liminal spaces and movement in space, definitions of space, gendered space, and representations of space.

By the end of 2018, we had decided to organise a conference and to invite scholars of the ancient and medieval worlds whose research touched on these themes to join us in a temporally diverse discussion of space within historical research. We were fortunate that the M4C, the AHRC consortium that funds a numbers of the conference organisers, offered the framework and funding to organise and host such an inter-institutional event.

Our thanks, then, to the M4C for awarding us the funds to arrange the conference and to The Classical Association for granting us funds to subsidise postgraduate travel to, and participation in, the event. Without our financial sponsors, it would not have been possible to achieve this event and the resulting articles contained within this issue.

The conference was a resounding success, if we do say so ourselves, and a number of the participants were eager to put down on paper the thoughts and feedback conveyed there orally. The *New Classicists* journal, for which Ben Salisbury was already editing and for which Ben White is now editing too, offered to organise the publication of selected papers from the conference, and now, over one eventful year later, we, the conference organisers and *New Classicists* team, are proud to present the published versions of several of the papers given over the two-day event in 2019.

Arts & Humanities Research Council

Mitigating Pollution in Ancient Rome's Green Spaces

Dr Andrew Fox - University of Nottingham

There has been a consistent engagement with the continued degradation of our environment over the past twenty years, and it was a concern among ancient authors. Columella, a Roman agronomist writing in the first century BC, identifies that one of his antecedents, the Greek Hipparchus, had commented on soil depletion in the second century AD.[1] However, sustained engagement with climate change and the environment was not typically practised outside of specialist texts, at least not in a fashion as closely analogous to our modern understanding. For example, Caesar did not elect to march his troops across Gaul in order to limit their carbon footprint, nor did he concern himself with deforestation as a climate issue when obtaining resources for the siege works at various towns.[2] Outside of specialist texts such as Columella's *Res Rusticae*, ancient engagement with the climate, and with air quality in particular, is primarily from a sensory basis.[3] Following Baker's sensory approach to ancient environmental pollution, it is perhaps best to understand discussions of the environment, and of the atmosphere in ancient Rome with a more fluid understanding of both terms. Pollution was not understood in the same quantitative fashion as it is today, and is conceived of in qualitative terms.[4] As an example, discussions about the import of foreign goods are limited to the damaging effects of *luxuria* on a Roman populace susceptible to the temptations of such immorality, and not about the effects of importing a product from such a great distance (although Wallace-Hadrill has argued that the further one has to go for a good in the Roman world, the more luxurious that good is).[5] Taking the same qualitative approach, it might be better to think of the 'atmosphere' of an ancient place as being more closely related to its ambience, and pollution of it as something that is not judged quantitatively, but in terms of its effect on the experience of visitors to it.

[1] Columella *Rust*. 1. *praef*. 1.
[2] Lucan offers an account of the type of concern that is more prevalent in Caesar's deforestations in Bellum civile 3.394-452. This is a well-known passage of Lucan's epic poem, and for discussion of it see, among others, Phillips (1968), Spencer (2005), Leigh (2010) and Hunt (2016: 121-72).
[3] Baker (2018).
[4] Hughes (2014) 50-2.
[5] See Pliny on *luxuria*, as well as Seneca the Younger, both of whom caution against its import on frequent occasions. Also see Fox (2019; 81-7), Lao (2011), and Wallace-Hadrill (1990).

Despite the dissonance between ancient and modern understandings of atmospheric pollution, there remains some continuity in ancient and modern approaches to limiting the impact of pollution in urban spaces. One way in which Roman architects controlled the experience of visitors was through the use of green spaces. These were common in ancient cities, and Vitruvius encourages their inclusion in public buildings. However, green spaces were not an exclusively Roman idea, and Roman interactions with nature in urban settings were influenced by the idea of the Greek *paradeisos* and the Persian *pairidaeza*, which has been explored in the context of conquest and gardens by Totelin.[6] In the first century BC, Rome's urban garden spaces began to become public spaces, and were designed, not as a private venue but as a performative public display: this was nowhere more prominent than in the Porticus of Pompey, which will form the primary focus of this article.[7] The end of the civil wars at the fall of the Republic and the relative stability of the principate also marked the beginning of sustained growth in the city of Rome's economy, and came in a period of climatic stability.[8]

Mitigating the effects of pollution in the ancient world did not stem from as scientifically rigorous a process as today, and judgements of air quality were primarily made from a sensory basis. This can make discussion of ancient approaches to environmental pollution challenging, since Roman accounts do not use the same frame of reference as modern approaches, which rely on scientific analyses. This paper will deploy these contemporary analyses to explore ancient practices as evidenced in literature and material evidence and will determine the extent to which Romans of the first centuries BC and AD understood the benefits of greenery, and of green spaces, on environmental pollution. It will also explore how effective ancient urban planting would have been in mitigating the presence of pollutants and the effects of pollution, using modern analysis of urban planting as a point of comparison.

Vitruvius and *viridia*

Vitruvius, a Roman architect of the late Republic and Augustan period, describes his ideal place, based on the Porticus of Pompey, in his architectural manual *De architectura*:

---

[6] Totelin (2012). Also see Moynihan (1979), and Farrar (1998: 9-10).
[7] For the Porticus of Pompey as a public space, see especially Gleason (1994).
[8] See Harper et al. (2018).

> The central areas, bounded by porticoes, should be decorated with greenery (*viridia*). This is because walking in the open air is very healthy, especially for the eyes, because from the plantations, a fresh and rarefied air flows into the moving body, sharpens the vision, and thus clears the eyes of the thick humour, and leaves the gaze clear and acute. Moreover, since the moving body heats up by walking, the air extracts the humours from the limbs and diminishes their repletion, dissipating what the body has, more than it can carry. (5.9.5)

Vitruvius links walks in the 'clean and rarefied air' provided by greenery within a large architectural space. By necessity, this space has to be 'in the open air', and the element that promotes the health (*salubritas*) of the visitors to the space is the rarification of the air. Davies has identified that air quality was a concern for a number of Roman authors, that Horace encourages visitors to the city to put the smoke and din to one side, and to focus on other aspects.[9] The smoke was likely a result of the chief fuel of the city, wood, and the creation of open public spaces in the first century BC such as the Porticus of Pompey and the Horti formerly owned by Caesar in Transtiberim will have created zones which might have provided some separation from the smells and sounds of the city.

Vitruvius' concern in the creation of the *viridia* is not, like his account of the lead workers' struggles with air quality, concerned with the creation of impurities of the blood in visitors, but instead presents a green space in a complex as a place for cleansing 'the thick humour' from the eyes of the visitor. Whether this 'humour' (*umor*) corresponds to a humour in the Hippocratic (or later Galenic) sense is unclear, and Vitruivius could have been using *umor* to refer to a 'liquid'. In this instance, it could be taken that the 'thick humour' (*crassus umor*) that greenery cleanses are reflex tears, created in response to a foreign irritant.[10] It would then be reasonable to assume that the foreign irritants are elements such as the smoke generated by Rome's fuel and other particulates that would be carried in the air in an urban space.

The cleansing nature of green spaces is not unique to Vitruvius' writing in the ancient world. Herodian reports that the emperor Commodus was, in the late second century CE, sent by his physicians to Laurentum, to walk among the laurel groves. Herodian further tells us that Commodus was expected to benefit from the refreshing shade of the trees, and the purifying scent of the laurel trees themselves (Hdn. 1.12.2). Conversely, too much shade could be understood as a negative thing for a tree, and Pliny tells us that

---

[9] Davies (2012) 74, citing Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.11-12. Davies also cites Strabo's observation that tall chimneys distance harmful gases from the population (3.2.8), and Vitruvius observing that lead workers suffer as a result of the air impurities essential to their profession (*De arch.* 8.6.11).

[10] For more on the three varieties of tears, see Murube (2009).

the fir tree (*abies*) drips poison from its branches, preventing any growth beneath them (Plin. *HN*. 17.91). Vitruvius concludes that the porticoed space is beneficial to the health of visitors in peace time (*De arch*. 5.9.9).[11]

Green Spaces: A Modern Approach

Figure 1: The Green Wall at Edgware Road. Map Data: 2020 Google.

The health of urban citizens in the modern city has become a key issue in the past decade. In 2011, funded by (then Mayor of London) Boris Johnson's Clean Air Fund, a 180 square metre green wall was constructed on the side of Edgware Road tube station (see Figure 1). It was designed, manufactured, and installed by the firm Biotecture Ltd and was commissioned with the explicit intent of reducing the effect of particulate matter

[11] Other ancient authors, such as Celsus and Pliny the Younger, discuss the benefits of walking in the open air, with Celsus explicitly advising walks outside of porticoed spaces, directly contrary to the typical urban experience. O'Sullivan (2011: 80-3) offers some discussion on this, and the emasculation that they believe to be present in Roman thought about walking vs living a sedentary life.

produced at a busy junction.[12] The particulate matter that the green wall is designed to reduce the effect of is PM_{10}, particulate matter of 10 micrometers across.[13]

Similarly, the Green Areas Inner-City Agreement (or GAIA project) in Italy planted 3000 trees in the city of Bologna from 2010-15, with the specific aim of reducing air pollution from CO_2 and PM_{10} (for an example, see Figure 2).[14] To do this, they analysed the filtration quality of different species, and identified twenty four tree types best suited to reduce the targeted pollutants, with the added benefit of reducing urban temperature by 4.5°C.[15] The tree types selected can be characterised as being either broad- or small-leaved, and/or aesthetically pleasing, and this is in line with the requirements of the Bologna Council, who only partially relied on the evidence presented by estimates of the capacity of trees to decrease fine dust, volatile organic compounds and gaseous pollutants, as well as their capacity to reduce temperature.

Figure 2: Parco Aquile Randagie, from Via Genova, Bologna. The new trees are planted in the foreground, alongside more mature trees lining the footpath on the left. Map Data: 2019 Google.

[12] Biotecture were also commissioned by Transport for London to design, plant, and maintain a green wall at Elephant and Castle tube station in 2016. However, this wall has not been the subject of the same analysis as the Edgware Road green wall.

[13] A human hair is 100 micrometers in diameter.

[14] I had intended to include an image of these trees as they are today, but my trip to Italy was cancelled on account of COVID-19. For the locations of the trees planted under the GAIA project, see http://www.arcgis.com/apps/OnePane/basicviewer/index.html?appid=d79f04fa28f144aa9c95987eb438d17e. In the absence of photos taken on site, I have included a Google Maps Street View image of one of the parks planted in the GAIA project, and of the green wall at Edgware Road, which I was similarly unable to visit on account of the national lockdown at the time of writing.

[15] This is according to the case study published by The European Climate Adaptation Platform Climate-ADAPT (2016, https://climate-adapt.eea.europa.eu/metadata/case-studies/gaia-green-area-inner-city-agreement-to-finance-tree-planting-in-bologna).

While the GAIA project rapidly became self-sustainable (it was projected to run from 2010-13, and is still having an effect on the city) and is now a stable part of the city's municipality, the Edgware Road green wall requires frequent maintenance, and was the subject of a study by Imperial College London. This study assessed the efficacy of greenery in reducing PM_{10}, and concluded that 'plants with small leaves with a high density of hairs were most efficient at intercepting $PM_{2.5-10}$, but during sustained periods of dry weather plants may reach a saturation point, after which particulate capture is less efficient.'[16] The recommendation of the report were that, while green walls and planting did counter PM_{10} to some extent, they should only be employed as a supplementary method to more stringent approaches. A 2018 report on the impact of vegetation on urban air pollution by the Air Quality Expert Group, prepared for the UK Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs; Scottish and Welsh Governments, and the Department of the Environment in Northern Ireland takes a similar approach, identifies that while vegetation is beneficial, it is not capable of combating urban pollution on its own.[17] The report is also very clear that the planting of trees did not eliminate pollution, and in several instances only redistributes it. Planting positions of trees also affect the efficacy of trees in combating the dispersion of pollutants, as well as the deposition of particulate matter onto the ground.

Propertius and the Porticus of Pompey

The observations of the Air Quality Expert Group can only be applied in a hypothetical hindsight to discussions of the efficacy of tree planting in the ancient world, and their effect on pollutants there. But ancient pollution can be, and has been, measured. Recent examinations of Greenland ice cores have indicated that the first century BC was a period of fluctuation for Rome's emissions, dropping in correspondence with sustained periods of warfare until 61 BC before a brief recovery until Caesar's Spanish campaigns, and increasing again when Octavian assumed control in 31 BC. Emissions continued to escalate throughout the Roman principate, and the substantial drop.[18] Meanwhile, our evidence for the planting within the city of Rome typically comes from written accounts and (in rare instances) archaeological evidence.[19]

---

[16] Shackleton et al. (2012) 2.
[17] Air Quality Expert Group (2018) 28.
[18] McConnell et al. (2018).
[19] While trees are archaeologically fugitive, we are sometimes fortunate to find the traces of their existence, as is the case in the example used in this section.

A classic example of this is the Porticus of Pompey, the building Vitruvius employed as his example of an ideal building in the passage of *De achitectura* quoted above. Here, a range of evidence types come together to inform our understanding of the building, which is found in poetry, archaeological evidence, and the *Forma Urbis*.[20] The trees of the Porticus are found across this evidence, and are most clearly referred to in ancient literature. Martial, in his *Epigrams*, briefly refers to the 'double grove' (*nemus duplex*) of the complex, and its shade.[21] Almost a century earlier, Propertius was more extensive in his description of the grove:

> Pompey's Porticus, its shady
> columns draped in Attalid fabrics,
> and plane trees growing in neat rows (*Elegies*, 2.32.11-13).[22]

These plane trees are unlikely to have been planted with any environmental benefit in mind, and were possibly an attempt to echo Pompey's triumphal import of the ebony tree.[23] There are additional benefits to the plane tree in the place, and these are identified by Martial and Propertius, the former highlighting the shade cast by the plane tree,[24] and the latter its architectural qualities: the trees are planted in strict rows while the columns are shady, and the natural element is juxtaposed with the artificial. An additional factor in planting plane trees could have been that they are reasonably well-equipped to withstand urban planting, although their shallow root spread does pose some risk to paving.[25]

However, there may have been an additional effect on the reduction of air pollutants within the complex. This is not necessarily a benefit that was planned by the original architects of the Porticus of Pompey, which pre-dates Vitruvius' observations in the *De*

---

[20] See Davies (2017: 229-32) for a summary of the evidence, and for analysis of Pompey's theatre complex in the context of the political upheaval of the close of the first century BCE. For the archaeological evidence (soundings under the Teatro Argentina), see Coarelli (2007: 285).
[21] Double grove: Mart. *Ep*. 2.14.10. Shade: Mart. *Ep*. 5.10.5. Martial does not mention the type of tree that offers this shade.
[22] These three lines feature prominently in discussions around the Porticus. Among others, see Russell (2016: 153-86); Gleason (1994); Spencer (2010: 167-70); Kuttner (1999). For the planting of trees in porticoes, and the archaeological evidence for it, see Gleason and Palmer (2018).
[23] I examined these trees in my PhD thesis (see esp. Chapter 4.1) and concluded that the plane tree had been planted as an alternative to the ebony, which was imported and displayed by Pompey in his Pontic triumph (Plin. *HN* 12.20; 12.111-12. See also Solin. 52.52). Since the ebony would not be able to grow in Rome's temperate climate, the plane would be a suitable substitute, since it would emulate the shade of the ebony tree (Plin. *HN* 2.32.11-13; Luc. *Bell. Civ*. 10.304) and its origin, being "quintessentially Asian", Totelin (2012: 134); see also Kuttner (1999: 347).
[24] Pliny the Elder reminds us that the plane tree was only imported for the sake of its shade (*HN* 12.6).
[25] Morgenroth (2011). The risk is due to a particularly dense root network at 20cm down. Romans were aware of the destructive power of trees (see Prop. 4.5.75-6; Pers. 1.25; Mart. 10.2.9; Juv. 10.142-6), and of a plane tree's root spread (see Varr. *Rust*. 1.37.5), so would have considered this when planting these trees.

architectura by between thirty and fifty years. The effect on smaller particulate matter such as PM_{10} is not likely to have been as substantial as, for example, the Green Wall at Edgware Road: Shackleton et al. identify that small-leaved trees are the most efficient at gathering PM_{10}, and the plane tree is not identified by GAIA as one of the 24 tree species best-suited to the prevention of PM_{10} spread. When Vitruvius made his observations regarding *viridia* and the rarification of the air in the late first century BCE, he was doing so without the same rigorous scientific analysis as has been afforded to modern planting, in the examples of the GAIA project and the Edgware Road green wall. However, this analysis goes some way to indicate that the trees planted in the Porticus would have had a mitigating effect on the air pollutants described by Horace,[26] and the observations of Vitruvius suggest that at least some visitors to the Porticus noticed, and were thankful for, the rarified air afforded by these trees.

Summary

This paper set out with two clear objectives: to establish if trees were included in Roman public places for environmental purposes, and to examine if they would have been effective in fulfilling this role. Trees were included as an element of *viridia*, which Vitruvius advocated as being beneficial for health. This was not the only reason that trees were planted, and other compelling reasons, such as as the spoils of war, did exist. In the context of the Porticus of Pompey, the trees functioned as a part of the building itself, and may have provided the predicted benefits for the health of a visitor, although the plane tree is not the ideal tree for capturing air pollutants, per modern analyses of trees in urban settings of the twenty-first century. While the language that Vitruvius uses may not be the same as the language of modern scientists, we can see that the use of trees and other *viridia* to filter out small particulate matter for the benefit of the general population is not a new concept, and has been practised since the first century BC. The methodology employed in this paper, comparing ancient and modern approaches to mitigating the effects of pollution, can be applied throughout the ancient world and to different forms of pollution. My next project will do just that and will take a similar approach to four forms of pollution, air, noise, and water pollution, and land contamination.

[26] Hor. *Carm*. 3.29.11-12.

References

Air Quality Expert Group (2018) *Effects of Vegetation on Urban Air Pollution*, Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs.

Baker, P. (2018) 'Identifying the connection between Roman conceptions of 'Pure Air' and physical and mental health in Pompeian gardens (c.150 BC–AD 79): a multi-sensory approach to ancient medicine', *World Archaeology*, 50(3): 404–417.

Climate Adapt (2016) *GAIA - Green Area Inner-city Agreement to finance tree planting in Bologna*, https://climate-adapt.eea.europa.eu/metadata/case-studies/gaia-green-area-inner-city-agreement-to-finance-tree-planting-in-bologna, accessed 19-Mar-2020.

Coarelli, F. (2007) *Rome and its Environs* (trans. J. Clauss & D. Harmon). University of California Press: Berkeley.

Davies, P. (2012) 'Pollution, propriety and urbanism in Republican Rome' in M. Bradley (ed.) *Rome, Pollution and Propriety*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 67-80.

Davies, P. (2017) *Architecture and Politics in Republican Rome*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Farrar, L. (1998) *Ancient Roman Gardens*, The History Press: Stroud.

Fox, A. (2019) *Living Trophies: Trees, Triumphs and the Subjugation of Nature in Early Imperial Rome*, PhD thesis, University of Nottingham.

Gleason, K. (1994) 'Porticus Pompeiana: A New Perspective on the First Public Park of Ancient Rome', *The Journal of Garden History* 14: 13-27.

Gleason, K. and Palmer, M. (2018) 'Constructing the ancient Roman garden' in W. Jashemski, K Gleason, K. Hartswick, and A-A Malek (eds) *Gardens of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Harper, K. and McCormick, M. (2018) 'Reconstructing the Roman climate', in Scheidel, W. (ed.) *The Science of Roman History: Biology, Climate, and the Future of the Past*, Princeton University Press: Princeton.

Hughes, J. D. (2014) *Environmental Problems of the Greeks and Romans: Ecology in the Ancient Mediterranean*, John Hopkins University Press: Maryland.

Hunt, A. (2016), *Reviving Roman Religion: Sacred Trees in the Roman World*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Kuttner, A.L. (1999) 'Culture and history at Pompey's museum', *TAPA* 129: 343-73.

Lao, E. (2011) 'Luxury and the creation of a good consumer' in R. Gibson & R. Morello (eds), *Pliny the Elder: Themes and Contexts*. Brill: Leiden, 35-56.

Leigh, M. (2010) 'Lucan's Caesar and the sacred grove: deforestation and enlightenment in antiquity' in C. Tesoriero, F. Muecke, and T. Neal (eds), *Lucan: Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*, Oxford University Press: Oxford, 201-38.

McConnell, J. R., Wilson, A.I., Stohl, A., Arienzo, M. M., Chellman, N. J., Eckhardt, S., Thompson, E. M., Pollard, A. M., and Steffensen, J. P. (2018) 'Lead pollution recorded in Greenland ice indicates European emissions tracked plagues, wars, and imperial expansion during antiquity', *PNAS* 115(22): 5726-5731.

Morgenroth, J. (2011) 'Root growth response of *Platanus orientalis* to porous pavements', *Arboriculture and Urban Forestry* 37(2):45-50.

Moynihan, E. (1979) *Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India*, George Braziller: New York.

Murube, J. (2009) 'Basal, reflex, and psycho-emotional tears', *The Ocular Surface* 7(2):60-6.

O'Sullivan, T. (2011) *Walking in Roman Culture*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Phillips, O.C. (1968) 'Lucan's grove', *CPh* 63: 296-300.

Russell, A. (2016) *The Politics of Public Space in Republican Rome*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Shackleton, K. Bell, N., Smith, H., and Davies, L. (2012) *The role of shrubs and perennials in the capture and mitigation of particulate air pollution in London*, Centre for Environmental Policy, Imperial College London.

Spencer, D. (2005) 'Lucan's follies: memory and ruin in a civil-war landscape' *G&R* 52:46-69.

Spencer, D. (2010) *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Totelin, L. (2012) 'Botanizing rulers and their herbal subjects: plants and political Power in Greek and Roman literature', *Phoenix* 66: 122-44.

Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1990) 'Pliny the Elder and man's unnatural history', *G&R* 37(1):80-96.

Rus 'Becomes' *Urbs*: Hard and Soft Landscape Elements in the Gardens of Pompeii

Jessica Venner - University of Birmingham

The Roman *hortus* of the late Republican and early Imperial period came to occupy a space of societal polarities, of conflict between the old and the new, the individual and the community, the real and the surreal, the rich and the poor, and the country (*rus*) and the city (*urbs*). The latter opposition is identified by Diana Spencer as a cultural faultline existent during the early Principate,[27] a faultline which required careful navigation to ensure societal (or literal) survival. Wealth, and the endeavour for political power, sat at the centre of this struggle, with *horti* both public and private becoming physical manifestations of an individual's own ambitions and desires. It is widely acknowledged that an architectural space is the product of the society which produces it. As articulated by Jones, the Roman *hortus* in particular was an expression of an individual's internalised mental experience of other *horti* around the city in which he walked, the pages he read, and the descriptions he heard.[28] Yet a study which looks at the manifestation of this in the physical construction of the private *hortus*, namely via an analysis of hard and soft landscape elements, is yet to be undertaken. Such a study is important for assessing the fluency of "ordinary" individuals in the epistemological discourses of the elite and establishing the "rules [which] govern the production of Roman garden space" beyond the purely descriptive approach which has thus far dominated Roman garden scholarship.[29] This analysis will be taken from the perspective of the authoritative male, namely the *pater familias* (the individual most likely involved in the employment of architects and *topiarii* for private *hortus* design) in order to explore the interesting tension between who we imagine "enjoying" and "making" place in the garden, and where, when, and why.

[27] Spencer (2010: 246).
[28] Jones (2014).
[29] See for example Farrar (2011); Gleason (2013); Bowe (2017). While von Stackelberg (2009) and Spencer (2006) have separately approached the tension of *rus* and *urbs* present in archaeological remains and literary descriptions of Roman gardens, a study which specifically relates this common literary Roman trope to the physical design elements of *horti* of "ordinary" individuals outside of the Roman elite is still lacking. For a study which looks at wealth and status promotion in the villas of the elite on the Bay of Naples, see Zarmakoupi (2014). For the literary descriptions of leisurable elite gardens, see Myers (2005).

This paper will begin by defining hard and soft landscape elements, before moving on to an assessment of the associated notions of "*rus*" in Roman elite literature during the late Republican and early Imperial periods. The findings of both will then be applied to four garden case studies from the town of Pompeii in order to analyse the social and practical motives behind hard and soft landscape compositions in Roman garden design.

Hard and soft landscape elements

In contemporary society, the role of a landscape architect is to achieve "visual unity and harmony" in the design scheme of a garden through the balanced combination of hard and soft landscape elements.[30] Hard landscape elements are the bones of the garden, inanimate in their composition and used to create boundaries, order the movement of individuals, and delineate and organise space. Most importantly, hard landscape elements serve to direct pedestrian movement and create lines of sight, acting as physical imprints of human intervention upon the constructed "natural" landscape of the garden. Hard elements today are understood as important for defining the "mood" and "character" of a garden space,[31] and a major consideration in their construction is their relation not only to the "visual quality of the surrounding [area]", but also to any space external to that of the garden.[32] That hard, rather than soft, elements are related to character and mood is indicative of the element of human control inherent in their composition, their purpose understood in terms of their cognitive and physical influence upon the human body. Hard elements are composed of materials which are unlikely to change greatly over time, such as masonry, soil and wood. In the Roman garden, these may include pergolas, paths, walls, fences, terracing, water features and fountains. Soft landscape elements are characterised by their constant state of change, and as such include flowers, trees, shrubs, water and soil. These elements are at the heart of the garden and create attractive and verdant displays, contributing to the temporal and heterotopic nature of garden space (the space of the heterotopia will be discussed below).

Combining hard and soft elements requires careful planning to achieve the correct balance for a pleasing display, in consideration of the desires of the patron, much as

[30] Shah, Kale and Patki (2002: 168).
[31] Blake (2015: 47).
[32] Shah, Kale and Patki (2002: 168).

Vitruvius describes in the process of architectural design.[33] The human element of hard landscape elements makes it natural to apply them to the realm of *urbs*, and subsequently soft to *rus,* though in some cases the expected may not be the conclusion, as shall be demonstrated below. Keeping this in mind, we may move on to consider the *hortus* in relation to collective Roman identity, as communicated by the elite, before assessing the translation of this onto the physical space of the *hortus* from the literary and archaeological evidence available to us.

Collective Roman identity and the *hortus*

All gardens throughout history are constructed according to the agency of the human race and as such encompass, as Cook and Foulk state, the "distinct social changes and ideals" of the society which creates them.[34] Should we accept that nature is "socially constructed",[35] while also acknowledging that an individual's motivation is a product of societal pressures, we begin to appreciate the garden as a construct of the independent Roman mind, impressed upon by the society in which he lives. McIntosh emphasises the problematic presence of humanity in "nature", and the blurred relationship between the two which ultimately causes nature to lose all agency to human control. Such a relationship has in history caused a "human-centred view of nature… as the beneficiary of human cultural constructions",[36] hence the pastoral tradition at the centre of Roman collective identity. As such, we may view "nature [as] a grand collection of metaphors for human actions and relations",[37] and begin to view the *hortus* of the early Principate as an urbane output of Imperialist ideologies which saw Rome contain the Empire within its walls, and asked its citizens to do the same.

A consideration of the Foucauldian concept of the heterotopia is useful for understanding the temporal and "physical mutability" of the garden in defining its own spatial identity and that of its creators and participants. A heterotopia is a "space in

---

[33] Vitruvius (*De arch*. I.2) divides architecture into six constituent parts: ordering, design, shapeliness, symmetry, correctness and allocation. The proper design, planning and construction of each according to the needs and status of the individual(s) for whom the structure is intended (e.g. I.2.9), in line with these constituent parts, constitutes good architectural practice.
[34] Cook and Foulk (2013: 177).
[35] Vogel (1996: 5). See also Reed (2001: 42) on transcendentalism and the human consciousness in relation to nature.
[36] McIntosh (1974: 45).
[37] McIntosh (1974: 51). See also Reed (2001: 41).

which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs".[38] Unlike the utopia, which is an "unreal" space, heterotopias exist in the material world. They are spaces in which the real world is reflected, represented and reformed, sometimes contested and sometimes inverted. They are external to all other places, metaphorically and sometimes metaphysically, and exist as "real places that contain all other places".[39] As such, the heterotopia resonates with our understanding of the Roman *hortus* in existing as a mirror of reality (natural landscape) and of thought (Roman epistemes of autochthony, tradition and *rusticitas*), understood in the moment of occupation only as a result of the space which it represents or builds upon. In other words, a heterotopia can only be "real" because of "other space, [and is] created as a result of passing though the external point of representation to come into being".[40] The heterotopia of the garden can therefore be seen as an allegorical sponge of individual, community, and national identity in Roman history; in particular, the Roman *hortus* of the first century AD was a product of agricultural and pastoral autochthony and Roman origin, combined with cultural influences from external sources, namely the Hellenistic from the mid-first century BCE onwards. It therefore represents "territorial totality", "onto which the whole world comes to enact its symbolic perfection",[41] and a packaged environment of boundaries which at once preserves time, fosters culture, and is at once temporary and permanent.[42]

Augustan reforms which strove against the sterility of luxury,[43] growing exponentially (in the eyes of the elite, at least) since the late Republican period, caused Roman authors such as Horace and Seneca to become fascinated by the boundaries dividing *rus* and *urbs*, and *labor* and *otium*, presenting new interactions with natural landscape as in conflict with the identity of a population founded on pastoralism and agriculture. This anxiety, felt and communicated by elite authors, was founded in a consciousness of a waning "Roman" collective identity. As Connerton states, the dominant groups of society are inclined to hold themselves responsible for memory preservation by creating a sense of power and influence, locating themselves "within a linear trajectory of time, in relation to the past legitimising origins".[44] On the other hand, subordinate groups move according to a "rhythm" set by their own intervention in the "working of the dominant

---

[38] Foucault (1986: 23).
[39] Soja (1996: 158).
[40] Foucault (1986: 24).
[41] Soja (1996: 160).
[42] Soja (1996: 160).
[43] See Hartswick (2004: 13-4) who suggests looking at the domus of Vedius Pollio for an example of this. See also Ovid *Fast*. 6.637–48 and Dio Cass. 54.23.5 for discussions of the "sterility" of *luxuria*. See Edwards (1993) for an extensive discussion on the politics of immorality (and luxury) in ancient Rome.
[44] Connerton (1989: 19).

institutions".[45] Gardens, as heterotopias, were the perfect candidate for imprinting collective Roman identity and memory, symbols of which were captured in specific design elements and emulated by those of lower status (either via visiting the gardens of patrons and friends, or in the public gardens of Rome).[46] The evolution of the *hortus* in the first century AD, as we shall see, was a process of successful state functioning, which ultimately relied on the "adherence [of the masses] to a collective or social memory in which the elite of the empire could see their own story".[47] In the case of the evolving Roman heterotopic *hortus* of the early Principate, the driving force was agricultural and pastoral ancestry, and by extension the "Romanisation" of Italian landscape, both wild and cultivated,[48] as well as Imperial conquest and power. The translation of this into *horti* can be read in their hard and soft element composition.

Once Upon a Poor Man's Farm

While the heterotopia of the Roman *hortus* was useful for perpetuating collective memory, as preserved and promoted by the dominant elite, the new association of the *hortus* with *otium*, now representing the antecedent to memory preservation, was frequently placed in stark contract with *maiores nostri* and noble pastoral and political figures such as Cincinnatus and Manius Curius Dentatus who, in literary reconstructions, traditionally found time to build moral character both on the land and in the forum of Rome.[49] Most importantly, such figures were associated with the productive output of their gardens and land, as nature intended. Pliny the Elder references the direct difference between the *hortus* of the past and his present, describing it as once a space for the poor to produce humble fare for the table, "*hortus ager pauperis erat*", but now a space from which to practice the contradiction of nature for the benefit of a man's *otium*, given that market goods are now imported from the Empire over:[50]

---

[45] Connerton (1989: 19). For more on collective and cultural memory, see Ferris (1999) and Orlin (2015).
[46] Zarmakoupi's (2014) study of luxury villas on the Bay of Naples demonstrates the "sophisticated interplay of architecture and landscape" (3) established by designers and architects for the promotion of status and wealth, and for the accommodation of a life of "educated leisure in the countryside" (2), with an equal appreciation of both Greek culture and Roman landscape.
[47] Ferris (1999: 197).
[48] Woolf (1992) puts forward the contribution of memory to Romanisation.
[49] On Cincinnatus, see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* X.23-5; Flor. *Epit.* I.11; Livy III.26-9; Plin. *HN* XVIII.4. On Manius Curius Dentatus, see Plin. *HN* VII.16; Flor. *Epit.* II.18; Juv. *Sat.* XI.78; Poly. *Hist.* II.19; Plut. *Pyr.* 25; Cic. *Sen.* 16; Val. Max. IV.3.5; VI.3.4.
[50] Plin. *HN* XIX.52.

> At Rome at all events a garden was in itself a poor man's farm; the lower classes got their market-supplies from a garden—how much more harmless their fare was then!... But I protest, how little does garden produce cost, how adequate it is for pleasure and for plenty, did we not meet with the same scandal in this as in everything else! We could no doubt have tolerated that choice fruits forbidden to the poor because of their flavour or their size or their portentous shape should be grown, that wines should be kept to mature with age and robbed of their virility by being passed through strainers, and that nobody should live so long as not to be able to drink vintages older than himself...
>
> *Romae quidem per se hortus ager pauperis erat; ex horto plebei macellum, quanto innocentiore victu!... at, Hercules, quam vilia haec, quam parata voluptati satietatique, nisi eadem quae ubique indignatio occurreret! ferendum sane fuerit exquisita nasci poma, alia sapore, alia magnitudine, alia monstro pauperibus interdicta, inveterari vina saccisque castrari, nec cuiquam adeo longam esse vitam ut non ante se genita potet...*

Similarly, Horace voices his own concerns regarding the imitation of natural landscape in *Satires* in which individuals now aim to create a lesser image of natural landscapes for pleasurable purposes.[51] Elsewhere in *Odes*, he despairs at an invasion of luxury on ancestral land and the Roman moral consciousness, with all manner of natural elements now designed to delight the senses of an individual, rather than satiate the bellies of the many:[52]

> Surely, it's the limit that Nature sets to desires—
> what she will tolerate and what she will grieve for if denied to her —
> that it would be more profitable to investigate; and how to sunder void from solid?
>
> *nonne cupidinibus statuat Natura modum quem,*
> *quid latura, sibi quid sit dolitura negatum,*
> *quaerere plus prodest et inane abscindere soldo?*

Seneca the Younger, according to his Stoic principles, cites the extreme lengths humanity has now gone to in order to defy nature, in building gardens on rooftops, causing flowers to bloom out of season, growing fruit trees on walls, and raising forests inside houses,

---

[51] Hor. *Sat.* I.II.111–113. See also Hor. *Od.* II.15.
[52] Horace *Od.* II.15.

the artificiality of which scarcely reach the level of perfection achieved by Mother Nature herself.[53] His Father similarly states:[54]

> *I can scarcely believe any of these people have seen forests, or green, grassy plains, with a stream flowing through, turbulent in steep ground, calm in flat… For who could delight his mind with such debased imitations if he knew the reality?*
>
> *Vix possum credere quemquam eorum vidisse silvas virentisque gramine3 campos, quos rapidus amnis ex praecipitio vel, cum per plana infusus est, placidus interfluit… quis enim tam pravis oblectare animum imitamentis possit si vera cognoverit?*

Seneca the Younger writes during the excess which infamously characterised the reign of Nero when unnatural features, such as *euripi* (straight masonry imitations of rivers) were already well-recognised as a feature of public, and some private, *horti*.[55] Here both the younger and elder Seneca acknowledge the extreme levels reached by the perpetual mimesis (or imitation) first of natural landscape, then of *horti*, up to a point where the template of the natural landscape has become so distant from urban versions that the two are no longer comparable. This effect was not only limited to urban gardens, however. Martial describes the villas of the elite as "all elegance and starvation", even poking fun at his own unproductive garden,[56] while later Pliny the Younger, as Myers astutely highlights, kept the rustic garden at his Tuscan villa visible to all visitors, yet off limits due to its lack of decorum.[57]

The literature therefore leads us to believe that the *hortus* of the first century AD was an unnatural construct, overwhelmed by hard, manmade landscape elements for the benefit of *otium*, with a lasting attachment to soft elements as indicative of collective memory attached to the Golden Age of agricultural endeavour and simple living, now manipulated to be bigger, better, and tastier.[58] Thus soft elements, as much as hard, are vulnerable to becoming symbols of aspiration for lower status emulators. An example of this can be found in the imaginary court case (hence *Controversiae*) related by Seneca

---

[53] Sen. *Ep*. CXXII.7-10.
[54] Sen. *Controv*. II.13.
[55] As Zarmakoupi (2014: 157-62) highlights, *euripi* were also symbolic nods to Roman technical innovation in the area of water management, their name coming from the Greek *euripus* for the unrestrained strait between Boeotia and the island of Euboea. For further reading on water rights in Roman Italy, see Bannon (2009) and Jansen (2018).
[56] Mart. *Ep*. III.58; III.58.
[57] Plin. *Ep*. II.17.
[58] For an overview of Roman gardening techniques, see Farrar (2011); Gleason (2015); Jashemski (2018). For a wider overview of this development in ancient garden history, see Bowe (2019).

the Elder which tells how rich man who burns down his poor next-door neighbour's tree due to it blocking his view. In response, the poor man admonishes the tendency of the rich to modify nature for personal pleasure and capture imitations of natural landscapes within:[59]

> *You rich possess for fields the territory of cities, and cities you fill with your houses. Within your buildings you confine water and groves… Beneath this little tree I used to picture to myself the forests owned by the rich.*
>
> *Vos possidetis agros, urbium fines, urbesque domibus impletis; intra aedificia vestra undas ac nemora conprehenditis… Sub hac arbuscula imaginabar divitum silvas.*

The heterotopia of the poor man's garden is transformed by his projection of elite ideologies onto the soft element of his "little tree". In other words, the poor man attached the symbolism preserved and promoted by dominant societal groups to the humble soft elements in his garden, thereby creating an imaginary space in which he was able to participate in bucolic collective Roman identity and aspire to better. His intention is noble: it does not require the costly confinement of "water and groves" to create the illusion of an escape to better times past, or better landscapes in the present, only natural soft elements from the realm of *rus*.

Let us consider the main points of discovery thus far. We have witnessed elite anxieties associated with a new disregard for not only for autochthonic identity relating to agriculture and pastoralism, as represented in the new and unproductive utilisation of *hortus* space for egocentric use. Further, we have considered the *hortus* as a heterotopia, within which the material world can be reflected, reformed and inverted, a container of the external, combining empirical and epistemological representations. Thus *rus* and *urbs*, via a consideration of their representation in hard and soft landscape elements, can be investigated in order to understand the motives behind garden design and use. The next portion of this paper will consider the construction of the garden and the dominant design choices emerging in the first century AD, before assessing real case studies from the town of Pompeii.

---

[59] Sen. *Controv*. 5.5.

The Construction of the *Hortus*

Gleason, in her assessment of the construction stages of garden design, finds a schematic shift from trees as a central design feature of *horti*, to "diverse and exotic plant displays from around the empire", or the creation of the *locus amoenas*, by the mid-first century AD.[60] One central element of the latter stage was the development of *ars topiaria*, a practice which combines the imagination, skill and acquisition of certain plant species to "evoke places".[61] As found by Landgren, this practice emerged sometime during the mid-first century AD, at the same time that the *topiarius*, a skilled craftsman specialising in landscape design, and *viridaria*, "a novel display of well-arranged plants", also appeared.[62] The types of *ars topiaria* are summarised in Table 1.[63] All four have the outcomes of leisure and beauty in common. Numerous pieces of evidence point towards the widespread use of *ars topiaria* by this time, despite their apparent link to *luxuria*. While Pliny the Elder admonishes the "captured" trees now imported regularly from exotic lands, and the unnatural "aborted" state of *nemora tonsilia* due to their harsh pruning,[64] his nephew Pliny the Younger proudly declares the shaping of animals, in addition to his name and that of his *topiarius*, from box hedge in his villa *hortus* at Laurentum, as just one element of a display of his wealth.[65] He also uses shaped hedges to disguise the hard boundaries of the *hortus* wall.[66]

[60] Gleason and Palmer (2018: 375).
[61] Gleason (2013: 17).
[62] Landgren (2004: 178-92). See also von Stackelberg (2009: 18-9); Gleason (2013: 17).
[63] Landgren (2013: 82-5); Purcell (1995: 144); Gleason and Palmer (2018: 376-7).
[64] Plin. *HN* XII.112; XII.6.
[65] Plin. *Ep*. II.17. A reconstruction of Pliny's Hippodrome *hortus* can be found in Farrar (2011: 56). Examples of decorative box hedge can be found in Pompeian gardens, for example in the garden of property I.xii.11.
[66] Plin. *Ep*. V.17-8.

Plant cut into three-dimensional shapes	Shapes created by training ivy or other vines around a shaped form	The creation of shapes made by cutting scenes or patterns into low hedges	Dwarfed trees (*nemora tonsilia*)
			

Table 1: Types of *ars topiaria*. Images: (left to right) Saga; Wikipedia; Jamie Royer/Flickr; Author's own.

Elsewhere, Cicero praises the skill of his brother's *topiarius* is the artful decoration of statues with vines, so mimetic of nature that they appear to be doing the gardening themselves (see Figure 1):[67]

> True, the house at present has an air of high thinking which rebukes the wild extravagance of other country houses; but still that addition will be pleasant. I commended the gardener. He has covered everything with ivy, the foundation wall of the house and the intervals between the columns in the promenade, so that the statues in their Greek cloaks look as though they were doing ornamental gardening and advertising their ivy.
>
> *quamquam ea villa quae nunc est tamquam philosopha videtur esse quae obiurget ceterarum villarum insaniam. verum tamen illud additum delectabit. topiarium laudavi. ita omnia convestivit hedera, qua basim villae, qua intercolumnia ambulationis, ut denique illi palliati topiariam facere videantur et hederam vendere.*

In Pompeii, a similar effect is found in the instances of pergolas, the findings of vine root cavities at the base of supporting columns suggesting that they were trailed with vines for the purpose of shade, or similarly around statues.[68] In frescoes, *nemora tonsilia* are

[67] Cic. *QFr*. III.1.5.

[68] For example, vine root cavities at the base of the garden pergola columns were found in the House of Ephebe (i.vii.10-12/19) (Mauiri (1929: 370 and pl. 20)), in a small house with a large garden (I.xiv.2), and in a fresco from the Villa of P. Fannio Sinistore at Boscroreale (of a vine-covered arbour). See also Jashemski (1972: 1, 94-97).

used much in the same way as the hard, visual features of fountains in dividing space and providing an illusion of depth, while elsewhere frescoes show vine-covered pergolas.[69] The mystifying nature of *ars topiaria* straddles the concepts of hard and soft in creating an illusion of an imitate object, much like a statue, from soft elements and posing them as invulnerable to the natural process of growth. The reflection of nature, and inversion of temporality, furthers the image of the heterotopia. In such a sense one might be tempted to categorise *ars topiaria* as a hard element, though this would be playing into the hands of the Romans own ambition of order and control which sat at the centre of Empire.[70] Instead, such displays may be associated with epistemes of *urbs*, and support the elite anxieties discussed above regarding a movement away from the natural to the controlled in the Roman *hortus*. This is important to keep in mind for the following discussion.

Figure 1: A classical statue covered in ivy, in the tradition of *ars topiaria* as described by Cicero. Image: Matthew Deamer/Flickr.

[69] For further discussion of garden frescoes, see Ciarallo (2001); Bergmann (2018).
[70] Gleason (2013: 39).

How far then was this development in *hortus* design, from the rustic to the urbane, represented in the *horti* of the lower- and middle-classes? To answer this question, the following will consider four case studies of gardens from Pompeii, chosen for their abundance of recoverable material with regards to both soft and hard landscape elements. The chosen case studies will be treated as representative of the development of *hortus* design and use over time, beginning with an example of a traditional manifestation of *rus* in an urban *hortus*. Two *horti* exhibiting *rus* connotations for the purpose of display and status will then be assessed, before concluding with one example of a non-elite *hortus* which most closely represents the culmination of *urbs* epistemes in *hortus* design in the first century AD, thereby demonstrating the persistent epistemological link between hard and soft landscape elements and elite-preserved collective identity.

A Symbol of *Rus* in *Urbs* in the Shop-House Garden

The Shop-House Garden (I.xx.5) is a humble commercial-domestic property found in Region I of Pompeii, residing in the greenest portion of the town, where many market gardens were discovered by Wilhelmina Jashemski from the 1960s onwards. The property consisted of living quarters above, accessed via the stairs held in the south-east corner of the second storage room on the ground floor (found to the north-east of the property), a shop facing onto the wide Via della Palestra, three rear storage rooms (the rear containing one large *dolium*), and a large productive garden full of fruit and nut trees and vines to the south-west (see Figure 2), accessible via a door from the west wall of the shop.

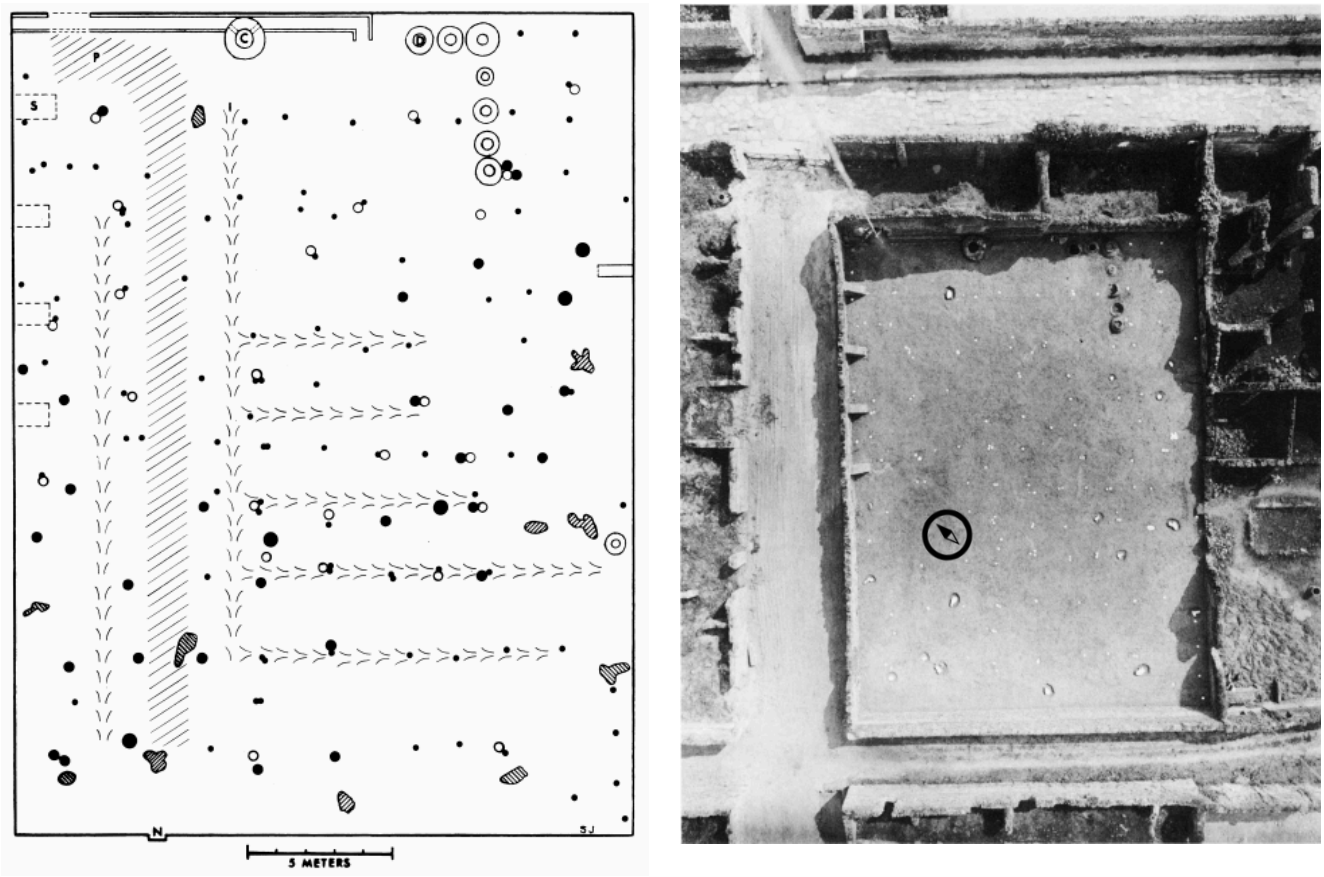


Figure 2: Plans of the Shop-House Garden (I.xx.5) showing root cavities.
Images: Wilhelmina Jashemski (1977: 219-222).

Like others in Pompeii, this *hortus* was created from a space previously occupied by a construction likely destroyed in the earthquake of AD 62 (Jashemski 1977: 221), demonstrating demand strong enough to warrant the creation of a *hortus* over an architectural structure.[71] The hard boundary wall to the north-east was set along its length with broken amphorae, presumably to deter thieves from stealing the fruit growing within. The discovery of toys, hair pins, lamps, cooking equipment, and a working lararium during excavations suggested to excavators that this garden was used as an alternative living area to make up for the lack of indoor space (Jashemski 1977: 226).[72] Following the earthquake of 62 AD, a large cistern had been constructed in the north-eastern portion of the garden, in front of an original doorway which had been walled over. Through the pipes running along the building, rainwater would have been

[71] Plaster on the base of the south-east wall indicated a previous structure with walls had been removed. Other properties noted by Jashemski as having been removed in favour of gardens are VI.v.7 and VIII.vi.5.
[72] Jashemski (1977: 226).

collected in the cistern. This water would likely have been used to support the growth of young plants, such as trees, and vegetables, all of which require a lot of water in the early years of establishment,[73] making this a good example of a hard landscape element used for non-recreational purposes. Judging by the presence of the *dolia* and the width of these vines, "from 2.5 cm to 17.5 cm with a median largest dimension of 10 cm",[74] these vines were at least three years old and producing harvestable fruit, perhaps explaining the presence of the nine dolia embedded around the garden.

The small family who cooked, worked, played and took shade here likely shared a similar mentality to that of the poor man in Seneca's letter, their healthful space below the shade of their fruit trees and vines transporting them to a "real-and-imagined" landscape in compliance with Roman collective identity. All elements, hard and soft, within the garden were directed towards rustic endeavour or daily activity, such as cooking. This garden is therefore an example of a working *hortus,* with hard and soft elements alike equally driven towards commercial output. Given the identification of this as a working vineyard, with young ordered vines and nine embedded *dolia*, it appears that this *hortus* was also providing an income for the shopkeeper and his family, an achievement of true *rusticitas*. It was an agricultural heterotopia in miniature, inverting the expectations of mid-first century AD *horti*, and epistemes of a lost past communicated by the elite, in bringing the external bucolic landscape into the city via soft landscape elements.

Pseudo-*rusticitas* in the House of Julius Polybius and the House of the Ephebe

In Region IX, insula 13, we find an extension of the rustic mentality in the House of Julius Polybius (IX.xiii.1) (see Figure 3). This large property (measuring 7,500 square foot) is thought to have been owned at the time of the eruption by C. Julius Philippus, freedman of another (possibly Imperial) freedman C. Julius Polybius (see Nappo 199: 52; Solin 1996, 252, 260; Jashemski 1979: 26; Allison 2001: 53-74). The property boasted two atriums, one with an impluvium, as well as a large peristyle garden. Within the planted peristyle, five large root cavities, one smaller tree cavity, and a row of small, young roots in *ollae perforatae* (terracotta pots with four holes planted in the ground) along the eastern wall of the garden were found by Jashemski and her team between 1973 and 1978. Stakes were also found, suggesting that fruit and nut trees may have been propped up nearby (Jashemski 1979: 28). One tree was identified as that of an olive, another a

[73] Jashemski (1977: 223-4). See also Col. *RR* 10.143-8 who discusses the importance of close water sources for the garden.
[74] Jashemski (1977: 224).

filbert, a third a walnut, while the remainder were suspected as being fig trees, due to the many carbonised figs and pollen found here. In the soil, the imprint of an 8-metre-long fruit ladder was found lying on a north-west to south-east angle, akin to the distinctive shape and size of those used in the area by fruit pickers today.[75] Entertainment rooms, including two *oeci*, look out onto this rustic display in which the pastoral activities of the countryside are directly alluded to. Small landscape scenes in the indoor frescoes of this property, in addition to garden frescoes in the peristyle, provide further visions of *rus* to visitors and household members alike.

C. Julius Philippus appears to have aspired to the ideologies of the elite discussed above. This is even more likely if one considers the real possibility that Philippus may have owned land outside of the town, or alternatively used his peristyle as an aspirational imitation of this. This garden therefore serves as an example of a wealthy freedman in Pompeian society conforming to elite tropes of *rusticitas* in order to demonstrate his conformity with collective Roman identity via the exclusive display of soft landscape elements in his peristyle garden. Where this garden differs from that of the Shop-House Garden above is in the possible transplantation of exotic plant species among native, suggested by Jashemski to be citrus, thought in the 1st C. AD to be a fairly recent addition to Campania.[76] Jashemski reached this conclusion due to the *ollae perforatae* (stated by Pliny to be a method of transporting this plant) surrounding the young roots, as well as nails for espaliering the branches to the wall, as is still practiced today (Jashemski 1979, 29). Regardless of species, exotic or native, the effort that went into maintaining and improving this small garden suggests the presence of workers with special knowledge of horticulture, perhaps even a *topiarius*, and a long-term soft landscaping plan.

While the produce of these five large trees was unlikely to have supported the nutritional requirements of the inhabitants whose skeletons were found here (numbering twelve plus an unborn foetus, though true inhabitants could have been more or less than this; see Ciarallo and De Carolis 2001), they were likely a positive addition to any communal feast, as a symbol of the *pater familias'* Roman character. In this property we are once again looking at a *hortus* heterotopia, metaphorically and metaphysically reflective of the external world of agriculture, as well as the bucolic setting for mythical events and ancestral virtue, found below the shade of fruit and nut trees and in frescoes found on

---

[75] Jashemski (1981: 32).

[76] Vergil is the first Latin author to mention the citrus tree, referring to it as the Median apple (*G.* II.126-7). Pliny the Elder states that it was imported and acclimatised for its medicinal properties (*HN* 15.47). Theophrastus says the tree is grown in pots with holes in them (*Hist. pl.* IV.iv.3). For more on the citrus, see Jashemski (2002: 102-3). Depictions of this tree have been found in the House of the Fruit Orchard and garland paintings, examples of which are now kept in the Naples Museum (e.g. Inv. No. 8526).

the walls of this domus. This, and the next case study, demonstrate the use of soft elements as indicative of *rus* in the first century AD "middling class" *domus*.

Figure 3: Peristyle in the House of Julius Polybius, Pompeii. Source: Archaeological Park of Pompeii.

We find another display of pseudo-*rusticitas* in the House of the Ephebe, in Region I of Pompeii (I.vii.10-12). This was a large domus, potentially larger due to the adjoining domus which could be reached via the door at the rear of the garden. The garden of this property was divided into two discrete areas. To the west we find a large masonry triclinium backed by a decorative altar-cum-water-feature, with steps leading down for the flow of water. The pygmies and Nile scenes in the frescoes decorating the triclinium add to the Nilotic theme. A vine-covered pergola and complimentary statues completed the display (for a reconstruction, see Figure 4). The vines on the pergola were presumably mainly for the purpose of shade.

145 *Vine-covered triclinium in the garden of the House of the Ephebe. Today glass protects Egyptian paintings on the triclinium.*

Figure 4: Hortus vine-covered pergola and triclinium in the House of the Ephebe. Source: Pompeiiinpictures.

To the east, excavators uncovered a rectangular area divided from the rest of the garden by a path and a reed fence, topped with herms. Within this space, the remains of a vegetable garden were found, the furrows preserved in the conditions of the eruption.[77] The area was perpendicular to the masonry triclinium and would as such have been in direct view of any visitors lounging and dining on the couches. This layout appears to have been designed to facilitate a better view for guests to the house, who would have been positioned on the *lectus summus* and *lectus medius* in the triclinium (see Figure 5). Most significantly, places on the *lectus medius* were reserved for the higher status guests, which in this case would have had a direct view of the rustic garden, even with the water

[77] From the forthcoming companion to Jashemski, Gleason, Hartswick and Malek (2018).

course dividing the *lectus medius*.[78] My own spatial syntax analysis has since shown the limited access of this space to strangers, meaning that a display of rustic endeavour was intended to be displayed to those being entertained at the triclinium.[79]

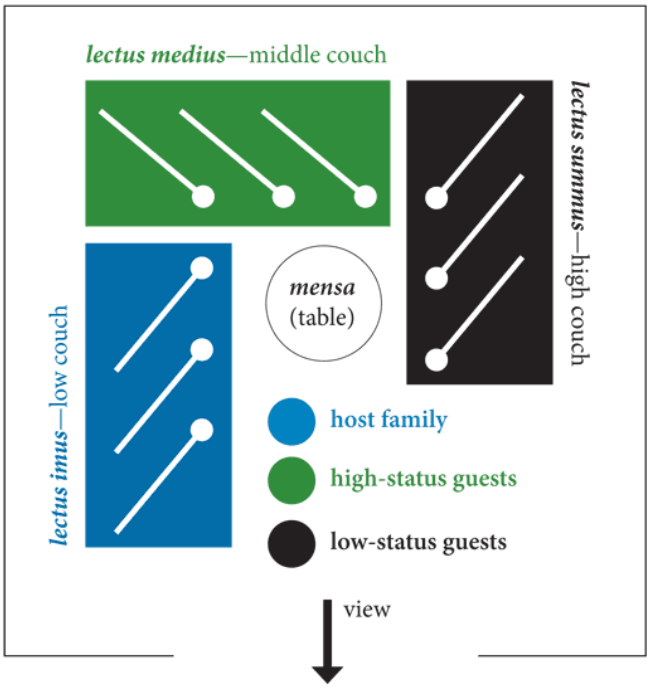


Figure 5: Reclining in the Roman triclinium. Image: The Getty Iris/Getty Center.

The incorporation of hard landscape elements into a garden scheme would have cost money, with size, materials, and labour affecting price. For example, a fountain decorated with marine shells would require the sourcing of shells,[80] the design and labour, as well as the cost for materials for the structure, and the mosaics and/or frescoes (see below for a discussion of the link between hard landscape elements in the *hortus* and suggested wealth). In this garden we find a perfect example of the Foucauldian heterotopia, in which almost all of the six dimensions described above reside. In the garden the juxtaposed cultures of Greece, Rome, and Egypt meet, as an historical and cultural monument to a new collective memory, a direct output of Imperialism. On one hand, the *pater familias'* urbane and cultured nature is confirmed with a hard, structural area for entertaining and exotic decoration, while simultaneously his rustic roots and strength of Roman identity are visibly exhibited. The patron's own input into the creation

[78] For more on the positions of diners, see Clarke (2006: 224-5); Mols (2007-2008: 157).
[79] Findings of author forthcoming.
[80] In personal correspondence with Mark Robinson (2020), he indicated that the shells chosen for fountains were of a uniform and specific type, and not of the type typically eaten.

of this *hortus* space is made even more convincing by his suspected source of wealth through commerce;[81] perhaps this household had access to Egyptian trade routes and culture through their occupational endeavours, as was increasingly possible following the Battle of Actium in 31 BC and Augustus' subsequent increase in trade with Egypt. Further, the garden is both penetrable and accessible, to a select few, and exists as a combined hard-and-soft landscaping scheme only as a result of passing through external points of representation, in native and established, as well as new and exotic, collective memory. *Rus* is brought into *urbs* under the control of the *pater familias*, in his own heterotopic creation.

Urbs Conquers *Rus* in the House of D. Octavius Quartio

Within many Pompeian properties we may consider the Augustan Imperial influence, with the elaborate display of water and the growing dominance of hard over soft elements from the late Republican period onwards. The introduction of aqueduct water to the town of Pompeii in the second half of the first century BC[82] opened up many possibilities for *hortus* decoration and use to the citizens living there, though the decorative display of it was still limited to the wealthy few. The pinnacle of the luxurious display of water, and the subsequent implied wealth of the owner, can be found in the House of D. Octavius Quartio (II.ii.2), in Region II of Pompeii. The garden took up much of the space (approx. 2,520m^2) of the property and can be taken as a representation of the culmination of structural design in the first century AD Roman *hortus*, with a strong dominance of hard over soft landscape elements.

Taking Pliny the Younger's Tuscan villa as an example,[83] we find a strong relation between the features of his *hortus* and that of Octavius Quartio, with a *gestatio* shaped around the verdant display of a symmetrical planting scheme, flowing water, and ordered flower beds.[84] The frequent allusions to literary scenes, for example frescoes of scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the garden,[85] are direct allusions to the "Other" space of this garden by the *pater familias*. This is a heterotopia which combines mythological and bucolic scenes with elite creations of public and private horti, through

[81] Archaeological Park of Pompeii.
[82] Jones and Robinson (2005); Laurence (2006: 44); Bannon (2010); Mays (2010: 121-3). For a survey of Pompeii's water supply, see Eschebach (1996).
[83] Plin. *Ep*. V.6.
[84] See Gleason (2013: 39). Significantly, Pliny the Younger omits any description of statues in his *horti*.
[85] Knox (2015).

the careful combination of hard and soft elements. Even the euripus, famously created on a large scale by Agrippa in the Campus Martius in 19 BC, is recreated here in an impressive 51.5m length.[86] This euripus is traversed by small temples and pergolas adorned with the effects of *ars topiari*a, themselves primarily used for the shading of fish, a detail which would undoubtedly have incensed the likes of Seneca and Varro who speak out against such practices.[87]

A sense of perspective is also created by these hard elements, an effect which demonstrates Vitruvian-like planning on the part of an *architectus*, before the interference of the *topiarius*, and one which supports Gleason's theory of first century AD *horti* preoccupied with the rationality of geometric design. The shrubs which once grew here were likely a target of the practice of *ars topiaria* given the rest of the context of this *hortus*. The elaborate combination of soft and hard elements, the former tightly controlled by the rational composition of hard structural elements or in the nature of such (for example, through ordered planting) are combined to create a true Roman heterotopia in which *urbs* and the human fully conquers *rus*.

Hard Landscape Elements and Wealth

Before any conclusion can be made regarding the evolving design elements of the Roman *hortus*, one may question the accessibility of hard landscape elements by wealth and house type. Was the overwhelming presence of hard landscape elements in gardens such as that owned by D. Octavius Quartio purely a reflection of evolving landscape design trends, or was it also an indicator of wealth? To test this theory, we may take an approach similar to that applied by Wallace-Hadrill to his study of atriate housing in Pompeii and Herculaneum, as linked to wealth and status. As he states (1990: 167): "a house must be of a certain minimum size to enable construction of an impluviate atrium", the atrium thus considered an indicator of wealth. It therefore follows that the inclusion of a peristyle (additional to, or sometimes instead of, an atrium) can be deemed synonymous with those of the "middling" and "upper classes",[88] or those who were more likely living above subsistence level (with disposable income). As Vitruvius emphasises, such open

[86] Measured using the PBMP (2020) measurement tool.
[87] Seneca the Younger (*Ir*. XL.3; *Clem*. XVIII.2-3; *Ep*. XC) speaks of the brutal man Vedius Pollio who throws one of his slaves to his death in his fishpond, to be eaten by lampreys. Varro (*RR* III.xvii.2-9) sees only cost as an outcome of the fishpond and speaks openly of Hortensius who treats his fish better than his slaves.
[88] For a discussion of the development of the Roman peristyle in Pompeii, see Dickmann (1997) and Grahame (2001).

spaces were only required for the reception of the public, and as such only required by those of an important standing, namely patrons and those in the public sphere.[89] By this deduction, the houses of study would also be guaranteed to have at least one garden. Thus, a brief analysis of all recorded excavations of gardens from Pompeii[90] was undertaken to test any link which may exist between the inclusion of hard landscape elements in private Pompeian *horti* and wealth.

Of the total dataset, those with at least one peristyle and one garden were assessed, due to the above rationale. In the properties with at least one peristyle (and therefore deemed to be of "above-average wealth"), 40 percent were found to have one or more forms of decorative features in the included garden(s) (here classified as hard artistic features, such as a fountain, statue or stucco), 23 percent a pool, 11 percent an outdoor triclinium or biclinium, and 32 percent with artistic depictions of gardens, found both indoors and outdoors. This contrasts with houses which include no peristyle or portico area (but do include a garden), with only 21 percent found to have one or more decorative garden features, 16 percent a pool, 11 percent with triclinia or biclinia, and 26 percent with an indoor or outdoor garden fresco. This dataset represents only material which survived the eruption and was retrieved and recorded during excavations, the data for triclinia being especially problematic, as these were not always made from materials which survived the eruption (wood being a popular choice). Nonetheless, from the surviving data, it can be suggested that households of above-average wealth were more likely to include hard landscape elements in their garden(s) than those of lower incomes. Should one take out the question of wealth, one can conclude that those with peristyle houses were more likely to incorporate hard landscape elements in their gardens. Though the data is even more incomplete for archaeobotanical and horticultural evidence, houses with no peristyles also exhibited a higher frequency of regular planting in rows and furrows, synonymous with productive gardening, in addition to higher evidence of root cavities for vegetables, herbs and/or flowers, perhaps reflecting a higher tendency for self-sufficiency.[91]

[89] Vitr. *De Arc.* I.2.9; see also Wallace-Hadrill (1990: 167).
[90] This data was taken from the forthcoming companion to Jashemski, Gleason, Hartswick and Malek (2018).
[91] For those without a peristyle, 0.04 percent had regular rows, 0.05 percent furrows, and 0.06 vegetables, herbs and or flowers, in comparison to 0.02 percent, 0.03 percent and 0.03 respectively for properties with a peristyle.

Conclusion

In four gardens from Pompeii we have witnessed the careful combination of hard and soft elements in the *hortus* for the satisfaction of a patron's desires. In the humblest of *horti*, such as that of the Shop-House Garden, this was the combined desire for monetary profit and a heterotopic space from which to escape the realities of urban life and play a humble role in collective Roman identity via *rus* in *urbs*. In other *horti*, such as the House of the Ephebe and the House of Julius Polybius, a more sophisticated combination of hard and soft elements were put to use in creating at once a cultured space of exotic lands, belonging to recent Imperial conquest, while also paying homage to good Roman character in a deliberate display of *rus* in productive plantings and garden or landscape paintings. We have also seen the culmination of this design development in the House of D. Octavius Quartio, in which the domination of hard over soft landscape elements acts as a conscious statement of Imperialism and the patron's conformity with an evolving collective Roman identity. Thus, through the lens of hard and soft landscape elements we have witnessed the development of the *hortus* in the first century AD and established a link between the balance of these elements in *hortus* design and the discourses of the dominant elite groups in Roman society. We can therefore conclude that the *hortus* of the first century AD came to be the space in which the social ambitions of a Roman citizen were expressed via the careful balance and placement of hard and soft landscape elements, providing the opportunity for even the poorest of men to express their conformism to the collective Roman identity under their modest tree at the back of their *hortus*.

References

Primary Sources

Cato, Varro. *On Agriculture*. Translated by W. D. Hooper, Harrison Boyd Ash. Loeb Classical Library 283. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934.

Cicero. *Letters to Quintus and Brutus. Letter Fragments. Letter to Octavian. Invectives. Handbook of Electioneering*. Edited and translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Loeb Classical Library 462. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Cicero. *On Old Age. On Friendship. On Divination*. Translated by W. A. Falconer. Loeb Classical Library 154. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923.

Dio Cassius. *Roman History*, Volume VI: Books 51-55. Translated by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster. Loeb Classical Library 83. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus. *Roman Antiquities*, Volume I: Books 1-2. Translated by Earnest Cary. Loeb Classical Library 319. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937.

Florus. *Epitome of Roman History*. Translated by E. S. Forster. Loeb Classical Library 231. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929.

Horace. *Odes and Epodes*. Edited and translated by Niall Rudd. Loeb Classical Library 33. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Horace. *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry*. Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Loeb Classical Library 194. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926.

Juvenal, Persius. *Juvenal and Persius*. Edited and translated by Susanna Morton Braund. Loeb Classical Library 91. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Livy. *History of Rome, Volume II: Books 3-4*. Translated by B. O. Foster. Loeb Classical Library 133. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922.

Livy. *History of Rome, Volume IV: Books 8-10*. Translated by B. O. Foster. Loeb Classical Library 191. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926.

Martial. *Epigrams, Volume I: Spectacles, Books 1-5*. Edited and translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Loeb Classical Library 94. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Ovid. *Fasti*. Translated by James G. Frazer. Revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 253. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.

Pliny the Elder. *Natural History, Volume I: Books 1-2*. Translated by H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library 330. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938.

Pliny the Younger. *Letters, Volume I: Books 1-7*. Translated by Betty Radice. Loeb Classical Library 55. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969.

Plutarch. *Lives, Volume IX: Demetrius and Antony. Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library 101. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920.

Polybius. *The Histories, Volume I: Books 1-2*. Translated by W. R. Paton. Revised by F. W. Walbank, Christian Habicht, 2010. Loeb Classical Library 128. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Seneca the Elder. *Declamations, Volume I: Controversiae, Books 1-6*. Translated by Michael Winterbottom. Loeb Classical Library 463. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Seneca. *Epistles, Volume I: Epistles 1-65*. Translated by Richard M. Gummere. Loeb Classical Library 75. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917.

Seneca. *Epistles, Volume I: Epistles 1-65*. Translated by Richard M. Gummere. Loeb Classical Library 75. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917.

Seneca. Moral Essays, Volume I: De Providentia. De Constantia. De Ira. De Clementia. Translated by John W. Basore. Loeb Classical Library 214. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928.

Theophrastus. *Enquiry into Plants, Volume I: Books 1-5*. Translated by Arthur F. Hort. Loeb Classical Library 70. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916.

Valerius Maximus. *Memorable Doings and Sayings, Volume I: Books 1-5*. Edited and translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Loeb Classical Library 492. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Vergil. *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1-6*. Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 63. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916.

Vitruvius. *On Architecture*, Volume I: Books 1-5. Translated by Frank Granger. Loeb Classical Library 251. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931.

Secondary Sources

Bannon, C. 2010. *Gardens and Neighbors: Private Water Rights in Roman Italy*. University of Michigan Press.

Bergmann, B. 2018. 'Frescoes in Roman Gardens'. In Jashemski, W. F., Gleason, K., Hartswick, K. and Malek, A. (eds.), *Gardens of the Roman Empire. Vol. I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blake, J. 2015. *An Introduction to Garden and Landscape Design*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Bowe, P. 2017. The early development of garden making c. 3000–c. 2000 BCE. *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, 37, 3, pp. 231-241. Available online: https://doi.org/10.1080/14601176.2017.1318579.

Bowe, P. 2019. Garden Making in the First Millennium BCE. *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes,* pp. 1-15. Available online: https://doi.org/10.1080/14601176.2019.1580497. Accessed 17 November 2019.

Ciarallo, A. 2001. *Gardens of Pompeii*. LA: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Clarke, J. 2006. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C. – A.D. 315*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Cook, K. D. and Foulk, R. 2013 'Gardens and the Larger Landscape'. In Gleason, K. (ed.) *A Cultural History of Gardens in Antiquity*. London: Bloomsbury.

Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edwards, C. 1993. *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eschebach, L. Wasserwirtschaft in Pompeji. *History of water management and hydraulic engineering in the Mediterranean Region*, 4, pp. 1-12.

Farrar, L. 2011. *Ancient Roman Gardens*. Gloucestershire: The History Press Ltd.

Ferris, I. M. 1999. Invisible Architecture: Inside the Roman Memory Palace. In Leslie, A. (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology and Architecture: The Third Conference Proceedings*, pp. 191-199. Glasgow: Cruithne Press.

Foucault, M. 1986. Of Other Spaces. *Diacritics*, 16, 1, pp. 22-27.

Gleason, K. 2013. *A Cultural History of Gardens in Antiquity*. London: Bloomsbury.

Gleason, K. and Palmer, M. 2018. *Constructing the Ancient Roman Garden*. In: Jashemski, W. F., Gleason, K., Hartswick, K. and Malek, A. Gardens of the Roman Empire. Vol. I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hartswick, K. J. 2004. *The Gardens of Sallust: A Changing Landscape*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Jansen, G. C. M. 2018. 'Water and Water Technology in Gardens'. In Jashemski, W. F., Gleason, K., Hartswick, K. and Malek, A. (eds.). *Gardens of the Roman Empire. Vol. I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jashemski, W. F. 1977. The Excavation of a Shop-House Garden at Pompeii (I. XX. 5). *American Journal of Archaeology*, 81, 2, pp. 217-227.

Jashemski, W. F., 1981 'The Campanian Peristyle Garden.' In MacDougall, E. B. and Jashemski, W. F. (eds.). *Ancient Roman Gardens*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks.

Jashemski, W. F. and Meyer, F. 2002. *The Natural History of Pompeii*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jashemski, W. F., Gleason, K., Hartswick, K. and Malek, A. 2018. *Gardens of the Roman Empire. Vol. I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, F. 2014. Roman Gardens, Imagination, and Cognitive Structure. *Mnemosyne*, Fourth Series, 67, 5, pp. 781-812

Jones, R. and Robinson, D. 2005. Water, Wealth, and Social Status at Pompeii: The House of the Vestals in the First Century. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 109, 4, pp. 695-710.

Knox, P. E. 2015. The Literary House of Mr. Octavius Quartio. *Illinois Classical Studies*, 40, 1, pp. 171-184.

Landgren, L. 2004. *Lauro Myrto et Buxo Frequentata: A Study of the Roman Garden through its Plants*. Thesis. Lund: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Lund University.

Landgren, L. 2013. 'Plantings'. In Gleason, K. (ed.) *A Cultural History of Gardens in Antiquity*. London: Bloomsbury, pp.75–98.

Laurence, R. 2006. *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*. London: Routledge.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Mays, L. 2010. *Ancient Water Technologies*. Arizona: Springer.

McIntosh, J. 1974. *Thoreau as Romantic Naturalist*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Mols, S. 2007-2008. Ancient Roman Household Furniture and its Use: From Herculaneum to the Rhine. *AnMurcia*, 23-24, pp. 145-160.

Myers, K. S. 2005. 'Docta Otia': Garden Ownership and Configurations of Leisure in Statius and Pliny the Younger. *Arethusa*, 38, 1, pp. 103-129.

Orlin, E. 2015. Augustan Reconstruction and Roman Memory. In Galinsky, K. (ed.) *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project. 2020. 'The Map'. Available at: https://digitalhumanities.umass.edu/pbmp/?page_id=1258.

Purcell, N 1995. 'The Roman Villa and the Landscape of Production.' In MacDougall, E. B. (ed.) Ancient Roman Villa Gardens.

Reed, C. M. 2001. Pastoral, Progressive and Postmodern Ideas in Environmental Political Thought: Restoring Agency to Nature. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 23, 1, pp. 39-52.

Shah, M. G., Kale, C. M. and Patki, S. Y. 2002. *Building Drawing: With an Integrated Approach to Built Environment*. 4th ed. New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company Ltd.

Smith, M. 1987. The Human Theory of Motivation. *Mind*, 96, 38, pp. 36-61.

Soja, E. 1996. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Soja, E. 2010. *Seeking Spatial Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Spencer, D. 2010. *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vogel, S. 1996. *Against Nature: The Concept of Nature in Critical Theory*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

von Stackelberg, K. 2009. *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense and Society*. London: Routledge.

Woolf, G. 1992. The Unity and Diversity of Romanisation. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5, pp. 349-352.

Zarmakoupi, M. 2014. *Designing for Luxury on the Bay of Naples Villas and Landscapes (c. 100 BCE– 79 CE)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

‘Liquid spaces’ in NE Hispania Citerior during the Mid-Republican period: Introducing a new reality*

Gerard R.Ventós & Gerard Cabezas-Guzmán - Universitat de Girona

Introduction

During the period between the Second Punic War (218-202 BC) and the outbreak of the Sertorian War (82 BC), the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula experienced the emergence of a new reality deriving from the contacts between the Roman occupation forces and the indigenous communities. After a period of war stress and rebellion, ultimately suppressed by Cato in north-east Iberia (195 BC) (Liv. 34.13.4-16.7; 35.9.6; App. *Hisp*. 39-40; Zon. 9.17), the new native elites emerging as a result of — or thanks to — the conflict chose to embrace the Roman cause. However, Rome’s military conquest of the peninsula did not imply the imposition of a new cultural hegemony. Without a well-defined foreign policy, Rome showed no interest in directly undertaking the organisation and administration of the vanquished during the Mid-Republican period (e.g. Ñaco del Hoyo 2006: 81-103). On the contrary, it limited itself to currying the favour of the local elites in order to retain political control over the newly conquered territories through them. This lack of definition gave rise to ‘liquid realities’ and ‘spaces’, in which the ruling classes gradually became ‘Romanised’, but in which Iberian mores and customs not only survived but continued to predominate. An example of this can be seen through the continuation of the Iberian language and its epigraphic evolution (Sinner and Ferrer 2016: 201; Torra 2009: 21).[92]

In the context of the Second Punic War, these native elites (Indiketes, Laietani and Ilergetes), serving their own local and regional interests, backed and fought for one or other of the two Mediterranean superpowers, Rome and Carthage (García-Riaza 2011: 14; Riera and Principal 2015: 53-71). Once the conflict had been brought to a close, those

* Gerard R. Ventós and Gerard Cabezas-Guzmán are ‘PhD Research Assistant in Ancient History’. Universitat de Girona. Institut de Recerca Històrica, Facultat de Lletres, Pl. Ferrater Mora 1, 17004, Girona, Catalonia, Spain. Contact: gerard.rodriguez@udg.edu; gerard.cabezas@udg.edu. This research has been supported by the following research grants: 2017SGR 1688; PGC2018-098991-B-I00.

[92] The Iberian alphabet has been attested in the Roman towns of *Ilduro* (Sinner and Ferrer 2018: 214) and *Iesso* (Pera 2005: 327) during the first half of the first century BC. Furthermore, the rock inscriptions from *Oceja* are of great interest (Ferrer, Olesti and Velaza 2018: 169 – 195).

who were promoted by Rome were not actually assimilated, but participated actively in the creation of a new social order, a 'hybrid' reality that had nothing to do with the previous context nor with other realities emerging in the different areas of expansion of the Roman Republic (Cimadomo 2019: 5). All considered, we are of the opinion that the term 'Romanisation' does not do justice to the realities that were shaped throughout that period. Due to this, and after decades of questioning the concept, a debate that will not be reopened here, we contend that terms like 'liquid spaces' are more adequate in explaining the development of a hybrid society.[93]

Why 'liquid spaces'?

We propose the use of the term 'liquid spaces' to define the first centuries of the Roman conquest of Hispania. In such a volatile atmosphere, the confrontation between distinctive local polities and Rome resulted in their progressive transformation into new spaces and interconnected realities. Thus, space must be an object of study. During the first few centuries of the conquest of Hispania, changes took place in the exploitation and organisation of land and territory. There were changes in architecture, in urban development models, in customs (such as eating habits, Valenzuela and Albarella 2017: 402-409) and in language, etc. In short, a new space was produced and shaped, and gave rise to the birth of a new reality. However, this process did not take place unilaterally, but rather developed as a fluid dialogue in which all the parties (Romans and indigenous people) were involved in influencing the process. Consequently, we are not faced with the imposition of clear and well-defined structures (beyond the political authority of Rome) during this time, and changes in this context of tension were not predictable. There follows a process of continuous flow in which two civilisations interact at different rhythms, giving rise to the emergence of a new and different space. Fortunately, this emerging space left its mark by means of archaeological remains that can be studied today. In this way, we observe that from the second half of the 2nd century BC, there was an emergence of a new hybrid reality; a reality born from war, violence, diplomacy,

[93] The term 'Romanisation' is a modern concept that appeared at the end of the nineteenth century in colonial contexts. It was then qualified throughout the second half of the twentieth century, detaching itself from the Eurocentric vision and contextualising the idea of civilisation (Woolf 1998: 5). In parallel, there are studies that have given more weight to native societies in this process of (ac)culturation, focusing more on the role of the local elites (Millet 1990: 35-41). In this connection, the research performed by Woolf has gained relevance (Woolf 1997: 339-345). See *Archaeological Dialogues: Romanization 2.0 and its alternatives* (2014).

conquest, trade and, undoubtedly, from the intersection of two different worlds in a context of poorly defined 'liquid spaces'.[94]

The concept of 'liquid' was coined by the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman at the beginning of the twenty-first century in his book *Liquid Times* (2007). According to Bauman, a liquid society makes the aspects of the life of an individual transitory and unstable, in contrast to the fixed structures of the past.[95] Although Bauman employed the concept of 'fluidity' from a temporal perspective, we have chosen to apply it in a spatial ambit, thus generating the new concept of 'liquid spaces'. In other words, they were spaces in which individuals with different cultural realities coexisted simultaneously and in which that coexistence gave rise to a process of cultural hybridism. By our reckoning, these concepts offer a much better definition of the dynamic reality of the cultural processes discussed here. Accordingly, between 218 and 82/72 BC, there was a prolonged process of interaction and adaptation, of fluidity, continuity and change in undefined spaces. To our mind, that 'fluidity', far removed from a policy of homogenisation, resulted in a reciprocal process in which, just as Iberian traditions and material culture influenced the Italic-Romans present in the region, so too did Italic culture leave its mark on the native societies, thus spawning a new identity.

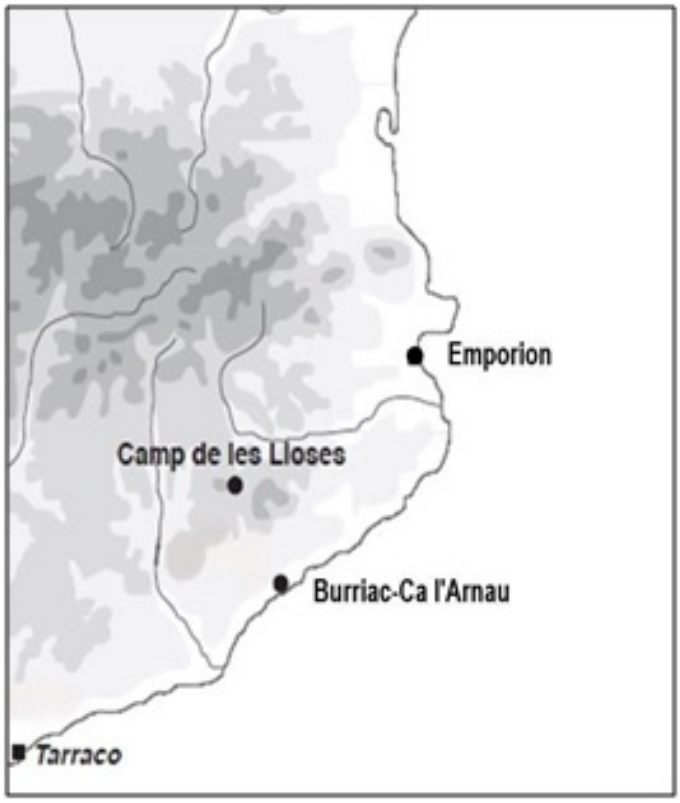
Accordingly, the aim of this paper is to analyse the consequences of this ambiguous policy implemented by Republican Rome in the northeast of Hispania Citerior, specifically in the territories of the Indiketes and the Laietani in the period between 218 and 82/72 BC. In light of this complex scenario, and following in the footsteps of previous research that has seen an enormous impact on the area under study here (e.g. Burch *et al.* 2010: 90-110; Nolla *et al.* 2010; Olesti 2010: 11-59; Garcia-Roselló 2017), we have decided to divide the period between the Second Punic War (218-202 BC) and the Sertorian War (82 - 72 BC) into three major stages, of which we will examine the first two. Each stage is characterised by substantial changes that marked a turning point in the region. The first stage, corresponding to the Second Punic War and the native

---

[94] Certainly, contacts in the area began in the previous centuries with the establishment of Greek colonies or even with the landing of Rome in the context of the Second Punic War. However, it is from the second half of the second century BC that these contacts widen. Space as an object of study finds its roots in academics such as Foucault and Lefebvre. The current paradigm claims space as a 'critical analytical tool for understanding the development and behaviour of societies.' We believe that it is a critical theoretical framework that allows us to study processes of the past in an innovative and critical way (Lefebvre 1974: 431-451). On ancient spaces it is vitally important to quote the work published by Fabre (1997) 'Organisation des Espaces Antiques'.

[4] 'The secession of the new elite (locally settled, but globally oriented and only loosely attached to its place of settlement) from its past engagement with the local populace, and the resulting spiritual/communication gap between the living/lived spaces of those who have seceded and those who have been left behind, are arguably the most seminal of the social, cultural and political departures associated with the passage from the "solid" to the "liquid" stage of modernity' (Bauman 2007: 78-79).

rebellion (218-195 BC), would have been characterised by 'war stress' (Ñaco del Hoyo 2003: 127-142; Ñaco del Hoyo 2006: 81-103). The second, much better known stage ran from 195 BC to the first third of the first century BC, a moment of 'hybridisation'. This was due to the fact that it coincided with the appearance of these new realities resulting from Rome's daily contact with the indigenous communities, following its decision to remain in the peninsula.



(Map showing site locations)

Specifically, for analysing this second stage on the basis of the archaeological record, we have selected three sites conforming the northeast of Hispania Citerior due to their coastal or inland location: Emporion, a trading port of Greek origin and the place where the Romans first disembarked; Burriac-Ca l'Arnau, a native settlement and sector of a much larger Roman Republican site with Italic characteristics located close to the coast; and Tona-Camp de les Lloses, an inland enclave connecting the north-eastern Mediterranean seaboard with the interior and the Pyrenees. Lastly, we are of the opinion that this (a)symmetrical relationship of hybridism between both cultures prevailed until the outbreak of the Sertorian War, after which Rome decided to introduce changes in the way it had hitherto organised and administered the Hispanic provinces, putting a greater effort into planning, which ultimately led to the palpable imposition of Roman mores and customs and to the founding of new cities.

First stage. On the brink of war (218-195 BC): connectivity and *stasis* in 'liquid spaces'

Since the publication of works such as P. Horden and N. Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (2000), M. Pitts and M. J. Versluys' (eds.) *Globalisation and the Roman World. World History, Connectivity and Material Culture* (2015) and, more recently, P. Horden and N. Purcell's *The Boundless Sea. Writing Mediterranean history* (2020), the ancient Mediterranean has been understood as a 'global' and interconnected space. In this respect, the accent has been placed on international relations theory, which has attempted to analyse the historical phenomena occurring in the ancient Mediterranean from different approaches, the theories of A. Eckstein (2006) and Paul Burton (2011) standing out among those posited by historians of antiquity. The former understands the Mediterranean as a holistic system comprising different states that acted according to a series of general maxims or principles. Thus, each state would have attempted to guarantee its survival by vying with the rest of the polities for hegemony. Qualifying the foregoing, Burton defends the hypothesis according to which those states were not abstract or uniform 'bodies' with their own decision-making power, but were formed by groups of individuals who influenced the political orientation of their respective communities. In short, these polities did not act according to fundamental laws, but on the strength of the decisions made by those comprising them. All of which introduces emotional and psychological factors into the analysis, given that they had a decisive impact on their attitudes and behaviours. This last point is of utmost importance, for it helps us to understand many of the policies implemented by the peninsula's indigenous communities before the Romans disembarked there.

With the arrival of Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio in the Greek city of Emporion in the context of the Second Punic War (Polyb. 3.76.1-4; Liv. 21.60.2-4; 25.36.14; 28.39.3-4; Flor. 1.33.3-6; Zonar. 8.23), the conflict between Rome and Carthage became global, for it involved a group of minor polities that backed or fought for one or other of the two superpowers. For their part, merchants, slave traders, pirates and mercenaries, among others, acted as intermediaries, connecting these different centres in a context of war stress. It should be recalled that Rome encountered an amalgamation of territories formed by diverse groups; to wit, 'liquid spaces' in which the reactions of the different native communities, exacerbated by their political, social and ethnic idiosyncrasies, were never consistent. Furthermore, those who collaborated with Rome or, on the contrary, with Carthage, did so with their own local and regional interests in mind (García-Riaza 2011: 14; Riera and Principal 2015: 63-65). The Ilergetes are probably the most paradigmatic example of this policy during the Second Punic War in Iberia. Always depending on the group or faction wielding power in the community at a given moment, they remained in the orbit of the two warring superpowers. Consequently, the internal

political transformations in their society led to a tangible shift in their foreign policy. It should be noted, however, that the proximity of the Ilergetes one or other power did not necessarily have to do with a true desire to gain their friendship or to submit to their will. On the contrary, that policy was implemented by one or other faction with the aim of imposing its own power and will on the rest of the community (Riera and Principal 2015: 53-71). At the end of the war (202 BC), Rome decided to incorporate Iberia into its empire with the creation of two new provinces in 197 BC (Liv. 32.27.6). This, together with the demands deriving from the upkeep of the Roman armies deployed there, drove the native communities to take up arms against the invaders, which obliged the Republic to dispatch the consul Cato to the peninsula to suppress the rebellion in 195 BC (Liv. 34.8.4-7; 34.9.1-13.3; Plin. *NH*. 14.91; Front. 4.7.31; App. 6.39-41; Zon. 9.17).

Second stage. Nothing new under the sun? (195-82/72 BC)

With the defeat of the rebellious tribes in 195 BC and the consolidation of Roman power on the north-eastern seaboard of Hispania, a slow and fluctuating process of hybridisation got underway. As already noted, this did not signify the birth of a new world with well-defined spaces and frontiers. Quite to the contrary, it was a 'liquid space' in which disparate polities coexisted, with different legal statuses, which maintained economic, social and political relations of a diverse nature. During this initial stage, the Roman Republic was not tempted to subjugate the territory as a whole but made do with establishing its authority through bilateral relations based on the *deditiones* between the native elites and the ultimate Roman authorities *in situ*, whether they were (pro)consuls or (pro)praetors. All were given plenty of leeway when brokering agreements (Eckstein 1987; García-Riaza 2011: 39; Sánchez 2011: 97-105).

Although the testimonies describing this process are thin on the ground in the ancient sources, there is archaeological evidence pointing to a prolonged, fluctuating process (Roymans and Fernández-Götz 2019: 419). From an archaeological point of view, there is very little information with which to flesh out a description of the first stage (218-195 BC). However, as of 195 BC the archaeological record provides direct evidence of a stage characterised by the destruction and abandonment of Iberian settlements, the most paradigmatic case in the northeast of Hispania Citerior being the abandonment of the *oppidum* of Ullastret, close to Emporion.[96] We also observe the abandonment of

[96] Because of its importance, the Ullastret site seems to have been the political and social core of the Indiketes. In the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, a solid example of this is the theoretically peaceful abandonment of the settlements of

many *oppida* in the Laietan area, especially those situated in the interior zones, leaving the coastal *oppida* without the defenses protecting them from the interior (Garcia and Zamora 2006: 232-234).[97] Equally important is the destruction of the *oppidum* at Castellet de Banyoles (Tivissa), which dated back to the beginning of the 2nd century and, according to archaeologists, was destroyed in the context of a Roman siege (Noguera *et al.* 2011: 241). The problem lies in the difficulty to specify chronologically the moment of destruction and whether this was in the context of the Second Punic War or during the Campaign of Cato the Elder in 195 BC.

There is an important lack of archaeological data that dates from between 195 to c. 150 BC.[98] Be that as it may, the suppression of the native rebellion in 195 BC did not by any means signify the disappearance of Iberian settlements (Sanmartí and Santacana 2005: 183-194; Nolla *et al.* 2010: 31-34). Subsequently, during the last half of the second century BC, new characteristically Italic settlements and constructions gradually appeared, accompanied by a stage during which spaces were monumentalised. These included, for example, the building of a new Roman fortification to the south of the Neapolis of Emporion (Castanyer *et al.* 2015: 109-125), plus Italic-style temples and sanctuaries, such as the Italic temple built in the Iberian *oppidum* of Sant Julià de Ramis, close to Girona, in the 120s BC. In this last case, the pseudoperipteral building features a combination of Ionic entablature with columns of a Tuscan order, thus evincing a Greek influence and reinterpretation of the oriental forms adopted after Rome's conquests in the eastern Adriatic. The many extant granite blocks include one belonging to the floor of the *pronaos* and another from the entrance to the temple, plus a fragment of an architrave and of a frieze, and the tambour of a semi-column (Burch *et al.* 2006: 98-108).

In short, irrespective of the policy implemented by Rome, the truth is that Cato's campaign marked a turning point, owing to the fact that it led to the ultimate imposition of Roman hegemony over the north-eastern seaboard of the Iberian Peninsula, as well as its integration into the political structure of the Republic (Belarte and Principal 2019: 159-170). The new settlements bear witness to the continuity of indigenous traditions,

---

Mas Castellar (Pontós, Girona), Puig d'en Rovira (Creueta, Girona), Castell Barri (Calonge, Girona), Puig Castellet (Lloret de Mar, Girona) and Montbarbat (Lloret de Mar, Girona).

[97] At the beginning of the 2nd century BC, in the interior area of Laietania, the abandonment of the following *oppida* was documented: Turó de Ca n'Oliver, Puig Castellar, Turó de les Maleses, *oppidum* de Castellruf, Sant Miquel de Vallromanes, jaciment de Cèllecs i del Turó del Vent (García and Zamora 2006: 233).

[98] It should be noted that sites with a certain continuity have begun to be found at the beginning of the 2nd century BC. This is the case, for example, for the site at Puig del Castell de Samalús-Lauro, in the Laietan area. At the beginning of the 2nd century BC, a new wall was built on top of the previous one, and the unused towers were reoccupied. It has also been possible to document the occupancy of the site's hill area at this same stage (Guàrdia 2019: 96-97).

such as their location in elevated areas and their adaptation to the lie of the land. For instance, the site of Turó Rodó (Lloret de Mar, Girona) was founded *ex novo* in keeping with the traditions of the Indiketes (Nolla *et al.* 2010: 32). In sum, from the point of view of urban planning and building, nothing akin to what could be called 'romanisation' occurred in the north-eastern reaches of the Iberian Peninsula. What indeed can be detected is a two-way process in which both cultures influenced and complemented each other to the same extent. Rather than the substitution of ancient traditions and building techniques, new Italic forms were introduced. This process of 'hybridisation' seems to have been endorsed by the local ruling elites. In other words, during the second century BC the Iberian urban planning model continued to predominate, as with the indigenous mores and customs (Belarte and Principal 2019: 159-170).[99] So as to gain a better understanding of that process we will now examine the three most paradigmatic sites in our area of study: Emporion, Burriac-Ca l'Arnau and Tona-Camp de les Lloses.

Emporion

The Greek city of Emporion (province of Girona) offers an example of a hybrid society formed by Greeks and natives. Thanks to its privileged location in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula and its links to the Phocaean city of Massalia, the city became the springboard for the Roman Republic's struggle against Carthage in Iberia during the Second Punic War and for the peninsula's subsequent conquest (Aquilué 2015: 93-104). Accordingly, the city and the port were transformed into a point of contact between Hispania and Rome, specifically linking the ports of Puteoli and Luna to the peninsula's eastern seaboard. Imports arrived from those ports, including goods, merchandise and men who would subsequently contribute to the growth of Emporion and, in the long run, to change the peninsula's societies once and for all (Belarte *et al.* 2010: 96-108).

After Cato's defeat of the rebellious tribes in 195 BC (Liv. 34.9), Emporion ceases to appear in the written sources until the time of Caesar. Nevertheless, the archaeological record provides interesting evidence of its evolution during the second century BC, up until the founding of the Roman city around c. 80 BC. The material remains attest to the construction of a (so-called) *praesidium* during the suppression of the rebellion, whose

[99] Sinner and Carrera's recent article on the demography of NE Spain reinforces this statement. They argue that settlement patterns in the Roman period follow pre-Roman ones and that in NE Spain a significant increase in population from the pre-Roman to the Roman period did not take place, because a "decrease in population is visible in urban or proto-urban sites from the Iberian to Roman periods, though there is an increase in the rural densities" (Sinner and Carreras 2019: 302-321).

ultimate aim was to allow Rome to continue its advance southwards in order to pacify the rest of the native communities (Castanyer *et al.* 2015: 109-110). The supportive role that Emporium played for Rome served to consolidate its position as a key port during the second century BC, evidenced by its urban growth, including major renovation works and new constructions (Nolla *et al.* 2010: 36-39).

Nonetheless, the most relevant archaeological evidence is the existence of a stable camp. In this connection, a wall with a width of 2.8 m, running to the west to the point where the city would subsequently be established, has been excavated to the southeast of Neapolis—the Greek city. The material recuperated from the excavation of the wall, which mostly corresponds to local and Campanian A pottery, plus Italic imported amphora (Graeco-Italic and Dressel 1A), allows for dating the camp's construction to the mid-second century BC. This recently discovered wall section connects with the lower levels of the Roman city. As the walled enclosure, belonging to the (so-called) *praesidium*,[100] was located in the centre, it can be assumed that they functioned as one throughout the second century BC. On the north side, the wall ends in the south wall which would subsequently divide the city in two (Castanyer *et.al.* 2015: 118).[101]

[100] The central space of this major military enclosure corresponds to the so-called *praesidium*, within which the cistern building was located. These pre-existing structures have always been interpreted as belonging to the *praesidium* (Castanyer *et al.* 2015: 119).

[101] Some historians and archaeologists have suggested that the city's division corresponded to that of the populace according to legal status (Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993: 244-266).

(Aerial view of the archaeological site of Emporion with a superimposed plot showing the hypothetical surface area occupied by the 2nd century BC military camp[102]).

This discovery contextualises the Italic-style bath complex discovered outside the south wall of the Greek city and directly links it to the military camp. It can thus be regarded as corresponding to the first stage of the Roman occupation of Emporion, a period marked by its military presence in the vicinity and subsequent troop movements further inland to wage the Celtiberian wars. This doubtless marked the beginning of a new reality and gave rise to the aforementioned process of cultural 'hybridisation'. A unique necropolis, known as Les Corts (Almagro 1953: 251-255), should be associated with this military camp, which confirms and reinforces the hypothesis of a hybridisation process which began to take hold in the northeast of Hispania Citerior during the second century BC. It is a necropolis characterised by a large number of incinerations. More specifically, only one case of interment has been identified, out of c. 500-600 burials, which has been related to the remains of a Gaulish mercenary.

The presence of weapons in many of these individual burials is significant. Three Montefortino-type helmets, coming from Northern Italy, three swords, two shield bosses and catapult missiles have been documented, plus Italic pottery depicting female and animal images. In the collective tombs, for their part, the grave goods are intrinsically

[102] Image from Tremoleda *et al.* 2016: 64.

Iberian, including the remains of pottery produced on the coast. Nonetheless, a significant increase in imported goods, like Campanian pottery, has been detected next to them. In sum, the necropolis of Les Corts would, in all likelihood, have been the cemetery associated with the *praesidium*. The many native elements point to the presence of Iberian auxiliary troops. While the presence of Italic troops in the same place demonstrates that 'the rituals and the relationship with death must have been so similar as to make it feasible to share the same burial ground' (Nolla *et al.* 2010: 128).

The tomb discovered at the archaeological site of 'Corral d'en Pi', in the vicinity of Emporion, is also worth mentioning. This fort, built close to the sea, is directly related to the port of Riells-La Clota, in turn closely linked to Emporion. The Greek port of Emporion, suitable for small vessels dedicated to coastal trade, had become obsolete since the arrival of Scipio (218 BC) and Cato (195 BC). This obliged the Romans to look for a safe refuge for their ships in the area of Riells-La Clota, beneath the present-day fishing harbour in the municipality of L'Escala. Neither could the port be enlarged to the north due to an area of marshland that offered no protection against storms, nor to the south where the mouth of the river Ter was located. Only the area of Riells-La Clota, some 3 km from the Roman city, was large enough and totally protected from the easterlies (i.e. the levant), as well as having, at least in the Modern Age, several freshwater springs. Its only shortcoming was the fact that it had a marshy hinterland, except for the headland of Corral d'en Pi (Nieto and Nolla 1985: 156).

(Map with the location of the anchorage points near Emporion).

Due to Emporion's thriving commercial and economic activity, its port infrastructures were improved with the building of a pier in the old port, while work was simultaneously carried out on the fortified enclosure of Puig del Corral d'en Pi in the area of Riells. Without it, the area of Riells-La Clota, a fair distance from the city, was unprotected and thus prone to disorder and looting. It is important not to forget that the port not only needed a moorage area, but also infrastructures that allowed for a large variety of activities: granaries and warehouses for storing products, shipyards for repairing ships, manpower, such as guards (*custodes*), *tabulari* for registering goods, etc. (Nieto and Nolla 1985: 158).

The surveys performed to date have allowed us to confirm that it was an area with an intense sea and human traffic, to the point that it had its own necropolis. Only two tombs have survived, the rest disappearing probably during the area's urban development in the twentieth century. One of the internments, dated to first third of the first century BC, has been related to an Italic individual. The body was discovered accompanied by grave goods featuring local pottery and an iron strigil. The presence of strigils in a funerary context is frequent in the area of Valencia, in tombs associated with the Italic world, showing a strong Hellenisation and consolidation of the use of the *balneum*, that of Emporion being the first on the Iberian Peninsula. In the tomb, the Hellenic custom of burying the dead with a coin to pay Charon for passage has also been documented (Casas 1982: 157, 160, 162).

However, perhaps the greatest example of cultural interaction between different societies is through epigraphy.[103] As Javier Velaza's studies exemplify, throughout the 1st century BC we find numerous examples of Iberian, Greek and Latin epigraphy in the city of Emporion which all share space and importance. Although written in different languages, these epigraphic samples should be studied as a whole or, in the author's words, as a 'global cultural' fact (Velaza 2003: 186). For example, the fact that Iberian epigraphy is found in stone clearly demonstrates the Iberian adaptation to a typically Roman cultural practice, introduced in the northeast of the Peninsula in the 2nd and 1st century BC (Velaza 2018: 182). In short, the city of Emporion stands as a trilingual and heterogeneous space, which did not undergo a process of cultural homogenisation until the time of Augustus.

[103] During pre-Roman times we can already find Greek commercial inscriptions with Iberian toponyms, demonstrating a close link between Greeks and Iberians and the latter's adaptation of the script (De Hoz 1998: 503-509; Sinner and Velaza 2018: 5).

Burriac-Ca l'Arnau

The archaeological sites of Burriac and Ca l'Arnau are two good examples of cultural contact and hybridism, given the high level of interaction between the local culture and foreign elements appearing as of the last half of the second century BC. Located in the area of the Laietani, in the present-day town of Cabrera de Mar (province of Barcelona), the *oppidum* of Burriac was the territory's power centre throughout the third century BC and, now under Roman control, during the following century up until its disappearance in the 80/70s BC, when the area was reorganised and restructured in the wake of the Sertorian War (García-Roselló 2017: 41).

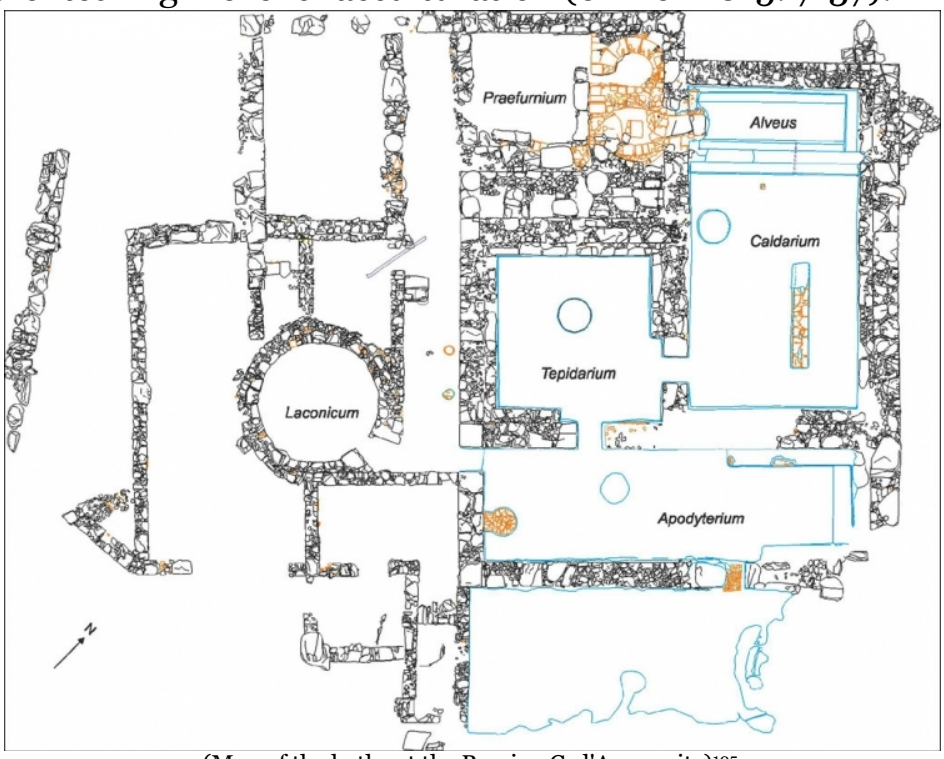
(Map of the Burriac-Ca l'Arnau site)[104]

Burriac's most notable aspect was its evolution during the second century BC, a moment coinciding with its demographic growth, owing in all likelihood to the resettling of the surrounding population in the *oppidum*, following Cato's suppression of the native rebellion. One way or the other, its notable urban development was characterised by the combination of exogenous elements with local building techniques. In this regard, the use of *tegulae* and *imbrices* in the construction of new roofs, plus *dolia* as a storage system supplementing the local silos, have been recorded. By the same token, an unprecedented emergence of both local and foreign material culture has also been documented, both quantitatively and qualitatively speaking, which evinces the site's importance as a distribution centre. To give just one example, in 200 BC imported

[104] Image obtained from the archaeological heritage section of the state municipality website of Cabrera de Mar (https://www.cabrerademar.cat/el-municipi/patrimoni-arqueologic/ca-l-arnau).

materials accounted for 18 per cent of the total, while by the end of the second century BC this had risen to 70 per cent (Sinner 2015: 7-37).

More interestingly, the foregoing points to the foundation of a new settlement at the foot of the hill on which the *oppidum* of Burriac was located, some 870 m from the settlement. Known as Ca l'Arnau, its foundation is dated to the last half of the second century BC (Garcia-Roselló *et.al* 2000: 33-34), in parallel to the continuity and development of the *oppidum* of Burriac. For this reason, some authors have interpreted the two sites as having the same function, both forming a whole (Olesti 2010: 29). The reason behind its foundation is even more thought-provoking, insofar as it is a settlement with some Italic-type characteristics. Of all of the remains special mention should go to the excavation of a luxury *domus* (Can Benet) with eight rooms, six of which have *opus signinum* pavements, with a total surface area of 240 m² (García-Roselló 2017: 42-44). But the most important element is the building housing the baths, with a surface area of 450 m², including a *tepidarium*, a *caldarium*, an *apodyterium* and a *laconicum*, all in an excellent state of preservation. The magnitude of the remains, dated to between 150 and 90 BC, evinces a public character and the presence in the area of Italic groups and/or the local elites' high level of acculturation (Sinner 2015: 7-37).



(Map of the baths at the Burriac-Ca l'Arnau site)[105]

[105] Image from the archaeological heritage section of the state municipality website of Cabrera de Mar (https://www.cabrerademar.cat/el-municipi/patrimoni-arqueologic/ca-l-arnau), last accessed 15/01/21.

So, throughout the second century BC and during the first third of the following one, the autochthonous urban model continued to exist as new exogenous elements were introduced, which by themselves do not necessarily signify a shift in cultural hegemony. The Roman presence and the introduction of Italic cultural and material elements unquestionably brought about a change in the ideological framework and social behaviour of the native groups. However, the prospective studies of the sites of Burriac and Ca l'Arnau indicate that this was a more prolonged, two-way process, where both the local and foreign cultures influenced each other to the same degree, albeit with, politically speaking, Rome clearly in control. Thus, the four prenatal burials at the Italic site of Ca l'Arnau should be interpreted as an indicator of the continuity of Iberian rituals, now coexisting in Italic spaces.[106] Despite the fact that this practice was not uncommon in the Roman world (Plin. *HN*. 7. 72), we believe that it can be framed, as at the site of the Camp de les Lloses, in a markedly maternal and, by extension, indigenous context (Duran et al. 2015b: 304). So, this poses the question, as Sinner has done suggestively, of whether or not the native populations put these spaces to a different use (Sinner 2015: 19).

Another example is to be found in the Iberian inscriptions on imported materials, which demonstrate the predominance of the native script over its Latin counterpart and, consequently, that the Italic inhabitants must have been fewer in number than the natives. In fact, from a total of more than 80 inscriptions, all are written in Iberian and we do not find a single inscription in Latin (Sinner and Ferrer 2018: 203, 241-215). From these examples, perhaps one of the most interesting findings is the graffiti on the *tubulus* at the Ca l'Arnau baths, which probably refers to the Iberian producer of the *tubuli* (Sinner and Ferrer 2016: 201).[107] On the other hand, it would not be farfetched to contend that the local elites would have Latinised their names, as occurred in many other places (Sinner and Ferrer 2016: 219). Thanks to Rome's influence and the tighter control exerted by the local elites, Iberian epigraphy developed during the second and first centuries BC (Sinner and Velaza 2018: 5-6; Herrera-Rando 2019: 380).[108] However that may be, just as the greater presence of Iberian epigraphy and, as a result, of natives suggests their adaptation to the new Italic-style spaces, so too does the continued

[106] Burials of this type were commonplace in the Western Mediterranean, as evidenced by the archaeological record (Armendáriz and Ibáñez 2006; Torres *et al.* 2012; Lorrio *et al.* 2010; Dasen 2011: 306; Carrol 2011: 111).

[107] It is interesting to compare the epigraphic samples from the Burriac and Ca l'Arnau sites with other sites in the Iberian area. For example, during the foundation of Valentia the results are the opposite. From a total of 25 documents presented in the study by Maria de Hoz, 18 are Latin, while only 7 present Iberian writing. This fact responds to the colonial character of the area´s creation, given that veterans of the Roman army were settled on the site. (De Hoz *et al*. 2013: 407-429).

[108] Although Iberian epigraphy had been known about since the 5th century BC, it developed and expanded in both the public and private spheres with the arrival of Rome. New techniques were also developed, as well as new supporting foundations (Sinner and Velaza 20118: 4-5).

existence of endogenous elements allow us to assume that there was no far-reaching cultural changes. Rather, the natives adapted those useful elements to their own cultural needs (Sinner 2015: 7-37). In this sense, the sites of Burriac and Ca l'Arnau are both illustrative examples of what we have called 'liquid spaces' and of a lengthy process of hybridisation, characterised by a symmetric relationship between endogenous and exogenous cultural elements, which suggests the adaptation to new realities, rather than their imposition.

In sum, this process of hybridism does not demonstrate that the local inhabitants were converted into 'Romans', but points to a new political, economic and social reality, which did not necessarily involve any decisive cultural changes, purposeful or planned. It was rather a lengthy, multilinear process in which there were many ways of becoming a 'Roman', with the local elites taking the lead (Sinner 2015: 37).

Tona-Camp de les Lloses (125-75 a.C.)

The site of the Camp de les Lloses (125-75 BC), currently located in the municipality of Tona (province of Barcelona), is a clear example of a settlement in an area of transit and interaction between two different cultures and, therefore, susceptible to becoming a 'liquid space' (Duran *et al.* 2017: 153). Its location on the Plain of Vic, between the water basins of the rivers Ter and Congost, made it a strategic control point connecting the coast with the interior and the Pyrenees (Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 160; Duran *et al.* 2015a: 294; Duran *et al.* 2017: 156). The importance of its location is evidenced by the roads converging on it: two north-south roads, the *Via Manius Sergius*, identified from the three milestones bearing the name of the proconsul who had ordered it to be built (Díaz-Ariño 2008: 90-91), and that of Congost, plus another running from east to west, the *Via Collsuspina*. All of these secondary branches of the so-called *Via Heraklea* (later the *Via Augusta*) traversed the region's interior during the Republican period. As to the *Via Collsuspina*, it served as a natural route inland, while the north-south roads connected the interior with the coast, their layout and chronology being their only differences. The road coming from Congost has been dated to the Augustan Age, while the construction of the *Via Manius Sergius* might be related to a camp or *castellum*, the road thus being of a conspicuously military nature and converting the Camp de les Lloses into a strategic communication and logistics hub in the context of the important campaigns being waged in the peninsula's interior (125-

75 BC) (Duran *et al.* 2017: 156-159; Álvarez *et al.* 2000: 279; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 172-174; Ñaco del Hoyo 2017: 19; Padrós 2016: 343, 370, 390).[109]

At the site, 10 buildings constructed around a public space have been excavated to date. They are terraced dwellings built on a north-south axis, whose design is inspired by the traditional Italic habitat with rooms distributed around a central patio. Up to 15 metal workshops, located within and without the dwellings, have been identified, which has led to the hypothesis that they were specialised buildings devoted exclusively to iron and, to a lesser extent, bronze working (Duran *et al.* 2017: 160, 162; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 160).[110] Despite the buildings' markedly Italic design, both the materials and techniques employed are inherently Iberian (Duran *et.al* 2017: 160). The 11 perinatal burials located inside them are also decidedly indigenous in character. As already observed, this practice was also fairly commonplace in the Roman world according to classical authors and we believe that these funerary rites are closely related to the women living in the settlement, for their most part natives (Duran *et al.* 2010: 102; Plin. *NH*. 7.72; *NH*. 11.166; Juv. 15.140; Fulg. *Expos*.7;[111] Duran *et al.* 2015b: 304, 306; Sánchez *et al.* 2015: 8).

[109] Paleofauna studies performed at the site suggest that bovids and equids were two of the resources exploited by the members of the community. The discovery of the remains of ovicaprids and suidae, foreign to the Iberian livestock exploitation model, indicates that these domestic animals had been imported as part of a new exploitation strategy implemented in the Roman Age (Duran *et al.* 2017: 161).

[110] Due to the large amount of coinage recuperated, the intense commercial activity resulting from metal working and the enclave's links to Roman military logistics, it has been suggested that coins might have been struck in the Camp de les Lloses (Duran *et al.* 2017: 177).

[111] 'Priori tempore suggrundaria antiqui dicebant sepulchra infantium qui necdum quadraginta dies implessent, quia nec busta dici poterant, quia ossa quae conburerentur non erant, nec tanta inmanitas cadaueris quae locum tumisceret; unde et Rutilius Geminus in Astianactis tragoedia ait: 'Melius suggrundarium miser quereris quam sepulchrum' (Fulg. *Expos.* 7).

(Map of the site with the location of the metal workshops and children's burial sites)[112]

The remains, female in all cases, were discovered close to the walls in the rooms given over to domestic uses and in the metal workshops, alike.[113] Most of them were buried individually, with only two sharing the same room. The bodies were placed in small trenches without any funerary goods, except in the case of Burial 1, located in Area 13 of Building B, comprising a *dolabrum*, a small clasp and diverse hemispherical pieces. This burial is located in the dwelling with more evidence of Roman-Italic material culture (personal adornments, a coin hoard and a *lararium* accompanied by ritual elements), all indicating a high social status. This practice documented in the Iberian world has been related to the foundation or renovation of the dwellings, with the appearance or disappearance of the metal workshops, with the protection of the family group and,

[112] Image from Duran *et al.* 2017: 20.
[113] The discovery of perinatal burials has also been documented repeatedly in the areas given over to production or handicrafts (Lorrio *et al.* 2010: 238; Dasen 2011: 306).

lastly, with the agrarian cult (Duran *et al.* 2017: 166, 180-181; Duran *et al.* 2015a: 296-297; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 163).

The material culture is also predominantly local. The pottery remains are mostly local or regional (oxidised, smooth and painted pottery, grey Emporion pottery and imitation Italic ceramics, Iberian amphora from the northeast coast, etc.), while the imported pottery is mainly Italic, featuring Italian black-gloss pottery and Dressel 1A amphorae, accounting for nearly 90 per cent of the imported ware. (Duran *et al.* 2015a: 295; Duran *et al.* 2017: 173-174; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 163).

The site is also noteworthy for the large number of coins that have been unearthed, including 208 Iberian coins, 15 Roman ones and three lead tokens. If the distribution of the Iberian finds are analysed by mints, those of the Ausetani — i.e. of local provenance —predominate (22 *Ausesken*, 6 *Eusti* and 2 *Ore*, accounting for 24.59 per cent of the total), followed by those of the Laietani (5 *Laiesken*, 14 *Lauro*, 1 *Baitolo* and 7 *Ilturo*, 22.13 per cent), that of *Iltirkesken* (17 exemplars, 13.93 per cent) and, to a lesser extent, that of *Untikesken* (2 coins, 1.64 per cent), that of *Kese* (5 coins, 4.10 per cent) — the north-eastern workshop where the largest amount of coinage was minted — that of *Iltirta* (3 coins, 2.46 per cent) and, finally, coinage coming from outside the northeast of Hispania Citerior (8.2 per cent) and illegible exemplars (28 per cent) (Duran *et al.* 2015a: 295; Duran *et al.* 2017: 179-180; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012:164). It has been proposed that such a large quantity of coinage might be directly related to the presence of troops in the settlement itself. This idea is supported by the discovery of the remains of a ritual deposit of an equid outside Building I and elements inherent to the Roman panoply, such as a *simpulum* discovered in the metal workshop and a *gladius hispaniensis* unearthed *in situ* in one of its rooms. Such finds have been understood as evidence that it was a place for billeting troops (Duran *et al.* 2017: 162).

All the evidence that has been presented in this case study indicates, to our mind, that the Camp de les Lloses was a hybrid settlement in which the Iberian and Roman realities coexisted. The archaeological and numismatic evidence shows how the Roman army effectively integrated *auxilia externa*, converting them into part of the war effort despite their foreign status. Notwithstanding their assimilation, these contingents did not dispense with their ancestral customs, but integrated them into the cultural dynamics that Rome afforded them, giving rise to a new cultural hybridism. The Camp de les Lloses should not be understood in an isolated manner, but as part of a network that stretched the length and breadth of the northeast of Hispania Citerior, allowing for the spread of Roman power and customs from the coast to the interior (Álvarez *et al.* 2000: 280; Duran et al. 2010: 103; Duran *et al.* 2015a: 295; Duran *et al.* 2017: 187; Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 177; Ñaco del Hoyo 2017: 19, 27; Padrós 2016: 343-344, 416).

Conclusions

In light of the facts and the archaeological sites analysed in this paper, we believe that we have sufficient evidence supporting the division of the period stretching from the Second Punic War (218-202 BC) to the Sertorian War (82 BC) into two major stages. There is little archaeological evidence of the first stage (218-195 BC), but war stress certainly left its mark on the territory. So, it seems plausible to contend that, exploiting a situation of uncertainty, some of the local elites rose to power with Rome's help, thus allowing them to get the better of their internal adversaries in the context of factional fighting. These internal struggles were decisive in helping the Republican authorities to extend their political domination over them (Sánchez 2011: 98). In our view, the same happened as a result of the rebellion in 197 BC. The fact that some of the territory's *oppida* disappeared suggests that the Republic attempted to shatter the region's internal structures, fragmenting its cohesion, eliminating the old power centres and replacing the ancient aristocracies with those elites more amenable to Rome (Nolla *et al.* 2010: 29). This change did not involve the implementation of a planned Roman policy in the territory, given that the majority of the Iberian *oppida* continued to control their regions.

In a second stage, as of 195 BC, and above all in last half of the second century BC, a new reality began to emerge, but without the imposition of an exogenous cultural hegemony. It was now what could be called a 'liquid space' that changed over time according to the circumstances and context. The armed clashes shifted progressively inland, while the coastal areas became control, supply and distribution centres for men and resources (Ñaco del Hoyo and Principal 2012: 172). Troops arriving in great numbers and the military structures accompanying them marked the beginning of the transformation of the existing pre-Roman societies and the emergence of more 'liquid' and hybrid realities, as evidenced by the sites analysed here (e.g. Cadiou 2008). But this process of hybridism was not immediate and by no means signified the abandonment of the local culture, but the initiation of a process of hybridism with its own heterogeneous characteristics, leading to the advent of an Iberian-Italic reality. The army as an integrating institution enlisted native troops, thus allowing them to partake in the Roman *modus operandi*, which in turn required the Republican authorities to gain a better understanding of the local culture with, for example, the incorporation of interpreters (Torregaray 2011: 328). Archaeology and numismatics offer indications of their enlistment, presumably as support personnel or *auxilia externa*, and of that rapprochement, as borne out by the coinage bearing Iberian script and graphic elements (Ñaco del Hoyo 2017: 19-20).

The examples described above — Emporion, Burriac-Ca l'Arnau and Tona-Camp de les Lloses — provide evidence that Iberian and Italic individuals coexisted and interacted with one another in ambivalent spaces. Italic spaces with very specific uses,

such as Roman-style dwellings or cemeteries associated with a *praesidium*, were focal points of Iberian funerary rites, as can be clearly seen from the remains discovered at the three sites. These examples, together with the evidence that we have presented here, point to the fact that the northeast of Hispania Citerior was a changing region in which local and foreign customs and identities converged and endured. Throughout this process, the local elites must have played a key role, given that they were the first to adapt to the new political structure and organisation imposed by Rome and to the dynamics deriving from its presence there. However, the Republic's lack of political planning vis-à-vis the territory allowed the native communities to preserve their ancient traditions, as the elites gradually adapted to the new exogenous realities.

References

Almagro, M. (1953) *Las necrópolis de Ampurias. I. Introducción y necrópolis griegas, Monografías Ampurias II*. Barcelona.

Álvarez, R., Duran, M., Mestres, I., Molas, M.D. and Principal, J. (2000) 'El jaciment del Camp de les Lloses (Tona, Osona), i el seu taller de metalls', *Saguntum: Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia,* Extra 3, 271-281.

Aquilué, X. (2015) 'Emporion, puerta de entrada de Roma en Hispania'. In M. Bendala-Galán (ed.), *Los Escipiones. Roma conquista Hispania,* 93-105. Madrid.

Armendáriz, J. and Ibáñez M.P de Miguel. (2006) 'Los enterramientos infantiles del poblado de Las Eretas (Berbinzana). Estudio paleoantropológico'. *Trabajos de arqueología navarra* 19, 5-44.

Bauman, Z. (2007) *Liquid Times. Living in an Age of Uncertainty*. Manchester.

Belarte, C., Olmos, P. and Principal, J. (2010) '¿Los romanos "iberizados"? Aportaciones romanas y tradiciones indígenas en la Hispania Citerior mediterránea', *Bollettino di Archeologia on line* I (Volume speciale), 96-111.

Belarte, C. and Principal, J. (2019) 'Modèles d'habitat et d'architecture domestique dans le nord-est de l'Hispanie citérieure aux IIe et Ier siècles avant notre ère.', *BIBRACTE, Centre archéologique européen*, 159-170.

Beltrán, F. (2017) 'Acerca del concepto de romanización'. In T. Tortosa and S.F. Ramallo (eds.), *El tiempo final de los santuarios ibéricos en el proceso de impacto y consolidación del mundo romano*, 17-26. Madrid.

Burch, J., Nolla, J. M. and Sagrera, J. (2006) *Excavacions arqueològiques a la muntanya de Sant Julià de Ramis*. Sant Julià de Ramis.

Burch, J., Castanyer P., Nolla J. M. and Tremoleda J. (2010) Temps de canvis. La romanització del nord-est de Catalunya. In *Time of changes: in the beginning of the Romanization*, 89-108. Girona.

Burton, P.J. (2011) *Friendship and Empire. Roman Diplomacy and Imperialism in the Middle Republic (353-146 BC)*. Cambridge.

Cadiou, F. (2008) *Hibera in terra miles*. Madrid.

Carroll, M. (2011) 'Infant Death and Burial in Roman Italy', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 24, 99-120.

Casas, J. (1982) 'La tomba de la Clota Grossa (l'Escala, Alt Empordà)', C*ypsela: revista de prehistòria i protohistòria* 4, 157-163.

Castanyer, P., Santos, M. and Tremoleda, J. (2015) 'Una nueva fortificación de época republicana en Empúries. Una base militar para la conquista de Hispania'. In M. Bendala-Galán (ed.), *Los Escipiones. Roma conquista Hispania,* 107-129. Madrid.

Cimadomo, P. (2019) *The Southern Levant during the first centuries of Roman rule (64 BCE–135 CE). Interweaving local cultures*. Oxford.

Dasen, V. (2001) 'Childbirth and Infancy in Greek and Roman Antiquity. In B. Rawson (ed.), A *Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, 291-314. Chichester & Malden.

De Hoz, J. (1998) 'Western Greek epigraphy and Graeco-Iberian writing', In Cabrera, P. and Sánchez, C. (eds.), *Los Griegos en España. Tras las Huellas de Heracles,* 503-510. Madrid.

De Hoz, M., Ariño, B., and Lacomba, A. R. (2013) 'Grafitos sobre cerámica procedentes de los niveles romanorepublicanos de Valentia (Valencia, España)', *Palaeohispanica. Revista sobre lenguas y culturas de la Hispania Antigua* 13, 407-429.

Díaz-Ariño, B. (2008) *Epigrafía Latina Republicana de Hispania*. Barcelona.

Duran, M., Mestres, I. and Principal, J. (2010) 'El projecte del Camp de les Lloses. Tona, Barcelona: La museïtzació gradual d'un jaciment en procés d'excavació. 17 anys d'intervencions arqueològiques'. *I Jornades d'arqueologia de la Catalunya Central. Homenatge a Miquel Cura*, 100-108. Manresa.

Duran, M., Mestres, I., Principal, J. and Padrós, C. (2015a) 'El Camp de les Lloses (Tona, Osona) un post avançat amb tallers metal.lúrgics al servei de la logística de l'exèrcit romano republicà (125-75 ane)', *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 25, 293-307.

Duran, M., Mestres, I. and Molas, M.D. (2015b) 'Maternidad e inhumaciones perinatales en el vicus romanorrepublicano del Camp de les Lloses (Tona, Barcelona)'. In M. Sánchez, E. Alarcón and G. Aranda (eds.), *Children, spaces and identity*, 294-309. Oxford.

Duran, M., Mestres, I., Padrós, C. and Principal, J. (2017) 'El Camp de les Lloses (Tona, Barcelona): evolución y significado del vicus Romano republicano'. In J. Principal, T. Ñaco del Hoyo, M. Duran and I. Mestres (eds.), R*oma en la península ibérica presertoriana. Escenarios de implantación militar provincial*, 153-189. Barcelona.

Eckstein, A. (1987) *Senate and General: Individual decision making and Roman foreign relations 264-194 B. C.* Berkeley.

Eckstein, A. (2006) *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome*. Berkeley.

Fabre, G. (1997). 'Organisation des Espaces Antiques'. *Entre Nature et Histoire*. Biarritz.

Ferrer, J., Olesti, O. and Velaza, J. (2018) 'Nuevas inscripciones rupestres latinas de Oceja y los *IIIIviri* ibéricos de Iulia Lybica', *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 44 (1). 169-195.

García-Riaza, E. (2011) 'Derecho de guerra en Occidente durante la expansión romano-republicana. Planteamientos metodológicos'. In E. García Riaza (ed.), *De fronteras a provincias. Interacción e integración en Occidente (ss. III-I a.C.),* 31-65. Mallorca.

Garcia-Roselló, J. (2017) *Laietania. Gènesi, fundació i període republicà de la ciutat d'Iluro (Hispania Citerior).* Mataró.

García-Roselló, J., and Zamora, D. (2006) Poblament i territori a la Laietània interior. *Notes*, (21), 217-240.

Guàrdia, M. (2019) La fase d'abandonament del poblat ibèric del Puig del Castell de Samalús-Lauro. *Laietania: Estudis d'historia i d'arqueología de Mataró i del Maresme*, (20), 95-110.

Herrera-Rando, J. (2019) 'Magistrados locales y lenguas indígenas en el Occidente Romano. Hispania, Galia e Italia (ss. III aC-I dC)', *Athenaeum: Studi di letteratura e Storia dell'antichità* 2, 357-387.

Horden, P. and Purcell, N. (2000) *The Corrupting Sea. A study of Mediterranean history*. Oxford.

Horden, P. and Purcell, N. (2020) *The Boundless Sea. Writing Mediterranean history*. London and New York.

Lefebvre, H. (1974) *La production de l'espace,* París.

Lorrio, A. J., De Miguel, M. P., Moneo, T. and Sánchez, M.D. (2010) 'Enterramientos infantiles en el Oppidum de El Molón (Camporrobles, Valencia)', *Cuadernos de Arqueología. Universidad de Navarra* 18, 201-262.

Mar, R. and Ruiz de Arbulo, J. (1993) *Ampurias romana. Historia, Arquitectura y Arqueología*. Sabadell.

Millett, M. (1990) 'Romanization: Historical Issues and Archaeological Interpretations'. In Blagg, T and Millett, M. (eds.), *The Early Roman Empire in the West,* 35–41. Oxford.

Nieto, F. J. and Nolla, J. M. (1985) 'El yacimiento arqueológico submarino de Riells-la Clota y su relación con Ampurias', *Cypsela* 5, 143-162.

Noguera, J., Asensio, D., and Jornet, R. (2012) 'La destrucción de El Castellet de Banyoles (Tivissa, Tarragona)'. In Belarte, M. *et al.* (eds.), *Iberos del Ebro: actas del II congreso internacional (Alcañiz-Tivissa, 16-19 de noviembre de 2011),* 231-246. Tarragona.

Nolla, J. M., Palahí, L. and Vivo, J. (2010) *De l'oppidum a la civitas. La romanització inicial de la Indigècia*. Girona.

Ñaco del Hoyo, T. (2003). *Vectigal incertum: economía de guerra y fiscalidad republicana en el occidente romano, su impacto histórico en el territorio (218-133 aC)*. Oxford.

Ñaco del Hoyo, T. (2006) 'Una historia de la primera fase de la intervención romana en Hispania (218-133 aC).' In T Ñaco del Hoyo and I. Arrayás (eds.), *War and territory in the Roman world: Guerra y territorio en el mundo romano,* 81-103. Oxford.

Ñaco del Hoyo, T. and Principal, J. (2012) 'Outposts of integration? Garrisoning, Logistics and Archaeology in N.E. Hispania, 133-82 BCE,' S. Roselaar (ed.), *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*, 159-177. Leiden – Boston.

Ñaco del Hoyo, T. (2017) 'Conectividad', integración militar y 'estrés bélico' en el N.E. de Hispania Citerior (c. 125-100 a.C.)'. In J. Principal, T. Ñaco del Hoyo, M. Duran and I. Mestres (eds.), *Roma en la península ibérica presertoriana. Escenarios de implantación militar provincial*, 17-38. Barcelona.

Olesti, O. (2010) 'Urbanització, integració i gestió del territori del nord-est de la península Ibèrica en època republicana (segles II-I a.C.)', *Time of changes: in the beginning of the romanization*. 11-59. Girona.

Padrós, C. (2016) *La implantació militar romana a Catalunya: caracterització d'espais militars al NE de la Citerior en època tardorepublicana (ss. II – I ane)*. PhD dissertation. Universitat Rovira i Virgili.

Pera, J. (2005) 'Pervivencia de la lengua ibérica en el siglo I a. C. El ejemplo de la ciudad Romana de Iesso', *Palaeohispanica* 5, 315-333.

Pitts, M. and Versluys, M.J. (eds.) (2015) *Globalisation and the Roman World. World History, Connectivity and Material Culture*. Cambridge.

Richardson, J. S. (1986) *Hispaniae. Spain and the Development of Roman Imperialism, 218-82 BC*. Cambridge.

Riera, R. and Principal, J. (2015) 'Sitting on the Fence: Ilergetan Attitudes and responses to imperialistic strategies'. In T. Ñaco del Hoyo, R. Riera and D. Castro (eds.). *Ancient Disasters and Crisis Management in Classical Antiquity*. Gsánsk.

Roymans, N. and Fernández-Götz, M. (2019) 'Reconsidering the Roman conquest: new archaeological perspectives', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 32, 415-420.

Sánchez, E. (2011) 'De la Resistencia a la Negociación: acerca de las actitudes y capacidades de las comunidades romanas frente al Imperialismo romano'. In E. García-Ríaza (ed.). *De Fronteras a Provincias: Interacción e Integración en Occidente* (ss. III – I a.C.), 97-104. Mallorca.

Sánchez, M., Alarcón, E., Aranda, G (2015) 'Children, Childhood and Space. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Identity'. In M. Sánchez., E. Alarcón and G. Aranda (eds.). *Children, spaces and identify*, 2-9. Oxford.

Sanmartí, J. and Santacana, J. (2005). *Els Ibers del Nord*. Barcelona.

Sinner, A. G. (2015) 'Cultural contacts and identity construction: a colonial context in NE Spain (2nd – early 1stc.BC)', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28, 7-37.

Sinner, A. G. and Ferrer-Jané, J. (2016) 'Del oppidum de Burriac a las termas de Ca l'Arnau. Una aproximación a la lengua y a la identidad de los habitantes de Ilduro (Cabrera de Mar, Barcelona)', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 89, 193-223.

Sinner, A. G. and Ferrer, J. (2018) Novedades epigráficas de Ilduro (Cabrera de Mar, Barcelona) Palaeohispanica 18, 203-216.

Sinner, A. and Velaza, J. (2018) 'Epigraphy: The Palaeohispanic Languages', *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology,* 1-13.

Sinner, A. and Carreras, C. (2019) 'Methods of palaeodemography: the case of the Iberian oppida and Roman cities in north-eastern Spain', Oxford Journal of Archaeology 38 (3), 302-324.

Torra, F. (2009) 'Les inscripcions ibèriques a la ciutat de Baetulo', *Carrer dels Arbres. Revista anuari del Museu de Badalona* 20, 7-24.

Torregaray, E. (2011). 'Viajar en representación de Roma: Idas y venidas de los legati-

embajadores' In M. Iglesias and A. Ruíz (eds.), *Viajes y cambios de residencia en el mundo romano,* 319-335. Santander.

Torres, J. F., Domínguez, S. D. and Carnicero, S. (2012) 'Inhumaciones de perinatales en el área de la muralla sur del oppidum de Monte Bernorio (Villarén, Palencia)', *MUNIBE (Antropologia-Arkeologia)* 63, 199-211.

Tremoleda, J., Santos, M. and Castanyer, P. (2016) 'Una nova fortificació d'època republicana a Empúries. Una base militar per a la conquista d'Hispània', *Annals del Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos* 47, 47-74.

Woolf, G. (1997) 'Beyond Romans and Natives', *World Archaeology* 28 (3), 339-350.

Woolf, G. (1998) *Becoming Roman: The origins of provincial administration in Gaul.* Cambridge.

Woolf, G. (2014) 'Romanization 2.0 and its alternatives'. *Archaeological Dialogues.*

Valenzuela, S. and Albarella, U. (2017) 'Animal husbandry across the Western Roman

Empire: changes and continuities. *European Journal of Archaeology'* 20 (3), 402-415.

Velaza, J. (2003) 'La epigrafía ibérica emporitana: bases para una reconsideración'. Palaeohispanica. *Revista sobre lenguas y culturas de la Hispania Antigua* (3), 179-192.

Velaza, J. (2018). 'Epigrafía ibérica sobre soporte pétreo: origen y evolución', In F. Beltrán – B. Díaz Ariño (eds.), *El nacimiento de las culturas epigráficas en el occidente mediterráneo*, 169-183. Madrid.

Sparta and Athens: A monumental confrontation.[*]

Matt Thompson - University of Nottingham

This paper addresses the monuments and spatial confrontation between Athens and Sparta during the fifth century, a period marked by rising tensions between these two preeminent city states culminating in the Peloponnesian War and the defeat of Athens. Often the rhetoric of orators or speeches in Thucydides have been closely studied, while the monuments, though more accessible to the world beyond Athens and Sparta, have played a supporting role. Throughout this work I maintain a narrow focus on the relationship between Athens and Sparta as projected by a handful of monuments, rather than attempt a sweeping overview of their respective monumental styles, nor will I fully consider the wide range of meanings such monuments would project beyond this relationship. It is certainly not my intention to suggest that the material under consideration here had no further motivation or impact beyond the rivalry of these two *poleis*. In consideration of the time and space available here I have limited the discussion to the dialogue between four major monuments in two locations: the monuments for Marathon and Aigospotamoi at Delphi, and the Stoa *Poikile* and Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the city of Athens. These examples only offer a glimpse of the rivalry and propaganda which developed throughout the fifth century between Athens and Sparta. Nevertheless, I believe that the tension between the two cities as reflected in these monuments represents an interesting and previously under investigated field of study. I hope to demonstrate that the Athenian monuments had motivations beyond the internal factors which are often the focus of scholars,[114] and that the Spartans, often maligned for their lack of interest in monumental display,[115] were able to adapt their monuments according to the space which they occupied in order to compete with Athens.

[*] I am grateful to the organisers of the *Meaning, Memory and Movement: ancient and medieval spaces* conference for the opportunity to present this paper, and the conference attendees and delegates for the discussion which followed. Sincere thanks are also due to the reviewers, whose insightful comments helped improve this work, as well as my friend and colleague Charlotte Round, who kindly shared with me her expertise on the monument of Delphi. All dates are BCE and all translations are my own unless otherwise stated. Responsibility for all errors and oversights is entirely mine alone.

[114] Athenian monuments at Delphi: Scott 2014, 128-30; City of Athens: Arrington 2010

[115] Palagia 2009, 32.

Delphi and the leadership credentials of Athens.

Delphi, the heart of the Greek world, site of the most famous oracle, and recipient of the most lavish victory monuments from the Persian Wars (and beyond), represents an obvious starting point for a spatial confrontation. Sparta, despite close links with the oracle,[116] appears not to have offered any major dedications of its own before the end of the fifth century, preferring to erect victory monuments at the much closer Olympia or at home.[117] We should however mention the famous serpent column,[118] notionally a dedication from the whole allied Greek force, but which nevertheless had strong links to Sparta. The form of the monument: a tripod and supporting column statue, was a form of which the Spartans appear especially fond from the 7th century onwards,[119] though it was certainly not a form unique to Sparta.[120] The Spartan finger print is best evidenced by the regent Pausanias' daring original inscription, projecting the column as his own victory monument. The implicit level of Spartan control is visible in that, according to Thucydides, it is the 'Lakedaimonians', who erase the original inscription and replace it with the names of participating *poleis* with Lakedaimon at the top.[121] This monument is in keeping with the wider practice of commanders being placed in charge of the spoils of war and overseeing their dedication in temples,[122] yet we might wonder whether it served as a visual reminder of Sparta's leading role in the defeat of the Persians. Sparta's position as leader had, after all, never previously been in doubt and it is interesting to

---

[116] Hdt. 6.57.3-4 on *Pythioi*, special Spartan envoys to Delphi.

[117] Neer 2001, 285 suggests that IG. I².272 (which he wrongly cites as 292), a dedication at Delphi from a certain Alkibiades, was Lakedaimonian. However, the letter forms are certainly Attic (*LSAG*², 78, no.39) and the monument has been convincingly linked with Alkibiades the elder, the Athenian statesman of the late 6th century (Vanderpool 1952). The text, aside from being in Attic script, mentions nothing in connection with Lakedaimon or Sparta. Daux 1922, 339-445. For numerous large bronze vessels dedicated at Olympia, cf. Morgan 1990, 30-1; 97-103; Scott 2010, 146; 125-3. The most prominent fifth century victory dedication was a golden shield affixed to the temple of Hera after the battle of Tanagra, which explicitly names itself as 'a gift from the Argives, Athenians, and Ionians' (δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθαναίων καὶ Ἰώνων): Paus. 5.10.4.

[118] Stephensen 2016, esp. ch. 1-3 for a thorough review of the historiography and archaeology of the serpent column.

[119] Stibbe 2000, 180-1. Tripods with statues at Amyklai (including two dedicated by Lysander after Aigospotamoi): Paus. 3.18.7-8. Jefferey and Cartledge 1982, 255-6 for a lion attachment from a large bronze vessel on Samos. Morgan 1990, 97-103.

[120] Chamoux 1970 for tripods with caryatid sculptures beneath. Neer 2001, 295-6 for a summary of the status of tripods in Archaic Greece.

[121] Thuc. 1.132.2-3. The letters of the inscription are Phokian (*LSAG*², 104, no. 15) suggesting that the inscription was carried out by local craftsmen, though probably at the behest of the Lakedaimonians after the initial erection of the monument as per the Thucydides passage.

[122] Pritchett 1971 (I), Ch.3-4 for commanders vs private soldiers in sanctuary dedications.

note that while Herodotus might argue that the Athenians were the 'saviours of Greece', he is forced to concede that this opinion will be unpopular with many.[123]

The aftermath of the Persian Wars saw many *poleis* celebrate and promote their own contribution, and Athens was certainly no exception.[124] The growing power and ambition of Athens soon led to a propaganda war between Athens and Sparta, as recorded in the speeches of Thucydides.[125] The most striking statement of newfound Athenian power came through the erection of an Athenian monument to the battle of Marathon at the very beginning of the sacred way in Delphi (Fig. 2). Little archaeological material has survived which can be confidently connected to the monument, with no definitive base identified,[126] but it has been suggested that it would have been composed of hollow cast bronze statues, in competition with two similar Tarentine dedications close by.[127] We are therefore reliant on the testimony of Pausanias when attempting to reconstruct the identity and arrangement of the statues involved. According to the Periegate (10.10.1), the original statues on the monument were divided into four categories (Table 1):

[123] Hdt. 7.139. Evans 1979 for a discussion of the significance of the *encomium* with special reference to its date. Cf. also Hammond 1996, 2-10 on a rival, more pro-Spartan source as the common basis for the accounts of Diodorus, Justin, and Plutarch.

[124] Cf., for example, IG I^3.1143; Plut. *Mor*. 870E, a Corinthian monument apparently claiming sole responsibility for victory in the war. Athenian trophies were also erected at Marathon (Paus. 1.32.4), the remains of which Vanderpool (1967) dates to *c*.460, and Salamis, (Plat. *Menex*. 245a; Lyc.1.73) cf. Kinnee 2018, 51-3.

[125] Thuc. 1.62-78.

[126] A base on the Athenian treasury could be connected to Marathon monument (Davison 2013, 306-9 for discussion). It is inscribed: 'Ἀθεναῖοι τ[ο]ι Ἀπόλλον[ι ἀπὸ Μέδ]ον ἀκροθίνια τες Μαραθ[ο]νι μ[άχες]' - 'The Athenians to Apollo, the first fruits (*of booty*) from the Medes at the Battle of Marathon' (Amandry 1998, 76). The inscription has been re-cut but the original letters appear to date *c*. 480-460. This association has been rejected by both Bommelaer 1991, 111 and Amandry 1998, 87-9, who believed this a separate monument and that any statues once present on the treasury base were removed by the time of Pausanias' visit.

[127] Davison 2013, 303-4; Harrison 1996, 23-5.

Gods	Athena Apollo
Historical	Miltiades
Tribal Heroes	Erechtheus Kekrops Pandion Leos Antiochus Aegeus Akamas
Non-tribal Heroes	Kodrus Theseus Philaios

Table 1: The grouping of statues in the Marathon Monument.

Unlike the statues of the Aigospotamoi monument (see below), which Pausanias probably enumerated in roughly the order in which they appeared, the division of the statues in the Marathon monument into categories precludes any attempt at reconstructing the order of the statues, although it is noteworthy that the tribal heroes are not listed in their traditional order.[128] Three canonical tribal heroes (Oineus, Ajax, and Hipothoon) are excluded in favour of Kodrus, Theseus, and Philaios (and possibly Miltiades). Oineus may be replaced by a combination of Miltiades and Philaios, both members of the Oineis tribe and ancestors of Kimon, whose influence is strongly felt throughout the monument.[129] The two 'foreign' heroes, Ajax and Hipothoon are replaced by Theseus, the Athenian hero par excellence, and Kodrus, most famous for repelling a Dorian invasion of Attika and leading the colonisation of Ionia. Kodrus' inclusion is particularly interesting, appealing to both the Ionian colonies which were now part of the Delian league, but also serving as a reminder of Athens' ability to repel Dorian invaders from their country.

[128] Davison 2013, 305-6.
[129] Davison 2013, pers. comm. Miltiades was not the first 'real' general to be included in a victory monument at Delphi, Paus. 10.1.10 speaks of a Phokian dedication containing statues of the seer Tellias and the Phokian generals and heroes sent to Delphi after a victory over the Thessalians *c.* 500-490.

This statue group, erected as part of a major Athenian monumental building program in the sanctuary,[130] dominated the entranceway, making a greater impact than would have been possible closer to the temple itself, the surrounds of which were at that point cluttered with a great many dedications. The choice of battle commemorated (Marathon) and the dating of the monument (late 460s)[131] conspire to project a very anti-Spartan message. We should note that the Treasury of the Athenians, further up the sacred way, was also said to be a tithe of the Battle of Marathon,[132] but considerable uncertainty over the date of its construction hinders an attempt to include it as part of the specific rivalry between Athens and Sparta that is the focus of the present work.[133] Marathon, unlike the Greek victories at Plataia and (even) Salamis,[134] was free from the shadow of Spartan command and thus showcased Athens' ability to stand up to the mighty Persian empire alone (with the help of the Plataians whose involvement is ignored or emphasised depending on the occasion). Furthermore, Athens had requested Spartan assistance, only to hear that the latter could not help immediately due to the celebration of a festival, a delay which meant that they missed the battle entirely.[135] The erection of the monument in the late 460s came shortly after Lakonikē suffered a damaging earthquake (465/4), resulting in a major revolt of the Helots, Sparta's servile slave population. Athenian troops, under the command of Kimon, had even been dismissed by the Spartans under suspicion of colluding with the rebellious Helots.[136] This revolt effectively occupied Sparta for many years, leading to an accelerated withdrawal from concerns beyond their own borders, a process already underway due to dissatisfaction with the command of Pausanias and Athenian enthusiasm in taking on the mantle of command.[137] By the time the of the next Athenian monumental dedication at Delphi, the Athenian Stoa, Sparta and Athens were engaged in all-out war. This stoa was also recorded as a tithe, not from the Medes or Marathon, but from the Greeks of Elis, Lakedaimon, Sikyon, Megara, Pellene, Ambrakia, Leukas, and Corinth.[138]

---

[130] Scott 2010, 77-81.
[131] Harrison 1996, 26.
[132] Paus. 10.11.5.
[133] For the argument that the treasury was originally constructed before Marathon: Floren 1987, 247-50; Harrison 1965; von den Hoff 2009, 98. A date soon after the battle is preferable and borne out better by the archaeology, cf. Bommelaer 1991, 137; Morgan 1969, 209 n.17; Rolley 1994, 218-9. It may be that the association between the Treasury and Marathon came later, at a similar time to the construction of the Marathon monument (which Paus. 10.10.1 also calls a tithe of the battle), but this is extremely speculative.
[134] Hdt. 8.42 names Eurybiades (the Spartan) as *Nauarch* of the whole Greek fleet. Diod. 11.4.2 has Eurybiades in command of all the Northern operations, including Thermopylae and Artemisium.
[135] Hdt. 6.105-106 for story.
[136] Thuc. 1.102.
[137] Compare Thuc. 1.95 (Athenians being asked to take command) with Hdt. 8.3 (Athenian enthusiasm for command). Cf. also 9.106 and 9.114.
[138] Paus. 10.11.6. On the date of the stoa, see Walsh 1986.

By constructing a major monument, the first that would be seen by a visitor to the sanctuary, to a battle won while the Spartans were occupied at home, at a time when Sparta was more withdrawn than ever from events beyond their own borders, Athens was effectively promoting, on an international stage, its own credentials for the leadership of Greece.

The City of Athens: Spartans as (another) external enemy.

There are far too many monuments with far too many layers of meaning within the city of Athens to attempt any sort of full analysis in the present context. There is, however, one structure which stands out as demonstrably anti-Spartan; the Stoa *Poikile* (painted stoa), named for the four major paintings which adorned its walls. These depicted Theseus (and the Athenians) battling the Amazons, the sack of Troy by the Greeks, the combined victory of the Athenians and Plataians over the Persians at the battle of Marathon, and the Athenians arrayed against the Lakedaimonians at Oinoe in Argive territory.[139] This last painting has sparked major debate, due in no small part to its absence from Thucydides' history, leading to a variety of arguments over what conflict is actually depicted. The battle of Oenophyta in 457 has been offered,[140] as has the Spartan siege of Attic Oenoe in 431,[141] the battle of Orneai in 415,[142] a battle fought by Iphikrates,[143] or even another representation of Marathon (with Oinoe being the Oenoe near Marathon).[144] Most recently Palagia, following Stewart, has argued that it depicted an early battle of the newly formed democracy in 506.[145] In addition, there is further disagreement over exactly when this painting was added to the others in the stoa. Stansbury O'Donnell believes that it was added to the others in the late fifth century,[146] Luginbill proposes that it replaced a different painting representing the supplication of the Heracleidae,[147] while it is entirely possible that it was included in the original construction in the 460s. Whatever the battle and whatever the date of the painting, we should believe that Pausanias has correctly identified the combatants, either through an

[139] Paus. 1.15.
[140] Stier 1934.
[141] Taylor 1998, 223.
[142] Pritchett 1980, 46-53.
[143] Sommerstein 2004, 138-147.
[144] Francis and Vickers 1985, 99-113.
[145] Palagia 2019; Stewart 2019, 61-65.
[146] Stansbury O'Donnell 2005.
[147] Luginbill 2014.

inscription or through understanding of the iconography.[148] Therefore, we find a major Athenian public monument in which the Spartans are depicted alongside Amazons, Trojans, and Persians: all non-Greek, external, often feminised enemies.[149] By the late 420s the stoa *Poikile* was also home to some of the Spartan shields captured by the Athenians on the island of Sphakteria,[150] with other captured shields adorning the prominent Nike temple Bastion.[151] The overall effect of this building was therefore to depict Sparta as yet another external enemy who had been overcome by the strength of the Athenians.[152] The placement of the stoa, close to the agora, ensured that this was not simply a monument for the people of Athens, but was also viewed by the great number of visitors to the city. Following the reconstruction of the arrangement of the paintings by Stansbury O'Donnell,[153] we would expect to find a cluster of Lakedaimonian shields along the short wall at the far end of the stoa when coming into the city, directly opposite the painting of the Athenians arrayed against the Lakedaimonians. The framing effect of the stoa, drawing the viewers' gaze lengthways and towards the short ends,[154] would have highlighted the shields and the Lakedaimonians, creating a neat visual symmetry: the painting depicting the forces of the Athenians and the Lakedaimonians arrayed for battle, the shields showing the result of a recent engagement between the two.

Delphi: The Spartans strike back.

It was not until after the eventual defeat of Athens in 404 that the Spartans attempted to oppose Athenian monumental dominance at Delphi, a decision no doubt influenced by a ban from Olympia imposed on the Spartans by the Eleans. The Spartan monument erected in the aftermath of the crucial naval battle at Aigospotamoi directly challenged and sought to outdo the earlier Marathon monument.[155] Firstly, the Spartan monument usurped its Athenian counterpart as the first to be seen when entering the sacred way, obscuring the view of the Marathon monument in the process. Next, compared to the ten statues the Athenians had erected, the Spartans commissioned 40 (Fig.1),[156] standing in

[148] Pretzler 2007, 112-3 for Pausanias' use of inscriptions in identifying characters in works of art. See, for example, Paus. 5.17 and 10.25.3-5.
[149] Scott 2018, 87-114.
[150] Stansbury O'Donnell 2005.
[151] Lippman, Scahill, and Schultz 2006.
[152] For this phenomenon more widely cf. Millender 2009; Christesen 2010.
[153] Stansbury O'Donnell 2005, 75-7; fig. 7.4.
[154] This phenomenon was recognised as early as Lucretius (Luc. 4.426-31). Cf. Zarmakoupi 2014, 80-5.
[155] For the monument see Paus. 10.9.7-8; Plut. *Lys*. 18.1; Plut. *Mor*. 395b, 397f; Bommelaer 1971; 1991, 108-110; Jacquemin 1999, 338.
[156] Palagia 2009, 36-9.

two rows making it the largest statue group that would ever be set up at Delphi. The size of the dedication, especially in contrast to the Marathon monument, demonstrated not only the power and influence of Lysander and the Spartans, but also the wealth of booty won from Athenians, who are explicitly named in the victory inscription;

> εἰκόνα ἑὰν ἀνέθηκεν [ἐπὶ] ἔργῳ τῷδε ὅτε νικῶν ναυσὶ θοαῖς πέρσεν Κε[κ]ροπιδᾶν δύναμιν Λύσανδρος, Λακεδαίμονα ἀπόρθετον στεφανώσα[ς] Ἑλλάδος ἀκρόπολ[ιν, κ]αλλίχορομ πατρίδα. ἐξαμο ἀμφιρύτ[ας] τεῦξε ἐλεγεῖον Ἴων.
>
> 'Lysander set up this image of himself on this monument when with his swift ships he victoriously routed the power of the descendants of Kekrops and crowned the invincible Lakedaimon, the citadel of Greece, the homeland with the beautiful dancing-places. Ion of sea-girt Samos composed these elegiacs.'[157]

It is important at this point to briefly note the individual role of Lysander in the construction of the Aigospotamoi monument and whether this building program at Delphi reflected his personal ambition more than the designs of the Lakedaimonian state as a whole. Lysander certainly coveted personal glory elsewhere in the Greek world,[158] and lavish honours were bestowed upon him by a variety of Greek *poleis*.[159] In contrast, he received relatively little honour from the Spartans themselves after his death, especially in comparison to other non-royal fifth-century Spartan commanders of merit such as Eurybiades and Brasidas.[160] A second inscription, transferring credit for the victory from Lysander to Polydeukes, also appears on the monument, probably added after the original victory inscription and possibly after the death of Lysander in 395.[161] It was certainly not unusual for monuments to be strongly influenced by an individual (see above for Kimon's influence on the Marathon monument), especially in the case of army commanders who were often responsible for the victory dedications on behalf of the whole force.[162] Lysander's ambition and self-aggrandisement were largely

---

[157] CEG 819 iii. Trans. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 290.
[158] For Lysander's designs upon a level of divine status on a par with the kings of Sparta see Beck-Schachter 2016.
[159] A statue was set up at Olympia by the Samians (Paus. 6.3.14-5), while statues of Lysander and several other Spartiates were set up at Ephesos (Paus. 6.3.15).
[160] Tomb of Eurybiades: Paus. 3.16.6; Cenotaph of Brasidas: Paus. 3.14.1.
[161] '[Child of Zeus], Polydeukes, [with these] elegiacs Ion crowned [your stone] base, because you were the principal [commander], taking precedence even over this admiral, among the leaders of Greece with its wide dancing places.' (CEG 819 ii. Trans. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 290). Both inscriptions were re-cut in the fourth century, leading to debate over the date of both inscriptions: Palagia 2009, 37-8 argues they were inscribed close to construction, while Keesling 2017, 105-7 suggests they were added later.
[162] Pritchett 1979 (III), 269-74.

unprecedented,[163] but his role in the creation of a victory monument was certainly not all that surprising.

The statues in the front row represented Lysander, the Spartan admiral, being crowned by Poseidon, as well as Lysander's inner circle (his soothsayer, helmsman, and an unknown commander), Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, and the Dioskouroi. The back row was arguably much more of a radical development, displaying portrait statues of the various allied commanders who had served with Lysander at the battle.[164] In this way a wide variety of Greek states were effectively name-checked, their support of Sparta rewarded with inclusion in the overall victory monument, in a manner echoing the list of peoples on the serpent column. Suddenly the ten tribal heroes of the Athenians might begin to look isolated, painting the Athenians as self-interested and, perhaps, external to the new 'Greek' alliance arrayed (quite literally) behind Lysander. Where once a visitor to Delphi would see what Athens had accomplished without Spartan help, now they were immediately confronted by a much larger, more grandiose image of what could be accomplished under Spartan leadership.

As much as there was a sense of communality among those states represented, there would also be a feeling of exclusion among those not present, not unlike the effect of the list of allied states inscribed on the Serpent column many years earlier. A comparison of these two lists show that ten states are common to both.[165] The Aigospotamoi monument also contains representatives from seven *poleis* in Asia Minor or islands which would have been under the control of the Persian Empire during the earlier invasion.[166] Thus, there are only three 'newcomers' to the alliance from mainland Greece: Boiotia, perhaps included as a blanket group to disguise the prominent role of Thebes and the earlier destruction of Plataia (one of the states named on the Serpent Column); Pellene, the first Achaian state to join the Lakedaimonians in the Peloponnesian War; and Phokis, strangely absent from the earlier list of peoples who fought against the Persians. Even considering that not all of Sparta's allies are listed on the Aigospotamoi monument, there is a relatively high consistency in the groups who are named, showcasing the stability and continuity not only of the Greek allies but also of Sparta itself. Indeed, the echoes of

---

[163] Previous Spartan victory dedications had been made on behalf of variously 'the Spartiates' (IvO 244, 263), 'the Lakedaimonians' (IvO 252; Paus. 5.10.4), or individuals such as Pausanias (Plataian tripod: Thuc. 1.132.2; Krater at Hellespont: Ath. 12.50) as responsible for the setting up of a monument.

[164] Palagia 2009, 36 suggests this was the first example of statues of living commanders being erected at Delphi, although she notes (n.42) that it is not known whether all the commanders depicted had survived the battle. Furthermore, if we believe the report of Pausanias 10.1.10 (see above), it may well be that the Phokians had erected statues of living generals nearly a century earlier.

[165] Lakedaimon, Corinth, Eretria, Troizen, Epidaurus, Hermione, Megara, Sikyon, Leukos, Ambrakia.

[166] Chios, Rhodes, Knidos, Ephesus, Miletus, Myndos, Samos.

the Serpent column may be taken further, emphasising the role of Athens as the new external enemy, the space formerly occupied by Persia, much in the same way that the Athenians had tried to position Sparta in the Stoa *Poikile*.

However, the monument may not have been quite as all-encompassing as it first appeared due to the arrangement of the statues in the back row. Our major source for organisation of the statues is the order in which they are enumerated by Pausanias (see below, Fig. 1.1). If we assume that most of the inscribed bases on the back row would generally be more difficult to read than those in front, then we also find a situation where the easiest bases to read at the back are those on either end, where a visitor has a relatively unobstructed view from the side. This would be especially pronounced if the front row of statues did not extend quite so far as the more numerous second row (see Fig. 1.2). A casual visitor not invested in reading all of the bases along the back row could therefore be forgiven for mistakenly thinking that the whole monument represented Lakedaimonians, rather than a collective effort from many allied *poleis*.[167]

Opposite the statue group, the Spartans also erected a stoa,[168] effectively ensuring complete dominance of the entranceway to the sanctuary; wherever a visitor might look, all they would see was Sparta. It also competed with the earlier Athenian Stoa, not only blocking off the view of it from the entrance but replacing it as the first point on the sacred way where a visitor was offered the chance to stand in the shade and admire the surrounding monuments.[169]

City of Athens: A prominent tomb undermining the strength of Athens.

At Delphi, with a level of booty not available since the Persian Wars, the Spartans were able to go toe-to-toe with the Athenian dedications, matching them in style but projecting superiority both in scale and through themes. The city of Athens provided an

---

[167] It is worth reiterating that this interpretation relies upon the assumption that Pausanias lists the statues in the order that they appear, and also important to address the fact that some statues are missing from Pausanias' description. According to the 'serial position curve' (cf. Baddeley 1982, 157-9), it is easier to recall material from the beginning and end of a data set, therefore we might expect the missing statues to have been located somewhere in the middle of the back row, rather than at the extreme ends.

[168] Scott 2010, 104-8; 2014, 137; Bommelaer 1981, 22; 1991, 106. For the difficulties of the archaeology of this area, see Pouilloux and Roux 1963, 3-68. Cf. Vatin who believes that this stoa was erected by the Arkadians on the basis of inscriptions referring to spoils dedicated by the Tegeans. However, the dedication of spoils in the monuments of rival powers was not unheard of. Cf. Lysander's dedications in Athens (IG II^2. 1388, 31-2; 1400, 14-5) or a Theban dedication in a stoa at Delphi (Ath. 13.83; Scott 2010, 115).

[169] Coulton 1976, 8-12; Strabo 13.3.6; Vitr. 5.9.1 on importance of stoas as a place for social interaction.

altogether different challenge for Sparta's monumental agenda; there was no way they could compete in scale with the whole city and the plethora of monuments and temples contained within. It might be argued that the very fact they let Athens remain standing, both in 404 when Athens first surrendered and in 403 when the Spartans returned to quell a democratic uprising, was testament to both their power and their mercy,[170] but here I intend to examine the role of the only permanent Spartan monument erected in Athens;[171] the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the Kerameikos (Fig. 3). Xenophon narrates the events surrounding the construction of the tomb;

> οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα. οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.'
>
> 'then the Lakedaimonians, since many of them were being wounded and they were hard pressed, gave ground, though still facing the enemy, and at this they were laid upon harder still. In this attack fell Chairon and Thibrachos, both polemarchs, and Lakrates the Olympic victor, and the other Lakedaimonians who lie buried before the gates in the Kerameikos.' [172]

Firstly, it should be noted that the burial of foreigners in the Kerameikos was rare, but not unheard of at the end of the fifth century, attested both by the presence of tombs for foreign officials and *polyandria* for both Boiotians and Argives. However, these monuments were all designed to recognise assistance granted to the Athenians by their fellow Greeks. It has been argued that the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians performs a similar function, that it is a monument of friendship between Sparta and the Athenian oligarchs,[173] yet this does not square easily with the rapid restoration of the democracy with the backing of Sparta.[174] Such arguments also fail to address the power which Pausanias, the Spartan king commanding the forces in Athens, would have held over the city: the democrats were blockaded in the Piraeus, the oligarchic party only clinging to power thanks to Spartan presence, and Lysander was already blockading the city (for a

---

[170] Powell 2006.
[171] We hear that Pausanias erected a *tropaion* after a victory against the democrats, but this would have been a perishable, temporary monument not designed to have a lasting impact. Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33
[172] Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33.
[173] Arrington 2010, 513-4.
[174] Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.35-9.

second time) with the fleet, threatening a return to famine and chaos.[175] In short, if Pausanias wanted to build a tomb in a specific spot, in a particular style, there was very little anyone could do to stop him. Furthermore, the placement of the tomb, close to the road just before the Dipylon gate, is far more prominent than that afforded to any other foreign tomb monument in the city. Its position also made it the last thing a visitor to Athens would see before entering the city, serving to undermine the vision Athens projected of itself through the memorials of the Kerameikos, and, perhaps most prominently, the gleaming acropolis which dominated the view on from the Piraeus Road towards the Dipylon Gate. Rather than try to match their opponents as they had done at Delphi, here the Spartans, through a careful choice of placement, were able to undermine the image of power projected through the many monuments of fifth century Athens.

The appearance of the tomb was, so far as we can tell, very plain, although it was impressive in size.[176] Stroszeck has emphasised the need to carry out the burial of the Lakedaimonian dead quickly in the hot May weather, which may also point to a hastily constructed tomb and therefore explain in practical terms the relatively plain appearance.[177] While there was probably no decoration, there was an inscription written with Lakonian letter forms where the names of the dead were interwoven with larger letters spelling out ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ. The inscription is retrograde, a format which had long since ceased to be the norm in Sparta,[178] but which made reading easier for someone coming into the city as the tomb stood on the right-hand side of the road.[179] Sadly, most of the inscription does not survive, meaning that we do not know how many individuals were named on it, although it was probably at least 14, which corresponds both to the first phase of burial and the number of available spaces between the letters of ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ.[180] The subsequent phases of burial might represent Lakedaimonians who died later from their wounds, but more probably individuals killed in small scale skirmishes during the peace negotiations with the democrats in the Piraeus, which lasted at least four months. In total there were at least 23 individuals interred in the tomb,[181] in

---

[175] Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.28-30. The Thirty had left for Eleusis at this point, but Xenophon describes 'the men in the city' as being confident in reliance upon Lysander (before the arrival of Pausanias).
[176] For the tomb, see most recently Stroszeck 2013. The history of scholarship on the tomb is long, cf. Van Hook 1932; Willemsen 1977; Stroszeck 2006.
[177] Stroszeck 2013, 390.
[178] *LSAG*², 184.
[179] Hodkinson 2000,
[180] Stroszeck 2013, 385. If the names were written on two lines (as in the case of the labels for the Polemarchs), there would be space for up to 26.
[181] 26 skeletons have been found in connection with the tomb, but three of these are placed on a higher level, perpendicular to the others and so are not believed to have been part of the original monument. Stroszeck 2013, 384.

a number of sub sections and not all even in the same orientation, which may have later prompted Lysias to speak of 'tombs' (see below) and which also raised the issue of whether all the dead were listed in inscriptions or whether that honour was reserved only for the most prominent. There is certainly evidence, within this tomb and elsewhere in literary sources which showcases differential treatment among Lakedaimonian war dead,[182] but should this extend to only some of the dead being named, and if so, who is named and who is not? It is frustrating that in the case of this inscription only the names (and labels of rank) of the two polemarchs are preserved. Xenophon confirms the names of the polemarchs and adds the name of Lakrates, the Olympic victor. It is possible that other (subsequently lost) identifying inscriptions were placed on the tomb as it expanded to accommodate more individuals, or indeed that all 26 names could have been inscribed on the now broken inscription in front of the main part of the tomb, for there would be ample space. Once the dead were interred, it is unlikely that the exact number of occupants of the tomb would be known by a casual observer, and it seems not unreasonable that many would believe that the names on the inscription (however many there were) accounted for all the dead buried in the tomb.[183]

We might also see an interaction between this inscription and the Athenian casualty lists which lay further out of town on the Academy Road, of which the Athenians were very proud. Here the names of the dead were divided into their ten tribes, then listed in neat parallel columns under tribal headings on stelai often topped with relief scenes of warriors or combat.[184] The use of 'Lakedaimonians', a term encompassing not only Spartans but the perioikoi too,[185] stressed the unity of Lakedaimon, a sharp contrast with the civil war currently engulfing Athens which undermined the message of the Athenian casualty lists. The positioning of the tomb in relation to the casualty lists also had a knock-on effect on the yearly Athenian funeral oration and public burial; one of the major pillars of Athenian self-definition in the Classical period.[186] In order to hear the speeches and take part in the ritual mourning, Athenians from the city would have walked out past the tomb of the Lakedaimonians, before walking past it again on their way back into Athens. Its prominence in the mind of the Athenians is demonstrated by its appearance in a funeral oration attributed to Lysias;[187]

---

[182] Hodkinson 2000, 256-9.
[183] Sparta was known to disguise both the number of its soldiers and its war dead: Powell 1989, 180-2.
[184] Osborne 2010 for the problematic nature of these relief scenes.
[185] Ducat 2017, 596-7.
[186] Loraux 1986.
[187] Todd 2007, 157-64 for the authorship and dating of this oration.

> ‘ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων φοβηθέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύσαντες, τρόπαιον μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ τῆς αὑτῶν ἀρετῆς ἐγγὺς ὄντας τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους παρέχονται.’
>
> ‘Nevertheless, having felt no fear of the multitude of their opponents, and having exposed their own bodies to great peril, they (the Athenian democrats) set up a trophy over the enemy and now have witnesses to their valour, close to this monument, in the tombs of the Lakedaimonians.’[188]

Here, Lysias is not presenting a true reflection of the events, conflating the tombs of the Lakedaimonians in the city with an earlier victory won by the Athenian democrats, whereas, according to the Xenophon passage, the Lakedaimonians buried in the Kerameikos fell in a battle in which Pausanias was victorious and raised a trophy.[189] Whether Lysias reflected the popular opinion of his day or not, we can detect an attempt to re-define the elephant in the room, the shadow of the power Sparta once exercised over Athens, expressed in the distinctive tomb.

Beyond the rivalry between Athens and Sparta, the monuments at Delphi and in Athens may also betray the tension between the Spartan king Pausanias and Nauarch Lysander.[190] Pausanias pursued a policy of reconciliation with Athens, effectively incorporating it into the Peloponnesian league for several years before conflict resumed. He may therefore have wanted to construct a more sympathetic tomb rather than an antagonistic monument in the style Lysander erected after Aigospotamoi, although the placement and inscription on the tomb of the Lakedaimonians make it a prominent feature of the Kerameikos and Athenian life. The more subtle, adaptable approach practised by Pausanias contrasts strongly not only with the glorious architecture of Athens, but also the self-aggrandising monuments of Lysander.

---

[188] Lys. 2.63.
[189] Todd 2007, 260-3. Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.11-19 for the earlier victory of the Athenian democrats at Mounykhia; 2.4.35 for Pausanias’ later victory in the city and raising of the trophy.
[190] Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.29-30 recounts Pausanias’ envy of Lysander and how he gathers an army to march on Athens after Lysander has already arrived. In the drawing up of battle lines that follows, Lysander and his mercenaries are relegated to the left wing while the king commands the right.

Conclusion

Throughout this work I have maintained a narrow focus on four case studies, yet it would be remiss not to mention that the monumental confrontation between Athens and Sparta far transcends the small selection presented here. Certain monuments, such as those in the pass at Thermopylai and the city of Sparta,[191] have been excluded in order to focus on the growth of Athenian power and their challenge to the status quo of Spartan command. Other material, for example the Treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians, could certainly be interpreted as part of this spatial opposition in Delphi, but has been passed over due to uncertainty over the exact dates of construction and placement.[192] Nor was the monumental rivalry confined to Delphi and the city of Athens: we might consider, for example, Athenian dedications of Persian arms at Olympia, the major recipient of Spartan dedications before the fifth century, as a reminder to Sparta of its failure to offer aid at Marathon.[193] However, the four monuments and two locations discussed above offer a glimpse of the monumental confrontation between the two leading powers of fifth century Greece.

The power of monuments to project the rivalry between Athens and Sparta should not be underestimated, particularly in the sorts of politically and religiously charged spaces that have formed the case studies above. At Delphi, we see a picture of Spartan leadership (presented by the Serpent Column) challenged and undermined by Athens once the Spartans were occupied with affairs at home. Athens harnessed the international audience at Delphi to put forward their own credentials for a leadership they coveted (and were already starting to hold) by highlighting their only major victory won without Spartan help and suggesting that Sparta put its own domestic interests first. Once war had broken out, the Athenians became bolder, erecting monuments with spoils taken from the Spartans, and moving to position Sparta as a new, external, enemy.

Sparta's response may only have come when they had achieved a total victory over Athens, but we can certainly see an engagement with the message of the previous Athenian monuments. By including allied commanders in the Aigospotami monument, Sparta not only echoed the sentiments of the serpent column, but also made the Athenian Marathon monument appear isolated and self-interested. Athens is relegated to the position of pretender to the command that is rightfully returned to Spartan hands. In the Kerameikos, a humble tomb highlighted the power that Sparta held over the city of

---

[191] Hdt. 7.225.2; 7.228 (Thermopylai); Vitr. 1.1.6; Paus. 3.11.3; Kourinou 2000, 109-112 (Persian Stoa). Cf. Thompson 2020.
[192] Plut. *Mor*. 397F; 400F. Scott 2010, 104-5, n. 149. Debate over placement: Bommelaer 1991, 161; Jacquemin 1999, 149; Pouilloux and Roux 1963, 74.
[193] Helmet from Athenians: IG I^3.1467; from Miltiades: IG I^3.1472. Jackson 1991, 246; Scott 2010, 169-71.

Athens not once, but twice. The aftermath of these events was the re-integration of Athens into the new Spartan led Greek alliance, a reminder that all of Athens' attempts at hegemony had been undone. The monuments erected by Sparta therefore projected a similar message and engaged with the previous Athenian monumental agenda. This showcases the ability of the Spartans to be both flexible and innovative, not bad for a city generally thought to have little interest in the use of monuments.

Figures

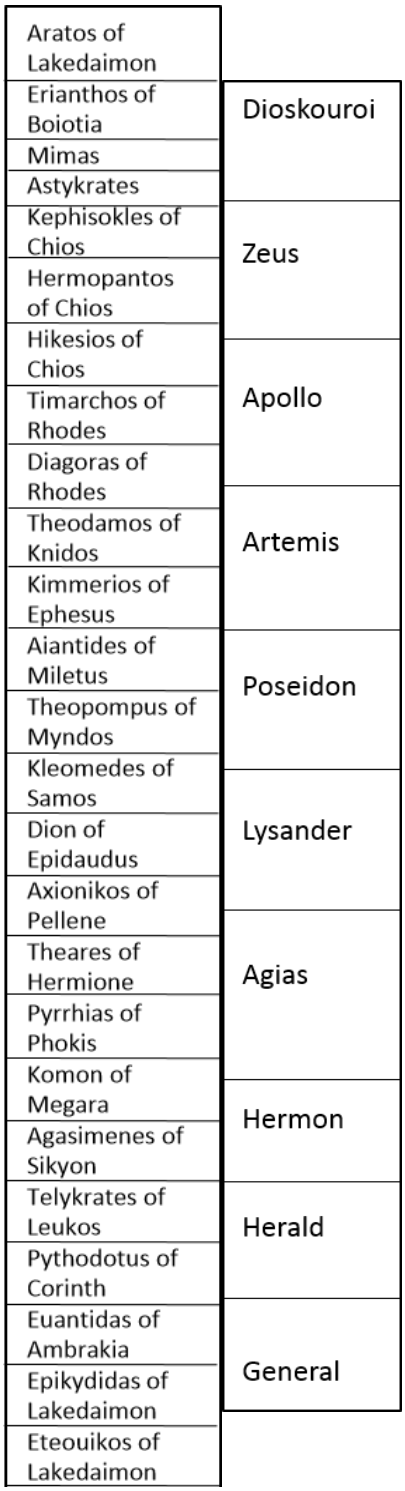


Fig. 1.1: Order of the statues in the Aigospotamoi Monument

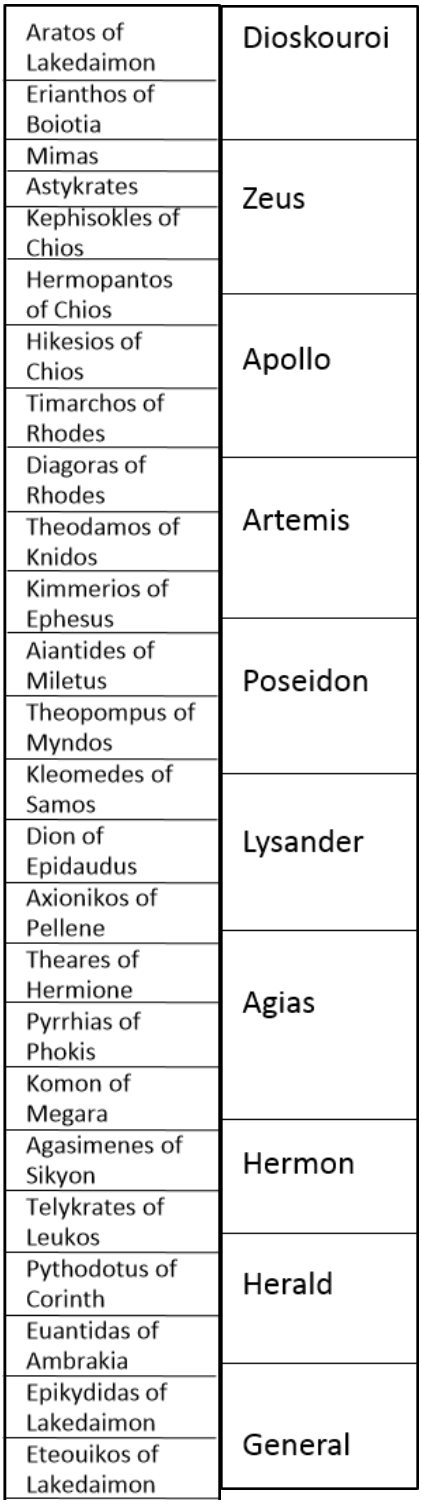


Fig. 1.2: Alternative arrangement of the statues in the Aigospotamoi Monument

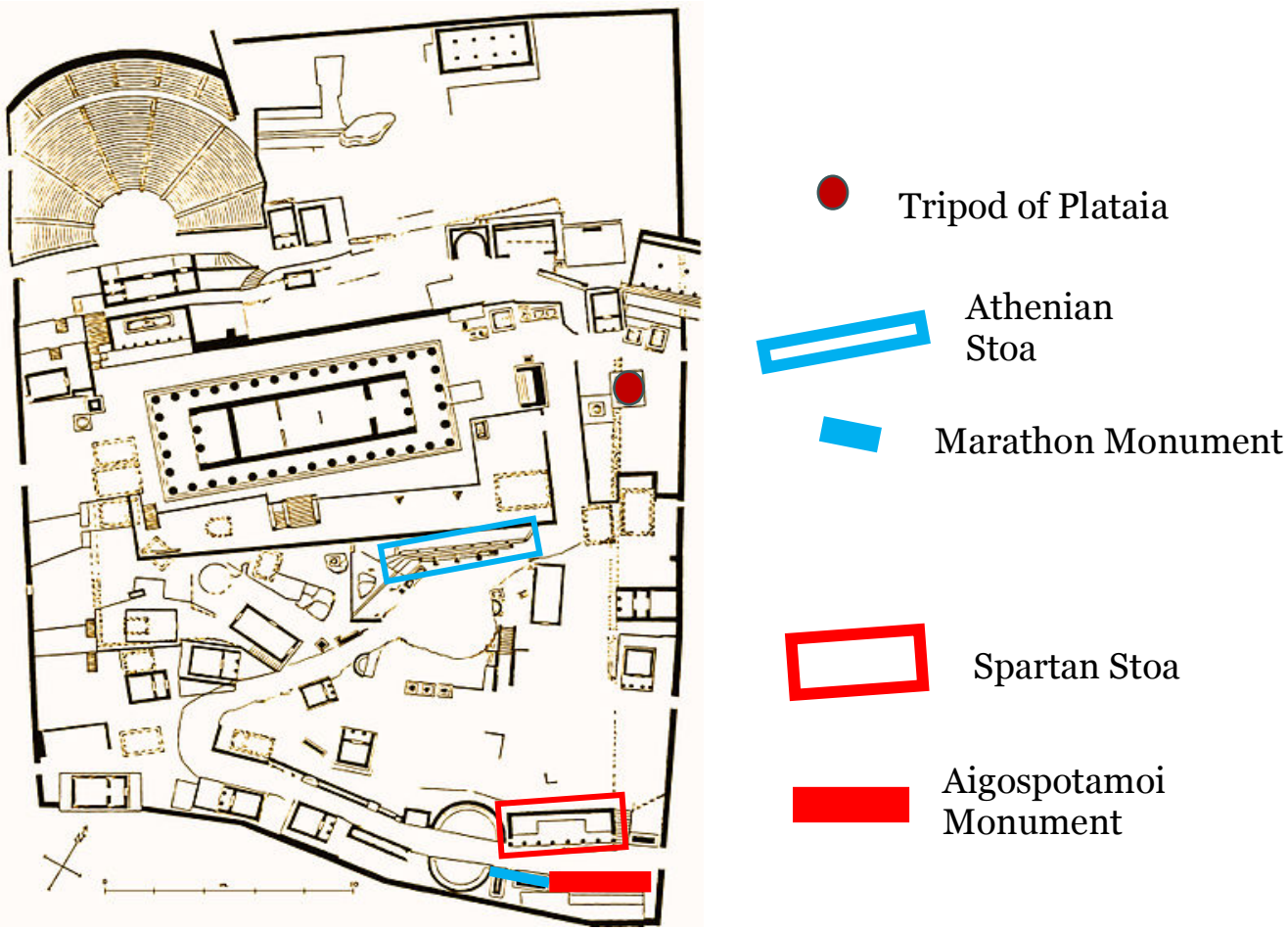


Fig. 2. Location of major Athenian and Spartan monuments at Delphi (Base image: de La Coste-Messelière: Au Musée de Delphes. Recherches sur quelques monuments archaiques et leur décor sculpté. Paris: E. de Boccard 1936).

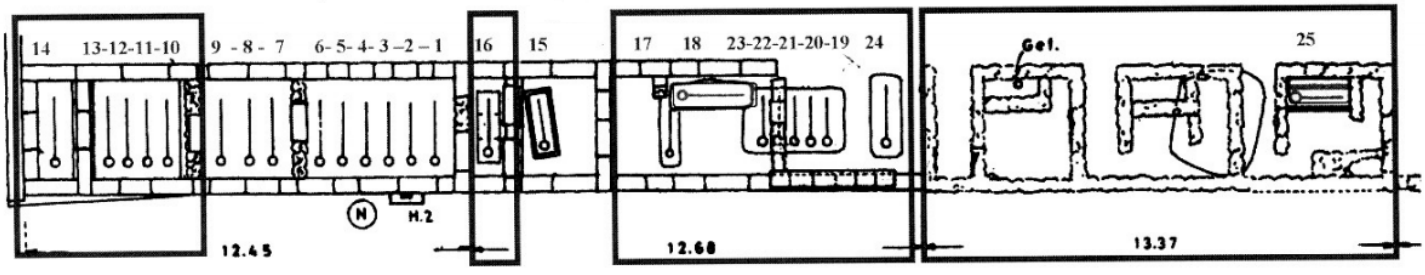


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the Athenian Kerameikos (after Stroszeck 2006, fig. 1)

References

Amandry, P. 1987. “Trépieds de Delphes et Du Péloponnèse.” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 111 (1): 79–131.

--- 1998. “Notes de Topographies et D’architecture Delphiques X. Le Socle Marathonien et Le Trésor Des Athéniens.” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 122 (1): 75–90.

Arrington, N. 2010. “Topographic Semantics: The Location of the Athenian Public Cemetery and Its Significance for the Nascent Democracy.” *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 79 (4): 499–539.

Baddeley, A. 1982. *Your Memory: A User’s Guide*. Firefly Books.

Beck-Schachter, A (2016) ‘The Lysandreia’, in T. Figueira (ed.) *Myth, Text and History at Sparta*. Gorgias Press, 105-67.

Bommelaer, J. F. 1971 ‘Le monument de Lysandre a Delphes’ *REG* (Acts de l’Association) 84: xxii-xxvi.

--- 1981. *Lysandre de Sparte: Histoire et Traditions*. Vol. 240. École française d’Athènes. 1991 *Guide de Delphes: le site*. Paris.

Chamoux, F. 1970. “Trépieds Votifs à Caryatides.” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 319–26.

Christesen, P. 2010. “Spartans and Scythians, a Meeting of Mirages: The Portrayal of the Lycurgan Politeia in Ephorus.” In *Sparta: The Body Politic*, edited by Anton Powell and Stephen Hodkinson, 211–63. The Classical Press of Wales.

Coulton, J J. 1976. *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Daux, G. 1922. “Inscriptions de Delphes.” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 46: 439–66.

Davison, C, ed. 2013. “10. Marathon Monument.” In *Special Issue: Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement No. S105: Pheidias: The Sculptures & Ancient Sources*, 56:303–18.

Ducat, J. 2017. “The Perioikoi.” In *A Companion to Sparta*, edited by A. Powell, 596–614. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Evans, J. A. S. 1979. “Herodotus and Athens: the evidence of the encomium.” *L’Antiquité Classique* 48 (1): 112–18.

Fantuzzi, M., and Hunter, R. 2004. *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*. Cambridge University Press.

Floren, J. 1987. *Die griechische Plastik: Die geometrische und archaische Plastik*. Munich.

Francis, E. D., and Vickers, M. 1985. “The Oenoe Painting in the Stoa Poikile, and Herodotus’ Account of Marathon.” *The Annual of the British School at Athens*.

Hammond, N. G. L. 1996. “Sparta at Thermopylae.” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 45 (1): 1–20.

Harrison, Evelyn B. 1965. *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture, The Athenian Agora XI*. Princeton.

--- 1996. “The Sculptor’s World.” In *Pheidias. Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture*, edited by O. Palagia and J. J. Pollitt, 30:23–28. Yale Classical Studies. Cambridge University Press.

Hodkinson, S. 2000. *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta*. London: Duckworth & The Classical Press of Wales.

Jackson, A. H. 1991. “Hoplites and the Gods: The Dedication of Captured Arms and Armour.” In *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, edited by V. D. Hanson, 228–49. London: Routledge.

Jacquemin, A. 1999. *Offrandes Monumentales à Delphes*. Vol. 304. Ecole française d’Athènes.

Jeffery, L H. 1989. (*LSAG*²) *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: Revised Edition with a Supplement by AW Johnston*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Jeffery, L. H., and Cartledge, P. 1982. “Sparta and Samos: A Special Relationship?” *Classical Quarterly* 32 (2): 243–65.

Keesling, C. M. 2017. *Early Greek Portraiture: Monuments and Histories*. Cambridge University Press.

Kinnee, L. 2018. *The Greek and Roman Trophy: From Battlefield Marker to Icon of Power*. London: Routledge.

Kourinou, E. 2000. *Σπαρτη: Συμβολή στή μνημειαχή τοπογραφία της*. Athens: Horos.

Lippman, M, Scahill, D and Schultz, P. 2006. "Knights 843-59, the Nike Temple Bastion, and Cleon's Shields from Pylos." *American Journal of Archaeology* 110 (4): 551–63.

Loraux, N. 1986. *The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City (trans. A Sheridan)*. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press.

Luginbill, R D. 2014. "The Battle of Oinoe, the Painting in the Stoa Poikile, and Thucydides' Silence." *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 63 (3): 278–92.

Millender, E. 2009. "Athenian Ideology and the Empowered Spartan Woman." In *Sparta: New Perspectives*, edited by Stephen Hodkinson and Anton Powell, 355–91. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales.

Morgan, C. H. 1969. "The End of the Archaic Style." *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 38 (2): 205–12.

Morgan, C. 1990. *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eighth Century BC*. Cambridge University Press.

Neer, R T. 2001. "Framing the Gift: The Politics of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi." *Classical Antiquity* 20 (2): 273–344.

Osborne, R. 2010. "Democratic Ideology, the Events of War and the Iconography of Attic Funerary Sculpture." In *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens.*, edited by David M. Pritchard, 245–65. Cambridge University Press.

Palagia, O. 2009. "Spartan Self-Presentation in the Panhellenic Sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia in the Classical Period." In *Athens—Sparta. Contributions to the Research on the History and Archaeology of the Two City-States.*, edited by Nikos E. Kaltsas, 32–40. New York.

Palagia, O. 2019. "The Painted Battle of Oinoe in the Stoa Poikile and the Events of 506 B.C." In *Argonautica: Festschrift Für Reinhard Stupperich*, edited by J. Fouquet, S. Herzog, K. Meese, and T. Wittenberg, 61–65. BOREAS MÜNSTERSCHE BEITRÄGE ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE.

Pouilloux, J., and Roux, G. 1963. *Énigmes a Delphes*. Paris.

Powell, A. 1989. “Mendacity and Sparta’s Use of the Visual.” In *Classical Sparta*, 187–206. Routledge.

Powell, A. 2006. “Why Did Sparta Not Destroy Athens in 404, or in 403 BC?” In *Sparta and War*, edited by Stephen Hodkinson and Powell Anton, 287–303. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales.

Pretzler, M. 2007. *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece*. Duckworth.

Pritchett, W. K. 1971. *The Greek State at War: Part. 1*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

--- 1979. *The Greek State at War, Part III*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

--- 1980. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Part. III: Roads*. Los Angeles: Berkely.

Rolley, C. 1994. *La Sculpture Grecque: Des Origines Au Milieu Du Ve Siècle*. Paris.

Scott, M. 2010. *Delphi and Olympia: The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods*. Cambridge University Press.

--- 2014. *Delphi: A History of the Center of the Ancient World*. Princeton University Press.

---2018. “Viewing Sparta through Athenian Engagement with Art and Architecture.” In *The Greek Superpower: Sparta in the Self-Definitions of Athenians*, edited by Paul Cartledge and Anton Powell, 87–114. The Classical Press of Wales.

Sommerstein, A. H. 2004. “Argive Oinoe, Athenian Epikouroi, and the Stoa Poikile.” In *Greek Art in View: Essays in Honour of Brian Sparkes*, edited by S. Keay and S. Moser, 138–47. Oxford.

Stansbury-O’Donnell, M D. 2005. “The Painting Program in the Stoa Poikile.” In *Periklean Athens and Its Legacy: Problems and Perspectives*, edited by J. M. Barringer and J. M. Hurwit, 73–87. Art History Faculty Publications.

Stephenson, P. 2016. *The Serpent Column: A Cultural Biography*. Oxford University Press.

Stibbe, C M. 2000. *The Sons of Hephaistos: Aspects of the Archaic Greek Bronze Industry*. “L’Erma” di Bretschneider.

Stier, H. E. 1934. *Eine Grosstat Der Athenischen Geschichte: Die Sogennante Schlacht Bei "Oinoe."* Stuttgart.

Stroszeck, J. 2006. "Lakonisch-Rotfigurige Keramik Aus Den Lakedaimoniergräbern Am Kerameikos von Athen (403 v. Chr.)." *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 101–20.

Stroszeck, J. 2013. "Το Μνημείο των Λακεδαιμονίων στον Κεραμεικό. Ένα ταφικό μνημείο στο προσκήνιο του αθηναϊκού εμφυλίου πολέμου του 403." In *War, Peace, and Panhellenic Games*, edited by P. Cartledge, A. Gartsiou-Tatti, N. Birgalias, K. Buraselis, and M. Dimopoulou, 381–402. Pyrgos.

Taylor, J G. 1998. "Oinoe and the Painted Stoa: Ancient and Modern Misunderstandings?" *American Journal of Philology* 119 (2): 223–43.

Thompson, M. 2020. "The Spartan Contribution to the Myth of Thermopylae" *Thermopylae 2500, organised by the Hellenic Society*. (https://thermopylae2500.wordpress.com/papers/).

Todd, S. C. 2007. *A Commentary on Lysias, Speeches 1-11*. Oxford: University Press.

van Hook, L. 1932. "On the Lacedaemonians Buried in the Kerameikos." *American Journal of Archaeology* 36 (3): 290–92.

Vanderpool, E. 1952. "The Ostracism of the Elder Alkibiades." *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 21 (1): 1–8.

--- 1966. "A Monument to the Battle of Marathon." *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 35 (2): 93–106.

Vatin, C. 1981. "Monuments Votifs de Delphes." *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 105 (1): 429–59.

von den Hoff, R. 2009. "Herakles, Theseus and the Athenian Treasury at Delphi." In *Structure, Image, Ornament: Architectural Sculpture in the Greek World. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies*, edited by P. Schultz And R. von den Hoff, 96–104. Oxford.

Walsh, J. 1986. "The Date of the Athenian Stoa at Delphi." *American Journal of Archaeology* 90 (3): 319–36.

Willemsen, F. 1977. "Zu Den Lakedämoniergräbern Im Kerameikos." *MDAI (A)* 92: 117–57.

Zarmakoupi, M. 2014. *Designing for Luxury on the Bay of Naples: Villas and Landscapes (c. 100 BCE - 79 CE)*. OUP Oxford.

Revisiting the Anonymous 'Pilgrim' from Bordeaux: Defining Characteristics of Christian Sacred Space and Travel in Early Fourth Century Jerusalem

Natalie Smith - University of Edinburgh

The city of Aelia Capitolina, or Jerusalem, was witness to significant changes over the course of the fourth century. At the outset, as a Roman *colonia,* Jerusalem's early religious significance seemed painfully forgotten at the time recalled in Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine*.[194] When asked what city he came from, Pamphilus of Caesarea and his companions remarked, "Jerusalem". Eusebius emphasised this as a reference to the Jerusalem *above*:

> ...saying that Jerusalem was his city - meaning, to be sure, that one which it was said by Paul, 'But the Jerusalem that is above is free, which is our mother' and 'Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem'.[195]

However, Firmilianus, whose mind was "fixed on this world here below", expressed confusion: he did not know a place by that name.[196] Oded Irshai summarized the interaction succinctly: "Both of them did, however, agree on one thing, namely, there was no place on earth named Jerusalem".[197]

Underlying this exchange is not only the elimination of Jerusalem from the geographic memory of Palestine following the creation of Aelia Capitolina; it is also the Christian orientation towards another, spiritual Jerusalem.[198] Christians identified themselves as the legitimate inheritors of Jerusalem; however, this city was not earthly,

---

[194] Eusebius, *De Martyribus Palestinae* 11.9-12. Eusebius remarked that it was the Kalends of March (310) that Pamphilus and his companions were brought before the governor Firmilianus.
[195] *Mart. Pal.* 11.9. (Trans. Lawlor and Oulton 1927: 385).
[196] *Mart. Pal.* 11.10. (Trans. Lawlor and Oulton 1927: 385).
[197] Irshai 1999: 205. See also Stroumsa 1999: 349; Hunt (1982: 5), who remarked that "the Roman magistrate's resolutely earthbound ignorance of the Christian's celestial Jerusalem is a remarkable testament of two worlds unreconciled".
[198] In early Christianity, a tension existed between Jerusalem's importance as a city of historical and biblical memory (however corrupted by its associations with Christ's death), and as the image of eschatological hope: the Jerusalem "below" and the Jerusalem "above". As Jewish messianic hope was set on Judea and Jerusalem, Origen and others responsively subscribed to the more 'spiritualised' view of Jerusalem, as was displayed in Galatians 4:26 and Hebrews 12:22. On this, see Wilken's (1992: 65-78, 70) analysis of Origen; see also Perrone (1999: 225).

but heavenly.[199] These circumstances combined to deteriorate the memory of Jerusalem during the interim centuries of Roman occupation.[200] As Robert Wilken put it: "Together, it seems, Romans and Christians had conspired to obliterate the memory of Jewish Jerusalem".[201]

Seemingly at odds with this tendency in early Christian thought, the fourth century brought about a noticeable change in the notion of sacred topography and the reputation of Jerusalem in Christian reception. This is particularly true following Constantinian intervention, in which changes to the religious urban fabric of the city and its environs were instigated through the (re)discovery of sites associated with sacred memory and the construction of imperially-funded churches.[202] This reconfiguration inspired the increasing presence of Christian pilgrims and the development of public and performative ecclesiastical processions.[203]

Increased Christian interest in Jerusalem - and the localisation of sacred memory more widely - exemplifies a shift from the spiritual to the topographic plane.[204] Christian claims on Jerusalem were not solely of the city "above" but were increasingly concerned with possessing the city "below".[205] Jerusalem became a city both terrestrial and

---

[199] Early Christian attitudes toward Jerusalem were indeed ambiguous. It seems that it was not until the end of Bar Kokhba that a more polemical tone was adapted, as is the argument of Clements (2012).

[200] However, as Henry Chadwick's (1959) notion of the Circle and the Ellipse reminds us, the prominence and historical reputation of Jerusalem was not eliminated following the Jewish wars. This contrasted the opinion of Brandon 1951.

[201] Wilken (1992: 83).

[202] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3:25-40; Smith (1987: 79). On Constantinian Jerusalem, within the scope of the city's wider religious history of Jerusalem, see Wilken (1992: 82-101); Wharton (1995), Eliav (2005), Sivan (2008), and Limor (2014). The localisation of Christian memory was not limited to the sites of Christ but included various sites of Jewish significance. A principal study of this phenomenon is Maurice Halbwachs' *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte: étude de la mémoire collective*. Halbwachs (trans. Coser 1992: 200) presented collective memory as having a "double focus", incorporating both material reality and symbol.

[203] Hunt (1982) is still an authoritative study on Jerusalem during this period. The liturgy of Jerusalem is particularly well preserved thanks to Egeria's extensive account of the liturgical scene during her pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 381-4, and the complete catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem. The *Armenian Lectionary*, which details liturgical instruction in the fifth century rounds out our primary evidence of the liturgy of late-antique Jerusalem. On the *Armenian Lectionary,* see Renoux (1969-70), Conybeare (1905). On the development of stational liturgy during this period, see Baldovin (1987) and Verhelst (1999).

[204] Emphasizing the impact of Constantine's churches and the "amplification" of liturgical interaction, Cardman (1984: 58) referred to this change as the "historicizing", or "de-eschatologizing" of space. Using different terminology to express a similar idea, R.A. Markus (1994: 264-5) employed the dichotomy of "Locative" and "Utopian" orientations (originally coined by Smith (1978) and (1990)) to discuss the origins of sacred space in late-antique Christianity. Markus affirmed that, while not completely reducing the process to a dichotomy, "there is a clear shift in the fourth century towards the 'locative' pole". The development of sacred space and its theological implications are also explored in MacCormack (1990), Caseau (1999), Bitton-Ashkelony (2005) and Smith (1987).

[205] Irshai (2009: 466) portrayed these concurrent processes well in his re-interpretation of Markus' (1994) theory on the development of sacred topography. He asserted that the cult of the martyrs served as a "launching pad for the Christian appropriation of the land". With particular interest in the treatment of Jewish history, place, and identity, Andrew Jacobs (2004: 23) considered the means by which imperial Christianity asserted a "need for unity and stability… by refashioning the Christian world in a newly comprehensive manner". The world and its history were recast within a Christian framework.

heavenly, immediate and eschatological.[206] It is within this context that Jerusalem emerged into public consciousness as a 'Holy' Christian city.[207]

When considering this phenomenon, one cannot avoid the commanding figure of Constantine. However, the impact of the emperor on this development has often been overstated.[208] Echoes of Telfer's notion of an imperial "Holy Land Plan" still surface in countless studies of late-antique Palestine.[209] However, valuable revisions have encouraged us to look at a wider breadth of forces at work in the Christianisation, and consecration, of Jerusalem.[210] For instance, the first-hand accounts of Christian pilgrims to Palestine offer unique insight into the composition and reception of sacred topography during this period. These itinerant visitors infused physical and observable aspects of the terrain with scripture, history, and liturgical imagination.[211] Pilgrimage accounts of the Holy Land acted as both a force of Christianisation and as a barometer by which these processes might be measured. In this respect, they were both active and passive forces

---

As Jewish identity and history became "pliable object[s] through which Christians might 'think through'", the re-inscribing, converting, and re-historicizing of religious topography was a form of geographic and "cognitive control" as well (Jacobs 2004: 21-25). Preceding Christian sacred space was the assertion of Christian ownership over the topography of Jerusalem and its environs; thus, there seems to be concurrent processes of both Christianisation and consecration of the topography.

[206] The precarious nature of Christian possession of Jerusalem in the fourth century, as well as the divergent approaches to this issue by Eusebius and Cyril is discussed by Walker (1990: 315-7). The spatial ambiguity of Jerusalem and pilgrimage to the city is discussed in Pullan (2007). Patristic debates on sacred topography more generally, as well as in the question of Jerusalem, are explored in Bitton-Ashkelony (2005).

[207] R.A. Markus' (1994) theory reminds us that this development was not exclusively, or even initially associated with Jerusalem. See also MacCormack (1990), Bitton-Ashkelony (2005: 27). Aided by imperial intervention, the spatial Christianisation of Jerusalem seems to have happened quickly. However, the visible re-composition of the religious landscape did not mean that the religious demography of the city changed at the same rate. Doron Bar (2003) and Joshua Levinson (2013) noted that the rapid 'conversion' of space in the development of a Christian 'Holy Land' has led many to conclude that Christian conversion happened more quickly than in other parts of the empire. However, this is a bit of a falsity.

[208] A principal example of this comes from J.Z. Smith, whose framework will be considered below. The physical and ideological configuration of the 'Holy Land' was succinctly summarised as such: "What Constantine accomplished with power and wealth was advanced by rhetors like Eusebius, who built a 'Holy Land' with words". Smith 1987: 79.

[209] Telfer 1957. Telfer argued that Constantine's building projects were fuelled by vision to create a religious centre and pilgrimage hub out of a new, revitalized, Christian Jerusalem. While not all adopting Telfer's argument wholesale, the notion of a Constantinian "Holy Land Plan' has since been picked up by several others; For example, Hunt (1982 and 1997: 420); Yarnold (1985), Walker (1990: 106-116); Drijvers (1992: 57); Wharton (1992); Jacobs (2004: 143-146); Irshai (1999: 208). The very idea of a "Holy Land" having been the invention of Constantine was central to Joan Taylor's conclusion (1993: 331) – that late-antique reverence of sacred topography as essentially a "pagan concept grafted onto Christianity" at the hand of the emperor himself.

[210] Perrone (2006: 147-149). Considering the influence of Constantine, H.A. Drake (2000: 24) asserted the danger of studying a singular person as the sole initiator of social, political, or religious change. Bitton-Ashkelony (2005: 23) furthered this by considering the theological distance between the New Testament and the development of Christian sacred topography in late antiquity: "It would be naive to think that such a radical change in religious perceptions and practices - an obvious departure from the New Testament's stance on sacred space - could have occurred 'suddenly' and as a result of the work of one man, emperor, and 'friend of the all-sovereign God'".

[211] It is under this assumption that accounts of pilgrimage have been considered as forms of cartography in Leyerle (1996) and (Smith 2007).

in the composition of Christian topography. The aim of the present study is to reassess one important witness of Jerusalem, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense,* and its depiction of religious topography. Though often overlooked due to its brief and tedious annotations, the *Itinerarium* is an essential witness to Jerusalem during the reign of Constantine. Rather than being dismissed for its content, I question the semantic qualifications imposed on the author, the land, and the relationship between them through our pre-conceived notions of pilgrimage and sacred space during the Constantinian age.

Itinerarium Burdigalense: Structure and Significance

The *Itinerarium Burdigalense,* or Bordeaux Itinerary, is a concise, near-complete account of one traveller's roundtrip journey from Bordeaux to Palestine.[212] It is helpfully dated to 333, as the author lists the consuls while passing through Constantinople. [213] Such precise dating situates the text in the midst of great transition in the urban layout of Jerusalem; our traveller arrived on the heels of Constantine's church building programme in and around Jerusalem, as well as the imperial tour taken on behalf of the Empress Helena.[214] The Itinerary is an important text as it testifies to the topography of Jerusalem in the midst of imperial intervention. It is often referred to as the first

[212] The itinerary has small omissions that seem to have been removed as part of an editing process. See Elsner (2000: 183), Matthews (2010: 183), Salway (2012: 310-11). While the trip was essentially from Bordeaux to Palestine and back, Salway has convincingly argued that the central destination might have been Constantinople and not Jerusalem (2012: 299, 312-322). While we do not know the identity of the author, certain pieces of information can be gleaned. The text, in Latin, suggests the author was a Latin speaker. This is corroborated with the itinerary's starting point at Bordeaux and end point in Milan, which assumes a home, if not in Bordeaux, then at least in Northern Italy or Gaul. The interests expressed in the document, particularly in the descriptive Palestinian section, suggest the author was a Christian. The author could conceivably fit within the ranks of female pilgrims known to visit Palestine in the fourth century, thus the question of gender has been an interesting subject of scholarly debate. Douglass 1996 made the case that the author was a woman, given the pilgrim's focus on female biblical characters and fertility-related healing springs. This case was re-examined by Susan Weingarten in 1999. It is important to note, however, that the traveler significantly predates the influx of aristocratic female pilgrims of the later fourth century (excluding the pilgrimage of Empress Helena, narrated in Eusebius' *Vit. Const.*) and that our source material on female pilgrimage in the fourth and fifth centuries is likely an overrepresentation, as is argued by Falcasantos (2017: 117).

[213] *It. Burd.* 571.6-8. The pilgrim mentions leaving Chalcedon on the 30th of May and returning to Constantinople on the 25th of December. Salway (2012:312) has argued that the listing of the consuls at Constantinople suggests that the year had changed on the journey to the city. Since the author only returns to Constantinople at the end of 333, the total journey began in 332 and ended in 334. It is also this mention of a date, which occurs at the midpoint of the itinerary along with the traveler's arrival at Constantinople which led Salway to reorient the destination of the *Itinerarium.*

[214] These events are narrated in Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.1-47. The account precedes the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which took place in 335.

Christian pilgrimage account, and therefore stands at the "beginning of a great tradition" of witnesses to Jerusalem's emergence as a prominent and venerable Christian city.[215]

The Bordeaux Itinerary primarily follows the conventions of its genre*;* the majority of the text consists of a list of place names*,* which outline the various points of the journey, and the distance between them. [216] The author included further annotations: references to cities [*civitas*], resting stations [*mansio*], and changing stations [*mutatio*] were also recorded.[217]

However, the Bordeaux Itinerary is not solely an inventory of place names. Its defining feature is its change in style for a central portion of the text, from Sarepta to Hebron.[218] It is in this section that the text takes on a far more descriptive tone and abandons its previous focus on changes and rest-stops.[219] In lieu of previous concerns, the itinerary is illuminated with the presence of biblical landmarks and natural phenomena.[220] In this part of the text, occasionally titled the "Holy Land" section, the central focus shifts from the journey to a series of destinations relating to scriptural

---

[215] Elsner (2000: 182). See also Limor (2006: 331), who calls it the "inauguration of the genre"; See also Douglass (1996: 313); Salway (2012: 294 n. 7).

[216] Various examples of Roman *itineraria* still exist, such as the compilation known as the Antonine Itinerary. The genre is discussed in Elsner (2000: 183-186), Salway (2001); (2012: 302-7), Bowman (2001: 17); and Johnson (2016a). Matthews (2006 and 2010) drew connections between the Bordeaux Itinerary and the travel account of Theophilus of Hermopolis, whose journey to Antioch was illuminated further by a list of personal expenditures. Illustrative forms of Roman *Itineraria,* such as the Peutinger Map (a medieval map or an early fourth century map, itself likely a copy of an earlier map dating prior to the eruption of Vesuvius in 79CE) are evidence of a "rich cartographic tradition" in both textual and pictorial forms, observed Elsner (2000: 185). Another example of a cartographic text that reconfigures the traditional genre of the Roman *Itinerarium* is the mid-fourth century *Expositio totius mundi.* While incorporating descriptive elements not unlike the Bordeaux Itinerary, the *Expositio* shows no interest in Christianity and misses out Jerusalem altogether*;* Elsner (2000: 188), Stemberger (2000: 193), (Johnson 2016a: 45).

[217] The inclusion of *mansio* and *mutatio* is one of the unique features of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*. Salway (2012: 307) argued that the author most likely composed his itinerary of a basic template, which was then annotated throughout the journey. A similar practice has been suggested of Theophilus' annotated itinerary. These additions reveal the flexibility and subjectivity of the genre; personal annotation imposes a sort of hierarchy of places encountered on the journey. Examples of deviation in the author's choice of *mansio* and *mutatio* is discussed in Salway (2012: 305). While the genre of the *Itinerarium* could vary on the degree of annotation and description, a common feature seems to be its orientation to the route. This method of writing geography is foundational for arguments of a Roman "hodological" view of space and geography - one that is oriented along the pathways and networks of pathways that make up the Roman world. See Brodersen (2001); Salway (2001); Johnson (2016a: 44); Drijvers (2018: 364).

[218] *It. Burd.* 583.11-599.9. However, the author already began to gloss biblical places in Tarsus (579.4).

[219] On this shift, see Milani 1983. While the author abandons their meticulous annotation of changes and rest-stops, cities are still included. This shift is comparable to the Greek *periploi,* such as Arrian's *periplous* of the Euxine Sea, which was oriented around movement, however less structured than the *itinerarium,* and further engaged with the literary and legendary history of place. The tradition of describing and mythologizing geography beyond solely nomenclature is exemplified also in *periegesis*. For a brief but informative comparison of influential genres, see Elsner 2000: 185-6.

[220] Irshai (2009: 471) called the text an "amalgamation of two entirely different types of description". See also Elsner 2000: 187; Bowman 2001: 17. In contrast, see Salway (2012).

reference.[221] At this point, the Itinerary abandons its linear structure to take on a more erratic sense of wandering.[222]

The varied composition of the Bordeaux Itinerary has led to divergent opinions on the text's significance. The timing of the visit makes it a crucial witness to the development of sacred topography during the Constantinian age. However, in comparison to the detailed accounts of later religious visitors, the text has been previously dismissed as "brief" and "stenographic", lacking any sort of theological reflection.[223] More recently, scholars have re-examined these dismissals. The Bordeaux Itinerary has been considered as a creative reconfiguration of geography through established genres and terminologies, as a sort of catechetical text in which locality was a means of exegesis and eschatology, as exemplary of Christian appropriation of Jewish memory and monuments in pursuit of a 'Holy Land', and as a potentially subversive voice against Constantine's building programme.[224] Such revisions reveal the scope of diverse interpretations that the seemingly "stark" Itinerary invites.[225]

A difficulty in interpreting the Itinerary is the tendency to compare it to the account of Egeria, which "furnishes a more penetrating glimpse into the devotion of the Christian traveller".[226] Egeria offers a lengthy and enthusiastic first-hand account of the religious experience in Jerusalem and its environs. For that reason, it has become the standard to which late antique Christian pilgrimage is often held.[227] However, Egeria's account is unparalleled in its depth of description. Comparing all other accounts to this standard is reductive and misses the significance of our less-captivating examples and skews our assumptions of late-antique pilgrimage and engagement with sacred topography. I argue that the Bordeaux Itinerary causes us to stretch our understanding of the content and context of early Christian pilgrimage. Before discussing the text in earnest, I will offer a few observations of the tendencies and challenges of defining sacred space and travel.

---

[221] However, as Elsner (2000: 190) has observed, there is always a sense of motion, albeit slower, and perhaps touristic.
[222] Elsner (2000: 192). Wilken (1992: 110) associated the text's erratic organisation with its (supposed) lack of theological consideration by noting the author "moves indiscriminately from one place to another… If a site is mentioned in the Bible and it can be located, it is worthy of a visit".
[223]Hunt (1982: 86). Similar judgements are made in Campbell (1988: 27). See also Hamilton (1952: 84), who judged the "economy" of words and content in the *Itinerarium* as the "stamp of a primitive tradition not yet inflated by the curiosity of Pilgrims or the growing opulence of ecclesiastical foundations."
[224] Elsner (2000); Bowman (2001); Kalleres (2014); Irshai (2009).
[225] Hunt (1982: 86).
[226] Ibid. See also Bowman (2001: 12); Irshai (2009: 472).
[227] This is observed in Irshai (2009: 472, f.18); Bowman (2001: 12).

Defining Sacred Space and Travel

Defining early Christian pilgrimage is a difficult task for several reasons. Firstly, there are many issues in attempting to classify a phenomenon with such "diversity [in its] practice and purposes".[228] This is made worse by terminology; the Latin *peregrinatio/peregrinus(-a)* does not share the same connotations as "pilgrimage" and "pilgrim".[229] While a lack of cohesive terminology does not discount that some sort of "pilgrimage" existed within the religious practice and sensibilities of our late antique sources, it complicates any further attempt at categorisation.

Secondly, the extent to which Christian pilgrimage was a novel practice or one originating out of existing cultural practice is much debated. In their volume on pilgrimage in antiquity, Rutherford and Elsner presented the "pilgrimage problem", which accentuates the tension between continuity or change along the contours of antiquity and Christendom.[230] The lines have long been drawn between those who emphasise the influence of pagan and Jewish practices on the formation of early Christian pilgrimage[231] and those who insist that it began with the Constantinian period and the exemplary figure of Helena.[232] Advocates for a new sort of pilgrimage under Constantine face the additional task of reconciling the few examples of early Christian travellers to Jerusalem, which were recalled by late antique authors.[233] It is in this tension that pre-Constantinian journeys to Palestine have been defined as traveling for the sake of intellectual interest, or ἱστορία.[234] This is drawn in contrast to pilgrimage for

---

[228] Falcasantos (2017: 93), in highlighting the specificity of pilgrimage within its own cultural environment, asserted that "any attempt to consolidate a collection of practices under a unified model of pilgrimage imposes an artificial structure on an inherently unstable and dynamic category". This can be asserted further with regards to the ambiguity of an individual or group's own intentions, as Wheeler (1999: 35) stated in her theory of confluence in pilgrimage: "Of course pilgrimage represents different things to different people, but it also represents 'different things, though in various proportions, to one and the same individual'". In attempts to define pilgrimage, scholars have expressed reservation on assuming religious reasons as a prerequisite. See Elsner and Rutherford 2007: 7-8 and Falcasantos 2017: 93.

[229] A similar comparison can be made to Greek ξενιτεία/ ξένος. Pullan (2007: 390) considered the ambivalence of terminology as reflective of the general ambiguity of pilgrimage. While these terms illustrate the essence of pilgrimage - movement and estrangement - these can take on a range of sense: geographical and spiritual. A pilgrim's earthly journey mirrors their journey to heaven and therefore exists in, or perhaps between, both of these realms. See also Bitton-Ashkelony (2005: 18); Falcasantos (2017: 93-94).

[230] Elsner and Rutherford (2007: 3).

[231] For instance: Kötting (1950); Wilkinson (1990); Hunt (1999).

[232] For instance: Holum (1990); Drijvers (2013); Taylor (1993).

[233] The remains of Jerusalem's biblical and Christian attracted the interest of visitors such as Origen, Alexander of Cappadocia, Firmilianus and Melito of Sardis. However, the purpose and content of these journeys has been scrutinized; See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.26.13; 6.11.1-2; 6.19.15-16; Jerome, *de Viris Illustrbius* 54. See Hunt (1984: 1999).

[234] See Hunt 1984; Falcasantos 2017, 96.

the sake of "worship" in late antiquity, of which our most charismatic voice - that of Egeria - faithfully portrays.[235]

One of the enduring voices on the composition of sacred topography and pilgrimage is Jonathan Z. Smith, whose book, *To Take Place,* has become an essential volume for scholars of spatial theory, sacred topography, and the history of ritual. With fourth-century Jerusalem as one of his primary examples, Smith famously discussed the creation of sacred topography as the product of human design and action.[236] In his words, "Human beings are not placed, they bring place into being".[237] Smith highlighted the role of Constantine and Eusebius as having crafted a "Holy" land through architecture and text.[238] Constantine's buildings created the settings for significant liturgical advancement.[239] Jerusalem's liturgy involved a creative layering of the temporal and the spatial as readings and psalms were carefully chosen accordingly for their "appropriateness".[240] For this reason, Smith considered the interaction between place, story, and ritual as the essential components for the construction of sacred space in the context of late-antique Jerusalem.[241]

Using Smith's framework, we will now consider the interaction between place, story, and ritual in the Bordeaux Itinerary. In doing so, I argue that the text contrasts the core assumptions of Smith's framework. As a source predominantly interested in the exposition of history and scripture in the local topography, the lack of personal interaction, ritual, or 'worship' stands at odds with the expectations of a pilgrimage itinerary penned after Constantine's revitalisation of Jerusalem.

---

[235] Often related to the concept of θεωρία. As is observed by Falcasantos (2017: 96-7). Campbell (1988: 20) strongly asserted the originality of the Christian *peregrinatio* using Egeria's account: "With Christianity we find at last an audience for the first-person travel account and a metaphysic, in which private experience is valued and self-consciousness imperative…" Campbell's remark was used as evidence of the "pilgrimage problem" mentioned by Elsner and Rutherford (2007: 3).

[236] Jonathan Z. Smith adopted what has been referred to as a "situational" approach to sacred space, in which human agency, ritual practice, and symbolic interpretation are integral to the formation of sacred topography. See Knott 2005: 11; Chidester and Linenthal (1995: 15-16).

[237] Smith (1987: 28).

[238] Smith (1987: 79). See note 208 above.

[239] Bowman 2001: 8. The importance of Christian liturgy in this development is widely emphasised; much of this is founded on the influence of Dix (1945).

[240] The proliferation of place-specific liturgical exercises is an essential element of Egeria's later account. Her observations of Jerusalem during the Lenten period are an invaluable witness to the flourishing of liturgical development in Late Antique Jerusalem and the development of readings *apta dei* and public, ecclesiastical processions. A more extensive look at liturgical development in Jerusalem will be provided below.

[241] Smith (1987: 86).

Place and Story: Historia in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

As mentioned earlier, the descriptive departure of the Bordeaux Itinerary during the author's visit to Palestine marks a clear shift in the text. In this section of the Itinerary, we can observe a departure from the perceived and measurable world, characterized by the stops and changes of the greater Itinerary. Instead, the text takes on a more descriptive form, as the author was keen to note natural phenomena and architectural monuments, as well as its historical and scriptural associations.[242] An example of this is in the frequent depiction of water in the itinerary; the author often observes the presence of springs, fountains, pools, and wells.[243] The author's interpretation of water is revealing of the tension that exists between the perceived and conceived worlds of the viewer. While the author noted natural phenomena, emphasis is given to the symbolism that underlines the brief glossing of fountains, pools, and cisterns. The author's attention to these monuments incited various vignettes of biblical memory; an example of this is the Spring of Elisha:

> A mile and a half past the city is the spring of the prophet Elisha. Previously, if any woman drank from it, she would not have children. On the side is the clay vessel of Elisha; throwing salt in it, he came and stood over the spring and said: "*Thus said the Lord: he has cleansed these waters".* Since then, if any woman drinks of it, she will have children.[244]

The parallel timeframes reveal the fountain's change of use on account of Elisha's intervention. The author of the Itinerary conveyed a layered compilation of stories embedded into the landscape. Showing little concern for accurate chronology, the author recapitulated the history of Palestine through various, co-existent narratives, which all

---

[242] The Bordeaux pilgrim's attention to Jewish monuments and memory has led some to question the pilgrim's identity and intel. While H. Donner (1979: 29) considered the pilgrim a baptised Jew, however this does not make sense given the overall tone of the Itinerary. We might expect the author might have had a Christian guide, who sought to convey how pre-existing monuments of Jewish memory were being incorporated into a Christian framework. See Stemberger 2000: 88-89.

[243] Observations include the bath of Cornelius (585.7), Jacob's well near Sychar (588.4), various pools around Jerusalem (589.7-594.4), Elisha's spring (596.7), the Dead Sea (597.8), the Jordan (598.2), and the spring where Philip baptized the Ethiopian Eunuch (599.1). The sheer number of instances led Glenn Bowman (2001: 26) to consider the itinerary as a sort of catechetical text, designed to prepare candidates for baptism. Lauren Douglass (1996: 329) argued that the author's concern for water, particularly monuments related with healing and fertility, was an indication of the author's gender. Contrary to these assumptions, Susan Weingarten (1999: 4) suggested that the author's attention to water might have been reflective of the general necessity of water during travel.

[244] *It. Burd.* 596.7-10. *A civitate passus mille quingentos est ibi fons Helisei prophetae. Antea si qua mulier ex ipsa aqua bibebat, non faciebat natos. Adlatum est vas fictile Heliseo, misit in eo sales et venit et stetit super fontem et dixit: Haec dicit dominus: sanavi aquas has; ex eo si qua mulier inde biberit, filio faciet.* (Cuntz 1990: 97)

seemed to play out at once.[245] Glenn Bowman observed this sort of arrangement as a sense of contiguous, rather than continuous, time.[246] Unlike the later accounts of pilgrimage, in which a sense of personal contact conjured past events and "localised" them in the present, there is not a strong authorial presence in the Bordeaux Itinerary.[247] Rather, historic events, though occurring at once, do not necessarily interact with one another, nor does the author directly engage with them. The text instead displays time as a sort of comparative: the frequent juxtaposition of time impresses on the reader the way things changed. In the case of Elisha's spring, the correlation of events revealed its properties both before and after Elisha's cure, thus highlighting the significance of his cleansing act.

The manipulation of different timelines fulfils a wider objective in the Itinerary*:* the amalgamation of biblical events produces a sense of narrative that carries the reader through Jewish and Roman history and into a new Christian era.[248] The author's interest in projecting scripture and history onto the topography of Palestine creates a predominantly "historicised" vision.[249] Only in a few brief remarks does the itinerary emerge into the present tense, which direct the reader to fill in the gaps between the past and present. This mode of writing is epitomized in the city of Jerusalem, which served as a focal point in the itinerary and as a place reconfigured during the Constantinian era.[250] In the author's tour of the city, Solomon, Hadrian and Constantine all co-exist. The author's configuration of parallel time creates a specific ideological tone: Constantine's enterprises and the historical figure of Jesus enforce the theme of

---

[245] The layering of biblical memory became standard practice in pilgrimage accounts, as Falcasantos observed: "A common thread throughout these accounts, even those that treat Jerusalem as a real, physical location, is that the city is a treasury of typology, where sacred event piled upon sacred event within an inhabitable topography" (2019: 294). Johnson (2016a: 29) referred to this as an "archival impulse".

[246] Bowman (2001: 15). Using this observation, Bowman delineates between two distinct domains, the present and the eschatological. Reconfiguring Leo Spitzer's remark that in Egeria's account "the eye of the pilgrim wanders incessantly from the biblical locus to the locus of Palestine" (1949: 239), Bowman illustrated the way in which "world" became "word". Bowman thus considered the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* foremost a scriptural, "spiritual voyage" (2001: 33).

[247] Markus (1994: 271)

[248] The comparison of new and old is observed by Bowman 2001 and Elsner 2000, however the ideological implications of this hierarchy is elucidated most thoroughly in Irshai (2009: 475-485). As Ora Limor asserted in her discussion of spatial "conversion", the development of religious places in situations of cultural contact and transition insists on confrontation; she asserted that new occupants must find a way to relate to old things. Limor (2014: 32-33). This was often done through both physical and cognitive overhaul.

[249] Jacobs (2004:111-117) considered the author's mode of representation as depopulating the terrain from all except for the "dead heroes" from the Old Testament and their associated *criptae* and *monumenta*. Leyerle (1996: 126) observed a theme of omission in pilgrimage accounts, which produce a sense of "social emptiness".

[250] Elsner (2000: 189-190) observed a "rising curve of mythologization" approaching Jerusalem and a "gradual diminution" upon return. In contrast, see Salway (2012: 295).

Christian succession in the composition of Jerusalem. It is also in Jerusalem, where the Itinerary finally, and briefly, enters the present to illustrate the city's current condition.

Upon entering the city, the author first observed the various edifices identified as the enterprises of Solomon - the pools of Bethsaida and the Jewish Temple.[251] Such architectural description is intermingled with episodes of the life of Christ – both explicit and implied. While left unstated, Jesus' presence at Bethsaida is suggested by the remark: "There, the sick used to be cured".[252] Shifting to the ruined Temple, the author's architectural observations were foregrounded by Solomon and Jesus' respective interactions with demons:

> There is also a crypt, where Solomon tortured demons. There is the corner of the highest tower, where the Lord went up and said to the one temping him, 'And the Lord said to him, *you shall not tempt the Lord your God, but serve him only'*.[253]

In this instance, the viewer once again invoked a sense of parallel time. However, the organisation of topography and history asserted a sense of hierarchy: Solomon's crypt and the high tower mirrored Jesus' superiority not just in torturing, but defeating, the devil.[254] The rendering of memory in this way strikes a Christian tone. In the author's portrayal, Jewish Jerusalem – epitomized by the Temple and Solomon – is superseded by the presence and authority of Christ.[255] This episode prefaces the next series of scenes, which convey the ultimate Jewish dispossession of Jerusalem through a similar strategy of comparative vignettes.

---

[251] Irshai (2009: 476-7, f. 32, 33) disagreed with the assumption that the author entered through the northern Damascus gate, but rather likely first saw the temple from the Mount of Olives, thus following an early Christian practice, which ultimately became the "triumphal entry". Douglass (1996: 327-8) considered the *Itinerarium* as early evidence of this practice, albeit on the author's exit: dextra est arbor palmae, de qua infantes ramos tulerunt et vieniente Christo substraverunt. (595.1-2, Cuntz (1990: 96)).

[252] *It. Burd.* 589.9-10. Ibi aegri multorum annorum sanabantur. (Cuntz 1990: 96) For comparison, see Cyril of Jerusalem's *Homily on the Paralytic by the Pool.*

[253] *It. Burd.* 589.11-590.3. *Est ibi et cripta, ubi Salomon daemones torquebat. Ibi est angulus turris excelsissimae, ubi Dominus ascendit et dixit ei is, qui temptabat eum, et ait ei Dominus: Non temptabis dominum deum tuum, sed illi soli servies*. Cuntz (1990: 96). Irshai (2009: 478) noted that the episode of Solomon alluded to in the *Itinerarium* was a "widely disseminated rabbinical and Christian tradition". Related to this, Johnson (2008 and 2016b) has made a fascinating comparison between the accounts of Christian pilgrimage and apocryphal literature.

[254] The strategic comparison of events is furthered by an underlying theme in the temptation of Christ on the pinnacle of the temple. Bowman (2001: 24) considered Christ's success in rejecting the temptation of fleeting earthly power and architectural glory contrasts Solomon's destroyed Temple. Irshai (2009: 480) further interpreted the division of vertical planes as an allusion to the heavenly and earthly realms.

[255] It is worth noting that the author associated the rubble not with Herod but its first builder, Solomon. Doing so made the Jewish architecture and memory as a sort of foil on which Christian symbols could be associated.

Following Jesus' temptation on the pinnacle of the Temple, the author 'observes' the great "cornerstone" rejected by the builders and the blood of Zacharias, which still stained the front of the altar. However, underlying these observations is the reality that the temple and its altar were long destroyed by the time of the visit in 333. Mentally reconstructing the rubble and remains of the Temple, the author conjured images of the past to make sense of the present landscape. The Itinerary shifts to the present tense, revealing the remains of the Temple through the statues of Hadrian and *lapis pertusus*.[256] While left unsaid, the comparison of the altar and the statues invokes Christ's judgement of Jerusalem[257]:

> …. upon you will come all the righteous blood shed on earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zechariah son of Berechiah, whom you murdered between the temple and the altar. Truly I tell you, all these things will come upon this generation. Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you who kill the prophets and stone those sent to you, how often I have longed to gather your children together, as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, and you were not willing. Look, your house is left to you desolate.[258]

Leaving the Temple behind, the author continued to juxtapose Jewish and Christian monuments of the past and their present state throughout the remainder of their tour of Jerusalem. Jewish synagogues that were "plowed and sown" were contrasted with Golgotha and the Mount of Olives, now marked by basilicas "built by the order of Constantine".[259] The itinerary shows evidence of the urban and ideological processes of appropriation and Christianisation that we observe in Jerusalem during the fourth century. It is in this context that the author's own perspective of the contested histories

---

[256] *It. Burd.* 591.1-5. *Sunt ibi et statuae duae Hadriani; est et non longe de status lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Iuduaei singulis annis et unguent eum et lamentant se cum gemitu et vestimenta sua scindunt et sic recedunt.* The pierced stone was visited annually on the ninth of Ab. Jacobs (2004: 114) has observed that this is the only instance where the author alludes the presence of contemporary Jews in the landscape of Jerusalem. However, their presence is brief and ultimately "underscore[s] their material absence from a Christian space".

[257] Christian interpretations of the ruined Temple Mount composed the foundation for arguments of Christian possession of supersession. The invocation of the prophecy in Matthew 23 was frequently used to convey Jewish dispossession. See Thorpe (2009).

[258] Matthew 23:35-36.

[259] modo iussi Constantini imperatoris. The author's reference to the synagogues invoked another condemning prophecy from Isaiah 1:8. On Constantine's structures, see *It. Burd.* 594.3; 595;6; 598.7; 599.6. The comparative nature of Temple Mount would have offered excellent opportunity to praise the Constantinian church on Golgotha, however the author of the *Itinerarium* actually mentions very little: Dayna Kalleres (2014: 142-3) has considered this as evidence of "dialogue, if not conflict" in the reception of Constantinian intervention. While Kalleres perhaps reads too much into the author's brief remark, the author's brevity alone is worth considering. If not entirely subversive, the author's lack of interest in Constantine's church reveals a more ambiguous reception of Constantine's projects by visiting Christians.

and sacred spaces of the city becomes apparent: the Itinerary advocates for a "Christian Jerusalem", superimposed over the fabric of its previous Jewish and Roman histories.[260]

Ritual in the *Itinerarium*

The Bordeaux Itinerary reveals how the physical and ideological landscape of Jerusalem was changing during the time of Constantine. However, there is a crucial difference between this text and later accounts of Christian pilgrimage. Over the course of the century, the proximity to places of biblical memory instigated different forms of interaction. Both before and after Constantinian intervention, visitors' engagement with religious topography offered additional means of relating to scripture.[261] However, in the later fourth century, engagement was not just textual, but tactile.[262] Cyril of Jerusalem perhaps best captured this in his remark: "Others only hear, but we both see and handle".[263] The invitation to "touch" and "see" became integral to the liturgical experience in Jerusalem. Combined with a unique temporal and spatial applicability, the psalms and readings chosen were 'suitable to the place and time.[264] These developments blurred the lines between past and present as biblical scenes were "re-presented" and "re-enacted" through liturgical celebration.[265] The tactile nature of the sacred allowed worshippers to interact with space and memory in a new way. A famous example of this was Jerome's account of Paula during her own pilgrimage in 385. Her emotive reaction to Christ's cross and tomb is worth comparison:

> Before the Cross she *threw* herself down in adoration as though she *beheld* the Lord hanging upon it: and when she entered the tomb which was the scene of the Resurrection she *kissed* the stone which the angel had rolled

---

[260] Smith (1987: 79).

[261] For this reason, Bitton-Ashkelony (2005: 10) asserted that pilgrimage in the Holy Land was essentially "textual", in which the essential purpose was "verifying and interpreting Holy Scriptures". The textual nature of Holy Land pilgrimage is observed in Limor's (2001) study of Egeria and Paula's "reading" of sacred space.

[262] Levinson (2013: 114).

[263] *Cat*. 13.22. For a similar sentiment, see Paulinus of Nola's *Ep*. 49.14. For a discussion on the relationship between touch and sight in late antiquity, see Frank 2000: 118-133.

[264] Antiphons, hymns, readings, and orations were often described as *apta dei et loco* in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*. See for instance: 25.5; 29.2; 31.1; 32.1; 35.4; 36.1; 37.6. Smith (1987: 93-94) considered the overlaying of a temporal and spatial system in this practice. This was most evident in the development of the "Great Week", leading up to Easter, in which the liturgical program was exhausted with services and processions, which re-enacted the movements, memories, and emotions of Jesus' life approaching his crucifixion and resurrection.

[265] Bowman (2001: 9). See also Markus (1994: 271). The historicizing nature of liturgy was classically argued by Dix (1945). Georgia Frank (2000: 133) argued that the combined elements of sight and touch "created the conditions for a biblical realism". As Levinson (2013, 114) put it, "This powerful link between sacred text and sacred land erased the boundaries of time and enabled the pilgrim to close the gap between past and present".

> away from the door of the sepulchre. Indeed, so ardent was her faith that she even *licked* with her mouth the very spot on which the Lord's body had lain, like one thirsty for the river which he has longed for…[266]

The mixture of emotive contemplation and gesture in this account, while likely overstated because of Jerome's own literary aims, describes a reaction to Golgotha that transcended solely a recognition of sacred history: Paula beheld the events as if they unfolded before her.[267]

It is here that we might return to Bowman's idea of 'contiguous' rather than 'continuous' time in the Bordeaux Itinerary. While in later accounts, the lines between past and present converged in a sense of continuity, the Itinerary treated time differently. The author used past and present not necessarily as a vehicle for personal encounter, but as a juxtaposition of 'then' and 'now' to convey a transformed, Christian topography. While past events were remembered for the sake of the author's own temporal observations, we are given no indication that they sought to experience these personally, in the present.[268] This lack of personal encounter, of which the *Itinerarium* is often judged, might be explained by the incorporation of the second person, which further blurs the lines between the narrator and reader.[269] The author occasionally used this to direct movement: "As you ascend Sion [*ascendas*]", "As you leave [*eas*] the gate of Sion's walls… ".[270] However, this is extended to direct the reader's vision and interpretation of the 'miraculously-preserved' remains on the Temple Mount:

> … Before the altar in marble is the blood of Zacharias - you would say it had been shed today [*ibi dicas hodie fusum*]. Also, all around are the hobnails of the soldiers who killed him, throughout the area, so that you might think [*putes*] they had been pressed in wax…[271]

---

[266] Jerome, *Epistula* 108.9. *Prostrataque* ante Crucem, quasi pendentem Dominum *cerneret*, adorabat. Ingressa sepulcrum resurrectionis, osculabatur lapidem, quem *ab ostio* monumenti *amovera*t angelus. Et ipsum corporis locum in quo Dominus jacuerat, quasi sitiens desideratas aquas, fideli *ore lambebat*. (Trans. Cain (2013)). Emphasis mine.

[267] Cain (2010) argued that Jerome likely used his *Epitaph* in order to promote a cult in Bethlehem around Paula. A similar encouragement is Jerome's invitation to Marcella: "As often as we enter the Lord's Sepulcher, we see the Saviour in his grave clothes" (*Ep*. 46.5.)

[268] As is observed in Frank 2000: 107.

[269] Elsner (2000: 194-5) notes this distinguishing feature of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense,* whereas Roman *Itineraria* are typically impersonal, using the third person. The subjective, "conversational" nature of the *Itinerarium* is made evident by the second person. Salway (2012:301-302) observes the use of the second person, in addition to dative present participles of motion verbs "definitely read like the sort of practical orientation provided by a modern tourist guidebook".

[270] *It. Burd.* 591.7; 593.1; See also 556.2; 561.5-6; 562.8; 571.9-19; 595.4-5.

[271] *It. Burd.* 591.2-4…Sanguinem Zachariae ibi dicas hodie fusum; etiam parent vestigial clavorum militum, qui eum occiderunt, per totam eream, ut putes in cera fixum esse (Trans. Jacobs (2004), 113).

Insertions such as this make it unclear whether the *author* is taking the journey or the *reader* is. In this way, the journey seems instructive, not contemplative. Through an ideological transposition of geography, the author illustrates Christian succession and asserts this "new dispensation" over Jerusalem.[272] However, the author's encouragement is to move, see, and think, not necessarily to touch, pray, and kneel.

Conclusions

The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* reveals how the landscape of Jerusalem and its interpretation was changing during the time of Constantine. The author's complex and carefully considered version of topography was subordinate to scriptural event.[273] History was construed in such a way as to convey a new Christian dispensation of the Roman Empire and the region of Palestine. Rather than the account of Egeria, a reasonable comparison is Eusebius' *Onomasticon,* which reconfigured a traditional means of writing, compiling, and categorising geography within a new, Christian framework.[274] Additionally, both texts have been limited by their associations with early pilgrimage and sacred topography.[275] On this note, Dennis Groh argued that the *Onomasticon* was not a text for "pious pilgrims" but was rather an assertion of "Christian continuity":

> Eusebius is doing spatially… what he has already done chronologically in the *Chronicon* and what he will go on to do narratively in the *History* - namely, bringing biblical, Roman, and Christian realities together in such a way that Christian in his own day can be seen to be the successor of the biblical realities in the Roman World.[276]

In similar way, the central aim of the Bordeaux Itinerary was to assert a sense of Christian succession through its composition of topography and historical event. In both texts, geographical interest was primarily oriented around apologetics and scriptural exegesis. Pious encounter was secondary to this aim, if a concern at all.

---

[272] Elsner (2000: 192-3); Bowman (2001: 21).
[273] The relationship between sacred topography and text is discussed in wider Christian practice and history in Bowman (2013).
[274] Elsner (2000: 191).
[275] As is the preface of Groh's inquiry (1983: 23).
[276] Groh (1983: 29).

Therefore, Smith's framework is somewhat lacking in its depiction of Christian sacred space and practice in Jerusalem during the reign of Constantine. The Bordeaux Itinerary is an important text as it came on the heels of Constantinian intervention and lacks any interest in the ritual component, which underscores many of our assumptions of sacred travel and topography during this period. Rather, the Bordeaux Itinerary illustrates how the origins of this practice emerged from a pre-existing tradition of travel and travel writing, while also adapting, and abandoning certain conventions in order to fashion both geography in a new way. The *Itinerarium,* rather than being an account of 'pilgrimage' or 'sacred space' *par excellence*, helps to stretch our definitions and assumptions regarding the content and context of Christian religious travel and sacred space. Rather than being the sole product of an industrious emperor and his "Holy Land Plan", the Christianisation and consecration of Jerusalem was negotiated by the bishops, pilgrims, and locals, who continued to occupy the city over the course of the fourth century.

References

Primary Sources

Arrian, *Periplous Ponti Euxini,* translated by A. Silberman (Paris 1995).

Codex Jerusalem Armenian 121, translated by A. Renoux (Turnout 1969).

Cyril of Jerusalem, *Homily on the Paralytic by the Pool,* translated by E. Yarnold (London 2000).

Eusebius, *De Martyribus Palestinae*, translated by H.J. Lawlor and J.E.L Oulton (New York 1927).

Eusebius, *De Vita Constanti,* translated by A. Cameron and S.G. Hall (Oxford 1999).

Expositio totius mundi et gentium, edited by J.E. Rougé (Paris 1966).

Itinerarium Antonini Augusti, edited by O. Cuntz (Stuttgart 1990).

Itinerarium Burdigalense, edited by O. Cuntz (Stuttgart 1990).

Itinerarium Egeriae, translated by J. Wilkinson (Liverpool 1981).

Jerome, *Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae,* translated by A. Cain (Oxford 2013).

Secondary Sources

Baldovin, J. (1987), *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*. *OCA* 228. Rome.

Bar, D., (2003), 'The Christianisation of rural Palestine during late antiquity', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 54(3), 401-421.

Bitton-Ashkelony, B. (2005), *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate of Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.

Bowman, G. (2001), 'A Textual Landscape: The Mapping of a Holy Land in the Fourth-

Century *Itinerarium* of the Bordeaux Pilgrim' in P. Starkey and J. Starkey (eds.), *Unfolding the Orient: Travellers in Egypt and the New East*. Reading, 7-40.

--- (2013), 'Christian ideology and the image of holy land: the place of Jerusalem in the various Christianities' in J. Eade and M. Sallnow (eds.), *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. Eugene, 98-121.

Brandon, S.G.F. (1951), *The fall of Jerusalem and the Christian church: A study of the effects of the Jewish overthrow of AD 70 on Christianity*. London.

Brodersen, K. (2001), 'The Representation of Geographical Knowledge for Travel and Transport in the Roman World', in C. Adams and R. Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. London, 7–21.

Cain, A. (2010), 'Jerome's *Epitaphium Paulae*: Hagiography, Pilgrimage, and the Cult of Saint Paula', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 18(1): 105–139.

Campbell, M. (1988), *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600*. Ithaca.

Cardman, F. (1984), 'Fourth Century Jerusalem: Religious Geography and Christian Tradition' in P. Henry (ed.), *Schools of Thought in the Christian Tradition*. Philadelphia, 49-64.

Caseau, B. (1999), 'Sacred Landscapes' in G.W. Bowersock, P. Brown., and O. Grabar (eds.), *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Cambridge, MA, 21-59.

Chadwick, H. (1959), *The Circle and the Ellipse: Rival Concepts of Authority in the Early Church. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered Before the University of Oxford on 5 May, 1959*. Oxford.

Clements, R.A. (2012), 'Epilogue: 70 CE After 135 CE—The Making of a Watershed?' in D. Schwartz and Z. Weiss (eds), *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?*. Leiden, 517-536.

Conybeare, F. C. (1905), *Rituale Armenorum*. Oxford.

Dix, G. (1945), *The Shape of Liturgy*. London.

Donner, H. (1979), *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land: die ältesten Berichte christlicher Palästinapilger (4.-7. Jahrhundert)*. Stuttgart.

Douglass, L. (1996), 'A New Look at the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (3), 313-333.

Drake, H.A. (2000), *Constantine and the Bishops: Politics of Intolerance*. Baltimore.

Drijvers, J.W. (1992), *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross*. Leiden.

--- (2013), 'Transformation of a City: The Christianization of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century', in R. Alston, O.M. van Nijf, and C.G. Williamson (eds.), *Cults, Creeds and Identities in the Greek City after the Classical Age*. Leuven, 309-329.

--- (2018), 'Travel and Pilgrimage Literature', in S. McGill and E.J. Watts (eds.), *A Companion to Late Antique Literature*. New York, 359–372.
Eliav, Y. (2005), *God's Mountain, The Temple Mount in Time, Place and Memory*. Baltimore.

Elsner, J. and Rutherford, I. (2007), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods,* Oxford.

Elsner, J. (2000), 'The Itinerarium Burdigalense: Politics and Salvation in the Geography of Constantine's Empire', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 90, 181-195.

Falcasantos, R.S. (2017), 'Wandering Wombs, Inspired Intellects: Christian Religious Travel in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 25 (1), 89-117.

Frank, G. (2000), *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.

Groh, D. (1983), 'The *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and the Rise of Christian Palestine', *Studia Patristica* 18 (1), 23-32.

Halbwachs, M. (1941), *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte: étude de la mémoire collective*. Paris.

--- (1992), *On Collective Memory (ed. and trans. by Lewis A. Coser)*. Chicago.
Hamilton, R.W. (1952), 'Jerusalem in the fourth century', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 84(2), 83–90.

Holum, K.G. (1990), 'Hadrian and St. Helena: Imperial Travel and the Origins of Christian Holy Land Pilgrimage' in R. Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*. Urbana, 66-81.

Hunt, E. D. (1982), *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire*. Oxford.

--- (1984), 'Travel, tourism and piety in the Roman Empire: a context for the beginnings of Christian pilgrimage', *Echos du monde classique* 28(3), 391-417.

--- (1997), ‘Constantine and Jerusalem’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48(3), 405-424.

--- (1999), ‘Were there Christian pilgrims before Constantine?’ in J. Stopford (ed), *Pilgrimage Explored*. York, 25-40.

Irshai, O. (1999), ‘The Jerusalem Bishopric and the Jews in the Fourth Century: History and Eschatology’ in L.I. Levine (ed), *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. New York, 204-220.

--- (2009), 'The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century: The Case of the Bordeaux Pilgrim', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99(4), 465-486.

Jacobs, A. (2004), *Remains of the Jews: The Holy Land and Christian Empire in Late Antiquity*. Stanford.

Johnson, S.F. (2008), ‘Reviving the Memory of the Apostles: Apocryphal Tradition and Travel Literature in Late Antiquity’, in K. Cooper and J. Gregory (eds.), *Revival and Resurgence in Christian History*. Chippenham, Wiltshire, 1–26.

--- (2016a), *Literary Territories: Cartographical Thinking in Late Antiquity*. Oxford.

--- (2016b), ‘The Stone the Builders Rejected: Liturgical and Exegetical Irrelevancies in the Piacenza Pilgrim’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 70, 43–58.

Kalleres, D.S. (2014), *City of Demons: Violence, Ritual, and Christian Power in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.

Knott, K. (2005a), 'Spatial Theory and Method for the Study of Religion', *Temenos* 41(2), 153-184.

--- (2005b*), The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis*. London.

Kötting, B. (1950), *Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche*. Regensberg.

Levinson, J. (2013), ‘There Is no Place Like home: rabbinic responses to the Christianization of Palestine’ in Natalie B. Dohmann and Annette Yoshiko Reed (eds.), *Jews, Christians, and the Roman Empire: The Poetics of Power in Late Antiquity*. Philadelphia, 99-120.

Leyerle, B. (1996), 'Landscape as Cartography in Early Christian Pilgrimage Narratives', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64 (1), 119-143.

Limor, O. (2001), 'Reading Sacred Space: Egeria, Paula, and the Christian Holy Land." In Y. Hen (ed.), *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*. Turnhout, 1-15.

--- (2006), '"Holy Journey": Pilgrimage and Christian Sacred Landscape', in O. Limor and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land*. Turnhout, 321–354.

--- (2014), 'Conversion of Space', in I. Katznelson and M. Rubin (eds.), *Religious Conversion: History, Experience and Meaning*. Ashgate.

MacCormack, S. (1990), '*Loca Sancta*: the Organization of Sacred Topography in Late Antiquity', in R. Ousterhout (ed), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*. Urbana, 7-40.

Matthews, J.F. (2006), *The Journey of Theophanes: Travel, Business and Daily Life in the Roman East*. New Haven.

--- (2010), 'The Cultural Landscape of the Bordeaux Itinerary', in J.F. Matthews (ed.), *Roman Perspectives: Studies in the Social, Political and Cultural History of the First to Fifth Centuries*. Swansea, 181-200.

Markus, R.A. (1994), 'How on Earth Could Places Become Holy?: Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (3), 257-271.

Milani, C. (1983), 'Strutture formulari nell' "Itinerarium Burdigalense"' *Aevum* 17, 99-108.

Perrone, L. (1999), '"The Mystery of Judaea" (Jerome, Ep. 46): The Holy City of Jerusalem between History and Symbol in Early Christian Thought' in L.I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. New York, 221-239.

--- (2006), '"Rejoice Sion, Mother of all Churches": Christianity in the Holy Land during the Byzantine Era' in O. Limor and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latins Kingdoms*. Turnhout, 139-171.

Pullan, W. (2007), '"Intermingled Until the End of Time": Ambiguity as a Central Condition of Early Christian Pilgrimage', in J. Elsner and I. Rutherford (eds.), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*. Oxford, 387–410.

Renoux, A. (1969-70), 'Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121' *PO*, 35–36.

Salway, B. (2001), 'Travel, Itineraria, and Tabellaria', in C. Adams and R. Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empir*e. London, 22-66.

--- (2012), 'There but not there: Constantinople in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*' in L. Grig and G. Kelly (eds.), *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*. Oxford, 293-324.

Sivan, H. (2008), *Palestine in Late Antiquity*. Oxford.

Smith, J.A. (2007), '"My Lord's Native Land': Mapping the Christian Holy Land', *Church History* 76 (1), 1-31.

Smith, J.Z. (1978), *Map is not Territory*. Leiden

--- (1987), *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual*. Chicago.

--- (1990), *Drudgery Divine*. Chicago.

Stroumsa, G.G. (1999), 'Mystical Jerusalems', in L.I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. New York, 349–370.

Taylor, J.E. (1993), *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins*. Oxford.

Telfer, W. (1957), 'Constantine's Holy Land Plan', *Studia Patristica* 1, 696-700.

Thorpe, T. (2009), *Power of Silence: The Empty Temple Mount in Late Antique Jerusalem*. Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University. Cambridge, MA.

Walker, P.W.L (1990), *Holy City, Holy Places?: Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*. Oxford.

Weingarten (1999), 'Was the Pilgrim of Bordeaux a Woman? A Reply to Lauria Douglass', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (2), 291-297.

Wharton, A.J. (1992), 'The Baptistery of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Politics of Sacred Landscape', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46, 313-325.

--- (1995), *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna*. Cambridge.

Wheeler, B. (1999), 'Models of pilgrimage: from *communitas* to confluence', *Journal of Ritual Studies*, 13(2), 26-41.

Wilken, R.L. (1992), *The Land called Holy: Palestine on Christian History and Thought*. New Haven.

Wilkinson, J. (1990), 'Jewish holy places and the origins of Christian pilgrimage' in R. Ousterhout (ed), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*. Urbana, 41-53.

Verhelst, S. (1999), *La liturgie de Jérusalem à l'époque byzantine: genèse et structures de l'année*

Liturgique. Doctoral dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Jerusalem.

Yarnold, E.J. (1985), 'Who Planned the Churches at the Christian Holy Places in the Holy Land?', *Studia Patristica* 18, 105-9.