# Opuscula

Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome

15 2022

#### **EDITORIAL COMMITTEE**

Prof. Henrik Gerding, Lund, Chairman
Dr Lena Sjögren, Stockholm, Vice-chairman
Mrs Kristina Björksten Jersenius, Stockholm, Treasurer
Dr Susanne Berndt, Stockholm, Secretary
Prof. Denis Searby, Stockholm
Prof. Christer Henriksén, Uppsala
Prof. Sabrina Norlander-Eliasson, Stockholm
Dr Lewis Webb, Gothenburg
Prof. Gunnel Ekroth, Uppsala
Ms Emelie Byström, Uppsala
Dr Ulf R. Hansson, Rome
Dr Jenny Wallensten, Athens

#### **EDITOR**

Dr Julia Habetzeder

#### SECRETARY'S & EDITOR'S ADDRESS

Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies Stockholm University 106 91 Stockholm, Sweden secretary@ecsi.se | editor@ecsi.se

### DISTRIBUTOR

Eddy.se AB Box 1310 621 24 Visby, Sweden

For general information, see http://ecsi.se For subscriptions, prices and delivery, see http://ecsi.bokorder.se Published with the aid of a grant from The Swedish Research Council (2020-01217) The English text was revised by Rebecca Montague, Hindon, Salisbury, UK

Opuscula is a peer reviewed journal. Contributions to Opuscula should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Committee before 1 November every year. Contributors are requested to include an abstract summarizing the main points and principal conclusions of their article. For style of references to be adopted, see http://ecsi.se. Books for review should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Committee.

ISSN 2000-0898 ISBN 978-91-977799-4-4 © Svenska Institutet i Athen and Svenska Institutet i Rom Printed by PrintBest (Viljandi, Estonia) via Italgraf Media AB (Stockholm, Sweden) 2022 Cover illustrations from Peter M. Fischer & Teresa Bürge in this volume, p. 48

## Dissertation abstracts 2020-2022

Samuel Douglas, Scripta Imagine. Buildings, transformations, and rhetorical ekphrasis in Statius' Silvae, Uppsala University 2022. ISBN 9789150629385 http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-470916

Statius' Silvae, his collected epideictic poems in five volumes, have long been recognised as a descriptive tour-de-force, with its extensive depictions of buildings, people, and art. Modern critical responses to these have been varied, identifying a wide variety of influences and stylistic tendencies in these works. This thesis takes six poems notable for their focus on structures and examines the ways in which their unusual descriptive tendencies reflect 1st-century AD thought about ekphrasis, panegyric, and poetry. The poems in question are Silvae 1.1 about an equestrian statue of Domitian, Silvae 1.3 about the villa of Manilius Vopicus, Silvae 1.5 about the baths owned by Claudius Etruscus, Silvae 2.2 about the villa of Pollius Felix at Sorrento, Silvae 3.1 about the building of a temple to Hercules, and Silvae 4.3 about the new road connecting Naples to the Via Appia. Each of these poems describes a structure with reference to how it was built or the materials used in its construction. These poems represent the first time in Roman literature that such details have been extensively described, but they anticipate later traditions of elaborate description in their choices of subject and style.

This thesis examines these poems in the light of 1st century AD understanding of ekphrasis, an educational term used for a passage of extended description. It argues that there is evidence that this is a widely understood concept in this period and that this concept underpins the use of building description in the *Silvae*. If these sections can be labelled as ekphrastic, their role in the poems overall can be seen as parallel to similar descriptions in rhetorical panegyric in that they provide evidence to support the praise of the poems' dedicatees. Furthermore, the status of these passages as ekphrasis suggests connections to similarly descriptive texts which serve to re-contextualise the actions of the dedicatees as epic, divine,

or world-changing acts. This is all done through the close emphasis on the viewed experience of the narrator whose viewing provides a model for the reader of the text.

Georgia Galani, Imprints of Roman Imperium.

Bronze coinages in the Republican eastern provinces,

Stockholm University 2022. ISBN 9789179117221

http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-199245

This study concerns bronze coinages of the Roman Republican provinces in the eastern Mediterranean during the 1st century BC. The Eastern Mediterranean is conventionally thought to include the areas east of the Adriatic Sea, which during the Hellenistic period included various kingdoms that had emerged from the fragmented empire of Alexander the Great. The basic criterion for the geographical boundaries used in this research is the formal transfer of those eastern regions into the Roman domain in the pre-Imperial period. Accordingly, the areas that are being studied are those that were converted into administrative provinces by the Romans before the battle of Actium and the beginning of the reign of Octavian in 27 BC; namely, the provinces of Macedonia, Asia, Cyrenaica-Crete, Bithynia-Pontus, Syria and Cilicia-Cyprus.

The main aims are to consider all the currently known bronze coin issues from the eastern provinces, and to offer a comparative overview of them. This overview is framed both by the newly established Roman provincial administration and also the evolving idea of Roman hegemony arising from Rome's crucial intervention in the eastern Mediterranean during the war against Mithridates VI of Pontus. More specifically, the study identifies continuity and change in bronze coin production from the Greek East under early Roman rule in order to situate these coinages in the broader historical and numismatic context of the period. This is achieved through consideration of the symbolic language (iconography and leg-

ends), the economic value (metrology) and the production patterns of coins.

The last century of the Republic bears the signs of a rapidly transforming reality, and acts as a prelude to the Imperial era. There might not yet be an emperor appearing as a dominant individual, but the supreme authority of Rome as *imperium populi Romani* is present in the provinces, via her agents, and is reflected in provincial coinages. In this respect, provincial coinages are viewed as an integral part of the currency that was in use in the Roman eastern Mediterranean, which emerges as a "common pool" in base metal coinage, as a common canvas for inspiration and interactions in coin iconography and metrology. Finally, provincial minting is considered as a potential mirror for the various administrative attitudes and needs of the Romans across the different provinces in the East.

Fanny Kärfve, Greeting the visitor. A contextualising study of fauces-mosaics in Pompeii, Lund University 2022. ISBN 9789189415133

https://portal.research.lu.se/sv/publications/greeting-the-visitor-a-contextualising-study-of-ifauces-imosaics-

The focus for this study is the collection of mosaic-floors that adorn the entrances, *fauces*, to *atrium*-houses around Pompeii. The aim is to further our understanding of the Roman view of transitional spaces, in this case the private house-entrance between the inside and the outside world. Contemporary approaches to Pompeian studies regard space and décor as closely intertwined components, which suggests that the designs for an entrance-decoration were intended to convey an appropriate message. Ever since the early excavations of Pompeii, especially the figurative *fauces*-mosaics have been recognised, leaving the non-figurative mosaics less emphasised (and still so today), although outnumbering the others.

In order to provide a more holistic and nuanced picture, the present study is based on several contextualising steps, which take into account the (rather low) number of faucesmosaics (in 29 houses); the houses' topographical distribution within the city; their sizes and general interior decoration-level; the fauces-passages' spatial design and layout; the temporal framework of the *fauces*-mosaics (ranging between c. 100 BC to AD 79) and the iconographical subject-matter of the mosaics. The results of the study show that certain clusters can be discerned, particularly so of a "fashion" for fauces-mosaics in the large terrace-houses during the late Republic. Moreover, many of the mosaic-motifs alluded to mundane matters instead of religious, and the general attitude to the outside world was one centred around a positive and greeting communication. By laying a fauces-mosaic, a house-owner intentionally conveyed that his or her house was worthy of attention. Nevertheless, it is also clear that a superstitious perception of the entrance acknowledged its need of protection. In some

cases, defending symbols on the mosaics do point to such a paradoxical awareness of the owners.

Tuomo Nuorluoto, Roman female cognomina.

Studies in the nomenclature of Roman women,

Uppsala University 2021. ISBN 9789150628586

http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-429760

This study investigates the *cognomina* of Roman women. The *cognomen* was the latest component of the Roman onomastic system and in the course of the early 1st century AD it came to be the most important individual name of Roman citizens. Roman women, unlike men, did not normally bear any individualizing first names and most women during the Republic (509–27 BC) had only their father's gentile name in the feminine form. Through the emergence of the female *cognomen*, all Roman women eventually came to have an individual name and, consequently, a genuine individual identity in the public eye.

The thesis offers, on the one hand, a comprehensive investigation on the typology of female *cognomina* and the various ways they could be formed; and on the other hand, a survey on how these *cognomina* could be chosen and for what reasons. These practices are investigated over a time period of *c*. 400 years (*c*. 100 BC–AD 300), in different geographical regions throughout the Roman Empire (with emphasis on the city of Rome and the Italian peninsula), and in different social strata. The material consists of written primary sources, mostly of inscriptions in Latin and Greek but also of testimonies of ancient authors.

The study consists of five main chapters. Chapter 1 describes the scope, methods, sources, and scholarly framework of the study and offers a general description of the Roman onomastic system and the cognomen. Chapter 2 explores the types, variety, and formal and semantic aspects of female *cognomina*. Chapter 3 investigates the early chronology and the emergence of the *cognomen* in women's nomenclature, presenting and analyzing the earliest datable evidence. Chapter 4 provides a survey of the various possibilities for choosing a *cognomen*, but also a survey of the non-use of *cognomina* in the imperial period. Chapter 5 summarizes the key findings of the thesis with a concluding analysis.

Christopher Nuttall, Seascape dialogues. Human-sea interaction in the Aegean from Late Neolithic to Late Bronze Age, Uppsala University 2021. ISBN 9789150629101 https://doi.org/10.33063/diva-457245

This thesis examines human-sea interaction based on embodied and embedded action in the littoral and island regions of the Aegean from Late Neolithic (4800 BC) to the end of Late Bronze Age I (1600 BC). Fundamental to this approach is the

concept of seascapes, defined here as a place or agent created by a human mind set. To facilitate the investigation, analysis focuses on embodied action, divided between spatial analysis, the consumption of seafood, the utilisation of marine faunal remains in material culture and the iconographic rendering of marine and maritime matters. Through GIS analysis it is determined that "coastality"—the spatial relationship between locales and the coast—was temporally variable and related to network interaction. Coastality appears to have been a fundamental prerequisite for the formation of seascapes, though the formation of seascapes was not an inevitable outcome of coastality. Uneven recovery practices in excavations impacted the marine faunal record, though higher marine consumption was recognised on Crete from the end of the prepalatial period onwards, due in part to the greater recovery of ecofactual data on the island. Marine shell found a wide utility in the prehistoric Aegean, but cluster in the LN-EB III periods. Exceptions include the production of murex dye in the southern Aegean in MBA-LBA and the use of triton shells in cult places in MBA-LBA Crete. Iconographic representation of the sea was geographically restricted—almost entirely absent from the Greek mainland—and had particular chronological and thematic focuses. These included seafaring in the Cyclades and Saronic Gulf, as well as marine fauna scenes onwards from mid-EBA Cyclades and Crete. Such representations were metarepresentations of the sea, prompted by sustained, long-term interaction with the sea. This is particularly evident in the case of Crete, where marine themes became enmeshed in an archaeologically visible syntax of cult paraphernalia and practices. Seascapes were created under specific conditions according to local circumstances and choices. They were not expressed in a uniform manner through time and space and were not an inevitable outcome of living in an area with relative ease of access to the sea.

Hampus Olsson, *Cultural and socio-political development in south Etruria. The Biedano region in the 5th to 1st centuries BC*, Lund University 2021. ISBN 9789189213913 https://portal.research.lu.se/sv/publications/cultural-and-socio-political-development-in-south-etruria-the-bie

The town of Blera is situated in the southern parts of Etruria and has a history spanning more than 2,500 years. Its location between the two important Etruscan cities of Tarquinii and Caere has meant that Blera, for the entire Etruscan period (c. 750–50 BC), alternatively has found itself in either city's sphere of interest. When Rome begins her expansion into Etruria, following the fall of the south Etruscan city of Veii in 396 BC, Blera is to be found in a conflict area between Tarquinii and Rome. The view of the Romanisation of Italy has shifted since the imperialistic interpretations of the early 20th century. According to this view, Roman culture and the Latin

language were imposed on the native populations, considered part of an inevitable process. However, later scholarship has begun to question and challenge this view, developing alternative models for how to interpret the development. Rather than treating the Roman expansion on imperialistic grounds, it should be seen as a very complex political and social game, which in the end brought about the political unification of the Apennine peninsula under Rome. The driving mechanisms behind the development were the ambitions of Italy's élite families. Their primary focus was to create and preserve power, influence, wealth, and prestige for their own lineage. Their cities of origin, with belonging territories, became the tools with which they could achieve this. The consequence of this power struggle was that the city-states on the peninsula united in a federation, led by Rome. However, the creation of this new federal state did not immediately substitute the earlier local identities and cultures: the élite families of Etruria did not consider themselves "Roman", because of their new alliances with Rome, but they could foresee that if they wanted to remain important and influential, Rome was the horse to bet on. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the cultural and socio-political development in the region where we find Blera when Rome and Tarquinii sought to expand their political influence. The main material groups studied for this thesis consist of the settlement types uncovered in earlier field surveys, tombs and necropoleis, the road network, epigraphic material, and the works of ancient authors.

Cecilia Sandström, Encountering environments. Natural conditions for subsistence and trade at Monte Polizzo, Sicily, 650–550 BC, Gothenburg University 2021. ISBN 9789180094061 http://hdl.handle.net/2077/67599

The overall aim of this thesis is to deepen our knowledge about indigenous western Sicilians commonly called the Elymians and, ultimately, to recognise them as independent actors in Sicilian history. A vital part of this endeavour is to assess the Elymian role in regional trade and to evaluate the subsistence challenges they faced. Monte Polizzo, inhabited for just 75 years (625-550 BC), has been considered suitable as a model for discussing these topics. Situated in western Sicily it was strategically situated with an excellent vantage point between the Phoenician settlement of Motya, the Greek settlement of Selinus, and the indigenous settlement of Segesta. The first step on this path is to balance representations of various ancient peoples and their actions. The theoretical approaches applied bring the focus to how peoples in the region interacted. Greco-centric discourse is bypassed in favour of approaching the archaeological record from the Elymian perspective. In addition, a holistic theory about nature-human interaction and the functions of various subsystems implemented in the settlement structure is applied. An important factor in this work is to understand in full the environmental complexity of the site and its surroundings. The methodology used to address this is compiled available palynological and geomorphological information. In order to understand the significance of and navigational possibilities of the rivers draining Monte Polizzo, a geomorphological river assessment have been commissioned. In a second step, I evaluate imported archaeological material found at the site—with specific regards to faunal and palaeobotanical analyses—as well as imported transport amphorae. The significance of the Monte Polizzo amphorae assemblage is compared in quantity and variety to other indigenous settlements in the region in order to understand the trade network in a wider Mediterranean context. This included gateways through which the Monte Polizzians acquired imported products. An overall analysis of the archaeological material at Monte Polizzo shows there were different levels of economic resources in different domestic contexts. Nevertheless, the large number of imported transport amphorae from Etruria, Corinth, and Eastern Aegean production centres found in all the domestic and communal contexts suggest that trade was a vital part of this society. The study further shows, that the Monte Polizzians were not limited to trading in the markets of Selinus or Motya. Instead, rivers and estuaries were an important component in how they connected with overseas traders and other various networks. The inhabitants initially had enough land for the settlements to subsist within a radius of about 5-10 km. Adjoining river valleys were used for agriculture, as pastures, and short distance transhumance. The Monte Polizzians were engaged in a multi-cropping fail-safe system to secure subsistence if environmental changes occurred. However, the investigation demonstrates that the Monte Polizzians exceeded the settlement's carrying capacity only in 75 years. This is based the on combined results of environmental studies exhibiting considerable ground on which to draw such a conclusion. For example: deforestation due to increasing need for timber, degraded soils due to pastoral activities, and a constant evolvement towards marshier landscapes and possibly, consequently, malaria. These factors combined to result in less land for agricultural and pastoral usage. The fire that ruined the settlement in 550 BC might have been just one catastrophe out of many long- and short-term environmental changes that caused the permanent abandonment of the area. If that was in fact the case, then this final blaze was not merely something that happened to the Monte Polizzians but an event that arose—like much else this work has shown—out of a complex of decisions made by an active and engaged people.

Fredrik Sixtensson, Dēmokratia. The prehistory of a word in relation to the Greek typology of constitutions, Uppsala University 2021.

http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-455670

This thesis discusses how the term δημοκρατία relates to the Classical Greek typology of constitutions. The two other major constitutional terms, μοναρχία and όλιγαρχία, have another suffix than δημοκρατία. As there are no explanations for this division between -αρχία and -κρατία in Classical Greek literature, the thesis attempts an explanation through investigating and comparing the words underlying these suffixes, ἀρχή and κράτος. It has often been assumed that ἀρχή refers to less oppressive power than κράτος. Older scholarship has also held that δημοκρατία is calqued on μοναρχία and όλιγαρχία but with the suffix changed, which could possibly highlight the pejorative character of δημοκρατία. This thesis considers that assumption an article of faith: the chronology of the terms (probably μοναρχία—δημοκρατία—όλιγαρχία) in fact suggests that it is -αρχία that is pejorative: ὀλιγαρχία was coined, in a time when μοναρχία was in disrepute, probably as a way to criticize moderate democrats resisting "radical democracy" in Athens for being tyrants in disguise. This criticism was possible because ἀρχή, due to political developments in radically democratic Athens, was polysemous and could refer both to supreme power and to non-supreme offices. Όλιγαρχία could then technically refer to both those who wanted fewer offices and to those who wanted a few to rule supreme, but the morphological resemblance to μοναρχία rather implied the latter even when referring to the former. As for κράτος, the thesis argues that it is rooted in hubris, but makes it possible to construct justice out of hubris. Furthermore, it is argued that κράτος can be understood as approaching legitimate power, at least in tragedy and in the epics. It was strongly connected to Zeus and to manhood, to forthrightness and to the capacity of creating military victories (the latter being a reason for the common mistranslation of κράτος as "victory"). Negative allusions to kratos in Archaic poetry indicate that kratos by then was considered a dead or dormant capacity that should lie dead or dormant. It is possible that δημοκρατία revived this capacity; that the term implies a kind of transgression that also serves to re-establish legitimate monarchic power (monarchic because the collective Dēmos is one). No definitive conclusions can, however, be drawn. Although the collective dēmos is often portrayed as Zeus or as a king in contemporary art, this is possibly an effect of the word rather than its cause. In the end, the conclusion that can be drawn without too much speculation is that δημοκρατία was so named either because the democrats claimed supreme power over and beyond that of the magistrates, neutralizing the notion of rank, or because -αρχία was considered a slur, or both.

Oda Elisabeth Wiese Tvedt, *Plato's* Republic *on democracy*. *Freedom, fear and tyrants* everywhere, Uppsala University 2021. http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-456529

This thesis poses the question "What is the critique of democracy in Plato's Republic?" It is not the first to do so. But contrary to standard readings, this thesis does not assume neither epistemological nor elitist explanations. Rather, it sees the Kallipolis, "the beautiful city in words" as predicated on a particular anthropology. This theory of human nature, which claims that it is human to be greedy for wealth, sex, and power is contributed by Glaucon, Socrates' main interlocutor in the dialogue. Noting this, the argument of this thesis makes the following interpretational claims about the Republic: First, I claim that the Kallipolis should be read as an answer to the following question: what would a just city look like given the anthropology of Glaucon? The second claim informing this thesis is the following: reading the Republic itself as challenging this anthropology, the function of the anthropology it provides is not so much a positive theory of human nature as it is revealing of what Glaucon, in most regards a paradigmatic Athenian citizen, thinks is human nature. His ideas and character are thus central to my reading of the Republic. What has this got to do with democracy? Glaucon's beliefs, ideas, and his character can not be understood without reference to the society which has produced him, that is, the democratic polis of Ancient Athens. This premise is inserted by the city-soul analogy, a central tenet of the argument of the Republic. As this thesis argues, the tripartite soul provides an explanatory model which accounts for why and how the human soul is moldable and plastic. Furthermore, the thesis contributes to the issue of akrasia, by that it based on this interpretation becomes possible to say that cases of akrasia,—breakdowns of rationality—differ in its causes like the souls of humans differ in their internal constitutions: humans, the Republic postulates, simply attribute different weight to different reasons, depending on what part of our soul rules, and hence, what the soul has set as its "good". Building on this account of individual decision-making, this thesis offers a twofold analysis of how the interaction between regime and man is portrayed in the Republic, first with regard to the social institutions, secondly with regard to the political institutions.

This analysis is based on the premise that the *Kallipolis* represents an implicit critique against democratic Athens, but rather than being an ideal to offset democratic shortcomings, I argue that the *Kallipolis* is the realization of democratic desires combined with a need for justice. If, and only if, Glaucon's is the true anthropology of man, is *Kallipolis* the most just state. But, as this thesis will show, Glaucon's anthropology is not universalizable, but is rather an expression of the particularly democratic anthropology. Ultimately, Socrates will show that if allowed to evolve unchecked, the natural culmination of the democracy is tyranny. In order to make this argument,

the *Republic* mobilizes tropes related to tyranny which already abound within democratic and dissenting discourse, in order to posit the democratic value of "freedom" as closely related to the tyrannical lust for power. Following this interpretation, the answer to the initial question is that the *Republic* criticizes democracy's institutional practices, poetic tradition, and theoretical ideals showing how democracy instills in its citizens the kind of desires and values that will make them susceptible to the tyrannical coups which the Athenians of the 5th century BC seemed more than eager to avoid. In my reading of the *Republic*, the main threat was not outside forces, but their own desires and internal constitutions. Only through developing self-knowledge in the philosophical sense can the Athenian, represented by Glaucon, truly learn to guard himself against tyranny from within.

Myrto Veiko, Spatial paths to holiness. Literary "lived spaces" in eleventh-century Byzantine saints' lives, Uppsala University 2020.

http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-418804

This thesis explores literary spatialities, that is the notion of space and its agency in comprehending the deeper plot and meaning of two 11th-century Byzantine hagiographical texts: the Life of St Lazaros from Mount Galesion, written by Gregory the Cellarer (Γρηγορίου του κελλαρίτη Βίος Λαζάρου τοῦ ἐν τῷ Γαλησίω), and the Life of St Symeon the New Theologian, written by Niketas Stethatos (Νικήτα Στηθάτου Βίος Άγίου Συμεών τοῦ Νέου Θεολόγου). The study proposes a narratological inquiry of the broader meaning of "spatialities" in Byzantine texts, which focuses on the employment of a "spatial" language or "spatial" narrative techniques and strategies. In this direction, it adopts an interdisciplinary methodological toolbox shared among literary, spatial and anthropological studies. The interdisciplinary approach of the study aspires to outline the field of spatial studies as an area of research, where traditional approaches to hagiography (literary, historical, anthropological) can be combined through their common and inherent "cultural component".

The rationale of this study is based on the conception of the Byzantine world as made of spaces that were constantly formed and transformed by people according to their cultural agenda and the political changes. Henri Lefebvre's concepts of "perceived, conceived and lived social space" are used towards a reconstruction of the experience of spaces through their particular literary expressions so as to allow an insight on Byzantine society and culture. Spaces as well as social practices, which are spatially enacted and performed, are reflected in the narratives. By means of the spatial-narratological inquiry, this thesis aims to answer questions around the process and the meaning of holification. What kind of experiences does the process of holification of a human, as conveyed by literature, implicate?

What corporeal senses and what corporeal and subsequent mental changes are implied by the texts to have been engaged in this process? How do different notions of space serve as "vehicle" for the literary expression of these empathetic experiences, senses, and changes? How are literary spatialities used as narrative devices by Byzantine authors in order to persuade their audience about the existence and the meaning of holification?

It is argued that an emphasis on either the horizontal or on the vertical axis was a main component of distinct narrative strategies employed by the two authors in order to demonstrate two different stories of holification. In specific, it is proposed that the two stories display two different local knowledges of a single world system (Byzantine, Christian and Mediterranean), which emerged in a subjective and situational way and were expressed through two different theological approaches to monastic asceticism. Last but not least, due to its central role in the narratives, space is scrutinized as a vehicle for the reception of the texts: it is argued that the dynamic and flexible narrative landscape, offered to an ideal reader by the two hagiographical texts, diachronically serves as a multi-dimensional and multi-functional device for teaching a Christian human faith and practice.