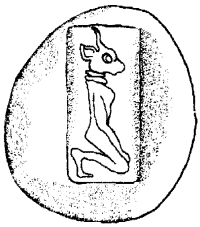
PHASIS

Greek and Roman Studies

VOLUME 28, 2025



IVANE JAVAKHISHVILI TBILISI STATE UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF CLASSICAL, BYZANTINE AND MODERN GREEK STUDIES

PHASIS is published annually by the Institute of Classical, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

13 Chavchavadze Avenue, 0179 Tbilisi, Georgia
Phone: (+995 32) 2 22 11 81
Email: phasis@tsu.ge
www.phasis.tsu.ge

„ფაზისი“ 28, 2025
ივანე ჯავახიშვილის სახელობის თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი
კლასიკური ფილოლოგიის, ბიზანტინისტიკისა და ნეოგრეცისტიკის ინსტიტუტი
ბერძნული და რომაული შტუდიები

ISSN 1512-1046

CONTENTS

Phasis 28, 2025

HEALING THE MIND: A PSYCHOTHERAPY SCENE IN EURIPIDES' *HERACLES*[*]

NINO DIANOSASHVILI

Abstract. The exodos of Euripides' *Heracles* presents a uniquely Euripidean scene of psychological healing, centered on the encounter between Heracles and Theseus. This article analyses Heracles' conscious response to the actions he committed in madness, expressed as grief (λύπη), at times overshadowed by shame (αἰδώς), and, at others, by an overwhelming sense of pollution (μίασμα). The study evaluates the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the therapeutic strategies undertaken by Heracles himself, Amphitryon, and Theseus in addressing Heracles' psychological crisis. Employing a multi-disciplinary approach, the article integrates close textual analysis with insights from contemporary psychological and psychotherapeutic frameworks. Central to the discussion is the role of Theseus as a therapeutic figure

[*] The article was prepared within the framework of the project *The Therapy of Mind and the Power of the Therapeutic Word in Ancient Greece* [YS-23-1190], funded by a research grant from the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia. I sincerely thank the Foundation for its support of this research. I would also like to express my gratitude to the organizers of the excellent conference "Ancient Greek Medicine in the European Context" (*Classics and Ancient History*, Coimbra, 2021), where I first had the opportunity to present my paper on this topic. My heartfelt thanks go to Chiara Thumiger for her continuous and generous support, thoughtful comments, and valuable suggestions. I am likewise thankful to the anonymous referees for their careful reading of the manuscript and their constructive feedback and recommendations.

who facilitates Heracles' emotional and cognitive transformation. His intervention initiates a shift in Heracles' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors, closely mirroring principles found in modern eclectic psychotherapy, particularly those drawn from body-oriented therapy and cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT).

INTRODUCTION

Tracing Psychotherapeutic Elements in Greek Literature

In Ancient Greece, understanding of the human mind extended beyond theoretical discourse and found practical application in addressing various mental conditions, as emphasized in classical scholarship, with growing attention in recent years.[1] The earliest evidence of psychotherapeutic approaches and the power of therapeutic language can already be observed in the Geometric period, in Homeric epic, both in poetic expressions and individual narrative episodes. Forms built on θελκτήρια (θελκτήριον, "charm," "spell"; θελκτήριος, "enchanting," "soothing"; e.g., θελκτήρια πάντα, *Il.* 14.215; θελκτήρια οἰδας, *Od.* 1.337) and on the idea of τέρψις (τέρψις, "enjoyment," "delight"; cf. the description of song as giving delight, *Od.* 8.45) refer to types of verbal discourse that affect and improve a person's psycho-emotional state in both epics.[2] Several episodes in the *Odyssey* further illustrate Homeric strategies for managing psychological distress. Odysseus' stay with Alcinous, particularly Demodocus' song about the fall of Troy, Odysseus' emotional reaction, and his own narration of his sufferings (*Od.* 8.521–534), demonstrates relief of grief through listening and verbal expression. Additional episodes, such as the encounters with the Lotus-Eaters (*Od.* 9.84–104) and the Sirens (*Od.* 12.167–196), depict responses to altered psychological states and forms of psychological dependency.

[1] For the sophistication of ancient conceptions of the mind, see Drabkin 1955; Entralgo 1970; Gill 1985; Hankinson 1991; Sullivan 1995; Van der Eijk 2005; Harris 2013; Thumiger 2015; 2017a; 2017b; 2020; White et al. 2020; Kazantzidis and Spatharas 2022; Thumiger 2024, etc.

[2] Entralgo 1970, 25–32.

These narratives reveal Homer's early representations of coping mechanisms and therapeutic strategies embedded within epic storytelling.[3]

In the Archaic period, Greek culture engages with the theme of psychological well-being through the voices of lyric poets such as Archilochus (fr. 128 W), Theognis (219, 335, 401, 657), and Pindar (*Pyth.* 2.21–42; 10.49–52; *Ol.* 13.47–48; 13.70–91; *Nem.* 11.48; *Isthm.* 7.45–48), who echo the call to preserve moderation—"nothing in excess" (μηδὲν ἄγαν). Their poetry presents moderation as a principle for maintaining harmony, balance, and the integrity of life, offering a path toward psychological equilibrium—a concern that finds a parallel in the philosophical thought of the same period, particularly in Pythagorean teaching, which emphasizes harmony, psychological balance, and the cultivation of a healthy inner life.[4]

Although traces of this knowledge are discernible throughout Greek literature, its most developed and nuanced expressions emerge in the Classical period, especially in tragedy. The material preserved in the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, alongside the philosophical writings of Empedocles and Plato provides the most comprehensive articulations of psycho–therapeutic approaches in antiquity.[5] Tragedians portray various responses to psychological distress, including reassurance, advice, physical support, ritual purification, exoneration, and the rationalization of suffering (Aesch. *Eum.*; Eur. *IT, Or., HF*, *Bacch.*). In some cases, however, such responses is either absent, as with Ajax (Soph. *Aj.*), or actively rejected, as by Cassandra (Aesch. *Ag.*; Eur. *Tro.*)—reflecting a tragic failure of care.[6]

Among the extant tragedies, Euripides' *Heracles* stands out for its portrayal of a remarkable scene of psychological healing, which, I argue, represents one of the psychotherapeutic models employed by Euripides. This scene, the encounter between Heracles and Theseus, occurs in the

[3] Dianosashvili 2016, 7–20; Thumiger 2020, 742–743.

[4] Dianosashvili 2016, 20–59.

[5] Entralgo 1970, 32–108; Dianosashvili 2020.

[6] Devereux 1970, 36.

exodos of the play and illustrates a process of recovery following a profound mental crisis: upon returning home after completing the twelve labors, Heracles is seized by madness and kills his wife and children, whom he had only just rescued. When he regains his sanity, he is overwhelmed by grief and contemplates suicide. In this state of despair, Theseus arrives and offers support. Heracles gradually recovers and ultimately chooses to live, departing for Athens with Theseus (Eur. *HF* 1089–1434).

Scholarly Views on Heracles' Healing

In the tragedy, Heracles' recovery has prompted a wide range of scholarly interpretations. Sonia Pertsinidis offers a general survey of these readings.[7] Hubert Chalk and Celia James view Heracles' decision to continue living as a manifestation of a newly acquired virtue,[8] while Arthur Adkins emphasizes the role of external intervention, portraying Heracles not as self-redeemed but as rescued through the agency of Theseus.[9] William Arrowsmith and Kathleen Riley interpret his recovery as the emergence of a new inner courage grounded in love,[10] while Thalia Papadopoulou and Jacqueline de Romilly highlight a newfound commitment either to human solidarity or to an acceptance of fate.[11] Friendship is frequently identified as a central theme, functioning as a powerful antidote to despair and suffering.[12] In contrast, Jocelyn Moore emphasizes the strength, significance, and irreplaceability of familial bonds.[13] More recent approaches apply contemporary psychological frameworks to Heracles' mental state. Scholars such as Philippe Charlier, Julio López Saco, and Sonia Pertsinidis offer analyses grounded in

[7] Pertsinidis 2021.

[8] Chalk 1962, 9-10; James 1969, 19.

[9] Adkins 1966, 219.

[10] Arrowsmith 1956, 53; Riley 2008, 41–42.

[11] De Romilly 2003, 289; Papadopoulou 2004, 282.

[12] Yoshitake 1994, 151–153; Padilla 1994, 280; Barlow 1996, 14–16; Bond 1981, xxii–xxiii; Silk 1985, 2; Holmes 2008, 264; Papadimitropoulos 2008, 132; Gregory 1997, 141–149; Stafford 2012, 92.

[13] Moore 2022.

modern clinical theory,[14] while David Konstan and Robert Meagher interpret Heracles as a figure of post-war trauma, viewing his psychological breakdown through the lens of combat-related stress and its aftermath.[15] Extending these approaches, this article foregrounds Heracles' psychological crisis and recovery, emphasizing the emotional dynamics of disruption and repair in the play.

Methodological Approach

The present study adopts a multidisciplinary methodology, integrating close textual analysis of *Heracles* with insights from contemporary psychological and psychotherapeutic frameworks. This reading combines linguistic approaches, focusing on word meanings, with hermeneutic interpretation to illuminate the play's dramatic and psychological dimensions. On this foundation, I engage with classical scholarship on Greek emotional vocabulary (λύπη, "grief"; αἰδώς, "shame"; μίασμα, "pollution") and conduct a comparative analysis informed by modern psychological theory to examine the role of Theseus as a therapeutic figure responding to Heracles' psychological crisis.

HERACLES AFTER MADNESS: GRIEF, SHAME, POLLUTION, AND THE PEPLOS

The primary research questions guiding this study are: How does Euripides construct Heracles' mental state upon recovering from madness? How do Heracles, Amphitryon, and Theseus each engage with and attempt to manage this psychological condition?

According to the play, the mental condition Heracles experiences after regaining his sanity is profoundly severe. The only course of action he perceives is to end his life (1146–1154, 1247, 1301). He veils his head with a peplos (1161–1162) and withdraws from his surroundings, ceasing all communication (1205–1214, 1218). Physically weakened (1396), he is barely able to move (1402).

---

[14] Charlier 2003; López Saco 2002; Pertsinidis 2021.

[15] Konstan 2014, 4–6; Meagher 2006, 50 and 60.

In the tragedy, the term that conveys the protagonist's emotional distress is λύπη ("grief," 1388).[16] After regaining his senses, Heracles metaphorically describes his state as a "cloud of mourning" (στεναγμῶν νέφος, 1140), an image that evokes the oppressive and all-encompassing nature of his suffering. He himself later gives the name λύπη (1388) to this experience. This name clarifies what is meant by the phrase "cloud of mourning." The term occurs only once in the play, at the very end of the exodos. Through Heracles' words, Euripides presents λύπη as a complex emotional condition that closely anticipates modern understandings of depression,[17] characterized in the tragedy by two interwoven elements: shame (αἰδώς) and a sense of pollution (μίασμα).[18]

Heracles stands before a horrifying reality of his own making, the beloved family he himself has slain. He declares that from now on, all that remains to him is a future marked by a disgraced name. Heracles

[16] In Ancient Greek, the term λύπη conveyed a variety of related meanings: "pain of the body" (Pl. *Phlb*. 31c), "sad plight" (Hdt. 7.152), "pain of mind," and "grief" (Aesch. *Ag*. 791; Soph. *OC* 1217; Thuc. 6.59; Andoc. 2.8; Xen. *Hell*. 7.1.32). In Galen's usage, λύπη denotes a "chronic worry about a future threat" (Gal. *De praecogn*. 6; *De opt. corp. const*. 3; *De loc. aff*. 3.10; *De atra bile* 6; *Praesag. puls*. 3.8; *De cris*. 2.3, 2.13; *De meth. med*. 8.3, 10.4; *In Hipp. Progn*. 3.23; *Ars med*. 24; *Thras*. 40; *De temper*. 2.6, etc.). According to Susan Mattern, it is best translated as "anxiety," a precursor to modern anxiety disorders, reflecting its semantic evolution toward a psychological state closely resembling the modern concept of anxiety; see Mattern 2015. In Euripides' *Heracles*, the "anatomy" of λύπη is markedly distinct from this later meaning: it encompasses a profound sense of shame and a belief in one's own pollution, rendering Heracles incapable of coping with it and driving him to the desire for death.

[17] Depression commonly presents with low mood, fatigue, psychomotor slowing, and social withdrawal, often accompanied by impaired interpersonal functioning. For more on depression, see Harrison et al. [7]2018, 193–195, 233–236.

[18] Douglas Cairns offers a differing perspective, suggesting that λύπη, alongside αἰδώς and μίασμα, constitutes one of three equally significant components of Heracles' emotional response to his actions; see Cairns 2011, 20. Rather than treating λύπη as one component among others, however, I argue that it functions as the primary emotional category, within which αἰδώς and μίασμα are embedded as integral aspects of Heracles' experience.

longs for death as a result of the shame he has brought upon himself, believing that by ending his life, he can escape the burden of living under a name broken by dishonor (δύσκλεια, "infamy," 1152). Ashamed of having murdered his children (αἰσχύνομαι, "I am ashamed," 1160), he withdraws from his surroundings, refusing to face his friend Theseus, whom he sees approaching (1154–1156, 1199–1200). Heracles urges Theseus to leave, fearing that his pollution (μίασμα, 1233) might taint even his loyal companion.

Before explicitly naming the protagonist's mental state as λύπη, Euripides draws the audience's attention to the shame and the sense of pollution that shape the grief afflicting Heracles. Upon regaining reason, Heracles' outlook on his future is entirely defined by these two emotions. They dominate his thoughts (1155–1156, 1160–1162, 1199–1201, 1233, 1295–1297) and dictate his coping responses.

Heracles' only action after recovering his sanity is to veil his head with the peplos (1162, 1295–1297). However, this act does not aid his self-recovery. The play strongly implies that external intervention is necessary for him to begin healing. Both his stepfather Amphitryon and his friend Theseus attempt to guide him out of this mental state by urging him to do the opposite, to remove the peplos (1203, 1204–1205, 1215–1217, 1226).

Before examining the implications of removing the peplos, it is important to first consider the significance of veiling one's head. Douglas Cairns argues that covering the head with a peplos is a typical response to shame, one that Heracles exemplifies, functioning within a complex interplay of shame, eye contact, and gaze.[19] While I concur with Cairns that Heracles' act of veiling his head and avoiding the gaze of others (1159–1162) reflects his overwhelming sense of shame, I propose that the gesture carries a broader, multidimensional significance.[20] This complexity likely explains the persistent insistence of Amphitryon (1204–1205) and Theseus (1203) that Heracles remove the peplos, perceiving this act

[19] Cairns 1993, 291–292.

[20] In ancient Greek culture, the correlation between veiling or concealment and emotions such as shame, grief, and weeping is further explored in Cairns' own publications following his 1993 work; see Cairns 2009 and 2011.

not only as a rejection of shame but also as a crucial first step toward psychological restoration.

Covering one's body is a natural response to Heracles' mental state, for the urge to hide is a central feature of shame, one of the most intense and suppressive emotions a person can experience. Shame is inherently social,[21] presupposing the presence of others who might witness the shameful act or condition,[22] and involving a sense of being devalued in their eyes, a devaluation that impacts not only one's judgments and behavior, but the entire self or personality. Broadly, the impulse to hide or conceal oneself is thus an automatic psychological defense, a protective response to this emotion.[23] This dynamic is clearly reflected in the dramatic moment when Heracles' sense of shame intensifies upon Theseus' arrival, prompting him to cover his head with the peplos just before Theseus approaches.

Contemporary research suggests that basic emotions are expressed in similar ways across cultures and historical periods,[24] a view also attested by ancient Greek literary and medical texts.[25] Notable contributions to this discussion are those of Jennifer Kosak and Chiara Thumiger. Kosak argues that in the 5th century B.C., self-covering or veiling functioned as

---

[21] Luna Dolezal offers a significant and nuanced exploration of the emotion of shame and its social dimensions; see Dolezal 2015a and 2015b. According to her research, the experience of shame is fundamentally embedded in the social realm and often manifests through bodily expressions, such as the act of covering oneself; see Dolezal 2015a. In this context, Thumiger's observation is particularly noteworthy: she distinguishes shame from other emotions by emphasizing its uniquely intense social structure, which surpasses the social dimensions typically attributed to emotions such as fear and anger; see Thumiger 2017a, 359; see also Kosak 2022, 128.

[22] It is indeed possible for an individual to experience shame while physically alone; however, in such cases, the presence of an imagined or remembered observer is implied; see Lazarus 1991, 240–247.

[23] Tanner 2020/2021, 33; Lewis 2008.

[24] Ben-Ze'Ev 2000, 510–529; Lewis, Haviland-Jones, and Barrett [3]2008; Dolezal 2015a; 2015b.

[25] Kazantzidis and Spatharas 2022.

a visual expression of shame, whether elicited by external circumstances or by one's own loss of self-control.[26]

In exploring the relationship between shame and concealment/covering, Thumiger draws on both the Hippocratic Corpus and Late Antique medical sources, in particular the nosological treatises of Aretaeus of Cappadocia, and defines shame as "a painful feeling of humiliation or distress caused by the consciousness of wrong or foolish behavior, a loss of respect or esteem, or dishonor."[27] Shame is considered as an essentially bodily manifestation; however, subjective experiences, including shame, do not constitute a subject of medical interest in that period. Physicians become more sensitive to and more deeply engaged with emotions in Late Antiquity, when these phenomena are subsequently examined in a more systematic and comprehensive manner.[28] Classical Greek drama, by contrast, provides a distinct and especially rich perspective. As Thumiger observes, "fifth-century drama reaches unique depths in exploring the interlacing of felt embodiment, body-image, and projected visibility to an audience, all of which converge in the experience of being shamed, alongside the ethical and societal consequences that shameful conduct brings."[29] An analysis of the shame experienced by the protagonist in *Heracles* supports this observation: Euripides portrays shame in all its complexity, offering emotional insights that closely resonate with contemporary psychological understandings of the emotion.

Significantly, Heracles' act of veiling with the peplos reflects not only his sense of shame but also his belief in his own pollution. This gesture is not only an attempt to avoid eye contact with his friend because of shame, but also a means of protecting Theseus from the perceived pollution caused by Heracles' violent deeds. Believing himself to be a source of μίασμα due to the atrocities committed during his madness, Heracles seeks to shield the innocent from his defilement (1161–1162, 1233). According to Cairns, in tragedy, shame and pollution are closely

[26] Kosak 2022.
[27] Thumiger 2022, 145.
[28] Thumiger 2022.
[29] Thumiger 2022, 168.

interwoven. I concur with this view, arguing that these two aspects form an inseparable unity within the hero, even at the level of expression, and together constitute a complex response to his condition.[30]

The peplos functions as a kind of boundary through which Heracles physically separates himself from everyone and everything, creating a space into which neither anyone nor anything can enter. Paradoxically, this very gesture of separation underscores his continued connection to the world around him. His withdrawal, as previously discussed, is motivated not merely by detachment but by care—a desire to protect others from the danger he believes he poses. It is evident that Heracles still embodies the constructiveness and altruism that typically characterize the hero in Greek mythology.

These are not the only significances. Beyond concealing himself, the gesture serves as a visible, physical manifestation of Heracles' suffering and aligns with his expression of grief. In Greek literature, grief is often intertwined with shame. A connection already evident in the *Odyssey* 8. 83–86, where Odysseus, moved to tears by the bard's song, draws his mantle over his head to hide his weeping from the Phaeacians out of shame. As Cairns emphasizes such acts of veiling do not simply conceal emotion but also serve to display it, making grief visible while simultaneously registering the social sensitivity characteristic of shame, so that concealment itself becomes a form of multivalent expression.[31]

In this way, the peplos emerges as a multivalent symbol, encompassing both psychological and ethical dimensions. It becomes the only tangible link between Heracles and the external world, and its removal marks a crucial turning point: it re-establishes his connection with that world, symbolizing the end of his isolation and the dissolution of the emotional boundary between himself and others. Moreover, the removal of the peplos initiates the unraveling of the mental complex at the core of his grief, laying the groundwork for emotional recovery.[32]

---

[30] Cairns 1993, 291–292; 2011, 20.

[31] Cairns 2009.

[32] Dianosashvili 2020, 238.

REVEALING THE FACE: INTERVENTION AND THE FIRST STEP TOWARD RECOVERY

A crucial moment in Heracles' psychological recovery involves revealing his concealed face, an act encouraged by both Amphitryon and Theseus. Amphitryon implores him to expose his face to the sun (1204–1205), while Theseus urges him to lift his gaze and show his face to his friends (1215, 1226). Amphitryon's appeal highlights the symbolic importance of nature, particularly sunlight, as a restorative force. As Kosak observes, Amphitryon sees no hope for divine or human aid.[33]

For the ancient Greeks, the natural world and each of its elements were seen as sources of vitality and health. They believed that light and a clear sky had the power to cleanse and clarify the mind.[34] In an effort to help Heracles, Amphitryon seeks to harness the sun's healing energy. In the tragedy, the sun stands in opposition to the darkness within Heracles (σκότος, "darkness," 1159, 1216), which serves as another manifestation of his λύπη, and which is also physically represented around him by the use of the peplos. Thus, the gesture of turning his face toward the sun could signify a reestablishment of contact with the external world and a potential dispersal of his grief.

Amphitryon demonstrates profound compassion and empathy toward Heracles: he weeps, touches his son's cheeks, beard, and hands, and attempts to influence him through pleas and tears (1204–1213). However, Heracles remains unresponsive, offering no verbal or physical reaction. Amphitryon's suggestion is by no means unrealistic. In contemporary psychiatry and psychotherapy, both natural sunlight and artificial bright light are used in the treatment of various forms of depression, particularly Seasonal Affective Disorder (SAD).[35] Amphitryon's appeal can be

---

[33] Kosak 2004, 168–169.

[34] In *Bacchae* (1264**)**, Kadmos invokes a traditional cultural practice to help Agave recover from an altered state of consciousness, urging her to look at the "cloudless sky." His intervention proves effective, as she soon begins to regain clarity (1267); see Devereux 1970, 41; Thumiger 2007, 13–14, 99.

[35] Rosenthal and Blehar 1989; Harrison et al. [7]2018, 769–770; Dianosashvili 2020, 238–240.

interpreted as Euripides' intuitive anticipation of ideas that modern science has since articulated through empirical methods.

It is noteworthy that Heracles' reaction also closely aligns with the expectations modern psychiatrists and psychotherapists have regarding the effectiveness of light therapy. Light therapy tends to be most effective when depression is caused by biological or seasonal factors: the onset of autumn or winter, or the reduction in daylight hours.[36] In contrast, coping with Heracles' grief requires addressing the underlying beliefs that constitute his emotional state, particularly his feelings of shame and his conviction that he is polluted. This becomes evident in the words of both Heracles (1153–1156, 1255–1310) and Amphitryon (1199–1201). Heracles is ashamed before other people and believes he must first face them. He thinks he is polluted, and this belief is grounded in a whole network of underlying convictions. Sunlight, however, has its limitations. While it can elevate low mood and alleviate distress on a physical level, it cannot dispel feelings of shame in relation to others, nor can it assist in cognitive restructuring. In the tragedy, the "cloud of mourning" that surrounds Heracles could not be dispersed by sunlight alone. Light could have served only as an auxiliary aid in coping with his grief, but not as a decisive force in overcoming it.

Within the tragedy, Theseus stands as the only figure able to lead Heracles through a therapeutic process that reshapes both his emotions and cognition. Through his intervention, Heracles' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors begin to shift. The following analysis explores the contrasting approaches of Theseus and Amphitryon, highlighting how Theseus' therapeutic strategy sets Heracles on the path to healing.

Georges Devereux characterizes Theseus' intervention as a form of supportive therapy.[37] It is important to note that both Theseus and Amphitryon display a similarly supportive attitude toward Heracles, offering understanding without judgment. Neither regards Heracles as an offender, nor do they question that his madness is the result of Hera's vengeance (1042–1228; 1125–1126; 1189–1191). They share identical

[36] Terman and Terman 2005; Wirz-Justice 2006.

[37] Devereux 1970, 39.

intentions behind their actions: both strive selflessly to help Heracles. However, the paths they take to achieve this goal differ significantly. Not only do they vary in their emotional attitudes toward Heracles, but also in the means and forms through which their assistance is offered.[38]

Amphitryon shows empathy toward Heracles, yet empathy alone proves insufficient to effect any positive change in Heracles' condition. Theseus, too, expresses compassion and solidarity with his friend (1195, 1203, 1236, 1238, 1240). He presents himself as a fellow sufferer (1236, 1238, 1240), but crucially, he refuses to let emotion or persuasion dictate Heracles' future. Theseus' empathy is accompanied by firmness: he takes a deliberate lead, guiding Heracles emotionally, cognitively, and physically, and succeeds in doing so with a combination of compassion, authoritative steadiness, and, when necessary, categorical insistence. His words are delivered more as imperatives than as requests (1215–1217; 1226–1227).[39] While Amphitryon's words convey a sense of helplessness and despair (1113, 1115, 1141, 1181, 1194–1197, 1204–1213), Theseus' speech is marked by fearlessness and courage. Theseus offers an effective counter to Heracles' grief by maintaining emotional composure in the face of it (1214–1228), responding instead with an affirmation of loyalty and friendship (1220–1225). He reminds Heracles of their bond and of his own past act of heroism in rescuing him from Hades (1221–1222)[40] stating

[38] Dianosashvili 2020, 242–245.

[39] Theseus' authority is effective only because Heracles accepts it. His attitude toward Theseus is evident even in silence: a silent hand gesture in response to Theseus' appeal (1207–1208) contrasts with his unresponsive silence toward Amphitryon's emotional words.

[40] According to Greek mythology, the benefactions of Heracles to humanity and the cosmic order are immeasurable. He accomplished what no mortal could: he subdued sinister forces, cleansed the world of pollution, stood against tyranny and reinstated justice, founded cities, and advanced the process of civilization. The rescue of Theseus from Hades is but one of his many heroic deeds; see Roscher, *Lex*. In the tragedy, the appearance of Theseus at such a grievous moment for Heracles and his selfless support of his friend reflects not only Theseus' loyalty and the responsibilities inherent in friendship, but also serves as

that he will never abandon his friend in times of hardship (1223–1225). In the tragedy, Theseus is not a sensitive friend but a motivator of action, a person who stands firmly by his position and demands active steps from Heracles.

Some scholars view Theseus' intervention as a therapeutic model grounded in friendship: Bennett Simon describes this as a "therapy of *philia*,"[41] while Brooke Holmes suggests that Euripides presents friendship as a form of panacea, an alternative to both physical and symbolic death brought about by overwhelming grief.[42] I argue, however, that although the bond between Theseus and Heracles undoubtedly plays a crucial role in the latter's restoration, it constitutes only one among several factors contributing to the effectiveness of Theseus' intervention.

Amphitryon focuses on Heracles' overall condition, particularly his isolation and grief, but his approach proves ineffective. Unlike Amphitryon, Theseus attends not only to this general state, but also to the specific, painful elements of Heracles' grief, including social withdrawal and shame (1214–1217, 1225–1228), as well as his belief in personal pollution (1218–1220).[43] While Amphitryon relies on external, natural forces to bring about healing, Theseus adopts a more interpersonal strategy, emphasizing the restorative power of human connection.

Theseus' intervention exemplifies a flexible, individualized mode of healing that closely resembles modern eclectic psychotherapy which combines different psychotherapeutic approaches within a single framework and enables the therapist to respond flexibly to each individual's unique needs.[44] Similarly, Theseus adapts his approaches to Heracles' psychological crisis. Initially, his therapeutic action is focused solely on

---

an artistic expression of cosmic order: good deeds circulate perpetually in the world and, at the right time and place, return to their benefactor.

[41] Simon 1978, 101.

[42] Holmes 2008.

[43] In these lines (1218–1220), "why do you wave your hand at me, signifying murder? Is it that I may not be polluted by speaking with you?" (all translations are from Coleridge 1891 unless otherwise noted), Theseus reveals to Heracles his awareness of Heracles' sense of pollution and does not agree with him.

[44] Beutler 1983; Norcross 1986; Smid et al. 2015.

overcoming shame, marking the beginning of a supportive process grounded in openness toward those he trusts. First and foremost, Theseus encourages Heracles to communicate through bodily expression. His appeal, "show to your friends your face" (1215), suggests emotional openness toward loyal companions and the rebuilding of trust.[45] Likewise, "look on me" (1226), emphasizes re-establishing a bond with the external world through eye contact, initiating a path toward overcoming shame.[46]

Theseus' understanding of the body as a medium for expressing psychological states anticipates core principles of body-oriented psychotherapy, which treats bodily gestures, postures, and muscular responses as integral to emotional regulation and trauma processing. This somatic approach recognizes the body not as a passive recipient of psychic distress, but as an active site for recovery.[47] Modern mental health research further supports the psychological significance of such embodied interactions. Eye contact, in particular, plays a vital role in building and maintaining social bonds: it communicates trust and goodwill, fosters interpersonal connection, and signals openness to the other's perspective. For individuals experiencing shame, who may instinctively avert

[45] φίλοισιν ὄμμα δεικνύναι τὸ σόν (1215). In Euripides' tragedy, this line is addressed by Theseus to Heracles and may be translated literally as "show your eyes to your friends." In Ancient Greek, ὄμμα most commonly means "eye," though it can also denote "face." In line 1215 ("show your eyes to your friends / show your face to your friends"), the choice of ὄμμα, given its semantic range, is likely not accidental. Theseus' later appeal, βλέψον πρὸς ἡμᾶς ("look on me," 1226), further emphasizes the direction of Heracles' gaze. In both instances, Theseus' exhortation may be understood as a call for Heracles to reestablish visual—and thus interpersonal—contact with his friend(s).

[46] Psychologists commonly describe the physical manifestations of shame as cowering, shrinking inward, lowering one's head, and avoiding eye contact; see Ben-Ze'Ev 2000, 510–529; Lewis 2008; Lewis, Haviland-Jones, and Barrett [3]2008; and Dolezal 2015a; 2015b.

[47] On body-oriented psychotherapy, see Reich 1933; Lowen 1958; 2012; Levine and Frederick 1997; Staunton 2002; Hartley 2009; Marlock et al. 2015.

their gaze or withdraw, restoring eye contact can function as a somatic mechanism for emotional reintegration.[48]

In this light, Theseus' appeals, "show your face to your friends" (1215), and "look on me" (1226), carry psychological weight beyond their dramatic function, serving as embodied interventions aimed at re-establishing Heracles' relational self and anchor him back in the human community. However, even these words have no effect on him; Heracles remains motionless. At this point Theseus' authority and categorical tone are translated into action: he takes it upon himself to draw Heracles out of his withdrawal, removing the peplos from his friend with his own hands.

> Heracles: "Why then have you unveiled my head to the sun?"
>
> Theseus: "Why have I? You, a mortal, cannot pollute what is of the gods." (1231–1232)

In doing so, Theseus moves beyond verbal appeal and catalyzes a turning point in the narrative, which ultimately prompts Heracles to break his silence and re-enter the world of human connection.

Heracles emerges in the tragedy as a hero shaped by a culture of shame.[49] Within this cultural framework, fame and glory represent the highest values, serving as markers of social respect and moral standing. Conversely, the gravest personal misfortune is the loss of one's name and honor, that is, the collapse of public identity and esteem.[50] Heracles' grief over the permanent separation from his wife and children is deep and overwhelming (1132, 1136, 1140, 1374–1376); however, his desire for death arises not from this loss but from the defilement of his own name

---

[48] Eye contact encompasses a range of forms—brief, prolonged, intense, or accidental—each conveying distinct social meanings that vary across cultures. In many Western contexts, it is associated with confidence, attentiveness, and sincerity, whereas in many Eastern contexts, direct gaze may be perceived as impolite or even confrontational. For the nuances of eye contact, see Hall 1973; Knapp, Hall, and Horgan [8]2013; Burgoon, Guerrero, and Floyd 2016. Theseus' appeal "look on me" (1226) may thus be understood as an instance of brief, affiliative eye contact, signaling trust and solidarity.

[49] On the shame-based culture in ancient Greece, see Dodds 1951, 1–27.

[50] Benedict 1947.

(δύσκλεια, 1152; see also 1148–1152) by his own hands and the consequent expectation of total social and universal rejection (1281–1290, 1295–1296). Ashamed and regarding himself as polluted, he asks, "Why then should I go on living? What profit is there in a life that is useless and impious?" (1301–1302),[51] and finding no answer, he longs for death. Within a shame-based value system, the self is defined externally—through reputation and the gaze of others—rather than inwardly, through private emotion or conscience. Therefore, the loss of public honor and the expectation of universal exclusion outweigh even the deepest personal loss. Even at this stage in the unfolding tragedy Heracles remains a figure shaped by the values of a shame culture.[52] His very first question concerns Theseus' perception of his actions, as he seeks his friend's judgment, asking: "O Theseus, did you witness this struggle with my children?" (1229). Only after learning that Theseus knows everything, yet still chooses to stand by him (1230, 1238, 1240), Heracles utters his desire to die (1241, 1247).

RESHAPING THE MIND: THESEUS AND THE COGNITIVE PATH OF HERACLES

Euripides invites the audience to observe how Theseus' reasoning methodically reshapes Heracles' mental state. Carefully following Heracles' line of thought, Theseus offers immediate and purposeful responses to each of his statements. Far from spontaneous or merely reactive, his intervention unfolds according to a clear and deliberate structure, closely anticipating the principles of modern cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT), an evidence-based approach that addresses maladaptive mental states by identifying, challenging, and reframing distorted cognitions.[53] Like CBT, Theseus' method facilitates cognitive restructuring, guiding

[51] Author's literal translation (τί δῆτά με ζῆν δεῖ; τί κέρδος ἔξομεν / βίον γ᾽ ἀχρεῖον ἀνόσιον κεκτημένοι).

[52] Even after his grief lifts and reason returns, Heracles remains shaped by shame culture. He laments that his children will gain nothing from his fame and glory (εὔκλεια, "glory," 1370): "You have had no profit from my triumphs…" (1368–1370).

[53] On CBT, see Ellis 1962; Beck 1979; Beck et al. 1979; Beck ^{2}2011; Solso, MacLin, and MacLin ^{8}2008; and Wenzel, Brown, and Beck 2009.

Heracles to replace destructive beliefs with more adaptive thought patterns and thus fostering emotional recovery.

It is noteworthy that even the authoritative empathy displayed by Theseus resonates with one of the fundamental principles of CBT: engaging with the individual empathetically while firmly guiding them toward cognitive transformation. In times of crisis, empathy within the CBT framework helps to relieve emotional tension, reduce psychological distress, and transform the therapeutic relationship into a safe space. This, in turn, enables the person to articulate their thoughts openly, thereby fostering trust, which is an essential precondition for the success of cognitive intervention. Meanwhile, authoritativeness and assertiveness, when combined with compassion, serve to prompt the individual toward cognitive change and function as catalysts for psychotherapeutic progress.[54]

Cognitive restructuring typically consists of four main steps: (1) identifying problematic thoughts and beliefs, which often reflect negative views of the self, the world, or the future; (2) recognizing cognitive distortions embedded within these thoughts; (3) challenging or confronting these distorted beliefs; (4) constructing new cognitive frameworks and, based on these, developing new constructive behaviors. All four stages of cognitive restructuring are clearly discernible in the tragedy.

The self-destructive thoughts expressed by Heracles during his dialogue with Theseus, particularly his desire for death, may be regarded as the first stage of cognitive restructuring, namely, the identification of problematic thoughts and beliefs. According to Heracles' own words, the actions he committed in the state of fury exclude the possibility of any alternative outcome other than death (1241, 1247). This reasoning corresponds to one of the most dramatic forms of cognitive distortion: catastrophic thinking, in which a person interprets events through an extremely negative and pessimistic lens.

In *Heracles*, the further progression of the plot also mirrors the second stage of cognitive restructuring, which, as previously noted, involves the exploration of the underlying foundations of distorted thoughts. At this

[54] Beck 1979, 122, 213–232; Beck [2]2011, 88; Dryden 2003.

stage, the therapist seeks to identify the cognitive ground from which the client's faulty beliefs have emerged.[55] Although Theseus holds a position of authority in relation to Heracles, he is neither authoritarian nor domineering. Instead, he uses his authority to support and benefit his friend. He allows Heracles to express himself freely and does not immediately challenge his views. Rather, he listens with empathy, patience, and attentiveness.

The impact of influence depends on its motivation, context, and mode of delivery. Influence can be either constructive or harmful. When the intent is to help the target achieve beneficial outcomes, such as making sound decisions, developing effective plans, or breaking harmful patterns, and when the target's autonomy and rights are respected, such influence may be considered supportive or beneficial. By contrast, when the intent is to exercise covert control or to deceive the target into believing the induced behavior is self-directed, the influence constitutes psychological manipulation. Notably, a state of readiness or willingness on the part of the target is a necessary precondition for any form of influence to take hold.[56] In this context, Theseus does not manipulate Heracles; rather, he exerts a constructive influence on his friend. The subsequent scenes illustrate Heracles' receptivity to this influence, as he begins to openly articulate the foundations of his own thinking.

Heracles' core argument for ending his life is rooted in his understanding of μίασμα. As he claims, "when the foundation is badly laid at birth, it is necessary for the race to be cursed with woe" (1161–1162). He sees himself as a descendant of pollution: Amphitryon, his mortal father, killed Alcmene's father and married her without undergoing purification. Zeus then fathered Heracles with Alcmene. Heracles believes he has perpetuated this defilement by murdering Megara and his children (1258–1262, 1279–1280).

In ancient Greek culture, μίασμα was understood as a form of metaphysical pollution that arose in the subject as a result of committing a grave offense. It was believed that the reach of μίασμα extended far

[55] Beck 1979, 233–262; Beck [2]2011, 199–235.

[56] Braiker 2004; Kantor 2006; Simon 2010; Dianosashvili 2020, 120–137.

beyond the individual who had committed the crime. According to the ancient Greeks, μίασμα could spread to the broader community to which the individual belonged, potentially provoking the wrath of the gods not only against the person but also against the society as a whole. Therefore, purification was considered necessary both for the individual and for the community. Particularly relevant to this issue is the work of Robert Parker, who argues that, in ancient Greece, the experience of pollution was closely associated with a sense of alarm.[57] This alarm, according to Parker, stemmed not only from metaphysical pollution following a grave offense, but also from a perceived disruption of divine order, specifically, the breakdown of socio-religious structures and the collapse of legally defined oppositions. Such disturbances were understood as systemic ruptures or collapse. As a result, the bearer of μίασμα was excluded from social and religious life, not merely as a criminal, but as a potential contaminant of civic and sacred space. Parker writes, "to be polluted is to be unfit to participate in the life of the community, whether civic or religious. His presence endangers others,"[58] and, "a polluted man is not just wrong, he is out of place; his presence threatens the purity of the social and religious body."[59] According to ancient Greek belief, even the gods avoided the polluted.[60] Importantly, Parker also emphasizes that the sense of alarm evoked by pollution encompassed both anxiety and guilt. In this way, alarm functioned as both a social and individual response to the disruption of cosmic and moral order, one that demanded purification as a countermeasure.[61]

Heracles' psychological state reflects ancient Greek conceptions of the consequences of committing a grave offense. He is convinced that he is polluted both by inheritance and by his own actions, and no longer sees himself as belonging to any realm of the world. He feels that he will be rejected by everyone and everywhere, even by nature itself. For him, this

[57] Parker 1983.
[58] Parker 1983, 59.
[59] Parker 1983, 107.
[60] Parker 1983, 144–190.
[61] Parker 1983, 145–160.

condition of pollution acquires a cosmic dimension. He declares that he cannot remain in Thebes, cannot enter temples, cannot join his friends, nor can he seek refuge in any other city, as he will be marked and shunned by all as the murderer of his own wife and children (1281–1290). Neither earth, nor sea, nor rivers, nor springs will accept him (1295–1296). A life in such a state, he says, is meaningless and not worth living (1301–1302). Heracles' conscious emotional response to his actions, as a figure shaped by a shame culture, is not expressed through anxiety or guilt, but rather through λύπη, grief. Within this emotional state, shame and the conviction of pollution alternate in intensity. The latter, in turn, is experienced as an existential alienation and a sense of being rejected by the world.

Heracles' thought patterns reveal common forms of cognitive distortion, namely overgeneralization and black-and-white thinking. These types of thinking prevent an individual from perceiving the multilayered and complex nature of events or experiences, making it impossible to identify any middle ground. In overgeneralization, one or more specific negative experiences are projected onto the entire reality, the future, or one's identity as a whole. In black-and-white thinking, reality is interpreted only in extreme terms, such as good or bad, right or wrong.[62]

Heracles places himself within just such a radical framework. He does not interpret his deed as merely a single, extreme, and tragic event in his life; rather, he views his entire identity and existence through the lens of this one incident. For Heracles, pollution has become an ontological condition that defines his past, present, and future. Through this absolutized mode of thinking, he develops the conviction that he has only two options: to live a life of shame and rejection everywhere and by everyone, or to embrace death as liberation from this state.

In his effort to aid his friend, Theseus purposefully draws on the very information Heracles himself has supplied. His approach is remarkably nuanced and strategic, and may be seen as a model of the ethics of friendship and compassion. Theseus does not confront Heracles harshly—he does not tell him that he is wrong, nor does he point out any cognitive

[62] Burns 1980, 7–51.

distortions. At the same time, he neither justifies him nor denies his suffering, nor does he diminish the intensity of his experience. What Theseus rejects is only the all-encompassing character Heracles attributes to his deed; gently yet firmly, he shifts the perspective from which his ordeal is perceived and places it within a comparative context: Theseus compares his friend to the gods, who possess supreme power and authority (1316–1321). He recalls the transgressions of the gods and reminds Heracles that, despite these, they nevertheless continue to dwell on Olympus (1316–1319).[63] The actions of the gods, erroneous and often morally questionable, do not exclude them from dignity, authority, or the right to continue living. This idea, advanced by Theseus, directly counters Heracles' conviction that a single deed of his own, however dreadful, is sufficient to justify his permanent exclusion from the world and, moreover, to compel him to renounce life itself. By comparing Heracles' act to the deeds of the gods, the magnitude of his crime is relativized, and the absoluteness of his self-perception is shattered. In this way, Theseus creates a new conceptual space in which life remains possible alongside the past (1314–1321).

Theseus' strategy echoes the principle of cognitive reframing, a technique widely used in CBT. Cognitive reframing is a psychological method aimed at altering distorted or negative perceptions and interpretations of events or circumstances in order to reduce anxiety or self-condemnation. In the tragedy, the comparison of Heracles' deeds with the lives of the gods serves as a means of cognitively reframing Heracles' belief system within a new interpretative framework. This part of Theseus' speech corresponds to the third stage of CBT, in which, as noted above, the therapist actively challenges and deconstructs the client's distorted beliefs through rational argumentation. His subsequent intervention reflects the fourth stage of CBT, which involves helping the client construct a new cognitive framework and, on its basis, develop new patterns of behavior.[64]

---

[63] Theseus: "... still they inhabit Olympus and brave the issue of their crimes" (1319).
[64] Beck 1979, 263–305; Beck ²2011, 214–255.

At this point, Theseus directs Heracles' attention toward the future. He creates a new vision of what lies ahead, encompassing not only of continued life but also of existence beyond death. In this reality, Heracles is purified, accepted, and once again valuable to society: he must leave Thebes "for the sake of law" (νόμου χάριν, 1322), not because of pollution. In Athens, alongside Theseus, he will be purified; Theseus will grant him a home and share his wealth. The abundant gifts Theseus received for saving fourteen children's lives will belong to Heracles (1322–1330). After his death, Heracles will be honored, and a sanctuary will be dedicated to him in Athens in recognition of his heroic deeds (1331–1335). In this way, a new existential space is created for Heracles and becomes accessible through the transformation and rejection of his former beliefs.

Theseus' therapeutic intervention proves effective: Heracles undergoes a transformation in his conviction as he abandons the idea of ending his life. Suicide, which he had previously perceived as the only solution, now appears to him as an act of cowardice. He offers a moral critique of suicide as a response to suffering, arguing that one who cannot endure misfortune will likewise be terrified by an enemy (1349–1350). Heracles finds within himself a renewed strength—at this stage only cognitively—to bear the memory of his deeds, to suffer because of them, and once again to take up the bow and continue living (1378–1385). The mistaken belief has been corrected, and the hero chooses to go on living. However, the unfolding of the plot reveals that his cognitive transformation has not yet fully translated into emotional and physical vitality. Heracles is unable to stand; he lacks the strength, his body feels heavy, and his legs are weighed down like stones (1395). He is incapable of moving on his own (1402).

In this episode, Euripides presents the complexity of Heracles' psychological reality: taking a step toward life does not equate to the immediate restoration of identity. A new cognitive foundation has been laid, but it still requires reinforcement both in terms of a renewed sense of life's meaning and in Heracles' physical and emotional condition. He once again expresses the desire not to live (1397), invokes the theme of pollution, declaring himself untouchable (1399), and wishes to see his

children one last time (1406). The newly formed belief demands enactment, but Heracles himself lacks the internal resources to act on it. To begin a functional and active life, he still requires external support, which may be interpreted as the ongoing necessity of therapeutic intervention. This stage corresponds to the post-cognitive phase of transformation: an intermediate state before behavioral expression, in which the new conviction has been cognitively established but has not yet been emotionally integrated into the self or embodied in action.[65]

Theseus remains fully engaged in the process of restoring his friend. Even at this point, his unwavering support for Heracles is strongly felt, and he continues to empathize with him. He encourages Heracles by reminding him that being struck by misfortune is not a sign of weakness: "... even the strong are overthrown by misfortunes" (1396). In doing so, he once again places Heracles' plight within a broader context of heroic vulnerability. At the same time, Theseus maintains a categorical, and authoritative stance. With a single commanding word—"stop" (παῦσαι, 1398), he intervenes decisively to interrupt Heracles' downward spiral as the latter shows signs of relapse. He counters Heracles' impulse with immediate physical action: he extends his hand and offers his neck aligning himself with the courage Heracles invokes (1398–1402).

Theseus presents a coherent and purposeful approach in both word and action. In this way, he once again refutes Heracles' conviction of pollution (1400) and, with firm and uncompromising resolve, leads him forward along the proposed path. Furthermore, he refuses Heracles' plea to look upon his children one last time (1406) and does not allow him to

[65] For a detailed discussion of the post-cognitive phase and the period before behavioral expression, see Wells 1997, 86–96; Westbrook, Kennerley, and Kirk [2]2011, 165–178; Beck [2]2011, 239–259. As noted by psychologists, "awareness of one's thinking is not sufficient to bring about change; patients often need help in translating this awareness into action" (Wells 1997, 92); "it is common for clients to accept a new way of thinking but feel stuck when trying to act on it. Emotional change and behavioral change often lag behind cognitive insight"(Westbrook, Kennerley, and Kirk [2]2011, 174); and "sometimes patients intellectually believe new ideas, but the new beliefs have not yet become emotionally compelling or behaviorally implemented" (Beck [2]2011, 257).

turn back toward the past.[66] He asks pointedly: "What for? Do you think to find a drug in this to soothe your soul" (1407)? Kosak notes that the phrase ῥᾴων ἔσῃ (literally, "you will be at ease"**)**, used in line 1407, also appears in the Hippocratic corpus, where it denotes the effect of soothing remedy that provides temporary relief from pain without addressing the root cause.[67] In this context, Theseus implies that gazing upon his children might offer Heracles brief emotional relief, but ultimately impedes his recovery by reawakening his λύπη and deepening his emotional wounds. In contrast, Theseus' words and actions are directed toward stabilizing Heracles and sustaining his movement away from self-destructive impulses.

Theseus' refusal of Heracles' request, and the broader constraint he imposes on expressions of grief and familial attachment, can also be read as a curtailment of the hero's emotional needs. His approach privileges forward movement over mourning, and stability over the full articulation of loss. Accordingly, Theseus permits Heracles only a final embrace with Amphitryon, entrusting the father with the burial of Megara and the children, while Heracles departs with Theseus for Athens to begin a next chapter in his life (1421–1426). The resulting trajectory suggests a managed transition toward continued life, though at this point emotionally and existentially diminished.[68] The play concludes with Heracles exiting the stage side by side with Theseus.

According to Kosak, the effectiveness of Theseus' intervention on behalf of Heracles lies in his strategic selection of the social institutions

---

[66] According to Holmes (2008, 264–272), Theseus' approach combines compensation and enforced oblivion. He not only offers his friend a means of making amends for his loss but also aids him effacing the memory of his tragic deeds. In Holmes' interpretation, the experience or even the very concept of μίασμα functions as a form of bodily memory, an inscription of human transgression upon the physical self. Within this framework, Theseus imposes a price on Heracles' amnesty: the cost of amnesia.

[67] Kosak 2004, 172–173; on this topic, see also Van Brock 1961, 212–213.

[68] Any fuller resolution of Heracles story belongs to the broader mythological tradition beyond the play; see nn. 73, 74, and 75.

he invokes.[69] However, Kosak contends that Heracles' recovery, as portrayed in the tragedy, is ultimately implausible and should be attributed more to the playwright's dramatic skill than to psychologically realistic development. Similarly, Mills credits Heracles' healing to Euripides' literary craftsmanship.[70] However, familiarity with contemporary psychotherapeutic approaches, along with reflection on certain defining traits of Heracles' character, such as his sensitivity to social evaluation and his dependence on acceptance from his environment, may serve as the basis for an alternative interpretation.

As I have already noted, Heracles is deeply affected by the permanent separation from his wife and children. Moore argues that Heracles' emotional bond with his family is so strong that even after their deaths, he is unable to sever that connection.[71] Nonetheless, in the tragedy, Heracles, as a hero shaped by a shame culture, is ultimately defined not by grief over the loss of his family or the inability to be close to them, but by the defilement of his name by his own hand. What determines his suffering is, above all, the experience of shame (social judgment, loss of honor, and the breaking of his name) and the conviction of pollution that stems from his actions expressed as exclusion from the community and from the moral order of the world. For this reason, the overcoming of his grief is specific, becoming possible only through confronting shame and revising his understanding of pollution. If one assumes that the inner world of an individual is similarly shaped by such dynamics, then Heracles' psychological recovery, facilitated by an intervention akin to Theseus' therapeutic action, gains plausibility. Theseus does not bring about a personal or profound transformation in Heracles. He merely helps his friend out of the deadlock in which he found himself at that moment, thereby enabling him to continue living. In the broader mythological tradition,[72] after recovering from his madness, Heracles returns to his former way of life. Hera continues to give him no peace. He

[69] Kosak 2004, 151–173.
[70] Mills 2020.
[71] Moore 2022.
[72] Roscher, *Lex*.

once again engages in campaigns, conquering territories,[73] confronting gods,[74] and establishing the Olympic[75] Games.[76] What appears particularly implausible is the rapidity with which Theseus is able to heal Heracles. The dialogue between Heracles and Theseus spans only 217 lines (1212–1429). Nevertheless, Euripides masterfully condenses into this brief scene what, in reality, would unfold over numerous psychotherapeutic sessions, embracing all the critical phases: the bodily overcoming of shame, the reshaping of beliefs about personal pollution, the construction of new, hopeful visions for the future, adapting to grief, and moving forward physically, emotionally, and cognitively.

CONCLUSION

The final scenes of *Heracles* may be read as an impressive portrayal of ancient psychological insight and therapeutic practice embedded into the tragic narrative. Rather than proposing a single, linear path to recovery, Euripides dramatizes a layered, dynamic process that responds to the protagonist's shifting psychological needs. Theseus' targeted and multidimensional support guides Heracles out of his acute psychological crisis and helps alleviate the complexity of his state.

Heracles' psychological condition demands different therapeutic approaches at different stages. His physical manifestations, such as covering his head with the peplos and his inability to move, call for a body-oriented therapy, which aims to reach the psyche through somatic engagement. In contrast, his maladaptive beliefs require cognitive-behavioral techniques, focused on restructuring distorted thoughts and constructing new representations of the future. In this light, I argue that ec-

---

[73] Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.5.5, 2.6.4, 2.7.2–7.3, 2.7.5, 3.10.5, 3.12.7; Paus. 2.15.1, 3.15.3, 3.19.7, 3.20.5, 5.1.8, 5.2.1–2.2, 5.3.1, 5.3.8, 7.25.5–25.6, 8.14.1–14.6, 8.25.5, 8.47.4, 8.53.3; Diod. Sic. 4.32, 33, 68; Hyg. *Fab*. 33, 89; Ap. Rhod. 1.156–160; Plut. *Quaest. Graec*. 41.

[74] Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.6.2; Paus. 2.21.3, 10.13.4; Hyg. *Fab*. 14; Soph. *Trach.* 248; *Serv. Dan*. 8.300.

[75] Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.7.2; Paus. 5.13.1, 5.14.2–14.3, 5.8.1, 5.15.3; Diod. Sic. 4.14; Hyg. *Fab*. 273.

[76] Dianosashvili 2020, 245–246.

lectic psychotherapy, an integrative method drawing on multiple therapeutic modalities, would be a fitting model for addressing the psychological challenges faced by Heracles. In contemporary clinical settings, such integrative approaches are commonly used to treat post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and major depressive disorder (MDD), in ways that resemble the therapeutic role Theseus performs.

Theseus' intervention mirrors this integrative method. His physical encouragement, removing the peplos and helping Heracles stand and walk, reflects body-oriented therapy aimed at overcoming shame through movement. Simultaneously, his reasoned arguments for choosing life and his efforts to help Heracles envision a viable future reflect the principles of cognitive restructuring central to CBT. Heracles' acts, removing the peplos (1227–1229) and taking his first supported steps (1398, 1402), mark the embodied release of shame and despair. The persuasive dialogue reshapes Heracles' core beliefs, while the future-oriented vision constructed by Theseus provides him with a renewed schema for life both in this world and beyond.

Theseus' role is crucial. His devotion to Heracles, his courage and fearlessness in the face of his friend's crisis, combined with a rare balance of empathy, authority, and firmness, form the foundation of his therapeutic action. His intuitive grasp of Heracles' psychological condition, what could be called a kind of psychological anatomy, alongside his sequential strategy (initially addressing shame, then challenging Heracles' belief in his own pollution), his use of reasoned argument to deconstruct those beliefs, his construction of meaningful and realistic future images, his unwavering commitment to the chosen path, and the integrity between his words and actions, all of these elements work together to guide Heracles toward an outcome that neither audience nor reader could foresee upon his entry onto the stage. Theseus succeeds where both Heracles and Amphitryon had failed: he helps his friend confront and survive a grief so profound it renders even the hero powerless. Now, Heracles is ready to reintegrate into society.

Tbilisi State University, Georgia
nino.dianosashvili@tsu.ge

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adkins, Arthur W. H. 1966. "Basic Greek Values in Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Hercules Furens*." *CQ* 16.2: 193–219.

Arrowsmith, William. 1956. "Introduction to *Heracles*." In *The Complete Greek Tragedies: Euripides II*, ed. David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, 44–59. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Barlow, Shirley A., ed. and trans. 1996. *Euripides: 'Heracles*.' Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Beck, Aaron T. 1979. *Cognitive Therapy and the Emotional Disorders*. New York: Meridian.

Beck, Aaron T., A. John Rush, Brian F. Shaw, and Gary Emery. 1979. *Cognitive Therapy of Depression*. New York: Guilford Press.

Beck, Judith S. ²2011. *Cognitive Behavior Therapy: Basics and Beyond*. New York: Guilford Press.

Benedict, Ruth. 1947. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture***.** London: Secker & Warburg.

Ben-Ze'ev, Aaron. 2000. *The Subtlety of Emotions*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Beutler, Larry E. 1983. *Eclectic Psychotherapy: A Systematic Approach***.** Pergamon General Psychology Series 118. New York: Pergamon Press.

Bond, Godfrey W., ed. 1981. *Euripides: Heracles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Braiker, Harriet B. 2004. *Who's Pulling Your Strings? How to Break the Cycle of Manipulation and Regain Control of Your Life*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Burgoon, Judee K., Laura K. Guerrero, and Kory Floyd. 2016. *Nonverbal Communication*. New York: Routledge.

Burns, David D. 1980. *Feeling Good: The New Mood Therapy*. New York: William Morrow.

Cairns, Douglas L. 1993. *Aidōs: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

— 2009. "Weeping and Veiling: Grief, Display, and Concealment in Ancient Greek Culture." In *Tears in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Thorsten Fögen, 37–57. Berlin: De Gruyter.

— 2011. "Veiling Grief on the Tragic Stage." In *Emotion, Genre and Gender in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Dana Munteanu, 15–33. London: Bristol Classical Press.

Chalk, Hubert H. O. 1962. "*Aretē* and *Bia* in Euripides' *Herakles*." *JHS* 82: 7–18.

Charlier, Philippe. 2003. "Les folies d'Héraclès: Rage, fureur et délire chez le héros thébain d'Euripide et Sophocle." *Medicina nei Secoli: Arte e Scienza* 15.3: 595–613.

Coleridge, Edward P., trans. 1891. *The Plays of Euripides*. Vol. 2. London: George Bell and Sons.

De Romilly, Jacqueline. 2003. "The Rejection of Suicide in the *Heracles* of Euripides." In *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Euripides*, ed. Judith Mossman, 285–294. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Devereux, Georges. 1970. "The Psychotherapy Scene in Euripides' *Bacchae*." *JHS* 90: 35-48.

Dianosashvili, Nino. 2016. "*Šešlilobis p'enomeni evripides tragediebši*" [The phenomenon of madness in Euripides' tragedies]. Ph.D. diss., Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University.

— 2020. *Šešlili sišmage t'u šmagi šešliloba?! Lisamania evripides tragediebši: 'bakxi k'alebi,' 'herakle,' 'orestesi'* [Mad rage or raging madness?! Lyssamania in the tragedies of Euripides: *The Bacchae*, *Heracles*, *Orestes*]. Tbilisi: Logos.

Dodds, Eric R. 1951. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Dolezal, Luna. 2015a. *The Body and Shame: Phenomenology, Feminism, and the Socially Shaped Body*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.

— 2015b. "The Phenomenology of Shame in the Clinical Encounter." *Medicine, Health Care and Philosophy* 18.4: 567–576.

Drabkin, Israel E. 1955. "Remarks on Ancient Psychopathology." *Isis* 46.3: 223–234.

Dryden, Windy. 2003. "*The Cream Cake Made Me Eat It*: An Introduction to the ABC Theory of REBT." In *Rational Emotive Behaviour Therapy: Theoretical Developments*, ed. Windy Dryden, 1–21. Hove: Brunner-Routledge.

Ellis, Albert. 1962. *Reason and Emotion in Psychotherapy*. New York: Lyle Stuart.

Entralgo, Pedro Laín. 1970. *The Therapy of the Word in Classical Antiquity*, trans. L. J. Rather and John M. Sharp. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gill, Christopher. 1985. "Ancient Psychotherapy." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46.3: 307–325.

Gregory, Justina. 1997. *Euripides and the Instruction of the Athenians*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Hall, Edward T. 1973. *The Silent Language*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/ Doubleday.

Hankinson, Robert J. 1991. "Greek Medical Models of Mind." In *Psychology. Companions to Ancient Thought* 2, ed. Stephen Everson, 194–217. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harris, William V. 2013. *Mental Disorders in the Classical World.* Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 38. Leiden: Brill.

Harrison, Paul, Philip Cowen, Tom Burns, and Mina Fazel. [7]2018. *Shorter Oxford Textbook of Psychiatry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hartley, Linda, ed. 2009. *Contemporary Body Psychotherapy: The Chiron Approach*. London: Routledge.

Holmes, Brook. 2008. "Euripides' *Heracles* in the Flesh." *ClAnt* 27.2: 231–281.

James, Celia. 1969. "*Whether 'tis Nobler*... Some Thoughts on the Fate of Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Heracles*, with Special Reference to the Question of Suicide." *Pegasus* 12**:** 10–20.

Kantor, Martin. 2006. *The Psychopathy of Everyday Life: How Antisocial Personality Disorder Affects All of Us*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Kazantzidis, George, and Dimos Spatharas, eds. 2022. *Medical Understandings of Emotions in Antiquity: Theory, Practice, Suffering*. Ancient Emotions III. Trends in Classics—Suppl. 131. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Knapp, Mark L., Judith A. Hall, and Terrence G. Horgan. [8]2013. *Nonverbal Communication in Human Interaction*. Boston, Mass.: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Konstan, David. 2014. "Combat Trauma: The Missing Diagnosis in Ancient Greece?" In *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks*. The *New Antiquity*, ed. Peter Meineck and David Konstan, 1–13. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kosak, Jennifer Clarke. 2004. *Heroic Measures: Hippocratic Medicine in the Making of Euripidean Tragedy*. Studies in Ancient Medicine 30. Leiden: Brill.

— 2022. "Shame and Concealment in the Hippocratic Corpus." In *Medical Understandings of Emotions in Antiquity: Theory, Practice, Suffering***.** Ancient Emotions III. Trends in Classics—Suppl. 131, ed. George Kazantzidis and Dimos Spatharas, 123–144. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Lazarus, Richard S. 1991. *Emotion and Adaptation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Levine, Peter A., and Ann Frederick. 1997. *Waking the Tiger: Healing Trauma*. Berkeley, Calif.: North Atlantic Books.

Lewis, Michael. 2008. "Self-Conscious Emotions: Embarrassment, Pride, Shame, and Guilt." In *Handbook of Emotions (*3rd ed.*)*, ed. Michael Lewis, Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, and Lisa Feldman Barrett, 742–756. New York: Guilford Press.

Lewis, Michael, Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, and Lisa Feldman Barrett, eds. [3]2008. *Handbook of Emotions*. New York: Guilford Press.

López Saco, Julio. 2002. "El héroe griego perturbado y criminal: Heracles trágico." *Praesentia: Revista Venezolana de Estudios Clásicos* 6: 1–27.

Lowen, Alexander. 1958. *The Language of the Body*. New York: Collier Books.

— 2012. *The Voice of the Body: The Role of the Body in Psychotherapy*. Shelburne, Vt.: Alexander Lowen Foundation.

Marlock, Gustl, Halko Weiss, Courtenay Young, and Michael Soth, eds. 2015. *The Handbook of Body Psychotherapy and Somatic Psychology***.** Berkeley, Calif.: North Atlantic Books.

Mattern, Susan P. 2015. "Galen's Anxious Patients: *Lypē* as Anxiety Disorder." In Homo Patiens—*Approaches to the Patient in the Ancient World*. Studies in Ancient Medicine 45, ed. Georgia Petridou and Chiara Thumiger, 203–223. Leiden: Brill.

Meagher, Robert Emmet. 2006. *Herakles Gone Mad: Rethinking Heroism in an Age of Endless War*. Northampton, Mass.: Olive Branch Press.

Mills, Sophie. 2020. "*Look at It Carefully Now*: Athenian Tragedy and the *Talking Cure*." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 57.6: 753–762.

Moore, Jocelyn. 2022. "The Persistent Bonds of the *Oikos* in Euripides' *Heracles*." *CQ* 72.1: 120–137.

Norcross, John C., ed. 1986. *Handbook of Eclectic Psychotherapy*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Padilla, Mark W. 1994. "Heroic Paternity in Euripides' *Heracles*." *Arethusa* 27.3: 279–302.

Papadimitropoulos, Loukas. 2008. "Heracles as Tragic Hero." *CW* 101.2: 131–138.

Papadopoulou, Thalia. 2004. "Herakles and Hercules: The Hero's Ambivalence in Euripides and Seneca." *Mnemosyne* 57.3: 257–283.

Parker, Robert. 1983. *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pertsinidis, Sonia. 2021. "Resilience and Euripides' *Heracles*." *Humanities* 10.1: 44.

Reich, Wilhelm. 1933. *Charakteranalyse: Technik und Grundlagen für Studierende und praktizierende Analytiker*. Wien: Selbstverlag.

Riley, Kathleen. 2008. *The Reception and Performance of Euripides' Herakles: Reasoning Madness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rosenthal, Norman E., and Mary C. Blehar, eds. 1989. *Seasonal Affective Disorders and Phototherapy*. New York: Guilford Press.

Silk, Michael S. 1985. "Herakles and Greek Tragedy." *GaR* 32.1: 1–22.

Simon, Bennett. 1978. *Mind and Madness in Classical Greece: The Classical Roots of Modern Psychiatry*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Simon, George K. 2010. *In Sheep's Clothing: Understanding and Dealing with Manipulative People*. Little Rock, Ark.: Parkhurst Brothers.

Smid, Geert E., Rolf J. Kleber, Simone M. de la Rie, Jannetta B. A. Bos, Berthold P. R. Gersons, and Paul A. Boelen. 2015. "Brief Eclectic Psychotherapy for Traumatic Grief (BEP-TG): Toward Integrated Treatment of Symptoms Related to Traumatic Loss." *European Journal of Psychotraumatology* 6.1: 27324.

Solso, Robert L., Otto H. MacLin, and M. Kimberly MacLin. [8]2008. *Cognitive psychology*. Boston, Mass.: Allyn & Bacon.

Stafford, Emma. 2012. *Herakles*. Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World. London: Routledge.

Staunton, Tree, ed. 2002. *Body Psychotherapy*. London: Brunner-Routledge.

Sullivan, Shirley Darcus. 1995. *Psychological and Ethical Ideas: What Early Greeks Say*. Mnemosyne, Suppl. 144. Leiden: Brill.

Tanner, Danielle. 2020/2021. "The Body of Shame: Listening for the Longing." *International Body Psychotherapy Journal* 19.2: 32–42.

Terman, Michael, and Jiuan Su Terman. 2005. "Light Therapy for Seasonal and Nonseasonal Depression: Efficacy, Protocol, Safety, and Side Effects." *CNS Spectrums* 10.8: 647–663.

Thumiger, Chiara. 2007. *Hidden Paths: Self and Characterization in Greek Tragedy: Euripides' Bacchae.* BICS Suppl. 99. London: University of London Press.

— 2015. "Mental Insanity in the Hippocratic Texts: A Pragmatic Perspective." *Mnemosyne* 68.2: 210–233.

— 2017a. *A History of the Mind and Mental Health in Classical Greek Medical Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— 2017b. "Ancient Greek and Roman Traditions." In *The Routledge History of Madness and Mental Health*, ed. Greg Eghigian, 42–61. London: Routledge.

— 2020. "Therapy of the Word and Other Psychotherapeutic Approaches in Ancient Greek Medicine." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 57.6: 741–752.

— 2022. "The Body to be Hidden: Shame and Ancient Medicine." In *Medical Understandings of Emotions in Antiquity: Theory, Practice, Suffering*. Ancient

Emotions III. Trends in Classics—Suppl. 131, ed. George Kazantzidis and Dimos Spatharas, 145–172. Berlin: De Gruyter.

— 2024. *Phrenitis and the Pathology of the Mind in Western Medical Thought (Fifth Century BCE to Twentieth Century CE)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Brock, Nadia. 1961. *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du grec ancien: soins et guérison*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Van der Eijk, Philip J. 2005. *Medicine and Philosophy in Classical Antiquity: Doctors and Philosophers on Nature, Soul, Health and Disease*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wells, Adrian. 1997. *Cognitive Therapy of Anxiety Disorders: A Practice Manual and Conceptual Guide*. Chichester: Wiley.

Wenzel, Amy, Gregory K. Brown, and Aaron T. Beck. 2009. *Cognitive Therapy for Suicidal Patients: Scientific and Clinical Applications*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Westbrook, David, Helen Kennerley, and Joan Kirk. [2]2011. *An Introduction to Cognitive Behaviour Therapy: Skills and Applications*. London: Sage Publications.

White, Ross G., Cheryl McGeachan, Gavin Miller, and Sophia Xenophontos. 2020. "*Other Psychotherapies*: Healing Interactions across Time, Geography, and Culture." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 57.6: 727–740.

Wirz-Justice, Anna. 2006. "Biological Rhythm Disturbances in Mood Disorders." *International Clinical Psychopharmacology* 21 **(**Suppl. 1): S11–S15.

Yoshitake, Sumio. 1994. "Disgrace, Grief and Other Ills: Herakles' Rejection of Suicide." *JHS* 114: 135–153.

Phasis 28, 2025

EVENT NOUNS IN ACTION INTERCONTINENTAL SUPPLY AND VALUE CHAINS IN A FRONTIER TOWN (*LONDINIUM*) ACCORDING TO CAESAR AND TACITUS

VICTORIA BEATRIX FENDEL

Abstract. While London did not secure a prominent place in the history books early on, in fact one of the few early mentions calls it a titleless (*cognomento coloniae non insigne*) settlement (Tac. *Ann*. 14.33.1), the archaeological and epigraphic evidence paints the picture of a diverse frontier town full of commerce and hustle and bustle (*commeatus*) (Tac. *Ann*. 14.33.1). This may well explain Caesar's worries about intercontinental supply and value chains (*auxilia subministrare*) (Caes. *BGall*. 4.20). This article offers a sociopragmatically grounded translation of Caesar's support-verb construction *auxilia subministrare* and Tacitus' re-etymologised event noun *commeatus* against this backdrop.

1. INTRODUCTION

In A.D. 43, Claudius succeeded where Caesar had failed and London, then *Londinium*, became part of the Roman empire.[1] The Romans would only stay for about 400 years, be it due to some raucous Gauls, not being able to cope with the geography and weather (in truth, the constant mud and rain), or because strategically it was the edge of the empire and thus

[1] All the translations are my own unless specified otherwise.

rather exposed. Over the 400 years of Roman occupation, *Londinium* would be(come) a multilingual[2] and multicultural[3] hub for trade, commerce, society, and culture emerging as the winner from the disruption to the established trade networks caused by Caesar's campaigns.[4]

Londinium while strategically important and advantageous (e.g., Cass. Dio 60.20.5–60.21.1 (2nd–3rd centuries A.D.) on Plautius' difficulties crossing the Thames in A.D. 43)[5] does not seem to have secured a prominent place in the history books early on. Yet its epigraphic and archaeological sources tell the story of a frontier town at the heart of intercontinental supply and possibly value chains. Based on this, the article reassesses the translations of Caesar's justification for invading Britain, i.e. that the Britons had supported Gaulish rebellions (Caes. *BGall.* 4.20–21; Strabo 4.4.1; 1st century A.D.–1st century B.C.), and Tacitus' description of *Londinium* as a hustle and bustle of commerce (Tac. *Ann.* 14.33; 1st–2nd centuries A.D.) with the following three questions at its heart:

---

[2] Multilingualism can take many forms with regard to who is involved, e.g., multilingual individuals, communities, regions, or areas (Muysken 2010, 268) and what makes someone (or something in the case of a text) bilingual (Grosjean 2024; Leiwo 2002). E.g., is it enough to be capable to handle everyday situations in two languages or does one have to be able to lecture in two languages? Is it enough if a formulaic aspect of an inscription is in a second language?

[3] Hines (1996, 269) believes that "true (i.e., perfect) multiculturalism ought to be the concurrent and stable presence of genuinely alternative cultural strategies within a single area."

[4] Cunliffe 2004, 6.

[5] See Wallace 2014, 8 (with further references). Wallace (2014, 9) sums up the situation as follows: "The ambiguity of the word γέφυρα [*gephura* in Cass. Dio 60.20.6], the impossibility of demonstrating that the crossing points of either Caesar or Plautius were at the site of the later town of Londinium … the likelihood that Plautius built his own bridge or raft to cross the Thames, that a pre-Roman bridge presupposes pre-Roman roads leading to and from it, for which there are no evidence, and the total lack of evidence for a substantial LPRIA [Late Pre-Roman Iron Age] settlement at London disproves these hypotheses [sc. those of a pre-Roman bridge at the site of London]."

(1) What does Caesar's *auxilia subministrare* tell us about intercontinental supply and value chains?
(2) How does Tacitus' *commeatus* characterise titleless *Londinium* as a lively frontier town?
(3) Why did *Londinium* not secure a prominent place in the history books early on?

Mapping the archaeological and epigraphic remains from *Londinium* onto the historiographical accounts and reassessing the phrasing of the latter linguistically, it appears that Caesar was faced with the phenomenon of inter-continental supply and value chains and Tacitus with that of an inter-regional frontier town. Neither situation was specific to the Roman period; both would ensure *Londinium's* long-term survival.

After this introductory section, the article falls into four sections. Section 2 provides a brief introduction to *Londinium*'s townscape on the material side and event nouns, such as *commeatus* and *auxilia*, on the linguistic side of things; Section 3 considers Caesar's account of Gaulish people receiving aid from the Britons from the perspective of intercontinental supply and value chains; Section 4 considers Tacitus' description of *Londinium* as a titleless hustle and bustle of commerce against the archaeological and epigraphic record and from the perspective of border studies; Section 5 uses the archaeological and epigraphic evidence to suggest a sociopragmatically[6] grounded reading of Caesar's *auxilia subministrare* and Tacitus' *commeatus* thus explaining why *Londinium* did not secure a prominent place in the history books early on.

[6] "Historical sociopragmatics concerns itself with any interaction between specific aspects of social context and particular historical language use that leads to pragmatic meanings" (Culpeper 2011, 4). Pragmatic meanings are meanings that are context-dependent.

2. MATERIAL AND LINGUISTIC SURROUNDINGS

2.1. LONDINIUM'S TOWNSCAPE

Londinium's townscape expanded and transformed over the 400 years of Roman occupation. A brief overview of its geographical features, defensive structures, infrastructural nodes, and social spaces is provided below.

The area of *Londinium* was crossed by the rivers Fleet (to the west), Walbrook, and Lorteburn (to the east). Modern-day Southwark was a marshy jigsaw puzzle of islands.[7] After the successful Roman invasion under Claudius in A.D. 43 and before the revolt initiated by the local queen Boudica in A.D. 60/61, which brought large-scale destruction by fire to *Londinium* as archaeologically visible, "occupation was focussed on the eastern hill (Cornhill), but with some occupation on the western hill and in Southwark."[8] In the second half of the 1st century A.D., when *Londinium* was being rebuilt, building activity was concentrated between the Walbrook and Lorteburn rivers.[9] In the 2nd century A.D., building activity expanded westwards towards the river Fleet und Southwark was not extensively occupied.[10] By this time, *Londinium* was structured around an amphitheatre in the north-western part, a forum between the rivers Walbrook and Lorteburn, and a river crossing over the Thames.

The first perimeter wall was constructed around A.D. 200 in order to cope with attacks from incoming local populations,[11] perhaps the Picts, a people then living in Britain all the way up to Scotland. However, given *Londinium*'s strategically important position with access to the river Thames, a river-crossing, and an extensive road network, the site would have been the target for any local population with ambitions.[12]

---

[7] Rowsome 2008, 26 and 28 for helpful maps; Wallace 2014, 34–35.

[8] Swain and William 2008, 34.

[9] Rowsome 2008, 28.

[10] Rowsome 2008, 29; Swain and Williams 2008, 34.

[11] When Britain became a Roman province, the local population rebelled on several occasions. In the later period, the Hadrianic fire destroyed most of the site in the early 2nd century A.D. See Perring 2022, 235–247.

[12] See esp. Trubetskoy 2017; Hingley and Unwin 2018, 23.

The perimeter wall introduced a visible, defensive demarcation of inside-outside and thus interfered with the natural growth of the site. Yet, Roman *Londinium* does not seem to have been confined to the inside of the wall; lively suburbs existed outside the wall, one of them Southwark (e.g., the mosaic at the Liberty of Southwark site, possibly originally in a travel inn, and the Bathhouse on Borough High Street).[13] The wall allowed access to *Londinium* only through one of the seven city gates.[14]

The gates became bottlenecks for the movement of people and goods and could be kept closed for security and safety reasons. In the 1st–2nd centuries A.D., a quayside seems to have existed, possibly with a crane base structure, and reflects *Londinium* acquiring importance as a trade harbour.[15] In the 3rd century A.D., the riverside wall aligns with the general situation of crisis which saw *Londinium* prioritise defence over commercial openness.[16] The defences were further strengthened in the late 4th century A.D., especially towards the east.[17] However, suburban areas outside the walled area seem to have kept flourishing, on the southern and northern river banks. For example, at the site of the church of St-Martin-in-the-fields, a later Roman sarcophagus with a headless skeleton was found.[18]

The forum is a central space of any Roman city for social, cultural, political, and economic life. In the imperial period, fora were developed in such a way as to integrate images of the ruling emperor.[19] The forum

---

[13] On the Liberty of Southwark site, see Section 3 below. On the Bathhouse on Borough High Street, see Ridgeway, Taylor, and Biddulph 2019.

[14] From west to east, these are Newgate (on the road to Middlesex), Aldersgate (perhaps added secondarily) (Merrifield 1965, 319), Cripplegate (on the *via praetoria* to Cripplegate fort, in use A.D. 120–200) (Marsden 2018), Moorgate (bordering the marshes) (Wheeler 1928), Bishopsgate (on Ermine Street (modern A10) towards York), Aldgate (on the road to Colchester).

[15] Brigham 1990, 101.

[16] Perring 2022, 326.

[17] Rowsome 2008, 31.

[18] Burton 2007.

[19] See Perring 2022, 159–168 on the forum built in the later 1st and early 2nd centuries. See also Perring and Brigham 2000; Marsden 2019; Wallace 2014, 47–63.

would have been a place for trade and markets, business meetings, cultural events, and daily chats, possibly even with the first tavern of London in close proximity.[20]

Bathhouses were important to maintain hygiene standards, by access to fresh, clean water, but also developed into centres of commerce and social life in the imperial period. Bathhouses combined technological advances—such as running water (relying on systems of pipes, cisterns, and aqueducts), heated water (by means of hypocausts), and the availability of bathing facilities to a large part of society (in urban centres)—with social advances, e.g., vendors had stalls, people from all walks of life gathered (whether they mingled is unclear; for example, consider when people frequent facilities, what facilities charge, etc.). Mosaic floors, frescoes, and statues in bathhouses served as conversation starters amongst bathers.[21] As a public bathhouse with all the facilities (a so-called *therma*), only Huggin Hill (built in the Flavian period, A.D. 69–96, and demolished in the late 2nd century A.D.) would qualify.[22] Cheapside bathhouse (built in the 1st century A.D. and demolished in the 3rd century A.D.) was smaller and likely reserved for military use, possibly for those stationed at Cripplegate fort in the north-west of the town area (built in the 1st century A.D. and demolished in the 3rd century A.D.).[23] The bathhouses on Pudding Lane (built in the 2nd century A.D. and in use until after A.D. 370) and Billingsgate (built in the mid-2nd century A.D.) were likely part of residential properties.[24]

---

[20] See Perring and Brigham 2000, 137: "A late 1st- or early 2nd-century buttressed aisled hall, close to the forum at 5–12 Fenchurch Street (Gz CT45) … In later phases there is evidence of metalworking in some rooms, and others were decorated, with one containing a store of amphorae, prompting the suggestion that it was used as a tavern." See also Hammer 1987.

[21] Eliav 2023, 21–43.

[22] Rowsome 1996; Marsden 1969.

[23] Rowsome 1996; Marsden 1976, 32 and 37; Perring and Brigham 2000, 129.

[24] Rowsome 1996, 421. For the site at 152 Upper Thames St., see Cowan and Hinton 2008, 76, with further references, and Tomlin 2006, 50, for discussion and further references.

Londinium's amphitheatre, initially constructed in the late 1st century A.D., was originally made of timber but was replaced by a more permanent stone structure in the 2nd century A.D.[25] Amphitheatres in general provided public entertainment in the form of, e.g., gladiatorial fights—either gladiator versus gladiator or gladiator versus animal. Gladiators could be slaves, freeborn people, or freedmen, some having undergone professional training, others working out a contract.[26] Several were buried or deposited outside the walled area in the 1st–2nd centuries.[27]

The epigraphic evidence paints the picture of a multicultural and multilingual trading hub.[28] For example, *Tab. Lond. Bloomberg* 44,[29] dated to 8 January A.D. 57, is the "first dated financial document" from the City of London.[30] It was likely written by a non-Roman citizen at the time.[31] A stylus found amongst the Bloomberg tablets, dated to the latter half of the 1st century A.D. may have travelled from Rome to *Londinium* or at

[25] Bateman 1997.

[26] Fagan 2016.

[27] Redfern and Bonney 2014.

[28] For a detailed discussion, see Tomlin 2016.

[29] *Nerone Claudio Caesare Augusto* | *Germanico ii L(ucio) Calpurnio Pisone* | *[vacat] co(n)s(ulibus) ui Idus Ianuarias* | *Tibullus Venusti l(ibertus) scripsi et dico me* | *debere Grato <S>puri l(iberto) (denarios) cu ex{s} pretio* | *mercis quae uendita et tradita <est>* | *quam pecuniam ei reddere debeo* | *eiue ad quem ea res pertinebit* ("In the consulship of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus for the second time and of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, on the 6th day before the Ides of January (8 January A.D. 57). I, Tibullus, the freedman of Venustus, have written and say that I owe Gratus, the freedman of Spurius, 105 denarii from the price of the merchandise which has been sold and delivered. This money I am due to repay him or the person whom the matter will concern …" Trans. Tomlin 2016, 152).

[30] Tomlin 2018a, 204.

[31] Tomlin (2016, 154) observes that Tibullus is not a common Roman onomastic, but the only character that comes to mind is the poet Tibullus, yet slaves were often given "a fanciful name" which they kept when becoming freedmen (as the writer of the tablet!), and as the writer is identified by the cognomen *Venustus*, he was probably not a Roman citizen at the time.

least from the Germanies.[32] Gaius Asicius Probus apparently sent his "best young tunny" fish from Spain, as a label on an amphora makes clear.[33] In the early 2nd century, "Vegetus, himself a slave but also a Roman official in London in *c.* A.D. 75–125" sold the Gallic slave girl Fortunata for 600 denarii in what is the "first Roman deed of sale of a slave to have been found in Britain."[34]

Thus, the archaeological record paints the picture of a fully equipped, defence- and trade-focused settlement, whereas the epigraphic evidence highlights the international clientele that frequented it, for commerce, tourism, and trade.[35]

2.2. EVENT NOUNS

Event nouns refer to an ongoing process (complex event nouns), a completed event (simple event noun), or the outcome of an event (result nouns) by Grimshaw's classical distinction:[36]

Complex event noun, e.g., *examination*
L'examination des dossiers par le conseil a eu lieu hier.
"The examination of the files by the board took place yesterday."

---

[32] Keyer 2019, 342; Tomlin 2018b; Willi 2022. *Ab urbe v[e]n[i] munus tibi gratum adf(e)ro | acul[eat]um ut habe[a]s memor[ia]m nostra(m) | rogo si fortuna dar[e]t quo possem | largius ut longa via ceu sacculus est (v)acuus* ("I have come from the city. I bring you a welcome gift with a sharp point that you may remember me. I ask, if fortune allowed, that I might be able (to give) as generously as the way is long (and) as my purse is empty." Trans. Tomlin 2018b, 5).

[33] Burnham et al. 2000, 440, n. 32. Neck sherd of a Spanish amphora, text: *[...] I SVMAVR | AIAA | LXXX | C ASICI PROBI, [cor(r)d(ula) …] SVMAVR | a(nnorum II) | LXXX | G(ai) Asici Probi* ("Best young tunny, (matured) two years, 80, (the product) of Gaius Asicius Probus." Trans. Burnham et al. 2000, 441). There is a second painted inscription at right-angles with this one but only two letters (D and I) are preserved, it seems to be by another hand.

[34] Tomlin 2003, 49.

[35] It may have been initially similar to Cunliffe's (2004, 8) enclaves of traders. Army movements certainly also affected *Londinium* and further aided this situation.

[36] Grimshaw 1990; Meinschaefer 2016, 393.

Simple event noun, e.g., *examen*
Plusieurs examens ont eu lieu hier.
"Various exams took place yesterday."

Object/result noun, e.g., *examen*
Tous ces examens sur la table ont eu lieu hier.
"All these exams on the table took place yesterday."

They are commonly ambiguous between different types of event nouns and between eventive and non-eventive readings, i.e., the co-text of an instance will determine whether the instance acts as an event noun and if so, what kind.[37]

Event nouns can be deverbal formations but do not have to be.[38] They have their own argument structures. Complex event nouns have a subject and an object (e.g., *les dossier* and *le conseil* in the example), along with optional adjuncts, and simplex event nouns have a subject.[39] The subject does not have to be spelled out. Event nouns may, over the course of time, move from eventive semantics towards non-eventive semantics: *nomen actionis* → *nomen acti* → *nomen rei* → *nomen instrumenti* → *nomen loci* → *nomen agentis*.[40] However, most nouns are polysemous, i.e., they have meanings at multiple stages on this pathway in their lexical entry.

Why then *commeatus* and *auxilia* (*subministrare*) in the Roman historians Caesar and Tacitus? Because event nouns can change the storyline in historiography exactly due to their polysemy and resulting ambiguity. One such example is discussed by Rusten. He argued that τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην (Thuc. 1.97.2) is to be read as "I discarded the plan" (with ἐκβολή as a complex event noun) rather than "I made a digression in the narrative" (with ἐκβολή as a simplex event noun) based on co-textual (especially, by comparison to Thuc.

[37] Cf. Erbach 2025; Huyghe et al. 2017, 120.
[38] E.g., Bel, Coll, and Resnik 2010; Huyghe et al. 2017; Radimský 2011; Fendel 2025b (on Classical Greek); Fendel 2024a (on Classical and Post-Classical Latin).
[39] Garzón Fontalvo and Tur 2022, 220; Spevak 2014, 25; Hoffmann 2015.
[40] Panagl 2019, 394.

5.25–116 and the Athenians' transformation from friend to foe) and contextual (especially, of λόγος in Thucydides) analysis.[41] This re-interpretation alters the reading of the first book of the *Histories*.[42] Similarly, *commeatus* and *auxilia* (*subministrare*) appear in contexts that have generated extensive comment and debate, can be linked to material realities, and come from authors whose agenda and discourse we know a reasonable amount of.

3. CAESAR'S INTERCONTINENTAL *AUXILIA SUBMINISTRARE*

3.1. CAESAR'S RECONNAISSANCE MISSION

Caesar, writing in the 1st century B.C., describes his first exhibition to Britain in 55 B.C. as a reconnaissance mission (*perspexisset* and *cognovisset*) which he was keen on carrying out "despite the summer almost being over" (*exigua parte aestatis reliqua*) and the season for military campaigns thus coming to an end. He cites as the reason for his interest in Britain the fact that "in almost all the wars in Gaul, aid had been supplied to our enemy from there (sc. Britain)" (*omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia*).[43]

> *Exigua parte aestatis reliqua Caesar, etsi in his locis, quod omnis Gallia ad septentriones vergit, maturae sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intellegebat, et si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adiisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset; quae omnia fere Gallis erant incognita* (Caes. *BGall.* 4.20).
>
> Despite the summer almost being over, Caesar—even though in these areas the winters are early because all of Gaul is oriented north—nonetheless was eager to set out for Britain because he had heard that in almost all the wars in Gaul aid had been supplied to our enemy from there, and if the (remaining) time of the year was not enough to wage

[41] Rusten 2020.

[42] For similar situations of the ambiguity of event nouns having a far-reaching impact, see, e.g., Latin *poenas dare* "to get punished; to pay the price for one's actions" rather than "to punish; to give a penalty" (Martín Rodríguez 1996; 2018).

[43] See also Hingley 2022, 18.

> war, he nevertheless believed that it would be of great use to him even if he had only set foot on the island, had got a glance at the character of the population, (and) had discovered the localities, the harbours, (and) the landing sites. Almost all of these things were unknown to the Gauls.

Caesar does not proffer further details of the kind of aid that was supplied. While *auxilia* could refer to auxiliary troops, i.e., the Britons would have sent manpower to support Gaulish rebellions against Caesar's campaigns, *auxilia* could equally relate to other forms of aid for the Gaulish people, e.g., in the form of supplies. In fact, Schönberger translates *Hilfe* "help," Edwards *succours*, and Nisard *secours* "aid."[44] Caesar's army movements will have made getting supplies difficult for them. Furthermore, an increased amount of metal (including iron, tin, and lead) will have been needed for weapons. The raw materials were widely available in Britain.[45]

3.2. CAESAR'S *AUXILIA*

Auxilium, the singular form of the noun, may be "a back-formation to *auxilia*," the plural form of the noun, which seems to have been "built on the *s*-variant of the verb" *augeo* "to increase."[46] The noun has a broad meaning, "assistance, aid, help" and can act as a simplex or complex event noun and as a result noun. In Caes. *BGall.* 4.20, it appears in its plural form, thus possibly (1) referring to different entities, (2) having an iteration meaning, (3) having a "sorts of" meaning, or (4) expressing intensification, of which options two to four apply to event nouns. In Caes. *BGall.* 4.20, the noun appears in combination with the verb *subministrare*.[47]

The combination with *subministrare* "to supply" seems a conscious choice. The combinations *auxilium dare*, *auxilium ferre*, and *auxilium praebere* "to provide help" are widely attested as so-called support-verb constructions, i.e., as combinations of a verb and a noun that together

---

[44] Schönberger [4]2013, 169; Edwards 1917, 205; Nisard 1865.

[45] See Cunliffe 2004, 1–2. For context, see Gardiner 2001; Sim and Ridge 2002; Schrüfer-Kolb 2004; Williams et al. 2025.

[46] de Vaan 2008, 62.

[47] Garzón Fontalvo 2020.

form the predicate of a clause or sentence.[48] In the LatinISE Sketch Engine corpus, a collocation search for the lemma "auxilium" reveals that the most commonly collocating verbal lemmata which act as support verbs in a distance of ± 5 items are *fero* "to bring, to carry" (logDice 8.72) and *praebeo* "to give, to provide" (logDice 8.31).[49] *Ministro* "to supply" (logDice 6.78), the simplex related to *subministro*, and *do* "to give" (logDice 6.22), the canonical support verb, are less commonly attested.[50] The logDice is a measure of lexical affinity with a maximum score of 14 which would mean that the items for which the score has been calculated always co-occur.[51]

While the simplex verb *ministrare* is current throughout Classical literature, including in its function as a support verb, the compound *subministrare* seems more limited.[52] In the LatinISE Sketch Engine corpus, the lemma appears twice in the 1st century B.C. (the period *Romana*

[48] See further Martín Rodríguez 1996; 2018; Fendel 2024a; Bodelot and Spevak 2018; Rosén 2020; Baños 2014, 2016, 2018; Mendózar Cruz 2020; Pinkster 2015, 74–77.

[49] For the LatinISE Corpus, see McGillivray and Kilgarriff 2013. For the combinations with *indigeo* (logDice 7.73) and *egeo* (logDice 7.26) "to lack, to be without," see Fendel 2024a.

An anonymous reviewer suggested using treebanked corpora in order to identify multi-word expressions. The issue is that treebanking usually treats multi-word expressions as compositional units. Work is ongoing, most prominently in the UniDive COST initiative (CA21167), to remedy this situation but current systems cannot identify, let alone discover, multi-word expressions without some deterministic element, such as a lexeme to search around.

[50] See Smith 2022, 73–74; Brown et al. 2012, 237 on canonical (theoretical) vs. prototypical (usage-based) forms.

[51] Rychlý 2008, 9. Note that the collocation tool operates on distances rather than syntactic dependencies and that manual filtering is required to distinguish between combinations that form support-verb constructions and those that form verb-object structures (e.g., *imploro* "to beg" or possibly also *mitto* "to send" in the sense of sending physical items or auxiliary troops). This ambiguity is inherent in support-verb constructions and variably exploited by authors (Savary et al. 2018, 123; Fendel 2024c, 118–125).

[52] Lexical verbs and support verbs are form-identical. See Vincent and Wheeler 2022, 94–96; Butt 2010, 65.

classica in the LatinISE corpus): once referring to the supplying of weapons and once to the supplying of funds.[53] It seems that *subministrare* refers specifically to the supplying of something, possibly in secret as in Cic. *Cael*. 20, rather than to the general provision of something, including help. As *auxilia subministrare* is a support-verb construction, one may think of *subministrare* as a verb of realisation, i.e., these "sont des verbes collocationnels qui ont le comportement syntaxique des V_{supp}, mais qui, à la différence de ceux-ci, sont sémantiquement pleins: ils sont sélectionnés par le locuteur pour leur signifié et apportent une contribution sémantique."[54] This would also suit its seemingly more specific meaning as compared to the canonical and prototypical support verbs.[55]

Furthermore, in Caesar's own writings, we find the following:[56] *BGall.* 1.40 (*frumentum* "food, grain"); *BGall.* 3.25 (*lapidibus telisque* "stones and weapons," verb in the gerundive). In writings from his immediate surroundings, we find the following:[57] *BAfr*. 19 (*multitudinem auxiliorum* "a multitude of aid"); *BAfr*. 33 (*et frumentum et quaecumque res* "both food and anything else"); *BAfr*. 78 (*equites* "cavalry"). *Subministrare* seems to

[53] Cic. *Deiot*. 25: *Quo tum rex animo fuit? Qui auctionatus sit seseque spoliare maluerit quam tibi pecuniam non* ***subministrare*** ("In what mindset was the king? He apparently had put up for sale (a lot of his belongings) and preferred depriving himself (of property) to not supplying you with funding"); *Cael.* 20: *... palam in eum tela iaciuntur, clam* ***subministrantur*** ("... Weapons are being thrown at him openly; they are being supplied in secret").

[54] Mel'čuk 2004, 208. Support verbs and verbs of realisation can be historically related. See, e.g., Fendel 2024a.

[55] Cf. Fendel 2024c.

[56] While both the *Civil War* and the *Gallic War* are part of the LatinISE corpus, having been collected from https://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0535/, the searches for *subministrare* did not return any hits from Caesar. This may be due to the lemmatisation relying on dictionaries that do not lemmatise *ministrare* and *subministrare* separately. Caesar's writings were therefore manually searched for the string "subm" via the Latin Library and the hits were corrected for the lemma "subministro."

[57] Cf. Pelling 2015.

be used with the specific meaning of "supplying" primarily goods rather than people (i.e., troops).

3.3. SUPPLY AND VALUE CHAINS

Caesar may not have been worried about the sending of troops but rather about supply chains which ensured that the Gaulish people were prepared for his attacks and could fight back more efficiently than if depleted of resources. Strabo's (4.4.1) comment on the Veneti, a people living near the ocean coast, who were determined to hinder Caesar's journey across the channel due to being worried about their use of the *emporium* in Britain is indicative here.[58] Intercontinental supply chains existed long before Caesar's and Claudius' conquests of Britain, yet Caesar's campaigns seem to have shifted the focal point of cross-channel trade in Britain away from Hengistbury, and eventually towards the Thames estuary and the site of *Londinium*.[59] The site itself, although not an established settlement, seems to have been "a significant meeting place" of strategic importance before the Romans arrived as material finds corroborate.[60] Material and epigraphic witnesses indicate that these supply chains remained intact into the 2nd–3rd centuries A.D., when

[58] Strabo 4.4.1: μετὰ δὲ τὰ λεχθέντα ἔθνη τὰ λοιπὰ Βελγῶν ἐστιν ἔθνη τῶν παρωκεανιτῶν, ὧν Ὀυένετοι μέν εἰσιν οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς Καίσαρα· ἕτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν κωλύειν τὸν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν πλοῦν χρώμενοι τῷ ἐμπορίῳ. "After the people mentioned, the remaining ones are people of the Belgians who live by the ocean. Of these, the Veneti are the ones that fought a naval battle against Caesar. For they were ready to prevent his voyage into Britain because they were using the emporium (there)."

[59] Cunliffe 2004, 6–7.

[60] Hingley and Unwin (2018, 23) find that "...the finds from the Thames indicate that the site of Londinium formed a significant meeting place, although activity at this location was not accompanied by any substantial settlement or the construction of linear earthworks or buildings. Although there is no evidence either in or around London during the Late Iron Age for high-status burials, nucleated settlement or coin production, the items of metalwork from the river emphasize the ritual significance of this waterscape."

Britain had become a Roman province.[61] Trade and commerce did not stop at the frontier but crossed it, i.e., it crossed into non-Roman territories in the known world.[62]

For comparison, consider a modern situation where an otherwise "titleless" small town at a border has become a buzzing centre due to commerce and trade. Weil am Rhein, at the German-Swiss border, attracts much cross-border traffic from Basel across the Weil-Friedlingen crossing (Weil is also close to the Port of Switzerland, where freight is repacked as the Rhine further south is not passable for large ships). Technically, it is an international border, yet with the Schengen Agreement allowing for free movement of people (since 2008). The language, currency, availability of and restrictions on goods, and jurisdiction differ between the two sides of the border. However, commerce keeps the border lively, i.e., border officials process tax reclaims, the mall welcomes masses, cross-border transport links facilitate movement,[63] and before cashless payments, ATMs and the offer to pay in both currencies solved payment issues. Similar facilities do not exist at other nearby border crossings, e.g., Weil-Otterbach or Weil-Ost/Basel-Riehen. Our modern example shows how commerce and trade forge permeability in a frontier area.

We can imagine *Londinium* in a similar way, i.e., an area that gained importance due to its strategic location. The area surrounding *Londinium* is not rich in natural resources (even ragstone had to be imported from Kent[64]) nor was it densely populated before the arrival of the Romans, most likely due to it being marshland with a tidal river.[65] However, its

[61] See Suharoschi, Dumitrache, and Curca 2020, 59; Spickermann 2010, 130 on the 2nd–3rd century Dea Nehalennia sanctuary and inscriptions, at the northern tip of the Rhine; Kropff 2016 on the 2nd-century merchants of the sea harbour near the sanctuary; Dumitrache 2009 on the 3rd-century *negotiatores Britanniciani*; Rule and Monaghan 1993 on a 3rd-century freight ship that travelled from Gaul to Britain.

[62] There has been extensive work on trade beyond the frontiers since Wheeler 1954, see, e.g., Wilson and Bowman 2017, 443–624.

[63] These links are better than those in areas where there is no national border; see e.g., Britain 2013 on the Fenlands.

[64] Elliott 2018.

[65] Wallace 2014, 9.

location on a shippable river, even with sea access, made it an interesting location from an infrastructure perspective. In Roman times, not only goods (as we will see with the range of items from the temple site on Tabard Square, Southwark in Section 4) but also people—like in our modern example—and crucially their expertise seems to have come to or passed through *Londinium*.

For example, the mosaic at the Liberty of Southwark site, possibly part of a dining room, was situated on the opposite riverbank as compared to the core features of the Roman town and transport network.[66] The site may have been reachable by ferry or by bridge from the northern bank. It may have been a stopping point for travellers who approached *Londinium* from the south and had to cross the river Thames. The top layer mosaic can be dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries A.D., yet it seems that an older mosaic existed previously (with the building dated to between A.D. 43 and 150). Henig links the mosaics to the *Acanthus officina*, whose masters were likely from *Augusta Treverorum* (modern Trier, Germany).[67] The *Acanthus officina* was a workshop of artists whose products "are distinguished by elaborate plant forms, especially of the stylised acanthus, with barbed stalks, and leaves that terminate in roundels with lateral shading."[68] However, the London branch of it seems to have been short-lived and their work seems to have been limited to the area of *Londinium* with incoming artists taking over in the mid-4th century A.D.[69]

The mosaic from the Liberty of Southwark site in fact combines regional materials with interregional, or even intercontinental, expertise—given the group's connection with *Augusta Treverorum*. Rather than this being merely a supply chain, i.e., a finished product is shipped to a destination

[66] For images, see https://thelibertyofsouthwark.com/uncategorized/roman-mosaic-uncovered-liberty-of-southwark/. For the word *fecit* "he made," i.e., part of an inscription scheme used to convey the artist's name, on fragments found at the site, see Hawker-Yates 2025; Humphreys 2023, 381–382. For the mausoleum that has been discovered nearby, see Newton 2023.

[67] Henig 2023, 318.

[68] Neal and Cosh 2009, 129.

[69] Neal and Cosh 2009, 129.

(cf. Section 4 below on the small finds from Tabard Square), it is a value chain, i.e., value in the form of materials or expertise is added stepwise in different locations until the finished product is created.[70] Such value chains seem to have existed also on the other side of the channel with metals from Britain (tin, lead, and iron) as an imported material.[71] While the focus here is on the evidence from *Londinium*, trade was reciprocal.

The diversity of groups of people passing through and perhaps settling in *Londinium* (which we infer from them having died in *Londinium* but they could equally have been passing through) has also been shown through "lead and strontium isotope analyses [applied] to dental enamel samples from twenty individuals excavated from *Londinium*" and dated to the 1st–5th centuries A.D., and by means of stable isotope analysis and analysis of bioarchaeological data of 29 individuals buried in the 3rd–4th centuries A.D. in the western cemetery (24–30 West Smithfield, 18–20 Cock Lane and 1–4 Giltspur Street).[72] It appears that "from the outset, *Londinium* was inhabited by people from the region and elsewhere in Britain, as well as those from Continental Europe and the Mediterranean, including migrants from North Africa."[73]

Apparently, regular transfer of goods and people—and their expertise—i.e., global supply and value chains, existed before Caesar's campaigns and were kept intact throughout the Roman period. Caesar's campaigns, however, seem to have changed the exact routes and focal points which is unlikely to have happened without Caesar knowing or actively trying to interfere, which would explain his coinage of a specific support-verb construction to describe the reality he was confronted with.

---

[70] Cf. Los, Timmer, and de Vries 2015 on the concept in the context of modern global value chains, e.g., in car manufacturing.

[71] Cunliffe 2004, 10.

[72] Shaw et al. 2016; Ledger, Redfern, and Mitchell 2024.

[73] Ledger, Redfern, and Mitchell 2024, 101. Thus, the successive buildings on 15–17 King street (from the 1st century A.D. onwards), where no imported wares were found (apart from Samian ones), seem almost an anomaly; see Blair 2005, 315.

4. TACITUS' *COMMEATUS* AT THE FRONTIER

4.1. TACITUS' *COGNOMENTO NON INSIGNE*

Tacitus, writing in the 1st–2nd centuries A.D., describes *Londinium* as "which did not have the title *colonia*" (*cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne*) at the time of Gaius Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general who would eventually defeat queen Boudica in A.D. 61 at the battle of Watling Street, a major Roman transport link. Tacitus notes however that *Londinium* was "outstandingly famous" (*maxime celebre*) for two things in particular.

> *At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes* ***Londinium*** *perrexit,* ***cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne****,* ***sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre****. ibi ambiguus, an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petil[l]ii coercitam, unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit* (Tac. *Ann.* 14.33.1).
>
> However, Suetonius with noticeable perseverance, marched through the enemy on London, which did not have the title *colonia*, but was outstandingly famous for its crowds of merchants and its hustle and bustle. There, he was in two minds as to whether he should choose it [*sc.* the city] as his headquarters for the war, but after appreciating the small number of soldiers and with sufficient evidence that Petilius' rashness had been restrained, he decided to save everything [*sc.* the whole country and all the people] at the cost of one single *oppidum*.

At the time, *Londinium* was not one of the *coloniae* in the province of *Britannia*.[74] A *colonia* was a high-ranking city usually formed by allotting land to army veterans, including *Camulodunum* (modern Colchester), *Lindum* (modern Lincoln), and *Glevum* (modern Gloucester).[75] In the 1st

[74] Wallace (2014, 1) notes: "Londinium does not fit any simple foundation model as there is no evidence of a pre-existing *oppidum* or other significant LPRIA [Late Pre-Roman Iron Age] settlement, the administration founded no colonia there, and the town that did develop was not granted *municipium* status—at least not before the Boudican Revolt of A.D. 60–61 (Tac. *Ann.* 14.33)."

[75] The lower levels are the *municipium* (e.g., Verulamium, modern St. Albans), which pre-dated the Roman era, were self-governing, and where inhabitants enjoyed "Latin rights," and the *civitas capitals*, which were administrative centres for local governments often founded for this purpose in Britain (e.g., *Isca*

century A.D., *Londinium* was not even a *municipium*, i.e., a lower ranking city which was self-governing and may be a converted early settlement.[76] Rather, it was "unlike any other in the province (i.e., not a fort, not a municipium, not a colonia, not an oppidum, not a civitas capital, etc.)."[77] *Londinium* may have gained the status of a *colonia* in the 2nd century A.D.[78]

One may infer that *Londinium* was at least a reasonably large settlement from Suetonius' decision to "to save everyone and everything (*sc.* the province) at the cost of one single town" (*unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit*) (Tac. *Ann*. 14.33.1).[79] It may have been exactly because *Londinium* was not one of the higher-ranking towns and/or settlements that this decision seemed best to Suetonius. Suetonius' decision may however also have resulted from the fact that *Londinium* was the most difficult town to defend due to its location. We know that *Londinium* was attacked in the 1st century A.D. (Boudica), again during the Hadrianic fires in the 2nd century A.D., the waterfront defences were increased in the 3rd century A.D., and the eastern defences in the 4th century A.D.[80] All of this indicates a location that was rather exposed. So what was *Londinium* like?

(*Dumniorum*), modern Exeter) (Darvill ²2008; Rogers 2011, 3). See Hingley and Unwin (2018, 10) for a map of *oppida* in the Late Iron Age, i.e., preceding the period of Roman occupation.

[76] Wallace 2014, 19.

[77] Wallace 2014, 21.

[78] Tomlin 2006.

[79] The use of *oppidum* is likely not in the sense of a technical term, i.e., a rank of settlement (Tomlin 2006, 49–50).

[80] The site seems to have maintained its character beyond the Roman period. While settlement seems to have concentrated increasingly around the area of modern-day Westminster, which may indicate that the eastern end of the site became increasingly difficult to defend or maintain (Wheeler 1928 on the culverts to the north; Perring 2022, 391–398; Hingley and Unwin 2018, 210–241), the road system, which fanned out from London, would remain in use and the location at a sea harbour and major waterway ensured that the general character of the site did not change (see also Killock et al. 2015 on the temple on Tabard Square).

4.2. EVENTS AT THE FRONTIER

Tacitus describes *Londinium* in the mid-1st century as heavily frequented by crowds of merchants and traffic. *Commeatus*[81] refers generally speaking to people passing through and this almost gives the impression of a transit centre. The Roman road network which was *Londinium*-centric would support this hypothesis, as it seems to have been constructed in order to distribute traffic that came into *Londinium* as the main entrance point across the *provincia*.[82] *Negotiatores* (rather than *mercatores*) may have been those who were in charge of large quantities of goods in transit rather than a more selected range.[83] Findings like the Roman river barge support this hypothesis. The barge, now under Guy's hospital in Southwark, was abandoned around A.D. 200, as pottery finds indicate, and seems to have been used to carry goods land inwards from *Londinium*, i.e., it may point to a transit point where goods came in and were redistributed across waterways.[84] Thus, *Londinium* seems to have been a frontier settlement in a border zone.[85]

The permeability of border zones and the constant osmosis of goods, people, and culture have been studied for two well-known, visibly demarcated frontiers. The first is the *Limes Germanicus*, where Caesar crosses the Rhine (near *Confluentes* (modern Koblenz) in Caes. *BGall.* 4.15 and 4.17[86]) before setting out for Britain. North of his crossing point, the border between the Roman province and the non-Roman Germanic areas is the Rhine, south of the crossing point, the *Limes Germanicus* is set further east than the Rhine.[87] Building work began in the latter half of the 1st century A.D. The second well-known structure is Hadrian's wall about

[81] *TLL*, s.v. *commeatus*, *us*, m. I.A. *iter*, *itineris usus*, *commercium*.

[82] This may have been as a result of the major restructuring of cross-channel trade networks in the aftermath of Caesar's campaigns (Cunliffe 2004, 6).

[83] Suharoschi, Dumitrache, and Curca 2020, 58; *DarSag* III, 1904, pp. 1731–1743, s.v. Mercator (R. Cagnat); Bounegru 2006.

[84] Sidell and Panter 2016.

[85] Killock et al. 2015.

[86] A base for the *classis Germanica* (Suharoschi, Dumitrache, and Curca 2020, 62, with reference to Munteanu 2015, 123).

[87] UNESCO 2015; Bauer and Klafke 2014; see also Guédon 2024.

250 miles north of *Londinium*. Hadrian's wall stretches from the east to the west coasts of northern England. Building work commenced in the first half of the 2nd century A.D. after Hadrian's visit to the province.

Like *Confluentes*, *Londinium* was built on a natural boundary that was difficult to cross, the river Thames. There is no evidence of an actual bridge, it may have been a wooden bridge, i.e., made of a perishable material (like in *Confluentes*), or simply a crossing point like a ford and we know that erosion has affected the riverbanks such that traces may have been lost.[88] Also like *Confluentes*, the location on a major river and at the entrance point into the traffic network, waterways and roads, made *Londinium* a strategically important point. However, the area of *Londinium* was marshland. The Romans managed to drain the area of the walled area, yet this still meant that building materials such as clay and stone had to be brought in.[89] Most noticeably, this was done with ragstone from Kent.[90] Marshland also meant that the local population would have been well-versed as to how to cross it but the Romans were not.[91] This left *Londinium* exposed especially to the east as the repeated reinforcements of defences show.

Neither the *Limes Germanicus* nor Hadrian's wall were sealed defensive lines.[92] Especially traders seem to have crossed these constantly.[93] Both areas seem to have attracted a diverse range of people, as, e.g., the bilingual funerary inscription *RIB* 1065 by a man from Palmyrene found in South Shields shows.[94] This aligns with Gardner's comments on "bordering as practice," i.e., "more important than any physical structures are

[88] Merrifield and Sheldon 1974; Dawson 1969; Dawson 1971; Milne 1982; see also Wallace 2014, 8.

[89] See also Wheeler 1928.

[90] Elliott 2018.

[91] Hingeley and Unwin (2018, 23) comment on Cass. Dio 60.20.1–3 on Claudius' conquest in A.D. 43 to this effect, i.e., the Romans struggled with the landscape of the marshland around the Thames, whereas the local population knew exactly how to cross it.

[92] Hingley 2022, 239–244 on *vici*, *civitates*, etc., beyond Hadrian's Wall.

[93] Suharoschi, Dumitrache, and Curca 2020; Gardner 2022.

[94] For images, see https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/1065.

the things that people do along, across and around them [*sc.* borders], as part of their everyday lives in a borderland."[95] He sees a "fundamental duality—or paradox—of borders, as always connecting as well as dividing, and thus facilitating complex juxtapositions of boundary-maintenance practices with boundary-crossing practices."[96] Thus, rather than posing a dividing line, border areas allow for interaction and negotiation of "identity, difference[,] and otherness." [97] They are places of creativity and innovation—in *Londinium* possibly driven by "crowds of merchants and hustle and bustle" (*copia negotiatorum et commeatuum*).

The duality of the border zone becomes amply apparent when we consider locations such as the Romano-Celtic temple on Tabard place in Southwark.[98] This is close to where Stane Street and Watling Street converged, two major transport routes.[99] The earliest Roman activity may date to the time of Claudius' invasion in A.D. 43. There are postholes which indicate a built structure as well as ditches to manage drainage.[100] In the 2nd century A.D., the earlier structures seem to have been replaced by two Romano-Celtic temples, which were expanded in the 3rd century A.D. In the 4th century A.D., the southern temple seems to have been demolished and replaced by a large building, and in the 5th century A.D., the large building may have been used as a shelter.[101]

Thus, the temple does not seem to have been located in a marginal area but seems to have been well-connected with the settlement centre. Its well-connectedness with areas of the empire is reflected in the range of artefacts (specifically coins and pottery which usually give us an idea of origin based on an inscription or design on them) that were discovered

---

See Broekaert (2013, 24–149) on the 47 inscriptions from the northern *limes* in the Germanies mentioning *negotiatiores* or *negotiantes*.

[95] Gardner 2022, 164.

[96] Gardner 2022, 164.

[97] Gardner 2022, 164.

[98] Killock et al. 2015.

[99] For a map, see https://www.pre-construct.com/portfolio/tabard-square-london-borough-of-southwark/.

[100] Killock 2009.

[101] Killock 2009.

at the site. They came from Gaul (modern France), *Germania* (modern Germany), Spain, North Africa, and the Eastern Mediterranean as well as other parts of Britain.[102] This reflects that the temple must have been located on a busy commuting route (to Dover in the south).

Two finds show the creative nature of such a place. A burial plaque (*RIB* 3014) dedicated to Mars Camulus was buried in a 4th-century A.D. pit or shaft, indicating that belief systems had changed.[103] Mars Camulus was a Romano-Celtic deity, Roman Mars was the god of war, Celtic Camulus was identified with Mars in Roman times by means of the *interpretatio Romana*.[104] The inscription was written by a sea trader (*moritex*) from Bellovacus (*c(ivis) Bell(ovacus*)) (near modern-day Beauvais, Belgium).[105]

RIB 3014
num(inibus) Aug(ustorum)
deo Marti Ca-
mulo Tiberini-
us Celerianus
c(ivis) Bell(ovacus)
moritix
Londiniensi-
um
p̣rimus [...]
[...]VA̤[…]
[...].

> To the Divinities of the Emperors (and) to the god Mars Camulus. Tiberinius Celerianus, a citizen of the Bellovaci, *moritix*, of Londoners the first […] (Trans. Tomlin 2018c, 336).

Thus, we see the interaction and negotiation of "identity, difference[,] and otherness" in material and epigraphic evidence from the site.[106] This suggests that "the temple was likely used as an important stopping off

[102] Killock et al. 2015.
[103] Killock et al. 2015.
[104] See also Aldhouse-Green 2004; Young 2023.
[105] For images, see https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/3014.
[106] Gardner 2022, 164.

point for people travelling between London and northern France."[107] Lively trade routes with northern France had existed long before the Roman period but with Caesar's campaigns in the 1st century B.C. the focal points of these trade networks shifted—in favour of *Londinium*.[108]

Thus, rather than being an established administrative centre (e.g., a *colonia* or a *municipium*), *Londinium* was primarily a frontier town built in an area that was not only difficult to build on but also poor in resources, yet at the entrance to the transport network by water or by land across the province, a place that attracted large numbers of diverse people and a significant amount of traffic, with one driving force being commerce and trade. This is what *commeatus* seems to capture, i.e., in the sense of "encounter" or "hustle and bustle," as the back and forth of people, goods, ideas, etc. in more or less orderly and reciprocal ways. The often used translation "provisions" suggests the opposite, i.e., *commeatus* as describing a stative situation rather than a constantly evolving event.

4.3. TACITUS' *COMMEATUS*

The deverbal noun formation in *-tus* was likely no longer generally productive, i.e., used to produce new deverbal nouns, in the classical period, but became limited to formations from motion verbs in particular, e.g., *adventus* "arrival."[109] This may be why *commeatus* is commonly translated as "goods, provisions" or even "stores."[110] This would suggest that the deverbal noun had passed from *nomen actionis* to *nomen rei* or indeed further to *nomen loci*.[111] The productive counterpart was formations in *-tio*.

---

[107] Gerrard 2016; see also Hingley and Unwin 2018, 130 on Cripplegate fort, in the north-western corner of the city, as a frontier fortress.

[108] Cunliffe 2004, 6, 8, and 10.

[109] Fruyt 2011, 159.

[110] E.g., Jackson 1937, 163: "stores"; Kline 2017: "goods"; Burnouf 1863: "commerce"; *TLL*, s.v. *commeatus, us*, m I.A *actio sive potestas commeandi* & II.B *subest etiam actio ad commeatum adducendum pertinens*. Yet, Heller (2011, 667) translates *Handelsverkehr* "trade-related traffic."

[111] Panagl 2019, 394.

The lexeme *commeatus* appears 31 times in Tacitus' writings (in the LatinISE corpus), including the passage of interest. Co-textual analysis reveals that in 18 of these, the lexeme refers to "goods, supplies" (*nomen rei*); in eight (including the passage of interest), it refers to "traffic, movement of people" (*nomen actionis*); in one passage, it seems to refer to a physical location (*nomen loci*). Thus, while all three meanings seem to be available, the *nomen rei* meaning dominates numerically.[112]

Against this background, it is worth considering the underlying verb *meo* "to go, to pass" and its compound *commeo* in which the prefix *con-* (assimilated to *com-*) could either be read as referential in the sense of "together" or intensifying.[113] In either case, if *commeatus* was still linked to the underlying verb in contemporary language users' perception—or possibly re-linked to the verb by means of re-etymologising the noun, if we assume that the original *nomen actionis* (i.e., "gathering; traffic") had indeed become a *nomen rei* (i.e., "goods") or *nomen loci* (i.e., "stores") already—this would explain the eventive semantics that Tacitus draws on in his account of London.[114]

Finally, it is noticeable that *commeatus* appears in the plural. Garzón Fontalvo has shown that Latin deverbal nouns in the plural can be interpreted as (1) referring to different entities, (2) having an iteration

[112] The annotated dataset is available here: doi: 10.5287/ora-mnr2ex4jw.

[113] Puigdollers 2015; Inglese 2024.

[114] Re-etymologising falls under what has been termed folk etymology: "Folk etymology is a process by which a synchronically isolated and unmotivated word, or a word constituent, is—in an etymologically and diachronically incorrect way—newly or secondarily motivated, interpreted and de-isolated by following a phonetically similar or (partially) identical, non-isolated, well-known word (word family) without considering phonetic-phonological and morphological regularities. The lexeme, which is the product of this process, acquires a new morphological, morpho-semantic or semantic interpretation or interpretability" (Olschansky 1996, 107). For *commeatus*, this would mean that there was a secondary motivation to recover an eventive meaning that had otherwise been superseded, i.e., the lexeme had come to be a *nomen rei* or *nomen loci* (see also Michel 2015; Ledgeway and Vincent 2022, 51–52; Rundblad and Kronenfeld 2003).

meaning, (3) having a "sorts of" meaning, and (4) expressing intensification, of which options two to four apply to event nouns.[115] Both suggestions put forward above, "encounter" or "hustle and bustle," reflect both iteration and intensity and thus capture not only the eventive semantics but also the plural semantics of *commeatus*.

5. A SOCIOPRAGMATIC READING OF TACITUS' *COMMEATUS* AND CAESAR'S *AUXILIA (SUBMINISTRARE)*

When considering Tacitus' *commeatus* and Caesar's *auxilia* (*subministrare*) in their co-text, i.e., the textual surroundings of an item or phrase, and context, i.e., the discursive surroundings of an item or phrase, ambiguity as regards the event noun *commeatus* (state vs. event) and the support-verb construction *auxilia subministrare* (people vs. goods) remains.[116] When embedding them into the social settings that these were referring to as evident in the epigraphic and archaeological record from *Londinium*, things become clearer. The archaeological record paints the picture of a fully equipped, defence- and trade-focused settlement, whereas the epigraphic evidence highlights the intercontinental clientele that frequented it, for commerce, tourism, and trade. The image of a frontier town full of hustle and bustle (*commeatus*) at the heart of intercontinental cross-border supply and value chains (*auxilia subministrare*) emerges.

This approach to the two passages combines a functional approach to translation, i.e., the focus on the functional equivalence of the text in the source and target settings and discourses, with a sociopragmatic approach to translation, i.e., the focus on the social, cultural, material, etc. embedding of the source text and the interaction with its surrounding settings and discourse(s).[117] It captures the "discursive readjustments" of the words' and phrases' default values.[118]

---

[115] Garzón Fontalvo 2020.

[116] On the concept of a co-text, see Crystal [6]2008, 119; on that of a context, see Crystal [6]2008, 109.

[117] On the functional approach, see Vermeer 1989; Nord 2003; on the sociopragmatic approach, see Culpeper 2021, 27.

[118] Cf. Leitner and Jucker 2021, 705.

Support-verb constructions, like *auxilia subministrare*, are known to differ from a simplex verb related to the predicative noun in the structure (here *auxilia*, hence *auxiliare*) semantically and discursively.[119] Moreover, they differ as regards their social meaning, i.e., to what extent a structure is associated with a social or societal attribute, sociolinguistically speaking, to what extent it indexes this attribute.[120] For example, during the height of the Athenian democracy, Lysias was actively involved in the tweaking of oratorial and Thucydides in that of historiographical language.[121] The resulting support-verb constructions index these spheres of life. Caesar's variation of more established *auxilium dare*, *ferre*, or *praebere* may be linked not only to his desire for specificity of expression, i.e., it is about supplies not about help in general, but also to his intent on creating a phrase that signposts the specific circumstances of long-distance cross-border trade he was observing. Using the association of *subministrare* with supply chains and the fundamental ambiguity of *auxilia*, he created a structure that seems uniquely coined for the setting he was confronted with.[122]

Conversely, Tacitus' choice of *commeatus* embraces ambiguity possibly in order to convey the full range of "hustle and bustle." *Commeatus* is established both with an event meaning "traffic, commerce" and with a result meaning "supplies, provisions" across Roman historiography. However, Tacitus uses the noun in a re-etymologising way, in that the

---

[119] Cf. Fendel and Ireland 2023; Fendel 2025a, 337–497.

[120] Bentein 2019.

[121] For oratorial language, see Fendel 2024b on χάριν ἀπολαμβάνω vs. χάριν λαμβάνω "to receive thanks"; on historiographical language, see Fendel 2025b, 103–104 on ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἔχομαι "to be clueless."

[122] Similarly on Isocrates in Greek oratory of the classical period, see Fendel 2025b, 108. Caesar's support-verb construction is picked up later by Ael. *NA* 12.32 (2nd–3rd centuries A.D.): *simul et ne acerrima veneni vis celerrime per corpus manet, ne id ipsum conficiat, praesens sibi mutuo* ***ferunt auxilium****, quod necessarium regio ipsa abunde* ***subministrat****.* "Concurrently, in order that as soon as possible the harshest force of the poison does not remain throughout the body, in order that it may not achieve exactly this while present, they provide support to each other, (and) the region itself provides such support, if necessary." The passage is about a snake's poison and antidotes available in the region. Note the singular form of the noun.

reciprocity and the eventiveness of said "traffic," in the sense of "encounters" or indeed "hustle and bustle" is the key to understanding the passage. *Londinium* was a transit point that welcomed a large and diverse crowd of people, it was thus home to a multitude of encounters on a daily basis, never asleep with the hustle and bustle a constant challenge and opportunity.

As language is one tool used to construe settings and discourses, the language-related considerations involved in the composition of the source text need decoding and mapping in order to achieve a purposeful translation.[123] Caesar's and Tacitus' accounts were not written as eyewitness reports. Caesar was perhaps closer to the events he described than Tacitus was but like Tacitus he had an underlying agenda when writing his account. Caesar's objectives were certainly multifactorial, i.e., there may have been short-term financial gain from the senate in the form of further funding for his campaigns and longer-term immaterial gain for his own reputation and legacy.[124] However, there was possibly also a very practical awareness that trade routes were running intercontinentally without Roman involvement (i.e., Rome did not control the destination).[125] Tacitus is usually a master of shifting responsibility and hedging claims.[126] He was fond of experimenting with his medium, i.e., his use of language.[127] However, he is very matter of fact when describing *Londinium*. It may have been that the reason for their accounts aligning so well

[123] See Vieregge 2025, 2–71; Castro 2025, 317. Of course, the target audience(s), settings, discourse(s), etc. (primary and secondary) also play a role, see, e.g., Holmes' (1988) seminal work.

[124] Morstein-Marx 2021, 215 on *sempiterna gloria*; Hingley 2022, 41–42, on the adventure across Ocean.

[125] Noticeably, the emperor placed an interdiction on the selling of grain, iron, salt, and whetstones at the *Limes Germanicus* during the 3rd century A.D., which shows that Rome was keenly interested in controlling cross-*limes* trade and the availability of resources (Suharoschi, Dumitrache, and Curca 2020, 60–61).

[126] E.g., Autin 2015.

[127] Owen and Gildenhard 2013, 26; O'Gorman 2000, 1: "If we decode these sentences and translate Tacitus into clear prose, therefore, we lose the historical representation and analysis of which Tacitus' writing is the vehicle."

and being so matter of fact was that *Londinium* was not relevant enough to create much in terms of narrative.

It may well be that at the time of Caesar's account the site of later *Londinium*, while already strategically important, was not yet on Rome's radar as the trade routes (and enclaves) Caesar's armies encountered were not yet focused on the Thames estuary. Even after the Roman conquest, *Londinium* existed as a site "unlike any other in the province (i.e., not a fort, not a municipium, not a colonia, not an oppidum, not a civitas capital, etc.)."[128] It was, on the one hand, without a political centre which would have made it interesting for Tacitus and, on the other hand, a lively frontier in constant flux, which may have been difficult to press into any *topos* or frame even for Tacitus. Thus, *Londinium's* lack of early prominence in the history books may be exactly because of its character as a frontier town at the heart of intercontinental supply and value chains full of hustle and bustle. It was not the big names of history that made London into what it is but the constant flux of people, from all ways of life, from all over the (known) world, full of ambitions and dreams.

Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford, UK
victoria.fendel@lmh.ox.ac.uk

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aldhouse-Green, Miranda. *2004.* "Gallo-British Deities and their Shrines." In *A Companion to Roman Britain, ed. Malcolm Todd, 193–219. Oxford: Blackwell.*

Autin, Louis. 2015. "Rumour as a Literary Device in Tacitus." *Histos Working Papers* 4: 1–17.

Baños, José Miguel. 2014. "*Consilium (habere, capere, dare)*: un sustantivo hecho predicado." In *Philologia, Universitas, Vita. Trabajos en honor de Tomás González*

[128] Wallace 2014, 21.

Rolán, ed. José Miguel Baños, María Felisa del Barrio Vega, María Teresa Callejas Berdonés, and Antonio López Fonseca., 103–114. Madrid: Escolar y Mayo.

— 2016. "Las construcciones con verbo soporte en latín: sintaxis y semántica." In *Omnia mutantur: Canvi, transformació i pervivència en la cultura clàssica, en les seves llengües i en el seu llegat*. Vol. II, ed. Esperanza Borrell Vidal and Oscar de la Cruz Palma, 3–27. Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona.

— 2018. "Las construcciones con verbo soporte en latín: una perspectiva diacrónica." In *Les constructions à verbe support en latin.* Cahiers du LRL 7, ed. Colette Bodelot and Olga Spevak, 21–51. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal.

Bateman, N. C. W. 1997. "The London Amphitheatre: Excavations 1987–1996." *Britannia* 28: 51–85.

Bauer, Tobias, and Stefan Klafke. 2014. "Römische Pfahlbrücke über den Rhein bei Koblenz." *KuLaDig*.
https://www.kuladig.de/Objektansicht.aspx?extid=O-100370-20140819-6
(accessed 11 July 2025)

Bel, Núria, Maria Coll, and Gabriela Resnik. 2010. "Automatic Detection of Non-deverbal Event Nouns for Quick Lexicon Production." In *Proceedings of the 23rd International Conference on Computational Linguistics (Coling 2010).* Vol. II, ed. Chu-Ren Huang and Dan Jurafsky, 46–52. Beijing: Tsinghua University Press.

Bentein, Klaas. 2019. "Dimensions of Social Meaning in Post-Classical Greek: Towards an Integrated Approach." *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 19.2: 119–167.

Blair, Ian. 2005. "Roman and Medieval Buildings, an Assemblage of Rare 18th-Century Glass, and Other Finds from 15–17 King Street, London EC2." *London Archaeologist* 10.12: 311–322.

Bodelot, Colette, and Olga Spevak, eds. 2018. *Les constructions à verbe support en latin*. Cahier du LRL 7. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal.

Bounegru, Octavian. 2006. *Trafiquants et navigateurs sur le Bas Danube et dans le Pont Gauche à l'époque romaine*. Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 9. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Brigham, Trevor. 1990. "The Late Roman Waterfront in London." *Britannia* 21: 99–183.

Britain, David. 2013. "Space, Diffusion, and Mobility." In *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, ed. J. K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling, 471–500. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Broekaert, Wim. 2013. *Navicularii et Negotiantes: A Prosopographical Study of Roman Merchants and Shippers*. Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 28. Rahden: Marie Leidorf.

Brown, Dunstan, Marina Chumakina, Greville Corbett, Gergana Popova, and Andrew Spencer. 2012. "Defining *periphr*asis: Key Notions." *Morphology* 22: 233–275.

Burnham, Barry C., Lawrence J. F. Keppie, A. Simon Esmonde Cleary, Mark W. C. Hassall, and Roger S. O. Tomlin. 2000. "Roman Britain in 1999." *Britannia* 31: 371–449.

Burnouf, Jean Louis, ed. and trans. 1863. *Oeuvres complètes de Tacite.* Paris: L. Hachette.

Burton, Emily. 2007. "New Discoveries at St Martin-in-the-Fields." *Rescue News* 102: 1–3.

Butt, Miriam. 2010. "The Light Verb Jungle: Still Hacking Away." In *Complex Predicates: Cross-Linguistic Perspectives on Event Structure*, ed. Mengistu Amberger, Brett Baker, and Mark Harvey, 48–78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Castro, Paula. 2025. "Possibilities of Existence—Making and Changing Subjectivities and (Ancient) Worlds." In *Social Psychology and the Ancient World: Methods and Applications*. Euhormos: Greco-Roman Studies in Anchoring Innovation 8, ed. Luuk Huitink, Vlad Glaveanu, and Irene Sluiter, 309–318. Leiden: Brill.

Cowan, Carrie, and Peter Hinton. 2008. "The Roman Garden in London." In *Londinium and Beyond: Essays on Roman London and Its Hinterland for Harvey Sheldon*, ed. John Clark, Jonathan Cotton, Jenny Hall, Roz Sherris, and Hedley Swain, 75–81. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Crystal, David. [6]2008. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetic*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Culpeper, Jonathan. 2011. "Historical Sociopragmatics: An Introduction." In *Historical Sociopragmatics*, ed. Jonathan Culpeper, 1–8. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

— 2021. "Sociopragmatics: Roots and Definition." In *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociopragmatics*, ed. Michael Haugh, Dániel Z. Kádár, and Marina Terkourafi, 15–29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cunliffe, Barry. 2004. "Britain and the Continent: Networks of Interaction." In *A Companion to Roman Britain*, ed. Malcolm Todd, 1–11. Oxford: Blackwell.

Darvill, Timothy. [2]2008. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dawson, Graham. 1969. "Roman London Bridge." *London Archaeologist* 1.5: 114–117.

— 1971. "London Bridge—a Rejoinder." *London Archaeologist* 1.10: 224–225.

de Vaan, Michiel. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 7. Leiden: Brill.

Dumitrache, Iulia. 2009. "Mobilitatea regională în secolul III p. Chr.: negotiatores Britanniciani." *Analele Ştiinţifice ale Universităţii Alexandru Ioan Cuza din Iaşi, Istorie* 54–55: 5–15.

Edwards, Henry J., ed. 1917. *Caesar. The Gallic War*. Loeb 72. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Eliav, Yaron Z. 2023. *A Jew in the Roman Bathhouse: Cultural Interaction in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Elliott, Simon. 2018. *Ragstone to Riches: Imperial Estates, metalla and the Roman Military in the South East of Britain during the Occupation*. Oxford: BAR.

Erbach, Kurt. 2025. "Shifting Interpretations: Count and Mass in Linguistic Categorization." *Lexis: Journal in English Lexicology* 25.
https://doi.org/10.4000/14i18

Fagan, Garrett G. 2016. "Gladiators, Combatants at Games." In *OCD*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.2845 (accessed 11 July 2025)

Fendel, Victoria B. 2024a. "Support-Verb Constructions with *carere* 'to be free (from)' in the *LatinISE* Corpus: The Caritive in Latin." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64.2: 223–257.

— 2024b. "Celebrating Diversity: The Origins and Pathways of Three Support-Verb Constructions." *Lexis: Journal in English Lexicology* 24. https://doi.org/10.4000/12cvp

— 2024c. "Support-Verb Constructions in the Magical Papyri of the Later Roman and Early Byzantine Periods: A Special Case of Technical Writing." *SymbOslo* 98.1: 106–136.

— 2025a. *Giving Gifts and Doing Favours: Literary Classical Attic Greek Support-Verb Constructions*. Leiden: Brill.

— 2025b. "Do Good or Suffer Evil: Syntactic Nominalisations in Verbal Multi-Word Expressions in the PARSEME GRC Corpus." *Digital Studies in Language and Literature* 2.1: 85–121.

Fendel, Victoria B., and Matthew T. Ireland. 2023. "Discourse Cohesion in Xenophon's *On Horsemanship* through Sketch Engine." *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 17.3. https://doi.org/10.63744/scm43z65uf3d

Fruyt, Michèle. 2011. "Word-Formation in Classical Latin." In *A Companion to the Latin Language*, ed. James Clackson, 157–175. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Gardiner, Vincent. 2001. "An Analysis of Romano-British Lead Pigs." *iams* 21: 11–13.

Gardner, Andrew. 2022. "Hadrian's Wall and Border Studies: Problems and Prospects." *Britannia* 53: 159–171.

Garzón Fontalvo, Eveling. 2020. "The Category of Number in Latin: Meanings of the Plural with Verbal Nouns." *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 19.2: 179–194.

Garzón Fontalvo, Eveling, and Cristina Tur. 2022. "Further Verbal Characteristics of Latin Predicate Nouns." *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 21.2: 199–223.

Gerrard, James. 2016. " Roman London's Cosmopolitan History Revealed." Press Office, Newcastle University.

https://www.ncl.ac.uk/press/articles/archive/2016/01/romanlondonscosmopolitanhistoryrevealed/ (accessed 16 July 2025)

Grimshaw, Jane. 1990. *Argument Structure*. Linguistic Inquiry 18. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Grosjean, François. 2024. *On Bilinguals and Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guédon, Stéphanie. 2024. "Frontiers of the Roman Empire. UNESCO World Heritage and Frontier Perspectives." In *Current Approaches to Roman Frontiers.* LIMES XXV.1, ed. Harry van Enckevort, Mark Driessen, Erik Graafstal, Tom Hazenberg, Tatiana Ivleva, and Carol van Driel-Murray, 295–298. Leiden: Sidestone Press.

Hammer, Friederike. 1987. "A Roman Basilica Hall and Associated Buildings at Fenchurch Street." *Archaeology Today* 8.9: 6–12.

Hawker-Yates, Lily. 2025. "The '*World*'s Most Difficult Jigsaw Puzzle': A Once in a Lifetime Discovery from Roman Southwark." Blog, Museum of London Archaeology.
https://www.mola.org.uk/discoveries/news/worlds-most-difficult-jigsaw-puzzle-once-lifetime-discovery-roman-southwark (accessed 11 July 2025)

Heller, Erich, ed. and trans. 2011. *Tacitus. 'Annalen.' Lateinisch-Deutsch*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Henig, Martin. 2023. Rev. of Dominic Perring, *London in the Roman World*. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 176.1: 316–319.

Hines, John. 1996. "Britain after Rome: Between Multiculturalism and Monoculturalism." In *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities*, ed. Paul Graves-Brown, Siân Jones, and Clive Gamble, 256–270. London: Routledge.

Hingley, Richard. 2022. *Conquering the Ocean: The Roman Invasion of Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hingley, Richard, and Christina Unwin. 2018. *Londinium: A Biography. Roman London from Its Origins to the Fifth Century*. London: Bloomsbury.

Hoffmann, Roland. 2015. "On Sentential Complements of Latin Function Verb Constructions." In *Latin Linguistics in the Early 21st Century. Acts of the 16th International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Uppsala, June 6th–11th, 2011*. Studia Latina Upsaliensia 35, ed. Gerd V. M. Haverling, 362–373. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Holmes, James S. 1988. *Translated! Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Humphreys, Owen. 2023. "Greater London." *Britannia* 54: 381–383.

Huyghe, Richard, Lucie Barque, Pauline Haas, and Delphine Tribout. 2017. "The Semantics of Underived Event Nouns in French." *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 29.1: 117–142.

Inglese, Guglielmo. 2024. "*Nisi paria non pugnant:* Argument Structure Alternations with Lexical Reciprocal Verbs in Latin." *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 23.1–2: 51–80.

Jackson, John, trans. 1937. *Tacitus. Annals: Books 13–16*. Loeb 322. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Keyer, Denis. 2019. "Inscription on a Roman Stylus from London." *Hyperboreus: Studia Classica* 25.2: 340–350.

Killock, Douglas. 2009. "An Assessment of an Archaeological Excavation at Tabard Square, 34–70 Long Lane and 31–47 Tabard Street, London SE1, London Borough of Southwark." Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd (London) unpublished report series.

Killock, Douglas, John Shepherd, James Gerrard, Kevin Hayward, Kevin Rielly, and Victoria Ridgeway. 2015. *Temples and Suburbs: Excavations at Tabard Square, Southwark*. PCA Monograph 18. London: Pre-Construct Archaeology.

Kline, Anthony S., trans. 2017. "Cornelius Tacitus. *The Annals:* Book XIV, I–XXXIX." Poetry in Translation.
https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/AnnalsBookXIV-1to39.php (accessed 21 July 2025)

Kropff, Antony. 2016. "Een Romeinse Europoort aan de Schelde." *Westerheem* 65: 185–195.

Ledger, Marissa L., Rebecca Redfern, and Piers D. Mitchell. 2024. "Intestinal Parasitic Infection in Roman Britain: Integrating New Evidence from Roman London." *Britannia* 55: 99–115.

Ledgeway, Adam, and Nigel Vincent. 2022. "Periphrasis and Inflexion: Lessons from Romance." In *Periphrasis and Inflexion in Diachrony: A View from Romance*, ed. Adam Ledgeway, John Charles Smith, and Nigel Vincent, 11–60. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leitner, Magdalena, and Andreas H. Jucker. 2021. "Historical Sociopragmatics." In *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociopragmatics*, ed. Michael Haugh, Dániel Z. Kádár, and Marina Terkourafi, 687–709. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leiwo, Martti. 2002. "From Contact to Mixture: Bilingual Inscriptions from Italy." In *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain, 168–194. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Los, Bart, Marcel P. Timmer, and Gaaitzen J. de Vries. 2015. "How Global Are Global Value Chains? A New Approach to Measure International Fragmentation." *Journal of Regional Science* 55.1: 66–92.

Marsden, Peter. 1969. "Archaeological Finds in the City of London 1966–8." *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 22.2: 1–26.

— 1976. "Two Roman Public Baths in London." *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 27: 2–68.

— 2018. "The Purpose of the Cripplegate Roman Fort." *London Archaeologist* 15.5: 137–140.

— 2019. "Reconstructing the Forum and Basilica of Roman London." *London Archaeologist* 15.8: 219–221.

Martín Rodríguez, Antonio María. 1996. "*Dare,* auxiliaire lexical en latin." In *Structures lexicales du Latin*. *Actes de la table ronde du VII^e colloque international de linguistique latine, Jérusalem, 20 avril, 1993.* Lingua Latina. Recherches linguistiques du Centre Alfred Ernout, ed. Michèle Fruyt and Claude Moussy, 49–64. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne.

— 2018. "Les emplois de dare comme verbe support: une réévaluation." In *Les constructions à verbe support en latin*. Cahiers du LRL 7, ed. Colette Bodelot and Olga Spevak, 149–168. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal.

McGillivray, Barbara, and Adam Kilgarriff. 2013. "Tools for Historical Corpus Research, and a Corpus of Latin." In *New Methods in Historical Corpora*, ed. Paul Bennett, Martin Durrell, Silke Scheible, and Richard J. Whitt, 247–256. Tübingen: Narr.

Meinschaefer, Judith. 2016. "Nominalizations." In *Manual of Grammatical Interfaces in Romance*. MRL 10, ed. Susann Fischer and Christoph Gabriel, 391–418. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Mel'čuk, Igor. 2004. "Verbes supports sans peine." *Lingvisticæ Investigationes* 27.2: 203–217.

Mendózar Cruz, Juan. 2020. "Las construcciones con verbo soporte en latín. Estado de la cuestión." *Tempus: Revista de actualización científica sobre el Mundo Clásico en España* 47: 7–48.

Merrifield, Ralph. 1965. *The Roman City of London*. London: Ernest Benn.

Merrifield, Ralph, and Harvey L. Sheldon. 1974. "Roman London Bridge: A View from Both Banks." *London Archaeologist* 2.8: 183–191.

Michel, Sascha. 2015. "Word-Formation and Folk Etymology." In *Word-Formation: An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe*. Vol. II, ed. Peter O. Müller, Ingeborg Ohnheiser, Susan Olsen, and Franz Rainer, 1002–1019. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Milne, Gustav. 1982. "Further Evidence for Roman London Bridge?" *Britannia* 13: 271–276.

Morstein-Marx, Robert. 2021. *Julius Caesar and the Roman People*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Munteanu, Claudiu I. 2015. *Transportul de mărfuri pe căile navigabile interioare din provinciile romane renane și dunărene (secolele I–III p.Chr.)*. Sibius: Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal.

Muysken, Pieter. 2010. "Scenarios for Language Contact." In *The Handbook of Language Contact*, ed. Raymond Hickey, 263–281. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Neal, David S., and Stephen R. Cosh. 2009. *Roman Mosaics of Britain*. Vol. III: *South-East Britain*. Parts I–II. London: Society of Antiquaries of London.

Newton, Katherine. 2023. "First of Its Kind Roman Mausoleum Unearthed at London Development Site." Blog, *Museum of London Archaeology*. https://www.mola.org.uk/discoveries/news/first-its-kind-roman-mausoleum-unearthed-london-development-site (accessed 11 July 2025)

Nisard, M., ed. and trans. 1865. *Salluste, Jules César, C. Velléius Paterculus et A. Florus: oeuvres complètes*. Paris: Firmin Didot frères, fils et cie.

Nord, Christiane. 2003. "Function and Loyalty in Bible Translation." In *Apropos of Ideology. Translation Studies on Ideology—Ideologies in Translation Studie*, ed. María Calzada Pérez, 89–112. London: Routledge.

O'Gorman, Ellen. 2000. *Irony and Misreading in the Annals of Tacitus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Olschansky, Heike. 1996. *Volksetymologie*. Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 175. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Owen, Matthew, and Ingo Gildenhard. 2013. *Tacitus, Annals, 15.20–23, 33–45. Latin Text, Study Aids with Vocabulary, and Commentary*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.

Panagl, Oswald. 2019. "Wortbildung und Textsorte: Verbalabstrakta in der spät(er)en Latinität." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 59.1–4: 387–397.

Pelling, Christopher. 2015. "Bellum Africum." In *OCD*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.1082 (accessed 11 July 2025)

Perring, Dominic. 2022. *London in the Roman World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Perring, Dominic, and Trevor Brigham. 2000. "Londinium and Its Hinterland: The Roman Period." In *The Archaeology of Greater London: An Assessment of Archaeological Evidence for Human Presence in the Area Now Covered by Greater London*, ed. Katie Frederick, Paul Garwood, Peter Hinton, Monica Kendall, and Ellen McAdam, 119–170. London: MOLA.

Pinkster, Harm. 2015. *The Oxford Latin Syntax.* Vol. I: *The Simple Clause*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Puigdollers, Antonio R. Revuelta. 2015. "The Verbal Compounds of *com-* in Latin and the Morphology-Syntax Interface." In *Latin Linguistics in the Early 21st Century. Acts of the 16th International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Uppsala, June 6th–11th, 2011*. Studia Latina Upsaliensia 35, ed. Gerd V. M. Haverling, 158–169. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Radimský, Jan. 2011. "Noms prédicatifs, noms de résultat et noms concrets dans les constructions à verbe support." *Lingvisticæ Investigationes* 34.2: 204–227.

Redfern, Rebecca, and Heather Bonney. 2014. "Headhunting and Amphitheatre Combat in Roman London, England: New Evidence from the Walbrook Valley." *JAS* 43: 214–226.

Ridgeway, Victoria, Joanna Taylor, and Edward Biddulph. 2019. *A Bath House, Settlement and Industry on Roman Southwark's North Island: Excavations along Thameslink Borough Viaduct and at London Bridge Station*. London: Pre-Construct Archaeology.

Rogers, Adam. 2011. *Late Roman Towns in Britain: Rethinking Change and Decline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosén, Hannah. 2020. "Composite Predicates in the Layers of Latin." *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 19.2: 231–279.

Rowsome, Peter. 1996. "The Billingsgate Roman House and Bath—Conservation and Assessment." *London Archaeologist* 7.16.: 415–423.

— 2008. "Mapping Roman London: Identifying Its Urban Patterns and Interpreting Their Meaning." In *Londinium and Beyond: Essays on Roman London and Its Hinterland for Harvey Sheldon*, ed. John Clark, Jonathan Cotton, Jenny Hall, Roz Sherris, and Hedley Swain, 25–32. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Rule, Margaret, and Jason Monaghan. 1993. *A Gallo-Roman Trading Vessel from Guernsey: The Excavation and Recovery of a Third Century Shipwreck*. Guernsey: Guernsey Museums & Galleries.

Rundblad, Gabriella, and David B. Kronenfeld. 2003. "The Inevitability of Folk Etymology: A Case of Collective Reality and Invisible Hands." *Journal of Pragmatics* 35.1: 119–138.

Rusten, Jeffrey R. 2020. "Τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην: Thucydides' chronicle in the *Pentekontaetia* (1.97–117) is not a Digression." *Histos* 14: 230–254.

Rychlý, Pavel. 2008. "A Lexicographer-Friendly Association Score." In *RASLAN 2008: Recent Advances in Slavonic Natural Language Processing*, ed. Petr Sojka and Aleš Horák, 6–9. Brno: Masaryk University.

Savary, Agata, Marie Candito, Verginica Barbu Mititelu, Eduard Bejček, Fabienne Cap, Slavomír Čéplö, Silvio Ricardo Cordeiro, et al. 2018. "PARSEME Multilingual Corpus of Verbal Multiword Expressions." In *Multiword Expressions at Length and in Depth: Extended Papers from the MWE 2017 Workshop*. Phraesology and Multiword Expressions 2, ed. Stella Markantonatou, Carlos Ramisch, Agata Savary, and Veronika Vincze, 87–147. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Schönberger, Otto, ed. and trans. [4]2013. *Caius Iuliu Caesar. Der gallische Krieg. De bello Gallico. Lateinisch-Deutsch*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Schrüfer-Kolb, Irene. 2004. *Roman Iron Production In Britain: Technological and Socio-Economic Landscape Development Along the Jurassic Ridge*. BAR British Series 380. Oxford: BAR.

Shaw, Heidi, Janet Montgomery, Rebecca Redfern, Rebecca Gowland, and Jane Evans. 2016. "Identifying Migrants in Roman London Using Lead and Strontium Stable Isotopes." *JAS* 66: 57–68.

Sidell, Jane, and Ian Panter. 2016. "How to Carefully Construct a Hospital over a Roman Boat in Central London, UK." *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 18.1–3: 266–275.

Sim, David, and Isabel Ridge. 2002. *Iron for the Eagles: The Iron Industry in Roman Britain*. Stroud: Tempus.

Smith, John Charles. 2022. "The Boundaries of Inflexion and Periphrasis." In *Periphrasis and Inflexion in Diachrony: A View from Romance*, ed. Adam Ledgeway, John Charles Smith, and Nigel Vincent, 61–90. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spevak, Olga. 2014. *The Noun Phrase in Classical Latin Prose*. Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 21. Leiden: Brill.

Spickermann, Wolfgang. 2010. "Religion an der Nordseeküste: Dea Nehalennia." In *Kontaktzone Lahn: Studien zum Kulturkontakt zwischen Römern und*

germanischen Stämmen. Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 38, ed. Kai Ruffing, Armin Becker, und Gabriele Rasbach, 127–138. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Suharoschi, Dan-Alexandru, Iulia Dumitrache, and Roxana-Gabriela Curca. 2020. "The *Limes Germanicus* Trade and the Roman Army." In *Experiencing the Frontier and the Frontier of Experience: Barbarian Perspectives and Roman Strategies to Deal with New Threats*. Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 76, ed. Alexander Rubel and Hans-Ulrich Voß, 56–66. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Swain, Hedley, and Tim Williams. 2008. "The Population of Roman London." In *Londinium and Beyond: Essays on Roman London and Its Hinterland for Harvey Sheldon*, ed. John Clark, Jonathan Cotton, Jenny Hall, Roz Sherris, and Hedley Swain, 33–40. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Tomlin, Roger S. O. 2003. "*The Girl in Question:* A New Text from Roman London." *Britannia* 34: 41–51.

— 2006. "Was Roman London Ever a Colonia? The Written Evidence." In *Romanitas: Essays on Roman Archaeology in Honour of Sheppard Frere on the Occasion of His Ninetieth Birthday*, ed. R. G. A. Wilson, 49–63. Oxford: Oxbow.

— 2016. *Roman London's First Voices: Writing Tablets from the Bloomberg Excavations, 2010-14*. Mola Monograph 72. London: MOLA.

— 2018a. "Literacy in Roman Britain." In *Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life*, ed. Anne Kolb, 201–220. Berlin: De Gruyter.

— 2018b. "Roman London's First Voices: A Stylish Postscript." *Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents. Newsletter* 21: 4–5.

— 2018c. *Britannia Romana: Roman Inscriptions and Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Trubetskoy, Sasha. 2017. "Roman Roads of Britain."
https://sashamaps.net/docs/maps/roman-roads-of-britain/ (15 July, 2025)

UNESCO World Heritage Centre. 2015. "Frontiers of the Roman Empire—Maps."
https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/430/maps/ (accessed 11 July 2025)

Vermeer, J. Hans. 1989. "Skopos and Commission in Translational Action." In *Readings in Translation Theory*, ed. Andrew Chesterman, 173–187. Helsinki: Finn Lectura.

Vieregge, Annika. 2025. *Bewertung und Variation der Präpositionalkasus im Deutschen: Der Einfluss metapragmatischer Urteile auf die Rektion von Präpositionen.* Open Germanic Linguistics 10. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Vincent, Nigel, and Max W. Wheeler. 2022. "Layering and Divergence in Romance Periphrases." In *Periphrasis and Inflexion in Diachrony: A View from Romance*, ed. Adam Ledgeway, John Charles Smith, and Nigel Vincent, 93–122. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wallace, Lacey M. 2014. *The Origin of Roman London*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wheeler, R. E. Mortimer. 1928. "Introduction. The Geological and Geographical Setting." In *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*. Vol. III: *Roman London*. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), 10–18. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.

— 1954. *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*. London: G. Bell and Sons.

Willi, Anna. 2022. "Inscriptions for Inscribers: Texts on Roman Writing Equipment." *Journal of Epigraphic Studies* 5: 63–104.

Williams, R. Alan, Mariacarmela Montesanto, Kamal Badreshany, Daniel Berger, Andy M. Jones, Enrique Aragón, Gerhard Brügmann, Matthew Ponting, and Benjamin W. Roberts. 2025. "From Land's End to the Levant: Did Britain's Tin Sources Transform the Bronze Age in Europe and the Mediterranean?" *Antiquity* 99.405: 708–726.

Wilson, Andrew, and Alan Bowman, eds. 2017. *Trade, Commerce, and the State in the Roman World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, Francis. 2023. *Twilight of the Godlings: The Shadowy Beginnings of Britain's Supernatural Beings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Phasis 28, 2025

FRAGMENTS OF HELLENISTIC BRONZE STATUARY FROM VANI

SALOME GURULI
NINO KALANDADZE
NINO LORDKIPANIDZE

Abstract. The ancient city-site of Vani, with its history spanning more than eight centuries, offers compelling testimony to the legendary "gold-rich Colchis," particularly through the lavish Colchian goldsmithing artefacts unearthed in the opulent burials of the 5th–4th centuries B.C. In addition to these emblematic finds, Vani is remarkable for the rare abundance and diversity of Hellenistic bronze statuary fragments and sculptural representations discovered at the site. Recent technical analyses of the bronze fragments have opened new avenues for investigating Vani as the principal temple-city of Colchis during the 3rd–1st centuries B.C. The present study introduces an interpretive framework grounded in these material analyses, offering a re-evaluation of the archaeological context in which the bronze torso of a youth—arguably the most complete bronze statue yet discovered in Georgia—was uncovered within the so-called White Structure complex on the central terrace. The study examines the use of anthropomorphic bronze statuary and sculptural representations for religious purposes in the temple-city of Vani during the Hellenistic period.

The extensive variety of Hellenistic sculpture—distinguished by remarkable realism, often approaching naturalism, and by exceptional individualization in representations of both deities and ordinary individuals (men, women, the elderly, and children)—is widely regarded as the most expressive manifestation of Hellenistic culture and has significantly influenced the art of later periods. During the Hellenistic period, sculpture conveyed with remarkable credibility not only the physicality but also the character and inner states of its subjects, whether immortal deities, mythological heroes, sovereigns, philosophers, poets, athletes, or vanquished soldiers. Moreover, such sculptural representations help elucidate the extensive historical, political, and cultural transformations embodied by Hellenism: an unparalleled process of cultural diffusion enabled by a ruler who, more than any other, disseminated Greek culture to a degree that redefined both the contemporary world and the trajectories of subsequent civilisations.

After the death of Alexander the Great, his empire was partitioned among his generals, known as the Diadochoi or Successors, who founded autonomous kingdoms that became the principal Hellenistic dynasties: the Seleucids in the Near East, the Ptolemies in Egypt, and the Antigonids in Macedonia. In his analysis of Hellenistic bronze sculpture, Ludger Alscher interprets it as profoundly symptomatic of the period's fragmented cultural and political milieu.[1] For the monarchs of these nascent Hellenistic states—leaders aspiring to emulate Alexander the Great—sculpture emerged as a powerful instrument for the visual articulation of

[1] Alscher 1957, 7: "Die Vielfelt der Welt bewegt, erheitert und beängstigt uns … Das von Alexander geschaffene Reich zerfiel nach Kämpfen der Diadochen in einzelne Territorialstaaten, die von mächtigsten Herrschern gelenkt wurden. Mit der Behauptung der Macht musste notwendig die Einheit des Lebens, wie sie im Zeitalter der Polis verwirklicht worden war, sich auflösen. An Stelle der ursprünglichen Autonomie war seit der Wende zum dritten Jahrhundert endgültig die Situation der Abhängigkeit getreten—eine Spaltung der Gemeinschaft in Herrschende und Beherrschte, in Bevorzugte und Unterdrückte, in Reiche und Arme. Unter derartigem Daseinsgesetz wird der Geist entwurzelt durch die Vielspältigkeit individuellen Denkens. Damit ist das Wissen um Verantvortlichkeit, um eine in der Gemeinschaft verankerte Verpflichtung aufs höchste bedroht."

authority. Political leaders adopted the position of benefactors of the arts. Consequently, Greek sculpture surpassed its initial geographical and ideological confines, evolving into a new realm well beyond Greece. Hellenistic sculpture originated and thrived amid the extensive territories of Alexander's former empire—spanning Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Near East—emerging as a quintessential creative manifestation of this broadened Greek realm.

While Greece continued to be a primary artistic centre from which technical and stylistic breakthroughs in statuary disseminated, several other artistic hubs arose beyond its borders. These hubs modified and reinterpreted Greek sculptural traditions, creating a rich and diverse artistic landscape that mirrored the political decentralization and cultural variety characteristic of the Hellenistic era. "This is an end point not just because Greece was soon to be absorbed into the growing empire of Rome (the captor that, as the poet Horace remarked, was itself taken captive by the arts of its more civilised neighbour) but also, more importantly, because the naturalistic tradition of figurative sculpture had reached such a degree of perfection that there was no clear next step. At its best, Hellenistic sculpture leaves nothing to be desired or improved upon."[2] The words of Timothy Potts, Earl A. Powell III, James Bradburne, and Andrea Pessina perhaps most clearly capture the pathos surrounding the most extensive recent exhibition dedicated to Hellenistic bronze sculpture, Power and Pathos: Bronze Sculpture of the Hellenistic World, held in 2015–2016 at the Palazzo Strozzi in Florence, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, and the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. Among the highlights of the exhibition was the torso (Fig. 6), which constitutes one of the central subjects of analysis in the present study.

It is well known that the vast majority of surviving Hellenistic—generally Greek—statuary is carved either in marble or other stone. However, bronze statuary was far more highly valued. Moreover, bronze, as good for secondary smelting that can be reused for another cycle of casting, was always highly prized. Because of this recyclability, ancient bronze sculptures were often deliberately demolished or defaced. Intact

[2] Daehner and Lapatin [2015] 2018, 10.

bronze works are therefore rare, and most surviving examples are missing parts or have reached us in fragments. Consequently, the finds of thematically varied fragments pertaining to bronze statuary from the Hellenistic period are of considerable importance, since many masterpieces of the period survive only as Roman copies or are known solely through literary sources. Given the limited occurrence of bronze sculpture across archaeological sites in Georgia from antiquity, the site of ancient Vani stands out for its unusually high concentration of Hellenistic bronze sculpture fragments and figural representations.

The archaeological site of Vani, located in the Imereti region, Colchis Lowlands, occupies a hill known as "Akhvlediani Hill" and is divided into three terraces. Ancient Vani is considered one of the important religious centers of Colchis—the mythical Land of the Golden Fleece. From 8th–7th centuries B.C. to the 1st century B.C., when the city was twice destroyed as a result of foreign invasions, four main phases in the development of Vani can be identified on the basis of archaeological studies conducted at the site to date.[3] Prior to the Hellenistic period, examples of bronze anthropomorphic sculpture are attested in the history of ancient Vani only during its earliest phase—the 8th–7th centuries B.C.—in the environs of Vani, within the "Land of Vani." A Colchian axe adorned with tiny sculpted "horsemen of the Great Goddess"—a chance find from Sulori—is the only known specimen from the territory of Georgia decorated with anthropomorphic figures. Another relevant object is a unit-cast figurine of a seated male holding a *rhyton* for wine, the so-called "tamada" from Inashauri. It should be noted, however, that the "tamada," together with a rectangular buckle unearthed in the territory of Vani, belongs to a category of items, stylistically and typologically similar to objects offered in the Heraion of Samos as votive gifts. The entirety of the above artefacts testifies to established connections between Greece and Colchis even in the pre-colonization period.[4] Prior to the Hellenistic period, sculpture within the

[3] For details on the history and development of ancient Vani, see Lordkipanidze 1991; Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2008a.

[4] Lordkipanidze 2002, 189–190.

settlement itself is represented only by terracotta examples. In the cultic complex dated to the 8th–7th centuries B.C., one miniature female figurine marked by a schematic rendering and a large number of zoomorphic terracottas have been found, including figures distinguished by protomes of two- and three-headed fantastic creatures.[5] A miniature figurine of a nude goddess of the Aphrodite type was found in a cultic complex dated to no later than the 5th century B.C. This complex, consisting of a timber structure, belongs to the second phase (6th to the first half of the 4th century B.C.).[6] Regarding artistic bronzes, the "richly furnished graves" are notable for the abundance and diversity of metalwork, including both locally produced and imported items from Greece. These burials constitute a defining feature of the second and third phases (4th to the first half of the 3rd century B.C.).[7]

From the second half of the 4th century B.C., a clear influence of Greek culture on building techniques, artisanship, and burial practices becomes evident. An intriguing phenomenon, possibly connected to the cult of the dead, has been attested on the upper terrace and its extension toward the central terrace. Bronze and iron anthropomorphic figurines, dated to the first half of the 3rd century B.C., were unearthed in the immediate vicinity of rectangular cult buildings open to the east, as well as a Greek-type temple adorned with half-columns and groups of graves associated with sacred space. The figurines had been buried in small pits cut into the rocky ground. In three instances, they were placed between two roof tiles, imitating a burial structure. All seven figurines, bedecked with gold earrings, bracelets, and torques, must have been wrapped in a textile, of which discoid appliqués are still preserved.[8] All the figurines have their

[5] Tolordava 1990; Lordkipanidze 1991, 155–160; Lordkipanidze 2024, 132.

[6] Lordkipanidze and Chkonia 2024, 44–46.

[7] For details on bronze ware unearthed in graves and cultural layers—vessels, jewelry, weapons, and their decorations (e.g., sculpted representations of bull's heads, fragments of armor, bridles and horse harnesses, bells, and mirrors)—see Kacharava 2025, 17–18, and figs. 28, 48–79.

[8] For details on the context of the discovery of anthropomorphic figurines from Vani, see Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2008b, 96–107.

hands extended forward in an adorant posture. Only two bronze figurines exhibit a Hellenistic character: one representing a satyr and the other an unidentifiable nude goddess. The remaining figurines are marked by a schematic rendering characteristic of Colchian anthropomorphic images known from 8th–7th centuries B.C., which sometimes makes it difficult to determine their sex based on appearance. The figurine of a satyr—a typical specimen of Hellenistic art—is the only personified image among them. The satyr's tail, stand, and the object in his hand were intentionally removed to assign him a new meaning in accordance with the local ritual of burying figurines. As a result of the context of their discovery, it is difficult to assign seven statuettes, representing five different iconographic types, the status of specific gods or priests. They may represent humans with divine attributes (ithyphallic figures, statuettes of indeterminate gender, or hermaphrodite figures resembling a goddess), or more generally, a human being after death. It may be argued that we are dealing with representations of "deified" humans buried with gold adornments. The typical Hellenistic statuette of a satyr, used in a ritual thus far known only from Vani, replaced the two-centuries-long tradition of arranging lavishly furnished graves in ancient Vani. The reappearance of bronze and iron anthropomorphic statuary after a prolonged absence may be linked to Hellenistic influence.[9]

The fourth stage lasted from the second half of the 3rd century to the mid-1st century B.C. The hill was enclosed by thick defensive walls, within which primarily religious structures—temples and altars—were constructed (Fig.1). The construction of these buildings disregarded the earlier function of the sites, and in many places cemeteries of Phase III were destroyed. Vani appears to have become, in Phase IV, a distinctive

[9] On the interpretation of the ritual, see Lordkipanidze 2011a; cf. Lordkipanidze 2002, 212, interpreting some of the figurines as priests performing fertility prayers. Matiashvili (2005, 36–38) argues that, in earlier periods, priests may have been sacrificed in an unknown ritual; by the 3rd century B.C., however, she suggests that this practice was likely replaced by the use of small figurines, which served as substitutes for the actual priests.

city-sanctuary similar to the temple communities common in Asia Minor.[10] It stands out for the number of fragments of bronze statuary and items of bronze temple inventory housed in the Otar Lordkipanidze Vani Archaeological Museum. This collection is distinguished not only by its size but also by its artistic and historical significance.

In 1967, the excavations of the so-called mosaic-floored temple (Fig. 1:7) brought to light a cluster of bronze sculptural representations constituting an outstanding group of Hellenistic works: a figure of Nike, haut-relief representations of heads of Dionysus, and mythic characters of his circle, namely Satyrs, Maenads, and Pan. They were discovered along with other bronze artefacts, such as covers of *kline*; fragments of either a large cauldron or another ritual object; stands in the shape of griffin claws; statuettes of eagles; and covers decorated with images of Erotes, insects, and floral motifs.[11] The backs of the images rendered in haut-relief are hollow, suggesting that they served as appliqués of a large bronze vessel or another ritual object and formed a decorative composition, the central element of which was presumably the figure of Nike. The object is damaged by fire to such an extent that any attempt to reconstruct its original shape is impossible. On the basis of the *strophium*-like element on the head, the haut-relief head with a completely disfigured face may have represented a youthful Dionysus (Fig. 2).[12] This representation, together with a head of Dionysus adorned with a wreath of grapevine and ivy leaves—his typical attribute—and resembling the appearance of Alexander the Great (Fig. 3),[13] as well as figures of his companions—Satyrs, Maenads, and Pan—fits the context of their discovery: a large pithos for the storage of wine and forty Colchian amphorae, presumably deposited as cult offerings, suggesting that the sanctuary was connected with the worship of viticulture and its patron

[10] Lordkipanidze 1991, 184–194.

[11] Khoshtaria, Lordkipanidze, and Puturidze 1972, 177–178, and figs. 130–143.

[12] On the parallels of Dionysus with a *strophium*, see, e.g., *LIMC* III.1, 1986, 435–436, 511, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gaspari and A. Veneri); *LIMC* III.2, 1986, nos. 122d, 126b.

[13] Cf. Kacharava and Kvirkvelia 2008c, 119, n. 11, where it is considered a representation of Ariadne with a grapevine wreath.

deity. This extremely curious order of things, which has been archeologically evidenced, finds parallels with cult wine cellars attested in Georgian ethnographic reality. Wine cellar used to be a sacrificial area for performing religious rites and special cult wine cellars were arranged, where specific place—the right corner was usually designated for pithoi containing communion wine, i.e., wine for offerings to a deity. Forty amphorae—offerings to gods were placed precisely in the eastern part of a temple unearthed at Vani.[14]

A Hellenistic bronze artefact from Vani that can be directly linked to Alexander the Great—specifically to his campaign in India—is a bronze lamp featuring three sculpted elephant heads and busts of Heracles in a lion's skin, Ariadne, and a horned (*tauromorphos*) Dionysus holding burning torches. It may be suggested that the lamp's imagery represents the scene in which Dionysus, Ariadne, and Heracles are on their way back from India. The triumph of Dionysus in India symbolized victory both politically and religiously, serving as a mythical model for Alexander's campaign, whereas this six-nozzle oil lamp presents one of the earliest depictions of the theme (Fig. 4).[15] It was part of a hoard unearthed in 2007 near the so-called mosaic-floored temple complex (Fig. 1:17). The hoard comprised covers of *kline* legs; a large *louterion*-type ritual vessel; a handle with a Gorgoneion appliqué; a few stands, including one with a figurine of Cyrene; an incense burner with three sculptured elephant heads (Fig. 5); a single wick oil lamp decorated with a floral ornament; a lamp with sculptural images of Ganymede and Zeus disguised as an eagle; a three-nozzle oil lamp topped with figures of Erotes holding musical instruments; two iron candelabras; the so-called hearth for burning wood; and spearheads. They were presumably placed in a specially arranged pit dug into the foundation of a collapsed defensive wall in the mid-1st century B.C., when the city was under attack, in order to hide them.[16] Presumably, the process of hiding this temple inventory itself may have been accompanied by a ritual. It cannot

[14] Lordkipanidze 2002, 226.

[15] Lordkipanidze 2011b.

[16] Akhvlediani, Kacharava, and Kharabadze 2022, 8–11, and pls. XXIX–XLII.

be ruled out that the iron spearheads were placed in the pit as apotropaic objects. The items from the hoard find their closest functional and stylistic parallels among artefacts from the so-called mosaic-floored temple. The choice of themes is similar as well: on the one hand, Nike, descending from heaven, and images of Dionysus and his circle; on the other hand, Ganymede, connecting the heavenly and earthly worlds, and a lamp depicting the triumph of Dionysus over the Indians. It should be noted that, just as the scene of Dionysus' return from India is one of the leading themes on Roman sarcophagi, Nike and Ganymede are also depicted together on Roman sarcophagi.[17] The inventory containing the described Hellenistic bronze artefacts, intended for one or more temples, was presumably produced in various centers, as indicated by the composition of the bronze alloys. The selection of mythological themes and ritual items appears to be well thought out and well adapted to the local system of religious beliefs, which once again attests to the importance of Vani, as a principal temple-city of Colchis within the Hellenistic world.

Examples of bronze anthropomorphic sculpture are attested in two additional complexes within the settlement, which likewise belong to the fourth phase. However, unlike the fully preserved so-called "buried" statues, the decorated fittings of temple inventory included in the hoard, and the bronze sculptural representations from the Mosaic-Floor Temple —recovered as fragments yet belonging to a single object—the White Structure complex (Fig. 1:16) and the Twelve-Stepped Altar complex (Fig. 1:12) comprise numerous fragments deriving from multiple statues. It is striking that the White Structure complex yielded such a significant work as the bronze sculpture of a youth's torso, which remains the only known nearly life-sized statue from ancient Georgia preserved in such a complete state. In the second case, only fragments of statues have been found, albeit in far greater quantity and with markedly greater diversity. A bronze nude torso of a young man (H. 1.05 m) stands out for its athletic build, characteristic of Classical Greek sculpture.

[17] E.g., a marble sarcophagus with a clypeus portrait of the deceased boy (3rd century A.D.) kept in the National Museum of the Palazzo Venezia, Rome.

According to the unanimous opinion of scholars, the Vani torso can be attributed to the type of athletically built nude male statues of the Severe Style. Judging by both its general appearance and specific details, the Vani youth is strongly reminiscent of the marble sculpture of the *Kritios Boy*, although the posture of the legs appears to differ.[18] The overall appearance and characteristics of Greek statuary from the transitional period between the Severe and High Classical styles, on the one hand, and the archaeological context of discovery, on the other, raise the question of dating. It is assumed that the Vani torso, brought to light during the excavation of a building destroyed in the 1st century B.C., had been dumped there from another location. Otar Lordkipanidze defines the Vani torso as an eclectic work of art combining a variety of stylistic features. He provides the famous *Athlete of Stephanus* statue, dating from the Roman period, as an example. It belongs to the group of classicizing statuary known as the *Apollo Omphalos*, which dates back to the Severe style. To some extent, the Vani youth resembles sculptures from the aforementioned group. "A date for the Vani statue must remain uncertain until its original site is ascertained. Its stratigraphic context suggests that the statue may have been made in Vani at the end of the second or early in the first century."[19] All in all, the statue is one of the earliest classicizing Hellenistic works that reflects the Severe Style.[20] Carol Mattusch, who devoted an entire chapter of her monograph to the Vani torso, asserted that "the torso of youth was produced in Vani in the Hellenistic period, modelled by a Colchian artist imitating the style created in Greece in the 5th century B.C. and cast by a Colchian craftsman using various local materials and refined local technology."[21] It should be noted that a lead isotope analysis of the torso, conducted by Mark Walton at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, indicates that the parent material used for the torso is not linked to the well-known Greek ore deposits at Laurion.

[18] Lordkipanidze 1991, 189; Mattusch 1996, 210–212. For a detailed iconographic analyses of the torso, see Guruli, Kalandadze, and Lordkipanidze 2025, 112–115.
[19] Lordkipanidze 1991, 191.
[20] Lordkipanidze 1991, 190–191.
[21] Mattusch 1996, 216.

Rather, it is more likely associated with mines in Artvin (a region considered part of the Kingdom of Colchis) or Rhodope.[22]

The torso of the youth, exhibiting all the technical characteristics of bronze sculpture—including casting techniques, specific surface treatments, and likely the choice of raw materials—was most likely produced in a local workshop. This can be supported by the discovery of various remains of bronze production and, most notably, of the foundry workshop unearthed in the northern section of the central terrace at the archaeological site of Vani (Fig. 1:29).[23] The Vani torso, which differs from the Roman statue of *Apollo Omphalos* and its replicas only in scale, should not be regarded as a copy or direct replica of the bronze original of this important Apollo type, created in the Severe Style. Rather, it represents a "free imitation."[24]

This "freedom" is most evident in the individual artistic execution of the sculpture, which masterfully captures the essence of a youthful deity, combining an athletic physique with refined elegance. Does the statue depict simply a young athlete or—as Hellenistic rulers are often represented as nude athletes—a heroized ruler? Technical studies showing the absence of pubic hair rule out the possibility of an adolescent.[25] The possibility of a ruler portrait is also excluded, as Jens Daehner suggests that "the conspicuous combination of a full-grown body with mature musculature but adolescent sexuality would conceptually best befit an eternally youthful god, such as Apollo."[26] The idea that the sculpture

[22] Maish et al. 2019, 82.

[23] For the results of the technical analyses of the torso, see Guruli, Kalandadze, and Lordkipanidze 2025, 115–120. For details on the technology of sculpture casting and the foundry workshop at Vani, see Guruli 2025, 45–52, figs. 7–9.

[24] For a detailed discussion of the terms "copy" and "free imitation," see Niemeier 1985, 9–12.

[25] Cf. Mattusch 1996, 210, 213. The scholar identifies the diagonal modelling of pubic hair as one of the main stylistically distinctive features of the Vani youth, suggesting that carvings had been executed so delicately on the wax model that, after casting in bronze, they became barely visible. That said, the torso should be classified as adolescent, which rules out the possibility of it representing a ruler.

[26] Daehner and Lapatin [2015] 2018, 295.

depicted a deity of great significance is further supported by several key factors. First, the presence of various "repairs" or structural reinforcements on the statue suggests that it was an object of particular veneration. Second, the deliberate damage to the head and genital area, inflicted by both blunt and sharp instruments, indicates intentional defacement—a practice commonly associated with the ritual desecration of divine or royal imagery by an adversary. There is no evidence of damage to the torso that would suggest it fell, slid, or rolled from a distant location, as previously hypothesized. The contextual evidence of its discovery highlights several noteworthy details, suggesting that the sculpture did not arrive at its location through accidental displacement but was, in fact, an integral component of the complex, helping to define its character (Fig. 7). One of the primary challenges in studying the torso concerns its chronology, which remains problematic due to the complex relationship between its discovery within a structure destroyed in the 1st century B.C. and the stylistic traits characteristic of early Classical Greek sculpture. In this regard, the results of the technical analyses have provided significant insights, indicating that, based on its technical parameters, the sculpture should be dated no later than the 4th–3rd centuries B.C. Therefore, it is important to describe in detail the context of the torso's discovery, as well as that of the other sculptural fragments, which are published here for the first time on the basis of reports on the archaeological excavations conducted at Vani in 1988–1992.

A visible pathway (Fig. 1:14) leading directly to the Vani torso immediately became a subject of special interest during the excavations. They began in squares H7 and I7 of section 133 on the southeastern slope of the central terrace. A row of uneven bedrock slabs running from east to west was identified at a depth of 85–95 cm below the surface. In order to expose the row of stones, it became necessary to broaden the trench to the north. The tile debris that was found contained fragments of both imported and locally manufactured clay wares. After the removal of the debris, only animal bones were recovered. Following the northward extension of the trench, bedrock appeared, elevated to the west but seemingly cut and intentionally sloping northeastwards. The unearthed

clay sherds included fragments of so-called Gnathia-style ware characteristic of the 4th century B.C., as well as local roof tiles stamped ΒΑΣ[ΙΛΙΚΗ] ΜΗΛ[ΑΒΗΧ] ΧΟΡΧΙΠ (N07:1-88/278).[27] After further widening the "bedrock area" of the excavation and removing a layer of tile debris and rubble, a fragment of bronze fibula, a polychrome glass vessel, imported clayware, and a cylinder-shaped marble object (N07-1-88/268) were discovered (square G7). The latter appears to have been designed as a base for a small statue. After bedrock slabs were exposed, the excavation area was further broadened to cover the following sections and squares: section 133, squares F9–10, G9–10, H9–10, I9–10, K9–10; section 134, squares A10 and B10; section 148, squares E1, F1, G1–2, H1–2, I1–3, K1–3; and section 149, squares A1–2. Particular attention was drawn to section 133, squares F10, G10, H10, I10, and section 148, squares E1, F1, G1–2, H1–2, where, beneath a layer of gravel, fragments of tiles, local and imported clayware, and animal bones were found, along with a part of a bronze sculpture—the right hand of a female (N07:1-88/376) (Fig. 8).

Subsequent deepening of the excavation area revealed an additional section with a row of bedrock slabs oriented east-west. Heaps of tiles and bedrock rubble, containing limestone gravel, were observed along the row. It contained three stamped handles of Rhodian amphorae, a fragment of a black-burnished lamp, and fragments of the mouth, neck, and handles of Hellenistic *lagynos*-type vessels dating from the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C. It appears to have collapsed from above onto the pathway, which was paved with bedrock slabs. Debris was removed to allow for the fixing of the slabs laid directly on the rocky ground. A channel cut along the pathway ran directly into slabs. It was determined that the pathway would change direction and continue to the east. To the south of the pathway, a blackish layer containing sherds of Colchian pottery dating from the 5th–4th centuries B.C., a bronze bracelet, and a buckle featuring a representation of Pan were documented.

[27] A few analogous stamped tiles were attested in different complexes at the site. Stratigraphic data point to a date in approximately 4th–3rd centuries B.C. For details, see Akhvlediani 1999, 1–10.

Squares D9–10, E8–10, and F9–10 of section 133, as well as squares E1 and D1 of section 148, were excavated to determine the initial course of the pathway paved with sandstone slabs. An area extending some 4 m to the west and 4 m to the south and north was mapped for further excavation. After the removal of the humus layer, a layer containing sherds of Colchian pottery was identified. At a depth of 1 m, two large pieces of bedrock (55x35 cm) and one limestone slab were documented. The soil was compact and appeared to have been well rammed. At approximately 1 m below the surface, a layer containing limestone flakes was identified. At a depth of some 70–80 cm, a layer of masonry was revealed in the westernmost part of the 4 m excavation area. A bronze statue of a youth was brought to light further west in section 133, on the edge of squares C8 and C9. Its shoulders were oriented toward the east, whereas the lower abdomen and legs presumably still lay within the unexcavated area to the west. Naturally, the trench was widened westward by some 95–100 cm. It turned out that the statue was missing its head, arms, and legs below the knees (Figs. 6–7). As became clear after clearing, the statue had been dumped onto a pile of tiles (particularly numerous were curved ones, the so-called *kalypteres*), along with the remains of a sporadically charred log. Fine fragments of tiles, together with clay and rubble, were attested to the south of the statue. Four nails were found to the north and west of the area. The following artefacts were evidenced: fragments of an opaque blue bead; an unidentified bronze object (a claw or pendant?); and a fragment of a bronze vessel or statue with a gilded surface bearing an ornament composed of triangles with horizontal lines between them (N07:1-88/374) (Fig. 9). Yellowish soil in section 133 and in nearby squares D9–10 and E8–9 contained tiles and rubble. Immediately adjacent to the statue, within the heap of tiles, nails, and fragments of a black pithos were revealed. The statue had fallen onto the roof tiles. After the statue was removed (tiles were also found beneath it), it became necessary to widen the archaeological trench once more. The trench covers squares A6–10, B5–10, C5–10, and D6–10 of section 133, as well as the easternmost part of square K9 in section 132. The mapped area measures approximately 8 m toward the southern edge and 10 m toward the west. Fragments of tiles and white limestone were found on

the surface of the tile heap. In its central part, masonry of white limestone and bedrock was revealed after clearing the tile heap. The bulk of the tiles is oriented northward. Traces of charred logs, plaster, and nails were also visible, along with quantities of curved tiles. A fragment of a female bronze statue—the leg, broken at the knee—was found under a tile (square C8, section 133) (N07:1-88/378) (Fig. 10). The western wall of an unidentified structure, built of white limestone slabs, was revealed after clearing the tile heap in the southern part of the trench (the heap occupied squares B8, C7–8, and D7 of section 133). The wall consisted of two rows of alternating, unevenly cut white limestone and bedrock slabs. By the south-eastern corner of the structure, outside the wall, fragments of a bronze statue were found, along with parts of clayware—feet of amphorae, fragments of imported amphora bodies, and parts of mouths of pithoi. The masonry of the eastern and northern walls of the structure is the same—unworked, plain limestone and bedrock fragments. Fragments of mouths of various pots and pieces of bronze were found along the eastern wall, outside the structure. Collapsed large bedrock quadrels were attested both inside and outside the structure, whereas tile fragments were found along the eastern wall. Two limestone slabs and one of bedrock, which had fallen outside the wall in the southern part of the structure, were revealed alongside another limestone slab with a rounded edge, possibly an architectural detail. The smooth bronze fragments, together with the left hand of a female statue (N07:1-88/596) (Fig. 11), were deposited under the above slabs. Nearby, along the southern wall, a few gilded patches used to cover small defects in a bronze statue, a fragment of a silver finger, an unidentified bronze object with a profiled top and two holes, and a bronze pin were unearthed.

Further widening of the trench by 6 m to the south and 5 m to the west revealed a heap of roof tiles, possibly part of the one previously removed by the archaeologists. Rubble containing cobblestones, fragments of clayware, and pyramidal loom-weights was identified approximately 2.7 m south of the structure. A fragment of garment drapery from a bronze statue (?) (N07:1-88/598) (Fig. 12), as well as a bronze fragment of a hair curl (N07:1-88/599), was found in the clay loam in square D10 of section

133. A bronze fragment adorned with a relief floral ornament was uncovered in square B1, section 148 (N07:1-88/600).[28]

In 1989, a fragment of a bronze oil lamp with relief ornamentation was unearthed in square B1 of section 148. Another bronze oil lamp was discovered in square B9, while square A1 yielded a fragment of a bronze sculpture.[29] According to the excavation report, apart from the aforementioned fragments, the layer contained a considerable number of sculpture fragments, the identification of which, unfortunately, is not possible. Alongside these unidentifiable bronze fragments, the excavated area also revealed numerous tile fragments, both local and imported, as well as fragments of ceramic vessels. Among the finds were pieces of a bracelet adorned with spiral decorations and "a bronze sculpture fragment of a foot—presumably belonging to the statue of a youth discovered in 1988—featuring a detailed rendering of the heel and ankle (N07:1-89/205)."[30] During the excavation, at a depth of approximately 90–95 cm below the surface of the white structure, a wall constructed of bedrock and white limestone was uncovered, oriented east-west. The masonry appears irregular, and on the eastern side, where pebbles are mixed in, the structure is partially collapsed. The wall extends across squares A7, B8, and C8 of section 133. Within square B8, a slightly bent bronze rod with a triangular cross-section was discovered: "it is suggested that this may have been a fragment of a candelabrum (N07:1-89/206)"[31] (Fig. 13). At the boundary between squares B2 and B3 in section 148, "a cylindrical bronze object of indeterminate function was found, decorated with transverse grooves and filled with lead. A similar bronze object, but without lead filling (N07:1-89/201), was discovered in square A9 of

[28] An almost complete detailed report of the archaeological context of the discovery is published for the first time due to the paramount importance of the torso. Excavations in sections 133 and 148 were led by Elene Gigolashvili. For details, see Lordkipanidze et al. 1989, 2–12, pls. I-VIII.

[29] In 1989, excavations in sections 133, 148, 132, and 147 were led by Elene Gigolashvili. For details, see Lordkipanidze et al. 1990, 14–18, tabs. I-II.

[30] Lordkipanidze et al. 1990, 15.

[31] Lordkipanidze et al. 1990, 15.

section 133. It is possible that both objects, along with the aforementioned bronze rod, constituted elements of a candelabrum. In square B3 of section 148, a twisted silver plate with gilding was unearthed, with traces of wood preserved on its inner surface (N07:1-89/608)."[32] Further excavation within squares D8–9 and C10 of section 133, at a depth of approximately 1 m below the level of the white structure, revealed a layer containing fragments of white limestone. This layer was also observed in the southern and western walls excavated in 1988. Along the western edge, a bedrock outcrop emerged, and upon clearing the area south of the east–west-oriented limestone wall, it became evident that the bedrock had been cut. Within the resulting "channel," a row of uneven bedrock slabs was identified, likely continuing the "road" of tiles uncovered in 1988, extending in a westerly direction. This "road" veers slightly northwest and continues into the unexcavated area, while an adjacent wall also curves northward. The newly revealed section of the "road" measures 14 m in length, whereas the segment documented in 1988 extends 10 m. A 4.5 m-wide strip of unexcavated soil separates the two sections.[33]

As demonstrated by the excavations conducted in 1990, three niches and pits carved into the bedrock (Fig. 1:15) were revealed south of the pathway constructed from slabs, within squares I10 of section 132 and H1–2 and I1–2 of section 147. All the niches open to the east and are aligned in a single row. To the north, they are bordered by a small, rounded niche with a circular pit cut into its base. This pit appears to have been used for lighting a fire, as indicated by the reddish discoloration of the bedrock on its walls and edges. Within two of the niches, alongside ceramic fragments—predominantly of various types of locally produced pottery—fragments of terracotta sculptures were discovered. In one niche, a fragment depicting a knee beneath draped clothing, along with additional fragments of drapery, was found. The second niche, structured as a two-tiered space, features a shelf with a rounded compartment beneath it, accessible through a rectangular entrance. In the lower section, a fragment of a terracotta sculpture's foot was unearthed,

[32] Lordkipanidze et al. 1990, 16.
[33] Lordkipanidze et al. 1990, 17–18.

delicately modelled beneath draped garments. This fragment was placed on a flat roof tile and covered with a grooved tile. The uncovered material confirms the simultaneous function of the bedrock slab pathway and the niche sanctuary complex, as indicated by the presence of stamped Rhodian amphorae dating to the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C.[34]

In 1991, bronze artefacts were again uncovered in the same stratigraphic layer where the youth's torso had been found.[35] Among these finds was a fragment of a bronze plate, "adorned with a dot-formed ornamentation (possibly an eye plate?),"[36] discovered alongside the base of an *amphoriskos* at the junction of squares A5–6 and within square B6 of section 148. Additionally, three fragments of a bronze *thymiaterion* (or possibly a candelabrum) were recovered from squares B3 and C3. These fragments, cylindrical in form and decorated with deep horizontal grooves, closely resemble two similar pieces discovered in 1989. Alongside them, a fragment bronze sculpture foot was identified (N07:1–91:96), containing remnants of an iron armature (Fig. 14). "This foot may have belonged to a female statue."[37] Furthermore, a large lead casting residue was uncovered in square C3 of section 148. Excavation continued in squares C2, D2, E2, C1, D1, and E1 of the same section, where a significant concentration of roof tile fragments was encountered. "It is likely that these tiles may be an extension of the roof tile layer upon which the bronze sculpture was found lying in 1988."[38] In square E1 of section 148, at a depth of 52 cm from the surface, the base of a bronze *thymiaterion* or candelabrum was discovered. This artefact consists of a column with a small base. Nearby, additional bronze fragments and an iron spearhead were recovered.

---

[34] In 1990, excavations in sections 133, 148, 132, and 147 were led by Elene Gigolashvili. For details, see Lordkipanidze et al. 1991, 7–11, tabs. I–VI.

[35] In 1991, excavations in sections 147 and 148 were led by Elene Gigolashvili. For details, see Lordkipanidze et al. 1992, 2–9, tabs. I-IV.

[36] Lordkipanidze et al. 1992, 7.

[37] Lordkipanidze et al. 1992, 8.

[38] Lordkipanidze et al. 1992, 8.

Following the removal of the bronze-bearing layer, a compacted stratum rich in fragments of white limestone was exposed. This layer contained imported ceramic sherds, including material datable to the 4th–3rd centuries B.C. Further deepening in squares C1, D1, C2, and D2 of section 148 revealed a pile of tiles, as well as pebbles and bedrock stones, at a depth of 3.5 m from the surface. Additionally, a wall constructed of large sandstone blocks was exposed over a length of 5 m, oriented north to south. In front of this wall, two pits cut into the bedrock were revealed—one circular and the other elongated.[39]

In 1992, following the removal of the tile pile in squares C1, D1, C2, and D2 of section 148, excavations continued in squares C2, D2, C3, and D3, where the inner face of the wall identified in the previous season was further exposed. As the trench was expanded to expose the walls, a cylindrical bronze object was uncovered at the junction of squares C1 and D1, within the same stratigraphic layer that had previously yielded fragments of a bronze candelabrum and sculpture. The object features an iron nail embedded at one end (N07-1:92/39). Additionally, a fragment of a bronze sculpture with a gilded surface (N07-1:92/12) and an unidentified metal artefact were found directly within the tile pile, identified as part of the residual layer of the 1988 tile accumulation. In the area where the humus layer was removed, an initial yellowish layer was revealed, followed by a gravel layer containing fragments of various ceramic vessels. At the junction of squares D2 and E2, fragments of limestone were recovered, one surface of which was smoothed and painted red. Within the same stratum, a stone pile was identified, surrounded by sherds of black- and red-glazed pottery, along with fragments of a Colchian amphora. The pile extended across squares C2–4 and B3–4. Additionally, limestone fragments with embedded pebbles were recorded, similar to those previously documented in the gravel layer. Further deepening along the southern edge of the trench exposed another concentration of stones interspersed with limestone fragments. In square D4, another unidentified bronze artefact was recovered—an ornamented rod

[39] Lordkipanidze et al. 1992, 9.

(N07-1:92/30). Following the clearance of the structure and its surrounding area, it was determined that the building had a rectangular plan. The walls consisted of two courses of unevenly sized sandstone blocks. The interior was entirely filled with a stone pile. One corner of the structure was identified, linking the northern and eastern walls. The northern wall measured 8.60 m in length and 91 cm in width, while the exposed portion of the western wall measured 2.45 m in length and 88 cm in width. The partially revealed eastern wall extended for 3.22 m.[40]

It can be assumed that the statue was found inside a structure, positioned at a considerable distance from the walls and not in a markedly disordered condition, as is clearly visible in an excavation photograph (Fig. 7). The sculpture was placed on tiles, with additional tiles covering or partially overlaying it. At this point, it is worth recalling the phenomenon of so-called "buried sculptures," which appears to be unique to Vani. Specifically, statues were deliberately placed between two tiles, as evidenced by the discovery of a fragment of a terracotta sculpture's leg carefully positioned between a flat and a grooved tile within one of the niches of a shrine uncovered near the location of the torso.[41] It may also be significant that iron nails have been documented only in proximity to the torso in sections 148 and 133. This observation gains further relevance when considering that in the rich burials of Vani dating to the 5th–4th centuries B.C.—including the tomb with a tile covering discovered at Dablagomi, part of the "Land of Vani"—the presence of nails is interpreted as evidence that the deceased was interred within a wooden sarcophagus.[42]

According to the excavation reports, the so-called shrine complex with niches and the pathway constructed of tuff slabs functioned concurrently during the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C. This suggests that the so-called White

[40] In 1992, excavations in section 148 were led by Elene Gigolashvili. For details see, Lordkipanidze et al. 1993, 2–5, tabs. I-III. For the so-called shrine complex with niches and the pathway, see Lordkipanidze 1995, 386, tab. 77, 1–4.

[41] Lordkipanidze 1996, 386, pl. 77, 4.

[42] For Dablagomi grave, see Kacharava, Lordkipanidze, and Chkonia 2024, 88.

Structure, where the torso was discovered and which is directly associated with the pathway, is likely to be contemporaneous with them. However, this does not exclude the possibility that the building had an earlier phase of use.

The concentration of other bronze fragments, including those of small-scale sculptures, within the same stratigraphic layer as the torso, strongly suggests that these artefacts were an integral part of the complex associated with the torso. The identified fragments that have undergone technical analysis can be functionally categorized into the following groups: (1) four fragments of hollow-cast bronze sculpture, including the heel fragment, exhibit a curved, cylindrical form, suggesting that they may belong to the limbs of a life-sized sculpture; despite minor differences in chemical composition and similarities in patina between the torso and these smooth-surfaced fragments, it remains uncertain whether they can be attributed to the statue of the youth; (2) a solid-cast, spiral-shaped lock of hair; although the lock is chemically similar to the torso and stylistically corresponds to a common curl type characteristic of the Early Classical period,[43] it does not match any of the hairstyle details of *Apollo Omphalos*-type sculptures; (3) gilded bronze fragments, including a fragment with engraved geometric ornamentation identified by Marina Pirtskhalava as part of a tunic hem;[44] (4) a solid-cast bronze fragment with a rounded triangular cross-section, which, based on patina and surface finishing, may represent an "unidentified attribute" of Apollo, comparable to the object held in his right hand in the Capitoline Museum statue;[45] (5) drapery or clothing details comprising a large fragment of garment drapery and a composite fragment of two pieces depicting floral ornamentation and a stem covered with diagonal notches;[46] (6) a small bronze column and five grooved fragments adorned

[43] Boll 1978, 21, pl. 13, N81a–d.

[44] Gigolashvili and Pirtskhalava 2012, 57.

[45] *LIMC* II.1, 1984, pp. 257–258, 318, nos. 599a–t, s.v. Apollon (V. Lambrinudakis and O. Palagia). For the complete list of replicas, see Johannowsky 1969, 374–375.

[46] These fragments are identified as parts of robe drapery and of a breastplate. See Gigolashvili and Pirtskhalava 2012, 56, and fig. 24.

with bead-and-reel ornamentation identified as a detail of a candelabrum, attested in other complexes at Vani; and (7) fragments of small-scale sculptures, which typically constitute about one-third of life-size statuary, including a fragment of the left hand (Fig. 11), a fragment of the right hand (Fig. 8), a fragment of the right thigh and knee (Fig. 10), a fragment of the left foot (Fig. 14), and a fragment discovered in 1991 and identified as a fragment of the right shoulder (Fig. 15). Based on chemical composition, melting temperature, and stylistic analyses, it can be assumed that these fragments belonged to four different small-scale statues.[47]

The first striking feature is the large quantity of bronze artefacts of various types. In this regard, among other sites uncovered at Vani, only the so-called Twelve-Stepped Altar complex presents a comparable assemblage. Approximately one thousand bronze fragments were unearthed in and around the debris of the Twelve-Stepped Altar. Alongside the figurative fragments—among which the cuirass typical of armoured rider statues and fragments of an equine sculpture are of particular importance[48]—there is also a substantial quantity of non-figurative, unidentifiable fragments, as well as artefacts associated with bronze manufacture, including quantities of bronze drips and numerous bronze patches. On the basis of the Hellenistic-period foundry workshop identified on the central terrace, the most plausible interpretation is that the statues were broken up for secondary use. However, statistical analysis of the plain fragments—including the study of their dimensions, alloy composition, degree of damage, archaeological context, and their separation into fractions, as well as correlation analyses and examination of the characteristics of the bronze items in order to detect regularities—has made it possible to propose a hypothetical connection between the fragmentation of the bronzes and some form of ritual practice. Deliberately smashed statues could point to a ritualised practice of breaking offerings, widespread in antiquity and attested at Vani, notably on the sacrificial platform of a cultic complex dating to the 8th–7th centuries B.C.,

[47] For details of the technical study of the fragments, see Guruli, Kalandadze, and Lordkipanidze 2025, 125–129.

[48] Kalandadze et al. 2025.

where intentionally broken clay vessels and terracotta figurines were found and may likewise have been ritually broken.[49]

It is noteworthy that both the White Structure and the Twelve-Stepped Altar complexes have yielded fragments of functionally similar artefacts, including parts of human sculptures—specifically limbs, drapery, and gilded bronze elements—as well as non-figurative fragments belonging to various statuary. Given that neither complex has yielded a single bronze fragment identifiable as a head or facial feature, fragments depicting parts of the human body acquire particular significance. At the site of the Twelve-Stepped Altar, fragments such as a bronze hand clutching animal fur, three large fingers, a single finger, a shoulder, and a foot—each of exceptional artistic quality—differ markedly from one another in every respect. These pieces show no contextual or stylistic connection, either among themselves or with the numerous non-figurative fragments discovered and analyzed within the same cultic complex. They are therefore likely to represent individual votive offerings.

In contrast, the fragments discovered alongside the torso—namely, the left and right hands (Figs. 11 and 8), the right thigh and knee (Fig. 10), the left foot (Fig. 14), and the right shoulder (Fig. 15)—exhibit such a coherent functional relationship that, based on their shared stylistic features and overall appearance characteristic of the classicist style of the 2nd–1st centuries B.C., Elene Gigolashvili has identified them as parts of a single sculptural composition intended for decorative purposes.[50] The position of the left arm and hand perfectly corresponds to the iconographic type of a nude Apollo holding either a lyre or a bow in his left hand. This type of small-scale statue was very popular during the Classical period and the Roman era. Judging from the exquisitely refined modelling of the male musculature and the extended right leg, the fragments of the right thigh and knee may also be attributed to an image of Apollo, whose depiction featured an extended leg and conformed to a

[49] For a detailed study of the fragments from the area of the Twelve-Stepped Altar, see Guruli et al. 2025.

[50] Gigolashvili 2013.

typical iconographic type.[51] It should be recalled that silver statues of this type are attested at Vani. Two silver statuettes of Apollo, belonging to a unique set of objects previously known only from Delian inscriptions as exclusively costly offerings to the god—one featuring an archery belt for a quiver, the other holding a *phiale*—were discovered within a "treasury" of the cultic complex at the Twelve-Stepped Altar.[52] Based on Roman parallels derived from Greek sculptures of Apollo wearing a long himation, the fragments of the above-mentioned terracotta sculpture—showing a leg bent at the knee and a sandal almost entirely covered by the himation—may be attributed to the same iconographic type of Apollo.[53] The right hand, bent at the elbow and wrist, could be associated with an image of the goddess Nike, whose bronze statue is attested at the Vani city-site. However, if we assume that the fragments of the arm and hand belong to one and the same statue, the possibility of their connection to Nike must be ruled out, since the position of the raised right hand does not correspond to the horizontal alignment of the shoulder. The fact that the images of goddesses in the temple-city of ancient Vani are predominantly represented by Aphrodite or Aphrodite-type deities allows us to associate the right hand with the well-known iconographic type of the nude Aphrodite bathing.[54] However, since the refined limbs of Apollo often make it difficult to distinguish his statues from those depicting female figures, the possibility that the attested right hand was associated with Apollo statuary cannot be ruled out.[55] It is

[51] *LIMC* II.1, 1984, pp. 239–240, 325, s.v. Apollon (V. Lambrinudakis and O. Palagia); *LIMC* II.2, 1984, nos. 436, 439, 444, 445.

[52] See Lordkipanidze 2004.

[53] *LIMC* II.1, 1984, pp. 204–205,322, s.v. Apollon (V. Lambrinudakis and O. Palagia); *LIMC* II.2, 1984, nos. 146, 149.

[54] *LIMC* II.2, 1984, nos. 485, 486, s.v. Aphrodite. From this group of sculptures, we have mentioned only two examples, as both preserve the hand, whose pose resembles that of the Vani fragment. See also *LIMC* II.2, 1984, nos. 86, 90, 100, s.v. Aphrodite (*in peripheria orientali*).

[55] See the small-scale bronze sculpture of Apollo of the Lykeios type from the 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D: *LIMC* II.1, 1984, pp. 191,193, 321, 323, nos. 16, 39, s.v. Apollon (V. Lambrinudakis and O. Palagia), whose downward-positioned right-

doubtful that the limb fragments represent so-called anatomical votive offerings; rather, they may be parts of various types of statues of Apollo, Nike, or Aphrodite—the deities worshiped at Vani. It is difficult to say whether the locus of their discovery was also the place of their provenance. Nevertheless, the accumulation of limb fragments from statues, most likely of deities (groups 1 and 7), of precious offerings (groups 2–5), and of temple inventory (group 6) was likely not accidental and could be understood as a well-thought-out selection of votives.

Through the presence of typical temple inventory—such as a lamp, a *thymiaterion*, and a candelabrum, represented in fragmentary form—alongside fragments of ceramic vessels, the White Structure complex shows notable similarities to the temple complex with the mosaic floor. In this context, the bronze jewelry items, as well as the gilded bronze fragments—such as "a bronze plate adorned with dot-formed ornamentation (possibly an eye plate?)"[56]—may be regarded as precious votive offerings.

Similar to the bronze fragments from the complex of the Twelve-Stepped Altar, the bronze fragments found alongside the torso—especially the large piece of garment drapery and the fragment decorated with an acanthus stem and leaf—convey the notion of a ritual act likely reflecting the religious principle of *pars pro toto*, whereby a part was understood to embody the sacred essence of the whole. According to Helmut Kyrieleis's theory, grounded in the archaeological material from Olympia, a votive offering would be deliberately smashed and discarded, whereas a single fragment had to be retained.[57] This practice appears to be linked to a Greek religious thought pattern in which a part functioned as a continuation and symbol of the sacred essence of the whole, whereas other fragments could have been smelted and reused.

However, unlike the fragments associated with the Twelve-Stepped Altar, where no single figure dominates, this assemblage appears to

---

hand finger arrangement closely resembles that of the Vani fragment; *LIMC* II.2, 1984, nos. 16, 39i, 39n, 39q, 39r, s.v. Apollon.

[56] See n. 36.

[57] Kyrieleis 2006, 95.

centre on the statue of a specific deity. Considered in light of the iconographic parallels discussed above—including the silver statuettes of Apollo dedicated as offerings in the hoard uncovered in the area of the Twelve-Stepped Altar and the Apollo-type terracotta figurine found in the Niche Complex—the limb fragments further support the interpretation of the torso as a statue of the *Apollo Omphalos* type. The limb fragments, therefore, should not be understood as anatomical votives in the conventional sense; rather, as elements of different types of Apollo statues, they may be regarded as offerings specifically dedicated to him.

Accordingly, it may be argued that the so-called White Structure cultic complex, where ritual practices attested in other cultic complexes at Vani are concentrated—specifically the fragmentation of statues and their "burial"—provides a clear example of how Hellenistic bronze sculpture functioned, on the one hand, as a vehicle for the dissemination of Hellenic culture and, on the other, as a means of expressing local beliefs and conceptions in their own terms.

Salome Guruli
Georgian National Museum
Tbilisi State University, Georgia
guruli.salome@gmail.com

Nino Kalandadze
Georgian National Museum, Georgia
kalandadzenino@gmail.com

Nino Lordkipanidze
Otar Lordkipanidze Institute of Archaeological Studies,
Georgian National Museum
University of Georgia, Georgia
ninolordkip@hotmail.com

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akhvlediani, Dimitri. 1999. *Kramiti vanis nak'alak'aridan* [Roof tiles from the Vani city-site]. Tbilisi: Georgian Academy of Sciences, Centre of Archaeological Studies.

Akhvlediani, Dimitri, Darejan Kacharava, and Sulkhan Kharabadze. 2022. *Vanis nak'alak'arze 2005–2007 clebši č'atarebuli ark'eologiuri gat'xrebis angariši* [Results of archaeological excavations at the Vani site in 2005 and 2007]. *Dziebani*. *Journal of the Georgian Archaeology* 25: 5–63.

Alscher, Ludger. 1957. *Griechische Plastik.* Bd. IV: *Hellenismus.* Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften.

Baitinger, Holger. 2021. "Ritual Killing, Melting Down, Re-Use—Fragmented Objects in the Sanctuary of Olympia." *Thiasos* 10.2 (Suppl. V): 5–14.

Boll, Peter C. 1978. *Grossplastik aus Bronze in Olympia*. Olympische Forschungen IX. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Daehner, Jens M., and Kenneth Lapatin, eds. [2015] 2018. *Power and Pathos. Bronze Sculpture of the Hellenistic World*, repr. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Gigolashvili, Elene. 2013. "K'alis brinjaos k'andakebis p'ragmentebi" [The fragments of the bronze sculpture of a woman]. *Iberia-Colchis* 9: 114–116.

Gigolashvili, Elene, and Marina Pirtskhalava. 2012. "Remains of a Bronze Equestrian Statue from Vani." *Kadmos. A Journal of the Humanities* 4: 37–72.

Guruli, Salome. 2025. "The Phenomenon of Bronze and the Technology of Sculpture Casting." In *History Revived through Hellenistic Bronze Fragments,* ed. Salome Guruli, Nino Kalandadze, and Nino Lordkipanidze, 15–52. Tbilisi: Georgian National Museum Publishing.

Guruli, Salome, Nino Kalandadze, and Nino Lordkipanidze. 2025. "Torso of a Youth and Bronze Fragments Discovered Nearby." In *History Revived through Hellenistic Bronze Fragments,* ed. Salome Guruli, Nino Kalandadze, and Nino Lordkipanidze, 111–129. Tbilisi: Georgian National Museum Publishing.

Guruli, Salome, Nino Kalandadze, Sesili Sordia, and Marine Pirtskhalava. 2025. "The Area of the Twelve-Stepped Altar." In *History Revived through Hellenistic Bronze Fragments,* ed. Salome Guruli, Nino Kalandadze, and Nino Lordkipanidze, 178–187. Tbilisi: Georgian National Museum Publishing.

Johannowsky, Werner. 1969. "Una nuova replica della testa dell' *Apollo dell'Omphalos* da Baia." *ASAtene* 45–46 (1967–1968): 373–379.

Kacharava, Darejan. 2025. "Brinjaos nacarmi vanis nakʿalakʿaridan (šescavlis istoria)" [Bronze artefacts from Vani city-site: a history of research]. *Iberia-Colchis* 19: 15–40.

Kacharava, Darejan, and Guram Kvirkvelia. 2008a. "The Archaeology of Vani." In *Wine, Worship, and Sacrifice: The Golden Graves of Ancient Vani*, ed. Jennifer Y. Chi, 50–80. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

— 2008b. "Religious Ritual: Bronze and Iron Figurines from Vani". In *Wine, Worship, and Sacrifice: The Golden Graves of Ancient Vani*, ed. Jennifer Y. Chi, 96–112. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

— 2008c. "Viticulture and Dionysos in Hellenistic Vani." In *Wine, Worship, and Sacrifice: The Golden Graves of Ancient Vani*, ed. Jennifer Y. Chi, 112–126. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Kacharava, Darejan, Nino Lordkipanidze, and Ana Chkonia. 2024. "Carč'inebult'a samarxebi" [Graves of the Nobles]. In *Vani Archaeological Museum,* ed. Salome Guruli and Nino Lordkipanidze, 64–113. Tbilisi: Georgian National Museum Publishing.

Kalandadze, Nino, Nino Lordkipanidze, Marine Pirtskhalava, and Salome Guruli. 2025. "Vanis nak'alak'arze aġmoč'enili šejavšnuli mxedris k'anda-kebis p'ragmentebis tek'nikuri kvleva" [Technical study of bronze sculpture fragments of an armored equestrian discovered at the Vani archaeological site]. *Bulletin of the Georgian National Museum* 11 (57-B): 82–94.

Khoshtaria, Nino, Otar Lordkipanidze, and Rusudan Puturidze. 1972. "Ark'eologiuri gat'xrebi vanši 1967 cels" [Archaeological excavations at Vani in 1967]. In *Vani Archaeological Excavations 1947–1969,* I, ed. Otar Lordkipa-nidze, 175–185. Tbilisi: Metsniereba.

Kyrieleis, Helmut. 2006. *Anfänge und Frühzeit des Heiligtums von Olympia. Die Ausgrabungen am Pelopion 1987–1996*. Olympische Forschungen XXXI. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Lordkipanidze, Nino. 2004. "Apolonis verc'xlis ori k'andakeba vanidan" [Two silver statuettes of Apollo from Vani]. *Logos. The Annual of Greek and Roman Studies* 2: 199–210.

— 2011a. "Satiris *dakrżaluli* k'andakeba vanidan" [The so-called "buried" statuette of a satyr from Vani]. *Bulletin of the Georgian National Museum* 2 (47-B): 53–68.

— 2011b. "Brinjaos ek'vspatruk'iani črak'i vanidan" [Six-nozzled lamp from Vani]. *Iberia-Colchis* 7: 47–53.

— 2024. "Vani—satażro k'alak'i" [Vani—a temple-city]. In *Vani Archaeological Museum,* ed. Salome Guruli and Nino Lordkipanidze, 124–134. Tbilisi: Georgian National Museum Publishing.

Lordkipanidze, Nino, and Ana Chkonia. 2024. "Vani—ok'romravali kolxet'is c'entri" [Vani—Center of gold-rich Colchis]. In *Vani Archaeological Museum,* ed. Salome Guruli and Nino Lordkipanidze, 42–61. Tbilisi: Georgian National Museum Publishing.

Lordkipanidze, Otar. 1991. "Vani. An Ancient City of Colchis." *GRBS* 32.2.: 151–195.

— 1995. "Vani—Ein antikes religiöses Zentrum im Lande des goldenen Vlieses (Kolchis) (*Taf. 65–90, Farbtaf. I–VIII*)." *JRGZM* 42.2: 353–401.

— 2002. *Żveli k'art'uli c'ivilizac'iis sat'aveebt'an* [At the origins of ancient Georgian civilization]. Tbilisi: Tbilisi University Press.

Lordkipanidze, Otar, Rusudan Puturidze, Dimitri Akhvlediani, Elene Gigolashvili, Giorgi Inauri, Vera Tolordava, Darejan Kacharava, et al. 1989. "Vanis ark'eologiuri ek'spedic'iis 1988 clis mušaobis angariši" [Report on the work of the Vani archaeological expedition in 1988]. Trans. Nino Mitsishvili. Unpublished field notes. Tbilisi.

Lordkipanidze, Otar, Rusudan Puturidze, Elene Gigolashvili, Vera Tolordava, Darejan Kacharava, Guram Kvirkvelia, Nana Matiashvili, Marine Pirtskhalava, Guram Kipiani, and Ana Chkonia. 1990. "Ark'eologiuri

gat'xrebi vanši 1989 cels" [Archaeological excavations at Vani in 1989]. Trans. Nino Mitsishvili. Unpublished field notes. Tbilisi.

Lordkipanidze, Otar, Rusudan Puturidze, Dimitri Akhvlediani, Elene Gigolashvili, Vera Tolordava, Darejan Kacharava, Guram Kvirkvelia, et al. 1991. "Vanis ark'eologiuri ek'spedic'ia 1990" [Vani archaeological expedition, 1990]. Trans. Nino Mitsishvili. Unpublished field notes. Tbilisi.

Lordkipanidze, Otar, Rusudan Puturidze, Dimitri Akhvlediani, Elene Gigolashvili, Vera Tolordava, Darejan Kacharava, Guram Kvirkvelia, et al. 1992. "Vanis ark'eologiuri ek'spedic'iis 1991 clis mušaobis šedegebi" [Results of the Vani archaeological expedition, 1991]. Trans. Nino Mitsishvili. Unpublished field notes. Tbilisi.

Lordkipanidze, Otar, Rusudan Puturidze, Dimitri Akhvlediani, Elene Gigolashvili, Vera Tolordava, Darejan Kacharava, Guram Kvirkvelia, et al. 1993. "Vanis ark'eologiuri ek'spedic'iis 1992 clis gat'xrebis angariši" [Report of the excavations of the Vani archaeological expedition, 1992]. Trans. Nino Mitsishvili. Unpublished field notes. Tbilisi.

Maish, Jeff, David Saunders, Nino Kalandadze, and Marc Walton. 2019. "Artful Illumination: Technical Study of Four Hellenistic Bronze Lamps from the Eastern Black Sea Site of Vani." In *Proceedings of the XXth International Congress on Ancient Bronzes: Resource, Reconstruction, Representation, Role*. BAR International Series 2958, ed. Philipp Baas, 75-85. Oxford: BAR Publishing.

Matiashvili, Nana. 2005. *Elinisturi xanis kolxet'is istoriis sakit'xebi* [Questions of Colchian history of the Hellenistic period]. Tbilisi: GNM Archaeological Center.

Mattusch, Carol C. 1996. *Classical Bronzes: The Art and Craft of Greek and Roman Statuary*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Niemeier, Jörg-Peter. 1985. *Kopien und Nachahmungen im Hellenismus. Ein Beitrag zum Klassizismus des 2. und frühen 1. Jhs. v. Chr.* Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Klassische Archäologie 20. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.

Tolordava, Vera. 1990. "Un complexe cultuel des VIII^{ème}–VII^{ème} siècles à Vani." In *Le Pont-Euxin vu par les Grecs: sources écrites et archéologie. Symposium de Vani (Colchide), septembre-octobre 1987*. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne 100, ed. Otar Lordkipanidze, Pierre Lévêque, Tea Khartchilava, and Evelyne Geny, 243–247. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Figure 1. General plan of the Vani archaeological site. Fourth stage

1: Ceremonial altar, 3rd–1st centuries B.C.; **2**: Remains of cult building, 2nd –1st centuries B.C.; **3**: Defensive walls, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **4**: Defensive walls, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **5**: "Smithery," late Hellenistic period; **6**: Building with counterforts, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **7**: So-called mosaic-floored temple complex, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **8**: Rock-cut pits of undefined function, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **9**: Sacrificial pits, 3rd–2nd centuries B.C.; **10**: Sacrificial pits, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **11**: Remains of buildings, 3rd–2nd centuries B.C.; **12**: Twelve-Stepped Altar, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **13**: Remains of wall, 3rd–1st centuries B.C.; **14**: Remains of paved road, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **15**: Ritual niches, 3rd–2nd centuries B.C.; **16**: "White structure," 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **17**: Pit with temple-inventory hoard, mid-1st century B.C.; **18**: Remains of defensive walls, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **19**: Remains of defensive walls, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **20**: Shaft, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **21**: Temple complex, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **22**: Channel, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **23**: Water-gate, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **24**: Remains of defensive walls, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **25**: Sacred barn, 2nd–1st centuries

B.C.; **26**: Building with an apse, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **27**: Remains of building, 3rd–2nd centuries B.C.; **28**: Monumental stone-block platform, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **29**: Remains of buildings and of the foundry workshop, 3rd–2nd centuries B.C.; **30**: Defensive walls, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **31**: Tower, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **32**: Tunnel cut in the bedrock, late Hellenistic period; **33**: Defensive wall, mid-1st century B.C.; **34**: Round Temple, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **35**: Architectural complex of the gate, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **36**: Tower, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **37**: Barracks, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **38**: Curtain wall, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.; **39**: Polygonal tower, 2nd–1st centuries B.C.

Drawing courtesy of Guram Kvirkvelia and Irakli Khutsishvili

Figure 2. Appliqué of youthful Dionysus (?) Bronze
H. 12.3 cm; Diam. 5 cm. GNM 10-975:186

Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

Figure 3. Appliqué of Dionysus bearing the features of Alexander the Great
H. 12.2 cm; Diam. 5.8 cm. GNM 10-975:186
Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

Figure 4. Six-nozzled lamp adorned with images of elephant heads, Dionysus, Ariadne, and Heracles. Bronze. H. 11 cm; W. 42 cm. N07:1-07/324
Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

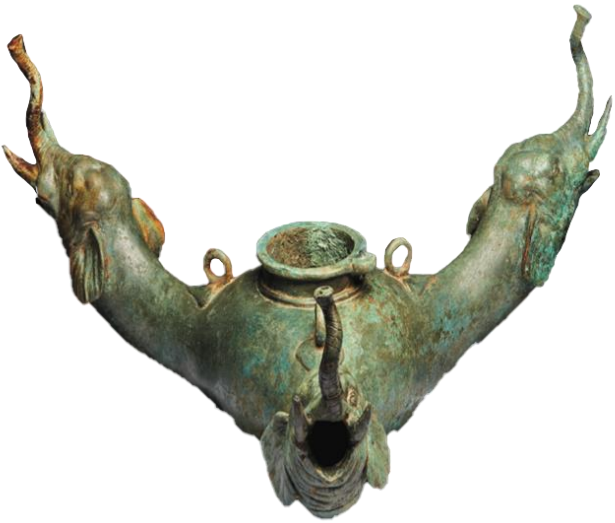


Figure 5. Incense burner adorned with sculptural representations of elephant heads. Bronze. H. 19.5 cm; L. 44 cm. N07:1-07/323

Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

Figure 6. Torso. Bronze. H. 1.05 m. GNM 2:996-43
Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

Figure 7. Torso. Excavation view

Photo courtesy of Valeri Salniker

Figure 8 . Fragment of the right hand. Bronze. Forearm to wrist 7.8 cm; wrist to middle finger 3.9 cm; middle finger 3 cm. N07:1-88/376

Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

Figure 9. Gilded bronze fragment of an equestrian statue: tunic hem of a cuirass L. max. 4 cm; W. max. 2.8 cm. N7:1-88/374

Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

Figure 10. Fragment of the right thigh and knee. Bronze
L 12.5 cm; W. at upper part 6.7 cm; W. at knee 3.5 cm. N07:1-88/378
Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

Figure 11. Fragment of the left hand. Bronze. Remaining upper arm
(shoulder to elbow) 8 cm; elbow to palm 8.8 cm; thumb L. 2.5 cm. N07:1-88/596
Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

Figure 12. Large fragment of garment drapery. Bronze
H. max. 26.2 cm; W. max. 21.5 cm. N07:1-88/598
Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

Figure 13. Bronze fragment with triangular cross-section
H. 14.8 cm; W. 2.1 cm. N07:1-89/206
Photo courtesy of Sesili Sordia

Figure 14. Fragment of the left foot. Bronze
Foot L. 9 cm; W at the heel 2.3 cm; W at the toes 3.8 cm. N07:1-91:96
Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

Figure 15. Fragment of the right shoulder. Bronze
L. 6 cm; W. 3.5 cm. N07:1-91:100
Photo courtesy of Georgian National Museum / Fernando Javier Urquijo

.