

# ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. IX

HELSINKI 1975 HELSINGFORS

## INDEX

Erkki Palmén	Päivö Oksala in memoriam . . . . .	7
Patrick Bruun	Constantine's Change of Dies Imperii . . . . .	11
Paavo Hohti	Über die notwendigkeit bei Herodot . . . . .	31
Jorma Kaimio	Notes on the Pay of Roman Soldiers . . . . .	39
Iiro Kajanto	Who was Sabinus Ille? . . . . .	47
Bengt Löfstedt	Zwei Patristica . . . . .	57
Martti Nyman	Ist der rēst-Typus möglich? . . . . .	61
H.–G. Pflaum	Clients et patrons à la lumière du cimetière de l'Autoparco sous le Vatican à Rome . . . . .	75
Gilles Roques	Brève réponse aux 'Bemerkungen zur Sprache des Jonas von Bobbio' de M. B.Löfstedt . . . . .	89
Eeva Ruoff-Väänänen	The Roads leading to Rhegium. . . . .	93
Heikki Solin	Analecta epigraphica . . . . .	99
Jaakko Suolahti	Unknown Source on Ancient Stenography . . . . .	109
De novis libris iudicia	. . . . .	111

## THE ROADS LEADING TO RHEGIUM

Eeva Ruoff-Väänänen

The name and the date of construction of the Capua-Rhegium road recorded in the *elogium* of Polla<sup>1</sup> have recently been discussed in several papers.<sup>2</sup> So far the scholars have, however, come to no concensus of opinion about either the name or the date of it. Perhaps no unanimous understanding can ever be reached, because the sources are so few. No doubt we could get a step closer to the solution of these problems or eliminate at least some of the wildest hypotheses surrounding them if the extant sources were more critically studied than they have been hitherto.

The hypotheses about the name and date of the Capua-Rhegium road always seem to have been based on two assumptions which have never been discussed. Firstly, it is unanimously assumed that the Peutinger Table records the same road as the *elogium* of Polla.<sup>3</sup> However, this is not true. There is no Capua-Rhegium road on the Peutinger Table at all. The Capua-Rhegium route ascribed to the Peutinger Table which appears, for example, in CIL is a mere hypothetical conjecture of Mommsen's, which he based on an equally hypothetical joining of two separate routes in the *Cosmography of the Ravennaite*.<sup>4</sup> A conjecture of Mommsen's should, however, not be accepted as a basis for further study without argument. Secondly, it has equally unanimously been assumed that the two routes in the *Cosmography of the Ravennaite* can be joined together and then be identified with the road of the *elogium* of Polla.<sup>5</sup> This assumption should, however, be discussed before any further conclusions are drawn on this basis.

Let us first look at the Peutinger Table. There are two roads leading from Capua to Nuceria, one *via* Nola, another *via* Neapolis, then one road leads further south-east to Salernum. This road stops there without running further on towards Rhegium, like the road of the *elogium* of Polla, and turns sharply to the east joining a Venusia-Grumentum road somewhat north of Potentia.<sup>6</sup> This is obviously the road recorded in the Antonine Itinerary which starts at Mediolanum and runs through Ariminum, Aequum Tuticum, Venusia, Grumentum and Nerulum to Rhegium.<sup>7</sup>

On the Peutinger Table the two stations, the Nares Lucanae and Acerronia, the sites of which have been much discussed,<sup>8</sup> are situated on the above-mentioned road leading from Salernum to Potentia. A further much-discussed station, Forum Popillii, seems to have been situated in a roadless wilderness, though in fact a

cul-de-sac branches off towards it from Acerronia.<sup>9</sup>

Obviously encouraged by this cul-de-sac and a comparison with the above-mentioned routes in the *Cosmography of the Ravennaite*, Mommsen ventured to take a selection of the names and the incoherent lines on the *Peutinger Table* and offer them as a conjecture for a Capua-Rhegium road. He was, of course, perfectly within his rights to do so. His next move, that is, the assumption that the thus conjectured Capua-Rhegium road could be identified with the Capua-Rhegium road of the *elogium* of Polla, is, however, in conflict with the testimony of the *Peutinger Table*. The identification of the conjectured road with the road of the *elogium* would imply that the Nares Lucanae, Acerronia, and Forum Popillii were situated immediately north-west of Polla at the beginning of the present Vallo di Diano,<sup>10</sup> though the *Peutinger Table* shows clearly that they were on the road from Salernum to Potentia and must consequently be sought north-east of Polla.<sup>11</sup>

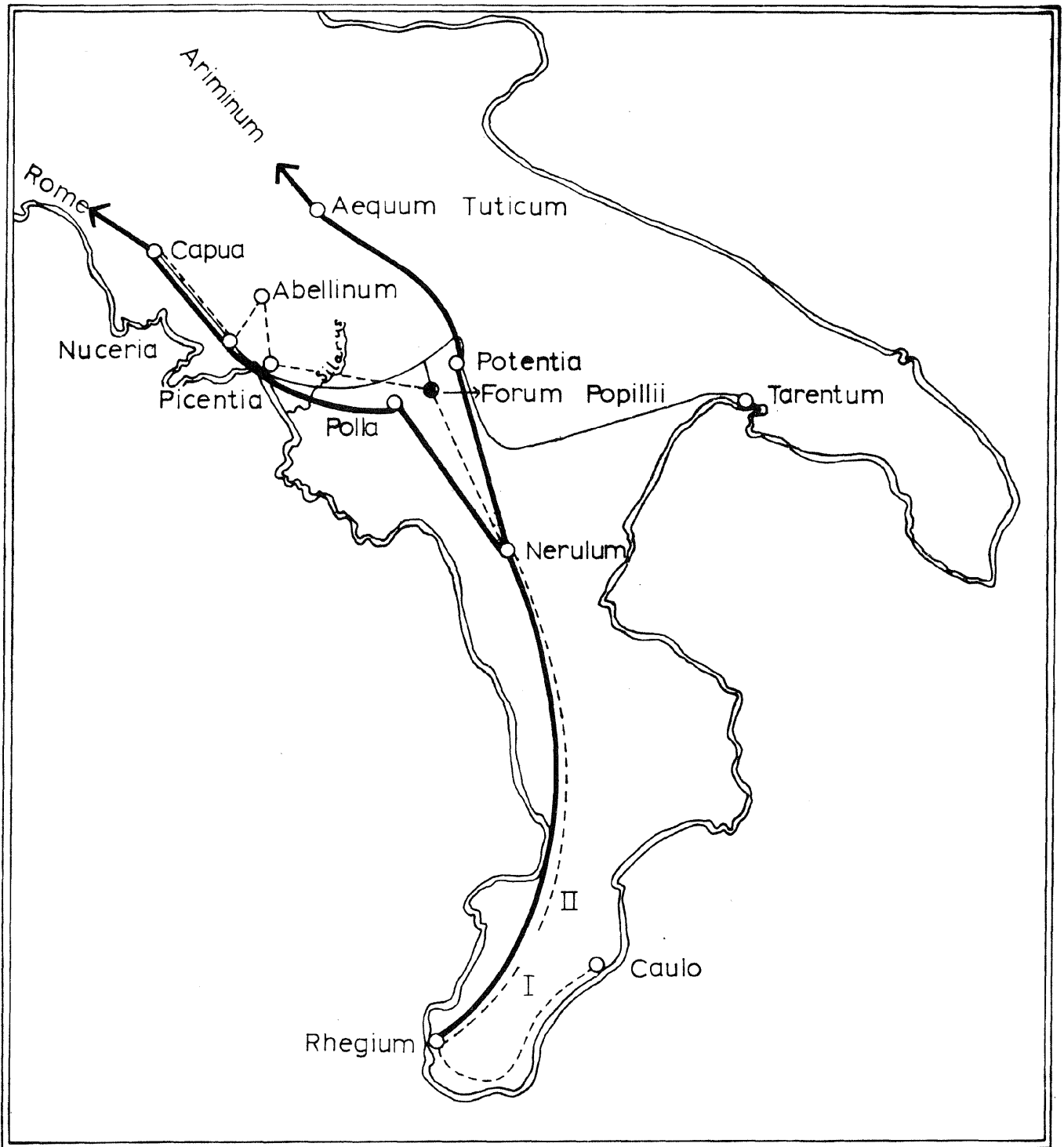
Let us now turn to the *Cosmography of the Ravennaite*. He records no continuous single route from Capua to Rhegium, but does mention one route from Caulo *via* Rhegium to Agellum in one place in his book<sup>12</sup> and another route from Capua to Aquae Angae some pages later.<sup>13</sup> When we look at the Capua-Aquae Angae route we notice that everything goes smoothly as far as Nuceria. There, however, something strange happens. Instead of going further south, for example, to Salernum as on the *Peutinger Table*, the *Ravennaite* turns north-east and makes a detour of some thirty miles to Abellinum. Then he makes another detour to Picentia, passing the road to the Silarus, though he eventually follows this.<sup>14</sup> At this stage we should become suspicious about the integrity of the *Ravennaite's* work, though it seems to have been accepted at face value by all the scholars studying the roads leading to Rhegium.

Let us now study the next move of the *Ravennaite*. From the Silarus he goes to the Nares Lucanae and Acerronia, and branching off there he goes further on to Forum Popillii. He ignores the road leading to Potentia. Then the *Ravennaite* indicates a road from Forum Popillii to Nerulum *via* Vicus Mendicoleius. Now a question arises. Was this Forum Popillii-Nerulum road really on the map which the *Ravennaite* had in front of him when he wrote down his route? Or, if he was using a map similar to the *Peutinger Table*, did he conjecture it — just like the scholars of our day? He was, of course, perfectly within his rights to make any conjectures that he wanted to. If, however, the Forum Popillii-Nerulum road of the *Ravennaite* is a conjecture, or a copy of an earlier conjecture, we should not regard it as a source for ancient history, but rather as a piece of mediaeval scholarship, which is another thing. Which is it more likely to be? The above-mentioned

detours of the Ravennaite show that either his sources were still more muddled at those points than the Peutinger Table or that he used them in a careless way – or both. Whatever the reason may have been, he and his readers were obviously not very knowledgeable about the geography of Campania. Otherwise his mistakes would certainly have been corrected.

Probably we shall never learn the truth about the background history of the routes in the Cosmography of the Ravennaite. A possible explanation of the muddles in both the Peutinger Table and the Cosmography can, however, be offered. According to the Antonine Itinerary there were two roads leading to Rhegium.<sup>15</sup> One was the Capua-Rhegium road of the *elogium* of Polla,<sup>16</sup> the other the Ariminum-Rhegium road running through Potentia and Grumentum.<sup>17</sup> The two roads merged at Nerulum. The author of the Peutinger Table was aware of the existence of both these roads. He uses the Capua-Rhegium road as far as the Silarus, then he leaves it and goes east over the Nares Lucanae and Acerronia<sup>18</sup> and travels further south on the Ariminum-Rhegium road as far as Grumentum.<sup>19</sup> This might have been what was in the source or sources of the Ravennaite, too. As he seems, however, to have been vague about the geography of southern Italy, these two roughly parallel roads leading to Rhegium may have confused him and then, further misled by the cul-de-sac to Forum Popillii, he perhaps conjectured that it was part of the right hand side road leading to the south and wrote the stations down accordingly.<sup>20</sup>

This discussion has shown that the usual identification of the Capua-Rhegium road of the *elogium* of Polla with the hypothetical conjecture ascribed to the Peutinger Table should be abandoned. Besides, the routes of highly questionable value in the Cosmography of the Ravennaite must not be used as an authentic source for research on the ancient roads leading to Rhegium. Furthermore, the sites of the Nares Lucanae and Acerronia should be sought north-east, and not north-west of Polla, as they have been hitherto. Neither can Forum Popillii possibly have been situated at Polla, as so many scholars have so far maintained.<sup>21</sup>



- The routes of the Antonine Itinerary
- The route of the Peutinger Table
- The routes of the Cosmography of the Ravennaite

- <sup>1</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup>,2,638, ILLRP 454, Inscr. Ital. III 1, 272.
- <sup>2</sup> V.Bracco, Ancora sull'elogium di Polla, *RendAccNapoli* 35 (1967) 221–235; A. Degrassi, Un nuovo miliario calabro della Via Popillia e la via Annia del Veneto, *Philologus* 99 (1955) 259–265; Nuovi miliari arcaici, *Hommages à Albert Grenier I* (Collection Latomus 58, (1967) 499–519; F.T. Hinrichs, Der römische Strassenbau zur Zeit der Gracchen, *Historia* 16 (1967) 162–176; Nochmals zur Inschrift von Polla, *Historia* 18 (1969) 251–255; G.Radke, Die Erschliessung Italiens durch die römischen Strassen, *Gymnasium* 71 (1964) 204–235; Namen und Daten, *Museum Helveticum* 24 (1967) 221–235; *Viae publicae Romanae*, RE Suppl. XIII 1415–1686; T.P. Wiseman, *Viae Anniae*, PBSR 32 (1964) 21–37; *Viae Anniae Again*, PBSR 37 (1969) 82–91; Roman Republican Road-building, PBSR 38 (1970) 122–152, et alia.
- <sup>3</sup> Bracco, *op.cit.*, 151; L. Pitimada, S. Onofrio – Rinvenimento di cippo miliare, NSc. 1953, 343 f; Degrassi (1955) 259, ILLRP p. 254 f; Radke RE Suppl. XIII 1535; Wiseman (1964) 33.
- <sup>4</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup>,2 p. 509 f, similarly Radke RE Suppl. XIII 1535.
- <sup>5</sup> Cf. the references of the previous notes.
- <sup>6</sup> Cf. the map.
- <sup>7</sup> 98,3–106,4, *Itineraria Romana I* ed. Otto Cuntz, Lipsiae 1929. This road ends in fact at the *columna* six *mp* north of Rhegium. This does not, however, mean that the road would not have led to Rhegium (thus Radke, 1964, 232). The *columna* was simply the *traiectum Siciliae* (Itin. Ant. 98,4f) and therefore more important here for the author and readers of the Itinerary than Rhegium. Cf. the map.
- <sup>8</sup> H.Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* II,2, Berlin 1902,900 f; Radke RE VII,A,759 f; Bracco, *op.cit.*, 152–161.
- <sup>9</sup> Cf. the map.
- <sup>10</sup> Thus Nissen and Bracco, cf. the references in note 8 above; Degrassi (1955) 262.
- <sup>11</sup> Nissen, *op.cit.*, 901, acknowledged the existence of this road, but he drew no conclusions on the basis of it, because he firmly believed that Forum Popillii was situated at Polla.
- <sup>12</sup> 4,32,7–16, *Itineraria Romana II*, ed. Joseph Schnetz, Lipsiae 1940. Cf. the map, route I.
- <sup>13</sup> 4,34,11 ff, cf. the map, route II.
- <sup>14</sup> See the Ravennaite and the Peutinger Table.
- <sup>15</sup> Cf. the map.

<sup>16</sup> CIL I<sup>2</sup>,2,638; ILLRP 454, Itin. Ant. 98,2–106,4.

<sup>17</sup> Itin. Ant. 106,5–111,5.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the map.

<sup>19</sup> This route leads then further on to Tarentum.

<sup>20</sup> N.B. No doubt there were local roads connecting Forum Popillii with Vicus Mendicoleius and Nerulum, but they can scarcely have been recorded in the sources of the Ravennaite.

<sup>21</sup> Mommsen, *loc.cit.*; Nissen, *op.cit.*, 903; Degrassi ILLRP I p. 254; Radke, *Der kleine Pauly* II, 603, et alia. Cf. the papers of Bracco and Wiseman (see note 2) who have on other grounds anticipated this view.