

A GADIBUS ROMAM MYTH AND REALITY OF AN ANCIENT ROUTE

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This article has emerged from my research for a critical edition of the *miliaria provinciarum Hispanarum*, the inscriptions on Roman milestones from Spain, to be published in the near future as the first part of Volume XVII of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.¹ The aim of our endeavours is not only to provide a critical edition of about 1,500 inscriptions, but also to constitute a coherent roadmap of the three provinces Hispania Citerior, Baetica, and Lusitania.

Therefore, the archaeological *vestigia* of the ancient communication system of the *viae publicae* (bridges, arches, and remnants of ancient roads) had to be traced first. In doing so, we could luckily rely on the thorough studies of local archaeologists contributing to the *Tabula Imperii Romani* (= *TIR*) – who have, so to speak, paved the way for a comprehensive road map of *Hispania* in their articles on the different archaeological sites – piece by piece.

But one can very seldom find a whole ensemble of the main features of a Roman road and its stations at a single spot – as is the case of Martorell in Catalunya/Spain, where we have an ancient bridge, an Augustan arch spanning the cobblestones of a Roman road that leads across the River Llobregat (ancient name: Rubricatum), three milestones, and probably also the archaeological remains of a *mansio* (Ermita de Sta. Margarida).² Even the name of this station *Ad fines* is documented in the itineraries, the most important sources for the *viae publicae Romanae* in general.

A handful of ancient itineraries, or at least itineraries modelled on ancient sources, are handed down by a manuscript tradition, e.g., the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*, the Ravenna Cosmography, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, the *Geographica Guidonis*.³

However, the so-called *Tabula Peutingeriana* takes first place among the non-epigraphical *itineraria*, since it is the only known surviving ancient map (except perhaps

¹ Field research since 2008 has been made possible with funding by the Berlin Cluster of Excellence: ‘Topoi. The Formation and Transformation of Space in Ancient Civilisations’ (www.topoi.org).

² Milestones of Magnentius, AD 350-353: J. Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense (conventus Tarraconense, Cesaraugustano, Cluniense y Cartaginense)* (Zaragoza 1992) 188, no. 181 = D. Gorostidi Pi, *Ager Tarraconensis 3. Les inscripcions romanes* (Tarragona 2010) 110, no. 71 = *CIL* II², 14, CXXIII, no. M, 2; two anepigraphic milestones: G. Fabre, M. Mayer Olivé, and I. Rodà de Llanza (eds.), *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne IV* (Barcelona 2002) 26 = *CIL* II², 14, CXXIII, no. M, 1; on the site, see J. Pera i Isern and E. Vilas i Pujol, *TIR K/J* 31, 31; and now Gorostidi Pi, 101, no. 54.

³ Besides the critical editions, all *itineraria* referring to the Spanish provinces have been collected by J. M. Roldán Hervás, *Itineraria Hispana. Fuentes antiguas para el estudio de las vías romanas en la península ibérica* (Granada 1975); see also R. Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (Paris 1997) 53.

that of the so-called Artemidorus papyrus⁴ of the Roman empire, the last revision dating back to the fourth and beginning of the fifth century AD.⁵ Unfortunately, the only copy of it, a parchment scroll from medieval times, is incomplete on the left side, so that the western part of the Empire (Spain, Ireland, Britain, and the Fortunate islands) has been lost. But due to Konrad Miller's reconstruction of the missing section(s) we have an approximate idea of how Hispania might have been depicted within the *cursus publicus* of the Roman Empire.⁶

It is owing to the epigraphic tradition that several itineraries can by chance fill some potholes in the Roman road system on the Iberian Peninsula: a small fragment of a *tegula* from Valencia,⁷ the clay tablets from Astorga,⁸ and the four goblets from Vicarello,⁹ that give the complete route of a Roman road, with about a hundred names of towns and stations along the way, leading from the ancient city of Gades (Cádiz) to Rome.

First, I shall give a description and a brief history of the finding of the goblets. Then, I will present an overview of scholarship since then and sum up the history of research up to now with a statement of the *opinio communis*. Third, I would like to discuss different approaches to the date of the objects. Finally and with a glance at a literary testimony, I will give my own view of the goblets' date and their purpose.

I. Description and history of the find

If you are looking for information on the ancient overland route from Gades to Rome, on your internet research you will certainly come across a virtual board game, 'De Roma a Gades', that the *Junta de Andalucía* has posted on its home page.¹⁰ It is quite clear that this game is inspired by antiquity itself – since the name of the game and its course allude to the Vicarello goblets: *A Gades Romam* – such a heading or the like is engraved below the rim of these four silver goblets. Below this heading you see four columns of names and numbers that refer to towns or stations along the way, giving the distances in Roman miles between the individual stop-overs. They thus constitute a route that leads from the

⁴ C. Gallazzi, B. Kramer, and S. Settis (eds.), *Il papiro di Artemidoro (P. Artemid.)* (Milano 2008); against authenticity, L. Canfora, *Il papiro di Artemidoro* (Bari 2008).

⁵ K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana* (Stuttgart 1916, reprinted Bregenz 1988); cf. E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana, Codex Vindobonensis 324* (Graz 1976).

⁶ Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (n. 5 above) col. 3 (Britannia); col. 27 (Pyrenees); col. 147-49 (Hispania). For detailed information on Miller's edition and his reconstruction of the western part, see R. J. A. Talbert, 'Konrad Miller, Roman cartography, and the lost western end of the Peutinger Map', in U. Fellmeth, P. Guyot, and H. Sonnabend (eds.), *Historische Geographie der Alten Welt. Grundlagen, Erträge, Perspektiven (= Festschrift Eckart Olshausen)* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 2007) 353-66, at 353.

⁷ *CIL* II 6239 = II², 14, p. 38; Roldán Hervás, *Itineraria Hispana* (n. 3 above) 161, no. VII.

⁸ A. Blázquez, *Cuatro téseras militares, RAH* 77 (1920) 99; Roldán Hervás, *Itineraria Hispana* (n. 3 above) 163, no. VIII.

⁹ *CIL* XI 3281-3284; Roldán Hervás, *Itineraria Hispana* (n. 3 above) 149, no. VI.

¹⁰ <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/averroes/html/adjuntos/2008/01/29/0002/index.html>. The aim of the game is to speed forward in a racer's chariot on a road leading along the Mediterranean Sea via *Italia*, *Gallia Narbonensis*, and *Hispania* until one reaches *Gades*. Thus, the racer takes almost the same route as the ancient *itineraria* show, only in the opposite direction and taking the short route along the Mediterranean coastline.



ITINER		capitulum	A R I V M	capitulum	AGADES	capitulum	ROMAM	capitulum
ADPORTVM	XXIII	VALENTIAM	XX	AMBRVSSVM	XV	FLACENTIAM	XX	
HASTAM	XVI	SAGYNTVM	XXVI	NEMAVSVM	XV	FLACENTIAM	XXVI	
VGIAM	XXVII	ADNOVLAS	XXIII	VGERNVM	XV	FLACENTIAM	XXV	
ORIPVM	XXIII	ILDVM	XXII	ARELATA	VIII	PARMAM	XXV	
HISPALIM	VIII	INTIBILIM	XXIII	ERNAGINVM	VI	LEPIDVMREGIVM	XXVIII	
CARMONEM	XXII	DERTOSAM	XXVII	CLANVM	VIII	MVTINAM	XXVII	
OBVCLAM	XX	SVBSALTVM	XXXVII	CABELLIONEM	XII	BONONIAM	XXV	
ASTIGLIM	XV	TARRACONEM	XXV	APTAMIVLIAM	XII	CLATERNVM	X	
ADARAS	XII	PALFVRIANAM	XXVI	CATVIACIAM	XII	FORVMCORNELI	XIII	
CORDVBAM	XXIII	ANTISTIANAM	XXIII	ALAVNVM	XVI	FAVENTIAM	X	
AD X	X	ADFINES	XVII	SEGVSTERONEM	XXIII	FORVM	XIV	
EFORAM	XVII	ARRAGONEM	XX	ALABONTEM	XVI	CESENAM	XIII	
VCHISEM	XVIII	SEMPRONIANA	VIII	VAPPINCVM	XVIII	ARIMINVM	XX	
ADNOVLAS	XIII	SETERRAS	XXIII	CATVRIGOMAGVM	XII	FISAVRVVM	XXIII	
CASTVLONEM	XIX	AQVISVOCONTISXV		EBVRDYNVM	XXVIII	FANVMFORTVNAE	VIII	
ADNOVRM	XXIII	GERVNDAM	XII	RAMAM	XVII	FORVMSEMPRONI	XVI	
SOLARIA	XIX	CILNIANAM	XXII	BRIGANTIVM	XXVIII	ADCALES	XVIII	
MARIANA	XX	IVNCARIA	XV	DRVANTIVM	XI	HESIN	XIII	
MENTESAM	XX	INPYRAENEVM	XXVI	SEGVSIONEM	XXIII	HELVILLVM	X	
LIBISOSAM	XXIII	RVSCINONEM	XXV	OCELVN	XXVII	NVCERIAM	XV	
PARIETINIS	XXII	COMBUSTA	VI	TAVRINIS	XX	MEVANIAM	XIX	
SALTIGM	XVI	NARBONEM	XXXII	QVADRATA	XX	ADMARTIS	XVI	
ADPALEM	XXXII	BAETERRAS	XVI	RIGOMAGVM	XVI	NARNIAM	XVIII	
ADARAS	XXII	CESSERONEM	XIII	CVTTIAS	XV	OCRICLO	XII	
SAETABIM	XXVIII	FORVMDOMITIXVIII		LAVMELLV	XXIII	ADXX	XXIII	
SVCRONEM	XVI	SEXTANTIONEM	XV	TICINVM	XXI	ROMAM	XX	
SVM	basis	M P	∞	basis	CCC	basis	XXX	∞

Figure 1 *Itin. Vicar. I = CIL XI 3281*

western edge of the *oikoumene* to the centre of the Roman Empire: from the old Phoenician foundation of Gaddir/Gades to Rome, crossing the province of Baetica, passing through the interior and along the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula in the direction of the Pyrenees, crossing Provence, then climbing over the Cottian Alps, descending towards the plains of the River Po, afterwards turning south along the east coast of Italy on the Via Flaminia until it reaches Fanum Fortunae, and once again crossing a mountain range, the Appennine, until the road ends in Rome. [Figure 1]

The four silver goblets, which are now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Sezione Numismatica di Palazzo Massimo), are of roughly similar dimensions, although one is significantly different from the other three:¹¹ Goblet I is 15.5 cm tall and measures about 8 cm in diameter, Goblets II and III are slightly smaller (14 cm by 7.3 cm), whereas Goblet IV is less than 10 cm tall and less than 7 cm in diameter. Thus, unlike the others, it does not correspond to an approximate ratio of two to one.

It is amazing how precisely the script has been engraved on these silver goblets, which were surely not everyday articles to be sold by souvenir traders, as some scholars have suggested: the tiny letters pose no textual problem at all, even though less than half a centimetre high, and there are no significant *crucis* to be discussed from the point of view of the lettering.¹² The design of the inscriptions in four columns, separated by finely

¹¹ See already W. Kubitschek, *RE IX.2* (1916) cols. 2308–2366, esp. cols. 2318–2319, s.v. *Itinerarien*, col. 2318.

¹² For details see the *apparatus criticus* in Bormann’s edition, *CIL XI 3281–3284*.

engraved pillars with Corinthian capitals, shows a highly developed craftsmanship – especially when you consider the miniature scale of the objects.¹³

However, there are considerable differences in the technique of engraving: Bormann's reproduction of the inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* suggests that a single style of script was used on all the four goblets, but this can be seen at a glance not to be the case. Whereas Goblet I shows the common *sulcus* of Roman letters engraved in metal, Goblet II, for instance, has the letters contoured by fine lines – a technique that seems to point to a later date. Goblet IV is the simplest of all, showing a rather deeply chased script, free from any ornamental element, and even tending to do without the horizontal bar of the letter A.¹⁴

Like the heading, the final line is normally written in larger characters – the distances between the stations are summed up here, in total about 1,840 Roman miles. A look at *Itin. Vicar. IV*¹⁵ is quite rewarding, showing that there is no heading and no concluding final line at all. In this respect, *Itin. Vicar. IV* is simpler than the others, giving at the end of the last column simply *Summa MCCCXXXV*. And within the layout of this inscription, the introductory line *A Gadibus Roma* is part of a structure that is missing in the other itineraries: larger sections of it – at least for the route outside Italy – are summarized by interlinear headings.¹⁶ It is quite obvious from this comparison, that the more elaborate lettering and the sophisticated design of *Itin. Vicar. I* to *III* are the result of a later adaptation of the same route, which in *Itin. Vicar. IV* also differs in its length (*Itin. Vicar. I–III* about 1,840 miles, *Itin. Vicar. IV* only 1,835 miles).¹⁷ [Figure 2]

So much for the description of the goblets, which reveals differences in lettering, the general design, and the structure of the itineraries. *Itin. Vicar. IV* in particular shows significant differences, judging by appearance and by the structural principle of the itinerary. From this it might be deduced that the four goblets represent copies made from the same archetype at different times, with modifications, since the goblets also show minor differences in some sections of the itinerary – for instance in the section on the Cottian Alps.¹⁸

¹³ E. and S. Künzl, 'Aeque Apollinares/Vicarelo (Italien)', in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Les eaux thermales et les cultes des eaux en Gaule et dans les provinces voisines. Actes du colloque 28-30 septembre 1990 Aix-les-Bains* (Turin 1992) 273-96, at 282: 'Unter den vielen Metallobjekten mit Inschriften aus Vicarelo sind diese vier Becher die reichsten ...'. On Roman silver tureotics in general see S. Künzl, *Silbergefäße*, in *Reallex. der germ. Altertumskunde* 28 (2005) 432-40, esp. 439.

¹⁴ Bormann, *CIL* XI 3284 n.: 'In paginis II–IV fere omnes litterae A praeter primam in II, 27 sunt sine lineola transversa'.

¹⁵ This obligatory abbreviation has been fixed by F. Vollmer (ed.), *ThLL. Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla adferuntur* (Leipzig 1904) 61.

¹⁶ *Ab Hispali Cordybae* (*Itin. Vicar. IV* col. 1, v. 7); *Ab Corduba Tarracone* (*Itin. Vicar. IV* col. 1, v. 12); *A Tarracone Narbone* (*Itin. Vicar. IV* col. 2, v. 9); *A Narbone Taurinos* (*Itin. Vicar. IV* col. 2, v. 24), that is the first Italian town after passing the Alps.

¹⁷ By the way, none of the sums are correctly calculated: there are differences of between 4 miles on *Itin. Vicar. I* and 14 miles on *Itin. Vicar. III*. See already R. Garrucci, *Dissertazioni archeologiche di vario argomento I* (Roma 1864) 176.

¹⁸ See Bormann, *CIL* XI, 496.

	A G A D I B V S	ROMA	VALENTIA	XX	SEXTANTIONE	XV	LAVMELLVM	XII
	ADPORTV	XXIII	SAGVNTO	XVI	AMBRVSIO	XV	TICINVM	XXI
	HASTA	XVI	ADNOVA	XXIII	NEMAVSO	XV	LAMBROFLVMEN	XX
	VGIAE	XXVII	ILDV	XXII	VGERNO	XVI	PLACENTIA	XVII
5	ORIPPO	XXIII	INTIBILI	XXIII	5 TRAIECTVM RHODANI	∞	5 FLORENTIA	XV
	HISPALI	VIII	DEXTOSA	XXVII	GLANO	XI	PARMA	XV
	ABHISPALICORDYBAE		SVBSALTV	XXXVII	CABELLIONE	XII	REGIO	XVIII
	CARMONE	XXII	TARRACONE	XXV	APTAIVLIA	XXII	MVTINA	XVII
	OBVCLAE	XX	ATARRACONENARBONE		CATVIACIA	XII	BONONIA	XXV
10	ASTIGI	XV	PALFVRIANA	XVI	10 ALAVNIVM	XVI	10 CLATERNAS	XI
	CORDVBAE	XXXV	ANTESTIANA	XIII	10 ALAVNIVM	XVI	FOROCORNELI	XIII
	ABCORDVBATARRACONE		ADFINES	XVII	SEGVSTERONE	XXIII	FAVENTIA	X
	ADDECVMVM	X	sic ABRAGONE	XX	ALABONTE	XVI	sic FOROIVLI	X
	EPORA	XVIII	ADPRAETORIVM	XVII	VAPPINQVO	XVIII	CVRVACAESENA	XIII
15	VCIENSE	XVIII	BAETERRAS	XVI	CATVRIGOMAGO	XII	15 ARIMINI	XX
	ADNOVOLAS	XIII	AQVASVOCONIAS	XV	15 EBORODVNO	XVII	PISAVRO	XXIII
	ADARAS	XXIII	GERVNDIA	XII	RAMA	XVII	FANOFORTVNAE	VIII
	ADMORVM	XVIII	CINNIANA	X	BRIGANTIONE	XVIII	FOROSEMPRONI	XVI
	ADDVOSOLARIA	XVIII	IVNCARIA	XII	DRVANTIO	VI	ATCALE	XVIII
20	MARIANA	XX	SVMOPYRENAE	XVI	TYRIO	V	20 HAESIM	XIII
	MENTESA	XX	RVSCINONE	XXV	20 INALPECOTTIA	XXIII	HELVILLO	X
	LIBISOSA	XXIII	ADCOMMVSTA	VI	ADMARTIS	XXIII	NVCERIA	XV
	PARIETINIS	XXII	NARBONE	XXXIII	ADFINES XXXX	XVII	MAEVANIA	XVIII
	SALTIGI	XVI	ANARBONETAVRINOS		AVGVSTATAVRIN	XXIII	MARTIS	XVI
25	ADPALAE	XXXII	BAETERRAS	XVI	25 QVADRATA	XXIII	25 NARNIA	XVIII
	TVRRES SAETAB	XXV	sic CESSIRONE	XII	25 RIGOMAGO	XIII	AD XX	XXIII
	SAETABI	XXV	FRONTIANA	X	CVTTIAS	XXIII	ROMAE	XX
	SVCRONE	XVI	FORODOMITI	VIII			SVMMA	XX
							∞ CCCXXXV	

Figure 2 *Itin. Vicar. IV*

Immediately in the year of their finding in 1852, the first three goblets were published by Padre Giuseppe Marchi under the title *La stipe tributata alle divinità delle Acque apollinari*;¹⁹ two years later, the treasure trove was brought to the notice of a wider scientific community by Wilhelm Henzen in *Rheinisches Museum*;²⁰ and Bormann's edition in the eleventh volume of the *Corpus* (*CIL* XI 3281-3284) remains the standard publication of these itineraries.

But how did the goblets come to light? Together with *aes grave*, currency bars, and thousands of coins and votive offerings of silver and gold, they turned up in a basin of a fountain in the ancient spa resort of Vicarello – a little Italian village near Lake Bracciano, where thermal water issues from hot springs that were already known in antiquity.²¹ This immense numismatic find, which is now scattered over several museums in Rome and elsewhere, was unfortunately poorly documented after its discovery: Padre Marchi counted 5,215 Roman and non-Roman coins as well as more than 1,200 pounds of *aes rude*, but gave

¹⁹ Padre G. Marchi, *La stipe tributata alle divinità delle Acque apollinari scoperta al cominciare del 1852* (Roma 1852).

²⁰ W. Henzen, 'Alterthümer von Vicarello', *Rh. Mus.* 9 (1854) 20–36.

²¹ See A. M. Colini, *Vicarello. La sorgente termale nel tempo* (Roma 1979); Künzl and Künzl, 'Aequae Apollinares/Vicarello (Italien)' (n. 13 above) 273.

no detailed archaeological description of the find.²² As a result, we do not know in what context or in which stratum the goblets were found. And even the coins have not all been published, except for those of the Republican period, because many thousands of struck pieces – ‘a molte e molte migliaia’ (Marchi) – ranged in date from Augustus to the end of the 4th century. These facts are quite important, because some scholars have been unaware of the fact that the coin finds are not restricted to late Republican or early Imperial times and have accordingly dated the itineraries to the Augustan period.

Again Goblet IV plays a prominent role – it differs not only in size and design, but also in the history of its discovery, which begins ten years later: in 1863, it turned out that a fourth goblet was still in the possession of the archaeologist then in charge of the excavations – in addition to other *instrumenta* made of silver and of gold. But there is no doubt that Goblet IV is also an authentic piece from antiquity (all four specimens were first published by Garrucci in 1864 [n. 17]). And though regrettably the history of the whole find is somewhat obscure, this does not, in my opinion, matter to the understanding of the itineraries and the interpretation of the goblets: we face similar problems, whenever we try to trace back the history of objects from antiquity that are small but of precious material, such as rings, gems, and other *instrumenta*, which could easily have changed hands already in ancient times.

Unlike other finds from this context, for instance votive offerings to Apollo or the nymphs, who were worshipped in the baths of Vicarello (*CIL* XI 3285–3290),²³ the inscriptions on the goblets show no connection to the place where they were found. There is no dedicatory line, *Apollini et nymphis sacrum*, not even a *statio* on the road from Gades to Rome that refers to this site is mentioned in the itineraries, though the route could have easily passed by the baths, which are traditionally identified with the *Aquae Apollinares* near Lake Bracciano.²⁴ And indeed, when you look at the map, the route of the goblets takes the long way around (*i.e.* the *Viae Aemilia* and *Flaminia*), while the roads along the western coast of Italy (*Via Iulia Augusta* and *Via Aurelia*) would have been much shorter.

From this I would argue that the context of the find has no significance for the interpretation of the goblets and their itineraries, since they might have found their way into the basin of Vicarello either as votive offerings that originally were nothing else but *itineraria*, as the heading below the rim says, or they were part of a Roman hoard of unknown provenance and protected by their location against looting in late antiquity. It is noteworthy in this context, that only *instrumenta* of precious metal, but no ceramics or clay votives were found, which are frequently attested in the context of a mineral spring.²⁵ However, from the point of view of the textual tradition we have to keep in mind that the

²² M. H. Crawford, ‘Thesauri, hoards and votive deposits’, in O. de Cazanove and J. Scheid (eds.), *Sanctuaires et sources* (Naples 2003) 69–84, at 81, adding *Ritrovamenti e contesti. I reperti archeologici della provincia di Roma nelle raccolte del Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome 2001) 88–137.

²³ Künzl and Künzl, ‘Aquae Apollinares/Vicarello (Italien)’ (n. 13 above) 279.

²⁴ Bormann, *CIL* XI, 496; Künzl and Künzl, ‘Aquae Apollinares/Vicarello (Italien)’ (n. 13 above) 273.

²⁵ Künzl and Künzl, ‘Aquae Apollinares/Vicarello (Italien)’ (n. 13 above) 275: ‘Das Fehlen von Keramik jeder Art unterscheidet den *pozzo* in Vicarello auch von den zahlreichen *stipi votivi* Mittelitaliens; es gibt deshalb auch keine der sonst so häufigen anatomischen Votive, die man an einer Heilquelle ansonsten gut erwarten dürfte’. See also A. Comella, ‘Tipologia e diffusione dei complessi votivi in Italia in epoca medio- e tardorepubblicana. Contributo alla storia dell’artigianato antico’, *MEFRA* 93 (1981) 717–803; Crawford, ‘Thesauri, hoards and votive deposits’ (n. 22 above).

four itineraries represent copies of one archetype, made at different times. The fact that the precious artefacts were found together seems to indicate that they were also kept together in a safe place, before they were submerged in the baths of Vicarello.

II. The communis opinio

Of course, we know of other epigraphic documents displaying the courses of Roman roads that could perhaps contribute to a better understanding of the goblets from Vicarello: for instance the short inscription on a vessel from Rudge, Wiltshire (*CIL* VII 1291 = *RIB* II 2, 2415.53), and another from Amiens (*AE* 1950, 56).²⁶ Our itineraries could be most closely compared to the four clay tablets from Astorga, that record important connecting routes in the western part of the Iberian peninsula, for instance the road running from León (*Legio VII Gemina*) to the harbour of *portus Blendius*.²⁷ But the goblets from Vicarello remain unique, to be compared only with each other or with the literary evidence, especially with the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* – with respect to the routes through the different provinces.²⁸ They have thus inspired interpreters from the very beginning of their exegesis, or to be more precise, a *communis opinio* has developed since the early days of Padre Marchi (1852), which can be summarized as follows: the four silver goblets are miniature replicas of a milestone, that had been erected in Gades as the counterpart of the *miliarium aureum* in Rome. The goblets are thus souvenirs brought to Vicarello by a Spaniard or Spaniards, who dedicated the silver vessels as a votive offering to the healing god or out of gratitude for their safe journey from Gades:

Three silver vessels, cylinder-shaped, apparently emulating the grand milestones. These were erected, not only in Rome (the *miliarium aureum*), but also at major locations in the provinces, to indicate the distance to Rome and from one station to another. It would require the compendiousness of an English travel ‘necessaire’ to engrave a vessel with an itinerary of railway stations. Hence, we would recommend that all travelling Mylords and Gentlemen should not do without the convenience available to old Roman provincials. Undoubtedly, the vessels belonged to a Spanish man, who – after staying in Rome and falling ill there – found his cure in Vicarello.²⁹

²⁶ See Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (n. 3 above) 77.

²⁷ Roldán Hervás, *Itineraria Hispana* (n. 3 above) 163, placa I.

²⁸ Both itineraries were edited by Cuntz in 1929: O. Cuntz (ed.), *Itineraria Romana. I. Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense* (Leipzig 1929); see now B. Löhberg, *Das Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti. Ein Straßenverzeichnis des Römischen Reiches I-II* (Berlin 2006) (which I have not consulted). See the review by M. Rathmann in: *H-Soz-u-Kult*, 14.02.2008, <<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2008-1-125>>.

²⁹ Henzen, ‘Altertümer von Vicarello’ (n. 20 above) 30: ‘Drei Gefäße von Silber in Säulenform, offenbar den großen Meilensteinen nachgebildet, welche nicht bloß in Rom (*miliarium aureum*), sondern auch in den Hauptorten der Provinzen aufgestellt waren, um die Entfernungen derselben von Rom und die der Stationen unter sich anzugeben.... Es wäre der Compendiosität eines Englischen Reiseneccessärs würdig, ein Gefäß mit Angabe der Eisenbahnstationen zu verzieren, und wir empfehlen allen reisenden Mylords und Gentlemen dringend, sich diesen Comfort alter Römischer Provinzialen nicht entgehen zu lassen; denn ohne Zweifel dürften jene Gefäße einem Spanier gehört haben, der, nach Rom gekommen und erkrankt, im heutigen Vicarello Heilung fand’. Similar interpretations are given by Kubitschek, (n. 11 above) col. 2319; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom. I. Die Päpstlichen Sammlungen im Vatikan und Lateran* (4. völlig neu bearb. Aufl. hg. v. Hermine Speier, Tübingen 1963) 610, no. 834; O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman maps* (London 1985) 122; P. Sillières, *Les voies de communication de l’Hispanie méridionale* (Paris

This interpretation remains unchanged in Künzl and Koepfel's book on 'Souvenirs and devotional objects':

The goblets were manufactured in Gades/Spain. Voyagers had their wine served and could review the journey following the itinerary engraved on these silver drinking cups. In the end, the goblets became a true souvenir representing the arduous journey. Later, they turned into votive offerings to Apollo and the nymphs in Vicarello. The shift in purpose of such small products cannot be traced anywhere better than in this rare case.³⁰

The authors' interpretation evokes a scene of everyday life, in which the ancient travellers after the long journey from Spain filled the goblets with wine, while the engraved itineraries called episodes to their mind.³¹ I cannot join this unanimous chorus of scholarship that seeks to harmonize the data of the find, the shape of the vessels, the starting point and the destination of a very long journey, and the course of the itineraries in general.

III. Purpose and date of the goblets

Several questions arise, such as why the former owner needs to have been a Spaniard, and why he would have collected at least four quite similar silver goblets with the same route engraved on them, objects of different periods, and why he should finally have submerged them in the baths of Vicarello as votive offerings, even though there is no dedicatory inscription referring to Apollo.

First, the supposed Spanish origin and the shape of the cups, which are generally traced back to a milestone once set up in Gades. The goblets of course show a cylindrical form as cups usually do. In comparison with the regular form of a milestone, which consists in a rather long shaft and a cubic base, I do not see too many common features – not even with the *miliarium aureum*, in so far as we have an idea of its form and design.³² If you are looking for an architectural model, you have to take into account the fact that

1990) 36; Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (n. 3 above) 76; Lesley and Roy A. Adkins, *Handbook to life in ancient Rome*. (Oxford 1998) 171: 'The goblets ... may have been presented by someone from Cádiz to Apollo, the healing god, on a visit to Rome. The goblets may be copies of an elaborate milestone set up in Cádiz'.

³⁰ E. Künzl and G. Koepfel, *Souvenirs und Devotionalien* (Mainz 2002) 19: 'Hergestellt wurden die Becher in Gades/Spanien. Die Reisenden konnten sich darin den Wein servieren lassen und dabei anhand eines silbernen Trinkbecherkursbuches über die Reise reden. Am Schluss wurden die Becher dann ein echtes Souvenir als Erinnerung an die lange Reise, und dann wandelten sie sich zu Weihgaben (Votive) an den Apollo und die Nymphen von Vicarello. Selten kann man die wechselnde Zweckbestimmung solcher kleiner Werke besser fassen als in diesem Falle'.

³¹ See also A. Kolb, 'Raumwahrnehmung und Raumschließung durch römische Straßen', in M. Rathmann (ed.), *Wahrnehmung und Erfassung geographischer Räume in der Antike* (Mainz 2007) 169-80, at 175: 'Erinnerungsstücke an eine derartige Reise'; N. Purcell, 'Itineraries', in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford classical dictionary* (Oxford and New York, 3rd ed., 1996) 775: 'souvenir *ex voto* dedications' (!).

³² Cf. Z. Mari, *LTUR* III (1996) 250, s.v. '*Miliarium aureum*'. Indeed, there is a certain resemblance to the supposed 'miliarium' on the Vinicius denarius from Augustan times (16 BC): see for instance A. Nünnerich-Asmus, 'Straßen, Brücken und Bögen als Zeichen römischen Herrschaftsanspruchs', in W. Trillmich, Th. Hauschild, M. Blech, H. G. Niemeyer, A. Nünnerich-Asmus, and U. Kreilinger (eds.), *Hispania Antiqua. Denkmäler der Römerzeit* (Mainz 1993) 121-57, at 130, with an unsatisfactory resolution of the abbreviated inscription on the denarius.

the columns of the inscriptions are divided by pillars with Corinthian capitals (I shall come back to that point later).

But above all, we have no evidence of such a *miliarium Gaditanum*, and the only reason for thinking of a Spanish archetype for our four *itineraria* is the starting point³³ of a supposed long distance journey – more than 1,840 miles around the western half of the ancient world, which in the end leads to Rome – but not by the shortest route. Already in the time of Cicero it was much easier to cover this distance by ship.³⁴ And Pliny the Elder states that sailing from Ostia to Gades would take not longer than a week (Pliny, *Nat.* 19.1).³⁵ On the other hand, it took even Caesar, famous for his rapidity, 27 days from Rome on the overland route, to arrive in Obulco east of Corduba, *i.e.* a distance of about 1,500 Roman miles.³⁶

Reckoning the whole journey with an average speed of about 20 to 25 miles a day on foot or 50 to 60 miles by means of transport, such a distance could be covered within 90, or alternatively 40, days.³⁷ But who would take up the challenge, if not a true sporting ace?

Interestingly enough, Wilhelm Kubitschek has drawn our attention to a poem from late antiquity, comparing it to the *Itinerarium Antonini*, where the same route in the same direction is the subject of an arithmetical riddle.³⁸ In the Palatine anthology (*Anth. Pal.* XIV 121), Metrodorus presents the distance of this route as the sum of mathematical fractions: from *Gades* to the headwater region of the River Baetis (*i.e.* the Guadalquivir), you have passed a sixth of the journey,³⁹ from there to the ‘land of the bulls’ (τῆς γῆς βοῶν), probably an etymological hint at the name of the capital *Tarraco*, it will take you another fifth,⁴⁰ to the Pyrenees an eighth of the entire distance, and so on, until the author gives a clue to solve the problem.

³³ Cf. already Künzl and Künzl, ‘Aequae Apollinares/Vicarello (Italien)’ (n. 13 above) 282: ‘Da Gades immer am Beginn der Listen steht (*scil.* of the four itineraries), haben die Becher nur dann einen Sinn, wenn sie in Gades hergestellt, und von gaditanischen Reisenden mitgebracht wurden’.

³⁴ Asinius Pollio, apud Cic. *Fam.* 10.30.

³⁵ Cf. E. De Saint-Denis, ‘La vitesse des navires anciens’, *Rev. Arch.*, sér. VI, 18 (1941) 121-38, at 133.

³⁶ See M. Gelzer, *Caesar. Politician and statesman* (6th ed., Oxford 1968) 294 with n. 7: Dio 43.32.1; App. *Civ.* 2.429; Strabo 3.4.9 (160).

³⁷ On the average speed of travellers in the Roman world see A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (Berlin 2000) 312ff.

³⁸ W. Kubitschek, ‘Ein arithmetisches Gedicht und das Itinerarium Antonini’, *Ant. Class.* 2 (1933) 167-74; translation by W. R. Paton: ‘From Cádiz to the city of the seven hills the sixth of the road is to the banks of Baetis, loud with the lowing of herds, and hence a fifth to the Phocian soil of Pylades – the land is Vaccæan, its name derived from the abundance of cows. Thence to the precipitous Pyrenees is one-eighth and the twelfth part of one-tenth. Between the Pyrenees and the lofty Alps lies one fourth of the road. Now begins Italy and straight after one-twelfth appears the amber of the Po. O blessed am I who have accomplished two thousand and five hundred stades journeying from thence! For the Palace on the Tarpeian rock is my journey’s object’.

³⁹ A misunderstanding of this passage by A. Dirkzwager, ‘Mit Metrodor von Cádiz nach Rom’, *Rh. Mus.* 136 (2006) 162-67, at 163: ‘Der Guadalquivir mündet in kurzem Abstand von Cádiz ins Meer. Metrodor läßt aber den Reisenden diesen Fluß erst nach 312 1/8 m. p. erreichen’. Of course, Metrodorus talks about the headwaters of the River Baetis east of Castulo (Plin. *Nat.* 3.9: *Baetis ... Tugiensi exoriens saltu*), *i.e.* near the station of *Duo Solaria*, to which according to Metrodorus and the indications given in *Itin. Vicar.* I–IV it is about a sixth of the entire course from Gades, *i.e.* exactly 312 Roman miles.

⁴⁰ 375 miles from Castulo to Tarraco, and another 234 miles to the Pyrenees = 609 miles. Interestingly enough, Plin. *Nat.* 3.29 gives the figure of 607 miles for the distance between Castulo and the Pyrenees, which is also the

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ [*i.e.* Metrodorus]

Ἐπτάλοφον ποτὶ ἄστῳ Γαδειρόθεν, ἕκτον ὁδοῖο
 Βαίτιος εὐμύκους ἄχρις ἐς ἠίονας·
 κείθεν δ' αὖ πέμπτον Πυλάδον μετὰ Φώκιον οὐδας
 Τάυρη χθὼν βοέης οὔνομ' ἀπ' εὐετίας.
 Πυρήνην δέ τοι ἔνθεν ἐπ' ὀρθόκραρον ἰόντι 5
 ὄγδοον ἠδὲ μῆς δωδέκατον δεκάτης.
 Πυρήνης δὲ μεσηγὼ καὶ Ἄλπιος ὑψικαρήνον
 τέτρατον· Αὐσονίης αἶψα δυωδέκατον
 ἀρχομένης ἤλεκτρα φαίνεται Ἐριδανοῖο
 ὦ μάκαρ, δς δισσὰς ἦνυσα χιλιάδας, 10
 πρὸς δ' ἔτι πέντ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατοντάδας ἔνθεν ἐλαύνων·
 ἢ γὰρ Ταρπεῖη μέμβλετ' ἀνακτορίη.
 (*Anth. Pal.* XIV 121)

There are 2,500 *stadia* (a *stadion* is about an eighth of a Roman mile) left to cover the stretch between the River Eridanos (*i.e.* the Po) and Rome – this means a sixth of the route corresponds to 2,500 *stadia*. The result is very interesting, in so far as the total of 15,000 *stadia* or 1,875 miles is quite close to the 1,840 miles on the goblets from Vicarello, a variation of only 35 miles or about 2 percent, resulting from the inevitable rounding in Metrodorus' calculation.⁴¹ You could say it is exactly the same route that Metrodorus describes in his riddle.

As we have seen before, this is not a matter of course: the route leads from Gades to the source of the River Baetis, afterwards crossing the Iberian Peninsula in the direction of Tarraco, climbing up the mountain range of the Pyrenees, then heading across the river Rhone for the Alps, later reaching the Po by a roundabout route and supposedly taking the Via Flaminia to Rome.

This poem is interesting also in some other respects, in the first place, the time of its composition, which is clearly later than the time of Diophantos, an Alexandrian mathematician, who flourished in the second half of the 3rd century AD and is identified as the model for Metrodorus.⁴²

In dating the goblets, scholars have not agreed as unanimously as they have in interpreting them. And, still worse, we have a plurality of different proposals that exist side by side, without the authors ever taking notice of one another's arguments. Most popular is Jacques Heurgon's plea for a date in Augustan times, based on toponomastic grounds,⁴³

sum of the mileage given in the Vicarello goblets – as you would expect, there was a long and accurate itinerary tradition handed down to late antiquity.

⁴¹ Calculating the distance from Gades to Rome: $1/6 x + 1/5 x + 1/8 x + 1/120 x + 1/4 x + 1/12 x + 2,500 \text{ stadia} = x$, reduced to a common denominator '120': $100/120 x + 2,500 \text{ stadia} = x$; $100/120 + 20/120 (= 2,500 \text{ stadia}) = \text{the entire course}$; $20/120 = 2,500 \text{ stadia} = 1/6 \text{ of the course}$; $2,500 \times 6 = 15,000 \text{ stadia} = 1,875 \text{ Roman miles}$.

⁴² By the way, Diophantos' epigram has now served as a model in the Nintendo Game 'Professor Layton and Pandora's Box' for riddle no. 142, as is noted in the Wikipedia article on Diophantos: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diophantus>.

⁴³ J. Heurgon, 'La date des gobelets de Vicarello', *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 54 (1952) 39-50, esp. 44f. ('la toponymie ... apparaît entièrement renouvelée ... dans un sens déterminé, qui est *impérial* et *romain*'); repeated for instance by Roldán Hervás,



Figure 3: 'Via Augusta' – Vicarello

which seems wrong from the outset, because there is no agreement between the itineraries' route and the Augustan road⁴⁴ in Spain between Cordoba and Saetabis [Figure 3]. Heurgon argued that indigenous names in the section on the Cottian Alps, like Gaesao and Segusio, which are present in *Itin. Vicar.* I–III, had been replaced in *Itin. Vicar.* IV by names that reflect Augustan propaganda (following the Roman agreement with Cottius); the latter names thus gave a 'terminus post quem' for this itinerary, while the former names seemed to imply a pre-Augustan date for the other three goblets.⁴⁵ But the indigenous names incriminated by

Itineraria Hispana (n. 3 above) 152; Sillières, *Les voies de communication* (n. 29 above) 36; Künzl and Künzl, 'Aequae Apollinares/Vicarello (Italien)' (n. 13 above) 282; Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (n. 3 above) 76; and others.

⁴⁴ A misunderstanding originating from Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (n. 5 above) col. 176f.; cf. Roldán Hervás, *Itineraria Hispana* (n. 3 above) 151; Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* (n. 2 above) 390; Nünnerich-Asmus, 'Straßen, Brücken und Bögen' (n. 32 above) 131.

⁴⁵ Especially *Augusta Taurin(orum)* in *Itin. Vicar.* IV, col. 3, v. 23, in contrast to *Taurinis* in *Itin. Vicar.* I–III: see Heurgon, 'La date des gobelets de Vicarello' (n. 43 above) 44: 'La vieille cité des *Taurini* y paraît revêtue de son titre de colonie romaine, Colonia Iulia Augusta Taurinorum, déduite à une date inconnue sous Auguste'. But *Augusta Taurinorum* (e.g. *CIL* V 4192; XIII 6870; XVI, no. 81; *EE* VIII, no. 311) and *Taurini* (e.g. *CIL* V 6955; 6970; 7617; VI 211) are used without discrimination through the centuries.

Heurgon are still present in inscriptions and itineraries from late antiquity.⁴⁶ Others prefer a Flavian date⁴⁷ or a date around the year 150 and consider this as the prevailing opinion;⁴⁸ they interpret the numismatic evidence as reaching not later than Trajan, which is evidently wrong and the result of the incomplete publication of the finds by Padre Marchi. One of the first editors, Ettore de Ruggiero, thought about a date for Goblets I–III ‘anteriori di molto al tempo di Diocleziano’, while he considered goblet IV to be quite close in date to the *Itinerarium Antonini*.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Manfred Fuhrmann rightly observed that Roman itineraries in general date to not earlier than the 3rd century AD.⁵⁰

However, some of the arguments for dating Goblets I–III in the early fourth century AD were already made decades ago. For instance, goblet IV (*Itin. Vicar. IV*, col. 3, v. 5) mentions the ferry crossing the Rhone, *traiectus Rhodani*.⁵¹ This would clearly indicate a date before the construction of the bridge at Arelate (Arles) in the time of Constantine, *i.e.* earlier than AD 333 to 337; but goblets I–III simply use the name Arelate, not the ferry, which must date them later in the century.

But the most important argument is the use of the word *itinerarium/itinerare* itself: Goblet IV, which in my opinion is the oldest of the four copies, has no heading at all, its itinerary beginning simply with *A Gadibus Roma*: and here you have the classical declined ablative *Gadibus*, whereas the other specimens use an *indeclinable* form *Gades*.⁵²

In Goblets I–III different headings are given, but all refer to the list of place-names and indication of distances as an *itinerarium* or *itinerare*; the latter word is only attested on our silver cups: *Itinerarium a Gades Romam* on *Itin. Vicar. I*, *Ab Gades usque Roma itinerare* on *Itin. Vicar. II*, and *Itinerare a Gades usq(ue) Roma* on *Itin. Vicar. III* (*Itin. Vicar. IV*, col. 1, v. 1: *A Gadibus Roma*). The adjective *itinerarius*, from which the term is derived, is attested only in late antiquity – for instance in the *Historia Augusta*, Ammianus, or in the *Liber pontificalis*, while *itinerarium* occurs in *Vegetius*, in the *Itala*,

⁴⁶ See Bormann’s and Mommsen’s tables, comparing the *variae lectiones* of *Itin. Vicar. I–IV* with the evidence of other itineraries, *CIL XI*, 496, and especially *CIL V*, 811; *cf.* the inscriptions *CIL V* 7246–7252, 7261, 7263–7264.

⁴⁷ G. Cordiano, ‘Domiziano, Columella e la stipe di Vicarello’, *Ann. Fac. Lett. Siena* 24 (2003) 91–115, taking into account another votive offering found in the Vicarello basin, where *Nymphae Domitianae* (*CIL XI* 3286 = *ILS* 3876) are mentioned, which for the dating of our goblets is of no significance at all.

⁴⁸ An obviously false premise underlies Kubitschek, ‘Ein arithmetisches Gedicht und das *Itinerarium Antonini*’ (n. 38 above) 169: ‘Aber die Münzen reichen nicht über Trajans Zeit hinaus, und damit haben wir eine obere Zeitgrenze für vier dort mitgefundene silberne Becher ...’; see J. Heurgon, ‘La fixation des noms de lieux en latin d’après les itinéraires routiers’, *Rev. Philol.* 26 (1952) 169–78, at 172, with previous bibliography; Künzl and Koeppl, *Souvenirs und Devotionalien* (n. 30 above) 19; whence Kolb, ‘Raumwahrnehmung und Raumschließung’ (n. 31 above) 175.

⁴⁹ E. de Ruggiero, *Catalogo del Museo Kircheriano I* (Rome 1878) 108, nos. 402–05.

⁵⁰ M. Fuhrmann, ‘Geographisch-topographische Gebrauchsliteratur’, in R. Herzog and P. L. Schmidt (eds.), *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike. V. Restauration und Erneuerung (284–374 n. Chr.)* (Munich 1989) 95, with further bibliography; see also J. Burian, ‘Itinerare’, in H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike V* (Stuttgart & Weimar 1998) col. 1180.

⁵¹ With the numeral ∞, indicating the subtotal of 1000 miles for the distance between Gades and the *traiectus Rhodani*.

⁵² Heurgon, ‘La fixation des noms de lieux en latin’ (n. 48 above) 169: ‘Tous les noms de lieux y (*scil.* in the Itineraries) sont pourvus de désinences casuelles, à première vue, incohérentes.... Les milliaires, au IIIe siècle de notre ère en tout cas, témoignent de la même discordance dans l’emploi des cas’.

and in itineraries from late Antiquity – in the *Itinerarium maritimum* (p. 497, 9), in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (p. 549, 1), and in the commentary by Ambrose on Psalm 118.⁵³

Secondly, looking back at the riddle of Metrodorus, the poem sheds light on interest in the theme in 4th century Rome: it shows clearly that distances within the Roman Empire were well known to a broader Roman public and that the route from Cádiz to Rome in particular, though not the other way round, and its enormous length, were to the educated reader in late antiquity such a common metaphor for a long distance journey that Metrodorus could associate this with an arithmetical riddle. Consequently, I do not see a direct connection between the four goblets and the poem, whereas Wilhelm Kubitschek does:

Since we've already been puzzling about this – admittedly, I am reluctant to place him (*scil.* Metrodorus) in front of a grand monument in Gades, I'd rather think of him in contact with a Spanish merchant in Rome, who presented a copy of the itinerary as a topic for conversation.⁵⁴

The codicological problem – the quest for a common archetype of the Latin itineraries and the Greek poem – is reduced to the half-hearted and somehow absurd assumption that a Spanish trader had brought a copy of the itinerary from the *miliarium* in Gades to Rome and discussed the matter with the author Metrodorus. But why do we not simply stay in Rome with our reflections on both the epigraphic and literary evidence? Why should we turn to Gades to solve the problem? Of course, there were 'road maps' of the Empire available in Rome, as can be deduced from the itineraries and maps recorded by the literary tradition.⁵⁵ And a special itinerary could easily have been excerpted from such an official *itinerarium*; this seems to have been quite customary for military purposes.⁵⁶ And that is exactly what happened here: the route was copied from an official itinerary for some special purpose and was then circulated in various copies; but that does not have to pre-suppose any long distance journey actually travelled.

In my opinion, the direction from Gades to Rome hints at the real character of this route, which was in some way special enough to be documented in literary and epigraphic form. The route presumably had a particular significance: it was perhaps linked to the memory of a historical or mythical journey; or was tracing some kind of geographical line, as does the Rudge Cup from Wiltshire, where the stations mentioned lead along the famous Hadrian's wall.⁵⁷

The goblets from Vicarello were certainly not tourist itineraries: tourism – which is a phenomenon of repeated travel for recreational purposes – does not seem to offer any solution. We have a route there and back of about 6,000 km, that does not reach its destination directly, but on the contrary leads through the dangerous *saltus Castulonensis*,

⁵³ *ThLL* VII 2, col. 567 s.v. *itinerarium*.

⁵⁴ Kubitschek, 'Ein arithmetisches Gedicht und das Itinerarium Antonini' (n. 38 above) 174: 'Da wir schon zum Herumraten gekommen sind, gestehe ich, wenig Lust zu fühlen, ihn (*scil.* Metrodorus) nach Gades vor ein großes Strassenmal zu setzen, sondern möchte am liebsten ihn in Verbindung mit einem spanischen Händler in Rom denken, der eine Abschrift des Itinerarblattes als Gesprächsstoff vorlegte'.

⁵⁵ See in general Dilke, *Greek and Roman maps* (n. 29 above), esp. 112; a critical assessment of alleged Roman maps, accurate and to scale, and an account of the counter-concept of landmarks and routes is offered by K. Brodersen, *Terra cognita. Studien zur römischen Raumerfassung* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1995), esp. 33, 139.

⁵⁶ See Vegetius on the detailed preparation for an assault on enemy territory, *Veget. Mil.* 3.6.

⁵⁷ See for instance Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (n. 3 above) 77.

full of robbers in ancient times (Cic. *Fam.* 10.30), then by-passes the interior of Hispania and leads along the eastern coast; after this comes the hardest part: the crossing of the Pyrenees, of the Cottian Alps, and (after the plain of the River Po) of at least one other mountain range – the Appennines, *nubifer Appenninus*, as Ovid has it in his catalogue of mountains (*Ov. Met.* 2.226). This seems a frightful journey and a real feat of strength, which leads me to another point: Gades, the city that was situated by the columns of Heracles, gave to its hero one of the most attractive sights of antiquity, the Temple of Hercules Gaditanus.⁵⁸ This is where the route begins, not in Rome, as one would expect on a Roman itinerary.

The itinerary is determined by its starting point and its destination, and by distinctive features along the way. For the route through Spain, one can see that this is not a heavily used route, because it deviates from the road Augustus had built in 7 BC, the main connection between the provincial capitals of Tarraco and Corduba (see Figure 4). The itinerary indicated by the Vicarello goblets seems to represent here a forgotten stretch that was once used in Republican times (Strabo 3.4.9 [160]), on the east-west route between *Sucro* and *Ad aras* (Castulo), which in modern times was called after Hannibal ‘el camino de Anibal’.⁵⁹ The *Itinerarium Antonini* gives no corresponding line, nor does the *Ravennatis Cosmographia*,⁶⁰ and milestones outside of the area of *Castulo* are scarce and may belong to other roads.⁶¹ While the ‘*via Augusta*’ or rather ‘*via Augusti*’ on the territory of the *provincia Hispania citerior* continues southbound in direction to *Carthago nova* and only afterwards turns west to the border of the Baetica via *Acci*,⁶² and it has been argued by scholars, without any evidence, that precisely this route was the legendary *via Herculis*.⁶³

⁵⁸ A. Fear, ‘A journey to the end of the world’, in J. Elsner and I. Rutherford (eds.), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and early Christian antiquity. Seeing the gods* (Oxford 2005) 319-31, at 319, on Gades and its temple as a possible goal for ancient pilgrimage.

⁵⁹ Some attempts at an explanation of this traditional name are offered by Sillières, *Les voies de communication* (n. 29 above) 220, 550; actually, the origin of the name remains unknown. Perhaps the fact that Hannibal’s wife came from Castulo (Liv. 24.41.7), gave a name to this road.

⁶⁰ *Ravenn.* IV 44, p. 81, vv. 1–9 (ed. Schnetz) is a northbound road in the direction of Complutum.

⁶¹ P. Sillières, ‘Le “Camino de Anibal”. Itinéraire des gobelets de Vicarello, de Castulo à Saetabis’, *Mél. Casa de Velázquez* 13 (1977) 31-83, at 31, with corrections of his earlier study *Les voies de communication* (n. 29 above) 261, 263: ‘(les milliaires de la voie Saetabis à Castulo) ... restent rares et manquent dans la partie orientale du parcours’. I count three milestones of uncertain origin, mostly reused as sarcophagi: *CIL* II 4935 = Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* (n. 2 above) no. 44 (Aldea Hermosa); *CIL* II 4934 = Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* no. 78; Sillières, *Les voies de communication* (n. 29 above) no. 59 = Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* no. 90 (Navas de S. Juan).

⁶² On the *Via Augusta*, which on inscriptions of the *provincia Tarraconensis* is only attested on milestones north to Saguntum, see in general Sillières, ‘Le “Camino de Anibal”’ (n. 61 above) 39; Nünnerich-Asmus, ‘Straßen, Brücken und Bögen’ (n. 32 above) 131. Augustan milestones from the route Carthago Nova-Castulo, all dating to the year 7 BC: Totana (*CIL* II 4936 = Sillières, *Les voies de communication* [n. 29 above] 70, no. 3 = Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* [n. 2 above] no. 23); Lorca (*CIL* II 4937 = Sillières, *Les voies de communication* 71 no. 5 = Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* no. 24); Mazarrón (Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* no. 25); Chirivel (*CIL* II 4938 = Sillières, *Les voies de communication* 74, no. 8 = Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* no. 26); Cullar de Baza (Sillières, *Les voies de communication* 77, no. 13 = Lostal Pros, *Los miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense* no. 27); La Guardia (*CIL* II 4931 = Sillières, *Les voies de communication* 84, no. 19).

⁶³ See for instance Roldán Hervás, *Itineraria Hispana* (n. 3 above) 151; J. Estrada Garriga, ‘El itinerario de los Vasos Apolínaires en el trayecto de Girona a Tarragona’, in G. Castellvi, J.-P. Comps, J. Kotarba, and A. Pezín (eds.), *Voies romaines du Rhône à l’Èbre: via Domitia et via Augusta* (Paris 1997) 149-55; Nünnerich-Asmus,



Figure 4 ‘Via Herculis’

From a handful of ancient authors, we do indeed know of a ‘Ὀδὸς Ἡρακλεῖα or *via Herculis*, but not in Spain.⁶⁴ The only evidence for such a mythical route concerns the stretch through the Alps, where the Greek hero had paved the way for himself and his cattle. But sure enough he had come all the way from southern Spain, from the island Erytheia near Gades, as the legend says, where in accomplishing his tenth labour he had stolen the cattle of the fearsome giant Geryon and from where he drove his herd across the Iberian peninsula, crossing the mountain range of the Alps via Mont Genève, just as the itineraries do, then through the plain of the River Po – which in Roman times was obviously a considerable detour. His route leads him straight to the place where in historical times Rome was founded, and right in the heart of the later city he eventually meets Cacus, who tries to steal some of the cattle from him (cf., *i.a.*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.185-275). The mythological tradition localizes the place on the left side of the river Tiber between Capitol, Palatine, and Aventine – which in later times was to be the Forum Boarium, where Hercules’ Ara Maxima was built and where the Temple of Hercules Victor was erected. This temple is a *monopteros*,

‘Straßen, Brücken und Bögen’ (n. 32 above) 123, with misleading evidence for the campaigns of P. Cornelius Scipio, that does not refer to a *via Herculis* in Spain: Polyb. 11.32; Liv. 28.13.4; Amm. 15.10.10. See already Sillières, ‘Le “Camino de Anibal”’ (n. 61 above) 38.

⁶⁴ Such a report is given by Strabo 4.1.7 (183); Diod. Sic. 4.19; Ps.-Aristot. *Mirab.* 85; and Amm. 15.10.9. The literary evidence is discussed in exemplary manner by R. Dion, ‘La voie héracléenne et l’itinéraire transalpin d’Hannibal’, in M. Renard (ed.), *Hommage à Albert Grenier* 1 (Brussels 1962) 527-43, at 527.

encircled by a colonnade of Corinthian columns, which could possibly – and perhaps with a better claim –⁶⁵ have served as a model for our goblets from Vicarello.⁶⁶

However, in antiquity the cult of Hercules was constantly popular at all levels of society, and his labours were present to everybody in oral tradition, literary narrative, and works of art.⁶⁷ It seems that in memory of Hercules' tenth labour, which is in a specific sense connected with prehistoric Rome as well as with *Gades*, the Ὀδὸς Ἡρακλεῖα is exactly represented by the route of the itineraries, with the detour involved in crossing the Alps, the plain of the river Po and crossing again a mountain range, the Apennines. At any rate, the myth of the long and arduous path of the *via Herculis* seems to have been traced out in concrete terms in late antiquity – for whatever reason.⁶⁸ It was a Roman attempt to grasp the immense mythical distance by means of exact measurement – on the goblets as well as in the riddle of Metrodorus. [Figure 4]⁶⁹

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⁶⁵ Interestingly enough, Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (n. 3 above) 76 n. 81, thinks about the Columns of Heracles as a model: 'On peut songer aussi à une allusion aux colonnes d'Hercule' (!).

⁶⁶ See F. Coarelli, in *LTUR* III (1996) 15, s.v. 'Hercules Invictus, Aedes' and 'Hercules Invictus, Ara Maxima'.

⁶⁷ The vast material on Herakles/Hercules is collected by J. Boardman *et al.*, in *LIMC* IV.1 (1988) 728-838; *LIMC* V.1 (1990) 1-262; *LIMC* V.2 (1990) 6-188.

⁶⁸ Perhaps pilgrimage on the *via Herculis* as some kind of *aemulatio herois* is the key; cf. the *makarismos* in Metrodorus' poem, *Anth. Lat.* XIV 121.10.

⁶⁹ This paper was presented on 'Epigraphic Saturday' at the University of Cambridge (Faculty of Classics) on 20th March 2011. For valuable suggestions and constructive critique I would like to thank Camilla Campedelli, Michael Crawford, David French, Benet Salway and Terence Volk, as well as Lucie Haehnel for her help with the English translation of the manuscript.