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La curatela scientifica di questo volume è di Paola Schirripa

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Questa serie vuole celebrare il mare Mediterraneo e contribuire a sviluppare temi, studi e immaginario che il cratere formato dal greco Aristothonos ancora oggi evoca. Deposito nella tomba di un etrusco, racconta di storie e relazioni fra culture diverse che si svolgono in questo mare e sulle terre che unisce.

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GN. MANLIUS VULSO'S MARCH THROUGH THRACE IN 188 B.C.
ACCORDING TO LIVY'S MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Jordan Iliev

Titus Livy presents considerable details on the Thracian incident of Gn. Manlius Vulso in 188 B.C., such as main landmarks for tracking the movement of the Roman general and the names of his opponents¹. However, some of the circumstances remain unclear and this is not a result only of the scarce evidences. One reason beyond doubt is due to adjustments of the first editors. They changed some realities, which at that time looked like obvious mistakes. So, through the years some differences have been developed between the manuscript text and the modern editions. This is reason enough for a new verification of their writing in the manuscript tradition.

Here is examined only one section of the march of the Roman general (Fig. 1). He took from Lysimachia to the north, crossed the Melas River and the next day reached to a place, whose name is traditionally read as Cypsela. At this point he divided his army into two parts, because at a length of 10 miles the road was passing through an anonymous pass that was wooden, narrow and rough. Four Thracian tribes attacked the Romans in the narrowest part of the pass. The battle continued overnight as the Thracians retreated – not for other reasons, but because already had enough of prey². The advanced Roman detachment came out of the pass and set up his camp near one temple of Mendis. The two parts of the Roman army rejoined the next day and reached to Hebrus (Maritsa) River. In the following lines are commented alternative readings and interpretations of some key realities, based on strict adherence to the earliest codices of Livy's text³.

¹ See a conventional presentation of this event in ILIEV 2015, p. 129 s. with sources and literature.

² Liv. XXXVIII, 40, 9-15.

³ According to the author of these lines the manuscript tradition (i.e. handwritten copies of ancient texts from the late antiquity to the

Some Doubts on Cypsela?

The Roman troops of Vulso take the road from Lysimachia and reached to a place, traditionally recognized as Cypsela; it's noted that immediately after this point the road was wooden, narrow and rough:

“... *profectus est ab Lysimachia die, ad amnem Melana quem uocant, inde postero die Cypsela peruenit. A Cypselis uia decem milium fere siluestris angusta confragosa excipiebat ...*”⁴.

In analyzing this text it is necessary a special attention to two very reasonable observations:

1: the distance from Lysimachia to Ipsala, where the ancient Cypsela usually is located⁵, is too large to be crossed in the mentioned time frames;

Renaissance age) deserves a special attention in the study of Ancient Thrace and the Thracians, because for various reasons later were undertaken corrections on the manuscript copies of ancient texts. The reasons are at least two: (1) in the past manuscripts were available only to a very limited range of researchers and (2) no one of these researchers was sufficiently familiar with the history of Ancient Thrace and the Thracians. In the conditions of 21st century these two reasons are no longer valid, because many manuscripts are now digitalized and freely available on the Internet. So, they can be completely used in new studies for solving of old questions. See ILIEV 2018 for more details on this issue. Some general remarks on the state of the manuscript tradition of Livy's fourth decade see in BRISCOE 2008, pp. 13-16, 143-148; DE FRANCHIS 2015, pp. 14-17; ASSENMAKER 2017, pp. 16-20.

⁴ Liv. XXXVIII, 40, 5-6. All Latin texts in this paper are cited after the edition of Packard Humanities Institute (CD-ROM, PHI #5: Latin Authors). The same is available for free in Internet as *Classical Latin Texts: A Resource Prepared by The Packard Humanities Institute*, online access at <http://latin.packhum.org> [December 1, 2018].

⁵ The early evidences about Cypsella are summed up recently by LYUBENOVA 2017, pp. 103-110 with the older literature.

2: it is impossible to find similar (wooden, narrow and rough) landscape to the west of modern Ipsala⁶.

Another important observation is that *Cypsela* is found only in the print editions from the Renaissance onwards, probably for the first time in the edition of Nicolaus Carbachius (1518)⁷, which is considered as reproduction of a lost manuscript from Mainz, denoted as *Codex Moguntinus*⁸. In the earliest available codices that place appears as Gypseia(s)/Gypsea(s) (Fig. 2)⁹. It is unclear whether this is just a mistake or a reason for a new reading and interpretation. However, except here, *Cypsela* is clearly found only once in the Livy's work¹⁰, but without concrete details on its localization. Recently is proposed a new reading of Gypseia(s), as Cypaseis¹¹, which overcomes the problem with the distances in the Livy's narrative, but does not fit well with the situation in the manuscript tradition. Anyway, more studies are needed on this issue.

⁶ These facts are ascertained by FRENCH 2012, pp. 19-22.

⁷ LIVIUS, TITUS / CARBACH, NICOLAUS: *T. Livius Patavinus Historicus, duobus voluminibus recens ex codice Moguntiaco auctus; cum L. Flori epitome et annotatis in libros VII belli Macedonici*, Mainz, 1518.

Online access at http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00088140/image_1 [December 1, 2018].

⁸ BRISCOE 2008, p. 15.

⁹ In *Codex Bambergensis* the reading is as follows: "... inde posterior die *Egypteia* puerut (?). A *Gypseis* ...", which probably means that here *Egypteia* is a mistake.

¹⁰ Liv. XXXI, 16, 5 – as *Cypsella*.

¹¹ FRENCH 2012, pp. 19-22.

Some *Corneli(i)* in Thrace?

The Thracian adversaries of Vulso have the following appearance:

“... *Thraecum decem haud amplius milia ex quattuor populis, Astii et Caeni et Maduateni et Coreli, ad ipsas angustias viam circumsederunt ...*”¹².

There is no hesitation only in the reading of the first tribe, because in all the available manuscripts it appears as *Asti* or *Astii*. The second and the third tribes are established through *Codex Bambergensis* and *Codex Moguntinus*, respectively as *Cenei & Mandatueni* or *Ceni & Maduateni*, because in the other codices are skipped. The *Asti* and the *Caeni* are known from other sources. The other two tribes are hapaxes¹³. As a result, are proposed different adjustments as desperate attempts for reaching to ethnonyms, known from other sources. The benefit of similar experiments is questionable, because the information on the history of Ancient Thrace and the Thracians just before and after the event under consideration is very scarce¹⁴. Therefore, the changing of one ethnonym with another contributes nothing to expanding of the current knowledge of the epoch. In any case, a common characteristic of all the proposed attempts for clarifying the names of the Thracian tribes, listed by Livy, is that none of the suggestions are based on strict following of the manuscript tradition.

¹² Liv. XXXVIII, 40, 7.

¹³ In the Thracian language remains are attested words beginning with the base both of *Maduateni* or *Mandatueni* (see DETSCHEW 1957, pp. 284-285, 279-280), while the whole names are hapaxes. Various attempts are offered for their explanation; see for instance BOTEVA-BOYANOVA 2018, p. 133 with literature. According to the author of these lines it's about a Latin transcription of the Greek combination Μαίδων τινεζ, *i.e.* “some of the Maedi”. Nothing more can be said in the current state of research on the topic.

¹⁴ ILIEV 2015, p. 129 s.; DELEV 2015, p. 65 s.

The fourth ethnonym deserves a particular attention. In all the available manuscripts it is attested as *Corneli(i)* (see Fig. 3), which confuse the modern researchers, because they presumably reject the existence of a Thracian tribe, homonymous of a Roman gentile name. Undoubtedly for that reason alternative readings are proposed, such as *Coeletae* or *Corpilli*, but they are not based on the manuscript transmission¹⁵; currently the name is restored as *Coreli*, known from the edition of Carbachius¹⁶. So *Corneli(i)* is interpreted as a 'Romanizing' corruption¹⁷. However, the statement of facts demonstrates that in the manuscript tradition are lacking paleographic grounds for doubts in reading the ethnonym as *Corneli(i)*.

It is important not to miss that the Roman gentile name *Cornelii* was borne by several famous generals; two of them were contemporaries and, to a certain extent, participants in the event considered here. These were L. Cornelius Scipio, commander-in-chief of the Roman army sent against Antiochus III the Great, and his famous brother P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who accompanied him as legatus, i.e. military advisor. In 190 B.C. they both set off by land from Italy to Asia Minor, passing through Macedonia, Thrace and the Hellespont. The same route (but in opposite direction) was chosen by Manlius Vulso two years later.

There are not many details about the movement of the two Scipiones. The Roman analyst Claudius Quadrigarius wrote about an incident on their way; the narrative is preserved through Titus Livy¹⁸. It reports that: "some 15,000 Thracians confronted Muttines the Numidian when he was reconnoitering ahead of the main column. (Claudius states that the Numidian force consisted of 400 cavalry and

¹⁵ In Codex Bambergensis the third and the penultimate letters are written specifically, but it most probably is *Corneli*.

¹⁶ The proposed identification with the Coralli is based only of some phonetic proximity, see ILIEV 2015, p. 131, nt. 20; BOTEVA-BOYANOVA 2018, p. 133.

¹⁷ BRISCOE 2008, pp. 144-145: "[...] The *Corneli(i)* of the extant MSS is clearly a 'Romanizing' corruption [...]".

¹⁸ Quad., *Ann.* VIII, fr. 65 = Liv. XXXVIII, 41, 12-14.

a few elephants, and that Muttines' son broke through the enemy centre with 150 hand-picked horsemen. Setting his elephants in the centre and deploying his cavalry on the wings, Muttines engaged the enemy, and in a short while the son caused panic in the enemy ranks with an attack from the rear. The Thracians were thrown off balance by this furious cavalry charge and failed to reach the column of infantry.)". Livy argues that: "the same army, led by Scipio along the same route, had not found the Thracians so aggressive for the simple reason that there had been less booty to invite an attack"¹⁹.

Without any further details on the same event, Appian pointed out the significance of the diplomatic activity of the Scipiones, announcing that the march through Thrace would have been very difficult without the support of Philip V of Macedon, who took care of repairing roads, providing provisions and even accompanying of the Roman army²⁰. Treatment in this direction, enumerating the merits of the Macedonian king, is also available in Livy²¹.

A diplomatic activity of the Scipiones in the European Southeast is suggested by other fragmentary evidences.

It is known that already in 196 B.C. L. Cornelius Scipio had been firstly in Selymbria and then in Lysimachia for a meeting with Antiochus III the Great²². There are not many details for his activity, but his presence in Thrace, near the area where the so called Corneli(i) clashed with the legions of Manlius Vulso several years later, is very interesting.

Memnon reports in the *History of Heraclea*²³ for dispatching of envoys and concluding of a union agreement of the inhabitants of that city with the Scipiones. No information is found about other similar initiatives, but an epigraphic monument from Amphipolis

¹⁹ Liv. XXXVIII, 41, 11. English translation after LIVY: *The Dawn of the Roman Empire (Books Thirty-One to Forty)*. Translated by J.C. Yardley, Introduction, Notes, and other editorial Matter by W. Heckel, Oxford 2009.

²⁰ App., *Syriaca* V, 23.

²¹ Liv. XXXIX, 28, 6-9.

²² Polyb. XVIII, 49-51; Liv. XXXIII, 39, 1-7; Diod. XXVIII, 12, App., *Syriaca*, 3-4.

²³ Memn., *Heracl.* XVIII, 6-8.

deserves attention, because testifies to the construction of a statue of one Publius Cornelius, son of Publius, Scipio ([Π]όπλιον Κορνήλιο[ν] Ποπλίου Σκιπίωνα)²⁴. The identification of that person is not certain; it is unknown also the reason for which such honor was given to him. Whether this Scipio does not due the attention received to older contacts with this city of his eminent relatives?

In addition to the information provided, it should not be forgotten that near Magnesia, where the decisive battle between the Scipiones and Antiochus III took place, there were some Thracians in the Roman camp.²⁵ Livy reports about a common contingent of Macedonians and Thracians, amounting to 2,000 people, which were left to protect the camp²⁶. It is explicitly stated that they voluntarily joined to the Roman army. Nothing more is known about them.

It is known that there was practice in the Roman Republic some distinguished public figures (the Scipiones are not exception) to maintain client relationships with foreign cities, rulers and communities²⁷. This fact deserves a very special attention, because provides grounds for a new interpretation of the Thracians Corneli(i) in Livy. In addition to the evidence on some Thracians among the Roman forces near Magnesia, that information can serve as an argument for adherence to the manuscript text. It can be assumed that with 'Corneli(i)' Livy designates a particular group of Thracians, who had some (client?) relationships with the brothers Scipiones. The current state of the sources does not allow identification of these

²⁴ NIGDELIS – ANAGNOSTOUDIS 2017, pp. 295-305 with exhaustive commentary.

²⁵ For this battle and the forces involved see TAYLOR 2013, pp. 135-151.

²⁶ Liv. XXXVII, 39, 12: "... *et duo milia mixtorum Macedonum Thracumque, qui uoluntate secuti erant; hi praesidio castris relictis sunt ...*"

²⁷ VERBOVEN 2013. See also BADIAN 1958, pp. 154-167, who noted (p. 159) that "[...] every kind of contact between leading Romans and foreign states could lead to the establishment of clientela: victory in war, administrative contacts, or the initiative of the state concerned (or of the Senate) in establishing it".

Thracians. Some of them may be, for instance, the Corpili²⁸. Anyway, the fragmentary evidences presented here provide sufficient grounds for their interpretation as a reflection of diverse activities of the Scipiones in the European Southeast immediately before and during the war with Antiochus III the Great.

A Temple of Mendis near the Settlement of Mende?

As far as the author of the present work has been able to ascertain, the designation ‘templum Mendidium’ is attested without any significant differences in all the available manuscripts (Fig. 4) and printed issues to the beginning of the 16th century. Despite in the dominant *Codex Bambergensis* and its relatives, that reality is read also in *Codex Moguntinus*. An interesting departure from this tradition is noticed in one of the manuscripts, stored in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, where ‘*campus Mendidius*’ is clearly readed (*Vat. lat.* 1854, 92r).

Obviously in the Renaissance era some of the first publishers of Titus Livy encountered difficulty in specifying the temple in question. Just because that name is not known from other sources, it has seriously hampered these earliest researchers of Antiquity. It was therefore defined as an error and Mendis was replaced with Bendis. The correction was documented as early as 1531 in the Basle edition of Livy, prepared by Henricus Loritus Glareanus²⁹. As a justification in later publications is indicated information for worship of Bendis among the Thracians. In the course of time it was reached even to the

²⁸ Recently are proposed some convincing arguments for locating the Corpili on the both sides of Hebrus River, near Aenos, see PARISSAKI 2018, pp. 16-17.

²⁹ LIVIUS, Titus, *Latinae Historiae Principis Quicquid Hactenus fuit aeditum ...: Accesserunt autem Quintae Decadis Libri quinq[ue], nunquam antehac aediti, ... Addita est Chronologia Henrici Clareani, ... Adiunctus est & index copiosissimus ...*, Basileae, Officina Frobeniana, 1531. Online at: <http://www.mdz-nbnresolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11022144-1> [December 1, 2018].

assertion that in personal and geographical names derived on behalf of the deity, the first letter of 'B-' becomes 'M-', which is not confirmed by other examples³⁰.

Despite the lack of justification for corrections in the modern editions of Livy the reading as temple of Bendis is fully perceived, sometimes without even an indication, that in the available codices only Mendis is attested. In addition, often in surveys on the Thracian march of Gn. Manlius Vulso that key toponym is omitted without any comment³¹.

The replacement of the originally attested '*templum Mendidium*' with the incorrectly assumed '*templum Bendidium*' – adopted without exception by the modern researchers³² – leads to postulation of erroneous statements, related both with the religious life of the Thracians and with the tracking of the movement of the Vulso's army through Thrace.

In relation to the religious life of the Thracians this adjustment is used as evidence for the existence of a temple of Bendis in Thrace, for which there is no other information at that time³³. So far in the area between Lysimachia and Hebrus (Maritsa) River there are not found evidences on the cult of Bendis. Something more, the incorrect change of Livy's text is pointed out as the one and only evidence on the cult of that goddess in Pre-Roman Thrace³⁴.

³⁰ See ILIEV 2017, p. 9, nt. 8.

³¹ Last by BOTEVA-BOYANOVA 2018, pp. 129-138.

³² See literature in ILIEV 2015, p. 129.

³³ For a built temple of Bendis in Thrace mentions only the later Lucian (*Icaromenippus* 25: καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον ἐγένετο ἐν Θράκη).

³⁴ See JANOUCHOVÁ 2013, p. 101: "The physical evidence for existence of the cult of Bendis *per se* is not attested anywhere in Thrace. Titus Livius mentions an existing temple of Bendis (Liv. XXXVIII, 41, 1), but he informs us only about the existence of a cult during Roman times. Until the temple is archaeologically proven, we know only its approximate position near the Hebrus (Maritsa) River in the vicinity of Cypsela. No other cult places or sanctuaries within Thrace that belong specifically to Bendis are known as of yet."

Several serious arguments in support of the original reading as ‘*templum Mendidium*’ can be listed.

In the area between the Thracian Chersonesos and the lower stream of Hebrus (Maritsa) River there is some information about a settlement called Mende (Μένδη)³⁵, sought in the surroundings of Aenos (Enez), which is located at the mouth of the mentioned river. It is important not to miss that at distance of one day from the temple of Mende Vulso’s army reached to Hebrus (Maritsa) and that’s where they crossed the borders (i.e. leaved the territory?) of Aenos³⁶.

The available evidences about the history of Mende in Thrace, which is different from the one with the same name and better documented city on the Chalcidice peninsula, are limited to several references in the ancient literature.

In his *Description of Greece* Pausanias describes a gable from the Temple of Zeus in Olympia, which was made by a famous sculptor for his time, named Paionius, born in Mende in Thrace³⁷. Elsewhere this author presents also a dedication to Zeus in the same temple by the inhabitants of the same settlement³⁸. From the attached transcript of the inscription it becomes clear that Mende defeated Sipte – a fortified settlement (fortress and city?) in Thrace, unknown from other sources³⁹. Pausanias states that the inhabitants of Mende were of Hellenic origin from Ionia. Their city was located “inland from the seashore, over the city of Aenos”⁴⁰.

³⁵ The evidences about Mende in Thrace are summarized by ISAAC 1986, pp. 158 and LOUKOPOULOU 2004, pp. 871-872.

³⁶ Liv. XXXVIII, 41, 4.

³⁷ Paus. V, 10, 8. Original text after *TLG*: τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐμπροσθεν ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἐστὶ Παιωνίου, γένος ἐκ Μένδης τῆς Θρακίας.

³⁸ Paus. V, 27, 12.

³⁹ LOUKOPOULOU 2004, p. 872: “Thracian fortified settlement, presumably in the hinterland of Ainos [...] Sipte may have been a polis, but the evidence is too slim [...]”. DETSCHEW 1957, p. 448: “Σίπτη, sithonische Burg bei Mende [...] Sicher Weiterbildung von dem Stamm *Sip-* in dem PN *Sipa*”.

⁴⁰ Original text after *TLG*: τῶν δὲ ἐν Θράκῃ Μενδαίων τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐγγύτατα ἀφίκετο ἀπατησαί με ὡς ἀνδρὸς εἰκῶν εἴη πεντάθλου· καὶ κεῖται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἥλειον Ἄναυχίδα, ἔχει δὲ ἀλτήρας ἀρχαίους. ἐλεγείων δὲ

According to modern studies, the ethnicon Μενδαῖοι could testify to status of polis, but currently the evidences are considered insufficient for its proving⁴¹.

The name of Mende is explained by Stephanus Byzantinus in his work *On cities (De Urbibus)*. The late antique lexicographer argues that it was delivered by a woman named Mendes (Μένδη, πόλις Θράκης, ἀπὸ Μένδης γυναικός).

It seems that the basic form of '*templum Mendidium*' was in Greek, as far as it is suggested Greek source of Livy's text. After corresponding transformations it was obtained the Latin form. However, it turns out that an eventual definition of the temple as belonging to the woman, mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus, is disputable from a philological point of view⁴².

At the same time, there is information for a nymph named Mendeis (Μενδηίς), which even geographically is related to Southeastern Thrace. According to the mythographer Conon, "Sithon, the son of Poseidon and Ossa, was king of the Thracian Chersonesos; he had a daughter Palene from the nymph Mendeis"⁴³. It is possible from her name to obtain a toponym, sounding close to the temple mentioned by Livy (Mendeideum < Μενδηϊδεῖον)⁴⁴.

ἐπ'αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ: "Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλεῖ μ' ἀκροθίνιον ἐνθάδ' ἔθηκαν Μενδαῖοι, Σίπτην χερσὶ βιασάμενοι". Τὸ μὲν δὴ Θράκιόν τι εἶναι τεῖχος καὶ πόλις ἔοικεν, ἢ Σίπτη: Μενδαίοις δὲ αὐτοῖς γένος τε Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας ἐστίν, οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω τῆς πρὸς Αἴνῳ πόλει.

⁴¹ LOUKOPOULOU 2004, p. 871: "[...] The ... reference to an ethnic ... may indicate that Mende was a *polis*, but the evidence is too slim [...]"'. See also ISAAC 1986, p. 158, where the skepticism of some authors about the existence of Mende in Thrace is mentioned.

⁴² See in more details ILIEV 2017, p. 12, nt. 25. In such a case the name of the temple will look like Μενδεῖον, not Μενδιδεῖον. The name should appear in Greek as Mendis (Μενδῖς, ἶδος).

⁴³ Con., *Narr.* 10. Original text after *TLG*: Σίθων ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ὅσσης, ὁ τῆς Θρακίας Χερρονήσου βασιλεύς, γεννᾷ θυγατέρα Παλλήνην ἐκ Μενδηΐδος νύμφης.

⁴⁴ ILIEV 2017, p. 12.

On the basis of the presented and commented evidences, it seems that a relation between Livy's Temple of Mendis and the Ionian settlement of Mende is acceptable by the location of the two toponyms in one and the same area of Ancient Thrace, not far from Aenos, and from the certain homonymy between them.

In support of the proposed hypothesis can also serve the very limited information on the geographical landscape, where the battle between Thracians and Romans took place. According to Livy, as was already mentioned, the pass was with length of 10 miles; the path passed through woods, also was narrow and uneven. It is important the specifying that retreating from the battle, the Thracians were hiding in the folds of valleys, that were well known to them. The map presented (Fig. 1) shows presence of similar geographic landscapes throughout the whole area between the clearly identified in the narrative hydronyms of Melas and Hebrus (Maritsa); their greatest concentration is in the heights of Kurudağ, directly to north by northwest of the Thracian Chersonesos.

Conclusions

The commented above key realities in Livy's text permit specifying of some details of the movement of the Roman troops of Gn. Manlius Vulso between the Thracian Chersonesos and Hebrus (Maritsa) River.

The Romans took from Lysimachia to the north, crossed the Melas River and reached to a toponym, which identification (Cypsela or Cypasis?) is uncertain. The river called Melas (*i.e.* Black) is a reliable landmark, because there is no other similar geographic object in the area. The location of the next landmark, a toponym traditionally read as Cypsela, is a problem, because – if Livy has not shortened something in his story – that Cypsela cannot be searched near the modern Ipsala, at least because such a distance cannot be crossed by a one-day trip.

Without this being taken into account recently is expressed doubt on the correctness of the report of Livy, obviously by using Cypsela

as main landmark for Vulso's march⁴⁵. Because to the west of the supposed location of this settlement (near modern Ipsala) there is no landscape, corresponding to the description of Livy, an explanation is suggested through his confusion as a result of using older data on the movement of the Romans through the area. However, the documented differences in the manuscript transmission of that name should not be omitted. They allow to David French even to propose a new reading, as Cypasis (in the form Cyp<a>seis) instead of Cypsela⁴⁶.

Near the so-called Cypsela (that toponym must be subject to clarification in future studies) the Roman army was divided of two parts. Then a passage through an anonymous 10-miles long pass followed. There the Romans were attacked by the Thracians. The battle lasted until the evening, when the front detachment reached to the temple of Mendis, near the settlement of Mende, not far from Aenos, while the second one remained in the pass. On the next day the army made an inspection of the pass. The two parts rejoined and reached to Hebrus (Maritsa) River.

The attached map (Fig. 1) indicates the probable area, where must be sought the pass in which the battle between Thracians and Romans take place. Recently French suggested a relation of Vulso's path with later evidences of the Roman Itineraries, by attracting also other information about existence of a road connecting Hebrus (Maritsa) River and the Thracian Chersonesos⁴⁷. Even the modern road (E87) between Kavakköi and Kešan is corresponding to the scant geographical data, reported by Livy. The available ancient information impedes more concrete spatial identification of the pass, where the battle takes place. That would be possible only after purposeful field observations and archaeological research.

The localization of the Temple of Mendis is in close relation with that of the pass. This demonstrates why the manuscript tradition is

⁴⁵ BOTEVA-BOYANOVA 2018, pp. 129-138.

⁴⁶ According to FRENCH 2012, pp. 19-22, Livy's Cypsela should not be identified with modern Ipsala, precisely because it is possible a reading as Cypasis.

⁴⁷ FRENCH 2012, p. 22.

really important. Currently, only some general guidelines are known. Primarily, it seems that the toponym was related to the settlement Mende, who according to Pausanias was in the interior of the continent, not far away from Aenos. It's also known that the temple was located less than a day away from Hebrus (Maritsa) River, in flat territory, as incidentally evidences the variant reading 'campus Mendidius' in the above-mentioned manuscript.

Last but not least, should not be forgotten the narrative attributed to Manlius Vulso himself, according to whom many thousands of Thracians were killed and captured by the Romans on the same day (of the battle in the pass), and the especially important clarification – “many more after few days”⁴⁸. One possible suggestion of the so transmitted statement is that the Romans undertake pursuit of the Thracians. Such information is missing in the main account, where is presented the battle. All this demonstrates the necessity for new studies on the Thracian incident of Gn. Manlius Vulso.

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jordan_iliev@hotmail.com

⁴⁸ Liv. XXXVIII, 49, 10-11: “... *multa milia ipso die, plura multo post dies paucos ...*”.

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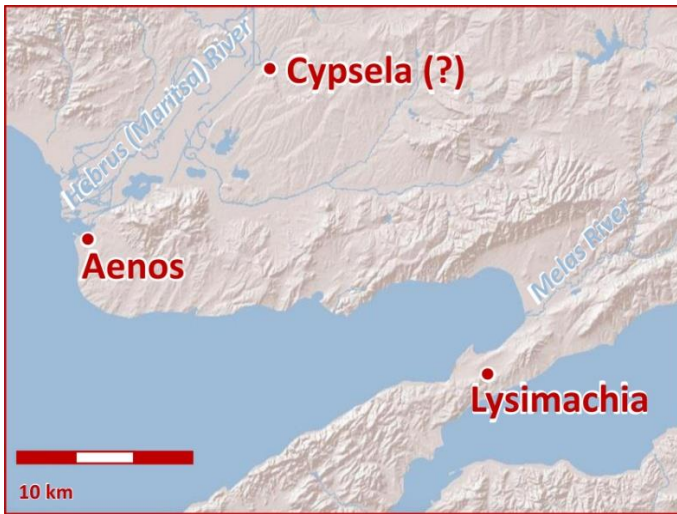


Fig. 1. Map of the terrain between the Thracian Chersonesos and Hebrus (Maritsa) River

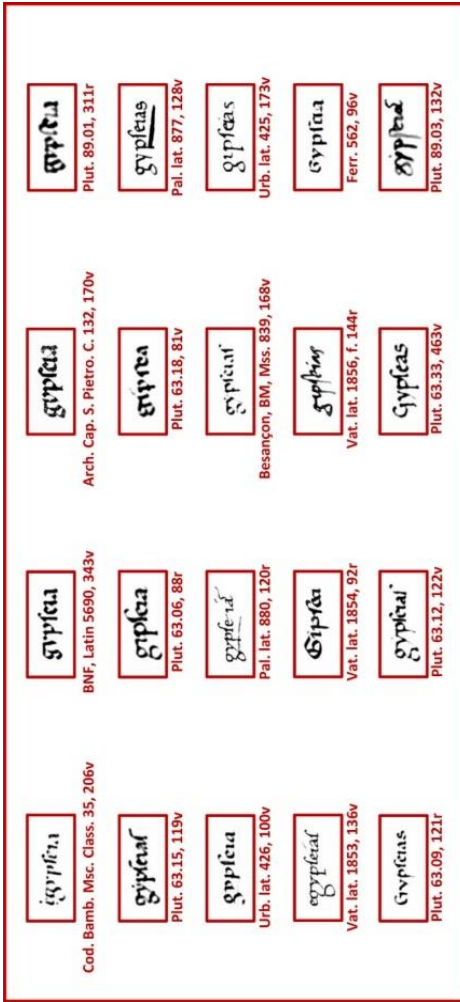


Fig. 2. Appearance of the so-called Cypselā in the manuscript transmission.

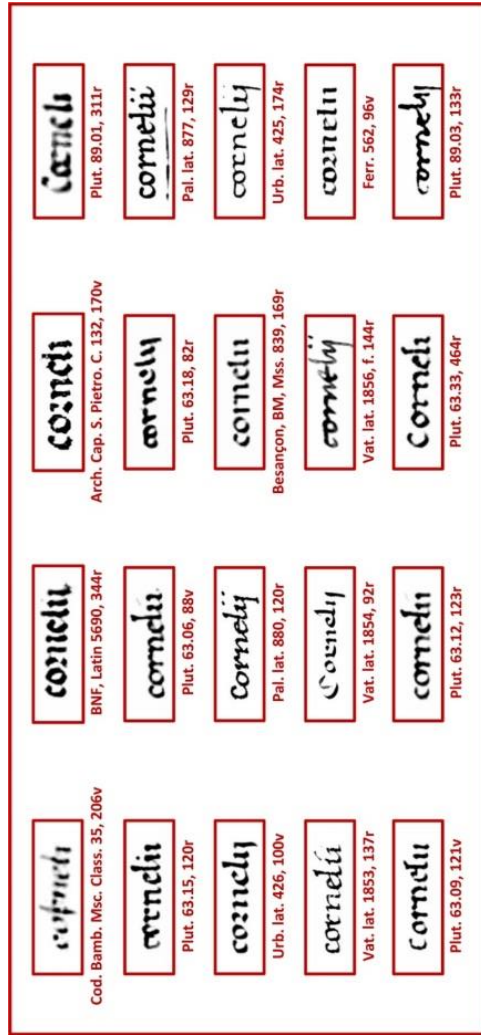


Fig. 3. The *Corneli(i)* in some of the available manuscripts.

Cod. Bamb. Misc. Class. 35, 206v	BNF, Latin 5690, 344r	Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. C. 132, 170v	Plut. 89.01, 311r	
Plut. 63.15, 120r	Plut. 63.06, 88v	Plut. 63.18, 82r	Plut. 89.03, 133r	
Urb. lat. 426, 100v	Pal. lat. 880, 120r	Besançon, BM, Mss. 839, 169r	Urb. lat. 425, 174r	
Vat. lat. 1853, 137r	Vat. lat. 1854, 92r	Vat. lat. 1856, f. 144r	Ferr. 562, 96v	
Plut. 63.09, 121v	Plut. 63.12, 123r	Plut. 63.33, 464r	Plut. 89.03, 133r	

Fig. 4. The templum Mendidium' in some of the available manuscripts.