

**Akten des 17. Österreichischen  
Althistorikerinnen- und  
Althistorikertages**



**Wien, 15.–17. November 2018**

herausgegeben von

**Franziska Beutler und Nadine Franziska Riegler**

**Wiener Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte online (WBAGon) 2  
(wbagon.univie.ac.at)**

**Wien 2020**

## **Impressum**

### **Wiener Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte online (WBAGon) 2**

**[wbagon.univie.ac.at](http://wbagon.univie.ac.at)**

#### **Herausgegeben von**

TYCHE – Verein zur Förderung der Alten Geschichte in Österreich  
c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik  
Universität Wien  
Universitätsring 1, 1010 Wien, Österreich

#### **Vertreten durch**

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#### **Redaktion**

Franziska Beutler und Nadine Franziska Riegler

#### **Zuschriften und Manuskripte erbeten an**

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Richtlinien unter [wbagon.univie.ac.at](http://wbagon.univie.ac.at)

Titelbild: Gustav Klimt, Fakultätsbild ‚Philosophie‘  
im Festsaal der Universität Wien 1900 (1945 zerstört)  
Foto: René Czeitschner

ISSN 2664-1100

Wien 2020

This article should be cited as:

Federico Alpi, Mattia Vitelli Casella, *Armena nazione: Investigating Traces of Armenian Presence in Ancient and Late-Antiquity Adriatic*, in: F. Beutler, N. F. Riegler (ed.), *Akten des 17. Österreichischen Althistorikerinnen- und Althistorikertages*, Wien 15.–17. November 2018, *Wiener Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte online (WBAGon) 2*, Wien 2020 (DOI: 10.25365/wbagon-2020-2-1).



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## Vorwort

Nach einer inzwischen schon alten Tradition treffen die Österreichischen Althistoriker- und Althistorikerinnen einander alle zwei Jahre an einem anderen Standort ihres Faches, um ihr Wissen und ihre Erfahrungen auszutauschen. Im November 2018 fand das nunmehr 17. Treffen nach zehnjähriger Pause wieder in Wien statt, und auch dieses Mal wurde das breite Spektrum altertumskundlicher Forschung in Österreich durch rund dreißig Vorträge junger wie erfahrener Kollegen präsentiert. Das Programm wurde durch einen Festvortrag von Hilmar Klinkott aus Kiel mit dem Titel *Die griechisch-persischen ‚Staatsverträge‘. Ein Aspekt der achaimenidischen Außenpolitik* bereichert, der zu angeregten Diskussionen beim anschließenden gemeinsamen Empfang des Instituts für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik sowie der der Abteilung *Documenta Antiqua* des Instituts für Kulturgeschichte der Antike der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften führte.

Zentral bei einem solchen Treffen sollte aber auch der über die wissenschaftliche Diskussion der Vorträge und Projekte hinausgehende Austausch unter den Kollegen sein, der sehr zu unserer Freude sowohl in den Kaffee-Pausen spontan entstand als auch beim traditionellen Runden Tisch in institutionalisierter Form konzise, aber in umfassender Weise stattfinden konnte. Erfahrungen, Probleme und Lösungsansätze der einzelnen Standorte der Alten Geschichte in Innsbruck, Salzburg, Klagenfurt, Graz und Wien mit Blick auf die aktuellen Anforderungen an die geisteswissenschaftlichen Fächer, curriculare Entwicklungen, Personalstrategien etc. wurden diskutiert.

Das Zustandekommen einer solchen Veranstaltung ist ohne Mithilfe nicht möglich. Wir bedanken uns beim Dekanat der Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät sowie bei der Arbeitsgruppe Epigraphik der Abteilung *Documenta Antiqua* des Instituts für Kulturgeschichte der Antike der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften für ihre Förderungen. Auch einige Kolleginnen und Kollegen unseres Instituts haben viel zum Gelingen dieser Veranstaltung beigetragen. Besonders bedanken möchten wir uns in diesem Zusammenhang bei unserem damaligen, inzwischen wohlverdient pensionierten Institutsvorstand Hans Taeuber, den unermüdlich im Sekretariat wirkenden Mitarbeitern Werner Niedermaier und Hertha Netuschill sowie bei unseren Masterstudierenden Julian Schneider und Kathrin Stenzel.

Die *Akten* erscheinen in der jungen Reihe *Wiener Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte online*, kurz *WBAGon* ([wbagon.univie.ac.at](http://wbagon.univie.ac.at)), die 2019 gegründet wurde, um höchstqualifizierten Publikationen eine rasche, unkomplizierte und frei zugängliche Plattform zu bieten. Der Open Access Service der Universität Wien trägt nicht unwesentlich zum Gelingen dieses Vorhabens bei. Wir freuen uns sehr, dass die Publikation in dieser Reihe erscheint.

Wien und Bonn, im Februar 2020

Franziska Beutler, Katharina Knäpper, Nadine Franziska Riegler

## Programm

### Donnerstag, 15. November 2018

- 13:15 Begrüßung
- 13:30 **Chiara Cenati** (Wien): *Von wilden Truppen zu stadtrömischen Bürgern. Integrationsprozesse der Soldaten aus dem Donaauraum in Rom*
- 14:00 **Julian Degen** (Innsbruck): *Dareios I., Xerxes I. und Alexander III. an den Rändern der Welt. Altorientalisches in der Herrschaftsrepräsentation Alexanders des Großen*
- 14:30 **Armin Unfricht** (Graz): „[...] unsere Bundesgenossen wollen wir nicht preisgeben, sondern mit den Göttern gegen die Rechtsbrecher vorgehen.“ (*Thuk. 1,86,5*). *Religion und Kult als politische Faktoren im Peloponnesischen Krieg*
- 15:00 **Guus van Loon** (Wien): *Ein gekünstelter Herzensschrei auf Papyrus*
- 15:30 Kaffee
- 16:00 **Johanna Auinger** (Wien): *Carl Humanns Beitrag zur epigraphischen Forschung in Kleinasien*
- 16:30–18.30 Runder Tisch der Institute
- 19:30 Öffentlicher Festvortrag:  
**Hilmar Klinkott** (Kiel): *Die griechisch-persischen ‚Staatsverträge‘. Ein Aspekt der achaimenidischen Außenpolitik*
- 20:30 Gemeinsamer Empfang des Instituts für Alte Geschichte und der Abteilung *Documenta Antiqua* des IKANT (ÖAW)

### Freitag, 16. November 2018

- 9:00 **Wolfgang Hameter** (Wien): *Antike im Comic*
- 9:30 **Federico Alpi, Mattia Vitelli Casella** (Bologna): *Armena natione. Investigating Traces of Armenian Presence in Late-Antiquity Adriatic*
- 10:00 **Vera Hofmann** (Wien): *Die politische Relevanz der Alten Komödie im klassischen Athen am Beispiel des Ostrakismos*
- 10:30 Kaffee
- 11:00 **Volker Grieb** (Graz): *Ein neues argivisches Theorodokie-Dekret aus Thisoa (Arkadien)*
- 11:30 **Jack Schropp** (Innsbruck): *Struktur, Datierungen und Quellen im ersten Bürgerkriegsbuch Appians*
- 12:00 **Karl Krierer** (Wien): *Alexander Conze an Johannes Vahlen. Briefe Conzes aus den Jahren 1868 bis 1877*
- 12:30 **Peter Mauritsch** (Graz): *Kriterien für Begründungen bei Thukydides*
- 13:00 Mittagspause
- 14:30 **Hubert Szemethy** (Wien): *Der Nachlass Eugen Bormanns*

- 15:00 **Clemens Steinwender** (Innsbruck): *Zur Zeitgebundenheit von Jordanes, diskutiert an ausgewählten Beispielen*
- 15:30 **Ursula Lagger** (Graz): *„Ich doch nicht!“ Bereicherung und Korruption in griechischen Gerichtsreden*
- 16:00 Kaffee
- 16:30 **Claudio Negrini** (Wien): *Die Italiker in der Romagna (Italien) vom 7. bis zum 3. Jh. v. Chr.*
- 17:00 **Christian Spielhofer** (Graz): *Sex & Drugs & Dithyrambs. Ein Blick auf die Mysterien des Dionysos*
- 17:30 **Cornelius Volk** (Wien): *Krisenphänomene im nördlichen Kleinasien des 3. Jh. n. Chr.*
- 18:00 **Michael Mühlberghuber** (Wien): *Das Pontifikalkollegium und die Abwesenheit des Oberpontifex in nachsullanischer Zeit*
- 18:30 Gemeinsamer Umtrunk

Samstag, 17. November 2018

- 9:00 **Caroline Dürauer** (Salzburg): *Bemerkungen zur Textilherstellung im griechischen Neolithikum*
- 9:30 **Miran Leydold** (Wien): *Die leges frumentariae zwischen C. Gracchus und Sulla*
- 10:00 **Niklas Rafetseder** (Wien): *Überlegungen zur römischen Stadtgesetzgebung im Lichte neuer Fragmentfunde*
- 10:30 **Peter Emberger** (Wien): *Neues aus der Schule. Die VWA und ihre althistorischen Themen*
- 11:00 Kaffee
- 11:30 **Rafal Matuszewski** (Salzburg): *Kult ohne Altar. Beispiele aus der griechischen Kultpraxis*
- 12:00 **Ekkehard Weber** (Wien): *Ein rätselhafter Zaubertext aus Wien*
- 12:30 **Angelika Kellner** (Innsbruck): *Die antike Chronographie und die Chronologie der griechischen Archaik*
- 13:00 **Gernot Heinrich** (Salzburg): *Zahnheilkunde bei Plinius d. Ä.*
- 13:30 Abschlussworte

*Armena natione: Investigating Traces of Armenian Presence  
in Ancient and Late-Antiquity Adriatic*

*1. Introduction to the project*

The Computerized Atlas of the Ancient Adriatic is a multilateral and interdisciplinary project, which now involves 19 research centres in five different countries — France, Italy, Slovenia, Croatia and Albania. It represents the development of previous scientific collaborations (which began in the 1970s) between the French School in Rome, the Ausonius Institute of the University of Bordeaux 3 and some universities in the Adriatic region<sup>1</sup>. The Department of Ancient History at the University of Bologna has been involved in a preliminary cooperation since the 1980s–1990s, and subsequently in the Atlas project since the early 2000s<sup>2</sup>.

The Atlas is conceived as a general on-line open access map ranging from Albania to Apulia, linked to a database where every relevant archaeological site, located on the map, is associated with its own file — a work in progress —, which contains basic information about its ancient history. This information includes facts, data on society, sources, institutions, updated bibliography,

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. the following excavation reports up to 2000: D. Bosković et al., *Recherches archéologiques à Sirmium. Campagne franco-yougoslave de 1973*, MEFRA 86, 1 (1974) 597–656; D. Bosković et al. (dir.), *Recherches archéologiques à Sirmium (II)*, MEFRA 87, 1 (1975) 397–504; A.-M. Adam, *Pozzuolo del Friuli (Udine)*, MEFRA 96, 1 (1984) 538–541; F. Tassaux, *Vidulis (Udine)*, MEFRA 96, 1 (1984) 542–544; A.-M. Adam, *Pozzuolo del Friuli (Udine)*, MEFRA 97, 1 (1985) 566–567; F. Tassaux, *Vidulis (Udine)*, MEFRA 97, 1 (1985) 568; A.-M. Adam, *Basaldella (Campoformido, Udine): nécropole romaine*, MEFRA 98, 1 (1986) 416–417; G. Fabre et al., *Dix ans de recherches (1975–1985) sur l'Adriatique antique (III<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. – II<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.)*, MEFRA 99, 1 (1987) 353–480; A.-M. Adam, *Basaldella (Campoformido, Udine): nécropole romaine*, MEFRA 99, 1 (1987) 516–518; M.-B. Carre, C. Zaccaria, *Casali Pedrina (Teor, prov. de Udine)*, MEFRA 100, 1 (1988) 551–554; A.-M. Adam, *Basaldella (Campoformido, Udine): nécropole romaine*, MEFRA 100, 1 (1988) 554; *Dix ans de recherches (1975–1985) sur l'Adriatique antique (III<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. – II<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.C.)*, MEFRA 100, 2 (1988) 983–1088; M.-B. Carre, C. Zaccaria, *Casali Pedrina (Teor, prov. de Udine)*, MEFRA 101, 1 (1989) 532–535; M.-B. Carre, C. Zaccaria, *Casali Pedrina et Pirin (comm. de Teor, prov. de Udine)*, MEFRA 103, 1 (1991) 358–359; M.-B. Carre, C. Zaccaria, *Aquilée: le site du port*, MEFRA 104, 1 (1992) 515–518; M.-B. Carre, C. Sotinel, C. Zaccaria, *Aquilée (Udine): le site du port fluvial*, MEFRA 106, 1 (1994) 471–473; *Aquilée (Udine): le site du port fluvial*, MEFRA 107, 1 (1995) 527–529; M. Baldini, R. Matijasič, F. Tassaux, *Loron (Croatie): la villa maritime*, MEFRA 107, 1 (1995) 545–547; M.-B. Carre, C. Zaccaria, *Aquilée, secteur du port fluvial*, MEFRA 108, 1 (1996) 482–487; F. Tassaux, M. Baldini, R. Matijasič, *Loron (Poreč): villa maritime*, MEFRA 108, 1 (1996) 500–501; M.-B. Carre, C. Zaccaria, *Aquilée (prov. d'Udine): secteur du port fluvial*, MEFRA 110, 1 (1998) 520–523; R. Matijasič, F. Tassaux, *Loron (Poreč): villa maritime*, MEFRA 110, 1 (1998) 548–549; M.-B. Carre, C. Zaccaria, *Aquilée (prov. d'Udine): secteur du port fluvial*, MEFRA 111, 1 (1999) 513–517; É. Fouache et al., *Loron (Poreč): la villa maritime*, MEFRA 111, 1 (1999) 544–545.

<sup>2</sup> *Recherches sur l'Adriatique antique. II. 1986–1990*, MEFRA 105, 1 (1993) 303–417; *Recherches sur l'Adriatique antique. II. (suite) 1986–1990*, MEFRA 105, 2 (1993) 1015–1122; Y. Marion, F. Tassaux (dir.), *Recherches sur l'Adriatique antique. III (1991–1995)*, MEFRA 109, 1 (1997) 263–415; Y. Marion, F. Tassaux (dir.), *Recherches sur l'Adriatique antique. III (1991–1995) (suite et fin)*, MEFRA 109, 2 (1997) 855–987.



existing monuments and their promotion, the possibility to visit the site and its level of risk<sup>3</sup>. The tool in fact targets the needs of researchers, as well as those of the non-specialized public.

Among the many aspects of a given historical site that a user can investigate thanks to the Atlas, we decided to pay particular attention to the sources. This is being implemented through an ongoing short project, called “Open annotation ontologies e prospettive di connessione cross-culturale per l’Atlante Informatizzato dell’Adriatico antico”<sup>4</sup>. Given the background of the Atlas project, so far only Greek and Latin works have been taken into consideration and included in the files. This is obviously because ancient literary sources in Greek and Latin outnumber by far those in any other language. It is nevertheless known that sources in other ancient languages and alphabets do exist, sometimes referred to the Adriatic area, which can provide a unique and cross-cultural perspective. This research path has been recently pursued, with regard to Arabic and Turkish geographic names, by the “Cross-cultural After-Life of Classical Sites (CALCS)” project, in order to show that classical sites enjoyed continuity (the so-called afterlife) into the Middle Ages and Modern Era, and that they have always been immersed in a multicultural environment<sup>5</sup>. From this standpoint, the transformations of names of historical sites just mirror “different views of the same place and the different connotations that have been assigned to it”<sup>6</sup>, simultaneously or in successive phases of its history. We took CALCS as a model (as implicitly suggested by the developers of the CALCS project themselves) and tried to apply it to the Adriatic area. In our pilot case study, we chose to focus on the presence in the area of the Armenians with their culture and literature, a choice dictated, among other factors, by their relevance from Late Antiquity onwards. As one may expect, Armenian toponyms for Adriatic sites are much fewer than Latin or Greek ones, marking a difference from the CALCS situation (where Arabic or Turkish place names for historical sites are abundant). Nevertheless, Armenians can contribute to a better and new understanding of the history of the sites under scrutiny, and especially of their afterlife in Late Antiquity and onwards.

To achieve this new understanding, a first necessary step is to investigate the evidence of the Armenian presence along the coasts between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. The goal of this brief contribution is in fact to present the criteria and clues that may aid us in understanding the true significance of the documents. Such criteria are presented and discussed here, along with a few cases, with the aim of examining the actual relevance of this community in different times and places along the Adriatic. (F.A.; M.V.C.)

## 2. *Criteria and methodological considerations*

In both the epochs we are dealing with, three parameters should be considered when researching the sources for evidence of Armenians in the Adriatic. The most evident criteria are the ones commonly used to identify traces of people of foreign origin, i.e. their name or their

<sup>3</sup> See the description of the Atlas on <http://adriaticummare.org/en/the-project/the-computerized-atlas> and Y. Marion, F. Tassaux, *Introduction*, in: Y. Marion, F. Tassaux (éd.), *AdriAtlas et l’histoire de l’espace adriatique du VI<sup>e</sup> s. a.C. au VIII<sup>e</sup> s. p.C. Actes du colloque international de Rome, 4–6 novembre 2013* (Scripta Antiqua 79), Bordeaux 2015, 9–12.

<sup>4</sup> The project is funded by an Alma Idea Grant Junior of the University of Bologna.

<sup>5</sup> See a short outline on <https://medium.com/pelagios/calcs-c64eeb42f467>.

<sup>6</sup> <https://medium.com/pelagios/calcs-c64eeb42f467>.

explicit ethnic attribution. As will be shown below, however, both must be considered with caution, because centuries-long studies, at times not rigorous enough, might have led to misinterpretations.

As to the name of individuals, Armenian-looking names are an obvious starting point, but even the most explicit cases might not be enough to build a solid argument. For instance, it is not uncommon to find *Armenius* (i.e. ‘Armenian’) used as a personal name — *cognomen* after the Latin onomastic formula —, or as a family name — *nomen*. In fact, *Armen(i)us* is not only the adjective meaning ‘from Armenia’, but also a Latin *cognomen*, attested in different contexts of the Roman Occident and without any connection to Armenia<sup>7</sup>. If its interpretation as ethnic attribution is highly doubtful for people bearing this name even in multicultural Ostia<sup>8</sup>, *a fortiori* it is unlikely for its ethnic use to occur in provincial towns such as *Savaria* and *Vesunna*<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, we should take into account that in the sources *Armenius* could represent a variation of the Germanic *Arminius*: with regard to this, it is worth remembering that *Armēnius/Armīnius* was the original form of the *cognomen* borne by the famous chieftain of the Cherusci, which in turn is presumably a Latin adaptation of an autochthonous root<sup>10</sup>.

A similar reasoning can be applied to the *nomen*. For instance, the family name *Armenius*, carried by a senatorial family — among which the highest-ranking individual is the 244 consul *Ti. Pollenius Armenius Peregrinus* (PIR<sup>2</sup> P, 536), attested also in a presumed Christian inscription in Milan<sup>11</sup> — does not guarantee that the individual with that name was of Armenian provenance: actually, in the specific studies on the name *Armenius* no connection with Armenia has ever been proposed<sup>12</sup>. This *nomen* is in fact widespread in the Western provinces of the Roman Empire and above all in Rome, as one can easily imagine for a family that counted members of the senatorial order; the name seems to be of Etruscan origin, as several Italic gentilical names<sup>13</sup>. We must suppose, as a consequence, that the *Armenii* attested in the provinces were immigrants or

<sup>7</sup> *ThLL* II, s.v. *Armenius*, -ī, 608–609. So also J. P. Bost, *Onomastique et société dans la cité des Pétrucos*, in: M. Dondin-Payre, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (éd.), *Noms, identités culturelles et romanisation sous le Haut-Empire*, Bruxelles 2001, 175–191.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Floriani Squarciapino et al. (a cura di), *Scavi di Ostia, III. Le necropoli, parte 1*, Roma 1958, 64; 144 and A. Helttula (a cura di), *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell’Isola Sacra* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 30), Roma 2007, 104–105. According to H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen, II: Die griechischen Namen*, Stuttgart 1996, 377 in Rome the name has a geographic derivation, but he himself expresses the caveat that these Oriental *ethnica* in Rome were just considered Greek names and were often assigned to slaves. With regard to this see H. Solin, *Zur Herkunft der römischen Sklaven*, in: H. Heinen (Hrsg.), *Menschenraub, Menschenhandel und Sklaverei in antiker und moderner Perspektive. Ergebnisse des Mitarbeitertreffens des Akademievorhabens Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei (Mainz, 10. Oktober 2006)*, Stuttgart 2008, 10. Similarly, also L. Ruggini, *Ebrei e Orientali nell’Italia settentrionale fra il IV e il VI secolo d. Cr.*, SDHI 25 (1959) 242–243 (now in L. Cracco Ruggini, *Gli Ebrei in età tardoantica*, Roma 2011, 186–284).

<sup>9</sup> *CIL* VI, 3192 (*equus singularis* from *Savaria*); XIII, 996 (*Vesunna*).

<sup>10</sup> D. Timpe, *Arminius-Studien* (Bibl. d. Klass. Altertumswissenschaft 34), Heidelberg 1970, 16–19.

<sup>11</sup> The members of the family are listed in PIR<sup>2</sup> A, 1057–1060; P, 536. The Milanese inscription is *CIL* V, 6181 = *ICI* XVI, 1.

<sup>12</sup> In *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio I–II* (Tituli 4–5), Roma 1982, they are not quoted by G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Senators from the Near East: Syria, Judaea, Arabia, Mesopotamia, II*, 651–668 among the senators of probable Near-eastern provenance, whereas G. Alföldy, *Senatoren aus Norditalien. Regionen IX, X und XI, II*, 364 draws on the hypothesis proposed by B.W. Jones, *Domitian and the senatorial order. A prosopographical study of Domitian’s relationship with the Senate, A.D. 81–96*, Philadelphia 1979, 98, according to whom *Armenius Brocchus* (PIR<sup>2</sup> A, 1057) — and his family — could have been from Northern Italy. Doubts are also expressed by L. B. Zekiyan, *Le colonie armene del Medio Evo in Italia e le relazioni culturali italo-armene*, in: *Atti del primo simposio internazionale di arte armena (Bergamo, 28–30 giugno 1975)*, San Lazzaro-Venezia 1978, 817, nt. 14.

<sup>13</sup> See among others W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904), Berlin, Zürich, Dublin 1966<sup>2</sup>, 113, nt. 2; 132, nt. 5 with different opinions and *ThLL* II, s.v. *Armenius et Arminius*, -a, 648.

descendants of immigrants from Italy, as in the case of those attested in Africa<sup>14</sup>. Therefore, in the absence of other clues, it has to be excluded that, in our context, people with *Armenius* as their *nomen* or *cognomen* are, for that reason alone, connected in any way to Armenia. On the other hand, as we will see, it is not uncommon — at least since Late Antiquity — for Armenians to bear names shared with the entire Christian world, such as Isaakios (Isaac), Paul, John, Theodore etc<sup>15</sup>. In Greek or Latin sources, the nationality of individuals with such names is often extremely difficult to assess, unless it is made explicit or evident by the context.

When an explicit ethnic attribution occurs, if an individual is referred to as Armenian in our sources, he most probably was. However, even in that case one must pay attention: as we will see below, the simple mention of Armenia with no other supporting detail can result from an error, either in reading the source or in the source itself. The context therefore becomes a decisive factor to evaluate the likelihood of such attestations: in fact, where we have no other evidence or likelihood of an Armenian presence, the case should be considered with caution. If this last element — the historical situation, the so-called context — can be evaluated positively, instead, there is a good degree of probability that a trace of Armenian presence in our sources has been identified. (F.A.; M.V.C.)

### 3. Armenians in Roman times

In the title, we refer to the case that convinced us of the need to be cautious when considering the epigraphic evidence of Armenians in the Adriatic basin. According to some scholars, in fact, there might have been traces of an Armenian presence in Ravenna already in the imperial age<sup>16</sup>: this however is incorrect and derives from a misreading of the funerary inscription of *M. Titius Severus*, who served as a sailor in the Roman fleet stationed in Ravenna<sup>17</sup>. Unfortunately, the document is lost and we have to rely on transcriptions of the past centuries. In the reading referred to by some scholars, the letters AR / [---]A that follow III(*triere*) are restored as *Armena nat(io)*; in inscriptions of this genre, however, the trireme symbol is followed by the name of the ship and then by the nationality of the sailor, in the form *nat(ione)* + ethnic adjective in agreement with the case of the individual<sup>18</sup>. The proposed reconstruction conflicts with the usual scheme: the letters AR[---]A must be considered part of the ship name, which could just be *Armena* or *Ariadna*<sup>19</sup>. This is not the place to discuss the proposed supplement, but rather to highlight that *nat(ione)*

<sup>14</sup> *Annius Armenius Donatus* (PIR<sup>2</sup> A, 634), *Armenia Auge* (CIL VIII, 937 = 11216, *add.* p. 2340).

<sup>15</sup> G. Uluhogian, *Armeni a Ravenna*, in R. B. Finazzi, A. Sirinian (a cura di), *G. Uluhogian: Collectanea Armeniaca*, Milano 2016, 265–266 (already published as G. Uluhogian, *Armeni a Ravenna*, in: *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale. Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto Medioevo. Ravenna, 6–12 giugno 2004*, Spoleto 2005, 537–558).

<sup>16</sup> So Ruggini, *Ebrei* (above nt. 8) 253 and Uluhogian, *Armeni* (above nt. 15) 265.

<sup>17</sup> CIL XI, 102.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. from Ravenna CIL XI, 36; 37; 44; 52; 60; 68; 100.

<sup>19</sup> For *Armena*, E. Ferrero, *L'ordinamento delle armate romane*, Roma, Torino, Firenze 1878, 155, nr. 473 and P. Giacomini, *Anagrafe dei classiari*, in: G. C. Susini (a cura di), *Storia di Ravenna, I: L'evo antico*, Venezia 1990, 354, nr. 468. For *Ariadna*, M. Reddè, *Mare nostrum* (BEFAR 260), Rome 1986, 668 and A. Buonopane, *Le navi delle flotte di Ravenna e di Miseno e i loro nomi: un aggiornamento e alcuni spunti di riflessione*, in: L. Chioffi, M. Kajava, S. Örmä (a cura di), *Il Mediterraneo e la storia II. Atti del convegno internazionale. Sant'Angelo di Ischia, 9–11 ottobre 2015* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 30), Roma 2017, 113; 122.

must not be related to the letters that precede the word, but to the following ones of the beginning of line 5, which are lost.

If in this case the syntax of epigraphic documents prevents us from postulating the presence of an Armenian in Ravenna in the first centuries of the Roman Empire, it does not mean that no Armenian lived along the Adriatic at that time. Indeed, in an inscription from the island of Šolta, part of the territory of Salona, the reading *natione Armenius* is beyond doubt (fig. 1)<sup>20</sup>: *Aurelius Kamines* defines himself as Armenian on his gravestone, a small relief stele dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. His onomastics offer no clues to suggest his origin: in fact, an imperial gentilical name can be found everywhere in the Empire — especially after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* — while the *cognomen* is otherwise unattested<sup>21</sup>. Nevertheless, the explicit attribution is an important piece of evidence and, although we have no further information on Armenians in the area at that time, the presence of an Armenian in that context does not surprise us at all: many Orientals moved to Salona between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, above all for commercial reasons<sup>22</sup>. Among these, Alföldy also counts an *Armenia Alexandria* and an *Armenius Crescens*; for the reasons already stated, however, they are not to be linked with Armenia. The only clue for such a hypothesis might be the *cognomen Alexandria*<sup>23</sup>, but it was actually common everywhere in the Near East, confirming that the *Armenii* attested in the Mediterranean provinces were likely to have an Italic origin.

Focusing on the Adriatic territories, there are still two individuals we can take into consideration, whose names may betray an Armenian origin. One is a slave, the other one a freedman, but they obviously could have reached Italy in a similar way, but at different times.

The former, named *Bahano*, is attested by a great number of stamps on amphoras produced in two Brundisian workshops between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>24</sup>; Daniele Manacorda already proposed an Armenian origin for this person, noticing he is not the only one belonging to the “regioni periferiche del mondo ellenizzato”<sup>25</sup> and this provenance is related to the Roman conquest of Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean and the large slave markets located there.

The latter, *Tigranes*, is known thanks to his funerary inscription from *Ateste*, in Venetia, dating from the Augustan age or at least from the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, meaning that he likely lived in the previous century (fig. 2)<sup>26</sup>. The full name of *Tigranes* is rather articulated: *L. Domitius Tigranes Patavinus*. He may be regarded, I would suggest, as a former slave of the *Domitii* family

<sup>20</sup> CIL III, 3109 (add. p. 1038). For the extension of the Salonitan territory, see above all J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, 226–230.

<sup>21</sup> G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969, 225. For the *Aurelii* after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* see recently A. Blanco-Pérez, *Nomenclature and Dating in Roman Asia Minor: (M.) Aurelius/a and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century AD*, ZPE 199 (2016) 271–293.

<sup>22</sup> For Oriental immigrants to Salona and their onomastics see G. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Budapest 1965, 114–115; 187–189 and recently D. Feissel, *Aspects de l’immigration orientale dans la Salone romaine et chrétienne*, in: C. Zaccaria (a cura di), *L’epigrafia dei porti. Atti della XVII<sup>e</sup> Rencontre sur l’epigraphie du monde romain. Aquileia, 14–16 ottobre 2010* (Antichità altoadriatiche 79), Trieste 2014, 195–206.

<sup>23</sup> CIL III, 14740,1; *ILJug* 2124, 2171. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung* (above nt. 22) 115.

<sup>24</sup> D. Manacorda, P. Pelacchi (a cura di), *Le fornaci romane di Giancola (Brindisi)*, Bari 2012, 309; 414; P. Palazzo, *Le anfore di Apani (Brindisi)*, Roma 2013, 95–96. For the dating of his activity, Manacorda, Pelacchi, *Le fornaci* 400–402; 477–478; 526 and Palazzo, *Le anfore* 185–195.

<sup>25</sup> Manacorda, Pelacchi (a cura di), *Le fornaci* (above nt. 24) 423–424.

<sup>26</sup> CIL V, 2540 = *SupplIt* 15, p. 72. For the dating of the epitaph see also J. Zajac, *Od Wenetów do Rzymian: studium epigraficzno-antroponomastyczne (I w. p.n.e. – I w. n.e.)*, Toruń 1991, 59.

from *Patavium* named *Tigranes*<sup>27</sup>. Fortunately, a similar case — involving another freedman called *Tigranus* who lived at the same time in *Arretium* — has been recently studied in detail by Giusto Traina<sup>28</sup>. In his opinion, the life of this individual can be reconstructed as follows: he was taken as a slave from his homeland during the civil wars — maybe in connection with the oriental campaign of M. Antony — and then brought to Italy, where he began working in a pottery workshop; he was then freed and charged with managing the workshop by his patron, *M. Perennius*. Even though we have no elements to suggest a similar career for the Atestine case, the study by Traina attests that such a life path was possible. It should also be stressed that, in the eyes of the Romans of that epoch, *Tigranus* was the Latinization of the Armenian name par excellence, i.e. the name of the king of Armenia defeated by Pompey (fig. 3)<sup>29</sup>.

(M.V.C.)

#### 4. Armenians in the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages: a familiar presence

After the 5<sup>th</sup> century, Armenians mainly arrived in the Adriatic as soldiers serving in the Eastern Roman army. As is known, the western area of Armenia became part of the Roman Empire as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> century and was subsequently reorganised by Justinian: from this age onwards, it is not uncommon for Armenians to figure in the army, either as groups or contingents of soldiers or single officers, at times also high-ranking officers<sup>30</sup>. Their presence is very well documented in the *Gothic Wars* by Procopius, where we find Armenians fighting against the Goths in Verona, Faenza, Rimini, Osimo, Brindisi etc.<sup>31</sup>. A *dux* by the name of Bahanes, very similar to the Armenian name Vahan, was active around Ancona in 591<sup>32</sup>, while in the 7<sup>th</sup> century an Armenian Exarch of Ravenna is attested, about whom more will be said later.

In the following centuries, the Armenian presence in the Adriatic remains linked to the evolution of the Eastern Roman (or Byzantine) influence over Italy<sup>33</sup>: With the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century, Armenians maintained their presence in Byzantine Italy not only as soldiers (John

<sup>27</sup> I am persuaded he was a freedman in the light of the absence of a filiation and the Oriental *cognomen*. On the contrary L. Lazzaro, *Esclaves et affranchis dans les inscriptions romaines d'Este*, DHA 11 (1985) 462–483 does not consider *L. Domitius Tigranes*, because the patronage attestation is missing on the stone.

<sup>28</sup> G. Traina, *Des affranchis arméniens à Arretium?*, in: V. I. Anastadiadis, P. N. Doukellis (éd.), *Esclavage antique et discriminations socio-culturelles. Actes du XXVIII<sup>e</sup> Colloque International du Groupement International de Recherche sur l'Esclavage Antique (Mytilène, 5–7 décembre 2003)*, Bern 2005, 259–267.

<sup>29</sup> Traina, *Des affranchis* (above nt. 28) 263–264 and G. Traina, *Quando i Romani 'scoprono' gli Armeni: il re Tigra e la tigre (Varrone, ling. 5.100)*, in: S. Rocchi, C. Mussini (eds.), *Imagines Antiquitatis* (Philologus. Supplementary Volumes 7), Boston, Berlin 2017, 39–47.

<sup>30</sup> Armenian elements in the Army, already present under Justinian, increased after the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, see P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, Lisbon 1963, 16–17.

<sup>31</sup> Two Armenians, both named Narses, participated in combat actions in Rimini (*BG* II, 17 and IV, 28), Urbino (II, 19), Ravenna (IV, 28), Osimo (II, 27); an Armenian named Artabazes was active in Verona and Faenza (III, 3); the Armenian Varazes was sent to Brindisi (III, 27). See also the related entries in S. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina, 493–804*, Bologna 1996.

<sup>32</sup> Cosentino, *Prosopografia* (above 31), s.v. *Bahanes*.

<sup>33</sup> A. Guillou, *Esarcato e Pentapoli, regione psicologica dell'Italia bizantina*, in: *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, London 1970, 297–319.

Curcuas, an Armenian nobleman, was Katepano of Bari in 1008–1010<sup>34</sup>), but also as religious communities, building churches in Bari and Taranto<sup>35</sup>. With these developments, however, we are already past the boundaries of Late Antiquity, and well into the Middle Ages, for which evidence of Armenians in the Adriatic is abundant<sup>36</sup>.

We wish to concentrate instead on the relatively less-explored period that goes from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> century: Armenians do appear in the region during that time, but the quantity and quality of their presence is difficult to assess: how numerous were the Armenians (as individuals or groups) in the Adriatic? How did they participate in the life of Late Antiquity Adriatic? Also, being subjects of the Eastern Roman Empire, to what extent were they Hellenised, and how much of their Armenian identity was preserved? It is impossible to answer these questions in our present state of knowledge. A few cases can however be discussed to help improve our understanding of the situation.

We can obviously expect a wide spectrum of levels of interaction between Armenians and local communities, and the sources help us to identify the boundaries of this spectrum. We learn from Procopius (*BG*, III, 26) that an Armenian officer called Gilakios (cf. the Armenian name Glak) was not able to speak any Greek, Latin or Gothic, only Armenian. He ran into a group of Goths, but the only words he knew were Γιλάκιος στρατηγός: this was enough for the Goths to identify him as an enemy and kill him on the spot<sup>37</sup>. It is therefore evident that Gilakios should therefore be placed at the lowest possible level of interaction with local communities, and his case is actually little more than a prosopographic record.

On the other hand, an inscription dating from the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna and carved on the sarcophagus of Isaakios the Armenian, Exarch of Ravenna (fig. 4) shows a completely different degree of involvement. In his position, Isaakios could clearly exercise the strongest influence on the Italian part of the Adriatic coast subject to the Byzantine Empire. Such a high-ranking position was further stressed by his funeral inscription, commissioned by his wife, Sosanna (Greek Σωσάννα, Armenian Šušān):

ἐνταῦθα κεῖται ὁ στρατηγήσας καλῶς | Ῥώμην τε φυλάξας ἀβλαβῆ καὶ τὴν δύσιν  
 τρὶς ἔξ ἐνιαυτοῖς τοῖς γαληνοῖς δεσπότης | Ἰσαάκιος, τῶν βασιλέων ὁ σύμμαχος,  
 ὁ τῆς ἀπάσης Ἀρμενίας κόσμος μέγας: | Ἀρμένιος ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἐκ λαμπροῦ γένους.  
 τούτου θανόντος εὐκλεῶς ἡ σύμβιος | Σώσαννα σῶφρων τρυγόνος σεμνῆς τρόπῳ  
 πυκνῶς στενάζει ἀνδρὸς ἐστερημένη, | ἀνδρὸς λαχόντος ἐκ καμάτων εὐδοξίαν  
 ἐν ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἡλίου καὶ τῇ δύσει | στρατοῦ γὰρ ἦρξε τῆς δύσεως καὶ τῆς ἔω<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> The Katepanō is a Byzantine officer first appearing in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century, is in charge of both civil and military affairs. For Kurkuas in Bari see *Ioannes Kurkuas*, in *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, Berlin, Boston, 2013. Accessed 29 Aug. 2019, from <https://www.degruyter.com/view/PMBZ/PMBZ25506>.

<sup>35</sup> Zekiyan, *Le colonie* (above nt. 12) 832.

<sup>36</sup> Since the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries we have documentary and epigraphic evidence of several Armenian communities in the main Adriatic cities: Venice, Ancona, Bari, Rimini, Pesaro etc. See Zekiyan, *Le colonie* (above nt. 12) 813–905, C. Mutafian (a cura di), *Roma-Armenia*, Roma 1999 and G. Uluhogian, *Nella città che nella loro lingua si chiama "Bologna"*, *Saecularia nona* 14 (1999) 63–68.

<sup>37</sup> Zekiyan, *Le colonie* (above nt. 12) 819; Uluhogian, *Armeni* (above nt. 15) 266–267.

<sup>38</sup> The Greek text is published according to A. Bencivenni, *Ravenna. Le iscrizioni greche*, Milano 2018, 206. The English translation is mine.

«Here lies the valiant commander | he who defended unscathed Rome and the West  
for 18 years, for the blessed masters, | Isaakios, ally of emperors  
the great ornament of all Armenia | for Armenian he was, of famous lineage.  
Since he died with good fame his wife | Susan, chaste, like a prudent turtle dove  
weeps bitterly, deprived of her husband; | of her man, who with effort gained glory  
in the land of the dawn and in the West | he commanded the army of the West and of the East».

Isaakios's inscription, a well-known document<sup>39</sup>, is a product of great material and literary quality, which identifies him not only as the most important man in Byzantine Italy, but also as a significantly Hellenised Armenian nobleman, who lived in Ravenna for a long time and moved there with his Armenian wife and (presumably) with his *familia*. Since the Armenian society can be described (conveniently, if not correctly) as semi-feudal<sup>40</sup>, it was common for Armenian nobles to be followed by a large number of servants and soldiers<sup>41</sup>: we can therefore suppose that part of Isaakios's entourage was Armenian, and that he was deeply involved in local life. Additionally, it has been argued that the high quality of the inscription suggests that craftsmen were called from outside Ravenna<sup>42</sup>. A man like Isaakios may therefore represent a clue of a larger Armenian community. Armenians of lesser rank, however, are in general much more difficult to identify, mainly because they left less traces. Nevertheless, a few notable cases have been found in the papyri from Ravenna edited first by Gaetano Marini and then by Jan Tjäder<sup>43</sup>: four cases of possibly Armenian individuals have been brought to light thanks to the work of the late professor Gabriella Uluhogian<sup>44</sup>.

Such cases however are not uncontested: at least one of the attributions made by Uluhogian is disputed<sup>45</sup>. We will therefore discuss each case a bit more in detail, in order to evaluate the possibility that we are really dealing with Armenians in the Adriatic. In fact, while in the case of Gilakios and the inscription of Isaakios mentioned above there could be no doubt about the ethnicity of the characters involved, as it was explicitly stated by the source, evidence from the Ravenna papyri is more elusive, as we will see.

#### 1) Bassacius

Document n. 92 of Marini's collection (= Tjäder n. 18–19), dated to the 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century and concerning the donation of a piece of land to the Church of Ravenna, mentions the name of Vassacius, *vir clarissimus*. The name appears as «Vassacius» in the text and as «Bassacius» in the signature. Vasak is a common name in 6<sup>th</sup>-century Armenia<sup>46</sup>, and Vassacius seems to be its

<sup>39</sup> The inscription is published and discussed, among others, by S. Cosentino, *L'iscrizione ravennate dell'esarco Isacio e le guerre di Rotari*, Atti e memorie della deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi 15 (1993) 23–43; A. Guillou, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie*, Rome 1996, 116–117; Uluhogian, *Armeni* (above nt. 15) 274–279; Bencivenni, *Ravenna. Le iscrizioni greche* (above nt. 38) 201–214.

<sup>40</sup> N. Adontz, *Armenia in the period of Justinian: the political conditions based on the Naxarar system* / Nicholas Adontz; translated with partial revisions, a bibliographical note and appendices by Nina G. Garsoian, Lisbon 1970.

<sup>41</sup> G. Dédéyan, *L'immigration arménienne en Cappadoce au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Byzantion 45 (1975) 69.

<sup>42</sup> Cosentino, *L'iscrizione ravennate* (above nt. 39) 24.

<sup>43</sup> See G. Marini, *I Papyri diplomatici, raccolti ed illustrati dall'abate Gaetano Marini*, Roma 1805, and J. O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, Lund 1954, respectively.

<sup>44</sup> Uluhogian, *Armeni* (above nt. 15) 264–268.

<sup>45</sup> See for instance P. Brown, *Ebrei e orientali a Ravenna*, in: A. Carile (a cura di), *Storia di Ravenna, II: Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, Venezia 1991, 145.

<sup>46</sup> See H. Ačařyan, *Hayoc' Anjnanownneri Bařaran*, Erevan 1942, 43.

exact transliteration: at least three Armenians bearing this name in Greek transliteration (Βασάκιος) are known from sigillographical evidence in the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>47</sup>. The document in question, although it pertains to the Church of Ravenna, was redacted in Rome: there would have been no objection to the presence of Armenians in Ravenna or in Rome in the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century, as we have seen, but unfortunately our document does not relate Vassacius with Armenia in any way. It is true that his Armenian name looks like compelling evidence, but the name Bassacius also appears in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, borne by the abbot of Montecassino, apparently with no Armenian connotation<sup>48</sup>. The evidence is therefore too limited to produce an indisputable Armenian identification in this case.

## 2) Tzittanes

Document n. 122 of Marini's collection (= Tjäder n. 37), dating from 591 and concerning the sale of a farm, mentions a man called Tzittanes (elsewhere also Tzitas), of the *numerus felicium Persarminiorum* (*sic*). Tjäder lists the name among those of Gothic or unknown origin, and in the Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire Tzittanes is referred to as «certainly Gothic»<sup>49</sup>. In doing so, however, the PLRE equates Tzitanes with the well-known Byzantine general Sittas, whose origin (as the PLRE itself acknowledges) *may* be Gothic, but is ultimately unknown<sup>50</sup>. It is remarkable to note, to this effect, that in the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century Anna Comnena mentions the Armenian Tatik with the nickname Tzitas (*Alexiad*, XI, 2, 4). If this is not enough to state that Tzitas/Tzittanes is an Armenian name, it is however sufficient to argue that the name is probably too generic to be identified as Gothic, Armenian or anything else. It is more likely that various names of different origin came to be written as Tzitas/Tzitanes/Sittas in Greek or Latin. With regard to our Tzittanes, his affiliation to the *numerus Persarminiorum* links him with the part of Armenia that came under influence of the Sasanian Empire after Armenia was partitioned in 387 and was known as Persarmenia. We therefore have a possible Armenian name, a relation with Persarmenia and a setting which is compatible with the presence of Armenians (Ravenna in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century): for this reason, it is likely that Tzittanes was indeed an Armenian. Remarkably, the document describes Tzittanes as married to a woman named Rusticiana, most likely a woman of Latin origin. This could therefore represent interesting evidence of intermarriage between Armenians and locals in the Adriatic area. Even more importantly, it testifies that Armenians could be integrated into the local communities enough to own land and settle permanently.

## 3) Paulaces and Theodoraces

Document n. 95 of Marini's collection (= Tjäder n. 22), dating from 639 and regarding the donation of a piece of land to the Church of Ravenna, mentions Paulaces and Theodoraces, from the *numerus Arminiorum* (*sic*). The names are obvious diminutives of Paul and Theodore, and at first sight have no distinctive Armenian features, even though both names were common in Armenia. Their affiliation to the *numerus Arminiorum*, however, is a strong clue in favour of their Armenian nationality: it is true that Paulaces figures as son of «Stephanus, of the *numerus Veronensium*», a

<sup>47</sup> See *s.v.* *Basakios*, in *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* (above nt. 34). Accessed 29 Aug. 2019, from <https://www.degruyter.com/view/PMBZ/PMBZ11914>.

<sup>48</sup> See G. Falco, *Lineamenti di storia cassinese nei secc. VIII e IX*, in: *Casinensia*, Montecassino 1929, 510; 512–517.

<sup>49</sup> PLRE II, *s.v.* *Tzittanes*.

<sup>50</sup> PLRE II, *s.v.* *Sittas*.



detail that might cast doubts on his origins<sup>51</sup>. It should be noted, however, that the *numerus Arminiorum* must imply some connection with Armenia<sup>52</sup>. Additionally, we may observe that when Armenian names are transliterated into a foreign language they often take a diminutive form (see the case mentioned above of Armenian «Smbat», which becomes «Smbathicius»). Finally, the date of the document neatly falls within the years when the Armenian Isaakios was Exarch of Ravenna (625–643). There is therefore no reason to doubt that even in this case we are dealing with Armenian individuals integrated well enough to own land in the area of Ravenna.

(F.A.)

### 5. Conclusions

The preliminary remarks that can be made thanks to the few examples from our pilot case study are that the Armenian presence increased over time in the Adriatic, reaching its climax well beyond the time limits of our study. The scant evidence of Armenians in the Adriatic area before the 5<sup>th</sup> or even the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD is probably to be connected with the almost non-existent Romanization of Armenian elites, even after Armenia became a vassal kingdom of the Empire. This in turn must probably be connected with the reluctance of Armenian nobility to engage in urban lifestyle (in the sense of the classical *polis*), a feature that is well-known (and still debated) in Armenian studies<sup>53</sup>. The situation changed shortly after Justinian, in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, as he began to forcibly integrate his Armenian subjects into the Empire, moving some of them to the shores of the Adriatic in his struggle for *Renovatio*. Nevertheless, Armenia was connected in some way to the Mediterranean world already in Antiquity<sup>54</sup>, and the above-mentioned cases from the early Empire remind us of the wide-ranging and inescapable inclusiveness of that world.

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<sup>51</sup> Brown, *Ebrei e orientali* (above nt. 45) 145. A Paulaces was also active in Egypt in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, but his provenance is unknown, see PLRE II, s.v. *Paulaces*.

<sup>52</sup> The name is obviously a corruption of *Armeniorum* and has nothing to do with the nearby town of *Ariminum*, i.e. Rimini, in which case we would expect *\*Ar(i)minensium*.

<sup>53</sup> N. G. Garsoïan, *The Early Medieval Armenian City: An Alien Element?*, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 16–17 (1984) 67–83.

<sup>54</sup> See for instance H. H. Manandyan, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, Lisbon 1965.



Fig. 1: The gravestone of *Aurelius Kamines*  
“<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/foto/F033660> (© K. Bolle/T. Wittenberg)”



Fig. 2: The gravestone of *L. Domitius Tigranes Patavinus*  
(property of Museo dei Grandi Fiumi, Rovigo)



Fig. 3: Coin with Tigranes the Great portrait  
[“https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tigran\\_Mets.jpg”](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tigran_Mets.jpg)



Fig. 4: The sarcophagus of Isakios  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:San\\_vitale\\_ravenna\\_int\\_sarcofago\\_dell%27esarca\\_isacio\\_m\\_643\\_01.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:San_vitale_ravenna_int_sarcofago_dell%27esarca_isacio_m_643_01.JPG)