



A COMPANION TO THE
**FLAVIAN AGE OF
IMPERIAL ROME**

EDITED BY
ANDREW ZISSOS



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**A COMPANION TO THE FLAVIAN AGE
OF IMPERIAL ROME**

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Abbreviations

1 Terms and phrases

CE/BCE	Common Era/Before Common Era (a designation for the calendar year, equivalent to AD/BC). In this volume CE should be assumed when no indication is provided.
<i>cos.</i>	consul (often followed by the year of office; an intervening Roman numeral, if provided, indicates number of times to that point the individual has held the office).
<i>cos. ord.</i>	ordinary consul (often followed by the year of office; an intervening Roman numeral, if provided, indicates number of times to that point the individual has held the office).
<i>cos. suff.</i>	suffect consul (often followed by the year of office; an intervening Roman numeral, if provided, indicates number of times to that point the individual has held the office).
<i>ord.</i>	shortening of <i>cos. ord.</i> (q.v.).
<i>r.</i>	reigned (indicating the span of years over which the individual was emperor).
<i>s. c.</i>	<i>senatus consultum</i> .
<i>suff.</i>	shortening of <i>cos. suff.</i> (q.v.).

2 Ancient and medieval literature

Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus, <i>Res Gestae</i> .
Apollonius	Apollonius of Tyana
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i> (<i>Epistles</i>)
Aug.	Augustus
<i>RG</i>	<i>Res Gestae</i>
Aul. Gell.	<i>see</i> “Gell.”
Aur. Vict.	Aurelius Victor
<i>De Caes.</i>	<i>De Caesaribus</i> (<i>On the Caesars</i>)
Auson.	Ausonius
<i>Mos.</i>	<i>Mosella</i>
Caes.	Caesar

<i>BGall.</i>	<i>Bellum Gallicum (Gallic Wars)</i>
Callim.	Callimachus
<i>Act.</i>	<i>Actia (Art of Poetry)</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epigrammata (Epigrams)</i>
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio
Cat.	Catullus <i>Carmina (Poems)</i>
Cic.	Cicero
<i>de Prov. Cons.</i>	<i>De Provinciis Consularibus</i>
<i>Fam.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Familiares (Letters to his friends)</i>
<i>Inv.</i>	<i>De Inventione</i>
<i>Mur.</i>	<i>Pro Murena (In Defense of Murena)</i>
Dante	
<i>Parad.</i>	<i>Paradiso</i>
<i>Purgat.</i>	<i>Purgatorio</i>
Dio Chrys.	Dio Chrysostom
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Dion. Hal.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Roman Antiquities</i>
Enn.	Ennius
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales (Annals)</i>
Epict.	Epictetus
<i>Disc.</i>	<i>Discourses</i>
Euseb.	Eusebius
<i>Hist. Eccl.</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica (Church History)</i>
Eutrop.	Eutropius, Abridgement of Roman History
Frontin.	Frontius
<i>Aq.</i>	<i>De Aquae Ductu Urbis Romae (On the Aqueducts of Rome)</i>
<i>Str.</i>	<i>Strategemata (Stratagems)</i>
Gai.	Gaius
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutiones (Institutes)</i>
Gell.	Aulus Gellius
NA	<i>Noctes Atticae</i>
Hom.	Homer
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
Hor.	Horace
<i>Ars</i>	<i>Ars Poetica (Art of Poetry)</i>
<i>C.</i>	<i>Carmina (Odes)</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satirae (Satires)</i>
Joseph.	Josephus
<i>AJ</i>	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae (Jewish Antiquities)</i>
<i>Ap.</i>	<i>Contra Apionem (Against Apionem)</i>
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bellum Judaicum (Jewish War)</i>
<i>Vit.</i>	<i>Vita (Life)</i>
Juv.	Juvenal
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturae (Satires)</i>
Liv.	Livy, <i>Ab urbe condita</i>

Luc.	Lucan
<i>Bell. Civ.</i>	<i>Bellum Civile (Civil War)</i>
Lucian	
<i>Pereg.</i>	<i>De Morte Peregrini (On the Death of Peregrinus)</i>
Lucil.	Lucilius
Marcus	Marcus Aurelius
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Meditations</i>
Mart.	Martial
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epigrammata (Epigrams)</i>
<i>Spect.</i>	<i>Spectacula [or De Spectaculis / Liber Spectaculorum] (Spectacles)</i>
Ov.	Ovid
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
Pers.	Persius, <i>Saturae (Satires)</i>
Philostr.	Philostratus
VA	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>
VS	<i>Vita Sophistarum</i>
Plaut.	Plautus
<i>Mil.</i>	<i>Miles Gloriosus (Swaggering Soldier)</i>
Plin.	Pliny (the Elder)
NH	<i>Naturalis Historia (Natural History)</i>
Plin.	Pliny (the Younger)
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae (Letters)</i>
<i>Pan.</i>	<i>Panegyricus</i>
Prop.	Propertius, <i>Elegiae (Elegies)</i>
Plut.	Plutarch
<i>Galb.</i>	<i>Life of Galba</i>
<i>Publ.</i>	<i>Publicola (Life of Publicola)</i>
Quint.	Quintilian
<i>Ep. Tryph.</i>	<i>Epistula ad Tryphonem (Letter to Trypho; introductory to Inst.)</i>
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio Oratoria</i>
Sen.	Seneca (the Elder)
<i>Controv.</i>	<i>Controversiae</i>
<i>Suas.</i>	<i>Suasoriae</i>
Sen.	Seneca (the Younger)
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogi (Dialogues)</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae (Letters)</i>
<i>Helv.</i>	<i>Ad Helviam (Consolation to Helvia)</i>
<i>QNat.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Naturales (Natural Questions)</i>
[Sen.]	Seneca (the Younger), misattributed
<i>Oct.</i>	<i>Octavia</i>
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae
<i>Alex. Sev.</i>	<i>Alexander Severus</i>
<i>Aurel.</i>	<i>Aurelian</i>
<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Divus Claudius</i>
<i>Hadr.</i>	<i>Hadrian</i>

<i>Pert.</i>	<i>Life of Pertinax</i>
Sid.	Apoll. Sidonius Apollinaris <i>Carm. Carmina</i>
Sil.	Silius Italicus
<i>Pun.</i>	<i>Punica</i>
Stat.	Statius
<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Achilleid</i>
<i>Silv.</i>	<i>Silvae</i>
<i>Theb.</i>	<i>Thebaid</i>
Strab.	Strabo
Suet.	Suetonius
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>(Life of Augustus)</i>
<i>Calig.</i>	<i>(Life of Caligula)</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>(Life of Domitian)</i>
<i>Gram.</i>	<i>De Grammaticis (On Grammarians)</i>
<i>Ner.</i>	<i>(Life of Nero)</i>
<i>Tit.</i>	<i>(Life of Titus)</i>
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>(Life of Vespasian)</i>
<i>Vit.</i>	<i>(Life of Vitellius)</i>
Tac.	Tacitus
<i>Agr.</i>	<i>Agricola</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogus de Oratoribus (Dialogue on Oratory)</i>
<i>Ger.</i>	<i>Germania</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Histories</i>
Val. Fl.	Valerius Flaccus
<i>Arg.</i>	<i>Argonautica</i>
Virg.	Virgil
<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogues</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Georgics</i>
Vitr.	Vitruvius, <i>de Architectura</i>

3 Modern reference works

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Epigraphique</i> (Paris, 1888–).
<i>BMC (Greek)</i>	<i>A Catalog of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. 29 vols. (1873–1929).</i>
<i>BMCRE</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> (London, 1923–).
Bruns ⁷	<i>Fontes iuris romani antiqui</i> , edited by C. G. Bruns and O. Gradenwitz (Tubingen, 1909–1912 ⁷).
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1862–).
<i>DKP</i>	<i>Der Kleine Pauly</i> .
<i>FGH</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , edited by Felix Jacoby (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58).

<i>FIRA</i>	<i>Fontes iuris romani anteiustiniani</i> , edited by S. Riccobono, (Florence, 1940–1943 ²).
González BJA	<i>Bronces jurídicos romanos de Andalucía</i> , edited by J. González (Seville, 1990).
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , edited by W. Dittenberger <i>et al.</i> (Berlin, 1873–).
<i>IGRRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanae Pertinentes</i> , edited by R. Cagnat <i>et al.</i> (Paris, 1906–1927).
<i>IGLSyr</i>	<i>Inscriptions Grecques et latines de Syrie</i> (Paris, 1929–).
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , edited by H. Dessau (Berlin, 1892–1916).
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> , 9th edition, with Supplement, edited by H. J. Liddle and R. Scott, revised by H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1968).
<i>MW</i>	Michael McCrum and Arthur G. Woodhead, eds. <i>Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors. Including the Year of Revolution. A.D. 68–96</i> (Cambridge, 1961) (See Concordance p. 273).
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , edited by P. G. W. Glare (Oxford, 1968–82).
<i>RIB</i>	<i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , edited by R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright (Oxford, 1965–).
<i>RIC²</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , vol. II, part I. AD 69–96: <i>Vespasian to Domitian</i> , 2nd edition, edited by I. Carradice and T. Buttrey (London, 2007).
<i>RPC</i>	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , vol. II. <i>From Vespasian to Domitian</i> , edited by A. Burnett, M. Amandry and I. Carradice (London, 1999); with a <i>Supplement</i> , edited by A. Burnett, M. Amandry, I. Carradice and P. P. Ripollès (London, 2006).
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden, 1923–1971; Amsterdam, 1979–).
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig, 1900–).

4 Scholarly journals

<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
<i>AHB</i>	<i>Ancient History Bulletin</i>
<i>A&A</i>	<i>Antike und Abendland</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archeology</i>
<i>AJAH</i>	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AncSoc</i>	<i>Ancient Society</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>AntJ</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
<i>BullComm</i>	<i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i>
<i>CISA</i>	<i>Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>

<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Classical World</i>
<i>EMC</i>	<i>Echos du Monde Classique</i>
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>IJCT</i>	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>LCM</i>	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome</i>
<i>MD</i>	<i>Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>Mnem.</i>	<i>Mnemosyne</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>PCPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des Études Latines</i>
<i>RbM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>RIL</i>	<i>Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo</i>
<i>RomMitt</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom</i>
<i>RSCI</i>	<i>Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>



Map 0.1 The Roman empire at the dawn of the Flavian Age, circa 69 CE, indicating provinces (in full capitals) and important peoples bordering the empire

Introduction

Andrew Zissos

The story I now begin is rich in vicissitudes, grim with warfare, torn by civil strife, a tale of horror even during times of peace. It tells of four emperors slain by the sword, three civil wars, an even larger number of foreign wars and some that were both at once: successes in the East, disaster in the West ... And Italy too was smitten with new disasters, or disasters it had not witnessed for a long period of years. Towns along the rich coast of Campania were swallowed up or buried. Rome was devastated by fires, ancient temples were destroyed, and the Capitol itself was torched by Roman hands. Sacred rites were shockingly profaned, and there were scandals in high places. The sea swarmed with exiles and the island cliffs were red with blood. Worse horrors reigned in the city.

Tac. *Hist.* 1.2

Thus does the Roman historian Tacitus begin his account of the turbulent period ushered in by the fall of Nero, the last of the Julio-Claudian emperors. There followed the chaotic “Year of Four Emperors” (69 CE), from which the seasoned general Vespasian, a far from illustrious figure, emerged to found Rome’s second imperial dynasty, the Flavian dynasty, and stabilize and restore the Roman state. The nearly three decades that saw the rule of, first, Vespasian, and then his two sons Titus and Domitian was a crucial period in Rome’s political and cultural evolution. Despite lasting just 27 years (69–96 CE), the Flavian dynasty achieved a great deal. It managed to suppress unrest in the empire (the Judean and Batavian revolts), consolidate in a “rational” manner the frontiers on the Rhine and Danube, along with those in the East, improve the nature and operation of the imperial administration, place the empire’s finances on a firm footing, and carry out an ambitious public building program that transformed the landscape of Rome. The Flavian Age was also a crucial phase in the evolution of the Principate itself – in no small part because the Flavians were Rome’s *second* imperial dynasty, and because of the relative *ignobilitas* of Vespasian and his family.

For all the undeniable importance of the foregoing, it will probably come as no surprise that this Companion does not confine itself to the Flavian dynasty and its achievements. Study of the early Principate is no longer exclusively or even predominantly the study of its rulers – or its elite citizens. This volume, accordingly, attempts to examine the Flavian Age in a broader and more inclusive sense, taking into account its complex ethnic makeup, its multicultural character, its evolving economic and political structures, the shifting relationship between center and periphery, and the far-reaching religious developments of the time. The decision to undertake a more capacious examination is based on the conviction that readers will be best served by an approach that remains alert to the ways in which political, economic, social and cultural forces interacted to create different social worlds within a composite Roman empire.

There is of course a danger inherent in any attempt to capture some of this diversity: strategies of breadth inevitably risk a loss of depth. Here an attempt has been made to steer a middle course. So, for example, two provinces, Judea (CHAPTER 13) and Britain (CHAPTER 14), have been allotted dedicated chapters. The justification for this pair will be clear enough to readers, but strong arguments could have been made for like treatment of other regions – such as Germany and Spain, the latter undergoing rapid “Romanization,” and supplying many prominent figures of the Flavian Age (to say nothing of the future emperors Trajan and Hadrian, the former already making important strides under the Flavians). The sheer magnitude and complexity of the Roman empire in the later first century presents problems of coverage that necessitate difficult choices.

There is also a less obvious price to be paid for casting a wider net: a more comprehensive approach, one that moves beyond the Flavian dynasty itself, runs the risk of diluting the specifically “Flavian” component. So, for example, in discussing economic developments Alessandro Launaro (CHAPTER 10) observes that the imperial center (Italy) reaches something of a peak in the Flavian age, whence it begins an inexorable decline vis-à-vis the periphery (provinces) – but this is part of a larger historical narrative; Laura Van Abbema’s exploration of women in the Flavian Age (CHAPTER 16) does not identify much in the way of trends specific to the Flavian rather than early imperial period; and Adam Kemezis’ examination of Greek literature in the Flavian Age (CHAPTER 25) provides only modest, if compelling, suggestions of what marks some of that literature as “Flavian.” But such chapters are as essential to a composite picture of the Flavian Age as those that can more securely point to strongly marked or pervasive “Flavian” elements. Even when considering dynastic developments, broader patterns are often at work. So, for example, the Flavian Age is noteworthy for a hardening of the apparatus of the Principate, of its mechanisms of domination; but this could be seen as belonging to a more general trend: the early history of the Principate is characterized by progressive encroachments, incremental shifts in political and economic structures whereby an individual household was gradually transformed into the state government (see Millar 1977, 189–201).

Finally, it must be acknowledged that the pursuit of broad coverage often entails working against the grain of the available evidence. The Flavian Age has left a considerable body of data: literary, epigraphical, and archeological. It has even bequeathed entire cities and towns, Pompeii chief among them, captured in a moment by the eruption of Vesuvius and “frozen in time,” as it were. These sites offer precious insights into popular culture through quotidian artifacts, graffiti, and much more

besides. On the whole, though, it is overwhelmingly the views and experiences of the sociopolitical elite that have come down to us through the literary sources, our most important testimony. The privileged classes that administered and profited from the empire were the same people who shaped its literature. The Roman elite not only furnished many writers – the early imperial period might well be dubbed “the age of the senatorial author” – but also exercised control over what was written by the less privileged through literary patronage. Hence, as with other periods in Roman history, the available evidence is skewed: we are relatively well informed with respect to the experience and views of the imperial family and the aristocracy, but it is often difficult to reconstruct the experience of other groups. Representative balance would require considering the experience of non-Romans in a world dominated by Roman power, of women in a world ruled by men, and so on. But as this is often impossible, we must be alert to what is missing: the events, groups and cultural practices that our sources (and indeed traditional historiographical accounts) have omitted or overlooked, and which have often left scant traces.

1 The scheme of this volume

This volume is divided thematically into six sections, followed by a series of appendices and an extensive glossary of terms.

Part I (Preliminary) consists of a single essay in which Frédéric Hurlet (CHAPTER 1) surveys the most important evidence (literary, epigraphic, numismatic) for the period, focused on the question of imperial power. There is, to be sure, an impressive array of data, and yet Hurlet crucially reminds us of inherent limitations: the fragmentary nature of evidence means that there are many important questions that we cannot answer.

Part II (Dynasty) begins with a chronological sweep in four chapters, proceeding from the rise to the fall of the Flavian dynasty. Frederik Vervaeke (CHAPTER 2) examines the striking sequence of events that enabled Vespasian to use his military appointment in Judea and some strategic regional alliances to transform the Levant into the base of civil-war faction that placed him on the throne. The reigns of each of the Flavian emperors are then surveyed and assessed in turn, with John Nicols (CHAPTER 3) looking at Vespasian, Charles Murison (CHAPTER 4) at Titus, and Alessandro Galimberti (CHAPTER 5) at Domitian, whose assassination in 96 brought the dynasty to an end. The next three chapters explore the “image” projected by the Flavians. Steven Tuck (CHAPTER 6) considers Flavian image-making in general terms, identifying four major thematic clusters: victory and triumph; peace, restoration, and renewal; dynasty; public benefaction. Susan Wood (CHAPTER 7) looks specifically at the portraiture of the imperial family, both in sculpture and coinage. Andrew Gallia (CHAPTER 8) surveys the remarkable Flavian building program in Rome, which produced some of the city’s most iconic structures and monuments. Finally, Láránd Dészpa (CHAPTER 9) looks at the often-troubled relationship between the Flavian dynasty and the Roman senate, focusing on the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian.

Part III (Empire) considers the Roman empire and its management in the Flavian Age. Using current theoretical approaches to the study of the ancient economies, Alessandro Launaro (CHAPTER 10) considers the economic impact of Flavian rule

within the broader context of the economy of the early Roman Empire. Christopher Dart (CHAPTER 11) systematically surveys Flavian management of the empire's frontiers, including their "rational" approach to defensive lines and development of infrastructure, and considers whether this amounts to a paradigm shift in military policy, a new imperial "grand strategy," as was famously argued by Edward Luttwak. Randall Pogorzelski (CHAPTER 12) probes the question of center and periphery in the Flavian period. Starting from the observation that the person of the emperor is beginning to rival Rome itself as the imperial center, Pogorzelski proceeds to identify further confusions of the center-periphery conception, resulting in a bewildering multiplication of such conceptions, which he illustrates in various literary works. The last two chapters of Part III take an in-depth look at individual provinces, one in the east, the other in the west, that figure prominently in developments of the Flavian Age. Mark Brighton (CHAPTER 13) examines Flavian Judea, discussing both the Jewish rebellion and the dramatic consequences of its harsh suppression for Jewish life and culture. Gil Gambash (CHAPTER 14) considers developments in Britain, which was the object of Roman imperialist expansion in the Flavian period, particularly under the governorship of Agricola.

Part IV (Societies and Cultures) consists of chapters analyzing various aspects of Roman and non-Roman culture in the Flavian period. Grant Parker (CHAPTER 15) considers the concept of foreignness operative in the Flavian period, with an eye to illuminating the countervailing forces of othering and integration in Roman society, and the cosmopolis of Rome in particular. Using evidence drawn from honorary inscriptions and literary sources, Laura Van Abbema (CHAPTER 16) discusses how, as new claims to status were negotiated during the Principate, well-to-do women of the Flavian period were assuming important roles in social and political networks, particularly as patrons. Yun Lee Too (CHAPTER 17) draws on the writings of Quintilian, Plutarch, and Dio of Prusa to survey and contrast educational practices in elite Roman culture and that of the Greek East. The educational treatises of Plutarch and Dio suggest that Greek culture retained considerable autonomy, and was tenacious in its self-conscious transmission and perpetuation. With an imaginative flourish Eleanor Leach (CHAPTER 18) surveys various structures and domiciles in Flavian Pompeii, achieving an ingenious sifting out of contemporary Flavian (or near-Flavian) elements by focusing on rebuilding activity that followed the earthquake (or series of earthquakes) in the latter part of Nero's reign. Sarah Blake (CHAPTER 19) identifies and discusses a Flavian-era aesthetic, evident in wall painting and literature, that valued everyday objects, depicting them aesthetically, and thereby conveying social messages about qualities valued in the Flavian period. Helen Lovatt (CHAPTER 20) explores spectacle in Flavian culture, including gladiatorial combat and the triumph; she considers how literary accounts, while emphasizing glory and victory, sometimes reveal an awareness of, and sensitivity to, suffering and defeat. Antonios Augoustakis (CHAPTER 21) surveys literary culture in the Flavian period, noting the crucial role played by imperial and aristocratic patronage, while discussing the practices of recitation, publication, and dissemination of individual works, as well as issues of authorship and plagiarism that were coming more sharply into focus in the Flavian Age.

Part V (Literature) discusses the rich literary output of the Flavian Age, both Latin and Greek, with the latter treated in a single chapter and the former treated in three,

divided along generic lines. Because the major Latin authors and their works are cited and discussed throughout the volume, contributors for these chapters were invited to undertake targeted analyses rather than offering general overviews. In the first of these, Neil Bernstein (CHAPTER 22) undertakes a historicizing analysis of the epic poetry of Valerius Flaccus, Statius and Silius Italicus, considering their works as reflections or commentaries on contemporary developments in the political, social, and religious spheres. William Dominik (CHAPTER 23) performs a rather similar operation for Statius' *Silvae* and Martial's *Epigrams*, examining these poetic collections for the information they yield on contemporary social life and values. Turning to Latin prose literature, Paul Roche (CHAPTER 24) examines the dedicatory prefaces of the two monumental Latin prose works that have survived from the Flavian period, Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (*Naturalis Historia*) and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*: the former affirms the author's connections to the Flavian court, whereas the latter emphasizes the author's professional competence and personal authority. In surveying Greek authors of the Flavian period, Adam Kemezis (CHAPTER 25) considers the extent to which one can identify a "Flavian Greek Literature," defined as Greek texts responding to Roman dynastic events. Finally, Michael Dewar (CHAPTER 26) provides a survey of Flavian literature that is attested in the sources but has *not* survived – an exercise that helps to situate in a broader context the texts we do have, while providing a salutary reminder that these extant works represent a tiny fraction of the aggregate literary output of the age.

Part VI (Reception) consists of three interrelated essays by Andrew Zissos exploring how subsequent ages and cultures have looked back upon, imagined, understood and interpreted the Flavian Age. The first (CHAPTER 27) considers some of the ways in which the Flavian dynasty, its actions and its monuments have resonated in subsequent eras; the second (CHAPTER 28) looks at the profound impact made on the modern imagination by the rediscovery of Pompeii; the third (CHAPTER 29) surveys the influence of some of the major Flavian writers upon later literature and culture.

Four appendices have been provided to assist the reader in grappling with the complexities of the historical, political, and cultural subject matter. Appendix 1 (Chronology) provides a detailed timeline of major events in the political, military, and cultural spheres. Appendix 2 (Demographic and Other Estimates) supplies a series of "best guesses" on questions of population, longevity, and so on for the Flavian period. Appendix 3 consists of tables indicating legionary dispositions at different points in the Flavian Age. Appendix 4 provides the full text (in the original Latin and English translation) of the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani*, along with brief explanatory notes. Last, but by no means least, the volume is equipped with an extensive *Glossary* explaining the various political, military, and cultural terms used in the preceding chapters.

2 The perils of periodization

The decision to undertake a Companion to the Flavian Age prompts a fundamental question: does it make sense, and is it conceptually useful, to speak of a Flavian Age? This volume assumes an affirmative answer, and in proceeding on this assumption it commits itself to an act of periodization. Periodization is the division of time into

designated blocks – that is, into named “periods” or “ages.” There has been, and continues to be, an energetic postmodernist critique of periodization, for which Michel Foucault remains the standard-bearer. Such critics have pointed out that time and history are continuous, so that periodization is at its core a more or less arbitrary act that makes something discrete out of this continuity. Any “period” or “age,” as an analytical category, can serve only imperfectly as a means of structuring political, cultural, or literary history. Be that as it may, the “period” remains a disciplinary necessity, an indispensable conceptual tool for organizing analysis of political and cultural history. It needs to be acknowledged, though, that the choice of a chronological block has an intrinsic distorting effect: it will ineluctably influence the discussion and interpretation of events. The initial act of periodization is, therefore, something that merits careful consideration.

The conceptual value of an “age” will depend upon the extent to which the designated chronological block evinces consistent features. In the case of the Flavian Age, the consistency derives most obviously from the genealogical or dynastic facts. As with the Julio-Claudian period that preceded it, the *nomen gentile* speaks to the periodizing act. Likewise, it should be noted that the Flavian dynasty was succeeded by what ancient historians conventionally designate as a new age, the series of reigns from Nerva through Marcus Aurelius conventionally designated “the Five Good Emperors,” in which adoption was the mechanism of succession. The Flavian Age is thus delimited by two apparently well-defined imperial “ages” that afford it relief (to say nothing of the “caesura” created by the chaotic “Year of Four Emperors” from which the Flavians emerged).

Beyond the genealogical facts, one might seek to identify distinctive political, economic and social dynamics or, in the cultural sphere, sets of thematic and stylistic features characteristic of e.g. architecture, art, or literature. Where apparently distinctive “Flavian” elements exist, they need to be accounted for. Here we get into broader theoretical questions regarding the interrelation and interaction of the various elements and spheres of human society. These different components exert reciprocal influence on one another as part of a continuous and dynamic process that produces the specific “articulation” of a given society at a given time. Almost by its very nature and formulation, a Companion to the Flavian Age will be prone to privileging the political sphere (even though Marxist theory, for one, identifies this as part of the societal “superstructure” – and so less determinate and influential than elements of the “base”). A natural approach is to take as a point of departure the political fact of the Flavian dynasty, and seek to correlate this to, say, developments in the cultural sphere. Such an approach is not without potential pitfalls: even if we accept the notion of a meaningful political age, this need not produce corresponding articulations in other spheres. Here we see the logic of Adam Kemezis’ approach of locating the “Flavian” element of Greek literature in overt reactions to the dynasty (CHAPTER 25). But insisting on such an approach across the board would generate incoherence, and, perhaps worse, obscure the composite picture this volume endeavors to generate. So, in emphasizing a Mediterranean setting for Rome’s power in the Flavian period, Grant Parker (CHAPTER 15) points to an important principle that had held for centuries. Likewise, the “aesthetic of the everyday” reconstructed by Sarah Blake (CHAPTER 19) is a broad transcultural phenomenon, which, if it could be pinned down, would have at best a specific “Flavian”