# LIGHT AND SELF-REPRESENTATION IN THE RURAL RESIDENCE OF WESTERN ELITE DURING THE LATE ANTIQUITY.

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Résumé: Cet article est issu d'une communication réalisée lors de la 4ème journée doctorale d'archéologie, organisée par l'UFR 03 de l'Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne le 27 mai 2009 à Paris et dont le thème était : les marqueurs du pouvoir. Les lignes suivantes proposent une nouvelle approche des usages de la lumière, artificielle ou naturelle, dans le cadre résidentiel aristocratique rural, en Occident à la fin de l'Antiquité. La lumière est envisagée ici comme un instrument d'autoreprésentation à part entière, utilisé par les élites, dans le cadre de leur stratégie de mise en valeur personnelle. Les cas étudiés permettent de saisir trois types d'utilisation de la lumière dans les espaces de réception et d'exercice du pouvoir de la résidence aristocratique rurale. La première partie de l'article évoque ainsi l'usage de la lumière réfléchie, qu'elle soit naturelle ou artificielle. La seconde partie du développement envisage l'éclairage naturel zénithal focalisé. Enfin, quelques lignes sont accordées au phénomène du foyer central monumental dans l'architecture domestique.
Mot-clés: Villa, late antiquity, light, archaeology, elite.

More than it was during the Early Empire, the *villa* during the Late Antiquity in the West, was a matrix of aristocratic power. As such, it became the field of expression of architectural techniques, inherited from a centuries old tradition. The main result of the implementation of these techniques resulted in a profusion of shapes and ambitious decors in the service of the symbolism of power, as can be seen on the sites of Piazza Armerina (302)[2] or Basse-Wavre (186).

The well-known case of Piazza Armerina[3], in its state of the IV$^{th}$ century A.D. shows what really makes the late antique house, that is to say, a juxtaposition of complex shapes favorable to the owners' self-representation in front of the audiences who frequented the

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[2] The number quoted after the name of each site refers to its position within the database from which it is borrowed (Carrié, 2009), where the bibliography and synthesis of knowledge concerning it can be found. This number also allows locating the sites on maps or plates.
[3] Carandini, Rici, de Vos, 1982.

building. This *villa* can be considered as an archetype when it comes to illustrate the importance of thermal monumental structures or reception rooms in the late rural residence. The triconch chamber 46, but also the *basilica* room 30 and the vestibules 15 and 41 show that architects of Late antiquity were experts in manipulating perspectives and juxtapositions of structures inherited from a long architectural tradition, to serve a dominant social position.

Far from the exuberance of the Sicilian *villae*, the Belgian *villa* of Basse-Wavre is also an excellent example of building put in the service of self-representation, particularly with its very complete decor that involves *opus sectile*, mosaics, veneers of marble and painted plasters[4].

What one can understand from these two examples is the importance of visual dimension and image in the strategy of self-representation of the élite and more generally in the aesthetic of Late Antiquity. According to Plotinus: "The wisdom of the gods and blessed is not expressed by propositions, but beautiful images"[5]. The same Plotinus, allows to understand that the ancient aesthetic accorded an exceptional importance to the perception and judgment process of the being, or thing, by the intellect[6]. One now understands the importance of light, revealing the form, in the game of the symbolization of power.

All this strongly suggests that it is essential to study the various possibilities of decorative lighting in the aristocratic residence if one intends to recreate, as accurately as possible, the domestic space and techniques for symbolizing the power of the élite during the Late Antiquity. This necessity appears only more pressing when one considers the iconographic and archaeological *corpus*.

The illustration of Psalm 133 of the Utrecht Psalter[7] shows the central place that could have the lights, in this case a *polycandelon,* for symbolizing power. The *polycandelon*, well known for its religious purpose[8], could also be in the private residence a symbol of power rather ostentatious, not only through the metal, sometimes precious, which composed it, but also through its illuminating power.

[4] Dens, Poils, 1905.
[5] *Ennead* 5. 8. 5-6.
[6] *Ennead* 2. 4. 5.
[7] Duval, 1965: fig. 1.
[8] Bouras, Parani, 2008: 11.

Of course, the *polycandelon*, which seems common from the early Byzantine period[9], is not the only luminary object able to symbolize power. The Pompeian context makes it possible to understand that the decorative lighting, sometimes made of precious metals, could take the form of lanterns, lamps, wall lights and candelabra, sometimes with very elaborate shapes[10], whose use dates back to early Roman times and continues until the end of Antiquity[11].

In the sources, the lighting, whether floor lamps, candelabra and chandeliers are often mentioned with the general terms of *lychnucus*[12] or *lychnus*[13], and one must take into account the general context to understand which type of fixture is mentioned. In many cases, *lychni* are associated with a context of celebration[14] and they were early employed at triumphs[15] in the form of *candelabra*. A panel of ivory from the treasure of the Cathedral of Treves also shows that they were still part of the *instrumentum* used during the *adventus* in Late Antiquity[16].

Even if lighting objects are well-known, and if their operation is now clear[17], one must recognize that the linking of these objects with domestic spaces of self-representation remains tricky[18], mainly because of the important leveling and of stratigraphic aridity of the studied sites.

It is however with the ambition to recreate this lost relationship, yet so necessary to the understanding of the aristocratic residence, that the research of archaeological evidence of the use of light as an element of self-celebration and a symbol of power in the *villa* in the West during the Late Antiquity was undertaken.

The archaeological examples that will be employed here are drawn from a *corpus* of 432 aristocratic rural residences dispersed in a study area, which covers the territories known

[9] Bouras, Parani, 2008: 12-13.
[10] Mazzoleni, Pappalardo, 2005: 276 ; Iorio, 2005: fig. 3.
[11] Bouras, Parani, 2008: 76-77.
[12] Plin. *Nat.* 34. 14; Suet. *Jul*. 37.
[13] Verg. *A*. 1. 7. 26 ; Cic. *Cael*. 67.
[14] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 9. 13. 46-53. *Veniente nocte nec non numerosus erigatur laquearibus coruscis camerae in supera lychnus : oleumque nescientes adipesque glutinosos utero tumente fundant opobalsamum lucernae.*
[15] Suet. *Jul*. 37.
[16] Bouras, Parani, 2008: 20.
[17] Bouras, Parani, 2008: 3-4.
[18] Ellis, 1994: 70.

in the IV[th] century A.D. under the names of the Diocese of Gauls, Diocese of Spains and Diocese of Britains[19].

The following lines will now concentrate on the description of three possible uses of light to symbolize power, which are rarely mentioned.

1. Glass and light manipulation.

The first possibility to symbolize power through light that will be presented involves glass. It could be used in architecture in two ways: either to filter light or to reflect it.

*a) Use of natural filtered light in space of self-celebration.*

The discoveries of window glass suggest that natural light was certainly quite commonly used to manipulate the atmosphere and symbolize social superiority in the residences of the aristocracy.

Experts agree that windows glass first appeared in Western Roman architecture during the mid I[st] century A.D.[20] Windows were of course installed for insulating purposes, especially within the thermal environment, but they were also used to mean a certain prestige[21].

It should be borne in mind that glass was not the only technical solution to the problem of light filtering and window insulation. Indeed, as even today in Yemen, the Roman buildings, since the I[st] century A.D. to the VIII[th] century in the East, could have windows made of mica, gypsum or talc[22]. The use of the *lapis specularis* is attested by Pliny the Elder[23] and some archaeological discoveries suggest that the phenomenon was quite common all around the Mediterranean basin[24].

The window glass is a rare subject in iconography. Nevertheless, an illustration of the *Vergilius Vaticanus* shows that the glass, between the III[d] century A.D. and the V[th] century A.D. always fitted lattice windows[25]. The mosaic which represents the Palace of Theodoric, in

[19] Carrié, 2009: 67.
[20] Foy, Fontaine, 2008: 408.
[21] Foy, Fontaine, 2006a: 15-17.
[22] Foy, Fontaine, 2006b: 159.
[23] Plin. *Nat.* 36. 160.
[24] Foy, Fontaine, 2006b: 161; Foy, Fontaine, 2008: 445.
[25] De Wit, 1959: fig. 15.

the church of San-Appolinare-Nuovo in Ravenna, also shows that glass panes could sometimes cover large areas and form picture windows[26].

The archaeological discoveries made it clear that the chassis receiving glass panes could be made of wood, bronze, iron or lead[27].

This is by the IV$^{th}$ century A.D., in the religious context, that windows took the appearance of leaded-glass windows, of very simple geometric shapes at first. The first leaded-glass windows were formed from fragments of cut glass, not much colored, set in a metal frame[28]. They gained more colors in the VI$^{th}$ century, and only during the VIII$^{th}$ century real stained-glass windows appeared[29].

Finally, one should pay attention to the reference, made by Pliny the Younger[30], of the existence of internal glass partitions, used to separate a room into smaller independent spaces.

Among the studied sites, 53 delivered window glass[31]. Given the phenomenon of recovery[32], the brittleness of glass, the lack of interest of ancient archaeological campaigns for these remains and the difficulty to identify them correctly[33], this figure suggests that the window glass was not exceptional in *villae* during the Late Antiquity.

In case of a discovery of window glass, there is usually little mention of a color, yet colored glass existed. Studied sites which own colored glass propose a fairly wide range of colors, composed of blue[34], blue-gray[35], pink[36], green[37], purple and yellow[38].

What also emerges from this analysis is that the glass does not concern only the very large houses as one might think. Among the 53 selected sites, it is possible to estimate the

[26] Sarnowski, 1978: fig.42.
[27] Foy, Fontaine, 2006a: 21.
[28] Foy, Fontaine 2006a.
[29] Foy, Fontaine 2008: 405.
[30] Plin. *Ep*. 2. 17. 21 : *Contra parietem medium zotheca perquam eleganter recedit, quae specularibus et uelis obductis reductisue modo adicitur cubiculo, modo aufertur.*

[31] Carrié, 2009: 393. 11.8% of all studied sites.
[32] Foy, 2008.
[33] Indeed, it is sometimes difficult not to confuse the window glass with splinters of glass containers.
[34] Great-Witcombe (159) in the U.K.
[35] L'Hosté Basse-Wavre (186) in Belgium.
[36] L'Hosté Basse-Wavre (186).
[37] Great-Witcombe (159), Mayen I (242) in Germany, Wasserbillig I (412) in Luxembourg.
[38] Winkel-Seeb (425) in Switzerland.

inhabitable surface of 42 cases. 40% of these cases have a floor surface of less than 1000m2. Knowing that the average floor surface of the 432 studied *villae* is of 2255m2, it appears that a rich decor is not necessarily reserved for the *villae* of great size, and that certain small-sized buildings could have enjoyed a relatively refined decor. The Romano-British site of Garden Hill (148), whose thermal unit has yielded remains of window glass, provides a good illustration of this possibility.

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that late *villae* were quite commonly equipped with glass, not only as a means of insulation, but also to filter and color the light to create a special atmosphere. Naturally, and understandably, the excavation reports, sometimes very old, lack precision in locating the splinters of window glass. But the mere indication of the presence or absence of window glass is important because it impacts heavily on attempts to restore the residential space.

*b) The reflections of light.*

Whether it is natural or artificial, light also contributed to the staging of power through games of reflections.

One remembers in fact that Pliny the Elder mentions the possibility of decorating the walls with glass, when it reported that M. Scaurus in 58 B.C., used glass to decorate his theater[39]. Of course, one can always consider that Pliny speaks here of mosaic *tesserae* made of glass, which he mentions a little later[40]. But one can also think that Pliny speaks about glass panes, directly applied on the walls, like those decorated with gold leaf, yielded by the excavations made Place Adrien Rozier in Rodez or at the Bourse in Marseille[41].

Although the contexts of these operations do not correspond to the residential context discussed here, one can nevertheless think that this type of glass veneer could also be used in residential buildings.

This assumption is encouraged by various mentions about a special kind of glass discovered during the excavation of three *villae*, and which was clearly not intended to be fitted to windows, but rather to decorate walls.

[39] Plin. *Nat.* 36. 24: *Ima pars scaenae e marmore fuit, media e uitro, inaudito etiam postea genere luxuriae, summa e tabulis inauratis.*
[40] Plin. *Nat.* 36. 64: *Pulsa deinde ex humo pauimenta in camaras transiere uitro*.
[41] Foy, 2008.

The Belgian *villa* of Maillen Al Sauvenière (227), excavated during the XIX[th] century, has delivered remains of glass, partly covered with plaster, as if one had wanted to hang them on the walls[42]. Excavations of the *villae* in Chedworth (90) and Basse-Wavre (186) have in turn led to the discovery of other fragments of glass with one face carefully polished and the other completely frosted[43]. Perhaps this difference in treatment of both surfaces was aimed to facilitate the fixing of glass panes on the wall, by allowing a better adherence for the coating on the frosted face. This possibility seems confirmed by the appearance of the back of Rodez fragments that show clear traces of coating.

Beyond a simple decorative role, this type of veneer could act as a direct means of symbolization of power. Indeed, the inclusion in gold leaf discovered in Arles, in the circus[44], very similar to the splinters of Rodez, shows that this type of decor could be used to convey specific textual messages.

These elements, albeit very thin, are encouraging and may indicate that there were some rooms where the walls were perhaps covered with glass plates to provide a special visual effect. This technical solution also fits very well in a *villa* like l'Hosté Basse-Wavre, which seems to have been built by a *dominus* who had a taste for fine and varied parietal decors. It is noteworthy that the rooms decorated with glass panes on their walls would allow their owners to take a substantial advantage of natural and artificial lights, by creating reflection games, seldom in the nature, and certainly very confounding.

## 2. The use of natural zenith-focused light.

Among the studied sites[45], a large number satisfies the canons of late Roman architecture, with one or more circular or octagonal spaces that might have been covered with domes. However, in some cases, this type of coverage would allow, as we know thanks to the Pantheon in Rome[46] and the testimony of Dio Cassius[47], a zenithal focused lighting very

[42] Mahieu, 1891: 356.
[43] Dens, Poils, 1905: 310.
[44] Foy, 2008.
[45] Carrié, 2009.
[46] Coarelli, 2001: 203.
[47] Dio says that Hadrian appreciated the opportunity to render justice in the Pantheon (Cass. Dio. 69. 1. 7).

effective to symbolize power. To observe carefully the sensation made by light focused through the *oculus* of the Pantheon, one can easily understand that this type of lighting could be used to dramatize places of self-representation.

Several sites in the Mediterranean world, including Pompeii[48], have also shown that *oculi* could be closed by bulged windows[49].

Besides insulation, certainly welcomed, the bulged-glass *oculus* may also allowed to color the light and thus to increase the effect of surprise to the visitor's look.

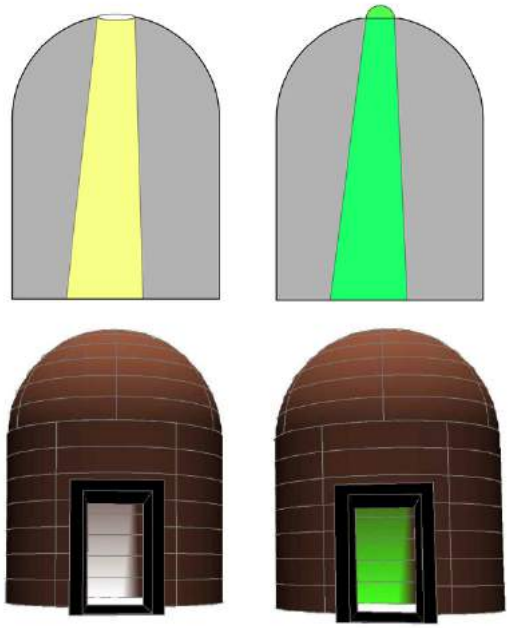


Fig. 1: Circular room (schematic representation) with open *oculus* (left) and closed *oculus* (right).

[48] House of sector I, 8, 13 (unpublished).

[49] Foy, Fontaine, 2008: 418. The existence of bulged-glass *oculi* is noteworthy, because it represents a novelty since the study of the cargo from the wreck of Les Embiez has delivered several intact copies of bulged-glass (Foy, Fontaine, 2006b). Excavations in Labitolosa, Spain, show that the glass *oculus* was employed in thermal environment, but also in buildings maybe linked to the exercise of power. An *oculus* closed by a bulged glass would actually have fitted at least one building on the *forum* (information obtained from M. Navarro). So there are good reasons to believe that *oculi* equipped with bulged-glass could also have equiped some rooms of *villae*.

The example of the Pantheon also illustrates the effect of surprise, created by the column of light and enhanced by the contrast between the circular form of the main chamber, equipped with the *oculus,* and the rectangular *pronaos*. This contrast can be summarized by the following drawing.

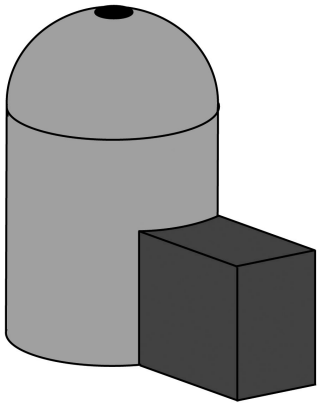


Fig. 2: Domed room with entrance hall (schematic representation).

This type of layout can be found repeatedly among the studied *villae*.

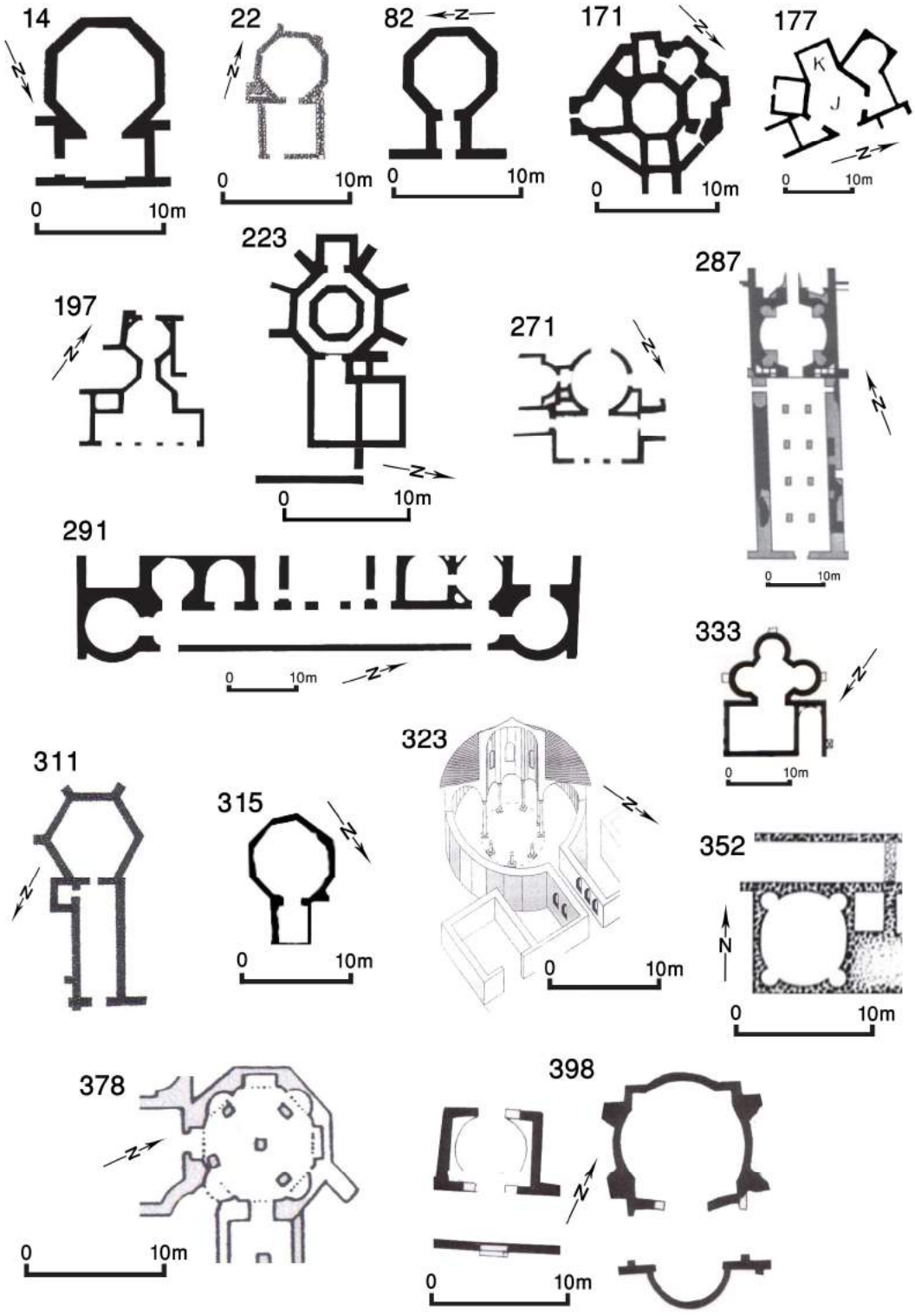



Fig. 3: Sites probably equipped with domes *oculi*.

This similarity between the *pronaos* of the Pantheon and the lobbies of the identified circular chambers might suggest that these chambers also possessed domes equipped with *oculi*.

Moreover, the presumed function of these rooms indicates that they were places of self-representation (*i.e* bath, lobbies or reception rooms)[50]. This leads to believe that a zenithal light would have been welcome in these places.

Of course, the presence of an overhead *oculus* was not a rule. The Spanish site of Centcelles (100) shows actually a domed chamber without *oculus*. A domed chamber could be artificially illuminated by a *polycandelon* and remain conducive to the symbolization of power, as shown by the illustration of Psalm 133 from the Utrecht Psalter[51] or by the case of Church St. Sophia[52]. Similarly, domed chambers could have received a set of candlesticks, or even could have benefited from natural filtered light, spread by a series of windows arranged around a drum, placed at the top of the roof[53].

The identification of a lighting technique based on the use of natural zenithal light focused directly or filtered by a bulged-glass window in the *villae* is very difficult and one must admit that the available evidences are very scarce, given the degree of leveling of the studied sites. However, in some cases, natural focused zenithal lighting seems possible. One can consider that these cases are those where this type of lighting would produce its best effect.

The chronological distribution of studied sites reveals a continuity of the phenomenon since the origins of the *villa*. The concentration of the IV$^{th}$ century may indicate a moment in the sociological evolution of the élite, where, for reasons of social strategy, self-celebration by light has been seen as particularly effective.

[50] Carrié, 2009: 404.
[51] Duval, 1965.
[52] Bouras, Parani, 2008: 31-36.
[53] See the restitution proposed for the Spanish site of Rio Maior (323) (Fernandes de Oliveira, 2003).

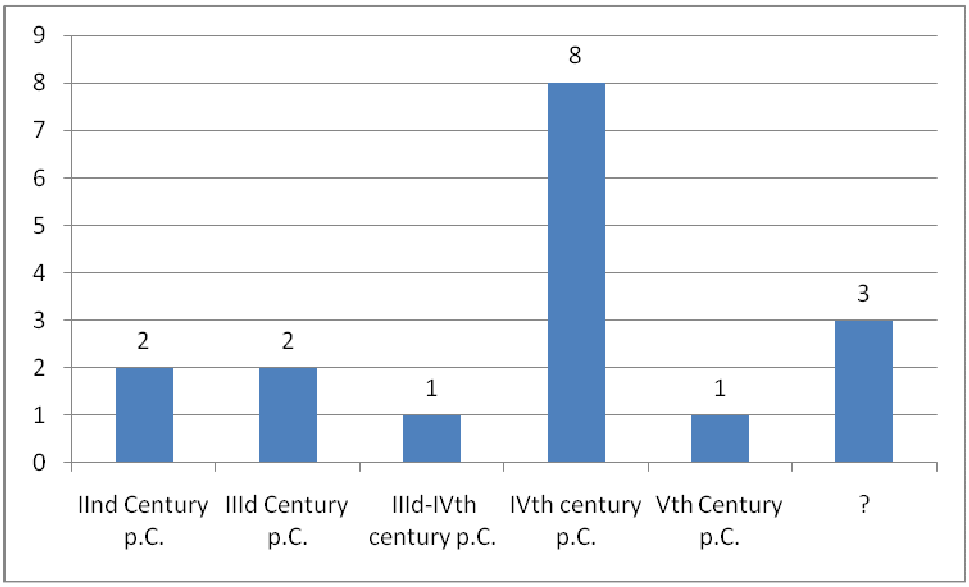



Fig. 4: Chronology of sites can be fitted with domes *oculi*.

The geographical distribution of sites is doubly interesting. It shows, first of all, certain coherence in the way of designing forms of self-representation among the aristocrats of South-western Gaul and those of the Iberian Peninsula.

It also shows that circular rooms are mostly located south of the study area and south of Britain. This effectively supports the hypothesis of the use of zenithal focused skylight in those structures, even if the *oculus* is absent. Indeed, the common point to all those structures, besides their more or less circular shape, is to be located in regions of the Western Empire where the sun is particularly bright.

Knowing that the Iberian *Meseta* is the area of Europe where the sun shines the most each year, it becomes easy to understand that the location of most structures in the Peninsula is not a coincidence, but should result of the rational use of a natural phenomenon involved in the dramatization of a residential space. Similarly, the British sites, all located southward to Bristol, should have also take advantage of favorable conditions of sunshine and bright light given the oceanic climate which bathed them.

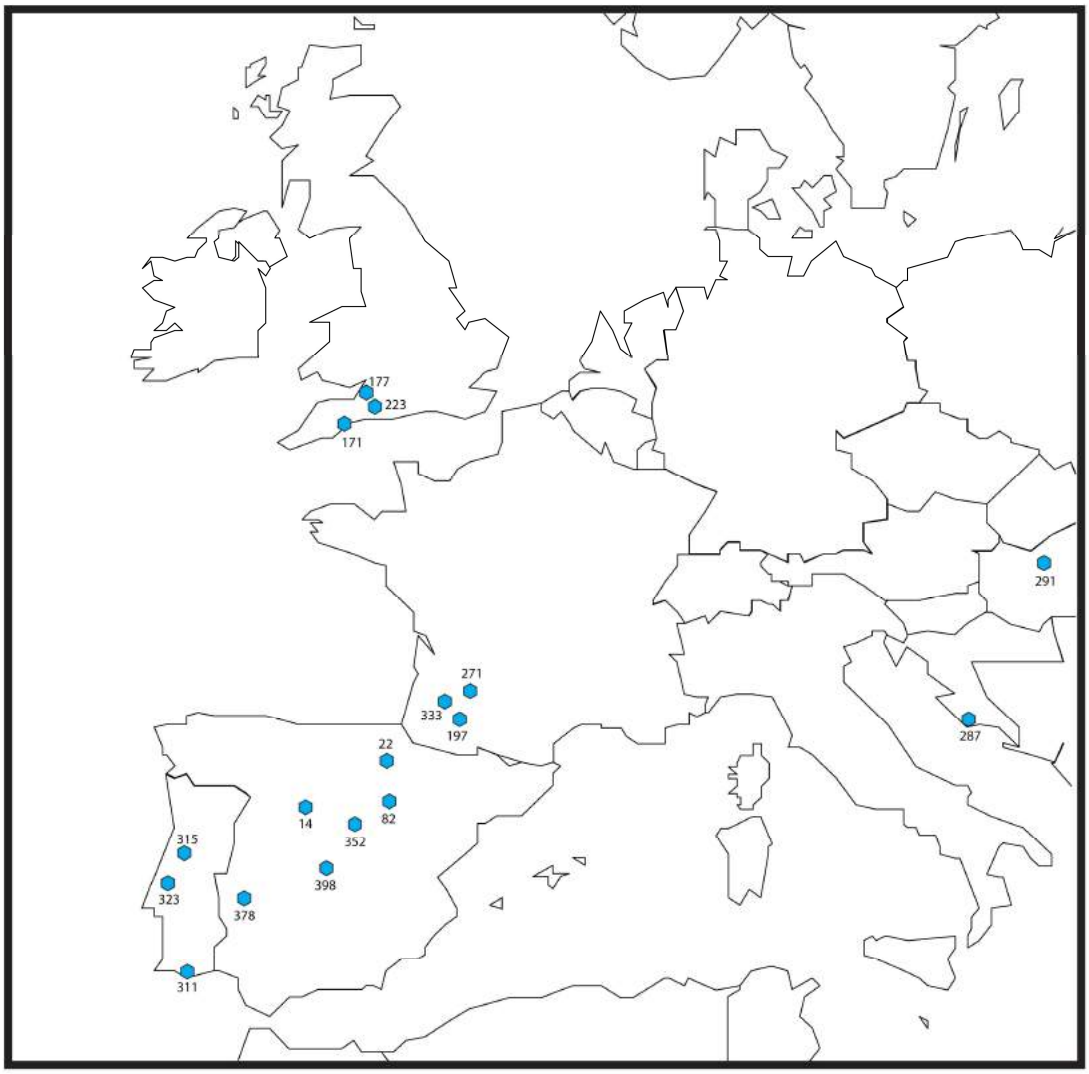



Fig. 5: Geography of sites probably equipped with *oculi*.

The absence of domed chambers in the *villae* of Germany, much less sunny, seems, in a way, to confirm the possibility of use of natural overhead focused lighting in the studied sites.

Besides some demonstration of the existence of a probable mode of lighting similar to that of the Pantheon in the *villae*, the geographical distribution of sites also shows that the planning and construction of the *villa*, during the Late Antiquity, always proceeded of a careful consideration of natural phenomena.

3. Fire and dramatization of space.

Beyond lighting techniques that have been mentioned, it is clear that some houses used the flame, traditionally assigned to menial tasks, for ornamental purposes. But, even if we know that the central hearth is a traditional domestic feature, prior to the Roman conquest, which was intended to partition the interior space, by imposing a barrier between the visitor and his host[54], the phenomenon remains poorly understood.

The careful study of the *corpus* of sites allowed establishing a more accurate definition of both the phenomenon and its distribution. The crossing of the data also showed the social significance that the monumental central hearth could have in the architecture of late *villae*. A series of 15 houses that appear to have benefited from the installation of a monumental fireplace was isolated[55]. Among these *villae*, few cases have emerged as the most eloquent.

The German site of Lürken (225) helps in understanding that the central hearth had, besides an ornamental appearance, maybe a fairly profound social significance. Indeed, when in the II$^{nd}$ century A.D. the house of the period I was entirely destroyed, to allow the installation of the new building of Period II, the central hearth 326 of the first house is "moved" in room XIII of the new house, since it is originally equipped with the central hearth 63, which finally seems to be nothing less than a new version of the old hearth 326.

Lürken suggests that the central hearth is perhaps the only aspect of the former habitat to be preserved in the new house, which for its part, is clearly built after the Roman architectural tradition. The *villa* of Lürken allows therefore assuming that the central hearth was perhaps a socio-cultural marker which symbolized the status of the inhabitants. Lürken also allows thinking that the central hearth has the characteristic to grow in size as the house is enlarged. The central hearths 326 and 63 have indeed a different size, to the advantage of the second, which is also included in a larger habitat than the house of the period I.

Despite a blurred chronology, the site of Mayen I (242), also located in Germany, shows a very similar situation to that of Lürken, because it also allows observing the translation and dilation of the central hearth as the house gains in size. As in Lürken, in Mayen I it appears

[54] Smith, 2000: 29.
[55] Carrié, 2009: 410.

that the hearth of the second house (Period II) is maintained when a most ambitious house is built (Period III). But the history of Mayen I is unique in that it helps to clarify another aspect of the monumental central hearth. Indeed, as the deterioration of living conditions in Mayen I was relatively gradual, it is possible to follow a motion of withdraw in the evolution of the central hearth, as if it followed the decline of the house. The situation in Mayen I suggests that the central hearth has finally adopted a pattern of evolution with "variable geometry", as it expands and shrinks according to the global size of the house. This characteristic tends to show that the central hearth had a real symbolic and social value. It is maybe to respect a social codification, based on the presence, absence and size of the hearth that the inhabitants of the *villa* in Mayen I have “chosen” to reduce the surface of the central hearth. It is actually difficult to explain otherwise why they would have chosen to reduce the surface of their central hearth (period VIII) immediately after the closure of their baths (period VII). An abandonment of the baths can be explained by lack of maintenance, or by a different strategy of spatial occupation. But the reduction of the hearth cannot be the result of an impoverishment of the habitat. It is therefore possible that, beyond the difficulties for maintaining baths, the central hearth, regarded as a status symbol, was reduced following a social downgrading of the site, maybe caused by a change of owner or function[56].

The Romano-British site of Park Street (295) is also very useful to define the ornamental function of the central fireplace. Indeed, at the merging of rooms I, II, III, IV, XI (period VIII), which occasioned the creation of a large heated chamber, shaded in Figure 6, a central hearth was installed in the middle of the new room. From a strict functional point of view, this hearth came into "competition" with the hypocaust heating system which equipped the recess of the room. As it can be easily assumed that the hypocaust had a sufficient heating capacity for the entire surface of the room, the presence of the central hearth is difficult to explain, except to acknowledge it a purely ornamental role.

[56] Mayen I may have lost its residential function following its absorption into a larger entity of land ruled by a larger *villa*.

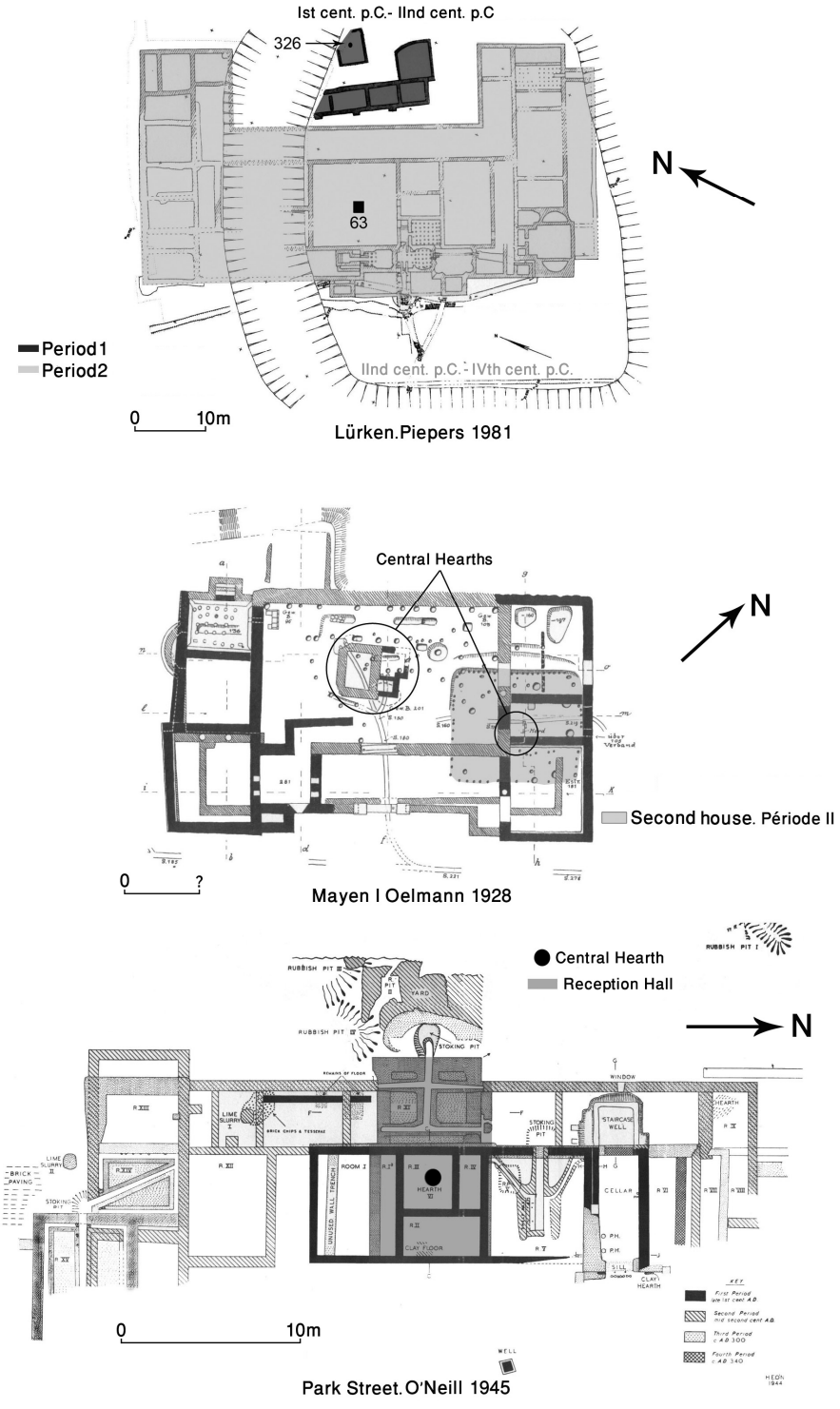



Fig. 6: The sites of Lürken, Mayen I, and Park Street.

The geographical distribution of sites shows that the tradition of building central hearths was fairly common in the north of the research area, with a remarkable concentration along

the axis which runs between Cologne and Trier, plus few cases in Britain. This last observation allows assuming that similar techniques to symbolize the power existed between the aristocrats of Northern Gaul and those of Britain.

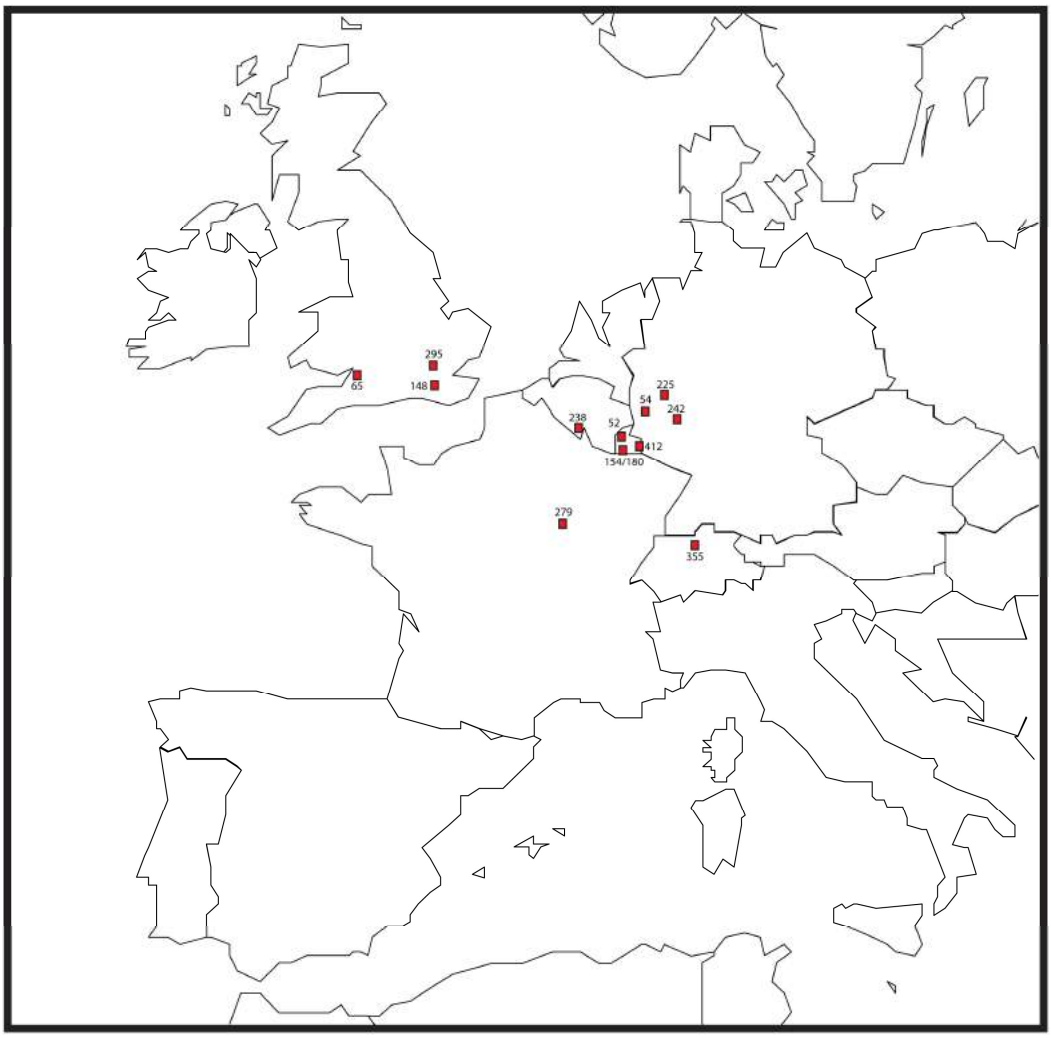
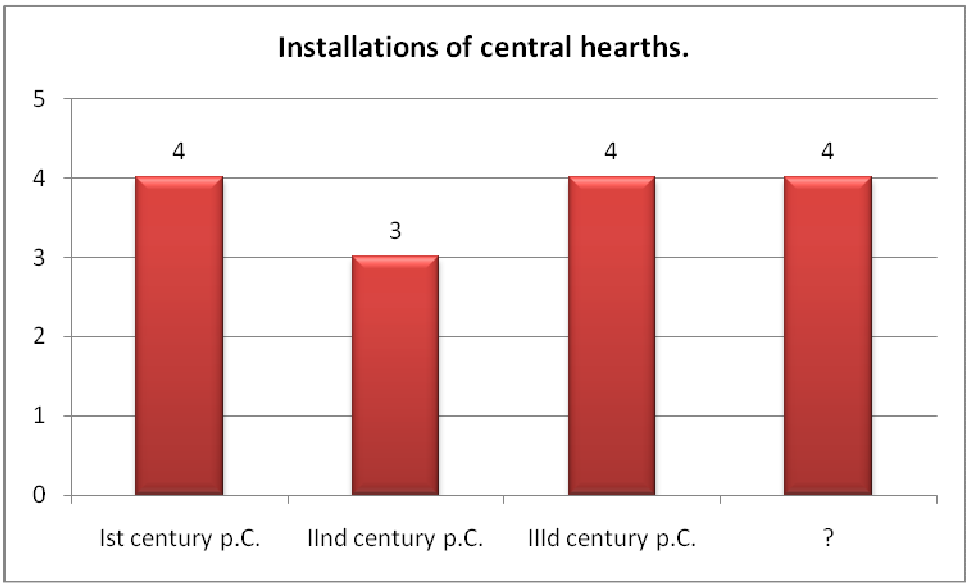



Fig. 7: Geography of sites equipped with a central hearth.

The chronology of the phenomenon indicates that it follows quite closely the evolution of the constructions of *villae*. This trend is not surprising and appears as a consequence of the organic solidarity between the central hearth and the building that houses it. Consequently, the period of wide dissemination of the phenomenon extends between the I$^{st}$ and III$^{d}$ centuries A.D.



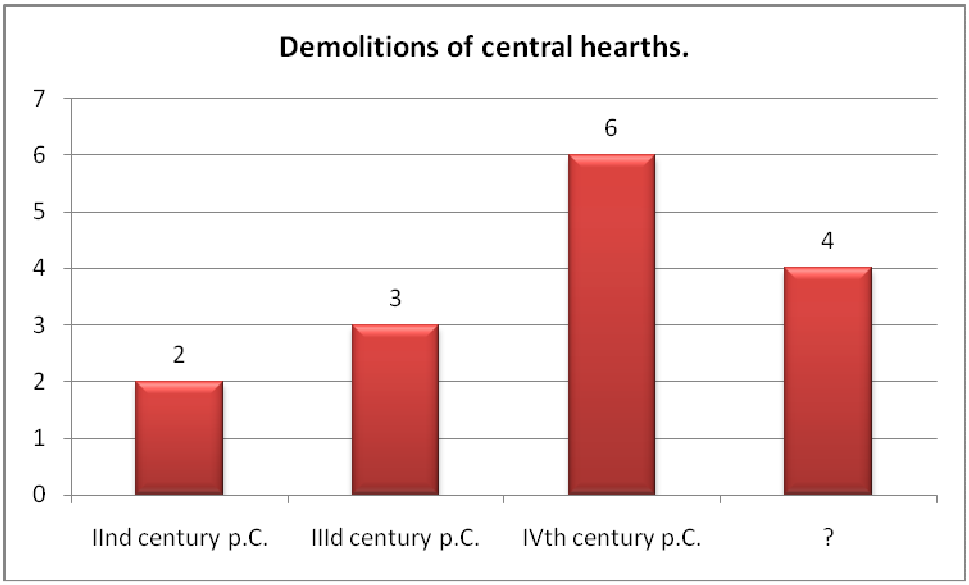




Fig. 8: Chronology of sites equipped with a monumental fireplace in a central position.

Given the geographical location of the majority of sites, the demolitions of the IV$^{th}$ century A.D. are likely to be related with the general abandonment of rural sites more commonly noticed in the north of the research area, which can be interpreted as a consequence of the re-allocation of land.

After analyzing those different scenarios, the monumental fireplace, centrally placed, appears as an ornamental structure inherited from the provincial indigenous tradition, whose goal was to dramatize space.

But what emerges from this new analysis is that the monumental fireplace, a typical phenomenon from the North, seems to dilate and atrophy in proportion to the situation of the site that it enlightens. Moreover, the permanence of the central hearth in a sometimes deeply modified habitat shows that Western aristocrats knew how to mix old social symbols and more recent features of power (baths, peristyles), certainly to create the most relevant self-representation spaces given the surrounding social context.

These lines do not purport to be exhaustive and the presentation of three techniques of power symbolization through natural or artificial light had no other purpose than to show that aristocrats of Late Antiquity, beyond their ease to highlight their status through the manipulation of architectural forms, knew also how to use light to suggest their rank and superiority. Whether natural, filtered or reflected, but also artificial, light had an important role as a marker of power in the *villa*. Although the identification of a method of lighting is quite delicate and hypothetical, it remains important to propose lighting scenarios, if one pretends understanding how the *villa* could fulfill its role of matrix of power during the Late Antiquity.

Abbreviations:

Cass. Dio.: Cassius Dio, *Roman History*.
Cic. *Cael*.: Cicero, *Pro Caelio*.
Plin. *Nat*.: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*.
Plin. *Ep*.: Pliny the Younger, *Letters*.
*Ennead*.: Plotinus, *Enneads*.
Sid. Apoll. *Ep*.: Sidoine Apollinaire, *Letters*.
Suet. *Jul*.: Suetonius, *Divus Julius*.
Verg. *A*.: Virgil, *Aeneid*.

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