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## Abrevieri/ Abbreviations

### Autori antichi/ Ancient authors

Aeschin. *In Tim.* – Aeschines, *Κατὰ Τιμάρχου/ In Timarcho/ Împotriva lui Timarchos/ Against Timarchos*

Andoc. – Andocides

Ar. *Eq.* – Aristophanes, *Ἱππεῖς/ Equites/ Cavalerii/ Knights*

Ar. *Lys.* – Aristophanes, *Λυσιστράτη/ Lysistrata*

Ar. *Vesp.* – Aristophanes, *Σφήκες/ Vespae/ Viespile/ The Wasps*

Cic. *De offic.* – Cicero, *De Officiis/ Despre îndatoriri/ On duties*

Cic., *Inv. Rhet.* – Cicero, *De inventione rhetorica/ Despre compunerea argumentării/ About the composition of arguments*

Diod. Sic. – Diodorus Siculus

Eur. *Phoen.* – Euripides, *Φοίνισσαι/ Phoenissae/ Fenicienele/ The Phoenician Women*

Flor. – Florus

Hdt. – Herodotus

Lycurg. *Leoc.* – Lycurgus, *Κατὰ Λεωκράτους/ Contra Leocratem/ Împotriva lui Leocrates, Against Leocrates*

Luc. *Cont.* = Lucian, *Χάρων ἢ Ἐπισκοποῦντες/ Charon sive Contemplantas/ Charon sau privitorii/ Charon or the Inspectors.*

Ovid. *Ars Am.* – Ovidius, *Ars Amatoria/ Arta de a iubi/ The Art of Love*

Ovid. *Medic.* – Ovidius, *Medicamina faciei femineae/ Îngrijirea tenului sau Arta frumuseții/ Cosmetics for the female face or The Art of Beauty*

Paus. – Pausanias

Pl. *Menex.* – Platon, *Μενέξενος/ Menexenus*

Plin. *Nat. Hist.* – Plinius cel Bătrân/ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia/ Istoria naturală/ Natural History*

Plut. *Arist.* – Plutarch, *Aristides*

Plut. *Mor.* – Plutarch, *Ἠθικά/ Moralia*

Thuc. – Thucydides

Verg. *Aen.* – Vergilius, *Aeneida*

Xen. *An.* – Xenophon, *Ἀνάβασις/ Anabasis*

## Abrevieri/ Abbreviations

Reviste de specialitate, *corpora*, dicționare, cataloage/ Journals, *corpora*, dictionaries, catalogs

*ABV - Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*

*AE - L'Année Épigraphique*

*AJA – American Journal of Archaeology*

*AJPh - American Journal of Philology*

*BJ - Bonner Jahrbücher*

*CAD – Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*

*CIL – Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

*CJ – The Classical Journal*

*CPh – Classical Philology*

*GRBS – Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

*HSPH – Harvard School of Public Health*

*MHR – Mediterranean Historical Revue*

*REG – Revue des Études Grecs*

*SBAW – Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*

*SEG – Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*

*ZPE - Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*



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# **THE HUMAN BODY WITHIN FUNERARY ARCHAEOLOGY**

## **RESEARCH: FROM THE BEARER OF MATERIAL CULTURE TO LA RAISON D'ÊTRE OF THE FUNERARY COMPLEX**

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### **Abstract:**

The interest for graves, cemeteries, and other funerary structures was a constant in archaeological research since the pioneering period of this discipline in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. With regard to the actual human body (buried or treated in other various ways), archaeologists and anthropologists took different approaches which can be best understood only by taking into account the wider context in which they conducted their research. In this paper I will try to observe the evolution of the way in which the human body was regarded in the framework of funerary archaeology. I begin my analysis from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when scholars operated a selection and retention mainly of skulls from the excavation in order to be able to classify individuals into "races" and with a strong emphasis on the study of the associated artefacts, and conclude at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the human body is at the heart of a complex research (it becomes the reason of being of the whole funerary ensemble) comprising the natural (*field anthropology*) and the social sciences and humanities.

**Keywords:** human body, funerary archaeology, research methodology, physical anthropology, social sciences.

### **Introduction and methodology**

The archaeological materials from funerary contexts had a significant weight in researching various aspects within this field.<sup>1</sup> Whether it was about spectacular burials or monuments linked with funerary complexes, they attracted the attention of both antiquarians and collectors. The richness of Early Mycenaean tombs, for example, had struck scholars since their discovery by Schliemann in 1876. If the findings were not rich or they didn't show an unusual character, the inquiry interest shrank proportionally, as in the case of Pepper and Wetherhill and their first scientific excavation at a site belonging to the Chaco native culture.<sup>2</sup> The archaeologists identified a large number of skeletons, but the few ceramic findings and other common inventory items causes the loss of interest and abandonment of the research.

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<sup>1</sup> Tarlow 2010, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Sebastian 1996, 14.

Given the fact that the topic discussed here is rather a complex one, having a long history,<sup>3</sup> I wish to point out the issues and concepts on which I will focus in particular and those that I will tackle only tangentially, as well as those to be put aside for methodological reasons and reasons of allocated space.

A first concept would be that of funerary archaeology. Starting from the idea of Abner Cohen,<sup>4</sup> that a discipline is defined by the major aspects and problems with which it deals, I understand that funerary archaeology is, at least for the beginning of this discussion, the whole ensemble of procedures and processes involving the recovery and research of the human osteological material from funerary contexts and the related material inventory, in an attempt to shape a discourse about mortuary practices. I operated a selection of the bibliographic material, taking into consideration those texts that I thought to have an exemplary character, illustrative for a particular direction, paradigm or, simply, for a *modus operandi*.

Talking about human osteological remains, of a particular interest is the dimension in which funerary archaeology and physical anthropology collaborate, the latter being the bridge between cultural studies and human biology.<sup>5</sup> Other assemblages of human remains discovered in non-funerary contexts will not be discussed here. An important concept is that of “intentionality” of the deposition<sup>6</sup> – a series of actions regarding the arrangement of the funerary space, manipulation of the deceased body or of the objects from the funerary inventory. Also, I will succinctly discuss the evolution of the human body approaches in other social sciences to the extent that they have influenced the archaeological thought.

### **Archaeology and anthropology in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: the French case – between categorical refusal and the acceptance of Palaeolithic burials**

Anthropological research in the 19<sup>th</sup> century took place under the rule of what I call “craniometry obsession” and of racial typology. By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, there were already several elements that contribute to the formulation of a racial ideology, a legacy of the Age of Enlightenment.<sup>7</sup> Such are the attempts advancing the idea that people can be divided into categories by creating taxonomies, like that of Carolus Linnaeus who, in his work, *Systema*

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<sup>3</sup> Stretching, as I see it, over a period of more or less than two centuries.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen 1976, 21.

<sup>5</sup> Chartkoff 1984, 8.

<sup>6</sup> See Duday *et al.* 1990, 30.

<sup>7</sup> Jackson and Weidman 2004, 22-24.

*Naturae* (1735), considers that the differentiation between human groups must be based on their continental origins. Moreover, Linnaeus' taxonomy was an ideological one,<sup>8</sup> as it spoke about the *Homo Europaeus* as being serious, strong, active, and driven by laws, while *Homo Africanus* was indifferent, cunning, being driven by whim.<sup>9</sup>

Physical anthropology considered moving into a new phase when, instead of simple phenotypic differences, it developed a set of complicated measurements of the skull, claiming to be a proper scientific study of human races.<sup>10</sup>

If anthropological study of human bones, from funerary contexts or not, was focused largely on clear measurements based on complex mathematical formulas, on the other side, archaeology tried to formulate a discourse on the material culture whose carrier was the deceased, analysing it in detail. This is the main perspective from which funerary complexes are assessed during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Besides a descriptive archaeology in great detail, accompanied by physical anthropology studies, discoveries have led to numerous attempts to formulate a discourse on the existence of ritual practices associated with the event of death. For the Palaeolithic era in France, the stake of these approaches was the very proof or denial of burial practice of the deceased.

In 1868, the French naturalist Louis Lartet (1840-1899) carried out excavations in the Cro-Magnon site where identified, in addition to specific glacial fauna remains and artefacts of bone and flint, remains of five human skeletons presenting red ochre and necklaces made of seashells.<sup>11</sup> At the session held in the same year at The Society of Anthropology of Paris,<sup>12</sup> Lartet described the five incomplete skeletons located at the bottom of the cave and the associated inventory.<sup>13</sup> The circumstances of this discovery determined Lartet to believe that the dead were intentionally deposited in a certain part of the cave during a ceremonial burial.

At the opposite side, having biological evolutionism as foundation, the anthropologist Gabriel de Mortillet (1821-1898) considered that the Palaeolithic man did not qualify for the mastery of complex symbolic activities such as rituals and religion.<sup>14</sup> He contradicted the intentionality of the burials concluding that the individual found in Laugerie-Basse was the

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<sup>8</sup> Haller 1971, 4.

<sup>9</sup> See Linnaeus 1758, 20-22.

<sup>10</sup> See Fluehr-Lobban 2006, 138-145.

<sup>11</sup> Lartet 1868a.

<sup>12</sup> *Société d'anthropologie de Paris*.

<sup>13</sup> Lartet calls the artifacts that make up the inventory "les accessoires de cette sépulture" (Lartet 1868b, 141).

<sup>14</sup> "Quaternary man lived in peace, entirely destitute of religious ideas" (Mortillet 1885, 136).

victim of a landslide<sup>15</sup> and the one from Raymonden a case of drowning, despite his crouched position.

The approach and perspectives proposed by de Mortillet must be analysed taking into account his background and personal convictions, either political or philosophical.<sup>16</sup> Throughout his entire life, de Mortillet opposed the idea of the existence of religious beliefs during the Palaeolithic. Politically, the French anthropologist was a convinced republican with a conspicuous anti-clerical attitude.<sup>17</sup> As a prehistorian, he adhered to evolutionism, both in biological and cultural perspectives, a belief that prompted him to speak out against all forms of spirituality linked with human origins.

This view was shared by another important French prehistorian of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – Émile Cartailhac, de Mortillet's student – who proved to be less rigid than his professor, willing to change his opinion in the advent of new evidence refuting his initial position. In 1886, after studying human remains from numerous archaeological sites, Cartailhac supported the existence of some clearly defined Palaeolithic burials, noting that the skeleton had been the subject of a mysterious attention among the living, the body of the deceased being adorned with ornaments, sprinkled with red ochre and perhaps hidden under a layer of earth and ashes.<sup>18</sup> Three years later, in his *La France Préhistorique d'après les sépultures et les monuments*, Cartailhac wrote a chapter entitled *Le cult des morts dans les caverns et les stations quaternaires*, an overview of the findings, analysing in detail the position of individuals and noting that in most cases they are presented in anatomical connection. One of the conclusions is worth remembering: we see traces of similar funeral rites of our primitive ancestors in all the discoveries attributed to the “reindeer age”.<sup>19</sup>

### **The buried body as a bearer of material culture**

If the anthropological study of human remains was heavily focused on sharp measurements, at the same time archaeology sought to formulate a discourse about the material culture whose carrier was the deceased individual. As regards the British case, for Llewellyn Jewitt the study of burial mounds in Britain is useful as it provides the most

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<sup>15</sup> “Nous avons devant nous les restes d’une victime de l’éboulement sans aucun doute. Elle avait été renversée sur le foyer et s’était en vain repliée pour éviter la chute des rochers.” (Masséat *et al.* 1872, 227).

<sup>16</sup> For a broad discussion on French anthropology in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and ideology see Chapter 3 (“Scientific Materialism and the Public Response”) from Hecht 2012, 91-134.

<sup>17</sup> Since he was a student he felt attracted by radical policies, remaining faithful to socialism his entire life.

<sup>18</sup> Cartailhac 1886.

<sup>19</sup> Cartailhac 1903, 111.

information about the art, habits and occupations of the earliest inhabitants of these areas.<sup>20</sup> At the same time they constitute an important source for the construction of chronological succession of the races that existed in the past. The author notes that since ancient times and regardless of race, people showed a “peculiar care” for the graves. Through careful examination and comparison of the elements that make up the funerary inventory, the historian-archaeologist can retrieve data sets that enable him to formulate theories and also to build up flawless historical structures.

The historical archaeology practiced by Jewitt and by other British archaeologists who carried out excavations in funerary contexts (like John Mortimer<sup>21</sup> or William Borlase<sup>22</sup>) it was anchored in a strict empiricism, holding an honourable position among the inductive sciences and having the specific purpose to provide ancillary information to the overall vision of the historian, whose mission remains the most important.

As one can notice, in the period that has been discussed until now (the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) we can speak of the existence of a funerary archaeology in its early stage, when the main objective was represented neither by reflections on the mortuary practices, nor on continuity, particularities and variability in a given area. The “hotspot” of this approach was represented by the material culture, funerary inventories, and its thorough description and typological classification. The anthropological research was based on anthropometry procedures, the main goal being that of identifying and fitting the individual within some racial typologies. By corroborating information coming from two directions, archaeology and anthropology, it was meant to develop a chronological sequence of races in a given space, a discourse often built following the “initial race (subsequently dominated) – invasive race – dominant race” system.

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<sup>20</sup> Jewitt 1870, 1.

<sup>21</sup> John Mortimer (1825-1911), antiquarian archaeologist and maize merchant, responsible for digging interventions in numerous burial mounds from Yorkshire region, published in 1905 in his *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*. It is considered one of the first archaeologists to conduct rescue excavations who understood that much archaeological material was destroyed by changes in farming methods, particularly because of intensive plowing (Harrison 2009).

<sup>22</sup> William Copeland Borlase (1848-1899), published in 1872 his work *Nænia Cornubiæ: a descriptive essay, illustrative of the sepulchres and funereal customs of the early inhabitants of the county of Cornwall*, with a suggestive title for the descriptive character of the book.

### **André Leroi-Gourhan and the "paradigmatic rupture": bringing the body at the centre of the research project**

Leroi-Gourhan's archaeology, a "visionary attempt to reconstruct the intimate details of prehistoric life, especially within meticulously excavated, recorded and analysed sites",<sup>23</sup> represents a domain that integrates research applications in the field of natural sciences, cultural anthropology and the humanities. André Leroi-Gourhan's name is linked to the development of anthropology and archaeology on multiple levels. One can speak primarily of the development of actual excavation techniques, focusing on archaeological site structure, spatial analysis, detailed mapping and comparative study.

One of the main innovations promoted by the French anthropologist was favouring synchrony within his methods of excavation. The excavation axis changes by ninety degrees and the horizontal intervention into the surface replaces the vertical one. Along with this, the perspective is also changing, from a diachronic one, capturing the evolution from one stage to another, to a synchronic one, which allows observation and analysis of a surface and its internal relations.<sup>24</sup>

As it has been seen, the implications of the osteological analysis in shaping the archaeological discourse were reduced, mainly because of its restrictive primary objective, namely typological classification. From this point of view, there is a major change within funerary archaeology starting with the excavations at Mournouards in 1958 and with the publication of the results four years later, under the coordination of Leroi-Gourhan.<sup>25</sup> The analysis of human remains occupies an important role, as an integral part of the study together with the analysis of material culture elements.

After the broad presentation of the site itself and the presentation and analysis of flint discoveries, of discoveries belonging to the antler material industry and of the adornments, the next section, "Demography", concerns with the (statistical) analysis of the osteological material found within the hypogeal structure. The analysis requires a well-established methodology, due to the complexity and variety of discoveries: singular, erratic pieces were identified, as well as bodies in anatomical connexion, and a majority of individuals which seemed to follow some topographical order.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ellis 2000, 330.

<sup>24</sup> Michelson 1986.

<sup>25</sup> Leroi-Gourhan *et al.* 1962.

<sup>26</sup> Leroi-Gourhan *et al.* 1962, 50.



Another element of interest is the conservation status of the skeletons, initially expressed through quantitative assessments (e.g. complete conservation, only secondary bones are affected, damaged long bones) and then by detailed tables with percentages (as expected, long bones preserved in high percentages: humerus, radius, femur, tibia preserved in a percentage of over 87%).<sup>27</sup> Another line of analysis is that of bone deformations (pathological conditions), having either a natural aetiology (the cause being diseases like osteoporosis or rheumatism, or simply ageing), or a “cultural” one (as a result of the repetition of certain movements).

The excavations at Mournouards are of great interest since this research represents a paradigmatic shift from the previous approaches by bringing into focus the deceased bodies around which the entire discourse is built. In French literature after Mournouards, the concerns with the interpretation of funerary rituals are characterized by an emphasis on detailed observation of anatomical elements disposal as a main objective for taphonomic studies. Considering the fact that most human skeletons are found in funerary contexts, therefore as a result of some cultural activities, both the natural and cultural agents which modified the context should be taken into consideration, within a taphonomic perspective.<sup>28</sup>

Beginning with the 60s, but especially in the eighth decade of the last century, a major paradigm shift in anthropology and, by default, in archaeology is thus evident. It refers to how human skeletons are seen within the research as a whole: from the status of peripheral elements (to which an anthropological study was dedicated, focused on measurements and classifications, forming an appendix in the publication itself) to bringing them to the heart of the research by developing thorough excavation and analysis methods.

### **Henri Duday and archaeothanatology: the human body as *la raison d'être* of the funerary complex**

This emphasis on observation was taken to another level by the efforts of the French school transforming it into a true technique called *anthropologie de terrain* (burial anthropology or field anthropology in Anglophone terminology). The beginnings of this method could be identified in Leroi-Gourhan's approach, but the merits for transforming it

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<sup>27</sup> See Leroi-Gourhan *et al.* 1962, fig. 25, 25 bis, 26, 26 bis and 27 for graphs and tables analyzing the degree of conservation on various criteria such as anatomical elements or age groups.

<sup>28</sup> Bonnicksen and Sorg 1987.

into a complex, systematic, true research as it is until today, belong to the French group of anthropologists formed by Jean Leclerc, Claude Masset and Henri Duday.

In the study of funerary behaviour, the focus is on the reconstruction of the original ritual context in which the deceased was integrated with elements of material culture. The concept of *archaeothanatology* proposed by Duday constitutes the basis of this reconstruction attempt. His approach aims mainly to reconstruct past actions and behaviours of individuals within funerary contexts, being particularly preoccupied by aspects such as the architecture<sup>29</sup> of the funerary complex, the cultural factors that determined the body position within the complex, however closely related with taphonomic analysis through which the latest knowledge regarding archaeological complex formation processes and the decomposition of the body of the deceased after deposition are applied.<sup>30</sup>

In Duday's interpretation, the funerary archaeology should be focused on the deceased person's body, given the fact that no one buried only a fibula or a vessel, but a person who is the bearer of these elements of material culture. The deceased is also the central element underlying the *raison d'être* of the grave, around which the whole set of funerary practices is organized.<sup>31</sup> Duday notes that the anthropologist has no real perception of archaeological issues, the remains of the deceased being excluded from this cause from an overall assessment of the burial complex. Thus the human bone remains are treated as separate items thereby avoiding an overall perspective. Such research often occurs in the form of an Appendix dissociated from archaeological reflection.<sup>32</sup>

The main purpose of archaeology is to reconstruct the original state of the initial deposit by analysing the remains identified during the archaeological excavations. It is necessary to apply a reconstitution of the process of body decomposition and to examine it in reverse, to distinguish between natural processes and processes that have occurred as a result of the expressed desire of individuals. Recent developments in physical anthropology and archaeology indicate that funerals should be viewed from the perspective of archaeological dynamic entities.<sup>33</sup>

As it was previously mentioned, the major goal of funerary archaeology is that of shaping a discourse on the funerary rituals, defined as intentional gestures. But this

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<sup>29</sup> By architecture I understand here the way something is made or composed, a simple spatial planning.

<sup>30</sup> Duday 1995; Duday 2005; Duday and Masset 1987; Duday *et al.* 1990.

<sup>31</sup> "[Le cadavre] fut sans aucun doute la raison d'être de la tombe et l'élément central en fonction et autour duquel se sont ordonnées les pratiques mortuaires." (Duday 1995).

<sup>32</sup> Duday 2005, 26.

<sup>33</sup> Nilsson-Stutz 2005-2006.

intentionality is often quite difficult to prove<sup>34</sup> and also made more difficult by the lack of written sources complementing archaeological material. It is important to attempt to identify behaviours through the analysis of each funerary complex. Such behaviours might relate, according to Duday,<sup>35</sup> to preparatory practices prior to disposal, to the actual burial practices (*pratiques sépulcrales* – identifiable in the architecture of the tomb, in the position of the deceased and in that of the elements of the funerary inventory within the complex), and, finally, to postdepositional practices (*pratiques post-sépulcrales* - which may relate to the opening of the tomb, the handling of the remains and their reburial).

Archaeoethanatology has a detailed and analytical character, sought to identify the processes leading to the formation of the realities from the archaeological register, as it is revealed at the time of the excavation. Trying to observe, on one hand, which of these processes is intentional, being or not part of a funerary program or ideology (treatment and position of the body, manipulations during or after the moment of deposition etc.), and, on the other hand, which process is natural (effects of decomposition, erosions, bioturbation, effects due to specific properties of the soil).<sup>36</sup>

Nilsson Stutz observes that archaeoethanatology has been successful as an effective tool for archaeological interventions and in the analysis of the discoveries from funerary contexts, and she suggests that this method can be used in a successful combination with two central theoretical approaches within burial archaeology.<sup>37</sup> The first one is based on considerations regarding the processes of decomposition and integrates these processes into a basic understanding of the characteristics of the funerals. Such an approach allows the perception of the deceased in a new archaeological perspective, enabling the visualization of materiality and corporeality of death. The second approach starts with the basic principle of archaeoethanatology – focusing on the treatment of the bodies – that provides information about burial practices from the past. Nilsson Stutz notes that it can be connected to the body and embodiment theories coming from cultural anthropology influenced by the phenomenological approach.

The semiotic perspective on the body is replaced in archaeology by an analysis of the bodies who once lived in the past, starting with the commonly accepted hypothesis according

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<sup>34</sup> Duday *et al.* 1990, 30.

<sup>35</sup> Duday *et al.* 1990, 30.

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed analysis of soil effects on the taphonomic process, I recommend the work of Mark Tibbett and David O. Carter, *Soil Analysis in Forensic Taphonomy*, where the burial environment is presented as the host of a variety of interrelated processes of chemical, physical and biological nature that are influenced by the presence of the body and its subsequent degradation.

<sup>37</sup> Nilsson Stutz 2008, 22.

to which the social understanding of the body was created and reproduced by the association with elements of material culture. In general, the archaeology views the body from two major perspectives. The first one relates to body as a *scene of display* characterized by the concern for the social construction of the body – seen as the main agent for the individualization process of a person. The body is a scene of display revealing personal affiliations, conscious or not, through voluntary or involuntary manipulation of the body.<sup>38</sup> Going beyond mere materiality of the body, this perspective suggests a body built through discourse, a vehicle for the articulation of social norms. The second perspective examines the body as artefact. Meskell adopts this view when she describes the archaeologist's intellectual projects promoting the phenomenological approach with an emphasis on experience and materiality of the body.<sup>39</sup>

As in the case of landscape archaeology, the body is considered neutral, but it has a dynamic character. From the moment of death, the body goes through a series of processes turning it into a corpse. Therefore, the body has also a liminal character, being no longer neither nature nor culture, neither object nor subject. The funerary rituals relate not only to the emotional and social crisis provoked by the event of death, but also to the materiality of death represented by the corpse itself. Death is a transition reflected by the new aspects of the body emerging after death and by funerary practices that do not relate directly to the individual in his life.

## Conclusions

Through the summary of the two facets of field anthropology – excavation strategy and theoretical framework of analysis – I tried to emphasize the transdisciplinary nature of such an approach. Therefore, archaeoethanatology is a method of excavation, observation and recording of archaeological discoveries, with an analytical and detailed character, forming at the same time the foundation for the development of theoretical discussion stakes in the area of ritual theory as practice and body theories, such as those appearing in the research of Nilsson Stutz. Funerary archaeology is a field in which such mixed solutions have proven quite successful, since it was a constant point of interest for both physical anthropology and cultural anthropology.

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<sup>38</sup> White 2005.

<sup>39</sup> Meskell 2000.

It is the duty of archaeology as the discipline that transcends the traditional boundaries established between social sciences, humanities and natural sciences to integrate in its research an approach that combines the perspectives discussed above. Through an analysis of the vision of the past, we can see that this is part of a permanent renewal trend (even if this process is slower than in other areas), succeeding to keep up, to adopt and integrate into its own universe concepts, ideas and visions coming from other sciences of man.

This situation is characteristic for the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a period witnessing a reorganization of knowledge, in terms of developing research with certain aims involving numerous specialists in various fields. Because of the interest of archaeology in the total human past, it has become an essential condition for archaeologists to ensure that their discoveries and results are consolidated into wider spheres of scientific knowledge. Traditionally, it was considered that the strength of a scientific discipline lies in its purity and the ability to integrate, in its distinctiveness. From the second half of the last century, in the context of the postmodern turn and the re-assessments on the “permeability of borders”,<sup>40</sup> a contrasting opinion argues that the strength of disciplines lies in their richness, their plurality and in their flexible character. Whether we talk about Clifford Geertz<sup>41</sup> in anthropology or about Neil Smelser in the case of sociology, they were advocates of such an attitude.

However, all interdisciplinary approaches found their roots in a sense of unity and synthesis based on a convergent common epistemology. Among the main objectives animating the interdisciplinary approaches, one can include an attempt to answer complex questions, addressing general issues, solving problems that lie beyond the scope of any discipline taken alone, and not least to explore disciplinary and professional relationships.

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<sup>40</sup> Julie Thompson Klein identifies six key elements that lead to this permeability: the epistemological structure and cognitive orientation of discipline; the borrowing of instruments methods, concepts and theories; the removal of intellectual issues, social and technological from a strict and exclusive disciplinary concentration; the current complexity of disciplinary research; the relations with neighboring disciplines; the process of redefining what is considered intrinsic and extrinsic in a specific discipline. (Thompson Klein 1996, 38)

<sup>41</sup> Geertz notes that in order to “encounter humanity face to face”, it is necessary to develop “a concern with the particular, the circumstantial, the concrete, but a concern organized and directed in terms of...analyses of physical evolution, of the functioning of the nervous system, of social organization, of psychological process, of cultural patterning, and so on, and, most especially, in terms of the interplay among them.” (Geertz 1973, 53).

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# PROPORTION AND DISPROPORTION IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ART

## - THE REIGN OF AMENHOTEP IV/ AKHENATEN

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### Abstract:

During the New Kingdom (1550-1069) - a prosperous time for the ancient Egyptian monarchy, the reign of the pharaoh Amenhotep IV brings upon the traditional and conservatory society revolutionary changes that will led the ruler to be recognized in historiography as the Heretic King.<sup>1</sup> Not only he revised the religious beliefs by promoting the sun disk Aten against the Theban god Amon, but he also moved the capital of Egypt to a new-build city - Akhet-aten and made changes in various domains such as art, architecture, literature, etc. At the end of the reign, his name was erased from public monuments and suffered a process of damnatio-memoriae. This article presents and briefly discusses the changes in the well established canons of proportions in the Ancient Egyptian art during the reign Amenhotep IV, with an included overview of the evolution of art from the Old Kingdom to the Amarna epoch, New Kingdom.

**Keywords:** art, grid system, revolution, Amarna, Atenism

It was during the first years of the 19th century when scholars such as Jean Francois Champollion, J. Gardner Wilkinson, Nestor l'Hote discovered remains of an ancient site and, most importantly, depictions of a pharaoh that neither any ancient Egyptian chronology, nor Manetho's work, *Aegyptiaca*, had mentioned before. The reliefs illustrating the new pharaoh were so unique and unfamiliar with the Egyptian art customs, that most of the specialists considered him a woman and it was not until November 1843 when Karl Richard Lepsius observed in a letter to a friend that the unknown figure was actually of a male.<sup>2</sup> The pharaoh and his reign were so intriguing, that Wilkinson believed he had a foreign origin and did not follow the Egyptian religion:

They may, however, have been later invaders, and there is reason to believe that they made a change in the religion... which would account for the erasure of their names. From their features it is evident they were not Egyptians; their omission in the list of kings, the erasure of their names, the destruction of their monuments, and the abject submission they required, prove them to have been looked on with hatred in the

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<sup>1</sup> Redford, 1984.

<sup>2</sup> Hornung 1995, 3.



country; and the peculiar mode of worshipping and representing the Sun argues that their religion differed from the Egyptian.<sup>3</sup>

From this moment onward, the newly discovered pharaoh – identified as Amenhotep IV, his wife – Nefertiti and his capital – Akhet-Aten became one of the most studied times of the Egyptian antiquity. In 1922, the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamon by Howard Carter brought even more popularity to the end of the 18th Dynasty. In his research “Akhenaten – History, fantasy and ancient Egypt”, Dominic Montserrat uses expressions such as *Amarnautopia* and *Amarnamania* to describe the interest and fascination that capted the European and American societies towards the royal couple and their lifestyle: Akhenaten (new name adopted by the pharaoh around the year 5 of his reign) and Nefertiti are often depicted in intimate scenes or participating together in different activities: adoring Aten, meeting subjects and dividing them goods, playing with their daughters, etc.

The realism or naturalism of the sculptures and reliefs of the pharaoh were striking features of a reign that everybody was interested in. Amenhotep IV was very tall, with elongated face, prominent cheekbones and round chin, large ears, thick lips, narrow shoulders and waist, small torso, dropping belly, large buttocks and slim calves. The androgynous body type of the pharaoh was the first detail that showed a discontinuity between the traditional canons of proportions and depictions of his ancestors used until then in the Egyptian art. The unique physique of the pharaoh led Egyptologists and scholars to different interpretations.

To Arthur Weigall and Sigmund Freud, Amenhotep IV was considered to have been ignored in his childhood by his father – Amenhotep III, which led him to spend most of his time with his mother, queen Tiye and the ladies harem (the Oedip complex). The lack of depictions of the young prince Amenhotep made others to think he was suffering from a genetic disease that affected his appearance. Amenhotep IV is suspected to have been suffering of adolescent gynecomastia (endocrinological disorder), epilepsy, fragile X Syndrome (genetic condition that causes intellectual disability and physical changes), Frohlich syndrome (also known as adiposogenital dystrophy is a childhood metabolic/glandular disorder)<sup>4</sup>, Marfan syndrome (rare hereditary connective tissue disorder)<sup>5</sup>, hydrocephaly. However, recent DNA investigations of the mummy of Amenhotep

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<sup>3</sup> Wilkinson 1847, 307.

<sup>4</sup> “Frohlich’s syndrome”, 1998.

<sup>5</sup> “Marfan syndrome”, 2007.

III and Tutankhamon revealed no evidence of a genetic disorder. The CT scans ran over the mummy of Amenhotep IV in 2010 determined only that “he suffered from a cleft plate and scoliosis.”<sup>6</sup> Regarding the issue of first years of the pharaoh, Dominic Montserrat argues:

This lack of evidence for Akhenaten’s early life is quite usual, because Egyptian princes tended to leave little mark before they became pharaoh. Yet biographers continue to propose that Akhenaten’s invisibility on his father’s monuments is because he was intentionally kept in the background because of a congenital ailment that made him hideous to behold.<sup>7</sup>



Figure 1 (left). Colossus of Akhenaten. Cairo Museum, Inv.-No. JE 49 529.



Figure 2 (right). Limestone of Akhenaten, Nefertiti and daughters. Berlin Museum, Germany, Inv.-No. 14145.

According to Erik Hornung, some of the modern scholars have stated that Akhenaten’s representations main purpose was to shock, “setting his repulsive ugliness in deliberate contrast to the beauty of the traditional art.”<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, Egyptologists such

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<sup>6</sup> Hawass 2010, 645.

<sup>7</sup> Montserrat 2000, 31-32.

<sup>8</sup> Hornung 1995, 43.

as Cyril Aldred and Donald Redford, strongly believe that “Akhenaten’s iconography reflects a real-life physical difference rather than expressing a theology.”<sup>9</sup>

The reign of Amenhotep IV was rapidly erased from the collective memory: after his death, the pharaoh’s images were damaged and his capital abandoned. His son, Tutankhamon, returned to Thebes, re-establishing the connections with the traditional religion and sun cult of Amon at Karnak temple. At the end of the 18th Dynasty, one question arises: why were the changes effected by Amenhotep IV received with such negative response by the ancient Egyptians and also, why were the modern scholars so shocked by the pharaoh’s iconography? Is this a singular moment in the history? Similar examples can be observed throughout the epochs, especially regarding art. It is well known that people and societies need time to adapt to new changes. This can be easily explained by observing Europeans reaction to the new trends developed in art from the 19th onward. Art-movements such as impressionism, expressionism, surrealism, were skeptically received because they interfered with the canons universally accepted. The same pattern can be found in the ancient times of Egypt. The canons established since the Old Kingdom were accepted and used by all pharaohs, developing a continuity process that defines the ancient Egyptian society:

What is striking about the form of this history is its remarkable pattern of disruption and continuity, departure and return. The so-called kingdoms not only succeed each other after interim periods of decline, they make connections to each other.<sup>10</sup>

Donald Redford explains this phenomenon as a form of legitimacy: “The deliberate copying of Old Kingdom models was, in part, the result of a direct attempt by the rulers to promote themselves as legitimate heirs of earlier kings and to recapture their absolute power.”<sup>11</sup> The continuity between the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms is also considered one of the main sustainers of the pharaohs’ legacy.

### **What were the canons used in the ancient Egyptian art?**

The Old Kingdom (2686-2125) was the trendsetter in matter of art, whether we refer to reliefs or sculpture – two of the most important form of artistic expression. However, the

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<sup>9</sup> Montserrat 2000, 47.

<sup>10</sup> Assmann 2002, 20.

<sup>11</sup> Freed 2001, 131.

standard for relief representations of humans was established during the first Dynasty (3000-2890), in reign of Narmer – the first pharaoh of the unified Egypt.<sup>12</sup> In the Narmer Palette the king is the largest person, depicted smiting the enemies. The profile and frontal view of the pharaoh are combined, while the king is represented from the right – the dominant orientation, with his left foot forward.<sup>13</sup> The king's image sent a powerful message to the viewer: he is an absolute ruler, having physical strength (strong muscles of forearms and legs), and also military prerogatives; his reign is prosperous and it will bring stability to the monarchy. This is an important characteristic of the Ancient Egyptian art: it was never made for aesthetic purposes, but was in fact primarily functional: "to make manifest the position of the ruler in Egyptian society. The king was the key element of the society because of his centrality to Egyptian ideology and religion."<sup>14</sup>

During the Old Kingdom the majority of the statues were part of the projects for the noble and royal funerary complex.<sup>15</sup> Art was being ruled over by religion: "It was royal and religious functions of art that first created the official style, and also dictated its continuity."<sup>16</sup> The afterlife played a very important role in the ancient Egyptian thought: as a consequence, pharaohs chose a standard image to represent them for eternity. Regardless the time the statue was made, the pharaohs and queens were represented young, without any marks of their actual age, physical injuries or illness. Also, being at the top of the Egyptian society, the pharaoh was not an individual - he was considered divine, empowered by the gods who protected his reign: "The ruling pharaoh was the image of a god on earth; the statue embodied this fact and therefore legitimized the ruler's exalted status."<sup>17</sup>

The sculpture was rigorously following principles such as: the concept of frontality, idealizing, lack of expressivity, static representations. Most common were the figures represented seated, followed by standing representations. The statues were represented in natural dimension or on a larger scale. Women representations were outnumbered by those of men and the most frequent images of females were those of goddesses and queens (often accompanied by the pharaoh).

Illustrative for the Old Kingdom art are the statues of Djoser (3rd Dynasty) and Menkaure (4th Dynasty). Djoser is represented seated - a statue of natural dimensions, with his right hand on his chest and left hand on his knees. On his head, the pharaoh wears the

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<sup>12</sup> Cihó 2008, 128.

<sup>13</sup> Freed 2001, 130.

<sup>14</sup> Grzymski 1999, 51.

<sup>15</sup> Josephson 2015, 62.

<sup>16</sup> Morkot 2005, 160.

<sup>17</sup> Grzymski 1999, 51.

*nemes* headdress and under his chin one can see the ceremonial beard. Menkaure is represented in standing position – left foot forward, accompanied by a queen, who holds her hand around the king’s waist. Her gesture has only association purposes “but one that conveys no emotional attachment: faces gaze directly ahead betraying no feelings. Both figures show the Egyptian ideal body form, similar to that seen in relief on the Narmer palette.”<sup>18</sup> The pharaoh has a very athletic body, with broad shoulders and slim waist, prominent pectoral muscles and muscular calves. In contrast with the pharaoh’s physique, the queen is shorter; she has a thin body, smaller shoulders and visible female parts, such as breasts and pubic triangle.

Both Djoser and Menkaure have immobile and impassive figures. The rigid face expression and muscular body are features of the Old Kingdom sculpture that will be continuously adopted and reinterpreted by the successors.



Figure 3 (left). Djoser, King. Painted limestone. Cairo Museum, Inv.-No. JE 49158.

Figure 4 (right). Menkaure and his queen. Greywacke. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv.-No. 11.1738.

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<sup>18</sup> Freed 2001, 130.

Either in reliefs or sculptures, the ancient Egyptian pharaohs will always use their ancestors heritage to legitimate themselves as rulers who kept the peace in the kingdom, expanded the borders through wars (with the blessings of gods) or unified Egypt, just as Narmer did at the beginning of the Egyptian monarchy. Robert Morkot underlines the importance of the pharaoh as defeater:

Most of these images of the pharaoh as conqueror are symbolic, rather than specific records of military actions. War may have brought about the unified state, and force – or the threat of force – remained a central element in its continuity.<sup>19</sup>

The First Intermediate Period divided Egypt between two centers of power: Heracleopolis and Thebes. It was Mentuhotep II who unified the territories and brought stability for the country, reigning for over 46 years.<sup>20</sup> At Ramesseum, cultic scenes depict the statue of Mentuhotep placed between those of Narmer (first Dynasty) and Iahmes I (founder of the 18th Dynasty, New Kingdom)<sup>21</sup> during the celebration of the god Min.

In the Middle Kingdom the sculpture was inspired from the canons established during the Old Kingdom, but one can also observe changes and adaptations. A short breakout from the traditional canons happened during the reign of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, when the physical features of the face were highly realistic: “deep-set, heavy-lidded eyes, frown lines between the brows, a series of diagonal furrows mark the sunken cheeks”<sup>22</sup> – a trend labelled as extreme iconography or “extraordinary individualization”<sup>23</sup>, as Laboury suggests. The severe expression of the face is interpreted as a public message: the pharaohs wanted to be regarded as mature rulers, with experience, but also suggested their divine status and their immortality. Senwosret’s public propaganda also included placing statues of him in temples of his predecessors, such as Mentuhotep II.<sup>24</sup> The body, in both 12th and 13th Dynasties, is idealized and well sculpted.

After the rule of the Hyksos in the Delta during the Second Intermediate Period, Egypt is unified through war by Ahmose, the founder of the eighteenth Dynasty. This triumphant Thutmosid Dynasty promoted an idealized art of the pharaohs, with colossal statues, athletic bodies, almond-shaped eyes, constant half smile, broad shoulders and muscular might:

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<sup>19</sup> Morkot 2005, 160.

<sup>20</sup> Cihó 2008, 120.

<sup>21</sup> Cihó 2008, 120.

<sup>22</sup> Russman 1983-1984, 16.

<sup>23</sup> Laboury 2010, 5.

<sup>24</sup> Freed 2010, 901.

The homogeneity of the image that characterizes the art of the Thutmosid era, and that achievement was made possible by the use of standardized production techniques, such as grids, to proportion figures.<sup>25</sup>

The squared grid-system used by the Egyptians was developed during the Middle Kingdom. However, it was the Old Kingdom's vertical and horizontal guidelines that served as example for the 11th and 12th Dynasties elaborated system. The grid-system was used for both reliefs and sculpture:

Grids were used for two-dimensional decoration in tomb chapels, royal tombs and temples. Evidence suggests that grids were also employed in the initial stage of stone statue production: front, back, and both side views of the statue were sketched on a grid.<sup>26</sup>

The guidelines created in the Old Kingdom were used as follows: a horizontal line ran through the ear and divided the figure in half, while eight horizontal lines ran through key points of the body such as: the hairline, the junction between neck and shoulders, the armpits, the elbow, the lower border of the buttocks, the knee, the middle of the calf.<sup>27</sup> In this way, as Gay Robins observes, a figure was divided in three equal parts using the hairline, the elbow and the knee as key points.<sup>28</sup>

The new system developed in the Middle Kingdom was using eighteen squares from soles of the feet (counted as line 0) to the hairline (counted as line 18), following an exact order:

Line 6 through the knees, line 9 through or near the lower edge of the buttocks, line 11 through or near the navel and small of the back, line 12 through or near the bottom of the rib cage and the elbow of the hanging arm, line 14 through or near the nipple, line 16 through or near the junction of the neck and shoulders, line 17 through or near the bottom of the nose.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Bryan 2010, 919.

<sup>26</sup> Robins 2001, 68.

<sup>27</sup> Robins 2001, 68.

<sup>28</sup> Peck 1999, 205.

<sup>29</sup> Peck 1999, 205.

The 18th Dynasty grid-system was slightly modified – the small of the back was enlarged with a square higher, extending the standard proportions to 19 lines. Also, new changes to the traditional art began with the reign of Amenhotep III, father of Akhenaten. While his prosperous rule was mostly known for colossal statues, life-sized stone statuary and divine images of the pharaoh, there are also examples of a new realistic trend: “Most likely during the final years of his life, the king is shown in a less than ideal manner, with pudgy cheeks, flaccid breasts, and a protruding belly – decidedly overweight.”<sup>30</sup> Another innovation was the frequent presence of the royal females in the statuary or relief art, such as the pharaoh’s mother, or Tiye, his queen: “...in particular, striding queen and princess statues appear for the first time, along with standing images of daughters as part of royal family.”<sup>31</sup>

After Amenhotep’s III long reign of 38 years, it was Amenhotep IV who embraced his father’s both religious and artistic ideas and used them in a way that disturbed the ancient Egyptian traditions. The changes can be observed from his first years, when under the pharaoh’s command five temples were built at Karnak, Thebes. First of all, what is striking is that the god Amun – The Hidden One, is replaced with another sun deity, “a new god with a distinct personality who is presented, against convention, in the manner of a king.”<sup>32</sup> Aten’s name is enclosed in cartouches – he is “The Living One, Re-Horus-of-the Double Horizon, who is exultantly active in the Horizon, in his name which is Illumination (=Shu) which is from the Solar Orb.”<sup>33</sup> All the new temples built at Karnak are dedicated to Aten: Per-Aten (“The House of Aten”), Gemet-pa-Aten (“Discovering the Aten”), Hut-benben (“The Mansion of the Benben”), Ruwed-menu (“Enduring are the Monuments of Aten continually”) and Teni-menu (“Distinguished are the Monuments of Aten continually”).<sup>34</sup> At Gemet-pa-Aten the first bizarre statues of the pharaoh were discovered by Maurice Pillet and Henri Chevrier: “the statues portray the king with a long narrow face and pointed jaw, with slender shoulders, but with hips like a woman, and one of the colossi appears to be androgynous.”<sup>35</sup> Regarding the asexual representations of the pharaoh, which scandalized the viewer, they can be interpreted as a correlation between the king and gods, such as Atum, Shu or Hapi. In the heliopolitan mythology Atum existed from the beginning, along with the primeval waters. He, who had both sexes, gave birth to the first couple of divinities, Shu and Tefnut. Because Atum was considered thus father of all creation, Amenhotep IV may have associated his

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<sup>30</sup> Freed 2001, 134.

<sup>31</sup> Bryan 2010, 927.

<sup>32</sup> Murnane 1995, 5.

<sup>33</sup> Murnane 1995, 5.

<sup>34</sup> Murnane 1995, 5.

<sup>35</sup> Hoffmeier 2015, 95.



prerogatives with those of Atum, becoming father of all Egyptian people, symbol of birth and rebirth. The pharaoh could also identify himself with Hapi – god of the Nile, of the annual flooding which brought fertility to the Egyptian land:

He (the king) was considered a divine provider of fertility and prosperity of Egypt, much like the androgynous Hapi, and like Aten <the father and mother of everything he has created>.<sup>36</sup>

During the reign of Amenhotep IV the art is often divided in two phases: the early Amarna art (Karnak statues or talatat representations) “which has been described as excessive, caricatural even grotesque”<sup>37</sup> and the art from the new capital, which appears to be more naturalistic. The decision to leave both Memphis and Thebes and move to a place specifically designed for the sun-disc Aten, the capital Akhet-Aten, brought new changes. From year 5, the pharaoh himself changed his name Amenhotep to Akhenaten: “One Effective on behalf of Aten or Illuminated Manifestation of Aten.”<sup>38</sup> The new religion was based on two concepts: the universality of the sun-disk and the pharaoh-centrism:

Aten – a universal symbol, visible in all countries, was evidently regarded as a particularly appropriate manifestation of imperial power – the solar manifestation with which the pharaoh, in death, traditionally became one. And to promote the Aten as the empire’s new, universal god, albeit tentatively, was to promote the status of kingship itself.<sup>39</sup>

Along the king’s figure is also portrayed his companion, Queen Nefertiti. Her important role is evidenced from the very beginning, as shown at the Hut-benben temple in Karnak, where the queen and first daughter – Meritaten are “shown exclusively as celebrants in cultic activities.”<sup>40</sup> Also on the road decorated with sphinxes that lead to the Karnak temple from the south, “Akhenaten and Nefertiti originally altered as sphinxes.”<sup>41</sup> As Dorothea Arnold observes, the representations of Nefertiti “were almost as omnipresent as those of her

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<sup>36</sup> Laboury 2011, 11.

<sup>37</sup> Laboury 2011, 11.

<sup>38</sup> Murnane 1995, 7.

<sup>39</sup> Reeves 2001, 51.

<sup>40</sup> Hoffmeier 2015, 104.

<sup>41</sup> Hornung 1995, 36.

husband in the temples of the Aten at Karnak.”<sup>42</sup> Before the move to Akhet-Aten, the queen received the following extension to her titulary: “nfr-nfrw itn – Most beautiful one of the Aten.”<sup>43</sup> In the new capital, Neferiti is present in many scenes along her husband, being active in domains such as politics, foreign affairs, administrative and religious matters. Her figure appears on every boundary stela surrounding the capital’s territory, on the walls of the temples and she even meets the people with Akhenaten, as seen in one relief scene in general Ramose’s tomb where the royal couple salutes the subjects from the Window of Appearance. Erik Hornung explains:

Nefertiti’s role surpassed that of Teye. In group statues, she appears striding at the king’s right, which was highly unusual for a queen. She assisted the king in all his cultic activities, even smiting of the enemies, and she herself was even depicted in this triumphal pose.<sup>44</sup>

An important aspect of the Amarna art was its intimacy, the close relationship between the husband and wife, between royal couple and their daughters, but also other family members (queen Teye, Mudjemet – Nefertiti’s sister). Akhenaten and Nefertiti are, in a painted limestone, holding hands and in one fragment she even sits on his lap.<sup>45</sup> By far, the most frequent representations of the children are those of the first daughter, Meretaten. She is portrayed along with her sisters following the parents in the religious ceremonies and offering scenes. She is also the closest-nearest to her father:

On a domestic stela she appears as a baby in the king’s arms as he lifts her up and kisses her. On another stela and a wall relief she receives an earring from his hands, and in an unfinished group sculpture she is most probably the young woman who Akhenaten kisses.<sup>46</sup>

Regarding the proportions of the bodies, the grid-system changed: the traditional 18 square-grid was replaced with a 20 square-grid due to the elongated bodies of the royal couple, especially the pharaoh’s: “two extra squares were inserted at the chest, between the

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<sup>42</sup> Arnold 1996, 17.

<sup>43</sup> Hoffmeier 2015, 104.

<sup>44</sup> Hornung 1995, 36.

<sup>45</sup> Hornung 1995, 74.

<sup>46</sup> Arnold 1996, 11.

armpits and the navel, and also at the neck.”<sup>47</sup> It was also demonstrated that the head of the king and queen are quite similar, excepting the differences in hairstyle and accouterments.<sup>48</sup> A comparison between the profile of 3D-rendering of Nefertiti’s Berlin bust and 3D-rendering of plaster model head of Akhenaten, both found in the workshop of Thutmose, the royal sculptor at Akhet-Aten, led Rolf Krauss to observe that “from the bridge of the nose to the crown of the forehead, the faces are identical.”<sup>49</sup>

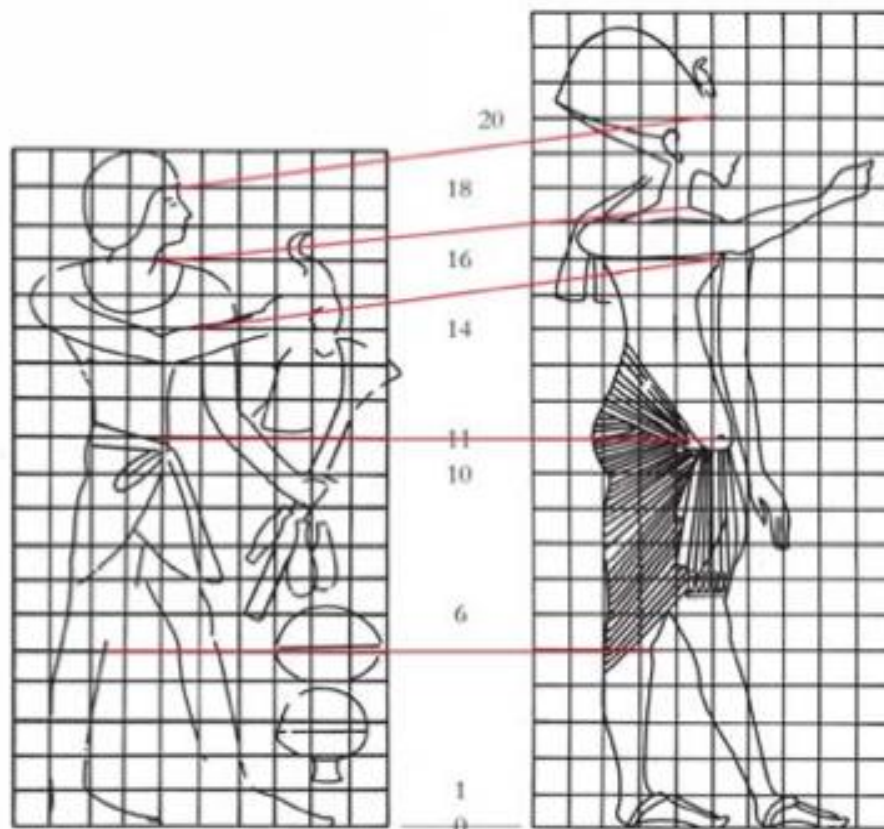


Figure 5. Traditional 18 square grid and Amarna 20 square grid (after Laboury 2011, 11)

The pharaoh-centrism promoted by Akhenaten’s vision explains, in part, the role of the pharaoh as the sole correspondent between the god Aten and people, his subjects. Akhenaten is the only one who knows the God because Aten revealed himself to the king and even spoke his commands. Akhenaten and Nefertiti now formed a new triad with Aten, the divinity being their father and they his children. The pharaoh’s ideas, often interpreted as a religious revolution, are today seen more as an act of enlightenment about the universe – Jan Assmann suggests a more appropriate expression – *cosmological discovery*: “the universal

<sup>47</sup> Laboury 2011, 11.

<sup>48</sup> Arnold 1996, 18.

<sup>49</sup> Laboury 2011, 11-12.

dependency of everything existing on the sun, on light and on time.”<sup>50</sup> However, very little ideas of this new vision survived at the end of the pharaoh’s reign and Egypt remembered this episode as a negative time, when the gods turned away their faces from the land.

Soon after the death of Akhenaten, his successors returned to the traditional customs that defined the ancient Egyptian world. Apart from this moment of disruption, the Egyptians “maintained a uniform style in their art and architecture across three thousand years.”<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Assmann, 2014, 68.

<sup>51</sup> Kemp, 2006, 1.

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# **L'IMAGE DE L'AUTRE DANS LA CONCEPTION NÉO-ASSYRIENNE – LA REPRÉSENTATION DE L'ENNEMI COMME SYMBOLE DU CHAOS ET DU MAL**

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## **Abstract:**

In the Assyrian Empire war is perceived as a factor of civilization and the Assyrians always define themselves in opposition with other populations. The geographic disposition of the Empire, inside the space called Mesopotamia, privileged the development of an antagonism towards the foreigner, due to the idea that the interior of the Empire is cultivated, well-structured, whereas the foreigners are uncultivated, savages, and chaotic.

Myths, epics, royal inscriptions, and iconography are all important media that enable the diffusion of this ideology. The combat myths and their iconography present, in a symbolic way, the royal idea that the strangers are bad, that they represent a grave danger, therefore they have to be exterminated by the Assyrian king, the human correspondent of the gods. The way the monsters are described in all these mythological compositions parallels the one that describe the strangers and enemies. The Assyrian palatial reliefs, and also the minor arts use this motif in a recurrent way. The image of the tortured and decapitated enemy becomes the symbol of his defeat, of the Otherness, but most importantly, the symbol of the victorious Assyrians.

**Mots-clés** - guerre, ennemi, mythologie, symbole, monstruosité.

**Key-words:** war, enemy, mythology, symbol, monstrousness.

## **Introduction**

Une particularité de la culture mésopotamienne est l'opposition entre la culture propre à l'empire assyrien et la méchanceté et la barbarie des étrangers, qui sont toujours perçus comme étant «en dehors de la norme».

Les rois assyriens construisent leur discours idéologique sur cet antagonisme, en faisant appel à toutes les sources possibles. Le style fort, cohérent et concordant, produit par l'état, n'est pas seulement l'expression de l'empire en croissance, mais il entraîne aussi une stratégie pour maintenir la mémoire de la conquête sur l'Autre, en même temps en le lui neutralisant, pour qu'il ne puisse jamais menacer l'Assyrie<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Bahrani 2008, 19; Feldman 2014, 80.

## **L'art mésopotamien: le symbole et le *šalmu***

Pour mieux comprendre la fonction de l'image de l'étranger, il faut, tout d'abord, souligner quelques aspects qui sont spécifiques à l'art Proche - Orientale, surtout à l'art Assyrien. L'art Mésopotamien s'inscrit dans une tradition orientale qui se caractérise par le symbolisme du non-réalisme et du non-mimétisme<sup>2</sup>. La représentation en Mésopotamie est un système construit par plusieurs niveaux de signification qui interagissent avec le temps historique et avec les signes magiques. L'idéologie n'est jamais une simple manipulation politique. Elle contient l'entier appareil de représentation étant inspirée par le surnaturel<sup>3</sup>. La compréhension même que la représentation artistique est un moyen d'imiter la réalité doit être mise à côté quand on parle de l'art mésopotamien, parce qu'elle ne fonctionne pas selon le modèle de mimétisme<sup>4</sup>. Par ailleurs, la représentation en Mésopotamie, quoi qu'elle soit la forme visuelle, écrite ou n'importe quelle autre forme, n'était pas du tout envisagée comme une copie de la nature, mais comme partie intégrante de la nature, une partie qui pouvait exister et influencer d'une manière surnaturelle, même magique. En tant qu'élément composant d'un système de pensée où le signe et le symbole ont un rôle extrêmement important, l'image est, pour le connaisseur mésopotamien, un signe qui peut et doit être déchiffré. Au moins à l'époque néo-assyrienne, les savants de la cour, spécialisés dans le *tupšarūtū* (l'art scribal) étaient convaincus que l'univers entier est composé de signes dont l'interprétation peut être trouvée<sup>5</sup>, l'image y comprise<sup>6</sup>.

Édifiante dans ce discours est la notion de *šalmu*<sup>7</sup>, qui d'ailleurs est la seule notion akkadienne qui s'approche du terme moderne d'art. Le *šalmu* peut être traduit par représentation dans le sens le plus large. Cependant, pour les mésopotamiens, cette notion dépasse les limites classiques; l'objet proprement dit acquiert des aspects métaphysiques. La statue d'un tel dieu ou d'un tel roi est la représentation de la personne en question, mais, aussi,

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<sup>2</sup> Brown 2014, 532. Selon des concepts occidentaux, le symbole est la base de l'art qui appartient à l'espace oriental. Hegel 1975, 303: «The symbol, in the meaning of the word used here, constitutes the beginning of art, alike in its essential nature and in its historical appearance, and is therefore to be considered only, as it were, as the threshold of art. It belongs to the East, and only after all sorts of transitions, metamorphoses and intermediaries does it carry us over into the genuine actuality of the ideal as the classical form of art.» Voir aussi Gombrich 1960 et Bahrani 2003, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Bahrani 2003, 65.

<sup>4</sup> Bahrani 2003, 122.

<sup>5</sup> Voir aussi l'importance de la divination dans la culture mésopotamienne.

<sup>6</sup> Bahrani 2008, 57-58.

<sup>7</sup> Pour la définition voir le CAD vol. 16, 78-85, définition qui par ailleurs est incorrecte, le terme étant traduit comme statue. Pour une analyse plus compréhensive, voir Bahrani 2003, 123-148, et Winter 2010, 307-331.

elle devient une entité à part, remplaçant la personne représentée<sup>8</sup>. Ainsi, la distinction entre le réel et l'imaginaire ou la création artificielle est très peu visible. La limite entre les deux devient très fine, parfois même inexistante.

Le langage visuel et hiératique mésopotamien semble concerner des notions fondamentalement philosophiques et religieuses qui imprègnent la royauté assyrienne et la théocratie. La forme consistante et presque mathématique, le traitement de l'occurrence dans les reliefs devraient être traités comme des indications sur une relation visuelle entre signification et connotation. Ces formes ont une qualité emblématique standardisée, qui les délimitent d'un espace ordinaire pour les transférer dans une rhétorique hiératique ou dans un caractère cosmique<sup>9</sup>.

Du point de vue idéologique, le symbole est lui aussi très important, parce que c'est l'outil principal dans la construction de ce type de discours. Le discours idéologique ne se construit seulement par le biais des images de guerre, de chasse, de construction, images qui d'ailleurs sont déchiffrables par tout le monde, mais surtout par des images avec un contenu symbolique. L'idéologie se traduit par l'adoption de l'ordre symbolique dans la réalité<sup>10</sup>. La lecture et la compréhension de l'iconographie assyrienne n'est possible que si on connaît en préalable le contexte culturel<sup>11</sup>. La réceptivité du message et son impact dépendent non seulement de ses qualités intrinsèques, notamment de sa clarté, mais aussi des compétences cognitives du récepteur, c'est-à-dire de ses connaissances antérieures relatives aux scènes représentées et de son habileté à comprendre les signes<sup>12</sup>.

Les images de guerre ou de chasse, qui dans la littérature assyrienne sont nommées des «images narratives», ou «machtkunst», sont en général perçues comme des moyens véhiculant l'idéologie royale<sup>13</sup>, mais l'aspect narratif n'est pas le seul intégré dans ce type des images. En effet, ces représentations véhiculent aussi des thèmes mythologiques, qui sont intégrées de manière allusive et référentielle<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Dans ce sens, voir surtout les rituels où les statues royales ou divines sont douées de vie, des divers témoignages des prêtres et scolaires où la statue «prend vie» (Fales 2009, 257; Matilla, 48), on ajoute ici l'habitude des mésopotamiens de fabriquer des statuette de démons qui ultérieurement sont enterrées ou détruites par des rituels magiques (Braun-Holzinger 1999, 149).

<sup>9</sup> Ataç 2006, 69.

<sup>10</sup> Bahrani 2008, 68 (elle emprunte un thème analysé par Roland Barthes).

<sup>11</sup> Le problème de l'audience de ces images/ messages idéologiques a été beaucoup traité par les assyriologues. Certains considèrent qu'on peut même parler de propagande, dans le sens que toute la population de l'empire est influencée par le contenu de ces images, voir par exemple Liverani 1979, 299, mais la plupart des assyriologues ont la tendance de voir ces images comme étant destinées à l'élite. Voir Fales 2010, 63-64, Liverani 2014, 373-385.

<sup>12</sup> Bachelot 1991, 115. Voir aussi Winter 2010, 36-39.

<sup>13</sup> Sonik 2014, 269.

<sup>14</sup> Sonik 2014, 282.



Par ailleurs, l'image du souverain joue toujours sur une dichotomie, sur une dualité: la personne du roi, en tant que «berger du peuple», d'un part, et, d'autre part, la figure royale en symbolisant l'assemblée divine qu'elle fait référence à la fonction militaire mais en même temps à celle sacerdotale du roi. Son image acquiert des dimensions métaphysiques<sup>15</sup>, puisqu'elle fait référence au symbolisme cosmique, à la mythologie et à la métaphysique. Par exemple, dans la représentation la plus connue de l'empire assyrien (Fig. 1), le roi est représenté en miroir, en touchant l'arbre sacré<sup>16</sup> et accompagné par une paire des *apkallu*, des génies apotropaïques. Il s'agit d'une royauté terrestre, représenté par le roi à gauche, qui présente des caractéristiques terrestres, indiqués par les protomes animales sur ses bras, l'orientation de son doigt vers les branches de l'arbre sacré, son bâton, tandis qu'à droite, le roi a des caractéristiques plus cosmiques, il dirige son doigt vers l'image du dieu Aššur dans le cercle ailé. On a une royauté terrestre, qui se soutient sur la transcendance, et une royauté céleste, qui se soutient sur l'immanence<sup>17</sup>.

### **La guerre en Assyrie comme facteur civilisateur**

L'empire assyrien est connu aujourd'hui, en partie grâce à la tradition biblique, comme un empire qui a pu s'étendre par l'intermédiaire de la guerre. Même si cette interprétation est maintenant considéré superficielle<sup>18</sup>, la guerre en Assyrie reste la base de la construction de l'empire. Dans les textes littéraires elle est connue même comme une activité bénéfique. Par exemple, dans le mythe «Enki et l'Ordre du monde», la guerre est citée parmi les ME<sup>19</sup> de la civilisation<sup>20</sup>. Pour les mésopotamiens, les arts de la guerre, le pillage et la prise du butin étaient tous des aspects d'un comportement civilisé.

Dans les inscriptions royales, la guerre est présentée comme la conséquence directe de la dépravation et de la maladie de l'ennemi. Les méfaits de l'ennemi lui marquent comme un criminel et donc, le fait de mener une guerre contre lui devient une action légale<sup>21</sup>. Dans ces inscriptions, on met toujours l'accent sur le fait que la guerre menée par les assyriens est la

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<sup>15</sup> Ataç 2006, 84.

<sup>16</sup> Parpola 1993, XV.

<sup>17</sup> Ataç 2006, 86.

<sup>18</sup> En effet, l'empire assyrien se soutient non seulement sur la guerre, donc sur la conquête des pays, des territoires étrangers, mais aussi sur un système bien mis au point, qui se caractérise par un réseau de provinces, des représentants du roi dans les provinces etc. Voir les correspondances des rois Assyriens.

<sup>19</sup> ME, concept d'origine sumérienne, traduit aussi par «Tablette des Destins», qui englobe toute les connaissances à la base de la civilisation du monde. Il apparaît dans plusieurs mythes importants, comme par exemple le mythe d' «Enki et Inanna» et le mythe d'«Anzû».

<sup>20</sup> Bahrani 2008, 9.

<sup>21</sup> Oded 1992, 49.

conséquence de l'usurpation ou de la violation du serment de l'ennemi. Les assyriens ne sont jamais coupables; pour eux, la guerre est défensive, jamais offensive.

Dès l'époque sumérienne, au troisième millénaire, l'espace intégrant la civilisation mésopotamienne a été perçu dans la littérature mythique et historique, mais aussi dans l'iconographie, comme un espace particulier, en opposition avec les espaces qui l'entourent. Grâce à sa position géographique<sup>22</sup>, la Mésopotamie a pu créer des binômes: l'intérieur - l'extérieur, le connu – l'inconnu et le centre – la périphérie<sup>23</sup>. Le paysage peut servir comme véhicule pour des concepts idéologiques, il peut représenter la manière dont les gens se perçoivent eux-mêmes et leur monde par l'intermédiaire de leur relation imaginaire avec la nature<sup>24</sup>. L'espace extérieur se remarque toujours par un paysage très bizarre, il inclut des montagnes qui sont peuplées par des animaux dangereux, mais aussi des déserts immenses et des mers peuplées par des créatures étranges<sup>25</sup>; il est sombre et chaotique, à cause de son aspect inconnu, tandis que l'intérieur est structuré et lumineux<sup>26</sup>.

C'est à cause de cette différenciation entre l'espace intérieur qui est connu, et donc civilisé, et l'espace extérieur, qui est inconnu et qui présente à tous les pas des dangers, que la personne étrangère est perçue d'une manière maléfique. Dans les inscriptions royales, aussi bien que dans les compositions mythologiques, épiques et rituelles les étrangers sont des «créatures» qui n'ont pas un nom, qui ne connaissent pas la notion d'état, ils n'ont pas une famille, ils ne connaissent aucun dieu<sup>27</sup>. Leur manque de civilisation les transforme dans des «créatures» très imprévisibles et dangereuses, hors de la norme. C'est donc le devoir de la royauté mésopotamienne, par sa supériorité civilisatrice, de créer une contre - position du désordre, de la désorganisation et de la désobéissance par l'ordre, l'organisation et l'obéissance<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> L'espace mésopotamien est délimité aux frontières par des montagnes dans le nord, ouest et l'est, et par la mer, le golfe, dans le sud. Pour une description plus détaillée, voir les études générales sur l'histoire de la Mésopotamie, comme par exemple Roux 1995, Grandpierre 2010, mais surtout Horowitz 1998, pour la géographie.

<sup>23</sup> Horowitz 1998; Liverani 1990; Michalowski 1986; Parker 2011.

<sup>24</sup> Marcus 1995, 195.

<sup>25</sup> Parker 2011, 363.

<sup>26</sup> Liverani 1979, 306.

<sup>27</sup> Voir la parallèle dans les textes rituels, notamment la série *Utukku lemnūtu*, où les démons sont décrits de la même manière.

<sup>28</sup> Pongratz-Leisten 2001, 224.

## **Le mythe de combat et les inscriptions royales comme des manifestations littéraires de la guerre**

Au niveau littéraire, l'antagonisme entre les assyriens et les nations/ groupes étrangers, la lutte perpétuelle entre l'ordre et le chaos, est personnifiée par le «mythe de combat»<sup>29</sup>, l'une des plus connues typologies de composition mythologique. Dans la majorité des cas attestés, le conflit éclate après une rupture de l'équilibre entre la nature et le cosmos, provoquée par l'attaque d'une entité monstrueuse, souvent représentée comme un hybride, qui menace de près le monde des dieux et des hommes. Leur survie dépend désormais de l'intervention d'un dieu, souvent jeune et plutôt marginal, qui accepte de se battre contre le monstre. À la fin du combat, ce dieu, vainqueur, procédera à la réorganisation du monde, parfois assumant en plus le pouvoir royal dans le panthéon<sup>30</sup>. Les compositions les plus connus sont, d'un côté, la série de récits concernant les voyages de Ninurta, qui ont un cadre sumérien, surtout le «Lugal-e», où il se bat contre le monstre Asakku, l'«Angim», qui représente le récit de son retour triomphal à Nippur, et l'«Anzû», où il se bat contre le monstre Anzû. De l'autre côté, la tradition akkadienne est représentée par le mythe «Enūma eliš», qui d'ailleurs est connu comme le plus gros mythe de création de la littérature mésopotamienne et où le dieu Marduk se bat contre Tiamat et son armée composée de onze monstres<sup>31</sup>.

L'«Épopée de Gilgameš», elle aussi, intègre des thèmes de combat et pour cela elle pourrait être analysée, dans son ensemble, comme un mythe de combat. Le parallélisme entre les contenus mythologiques et l'idéologie royale<sup>32</sup> est transcrit par les inscriptions royales rédigées par les rois, où ils ont l'habitude de se décrire comme des dieux dans les mythes de combat (Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5), comme Ninurta et Marduk, qui utilisent les cadavres des ennemis comme matière première pour une nouvelle construction<sup>33</sup>. En plus, ils ont la tendance d'utiliser des termes fortement métaphoriques, qui font allusion à la figure divine, à l'arme divine ou bien au monstre : des épithètes comme *rīmu* (taureau combatif), *labbu* (lion furieux), *ušumgallu* (dragon fort, féroce et merveilleux), *šuškallu* (filet qui s'abat sur les

<sup>29</sup> Voir Lambert 1966, 2013; Cooper 1978; Van Dijk 1983; Wiggermann 1992; Annus 2001; Ataç 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Comme c'est le cas de Marduk dans l'Enūma eliš ou de Ninurta dans le «Lugal-e» et «Anzû». Cependant, il y a aussi des dieux qui, bien qu'ils battent le monstre et sauvent le monde, ne deviennent pas pour autant des chefs, comme c'est le cas de Tišpak dans le mythe de Labbu.

<sup>31</sup> En fait, le mythe «Enūma eliš» s'inspire beaucoup du mythe d'«Anzû». On y retrouve les mêmes thèmes, tandis que le personnage de Marduk est façonné selon l'image de Ninurta, le jeune héros qui va à la bataille pour sauver tout le panthéon. Voir aussi Annus 2001, IX.

<sup>32</sup> Cooper 1978; Van Dijk 1983; Annus 2001; Machinist 2011; Frahm 2013, 99.

<sup>33</sup> Dans le mythe «Lugal-e», Ninurta utilise les restes de l'Asakku, et les pierres de son armée, pour reconfigurer l'espace, tandis que dans l'«Enūma eliš», Marduk utilise le corps de Tiamat pour construire le monde et le cosmos. Voir aussi Liverani 1990, 98.

ennemies), abūbu (déluge) et ūmu (tempête lumineuse, furieuse et impitoyable) font partie du vocabulaire royal<sup>34</sup>. Au niveau iconographique, le roi et le dieu sont représentés dans la même tenue et attitude, soit en attaquant un ennemi, soit dans le char triomphal<sup>35</sup>.

Les antagonistes dans ces types de composition littéraire sont toujours de créatures monstrueuses, hybrides, qui se caractérisent par des traits communs dans tous les mythes. L'aspect le plus visible est, sans doute, la monstruosité, l'hybridité, qui les met en opposition avec la perfection du corps masculin divin, comme présenté dans l'«Anzû» et dans l'«Enūma eliš». Les *Mischwesen* en question sont toujours présentés comme des créatures ayant un corps composé des différentes parties animales ou même amorphes (Fig. 8). Par exemple, dans le «Lugal-e», l'Asakku est décrit :

ki-ma u<sub>4</sub>-mi re-ti-ka/ bu-bu-'-tú šá a-šu-šu la ʔa-a-bu/ ʃe-en-ni-tum šá ina ap-pi a-ʃ[u-  
š]u la dam-qu/ [be-lum a-wa-tum it-gu-u]r-tum a-na li[b-bi ul i-š-ad-da-ad]-ka<sup>36</sup>.

il est massif comme une tempête/ il est une pustule dont la suppuration sent mauvais/  
comme le loup qui sort du nez, il est une difformité/ Seigneur, il a un parler  
embrouillé, rien de toi il ne prend à cœur.

En ce qui concerne le monstre Anzû, son physique est plus difficile à être interprété, puisqu'il est décrit plutôt comme une masse amorphe, comme un nuage<sup>37</sup>, ses caractéristiques étant les dents effrayantes et la luminosité très puissante<sup>38</sup>: «ik-šu-uš ki-ma UD-mu me-lam-ma-šu KUR-e ik-tum<sup>39</sup>» «il a grincé ses dents comme une tempête, il a enveloppé la montagne avec la luminosité terrible».

Les monstres de l'armée de Tiamat, de l'autre côté, sont traités comme un ensemble issu de la déesse mère:

um-ma ḥu-bur pa-ti-qat ka-la-[mu]/ uš-rad-di kak-ku la maḥ-ri it-ta-lad  
MUŠ.MAḤ.[MEŠ]/ [zaq-t]u-ma šin-ni la pa-du-[u] at-ta-['i-i]/ [im-t]u ki-ma da-mu zu-

<sup>34</sup> Seux 1967, 23; voir aussi Grayson 1991.

<sup>35</sup> Oded 1992, 113.

<sup>36</sup> Van Dijk 1983, 85, 267-270.

<sup>37</sup> Bien que dans l'iconographie il soit représenté comme un aigle léontocéphale, voir par exemple la Stèle des Vautours.

<sup>38</sup> Le concept de *melammu*, traduit par lumière éblouissante est très courant parmi les divinités mésopotamiennes et parfois parmi les *Mischwesen*. Pour une analyse détaillée, voir Cassin 1968.

<sup>39</sup> Annus 2001, 23; T. II, 37.

mur-[šú-nu] uš-ma-al-[li]<sup>40</sup>.

La mère Hubur, celle qui a tout créé/ se dota d'une armée sans pareille en enfantant des Dragons/ leurs dents sont acérées, leurs mâchoires sans pitié/ elle avait rempli leur corps de venin au lieu de sang.

Enfin, Humbaba, dans l'épopée de Gilgameš, est décrit comme le mal qui doit être exterminé, pour le bien être du pays: «a-di <sup>d</sup>hum-ba-ba da-pi-nu i-nar-ru/ u mim-ma lem-nu ša ta-zer-ru ú -ḫal-laq ina māti (kur)/ ina u<sub>4</sub>-mi ša at-ta i-tu-ú x[.....]»<sup>41</sup>. Son aspect physique est menaçant, son hybridité exacerbée souligne son pouvoir insurmontable : «le gardien de la forêt de cèdres/ son don est le déluge/ sa bouche est le feu, son souffle est la mort.»

L'hybridité, l'amorphisme, l'aspect de foule incontrôlable se mettent en opposition avec la perfection physique et morale du dieu/du héros qui les soumet. Ninurta est: «Fils du roi du monde habité, le splendide, le bien aimé de la déesse Mami/...le puissant, les fils du dieu Enlil/ le descendant de l'Ekur, l'éminent des Anunnaki, le soutien de l'Eninnu...»<sup>42</sup>. Quant au Marduk, nous sommes informés que : «Somptueuse est sa stature, étincelant est son regard/ il est viril dès sa naissance, puissant depuis toujours.../ Comme il (Ea) l'avait rendu parfait, sa divinité est différente/ il est beaucoup plus élevé, il leur (on y comprise l'assemblée divine) est supérieur en toute chose/ Inconcevables et magnifiques sont ses dimensions/ impossible à comprendre, difficile à contempler»<sup>43</sup>.

À part leur hybridité, les monstres dans les mythes et dans l'épopée de Gilgameš se remarquent par leur aspect de créature liminale. Toutes ces créatures, sans exception, résident dans des endroits éloignés, situés à la frontière entre le monde humain et le monde divin. Les sources textuelles citent comme principales demeures les montagnes (šadû), et la mer (nāru), ou les sources d'eau, endroits qui, dans la conception mésopotamienne, sont la demeure du chaos<sup>44</sup>. Il faudra, toutefois, rappeler le fait que toutes ces créatures, bien que menaçantes, sont toutes des créatures qui apparaissent dans le monde grâce à la volonté des dieux. Tous les monstres cités ont une relation très étroite avec leurs créateurs, dans le service desquels ils agissent; l'Anzû est le serviteur fidèle du dieu Enlil, les monstres de Tiamat partent à la bataille sur l'ordre de leur créatrice, Humbaba garde la Forêt des Cèdres, au service d'Enlil.

<sup>40</sup> Talon 2005, 38; T. I, 133-136.

<sup>41</sup> George 2003, 576; T. III, 53-55.

<sup>42</sup> Anzû, T. I, 1-5.

<sup>43</sup> Talon 2005, 81; T. I, 87-94.

<sup>44</sup> Voir Utukkū Lemnūtu XV, 3-4; Geller 2007; Horowitz 1998, 332.

Comme est aussi le cas des ennemis de l'empire assyrien, ces monstres rompent leur alliance avec le dieu, à un moment donné, et ils commencent à agir selon leur propre désir, mettant le monde en danger. Cependant, ils restent des créatures semi-divines ; ils portent avec eux des connaissances primordiales, ils ont les sources pour la création et la recréation du monde, finalement, ils peuvent être bénéfiques, ce que d'ailleurs ils accomplissent après leur soumission, étant au service de leur maître. Une créature destructive, une fois tuée, peut devenir constructive par l'intermédiaire de la transformation. Si la créature est transformée, on pourra utiliser son pouvoir, qui reste actif<sup>45</sup>.

L'exemple le plus claire pour la description de l'étranger et la différenciation nette entre lui et le mésopotamien est incarnée par le personnage d'Enkidu, dans l'«Épopée de Gilgameš». Enkidu est, sans doute, le prototype même de l'homme de la steppe, de l'homme qui parcourt le désert<sup>46</sup>, donc il représente la nature et la vie sauvage; d'autre part, il est facilement reconnaissable aussi comme celui qui, dans les récits royaux assyriens et, implicitement, dans la conception de la chancellerie royale, est l'ennemi, le sauvage, le «bédouin» pas encore touché par la civilisation et par la culture de la cité. La création d'Enkidu, dans la première tablette, est faite d'une manière non-copulative, non-personnelle, presque une création inorganique, ce qui implique le fait qu'il n'a pas une famille. D'ailleurs, cet aspect d'Enkidu va être évoqué plusieurs fois dans l'épopée par des termes comme «ilitti qūlti», créature du silence<sup>47</sup> ou «la i-de ništ<sup>meš</sup> u ma-tam-ma»<sup>48</sup>, il ne connaît pas l'humanité, ni un pays. En plus, au début de la narration, il fait partie du troupeau des animaux, il n'est pas habillé, il ne mange pas du pain, il ne boit pas de la bière, il ne connaît pas la vie sexuelle.

L'image d'Enkidu est évidemment créée en tant qu'image en miroir de Gilgameš; il est conçu par les dieux pour que Gilgameš puisse avoir un compagnon et pour qu'il puisse être un bon roi. Du point de vue physique, les deux sont semblables; ils sont des jeunes hommes puissants, beaux, mais, lorsque que Gilgameš est imprévisible et rebelle, Enkidu est calme, avec un bon sens moral; il acquiert la position de conseiller de Gilgameš.

La position d'Enkidu dans l'épopée semble être la même que celle d'un guerrier étranger, intégré dans l'armée assyrienne. Il devient l'ami de Gilgameš, il est intégré dans la famille et ensuite dans l'assemblée, il devient un conseiller, et membre de la garde royale. Tous les aspects de sa vie, et la manière de composer l'épopée<sup>49</sup> donnent l'impression que l'image

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<sup>45</sup> Annus 2001, 9; Sonik 2012, 387-395.

<sup>46</sup> Finet 1996, 46.

<sup>47</sup> Terme qui fait référence aussi aux Enfers, voir Geller 2007; *Utukkū Lemnūtu* XV, 18.

<sup>48</sup> George 2003, 544; T. I, 108.

<sup>49</sup> Il faut mentionner que dans la version originale, c'est-à-dire dans la version sumérienne, Enkidu n'est qu'un

d'Enkidu et son histoire d'«homme sauvage» intégré dans l'état sont construites et intégrés dans la version standard du récit avec de buts précis.

Enkidu correspond aussi à la position de l'acolyte joué par les monstres, dans les mythes de combat. Comme l'Anzû, ou le mušhuššu, Enkidu est battu par un héros et, par la suite, il fait partie de son entourage, il donne son avis, il le protège. Il se comporte d'abord comme un conseiller dans l'épisode de la Forêt de Cèdres en avertissant Gilgameš du danger<sup>50</sup>. Finalement, son succès dépend beaucoup du rejet et non pas du souvenir, de son passé, de son origine, parce que, après son entrée à Uruk, il doit s'identifier avec la culture de la cité, abandonnant les mœurs de la vie dans la steppe<sup>51</sup>. C'est effectivement ce qu'il fait, mais ce choix n'est sans des conséquences tragiques pour lui-même. Une fois entré à Uruk, il se dispose de son passé en tant que sauvage errant dans la steppe avec des troupeaux d'animaux. Comme tout étranger intégré dans l'appareil d'état assyrien le fait, Enkidu doit se conformer aux nouvelles lois, même si cela implique un changement radical, même si cela implique qu'il devient un autre.

L'iconographie développée autour de l'épopée, notamment les représentations de combat entre Gilgameš, Enkidu et le monstre Humbaba dénotent, elles aussi, une différenciation nette entre les deux personnages. Les images (Fig. 6, 7) qu'on trouve sur les sceaux-cylindres et sur les plaquettes en terre cuite sont en général construites sur une symétrie, le monstre toujours dans une position accroupie, les héros adoptant une position en miroir. Ce qui les différencient sont les détails, comme par exemples les vêtements; en effet, dans la plupart des images, Enkidu est toujours représenté avec le torse nu, ses jupes sont toujours plus courtes que celles de Gilgameš. La coiffure et la barbe sont plus élaborées dans le cas de Gilgameš, celles-ci étant complétées par la parure ou par la couronne royale, tandis que pour Enkidu les cheveux sont laissés plus libres.

Il y a aussi des représentations d'un autre épisode de l'épopée, celui du combat contre le Taureau Céleste (Fig.7), où on rencontre le même type de disposition symétrique. Cette fois-ci, Enkidu est représenté avec ce qui semble une parure princière, ce qui signifiera qu'on est devant une image en miroir qui représente la dualité de la royauté. Une dualité ou une complémentarité de regnum/ sacerdotium, où les deux héros accomplissent à la fois les deux fonctions. Enkidu, par sa nature de lullû (homme primordial), pourrait très bien assumer la fonction sacerdotale, grâce à ses connaissances, tandis que Gilgameš, avec sa fonction de

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serviteur de Gilgameš. Étant intégré dans la version standard, donc dans la version du deuxième millénaire, toute l'épisode concernant Enkidu est un ajout dans l'ensemble de l'épopée, originalement étant un épisode séparé.

<sup>50</sup> George 2003, 143; T. V, 234 «*ma-li-ku...*».

<sup>51</sup> Fleming & Milstein 2010, 37.

chef, serait son complémentaire. Enkidu est pour Gilgameš ce que le prince est pour le roi<sup>52</sup>.

## Iconographie

Dans l'iconographie royale officielle, l'image de l'ennemi se décline sur deux aspects, selon le type de représentation dont on parle. D'un côté, on a l'image classique de l'étranger – dans les représentations de guerre, et, de l'autre côté, on a l'image de l'animal dangereux, exotique – dans les représentations de chasse. Chaque type d'image implique un certain symbolisme, et, en même temps, diffuse un certain type de message. L'un est l'incarnation du mal, tandis que l'autre se concentre plutôt sur la dualité du personnage royal.

L'image de l'ennemi vaincu est une image ancrée dans la tradition. En effet elle est empruntée depuis le troisième millénaire, quand, à l'époque de Eannatum, et ensuite à celle de Naram-Sîn<sup>53</sup>, on entrevoit la naissance d'une référence iconographique qui perdure jusqu'à la fin de l'empire Néo-Assyrien. Il s'agit de deux typologies de l'image de l'ennemi: celle de l'ennemi agenouillé, telle qu'elle est présentée sur la Stèle de Naram-Sîn (Fig. 10), où le roi vainqueur monte sur le corps de son ennemi battu, et de l'autre côté, celle de la tête coupée de l'ennemi, telle qu'elle est présentée sur la Stèle des Vautours (Fig. 11)<sup>54</sup>.

Puisqu'on a cité auparavant les représentations de la scène du combat entre Gilgameš et Enkidu contre le monstre Humbaba, et contre le Taureau Céleste, il faudra les analyser du point de vue de l'image de l'ennemi. Ce type de représentation correspond très bien à l'image du roi akkadien en train de monter sur son ennemi battu. Dans les images avec le contenu épique les héros posent les pieds sur le monstre, ils ont du mal à vaincre le monstre, puisque, celui-là s'oppose avec beaucoup de force, il attrape les pieds des héros (Fig.9). Ce scénario décrit dans une manière visuelle la lutte qui se passe dans le moment même de la représentation. Par contre, dans les représentations royales, on ne voit jamais les traces d'une lutte entre les deux opposants ; le roi est toujours vainqueur<sup>55</sup>.

Dans les reliefs assyriens, ainsi que dans des représentations plus anciennes, comme par exemple la Stèle de Šamši-Adad (Fig. 12), ou la Stèle de Daduša, la victoire du roi est incontestable. La figure du roi, droite, habillé selon les consignes royales, la perfection du

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<sup>52</sup> Ataç 2010, 134.

<sup>53</sup> Winter 2010, vol. 2, 3-51, 133-149; Brown 2014, 520.

<sup>54</sup> Ce genre de représentation correspond très bien avec le contexte historique et social de l'époque, pendant laquelle l'empire akkadien se forme, avec la conquête des rois akkadiens des cités-états sumérien. Il semble qu'après la chute de l'empire akkadien, cette représentation perd la récurrence, pour être reprise à l'époque du roi Aššurnāširpal II. Voir Brown 2014, 520.

<sup>55</sup> Bahrani 2008, 233.



corps sont fortement contrastantes avec la figure de l'ennemi, représenté agenouillé, parfois à poil ou très peu habillé, en train de se prosterner (Fig. 13), ou en train d'être écrasé par les chevaux qui participent à la bataille (Fig. 14). En regardant ces images on sent le désespoir, la honte, la perte d'individualité et d'identité étatique. Il est désormais un simple serviteur, il disparaît de ce monde, sans y laisser une trace. Le roi, ou le soldat assyrien, reste debout, digne ; avec chaque ennemi battu, son prestige augmente, il a aussi la possibilité de devenir immortel par le biais de l'image, et des inscriptions royales.

Le motif de la tête coupée est repris par le roi Aššurnāširpal II, en l'utilisant comme symbole de l'ennemi, telle comme on le voit sur les reliefs du palais NO de Nimrud, où les vautours emportent les têtes coupées (Fig. 15)<sup>56</sup>. La tête coupée apparaît aussi dans le contexte du triomphe de Gilgameš, où il rentre à Uruk dans son char triomphal décoré avec la tête de Humbaba (Fig. 16), puis de Ninurta à Nippur avec les onze monstres qu'il a battu, ou bien de Marduk et les monstres de l'armée de Tiamat, thème qui, par exemple, est repris dans des contextes rituels, lors de la célébration du festival *akitu*<sup>57</sup>. Pour Aššurbanipal, la décapitation de Teumann, son ennemi, fonctionne comme un indice ou repère du rôle actif que lui, en tant que roi, a eu dans la campagne militaire<sup>58</sup>. Cette image est, sans doute, liée au thème du triomphe, grâce à la représentation de la tête coupée du roi élamite, qui apparaît plusieurs fois dans les reliefs pour finir avec le célèbre relief du banquet du roi assyrien, où la tête coupée est pendue dans un arbre, tandis que le roi et la reine font la fête, dans un cadre idyllique et intime.

Comme Zainab Bahrani remarque, la série met l'accent sur la récurrence de la tête coupée. Selon elle, la mise à mort d'un roi, par le biais de l'exécution publique, représente, en soi, un acte extraordinaire dans n'importe quelle théologie politique. Puisque le roi est condamné et considéré hors de la loi, sa mise à mort est toujours exceptionnelle<sup>59</sup>. La tête de Humbaba, et celle de Teumman, ne sont seulement le symbole de l'ennemi conquis, soumis, et serviteur de la royauté mésopotamienne, mais aussi un symbole de l'exotique. Comme sur le relief du banquet d'Aššurbanipal, où la tête de Teumman, accompagnée par une série d'objets tout à fait exotiques, provenant de différents pays, signifie l'universalité à laquelle les rois mésopotamiens accèdent, en incorporant les diverses cultures étrangères (Fig. 16)<sup>60</sup>, la tête de Humbaba représente la région d'où il vient, le ouest, ou le est, selon les deux versions de

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<sup>56</sup> Dolce 2004, 121.

<sup>57</sup> Le festival *akitu* est le festival qu'on célèbre au début de l'année ; à cette occasion, on met en scène les grands mythes de combat, pour mettre en évidence le passage des saisons, achevé avec la nouvelle création.

<sup>58</sup> Bonatz 2004, 94.

<sup>59</sup> Bahrani 2008, 35.

<sup>60</sup> Feldman 2014, 101.

l'épopée.

Enfin, l'ennemi et ses représentations restent le symbole de l'Autre, qui dans l'art mésopotamien, surtout dans celui Néo-Assyrien, occupe une place essentielle dans la construction de l'idéologie royale.

À part les images de guerre, où l'ennemi est identifiable à une personne humaine, il y a aussi les représentations de chasse (Fig. 2), d'une très importante tradition en Mésopotamie, représentations qui empruntent le thème de l'ennemi, pour mettre en évidence la dualité du personnage royal. La chasse royale a une importance dans le discours royal, puisqu'elle permet au roi de s'identifier à Ninurta ou à Gilgameš, luttant contre les forces du chaos<sup>61</sup>, mais aussi parce qu'elle permet de mettre en évidence la puissance physique du roi et ses capacités de conquérir les espaces exotiques et lointaines, ses capacités d'éteindre la surface de l'empire assyrien<sup>62</sup>, puisque le lion n'est pas un animal spécifique de la Mésopotamie.

En général, dans la culture mésopotamienne, le lion est perçu comme un animal dangereux, comme un ennemi<sup>63</sup>. Dans les inscriptions royales, le lion, et le taureau sont qualifiés avec l'adjectif *edku*, qui signifie féroce, et qui caractérise aussi des épithètes royaux (prédateur féroce)<sup>64</sup>. Le rôle du lion vient à souligner les caractéristiques agressives du roi, l'alter-ego du roi. Lorsqu'il procède à la chasse, le roi dit «Je suis le lion». En conquérant l'animal, il conquiert son propre mal, pour ressortir comme un grand prêtre, un vrai roi<sup>65</sup>. On peut remarquer cela aussi dans la manière de représenter le lion dans les reliefs. Bien qu'il soit un ennemi, et, donc, une victime à la fin de la chasse, il est toujours représenté avec beaucoup d'attention, il est plus digne, tandis que les ennemis habituels sont représentés en position accroupie, ou chevauchés par les militaires ; l'animal incarne des aspects du roi, comme la royauté et le pouvoir<sup>66</sup>.

## Conclusion

Dans cet article on a essayé de mettre en évidence le fait que, dans la construction du discours idéologique l'image de l'étranger sert à mettre en évidence l'antagonisme entre deux cultures qui se fondent sur des concepts différents. L'image de l'Autre est, comme on l'a vu,

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<sup>61</sup> Annus 2002, 169; Watanabe 2000b, 1150.

<sup>62</sup> Watanabe 2000b, 1150.

<sup>63</sup> Surtout dans l'Épopée de Gilgameš, et dans le Poème d'Erra, une composition d'époque tardive, VIIe siècle, où le personnage principale provoque le chaos, par son intention de faire la guerre et de détruire l'humanité.

<sup>64</sup> Voir par exemple l'inscription standard d'Aššurnāṣirpal, où il est décrit comme «prince attentif, fidèle des dieux, prédateur féroce, conquérant des cités et des régions montagneuses». Ataç 2006, 73.

<sup>65</sup> Ataç 2010, 275.

<sup>66</sup> Watanabe 2000a, 40; Ulanowski 2015, 258.

une image d'une très ancienne tradition, étant utilisée dans l'iconographie, ainsi que dans des compositions avec un contenu mythologique et épique. Les inscriptions royales, elles aussi, empruntent le thème de l'ennemi battu, en soulignant son aspect méchant et caractère de traître. En plus, les textes littéraires soulignent toujours l'opposition du point de vue physique entre les deux personnages principaux. Les monstres sont hybrides ou amorphes, tandis que les dieux ou les héros sont beaux, lumineux, etc.

Cependant, derrière ce type de discours fortement idéologique il faut remarquer le fait que les étrangers sont aussi bénéfiques, puisqu'ils sont parfois intégrés dans l'état assyrien, tandis que les monstres dans les mythes ont des fonctions et des connaissances primordiales. Cela pourrait nous influencer à revoir nos conceptions et notre perception de la culture mésopotamienne.

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Fig. 1: Scène rituelle avec *apkallu*, Palais d' Aššurnasirpal, Nimrud, British Museum, source internet. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 2: Scène de chasse, Palais d'Assurbanipal, Ninive, VIIe siècle, British Museum, source internet. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

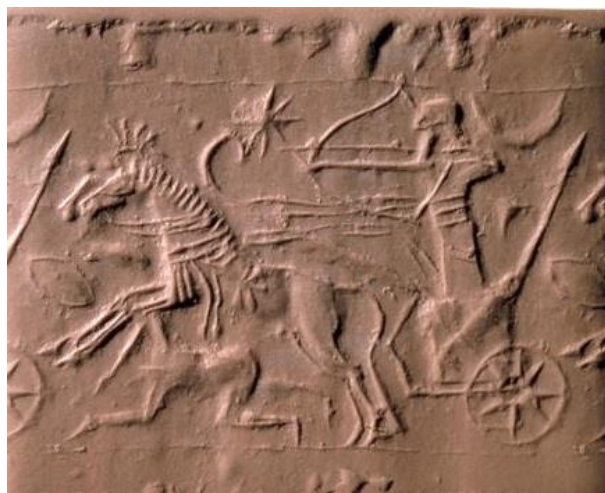


Fig. 3: Scène de guerre sur un sceau-cylindre, IXe siècle, British Museum, source internet. © The Trustees of the British Museum.





Fig. 4: Scène mythologique, Ninurta et Anzû, sur un sceau-cylindre, Pierpont Morgan Library, source internet. © The Morgan Library & Museum.

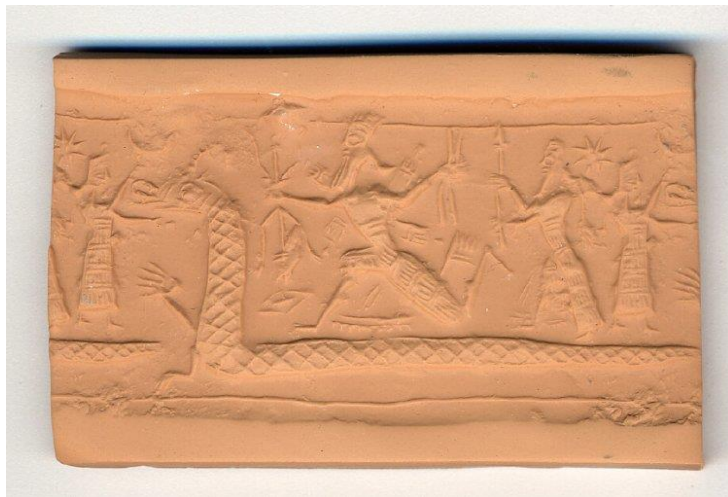


Fig. 5: Scène mythologique, Marduk et Tiamat?, sur un sceau-cylindre, British Museum, source internet. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 6: Scène de lutte, Gilgameš et Enkidu contre Humbaba, sur un sceau-cylindre, Pierpont Morgan Library, source internet. © The Morgan Library & Museum.



Fig. 7: Scène de lutte, Gilgameš et Enkidu contre le Taureau Céleste, British Museum, source internet. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 8: Relief du Temple de Ninurta à Nimrud, Ninurta contre Anzû, détails avec la tête et la pâte du monstre, British Museum, photo auteur, © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 9: Scène de lutte, Gilgameš et Enkidu contre Humbaba, sur un sceau-cylindre, British Museum, source internet. © The Trustees of the British Museum.





Fig. 10: Stèle de Naram-Sîn, Musée du Louvre, source internet, © Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 11: Stèle des Vautours, détail avec les têtes coupées des ennemis, Musée du Louvre, source internet, © Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 12: Stèle de Samsi-Adad, Musée du Louvre, source internet. © Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 13: Scène de guerre, Palais d' Aššurnāṣirpal II, British Museum, photo auteur, © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 14: Scène de guerre, Palais d' Aššurnāṣirpal II, British Museum, photo auteur, © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 15: Détails des têtes coupées sur les reliefs d'Aššurnāṣirpal II, British Museum, photo auteur, © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 16: Scène de triomphe, Gilgameš dans un char triomphal, sur une plaquette en terre cuite, British Museum, source internet. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig.17: Relief de Banquet d'Assurbanipal, et détail tête coupée de Teumman, roi élamite, British Museum, source internet. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

# **‘SCYTHIAN’ ARCHERS ON LATE ARCHAIC ATTIC POTTERY. A REAPPRAISAL**

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## **Abstract**

The representations of the so-called ‘Scythian’ archers on late archaic Attic pottery form a set of evidence whose historical interpretation is very difficult, as the iconographic repertoire is complex and there are no significant literary sources to shed light on its meaning. According to the answers they give to questions such as whom the Attic painters intended to depict and what were the actual sources of inspiration for the ‘Scythian’ archers, the modern essays of interpretation range from a ‘photographic’ view to a ‘structuralist’ perspective. However, the methods used until now for analysing the relevant pots are deemed not to be enough and a new methodology, inspired by semiotics and linguistics, is proposed.

**Keywords:** BFA pottery, directed trade, François Vase, mercenaries, Peisistratos, semiotics

## **Introduction**

### *Why did I start the research?*

As I was conducting my PhD research on Greek mercenaries in the archaic age and I was documenting myself on Peisistratos’ use of mercenaries,\*\* I was confronted with the following fragment in M.F. Vos’ *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase Painting*:

The solution left to us is that the Scythians were hired as a corps of archers for the regular Athenian army. In actual fact it was of course Peisistratos who took the decision, but he will have done so on behalf of the Athenian state; anyhow their presence was not felt to smack of tyranny, for after the fall of the tyrants in 510 the Scythians remain at Athens.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vos 1963, 66. A similar affirmation in Wernicke 1891, 67, with the minor difference that the presumed Scythian mercenaries become Hippias’s guard after the Hipparchos’s death and afterwards were employed as policemen.

\* References to ancient works are made using the abbreviations in Oxford Classical Dictionary, 4<sup>th</sup> edition.

\*\* In the warm academic atmosphere provided by the library of the French School in Athens, which awarded me a scholarship for the project “Mercenaries employed by the Greek cities in the Aegean in the Archaic Age.” I also want to acknowledge the kind support of C.W. Neft and I. Bîrzescu, who raised my awareness on directed trade, especially that conducted towards Italy.



I had to verify such a bold remark so, although I am not a specialist in pottery, I turned to the study of the sources that generated such a conclusion: mostly, nearly 700 Late Archaic Attic vases, made in both the black and the red figure techniques.

### *Sources*

The 300 Scythian policemen in Classical Athens are well-known from both literary and archaeological sources.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the greatest part of the 696 vases and fragments catalogued by Lissarague (supplementing the 425 items provided by Vos) originate well before the first dates ascribed by the literary sources to this force of police (c. 470), so that the archers depicted on them, most of them displaying the so-called Scythian attire, have not anything in common with the later policemen.<sup>3</sup>

A quantitative research on these vases was conducted by Robin Osborne who emphasized that the greatest part of the vases catalogued by Lissarague were produced between 520 and 500, while some dozens of them were made between 570 and 520 and after 500, but before 480.<sup>4</sup> They depict warriors whose attire was long ago established as being ‘Scythian’, based on the ancient descriptions of Scythian men going to war, the most prominent being Hdt. 7.64.2:

The Sacae, who are Scythians, had on their heads tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point; they wore trousers, and carried their native bows, and daggers, and also axes which they call ‘sagaris.’ These were Amyrgian Scythians, but were called Sacae; that is the Persian name for all Scythians.<sup>5</sup> (transl. A.D. Godley)

The discussion on the correctness of identifying the warriors depicted on the vases with Scythians from the Pontic steppes, starting from this fragment that refers to Asiatic nomads, is complex and foggy.<sup>6</sup> We should add that slight variations in the costume of the ‘Scythian’ warriors (e.g. not all the caps are stiff and pointed, some of them being rounded

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<sup>2</sup> The earliest historical mentions about the origins of the corps are Andoc. 3.5 and Aeschin. *In Tim.* 173, putting it after the Persian invasion of Greece. See Wernicke 1891, 67-68; Plassart 1913, 153-155. The evidence for the police of Classical Athens is summarized in Frolov 2000, 14-24, and Bäßler 2005. See Braund 2006 for an interesting hypothesis about the emergence of the police corps after the Persian invasion.

<sup>3</sup> Vos 1965, 68; Lissarague 1990, 125-126; Davis 2013, 173.

<sup>4</sup> Osborne 2004, 53.

<sup>5</sup> Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὀξὺ ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγνίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας σαγάρεις εἶχον. τούτους δὲ ἐόντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον: οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας.

<sup>6</sup> See Balcer 1972, 123-127, for a commentary on Hdt. 7.64 and other sources about Scythian dress and geography.

and quite un-‘Scythian’<sup>7</sup>) suggest the identification of all these warriors with Scythians from the north of the Black Sea is tenuous. Furthermore, we should be aware that the Scythian costume was shared by more peoples than the Scythians themselves, as Thucydides noticed a century after our pots were produced: “Now the Getae and their neighbours border on the Scythians, and are equipped like them, for they are all horse-archers.”<sup>8</sup>

Not only the ‘Scythian’ label is doubtful, but also that of ‘archers’, as the statistics based on Lissarague’s catalogue show that neither all the ‘Scythians’ are ‘archers’, nor all the ‘archers’ are ‘Scythians’: for example, only for the period between 520 and 500, there are 529 ‘Scythian archers’, but also 40 non-‘Scythian’ archers, 14 ‘Scythian’ peltasts, 22 ‘Scythian’/‘Thracian’ mounted peltasts, 23 ‘Scythian’ horsemen.<sup>9</sup>

The ‘Scythians’ are depicted in scenes with high repeatability and minor differences from pot to pot as the departure scenes of the hoplites (140 scenes), the chariot scenes (139 instances), the arming of the hoplites scenes (27 instances) or the hieroscopies (13 instances), but also singular scenes, as some scenes of hunting and fighting or scenes from epic.

Unfortunately, there are no literary sources that could provide any hints about the interpretation of such a vast and diverse material. Not even the so-called ‘speaking names’ attached to some figures, such as Kimmerios and Toxamis of the François Vase or Skythes of the amphora Angers 15591, have not been of a significant use until now, as the correlations between the warriors and the names might be interpreted in several different ways.<sup>10</sup>

### Modern interpretations

Modern historians, historians of art and archaeologists tried their luck in interpreting this difficult set of artefacts. The essays concerning the ‘Scythian archers’ might be grouped in several categories, using semiotic criteria their authors were not totally aware of.<sup>11</sup> The criteria are in fact the kind of answers they provide to the following questions: 1. whom did

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<sup>7</sup> E.g. compare the ‘Scythian’ instances of Paris from two black-figure hydrias – Madrid 10920 and Würzburg 319, juxtaposed in Ivantchik 2006, 204. Of the greatest interest is the depiction of a naked young archer on the *kylix* Basel 549, who wears a rounded cap and it is equipped at the same time with a hoplite shield and hoplite greaves. Ivantchik 2006, 213.

<sup>8</sup> Thuc. 2.96.1 (transl. Benjamin Jowett): εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ Γέται καὶ οἱ ταύτη ὁμοροὶ τε τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ ὁμόσκεινοι, πάντες ἵπποτοξόται.

<sup>9</sup> Calculation based on the data in Osborne 2004, 53. This observation, as well as the variations in equipment highlighted above, is too easily dismissed by Ivantchik 2006, 199-200, and Davis 2013, 170-172.

<sup>10</sup> Ivantchik 2006, 211-225.

<sup>11</sup> The most aware modern scholar of the semiotic dimension of the discussion is, from my point of view, Ivantchik, who uses the same questions as I do, but for other purposes and without references to the theory of semiotics. Ivantchik 2006, 198. A good synthesis of the works concerning the ‘Scythian archers’ and the most important problems debated in historiography in Davis 2013, 173-190.

the Attic painters wish to depict on their wares (Saussure's *signifié*)? 2. what was the source of inspiration for the costume of those represented by the Attic painters (the origins of Saussure's *signifiant*)? I stress from the beginning that *le signifiant* itself – the costume composed by several types of caps, of bows and arrows, of *gōrytoi*, of trousers and 'jackets' has never been studied *per se*, as part of a semiotic code.

We can identify a first main current where the stress is clearly put on the source of inspiration for the 'Scythian' costume. It is represented by those scholars who, answering to question no. 2, thought that the source of inspiration for the Attic painters were actual models: Scythians living in Athens, either as public mercenaries, or private servants, or Athenians who used Scythian garments.<sup>12</sup> Depending on the answer to the question no. 1, less important than question no. 2, we may further divide this current in two opposite categories: the 'photographic' category, best represented by Helbig, who proposed that most scenes are in fact historical or daily scenes involving Scythian or Scythian-dressed *hypēretai* and the 'positivist' category, best represented by Vos, who admits the diversity of the scenes depicted and does not provide a conclusion on whom is actually represented on the vases.

The second main current is represented by those who oppose the view that the sources of inspiration for the Attic painters were actual Scythians or Scythian-dressed people living in Athens and emphasize the answer to question no. 1. This current was triggered by the difficulties in the reconstructions proposed by the 'photographic' and 'positivist' directions<sup>13</sup> and gave way to the conclusion that there were no actual Scythians or Scythian-dressed persons in Athens so as to inspire the painters.<sup>14</sup> The origin of the Scythian garb on Attic vases is seen as not so important, being omitted or quickly dismissed: the Scythian dress emerges as a symbol used to stand for mythological and epic archers.<sup>15</sup>

We may call this current 'structuralist' as Lissarague developed it to its highest extent: both in epic, combat or regular 6<sup>th</sup> century scenes, the 'Scythian archer' is the opposite of the citizen-hoplite, a symbol used to emphasize through juxtaposition another symbol.<sup>16</sup> Nothing

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<sup>12</sup> Weinecke 1891, 63-67; Helbig 1897; Plassart 1913, 155-187; Schoppa 1933, 20; Vos 1965; Raeck 1981, 15-34.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Minns 1913, 53-56.

<sup>14</sup> Opposition to the 'photographic' and 'positivist' approaches, on extra-pictorial grounds, in Lavelle 1992, 87-92.

<sup>15</sup> Welwei 1974, 9-32; Ferrary Pinney 1983.

<sup>16</sup> Lissarague 1990, 235-236. A similar stance in Ivantchik 2006, who pays more attention though to question no. 2 than Lissarague, proposing an Ionian link to nomads in Median and Persian armies as the source of inspiration. Overtones of Lissarague's theory also in Barringer 2004, esp. 24-25, and Davis 2013, 184-191, who affirms that for the Athenians the Scythian was the archer *par excellence*, without making clear if this symbol was used only on pottery or in real life as well, by the Athenian archers who might have adopted the Scythian dress.

is real: neither the figures the Attic painters intended to draw, nor the sources of inspiration for the symbols.

More or less, the methodological approach that supported such views was mostly inspired by the perspective and the methods of the historian and the art historian. The main unit of analysis is the image, the scene, with few references to aspects such as the material support of the image, its social and economic use, its producers and its consumers. As far as I know, the only serious attempts in this ‘contextualist’ direction were made by Marconi and Osborne,<sup>17</sup> totally new compared to the traditional essays of interpreting the set of evidence and mostly transcending the criteria delineated above.

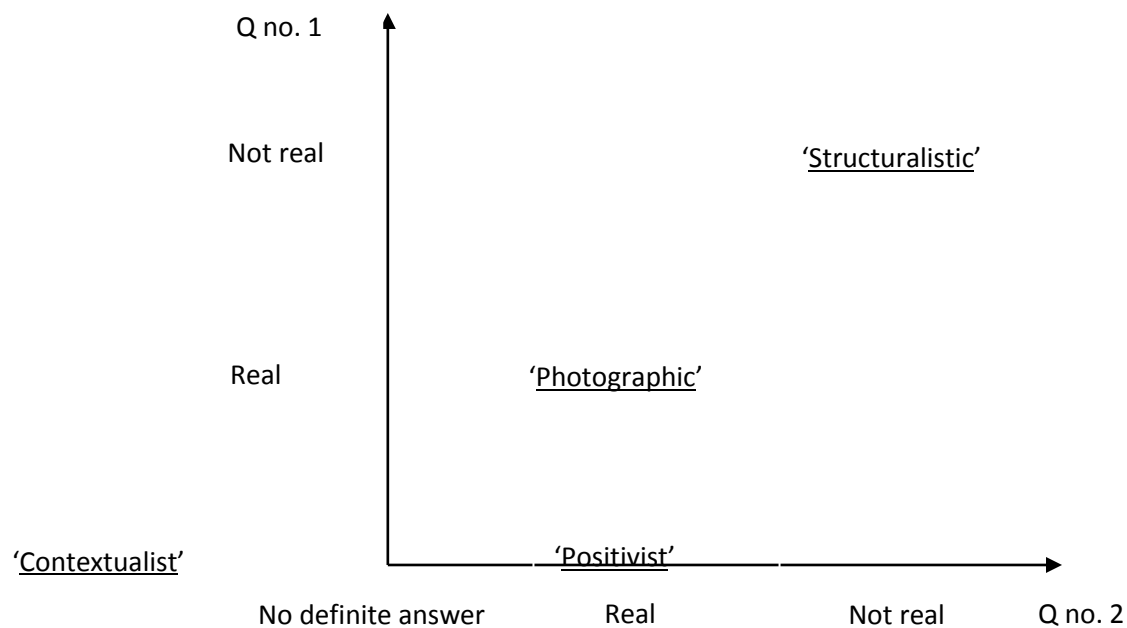


Figure 1. Directions of interpretation in modern historiography.

### Some methodological observations

In my opinion, none of the previous researchers who tackled the ‘Scythian’ archers’ issue stressed enough a common fact: the ‘Scythians’ or, more precisely, the elements of ‘Scythian’ dress are signs which are part of a semiotic code, something very similar to language. Therefore, the methods used for studying or deciphering a language might be also useful in studying and deciphering the ‘Scythians’.

<sup>17</sup> Marconi 2004 (but he also tangentially agrees with Ferrari Pinney on the epic dimension of the figures depicted); Osborne 2004.



First of all, we should be aware that in a communication situation, the code is only one element among others such as the sender, the receiver, the channel. The ‘contextualist’ approach advocated by Marconi, but especially by Osborne, has the considerable merit that extends the study from the traditional units (the scenes, which might be equated with fragments written in an unknown language) to those who made and saw those units (those who ‘wrote’ and those who ‘read’ the fragments). Although there are no guarantees of success, this perspective might be helpful as we can ask significant questions about the targeted audiences,<sup>18</sup> the way the message travelled from the sender to the receiver, or the specific senders.<sup>19</sup> As our knowledge of Attic painters has greatly increased lately, a detailed inquiry on how individual senders used the ‘Scythian’ elements of the code might possibly be one of the most fruitful directions of study, unexploited extensively until now, as far as I know.<sup>20</sup>

The necessity of studying those who ‘spoke’ the ‘Scythian’ dress ‘language’ and their ways of using the ‘language’ is bringing us near to the study of the code itself through linguistic methods.

We should add to the study of ‘fragments’ (i.e. scenes) a comprehensive study of the evolution of ‘words’ (e.g. the ‘Scythian’ cap, the ‘Scythian’ trousers – *anaxyrides* etc.), as elements of the ‘Scythian’ dress might enter into several semantic combinations different to the typical ‘Scythian archer’.<sup>21</sup>

This kind of study should specifically involve a greater awareness of the need to rigorously use the space and time criterion in our analyses: evoking indiscriminately scenes on vases painted in 560 and 480 may seriously hamper the deciphering of the ‘Scythian’ code.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, we should try to more clearly establish the relation between the

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<sup>18</sup> Sketchy statistics provided by Osborne 2004, 48-49, 54 (the provenance of the pots listed in Lissarague’s catalogue for which Beazley provides data in *ABV* and *ARV*<sup>2</sup>) might point to a sort of ‘directed trade’: more than 80% of the 128 wares come from Italy and Sicily. Nearly half of the total comes from Vulci. Evidence for ‘directed trade’ in early red figure Attic pottery towards the West is provided in Paleothodoros 2007. See general implications of ‘directed trade’ in Williams 2013.

<sup>19</sup> This kind of approach might also reduce the imbalance between the socio-economic and the esthetic analysis in the study of pottery, an imbalance that impeded and is still impeding the development of our knowledge of Greek archaic and classical society. Bresson and Callatay 2013, 22.

<sup>20</sup> Frolov 2000, 12-14 is insufficient.

<sup>21</sup> See Shapiro 1983 on Scythian, Thracian and mix dressed Amazons, or the already mentioned naked young archer on the *kylix* Basel 549 (see above n. 7).

<sup>22</sup> Studies which pay little attention to the date of vases are of little value particularly in this situation where there is a huge increase in the use of the ‘Scythian’ archer motive between 520-500, followed by a steep decline until 490. See Osborne 2004, 43-45. Osborne is pointing to a historical explanation for this strange evolution and he might be right, as there are many significant political events involving Greeks and Scythians in these years, in the northern Aegean and in the Pontic area. I stress here the otherwise ignored Scythian embassy to Sparta, that took place after Darius’ campaign in Scythia (Hdt. 6.84).

uses of the ‘Scythian’ code in the Attic ‘idiom’, the best known until now, and in other Greek ‘idioms’ (Ionian, Chalcidian<sup>23</sup>) and even in some foreign ‘languages’ (Persian). It might be no surprise if a thorough study showed that the Attic ‘Scythian’ archer is in fact an Ionian ‘loan word’.<sup>24</sup>

As in any deciphering, the bilinguals are of the greatest interest. We might never have the luck to discover a literary text transmitting the same message as an Attic pot depicting ‘Scythians’, but we should not lose our hope. As well, vase inscriptions might enclose some hints which should be further examined, as a recent and innovative study on the so-called ‘non-sense’ inscriptions pointed towards the possible Attic painters’ impressive knowledge of some north Pontic barbarian words and anthroponyms.<sup>25</sup>

## Conclusion

The topic of the ‘Scythian’ archers depicted on late archaic Attic pottery is much more complicated than is usually envisaged in studies concerned with its ethnical or epic implications. The elements of ‘Scythian’ dress on Attic pottery are in fact a code (or part of a code) and should be analyzed using also proper methods often employed in semiotics and linguistics.

Until the decipherment of the ‘Scythian’ code, remarks on actual Scythian mercenaries hired by Peisistratos and his heirs can be considered as having no solid arguments. Nevertheless, they cannot simply be dismissed. Much more research has to be done in order to provide a final answer to this thorny, yet fascinating question.

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A curious similar phenomenon is represented by the depictions of the siege of Constantinople of 626 on the external painting of medieval Moldavian churches, as part of the series of images associated to an hymn to the Holy Virgin. They were painted during less than 20 years, in the reign of Moldavian ruler Petru Rareș, at a time of confrontation with the Ottoman Empire. The Persians are represented as Ottoman soldiers. See Mândru 1995, 86; Ciobanu 2008.

<sup>23</sup> For ‘Scythian’ archers on Chalcidian vases, most probably produced in Rhegion in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, see Marconi 2004, 33 n. 22, 23. It must be compared with Zahn 1896, 79-80.

<sup>24</sup> Some interesting pieces of evidence and arguments in Zahn 1896, 61-79; Plassart 1913, 175-177; Welwei 1974, 14-17; Ivantchik 2006, 243-247, but which have to be reconsidered and cautiously reexamined.

<sup>25</sup> Mayor et al. 2014, although the moment of the Attic traders’ emergence in the Black Sea is disputed (Brašinskij 1967; Bouzek 1990, 42-52; Tsetskhladze 1998, 51-67).

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# ANCIENT TROPHY MONUMENTS – ORIGINS, EVOLUTION AND SIGNIFICATION IN THE GREEK WORLD

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## Abstract

Weapons and military equipment played a significant role in the life of ancient Greeks, not only as instruments needed in gaining victory on the battlefield, but as elements acquiring religious meanings in war contexts and being used in sacred ceremonies. Ancient Greek historians wrote about marvellous weapons dedicated in sanctuaries, and they mentioned trophy monuments erected on the battlefield, whose role was to delight the war Gods who helped the victorious army to defeat their enemies. The research of ancient trophy monuments needs to go back in time for the most important sources (archaeological proofs and literary evidences) regarding the first trophies from history. This paper is an attempt to reiterate the issues of the trophies, including their resemblance with the human body.

**Keywords:** trophy monument, dedications of spoils, traditions, Ancient Greece, military aspects.

This article<sup>1</sup> tries to review the ancient symbolism and signification of Greek trophies, starting with the discussion about the dedications of spoils as a traditional custom in the Greek world, taking into account the place, the time and the context of the trophies appearance. Then, the importance of these latter monuments will be related with both military and religious domains, aiming also to renew the relation between the shape of the trophy and the human body.

## Dedications of spoils in the Ancient Greek World

Ancient sources<sup>2</sup> and many archaeological discoveries<sup>3</sup> give us proofs regarding different military customs developed in various regions. The Greeks had special rites and war

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<sup>1</sup> The present paper is the result of a personal contribution for the CICSA Annual Conference, April 2015, whose topic was the physical and symbolical dimensions in representations of the human body. I chose to speak about Greek trophy monuments because, in my opinion, the symbolism of those objects is a special one and their form can be related to that of the human body.

<sup>2</sup> One of the most important sources regarding this topic is *Iliad*. For a critical discussion on the military customs, equipment and weapons described in this epic see van Wees, 1994.

ceremonies which included dedications of spoils and erection of trophy monuments as a symbol of victory in battle and as a gift for the friendly gods. Originally, only weapons and armour dedications were used, but later the trophy was invented. Before analysing its evolution, some mentions about dedications of weapons could be useful.

In Ancient Greece war was heavily ritualized, the military campaigns included many religious ceremonies which were designed to bring victory. We cannot speak about dedications of spoils as an isolated custom. It should be part of a larger discussion regarding the complex ceremony which usually included various sacrifices, rites and dedications. Before leaving the city for any military campaign the leader of the expedition offers sacrifices to Gods. Other ceremonies were made before crossing any river or sea, before building a fort. A last sacrifice was made on the battle frontline.<sup>4</sup> From Archaic to Hellenistic period there are many evidences about dedications of spoils as the final part of this complex ceremony, showing the close relation between military domain and religion. The different types of pre-battle sacrifices had the role to delight the gods, because their essential help in a combat. After the battle, the celebration of victory contained both thanks to the gods and ceremonies that could impress other Greeks.<sup>5</sup> These latter activities had also a strong social effect, increasing the pride and self-trust of each hoplite member of a victorious army.<sup>6</sup> It becomes obvious that one of the biggest motivations for the Greek hoplite was to win spoils for the final ceremonies, avoiding the defeat which could let his enemies dispossess his comrades of weapons and armour. This is the reason why, if a hoplite with expensive armour was wounded, the others soldiers around him tried to protect his body not to be taken by the enemy who could use the equipment as spoil for dedications.<sup>7</sup> Greek soldiers gathered all sort of armour and weapons from the battlefield, but when the dedication was made, only expensive pieces were preferred because of their high social and religious value – even if these pieces were damaged, as we can see at Olympia, where the dedications included damaged helmets.<sup>8</sup> Probably the gifts were accompanied by prayers of thanksgiving and

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<sup>3</sup> For example the famous case of the Athenian general Miltiades who dedicated his helmet to Olympian Zeus after his victory over the Persians in the battle of Marathon. This artifact is exposed in Olympia Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Hanson 2003, 202.

<sup>5</sup> Hanson 2003, 228.

<sup>6</sup> Hanson 2003, 235.

<sup>7</sup> Hdt. 5.95.

<sup>8</sup> One of the most important artifacts from Olympia Museum is the already mentioned above helmet dedicated by the Athenian general Miltiades after the Marathon battle. The helmet is badly damaged and contained an inscription for Zeus. Anyway, here we can see many dedications of spoils, and we can remark that shields and helmets were the most common dedications because they were heavy equipment pieces abandoned in the first place by fleeing enemies.

prayers for the future help in battles, actions connected with religion and the spiritual world. For the defeated soldiers, it was a shame that their weapons were exposed in sanctuaries and an alarm, because the gods did not help them.<sup>9</sup>

The custom of dedicating spoils is deeply attested in Archaic and Classical Greek sanctuaries as Olympia<sup>10</sup>, Isthmia<sup>11</sup> and Delphi.<sup>12</sup> Those dedications were kept much time inside temples and sometimes the travellers could see the weapons even after hundreds of years. Pausanias (1.15.4) wrote about Spartan weapons from Pylos that he saw in a shrine at Athens after five hundred years. Because of their religious statute it was a sacrilege to remove them and they could be taken only in special cases of fire, earthquake or diplomatic necessity.<sup>13</sup>

However, we have an interesting exception: the Spartans did not include dedications of spoil in their war ceremonies. The captured armour is seen as an object of a coward soldier, therefore it can't be an appropriate gift for the gods, who could be offended by it. Modern scholars enounced another explanation for this exception: the enthusiasm of despoiling dead enemies under the pretext of collecting them for dedications could have affected the discipline of the phalanx.<sup>14</sup> For this reason, Spartans have austere victory sacrifices and they do not use this kind of dedications that it was so common in the rest of the Greek world. These Spartan particularities enhance the difficulties in understanding the relationship between dedications of spoils and military trophies especially because the custom of raising trophies is mentioned for the first time at Sparta and only then it was embraced by all Greek *poleis*.

### Origins and definition of trophies

The literary tradition about the military trophy begins with Othryades who brought the victory for the Spartans, in the Battle of the 300 Champions for Thyreatis, around 550 BC.

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<sup>9</sup> Hanson 2003, 240.

<sup>10</sup> All the cities in the Greek world sent spoils at Olympia, so that an estimate counting shows that Olympia received nearly 100,000 helmets during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, but these figures are surely exaggerated (See Hanson 2003, 244).

<sup>11</sup> At Isthmia the archaeologist unearthed thousands of fragmentary metal scraps, a minimum of 32 bronze-rimmed shields and at least 30 sets of shin guards, as well as more than the 225 bronze helmets and over 100 iron weapons.

<sup>12</sup> Sometimes, both combatants army could claimed the victory when the battle result was not so clear. Consequently, both of the armyes sent dedications of spoils, as we can see to Delphy, were Tegea and Mantinea both sent spoils after the battle from 423/2 BC (Thuc. 4.134).

<sup>13</sup> Hanson 2003, 244.

<sup>14</sup> Hanson 2003, 232.

But this event was changed a lot over time.<sup>15</sup> In the earlier version of the story, uttered by Herodotus,<sup>16</sup> the victor took the enemies' weapons from the battlefield, but he did not raise a trophy with those weapons. Later versions of this episode, composed in a period when the trophy rite was ordinary, depict Othryades building a trophy,<sup>17</sup> revealing the literary way of (re)telling stories and making harder the research of the trophy origin.

Another aspect that hinders the answer of origin is the organic material used for the first raised trophies. Traditions and other stories tell us about tree trunk trophies,<sup>18</sup> therefore, the archaeological traces of the earliest trophies are difficult or impossible to find. The earliest representation of a battlefield trophy was depicted on a pottery fragment unearthed in the Kabeiron near Thebes, dated in the first half of the fifth century BC,<sup>19</sup> but modern scholars outline that the representations of trophies are not common on pottery being instead a favourite theme on coins.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, we do not know the precise moment when the trophy was 'invented' and we should rely on our first certain references about the durable trophy, which come from the time of the Persian wars.<sup>21</sup> There are different opinions regarding its origins, some scholars believe that it was a Dorian development,<sup>22</sup> but others see also as a possibility that it appeared in Attica.<sup>23</sup> According to an older opinion, another possibility is Sparta, where the trophy might have been recorded as far as the eighth century BC, while in Athens it might have appeared in the seventh century BC, so that only later it became universal in Greece, except the Macedonian region.<sup>24</sup> The practice of raising stone, marble or bronze trophies went on throughout the Classical and Hellenistic period. The triumphal art, associated with trophies, was also born in the Greek world at the end of the Peloponnesian war (431-404 BC).

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<sup>15</sup> Stroszeck 2004, 309-310.

<sup>16</sup> Hdt. 1. 82 is the main source for the event and it preserves the earliest known form of the tradition about the battle.

Herodotus tells us how the Spartans and Argives fought for the fertile region of Thyreatis and decided to choose 300 champions from each side to represent the whole armies in a smaller scale battle. At the end of the day, there were only three survivors: Othryades, a Lacedemonian, and Alkenor and Chromios, two Argives. While the Argives went back to their army to announce that they are the winners, Othryades remained on the battlefield and gathered the enemy weapons. When the armies meet again the next day, the Spartans claimed that they were the winners, because Othryades took the weapons, while the Argives soldiers abandoned the battlefield. As the two armies were not able to arrive to consensus, the battle started once again and the Spartans were the final winners.

<sup>17</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 306B; Luc. *Cont.* 24, Stob. *Flor.* 3.7.68.

<sup>18</sup> Picard 1957, 12-13.

<sup>19</sup> Wolters and Burns 1940, 123, pl. 19. 7.

<sup>20</sup> See Beazley, J. D. and Caskey, L. 1963, 66-67, which contain a list of trophies on Greek vases.

<sup>21</sup> Stroszeck 2004, 309. The first known trophies are those from Marathon, Salamis, Plataea and Delphi, erected after the Persian invasions.

<sup>22</sup> See Janssen 1957.

<sup>23</sup> See Gansiniec 1995.

<sup>24</sup> Rouse 1902, 99.



The term trophy (*τρόπαιον* in Greek, *tropaeum* in Latin) might refer to a tree trunk covered by weapons taken after battle by the victorious soldiers from their dead enemies, a statue dedicated to *Theos Tropaios*,<sup>25</sup> a gift for those gods who helped the army to win the battle. During the Hellenistic and Roman times the trophy became an object symbolising the victory in war.<sup>26</sup> So it was a standard offering for Zeus, normally set up as soon as the defeated army has fled.<sup>27</sup>

The first trophies erected by Spartan generals were more personal distinctions for the victorious generals rather than recognition for the whole army. Regarding this matter, we have a set of clarifying questions:

1. Why the trophy was invented in Sparta, where dedications of weapons and armour were forbidden?
2. Was the trophy an object meant to replace the traditional dedication of spoils, due to the changing fashion in votive military offerings?
3. If the answer to the second question is affirmative it is possible for the trophies to have the same values and roles as the dedications of spoils?
4. Did the new human shape of the trophy has a special signification or it is just a simple coincidence the fact that the tree trunk has a natural shape which can be related to a human body?

The Spartan origin of trophies is intriguing. Spartans did not use to make dedications of spoils<sup>28</sup> as a common custom and there is only an assumption, influenced by the literary tradition, that they gathered the weapons if the enemies had already fled from the battlefield.<sup>29</sup> We can assume that the Spartans invented the trophy as a better alternative to the dedications of spoils, which might have disturbed the discipline of the phalanx. It became the symbol of the victorious general, who erected the trophy without involving all the army in this activity. At the same time, this object was a gift for the gods. Later, the trophy rite was adopted in all the Greek cities which could find it suitable. Since our sources are fragmentary and the archaeological traces almost non-existent, it is difficult to study the early evolution of the trophy. Dedications of spoils were probably used in parallel with the trophy rite for a while,

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<sup>25</sup> At his origins, *Theos Tropaios* might have been a Spartan war daemon, but later it became a battle deity for all the Greek world.

<sup>26</sup> Picard 1957, 13. The definition was accepted by most researchers and it refers at the earliest trophies, made of tree trunks.

<sup>27</sup> Hansen 2003, 239.

<sup>28</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 224 B and F.

<sup>29</sup> Hdt. 9.80.

as in the Classical period the Greeks still used to send weapons and armours to shrines. Anyway, in the Hellenistic period we have fewer and fewer examples<sup>30</sup> of these dedications.

### Typology and characteristics

There are two kind of military trophies based on the moment of rising and the material used. The primary trophy was made of tree trunks just after the battle, to mark the result of the confrontation, and we know about that mainly from literary sources, no archaeological traces being preserved. This trophy was understood as momentary place marker, signifying also the enemy's defeat and the winner's superiority on the day of the battle,<sup>31</sup> and before classical period it never signified a commemorative monument.<sup>32</sup> Later, the primary trophy started to be represented in art and it became a symbol for the victory. On many vases, coins or reliefs we see Nike preparing or crowing such an object.

The secondary trophies were made of stone, bronze, marble or other imperishable materials. Their purpose was to keep alive throughout ages the memory of important victories.<sup>33</sup> Both type of trophies, no matter the moment of rising or the kind of material, were associated with a religious ceremony. The trophy rising ritual took place on the battlefield, after the battle was over and the defeated army was retreated (or eventually surrendered). The victorious army remained on the battlefield and stripped their enemies of their weapons, using a helmet, a shield and a pair of greaves, adding a military cloak, to raise a primary trophy.<sup>34</sup> Then, the winners had the right to gather their dead and to bury them properly. The defeated soldiers had to accept the fact that their comrades were dispossessed of weapons. For having the right to gather their own dead, the defeated soldiers demanded the winners' permissions. This fact was equivalent with the recognition that they were defeated,<sup>35</sup> and if the winners did not despoil the dead enemies, it was a sign of reconciliation. This complex ritual legitimates victory and reveals its acceptance recognition from the defeated army. At the beginning of the

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<sup>30</sup> Hansen 2003, 244.

<sup>31</sup> West 1969, 12.

<sup>32</sup> *Ar. Eq.* 1333-34, *Vesp.* 707-11.

<sup>33</sup> There was an important restriction in the Greek world regarding the erection of a durable trophy after a battle between two Greek armies. See *Cic. Inv. Rhet.* 2. 23. 69f on the Thebans who erected a trophy after they had defeated the Lacedemonians. They were severely accused on the basis that it was not right for Greeks to set up a permanent memorial of their battles against other Greeks. See also *Diod. Sic.* 13. 24. 5, who is telling us about the decision of the Syracusans not to erect a trophy in 415 BC, after they had defeated the Athenians. The reason was the same.

<sup>34</sup> Stroszeck 2004, 310-311.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. *Thuc.* 4.97. At the battle of Delion, the Thebans erected a trophy over the Athenians, and the Athenians asked the permission to collect their victims.

Classical Age, the custom of the rising trophies generated a decline in the frequency of dedications in temples<sup>36</sup> whose religious functions were assumed by the primary trophies raised on the battlefield.

There are many criteria<sup>37</sup> which can be used in order to classify trophies. As we have already seen, one criterion could be the relation with the place and the ending time of the battle, along with the material used. Another criterion could be the nature of the combat – naval or land battle. The most common trophies are those for land battles, but we have proofs that if an important naval victory was gained, the Greeks used to set up a trophy, as they did after the battle of Salamis.<sup>38</sup> Quiet often the right of such construction after a naval battle is a matter of debate and both sides of belligerents claimed the victory and erected trophies.<sup>39</sup>

It was a sacrilege to destroy these monuments<sup>40</sup> because they immortalized the battle spirit, connected with the captured weapons of enemies and the soul of dead warriors. The epigraphic commemoration of the victory, including the names of the military leaders, is mostly associated with a dedication for the god *Theos Tropaios*. As we already know, for ancient Greeks, the help from the gods was important in battles, so, by raising trophies, they thought they have a good occasion to show their gratitude. Later, as the Hellenistic monarchies were founded and legitimated by victory, trophies emphasized royal charisma.

### **The trophies of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea**

Most of our knowledge is based on secondary trophies, which have survived thanks to their durable nature. Three of the most important durable trophies are those from Marathon, Salamis and Plataea. They were not built immediately after the wars, but three decades later, when the Greek cities felt safe and Athens decided to erect a number of monuments for their victories.

The archaeologists discovered fragments of a trophy on the plain of Marathon.<sup>41</sup> The fragments from this monument were used in a later construction of a Byzantine tower.

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<sup>36</sup> Snodgrass 2006.

<sup>37</sup> Although the present article tackles only the matter of Greek trophies, we should be well aware that in time many types of trophies were developed, according to their origins: there were Greek, Oriental, Roman, Northern type trophies. We can extend the classification to other types of trophies and related objects, such as mythic trophies, statues associated with trophies, deified images, the goddess Nike standing on a globe etc.

<sup>38</sup> *SEG* 26, 121. See also Pl. *Menex.* 243A, Xen. *An.* 3.2.13. and Lycurg. *Leoc.* 73.

<sup>39</sup> Pritchett 1974, 260.

<sup>40</sup> Picard 1957.

<sup>41</sup> The discoveries include a large ionic capital fragment of six column drums and a fragment of a sculpture. All those belong to the same monument and they were re-used in the medieval tower on the plain of Marathon. Probably it is the monument saw by Pausanias in second century AD (1.32.5). Anyway, those spoils are not from

Probably the trophy was erected near the place marked by heavy casualties on the Persian side. Ancient sources told us that after the battle, a primary trophy was erected and thirty years later the Athenians built a monument at Delphi for the battle of Marathon.<sup>42</sup> They also put a huge bronze statue called *Athena Promachos* on the acropolis, which was built with spoils from defeated Persians, and later it was set up a trophy on the plain of Marathon. This trophy is mentioned in some ancient sources as Pausanias,<sup>43</sup> Aristophanes, who refers to it three times,<sup>44</sup> Critias<sup>45</sup> and Plato<sup>46</sup>.

The British Museum possesses today some marble fragments from the trophy putted on the plain of Marathon. They were presented to the museum by John Walker in 1802, without a definite dating,<sup>47</sup> but scholars point to a date which exclude the classical period. Maybe they came from a later Hellenistic establishment of the original “trophy of white marble”.<sup>48</sup>

The trophy from Salamis is another monument built to maintain alive the Greeks’ victory over the Persians. It was a column monument probably similar with the trophy from Marathon, being an important landmark in antiquity.<sup>49</sup> The location of this monument – mentioned by Plato, Xenophon and Lycurgus<sup>50</sup> – is not surely established, it was taken into account the surroundings of the Salamis town, due to the name of a region from Salamis Island – Cape Tropaia.<sup>51</sup> The last of the Greek trophies erected in the context of the Persian wars was the trophy from Plataea. Even if Athens marked the battlefields from Marathon and Salamis with victory monuments, we have a different situation for Plataea. Here, the Greeks gained an important success in which Sparta played the most significant role.<sup>52</sup> Consequently, Sparta and Athens erected separate trophies for their victories.<sup>53</sup>

The political context of Persian wars permitted to these three trophies to be related with the battle for freedom, for victory achieved after a war against barbarians. It was a

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the original monument erected by Athens thirty years later after Marathon battle, but they belonged to a later restoration. We can realize that looking at the style of the capital, which seems to be like those at temple of Athena at Sounion and the *stoa* of the Athenians at Delphi. However, the style of the sculpture fragment is relevant for a later date: the sculpture folds are not formal and stiff as in the archaic period.

<sup>42</sup> Paus. 1.28

<sup>43</sup> Paus 1.15.3.

<sup>44</sup> Ar. *Eq.* 1334; *Vesp.* 711; *Lys.* 285.

<sup>45</sup> Critias frg. B2 (Diels-Kranz), 15.

<sup>46</sup> Pl. *Menex.* 240D. Plato wrote that the Athenians were the first Greeks to set up trophies over the barbarians, referring to Marathon and Salamis.

<sup>47</sup> Vanderpool 1967, 109-111.

<sup>48</sup> Vanderpool 1966, 100.

<sup>49</sup> West 1969, 15.

<sup>50</sup> See note 34.

<sup>51</sup> Wallace 1969, 299.

<sup>52</sup> West 1969, 17.

<sup>53</sup> Plut. *Arist.* 20.3.

victory of entire armies, commanded by virtuous leader. During the Hellenistic period the role of the army is surpassed by the courage and charisma of kings and generals, qualities for which a trophy is especially set up. The most famous Hellenistic monuments known until now are Alexander the Great's trophies, the trophy belonging to Greek general Eumenes, the Seleucid trophies, the trophies from Pergamum (represented on a Pompeii fresco) and Ptolemaic trophies.

Concerning the Roman military trophies, it could be said that from the Republican period onwards, the Romans used this type of monument, adapting it to their own understanding of victory and power. In this respect, it has to be mentioned at least two important aspects. First aspect concerns the symbolism of trophy which became an important part of the triumph ceremony and architecture. The second aspect regards the political propaganda and the epigraphic messages emphasizing the power of the *imperium* possessor and the name of the defeated enemies.

The precise date of Roman adoption is not clear, upon Florus' mention, it probably was around 121 BC when the Romans fought with the Gauls, and Fabius Maximus and Domitius Ahenobarbus built stone trophies on the battlefield.<sup>54</sup> But Florus' account is confusing – maybe he is speaking about the first battlefield trophies, because we find out from other sources, like Vergilius, that the Romans started to use trophies a long time ago.<sup>55</sup> However, there is another important opinion regarding the origins of the Roman trophies related to the myth about Tarpeia, which might point to an earlier date. This alternative interpretation was presented in 1949 by Polish researcher Zofia Gansinieč in an interesting study.<sup>56</sup>

Only few of these Roman trophies – as individual monuments – were preserved: the remains of Augustus' monument<sup>57</sup> from La Turbie (France), *Tropeum Augusti Alpium*, raised in 7-6 BC, on the frontier between Italy and Gallia Narbonensis and the Trajan's monument

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<sup>54</sup> Flor. 1.37.5-6.

<sup>55</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 11. For a critical discussion regarding the evidences from Vergilius see Carcopino 1919, 268.

<sup>56</sup> See Gansinieč 1949, the myth of Tarpeia is thoroughly analyzed. The story dates from the time of Romulus, when the city of Rome was besieged by the Sabines. Tarpeia, the daughter of the Roman commander decided to open one of the gates for the enemies. She was attracted by the gold jewelry worn by the Sabines, and she asked for her betrayal their gold bracelets. But when they entered Rome, all of them threw their bracelets and their shields in the girl, so she died. There are some old roman coins which depicts Tarpeia under the Sabine's shields. So this is an interesting alternative regarding the origins of the roman trophy.

<sup>57</sup> *CIL* V 7817; *AE* 1973, 323; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 3.24.

from Dobruja (Roumania), built near the borders of the empire (109 AD), the trophy of nowadays Adamclisi (ancient *Tropaeum*).<sup>58</sup>

### **The trophies and the human shape**

The primary trophies had human shape by the nature of the tree trunk which is like a standing human silhouette. Unfortunately, we do not have enough sources to tell if they deliberately choose this shape or it is a simple coincidence. Since the secondary trophies made from durable materials were built having masculine shape, probably this stands as evidence that the preference for human body was deliberate from the start.

If this supposition proves right we have another question: who was represented by the trophy? The most tempting assumption is that the trophy was a symbolic representation of an opponent defeated in battle, an idea largely accepted by modern scholars,<sup>59</sup> based on the testimony of ancient sources.<sup>60</sup> Other hypotheses should not be discarded: because the trophy was erected on a tree trunk, maybe it was an outgrowth of the ritual of worshipping trees.<sup>61</sup> We might also hypothesize that the trophy was a symbol for the war gods who helped the army to win the battle.

### **Conclusions**

In the pre-archaic times, the winners in a battle preferred to leave the weapons on the battlefield to be destroyed by time<sup>62</sup> most probably because of the belief that the enemy weapons owned a sacred but dangerous power. Later, in the Archaic Age, the Greeks started to be interested in the abandoned military equipment items. Consequently, they collected them for different purposes: to reuse them or to offer them to the gods. The trophy was respected as a sacred object, being forbidden to destroy it,<sup>63</sup> aspect that provides a very close analogy with the way in which dedications of spoils were regarded. Both dedications of spoils and trophies become important for the hoplites, who could find a powerful motivation in

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<sup>58</sup> See the studies of Romanian researchers – Tocilescu 1895; Antonescu 1905; Florescu 1961; Sâmpetru 1984 – and some foreign studies of the Adamclisi monument – Studnicza 1904; Paribeni 1926; Gansinieč 1955. Of course, there are more studies on this subject.

<sup>59</sup> See Cook 1925, where the theory is presented in detail.

<sup>60</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 1250 and Verg. *Aen.* 11. 5.

<sup>61</sup> See Bötticher 1856.

<sup>62</sup> Woelcke 1911, 165.

<sup>63</sup> Ober 1997, 14.

capturing armour, weapons and participating to triumphal celebrations after the victory. The dedications of armour and weapons were thought to be a fulfilment of a vow to the gods and for this reason all the weapons and equipment stained with blood from the battlefield was not regarded as polluted when it was brought to the city.<sup>64</sup> We observe that in time this kind of dedications became less frequent, as the Greeks started to use the trophies, so we might suppose that they abandoned the old fashion of dedicating spoils also on behalf of the new custom, even if it is difficult to find a comprehensive explanation for the new preference.

Used as a symbol of military power and to legitimate a victory, these monuments will always be connected with the masculine world. Their resemblance to the human body might be subject to further enquiry.

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<sup>64</sup> Hansen 2003, 243.

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# BODY AND EMBELLISHMENT – OVIDIAN REFLECTIONS

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## Abstract:

The paper analyses the conception of beauty in two poems written by Ovid, *The Art of Love* and *Cosmetics for the female face* (also known as *The Art of Beauty*), and emphasizes the complex significance of the human body as social and cultural concept. Using the axiological vocabulary of his time and mindful of the dynamic character of the Roman tradition, Ovid reveals the changes in Roman mentality and life in the Age of Augustus.

**Keywords:** beauty, human body, art of embellishment, tradition, cultural dynamism

Publius Ovidius Naso was and still is a fascinating poet for many modern scholars. The study of his poetry and its importance in Roman culture has developed along several dimensions: social, anthropologic, historical, mythological and religious. The huge impact of his work upon the universal culture has been often discussed<sup>1</sup> and, without any doubt, Ovid is an outstanding poet of love as much as a painter of his own “milieu social”,<sup>2</sup> creating an “*étiquette comportementale*”. Our intention is to explore the beauty of the human body (its aspect – *forma*, and embellishment – *cultus formae*) in the verses<sup>3</sup> of *Ars Amatoria* (*The Art of Love*) and *Medicamina faciei femineae* (*Cosmetics for the female face*), two poems written by Ovid in the first decade of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

In *The Art of Love*, the poet, presenting himself as a *praeceptor amoris*, instructs a man how to gain the attention and the love of a woman (Book I) and then offers the methods to keep it (Book II), subsequently he teaches women how to be pleased by men, and to keep vivid their interest and affection (Book III). Probably before the composition of the latter,

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<sup>1</sup> Since the last four decades of the previous century the poet and his works started gathering an increased interest among researches, materialised in many books and international debates. The problem of beauty and love in Ovid's verses were renewed and reintegrated in a subjective dimension of Latin poetry but also in a socio-political and philosophical one. It would be difficult to indicate all the works edited, however we can mention the new edition of Ovid's love poetry by E. J. Kenney (1994) along with the recent Volk's book on Ovid's work (2010) and the important studies on his love poetry and its complex meanings: Peter Green, 1979; Sharrock 2006; Gibson et al. 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Benedikson 1985; Sharrock 1994; Sharrock 2006.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin texts are from R. Ehwald and R. Merkel's edition (1907) of P. Ovidius Naso. *Amores, Epistulae, Medicamina faciei femineae, Ars amatoria, Remedia amoris*, Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.

Ovid wrote the *Cosmetics Book*<sup>4</sup>, that were preserved only one hundred lines from five or eight hundred estimated, where he justifies the using of cosmetics as a necessary way for embellishment of woman face and provides clear indications for skin-care preparations. There are five (or six) recipes for women face treatment – accordingly to the prescriptions of the Greek medicine, recorded<sup>5</sup> also by Pedanius Dioscorides and Pliny the Elder in the first century AD – that could be organized in a modern formula using the known schedule with information about the ingredients, technology of fabrication, medical and curative effects and using methods.

Recipe 1 (*Medic.* 53-66):

Ingredients – 2 pounds of barley from Lybia (*hordeum*), 2 pounds of vetch (*uicia Satie*), 10 eggs (*oues*), 2 ounces of powdered antler (*cornu ceruinum*), 12 stripped bulbs of daffodil (*narcissus bulbs*), glutinous tree (*gummus / arbor gummi*), 2 ounces of Etruscan wheat (*tritium Etruscans*), 9 ounces of pure honey (*mella*).

Preparation of ointment – mix Libyan wheat grains and soaked vetch with eggs, let them dry and then grind them; combine this mixture with antler (very well sieved in advance), crushed bulbs of daffodil and honey.

Effects – use for skin whitening and wrinkles.

Administration method - salve the face at dawn (daily emollient cream).

Recipe 2 (*Medic.* 69-80):

Ingredients – 6 pounds of two types of grasses (*lupinus*), white powder (*cerussa*), 1 ounce of soda (*aphronitrum* - carbonate and nitrate of sodium or potassium), 1 ounce of irises from Illyria (*iris Illyrica or oris camphor*), *alcyoneum* (mud from the nest of *cormorants*, which contains the mucus of these birds and kaolin)

Preparation of ointment: fry grasses and ground separately, mix them well with white powder, soda foam, irises and *alcyoneum*.

Effects – makes freckles blurred.

Administration method – mask with a ½ ounce of the amount realized.

Recipe 3 (*Medic.* 81-82)

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<sup>4</sup> The references for ancient works and authors use the abbreviations from the 4<sup>th</sup> edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary Abbreviations*.

<sup>5</sup> For this correspondence with Dioscorides, *Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς/ De materia medica* and Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.*, and the medical relevance of the content see Wilner 1931; Green 1979; Watson 2001 and 2002.

Ingredients – the same as for the previous recipe but adding Attic honey combs (*mella Attica*).

Preparation of ointment – realise it in a similar way to the previous recipe but adding honey.

Effects – makes the freckles on the body blurred.

Administration method – salve the affected portions of the body (poultices).

#### Recipe 4 (*Medic.* 83-90)

Ingredients - 4 ounces of incense powdered (frankincense), 4 ounces of soda (*aphronitrum* – carbonate of sodium), 3 ounces of glue tree (*gummus*), a grain of myrrh, anise (*anethum* – optional ingredient), honey (*mella*).

Preparation of ointment – mix the incense and soda (separately pounded and well sieved) and then blend with myrrh and, finally, with honey.

Effects – hides pimples and destroys them in time.

Administration method – apply to the affected skin.

#### Recipe 5 (*Medic.* 91-98)

Ingredients – anise and myrrh (4 or 5 parts per 9 parts of myrrh), incense, ammonium salt, a handful of dried roses, barley

Preparation of ointment – mix the ingredients (anise, myrrh, incense, roses, ammonium salt) with a barley broth.

Effects – revitalising and flushing the skin.

Administration method – salve the body (emollient cream).

In an alternative recipe (*Medic.* 99-100), the cheeks should be rubbed with crushed fresh poppies.

These recipes and their preparation details are bounteously offered by the poet in order to be easily available for every woman who wants to keep her face in a good shape and insofar to be admired as a pretty appearance.<sup>6</sup> But Ovid goes further than these apparently simple medical advices. In the entire poem *Ars Amatoria* he generously addresses both men and women.

The personal hygiene should be a constant preoccupation for every man seeking woman's love. Emphasizing that too much care for a hairstyle with curls and polished thighs

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<sup>6</sup> For entire discussion about the relation between cosmetics and creation of a new identity see Bradley 2006, 162-174.

belongs to women or to eunuchs of Cybele, Ovid suggests<sup>7</sup> wearing proper shoes and tidy clothes, having clean body – without malodours like those of goats, keeping the mouth fresh with cleared teeth. The hair, the beard and the nails should be carefully cut. The nose and ear hairs should be trimmed.

In the same respect, women should have<sup>8</sup> clean body and mouth as well – without any unpleasant smells – and they must keep their legs tidy and hairless, not like the foreign Caucasian women. The morning makeup should be modest and applied only when necessary, to enhance the shape of the eyes or to blanch the face, but also to give it some redness. Another set of suggestions, especially for the women, are the adjustments of the body imperfections. Ovid recognizes the diversity of the bodies, in terms of proportionality, and therefore he gives some instructions<sup>9</sup>: for a small woman is recommended to stay more time sited on a chair or laid on a bed than standing up, for a too skinny lady is better to be dressed in thick clothes, with a generous coat putted on the formless shoulders. If someone has a shoulder lower than the other that could be masked by using a small pad. It is better for a women with plumb and coarse foot to wear white sandals with many and long lanyards. The feminine hairstyle is a matter of adjustments of the facial shapes too (*Ars Am.* III. 135-147). A long face is best suited with hair combed and parted in the middle, a very round head requests the hair upward combed, and other facial shapes are matching with the curls and ringlets, in a diversity that can also be observed in the Late Republic and Early Empire portraiture.

A special attention is heeded for the harmony between the skin colour of the body and the clothes or garments. Ovid use the opposite relation between whites and blacks connected with the existence and the activities of the two genders.<sup>10</sup> The feminine world, attached to the private space, is more related with the nuances of white, but a too white skin is not a sign of

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<sup>7</sup> Ovid. *Ars Am.* I. 505-508, 513-524: *Sed tibi nec ferro placeat torquere capillos,/ Nec tua mordaci pumice crura teras./ Ista iube faciant, quaorum Cybeleia mater/ Concinitur Phrygiid exululata modis. (...) Munditie placeant, fuscentur corpora Campo/ Sit bene conueniens et sine labe toga:/ Lingula ne rigeat, careant rubigine dentes,/ Nec vagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natet:/ Nec male deformet rigidos tonsure capillos:/ Sit coma, sit trita barba resecta manu/ Et nihil emineant, et sint sine sordibus ungues:/ Inque caua nullus stet tibi nare pilus./ Nec male odorati sit tristis anhelitus oris:/ Nec laedat naris uirque paterque gregis./ Cetera lasciuiae faciant, concede puellae et siquis male uir quaerit habere uirum.*

<sup>8</sup> Ovid. *Ars Am.* III. 193-204: *(...) ne trux caper iret in alas,/ Neue forent duris aspera crura pilis!/ Sed non Caucasea doceo de rupe puellas/ Quaeque bibant undas, Myse Caice, tuas./ Quid si praecipiam ne fuscet inertia dentes,/ Oraque suscepta mane laventur aqua/ Scitis et inducta candorem quaerere creta./ Sanguine quae uero non rubet, arte rubet. / Arte supercilii confinia nuda replentis,/ Paruaque sinceras uelat aluta genas./ Nec pudor est oculos tenui signare fauilla,/ Vel prope te nato, Lucide Cyde, croco.*

<sup>9</sup> Ovid. *Ars Am.* III. 261-268: *Rara tamen mendo facies caret: occulle mendas,/ Quaque potes uitium corporis abde tui./ Si brevis est, sedeas, ne stand uideare sedere,/ Inque tuo iaceas quatulacumque toro;/ Hic quoque, ne possit fieri mensura cubantis,/ Iniecta lateant fac tibi ueste pedes./ Quae nimium gracilis, pleno uelamina filo/ Sumat, et ex umeris laxis amictus eat.*

<sup>10</sup> For the entire discussion about the relation between colour and physiognomy in ancient Greco-Roman World see Bradley, 111-160.

health and good manners, so the poet advises women how to make up their face in order to obtain a little redness (*rubor*) of the cheeks for a healthy look and also for a modest state of manners, which is called the colour of modesty (*color pudoris*).<sup>11</sup> In case of a blackish skin, Ovid suggests the bleaching powder as we have seen in his *Cosmetics* book. As for the men, the most desirable is the tanned face, a sign of strength and force trained on *Campus Martius*.

The dress colour is also very important, and reclaims the matching with the skin colour in a sort of complementary contrast: grey or dark clothes fit better with the blondes, while for the women with dark skin is recommended the white clothes (*pulla decent niueas (...) alba decent fuscas* – *Ars Am.* III. 189, 191).

These suggestions for the body itself are completed with a set of advices concerning the human behaviour. Recognizing that the passing time is merciless with the beauty of body (*forma bonum fragile est quantumque accredit ad annos fit minor* – *Ars Am.* II. 113-4), Ovid reveals bluntly the necessity of communication skills as principal causes for conquering and keeping love. The poet addresses to those unmarried who have only their love as fortune (*Ars Am.* II. 158-159), and admits that the success of a lasting love relationship is provided by words said and gestures accomplished in the right place and at the right time. In addition, being always at the service of mistress is for man the start point of his success, no matter the cost of her desires and fastidiousness. This kind of attitude and techniques complete or, if it is necessary, substitute the beauty of face, feeding the relationship.

There are also some indications for ladies<sup>12</sup> who desire to obtain love and keep alive their partner interest. It is preferable to remove the unpleasant laughter that could deform the face or cause animal sound<sup>13</sup>, and to not wail but to weep decently (*Ars Am.* III. 291). It is indicated to avoid vanity (*superbia*) and anger (*ira*) that shape a face in an ugly way and, to convict his “disciples”, Ovid urges to look into a mirror just in the moments of their arrogance or anger to see the ugliness engraved upon the face (*Ars Am.* III. 507-510). According to Ovid’s opinion, the most positive way to achieve a solid love relationship is provided by a moral way of life that could reinforce the beauty of face and body, a moral conduct that shapes visages of women or young girls and make them pretty despite the ages (*prima sit in uobis morum tutela, puellae./ Ingenio facies conciliante placet./ Certus amor morum est: formam populabitur aetas, /Et placitus rugis uultus aratus erit* – *Medic.* 43-46).

<sup>11</sup> For the metaphor of *pudor* see Bradley 2006, 152.

<sup>12</sup> Gibson 2006.

<sup>13</sup> This unpleasant sound is compared with the donkeys roar – *Ars Am.* III. 289-290.

Drawing the conception of beauty and human attraction in this complex manner is for Ovid the opportunity to outline a deep understanding of the human body. First of all, the beauty is a matter of treatment and hygiene. Then, in addition to the natural appearance, it is a matter of human attitude, wisdom, cleverness and also craftiness. All the efforts are made in order to obtain love<sup>14</sup>, but the Ovid's love is a special one. The affection between husband and wife is not his principal goal, the poet speaks for lovers and their mistresses, and therefore this kind of love is both an object and a subject of skilfulness<sup>15</sup> or, in other terms, it is an art of dissimulation (*ars dissimulata*). Accordingly, the Ovid's advices gain an important spatial and temporal meaning. Primarily, it is very important **where** and **when** this embellishment of the body **is made**. It is the private space the most appropriate place where this beauty should be accomplished constantly and secretly during the morning or in the hours before going out in public space. And it should be done carefully without excess, in order to obtain a close look to naturalness. Secondly, it is also important **where** and **when** this crafted beauty **is displayed**. Rome is the town where the girls from all over the world are gathering.<sup>16</sup> A "map" of places full of pretty and very meticulous embellished women (*cultissimae feminae*) could be drawn: the urban streets (*Ars Am.* I. 146-149), the forum (*Ars Am.* I. 80, 163, 174-175), the theatres and the circus (*Ars Am.* I. 89, 136, 162), the northern parts of the town where there are many commercial places and public baths, but also out of Rome, at Baiae (*Ars Am.* I. 255-256). The public events and the parties are good opportunities to meet "special persons" but Ovid gets notice on "night beauty" that can be deceitful: *Nocte latent mendae, uitioque ignoscitur omni,/ Horaque formosam quamlibet illa facit./ Consule de gemmis, de tincta murice lana/ Consule de facie corporibusque diem* (*Ars Am.* I. 249-252).

The credibility of Ovid's advices are rhetorically reinforced by his own confessed experience, he reveals those methods of beauty as a "connaisseur", playing often the role of an eyewitness<sup>17</sup> or of a person who has experienced love outside the marriage. He bluntly assumes the human need of permanent and potential love opened to all kind of people. His courage has probably generated many critiques uttered by the aristocratic elite who were officially praising the *mos maiorum* and encouraging the *iustum matrimonium*, in the way

<sup>14</sup> Myerowitz 1985.

<sup>15</sup> Watson 2001.

<sup>16</sup> Ovid. *Ars Am.* I. 55-56: *tot tibi tamque dabit formosas Roma puellas,/ <haec habet> ut dicas <quicquid in orbe fuit>.*

<sup>17</sup> For instance, Ovid says that he saw with his own eyes how a woman had whitened her face by rubbing the cheeks with red poppies: *uidi quae gelida madefacta papauera lymphae/ Contereret, teneris illineretque genis* (*Medicam.* 99-100).

enacted by Augustus in his recent legislation on marriage.<sup>18</sup> We leave apart this kind of love and return to the manner of how the exquisiteness is obtained. Is Ovid's conception of beauty different from the ideas of those who claimed to speak in the name of Roman tradition (*mos maiorum*) or those who wanted to be seen as the citizens' teachers or protectors? A brief comparison with the Cicero's book *On Duties*<sup>19</sup> (written in 44 BC) could suggest a possible answer.

For Cicero, the beautiful demeanour – *decorum*, understood as embellishment of life, contains:<sup>20</sup> decency (*uerecundia*), temperance (*temperantia*), modesty (*modestia*), calm of soul (*sedatio perturbationum animi*), sobriety of acts (*rerum modus*). This harmony in comportment can be read in words and facts, and requires – says Cicero – three things that are hard to define: beauty, discipline and mastery in all circumstances.<sup>21</sup> At the end of the Roman Republic, Cicero believes that elegance and beauty could be obtained only in harmony with nature and its preservation (*convenientia et conservatio naturae* – *Off.* I. 100) and they can't be separated from health (*uenustas et pulchritudo corporis secerno non potest a ualetudine* – I. 95). However, he points out that while elegance (*uenustas*) belongs to women, dignity (*dignitas*) characterizes men (I. 130). Everything matters in obtaining both beauty and decency: social attitude, way of walking and sleeping, countenance, eyes, gestures, avoiding lassitude (*mollitia*), effeminacy (*effeminatio*) and brutal and rustic behaviour (*durus, rusticus* – I. 129). Like Ovid will also say some decades later, Cicero advises his co-citizens to rely on naturalness and age as permanent principles<sup>22</sup> for any *decorum* despite changes in habits (*mutationes morum* – I. 120). The orator (as many others of his time) renews the idea that the negligent and rustic living belongs to a past age (I. 130) and he admits the refinements in dress (*munditia*) of his days, but recommends sobriety in garments. The complete elegance is acquired using well composed speeches and good-natured language, but with a social conduct lacking awkwardness and duplicity. The skin colour is also suggestive in any public appearance, standing for the human character and his actions. Cicero, a very talented lawyer,

<sup>18</sup> For the ironical dimension of those poem regarding the Augustus' matrimonial legislation see Watson 2001; Cioccoloni 2006.

<sup>19</sup> The Latin text is from LCL edition (1913) M. Tullius Cicero. *De Officiis*, with an English translation by Walter Miller, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London: Harvard University Press.

<sup>20</sup> Cic. *Off.* I. 93.

<sup>21</sup> Cic. *Off.* I. 126: *decorum illud in omnibus factis, dictis, in corporis denique motu et satu cernitur idque positum est in tribus rebus: formositate, ordine, ornatu ad actionem apto, difficilibus ad eloquendum.*

<sup>22</sup> Because of his stoic conviction, Cicero admits also the dual existence of desire – *appetitus* and rationality – *ratio* (which characterizes every human being), emphasizing that the first should be submitted and tempered by the latter: *Duplex est enim uis animorum atque natura, una pars in appetitu posita est, quae est Graece ὀρμή, quae hominem huc et iluc rapit, altera in ratione, quae docet et explanat, quid faciendum fugiendumque sit. Ita fit, ut ratio praesit, appetitus obtemperet* – *Off.* I. 101.

knew well how to stress this aspect<sup>23</sup> – someone with a pure soul doesn't change his face colour all of a sudden, turning from healthy white to red in an instant. This interpretation, shared also by Vergil and other classical poets, will be adopted by Seneca, Pliny the Elder and Tacitus in their works.

While Cicero's speeches underline the major values of Roman citizenship, seeing beauty as the most appropriate way for everyone to display his commitment to Roman *urbanitas*, Ovid's words emphasize the power of beauty to acquire love and maintain it. Although the two authors do not have identical intentions, both of them use almost the same means and concepts to define the human pleasing appearance, understood as beauty of body and, at the same time, as beauty of soul. However, Ovid's verses are directed to lovers and thus they introduce the circumstances (time and place) where beauty is displayed and the techniques of persuasion.

Concept/author	M. Tullius Cicero	P. Ovidius Naso
<i>Decorum</i>	<i>uerba et lingua, actiones, forma et corpus</i>	<i>uerba et lingua, actiones, forma et corpus</i>
<i>Forma</i>	<i>dignitas et uenustas</i>	<i>uirilitas et uenustas, cultus formae</i>
<i>Munditia</i>	<i>modestia</i>	<i>modestia et ars dissimulata</i>
<i>Decentia</i>	<i>uirtus et pulchritudo</i> (opposite to - <i>furor, ira, superbia</i> )	<i>pulchritudio et uirtus</i> (opposite to - <i>ira, superbia</i> )
<i>Tempus et circumstantiae</i>	<i>mores maiorum et mutationes morum</i>	<i>mores maiorum et amor</i>
<i>Color formae/corporis</i>	<i>dignitas coloris et color exercitationibus corporis candida et rubenta</i>	<i>dignitas coloris et color exercitationibus corporis candida et rubenta</i>

The similarities above reveal Ovid's ability to explore the human nature in a more complex manner<sup>24</sup> than others have done before. Living in a cosmopolite society, "this

<sup>23</sup> For the meaning of the skin colour in Cicero's pleadings see Bradley 2006, 155-159; for the relation between colour and morality in Cicero's work on Rhetoric see Bradley 2006, 111-120.

<sup>24</sup> Analyzing this aspect in other Ovid's poems, Paul Alan Miller affirms: "Thus the *amator* and the *vir*, Amor and Augustus, law and its infraction, are revealed by the *Amores* to be two sides of the same coin" – Miller 2006, 183; for the entire discussion see also 160-83.



brilliant and lively mind”<sup>25</sup> is a good observer of his contemporaries and has the courage to speak without restraint about the beauty of human body and soul. In this respect, he uses the “language of the day” familiar to everyone<sup>26</sup>, adding – with a lot of humour – an ironic<sup>27</sup> and polemic dimension.<sup>28</sup> The poet reconfigures the human body in such a way to incorporate all the elements that form the beauty of his age: pleasant proportionality of the shapes – diverse as they are, clearness and corporal hygiene, healthy look and decent faces, apparently genuine but in fact well planned gestures, elegance paired with an educated spirit to perfect the body, modesty in garments but not shabbiness. In doing so, the human body becomes a cultural concept used by the poet in an attempt to recompose the major features of Roman mentality, especially the *uirtus romana*. All of this represents a construct that mirrors the New Era established under Augustus’s authority.

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<sup>25</sup> Hollis 1973, 113.

<sup>26</sup> Galinski 1981; Cioccoloni 2006.

<sup>27</sup> Churchill 1985.

<sup>28</sup> Modern scholars have often outlined this subversive character of Ovid's poetry, some of them considering that this attitude could explain the *relegatio* of the poet, in 8 AD, details in Barchiesi 1994.

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# **“BEAUTY HAS NO PRICE, FOR A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN HAS THE WORLD AT HER FEET”: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FEMALE BODY IN ADVERTISEMENTS PRINTED IN “REALITATEA ILUSTRATĂ” MAGAZINE**

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## **Abstract:**

Printed interwar advertisements articulated a discourse that served both to promote specific meanings attached to femininity – physical beauty as a central social and symbolic female quality – and to define precise social sanctions that could be applied to women that did not know or follow normative beauty standards. Distinguishing constantly between what was desirable and what was repulsive, between the ideal and the imperfect, ad makers employed a series of visual and textual representations of the female body as a means to create a polarized and reductionist discourse, which in turn aimed to reduce the number and validity of definitions attached to femininity. The resulting symbolic antithesis stated that a beautiful woman was a model of social, economic and personal success, in stark opposition to the woman that did not value her physical appearance, doomed to live an unhappy and meaningless life, bereft of familial or professional fulfillment. This article will argue that representations of the female body created by the interwar advertising discourse played an important role in the structuring and dissemination of specific gender roles, expectations and stereotypes associated with femininity. The study is centered on qualitative analysis of a selection of ads printed between 1927 and 1940 in a well-known Romanian popular magazine – “Realitatea Ilustrată”.

**Keywords:** gender identity; advertising discourse; interwar period; body; aesthetic ideals

## **Ads and ad worlds**

Tracing the avatars of femininity and masculinity in a given time period through representations of the body found in printed advertisements puts the historian in an engaging but somewhat difficult position. On the one hand, he or she can make use of this new historiographical vantage point to observe and analyze specific meanings, symbols, beliefs, and taboos created and disseminated in a particular socio-cultural context. On the other, one can be easily seduced by the pervasive nature of the advertising discourse. Just like present-day ads, those from the 1930’s immerse the reader in an ideal world, one in which apparently real women and men “live” in a society closely resembling our own. To avoid

“Beauty has no price, for a beautiful woman has the world at her feet”: female body in advertisements being charmed by the beauty and wit of interwar ads, one has to constantly be reminded that these cultural artifacts had a precise symbolic and historic function.

Obviously, advertising is grounded in economic rationales: you advertise because you want to sell. However, it has been pointed out by various studies<sup>1</sup> that this economic dimension is almost always dwarfed by a symbolic one. A successful ad not only informs potential buyers about the qualities and attributes of specific objects or services, it also has to make those benefits relevant in a social sense.<sup>2</sup> In other words, ads have to translate objective benefits into subjective meanings. Print advertisements, as parts of the visual world, have a key role in “producing meanings, establishing and maintaining aesthetic values, gender stereotypes and power relations within culture”.<sup>3</sup> Through text and image, the reader/consumer is persuaded to accept and identify with the qualities and values associated with the presented product. After being accepted, these values become part of the individual’s world-view. The focus of this paper is, thus, to uncover and analyze precisely this process of world-view creation and to assess the role that the body played in it. **(Figure 1)**

Data was collected from over 200 ads printed between 1930 and 1940 in *Realitatea Ilustrată* magazine (*Reality Illustrated*). This publication appeared on a weekly basis between 1927 and 1949 and was edited in Cluj by the journalist J. B. Sima and from 1928 in Bucharest under the guidance of Nic. Constantin and later Tudor Teodorescu-Braniște (1899-1969).<sup>4</sup> The magazine mainly published content in the fields of art, history, geography, culture, present facts and events.

In the 1930’s, ads were used to promote a wide variety of products ranging from personal care items and cosmetics to drugs and ointments. They are united in their diversity by the fact that each one is structured around “stylized images of the body”.<sup>5</sup> These images are almost always sublime. Artistically executed and very expressive, they can and should be the subject of various academic inquiries (especially from an art historian’s point of view). However, these representations of women and men can also be analyzed from a historical and sociological point of view. By learning what role the body played in creating and maintaining

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<sup>1</sup> Vestergaard and Schroeder 1985, 2; White 2000, 5; Sheehan 2004, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Williamson 1983, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Rogoff 1998, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Petcu 2012, 469.

<sup>5</sup> Featherstone 1982, 18.

gender identities, we “can see the unnatural in the natural, in order that we may rescue the warm life trapped inside the frozen image”.<sup>6</sup>

### **Beauty equated with femininity**

What it means to be a woman is not an ahistorical truth; rather, it is “a set of structures and conditions that delimit the typical situation of being a woman in a particular society, as well as the typical way in which this situation is lived by the women themselves”.<sup>7</sup> The creation of femininity and masculinity is a lengthy historical process throughout which specific roles and meanings are assigned to each gender. These meanings become naturalized as parts of reality (the objective experienced outer body world) through the socialization of individuals in a particular society.<sup>8</sup> The *institutionalization*<sup>9</sup> of gender differences in a society is an ongoing social process. By the way of socializing within the family, school and other social spaces, men and women learn the gendered rules and differences that are part of the social norm (as realities that predate their existence). This gendered world-view is then incorporated and reproduced by the individual, guarantying the almost unaltered transmission of the meanings assigned to each gender. It will be argued that advertisements played a major role in this vast and often overlooked historical and social process of creating meanings. This “historical labour of eternalization”<sup>10</sup> – the conscious and unconscious effort to make what was subjective and historical seem natural and eternal – can be seen if we gaze upon the idealized world found in 1930’s ads. Maybe more thoroughly than conventional historical sources, ads reflect with an almost candid naiveté what it meant 80 years ago to be a “normal” woman or man. **(Figure 2)**

Perhaps in a more visible and pervasive way than today, ads from the 1930’s disseminated the idea that physical beauty was a woman’s main feature, the principal way of affirming her identity and of gaining social recognition. Beauty was presented almost exclusively as a feminine trait, confirming the fact that “consumer culture is obsessed with the body” and that “there is a preoccupation in the media with images of beautiful bodies, the stars, celebrities and models who exemplify the good life”.<sup>11</sup> Beauty was seen in this era as a

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<sup>6</sup> Gornick 1979, IX.

<sup>7</sup> Marion Young, 31.

<sup>8</sup> Berger and Luckmann 1991, 76.

<sup>9</sup> Berger and Luckmann 1991, 77.

<sup>10</sup> Bourdieu 2001, 82.

<sup>11</sup> Featherstone 2010, 197.

mandatory feminine quality. **(Figure 3)** In a society dominated by masculine social and aesthetical norms, the female body had to be constantly and incessantly watched over, looked after and taken care of. Ads tell us that women had to be always aware of their femininity and that they were forced to express it in any and all social contexts. Displaying a beautiful body meant that they will be liked, admired and eventually wanted by men. This translated into the necessity of having a number of features and qualities that structured femininity in a specific way in this epoch. Thus, it will be argued that 1930's femininity defined women as passive, obedient, irrational and fragile beings. In contrast, masculinity meant being active, independent, rational and strong. Ads argued that women should be constantly aware of their own physical appearance, to protect themselves from social and emotional alienation, confirming that “it is often assumed in consumer culture that people should attend to their body image in an instrumental manner, as status and social acceptability depend on how a person looks”.<sup>12</sup> A woman that does not care for her body is subjected to a vast array of sanctions ranging from private reproaches to public humiliation. Women are warned on many occasions that their partners should and will leave them if their body isn't up to the aesthetical standards of the day. These often traumatic castigations have a profound role in shaping interpersonal relations and maintaining specific gender roles.

The ideal woman that every female reader of *Realitatea Ilustrată* had to admire and emulate, thus, had to always be beautiful. The female body played a central role in defining what femininity was in the 1930's. Beauty was the main quality of any female, the most important way through which she expressed her identity, her only sure way of gaining social recognition and success. This can be certified by a number of ads: “A woman should always take the trouble to maintain her beauty” or “Any imperfection can be remedied and any woman can become beautiful or stay beautiful” (ads for *Pond's Cold Cream*). The female body is not only a “woman's most precious belonging” (ad for *En Vouge* face powder), it has a very clear social value. In a world dominated by images of the traditional male breadwinner model (ads that show only men engaged in economic activities), the female body becomes a sort of currency. Women are frequently portrayed as not being able or willing to look after their financial well-being. Passive and removed beings, they rely on men to provide for them. In return, women have to look after their bodies so that they are always beautiful and ready to please their male providers. One ad actually states that “looking after your complexion is just as essential as feeding your body” (*Pond's Cold Cream*), explicitly linking physical beauty to

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<sup>12</sup> Featherstone 2010, 195.

women's survival. However, the ideal woman will not only survive, but also profit from her physical beauty. Knowing how to use her charms, that "thrilling enchantment that instantly fascinates and captivates" gives her the power to "play the role of Cleopatra in her life, to subjugate men" (ads for *Chat Noir* cologne). This ability of the female body to seduce and subdue men (by nullifying an important masculine trait – rationality) is presented by ads as a form of female empowerment: even "Julius Caesar, the ruler of the world, was slave to a woman... the divine Cleopatra". Seduction, however, is one of "the weapons of the weak, which confirms stereotypes".<sup>13</sup> It is merely a way of tacitly accepting an androcentric world-view. This order of things is structured around the idea that women can't openly and rationally contest male domination and thus have to resort to use their body in all kinds of tricks to impose their will.

### **Femininity as a constant female preoccupation**

Other ads state the fact that looking after one's beauty has to be a constant, year-round feminine activity, arguing that a woman can never be pretty enough: "Miss, you who maybe are more gifted by nature, can you really affirm that you have done everything in your power to highlight your beauty, that you have done away with those small errors that are incompatible with true elegance?" (*Louis Philippe* cosmetics). An ad for *Crème Simon* beauty cream also emphasizes the permanent nature of female grooming: "the season of beauty lasts all year long if you use Crème Simon". *Michel* lipstick informs readers that "it helps women keep and accomplish their beauty much more than other lipsticks. You too can join the community of attractive and enticing women". One ad for *Diavolo* cologne portrays a woman dressed in a gown alongside a male violin player. The woman is gazing aimlessly, as if entranced by the artist. This kind of interaction is well-documented in social sciences and shows the uneven symbolic relationship already discussed (active masculinity as opposed to passive femininity). This "hierarchy of functions"<sup>14</sup> is expressed both through images and text: "A woman's beauty requires daily attention for it to always be in a precious state of delicacy and youthfulness. Like the great musicians that practice daily, a woman must soak her being with the superb fragrance of Diavolo cologne".

Being beautiful is not just a permanent activity; it also permeates the female mind, as an ad for *Lubin Ocean-Blue* perfume bluntly states: "What do women dream of? Of being

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<sup>13</sup> Bourdieu 2001, 51.

<sup>14</sup> Goffman 1979, 32.

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beautiful”. In this regard, an ad for *Nivea* facial cream has its mascot say that “only I can offer you what you want with all your heart: a young and healthy complexion.” A third ad points out the fact that “a beauty that can compare itself to that of the stars of the stage – that is the dream of all women, but it is a dream that can few can fulfill” (*Richard Hudnut* cosmetics). This obsessive preoccupation for physical appearances is constantly enforced by ads, often in less than convoluted terms: “Miss, you are a happy slave of this pureblooded elegance. You have to highlight it through means worthy of it” (*Louis Philippe*).

Being a *happy slave* of her own body meant that the interwar woman was entirely defined by the way she looked and acted. **(Figure 4)** Beauty was often her only means of gaining social influence and positions, material and symbolic advantages and success in private and public life: “Whether in *negligée* or *en grand toilette*, she is always entrancing, feminine. She owes her success in great part to her attractive physique, innate charm and elegant clothing, of exquisite taste” (*Lady* cosmetics). Another ad states that *beauty* “has no price, for a beautiful woman has the world at her feet” (Elizabeth Arden). The idea that success comes only to those that boast a beautiful body is summarized by an ad that can very well act as a sort of motto for the way in which femininity was thought of in this period: “To affirm yourself victorious in life or to pass through it unnoticed for a woman means being or not being beautiful” (*Malattine Dr. Dralle’s* cosmetics). **(Figure 5)** Another ad, this time for *Khasa Superb*, states that being beautiful meant in fact being intelligent “Being young, fresh, natural – it’s always preferred! Experience has proven that those women that have a youthful and blossoming appearance are preferred in everyday life and in society. Intelligent women, those that know how much they owe to the way they look, always take care of their beauty”.

### Looking after the female body

The body is also seen as one of the most visible expressions of a woman’s personality. Female individuality and originality were thus synonymous with having a “charming” presence, an “enchanted” smile, a “distinguished” posture. Some ads state that “to conquer the hearts of your partners, you have to captivate them with your personality, with your grace, with the beauty of your clothes and with the softness of your complexion” (*Jazz* perfume), while other announce that “feminine lines are a woman’s real charme” (*Lady* cosmetics). Other times the body borrows its personality-defining powers from the product itself: “*Royal Ambrée* is the ideal cologne. Its subtle fragrance will envelop you in the distinct personality that you wish for. It gives you your individual charm”. Furthermore, there are ads that invest



the female body with a stronger symbolic meaning, making it the subject of an entire ritual of beautification. **(Figure 6)** In this context, beauty becomes so important that the body takes part in a ritual of magical, metaphysical, miraculous transformation: “Here, at her workbench, where the miraculous creams and waters signed by *Dr. Payot* are conceived, her lovely disciple Miss K. officiates. This word isn’t an exaggeration. As in the days of old, beauty is today the religion of all women and those that dedicate themselves through lengthy studies to perfect it for their sisters have the importance of an authentic apostleship” (*Dr. Payot* cosmetics). Thus, the act of looking after the body becomes a religion, a cult, a way of life. It appropriates a mystical and mythical dimension that gives it the quality of being immemorial. In this scenario, the few women scientists that were slowly making their marks in the society of the 1930’s are seen as modern incarnations of *the apostles* – superior, heavenly figures that dedicated their lives to perfecting products that enhance feminine beauty. Another ad reinforces this idea that the body is the subject of a ritualized beautification process: “the elegant woman, the one that dresses in fine attires, is thus performing a rite where the final act is to pun on perfume” (*Chat Noir* perfume). **(Figure 7)**

Feminine beauty in the 1930’s was also defined in terms of portraying women as weak, subordinate, dependent, demure and innocent. Conversely, men were portrayed as having a socially important and relevant function. Even though it seems that only women are subjected to gender stereotyping, we shouldn’t forget that masculinity is also constructed in predefined terms. In this unequal relationship, women have to assume a dominated role while men always have to play the part of the dominator. Their masculinity is just as inescapable and beauty is to women. The strict “hierarchy of functions“ can be seen in a number of social spaces and interactions: the doctor that examines his female patient, the instructor that teaches his female pupil how to hold a tennis racket, how to ride a horse or how to swim, the husband that drives a vehicle with his wife sitting quietly besides him. **(Figure 9)** In essence, ads present a perpetual learning process in which men play the role of teachers and women that of the pupil, a relationship closely resembling the one established between parents and children: “Whenever a male has dealings with a female or a subordinate male (especially a younger one), some mitigation of potential distance, coercion, and hostility is quite likely to be induced by application of the parent-child complex”.<sup>15</sup> Apart from images, texts also prove this tendency to infantilize women. Through the power of words such as “tenderness”, “gentleness”, “delicacy”, “frailty”, “youthfulness”, “juvenile”, “softness”, the female body is

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<sup>15</sup> Goffman 1979, 5.

constructed as fragile, harmless, always in need of attention and nurturing. Such is the case in the following ads: “such tenderness of the body, such wonderful glances, such an appealing sparkle in her eyes!” (*Pixavon* shampoo), “any man is moved by the sight of soft, new, white skin” (*Tokalon* cream), “a woman that follows *Elizabeth Arden’s* beauty treatment will always be young and attractive”, “its composition will keep your mouth delicate as that of a child” (*Michel* lipstick), “it’s only natural for a man to admire pure and clear skin, a fresh and juvenile complexion” (*Tokalon* cream). **(Figure 8)**

### **Deconstructing the female body**

Women were often subjected to a complex process of reification that reduced their bodies to the sum of their anatomical parts and presented them as “numb and lifeless objects – as *things* or *commodities*”.<sup>16</sup> **(Figure 16)** This emphasized the idea that women were socially constructed as objects that were meant to be looked at, admired and wanted. Feminine beauty is thus disintegrated and dispersed to all anatomical parts that had an aesthetic value in the 1930’s. Although the underlining reification process hasn’t fundamentally changed in time (the female body is still being sliced into its anatomical parts by ad makers), it is worth mentioning that 1930’s ads don’t explicitly invest certain female body parts with sexual meanings. In contrast to present-day advertising practices, there are very few ads in *Realitatea Ilustrată* that picture female breasts, bottoms or thighs and none of them do it in an explicitly alluring manner. The indecent exposure of one’s body was seen as an annulment of the purity and innocence of true feminine beauty. Vulgarity was the defining characteristic of women positioned at the outskirts of Romanian civilized society (prostitutes and “women with loose morals”). Ads clearly state that vulgarity must be avoided by beautiful women: “powders that are dense and opaque vulgarize even the most beautiful woman” (*En Vogue* powder), “Only a distinguished woman is truly elegant, therefore the world of elegant women has renounced the use of provocative nail polish” (*Legrain* nail polish).

As other researchers pointed out, the dismemberment of the female body “diminishes women's self-esteem and ignores other aspects of women's personality and their human potential”.<sup>17</sup> But, as I stated before, stereotyping works both ways. We should remember that while women were told that they were no greater than the sum of their body parts, men were also told that the most important thing that defined them was their obsession with these body

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<sup>16</sup> Honneth 2008, 19.

<sup>17</sup> Ceulemans and Fauconnier 1979, 9.

parts. By deconstructing the anatomy of this feminine aesthetic ideal, we can observe how the female body was imagined and designed to please and to be admired. **(Figure 10)** The female body parts mentioned in ads are as follows:

- *Hands*: “a lady should have white and velvety hands” (*Dulcimains* hand cream); “high-class women have diaphanous hands that delicately and softly sparkle” (*Richard Hudnut* cosmetics); “every woman should relish her smooth and delicate hands” (*Nivea* cream); “adorable and well-groomed hands” (*Elizabeth Arden* cosmetic treatments).

- *Nails*: “enjoy the pleasure of having pearlescent, almost transparent nails” (*Legrain* nail polish); “it gives you nails that modern Parisian splendor” (*Nacre* nail polish)

- *Face/complexion*: “*Diavolo* face powder, used by all women, gives your complexion the softness and delicacy of rose petals, you complexion receives that rose-colored tint that is the envy of everyone” (*Marinello* cosmetics); “her face is just like a spring flower, like a barely blossomed rose” (*Lady*); “powders and other makeup sculpt your face” (*Louis Philippe*); “elite women have always known how to take care of their complexion” (*Pond’s*); “princesses of royal bloodlines, women baring historical family names, some of the most illustrious stars around the world use *Pond’s* creams to maintain a treasure belonging to all women, whether noble or from the middle class – a beautiful complexion”; “Pollen on flowers, *Rendez-vous* face powder on your face”; “Your complexion – your success” (*En Vogue* cosmetics); “Our aim is to give your face that inalterable charm of beauty and youth” (*Dr. Payot’s* beauty treatment).

- *Lips/mouth*: “bestow upon your lips the tenderness of youth” (*Zande* lipstick); “to be surrounded by many compliments – this is what a woman that keeps her mouth cute obtains” (*Michel*); “coral-colored lips are nice” (*Khasana Superb* lipstick); “a kiss is not a sin if it is placed on a young and beautiful mouth, a mouth beautified by *Michel* lipstick.”

- *Eyes*: “your eyes account for 50% of your beauty. Nothing has been sung with more passion by poets than a woman’s eyes” (*Rimmel’s* cosmetics); “what can be more attractive in a woman than two big bright eyes, framed by long, black and thick eyelashes?” (*Dortheimer Beautification Institute*); “clear eyes attract and bring joy... mysterious eyes are impenetrable... Eyes contain the liveliness of the face” (*Elizabeth Arden*); “The eyes are the ambassadors of beauty” (*Lady*).

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- Hair: “Beautiful women know very well the importance of taking care of their hair”; (*Tete Noir Extra* shampoo); “the color of a woman’s hair highlights her elegance and grace” (*Instantanée* hair dye); “taking care of your hair is the most important rule in a woman’s beauty code” (*Elida* shampoo); “bring back the natural flexibility and glossiness of your hair that you care for so much” (*Pixavon* shampoo); “one thing strikes you when you gaze upon a beautiful woman: her well-groomed hair” (*Elida*).

- Legs: “legs dressed in *Ady* stockings are the most beautiful rhyme”; “a beautiful leg always walks in a man’s heart” (*Ady* stockings), “the softness of *Adesgo Lux* stockings highlight the legs, making them more beautiful and tracing their shape with remarkable accuracy”; “an elegant woman completes her attire by using fine stockings that highlight her feminine grace” (*Darling* stockings).

- Teeth/smile: “your smile has to reveal two rows of pearly-white teeth, gleaming with beauty” (*Chlorodont* toothpaste); “your beautiful white teeth attract everyone’s attention” (*Kolynos* toothpaste), “Happiness demands whiter teeth” (*Dentol* toothpaste); “*What superb white teeth you have!* Beautiful teeth are a woman’s most valued compliment” (*Perlodont* toothpaste); “Seductive thanks to her gracious smile. How many times are we not attracted and impressed by the gracious smile of a woman?” (*Botot* toothpaste).

Physical beauty became in some ads the object of scientific quantification and definition. The female body underwent systematic medical investigations by male doctors that sought to find the exact parameters in which femininity was to be defined. We can see a whole set of ads showing the female body not as an object of admiration, but as one of scientific and medical inquiry. Beauty, thus, is removed from the subjective, aesthetical realm into that of objective, rational arguments. This struggle to construct female identity through a scientific discourse can be exemplified by ads that show male doctors wearing white robes, analyzing and experimenting on women as if the latter were some sort of lab rats. This “medical gaze”, highlights the unequal relationship between the doctor and the patient.<sup>18</sup> This desire to investigate female beauty becomes another way of reifying women, as seen in an ad for *Tokalon* face cream in which a group of doctors meticulously study a woman’s face in a way that resembles the famous Rembrandt painting “The anatomy lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp”. **(Figure 11)** The development and institutionalization of a scientific discourse regarding feminine beauty can also be traced in ads that popularize the services offered by so-

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<sup>18</sup> Foucault 2003, XII.

called “Beautification Institutes”. These Institutes resembled workshops rather than present-day beauty salons and used a wide range of tools and techniques that followed the rigorous crafting of feminine beauty: leather face masks, *mentonnières* (chin bandages), fake eyelashes, metal skull frames. Some graphical representations of these tools show that the beautification process employed here also resembled certain torture practices, suggesting that women had to suffer and to make sacrifices in order to attain physical perfection (ad for the *Dortheimer Institute*). **(Figure 12)** Thus, an ad for “The first Cosmetic Medical Institute” in Bucharest states that “Miss Dr. M. Rabinovici, dermatologist specialized in Paris and Vienna, offers treatments for: warts, freckles, acne etc. She will also treat your face with hormones and pneumatic massages. Have unwanted hair removed definitely and without scars. Local slimming of the body using electrical massages”.

### **The masculine contrast – keeping the male body healthy**

If femininity meant having a beautiful body, masculinity was defined by health and vigor. It comes to no surprise that the vast majority of ads analyzed promote feminine personal care products, male grooming products barely finding their way into the pages of *Realitatea Ilustrată*. This is not to say that male grooming products were never advertised in the 1930’s. A particular set of ads stands out as strictly men-oriented: razor blades. However, using these grooming products didn’t relate to beauty or physical appearance. A total number of 5 brands told men to use these modern grooming products not on the basis that they will *look good*, but rather that they will *feel good*. **(Figure 13)** In contrast with femininity, the male body wasn’t meant to be attractive, looked at or judged. Men had to be healthy, sturdy, vigorous beings that can work and earn a living for their entire family. This active role is emphasized by ads for razor blades that point out the fact that “a good shave puts you in good mood” (*Diamond*). Another ad for *Gillette* shows the figure of a freshly shaven man that bears a wide smile and touches his cheeks with delight. A third ad states that “If you want to be satisfied like never before, you should definitely try *Leresche* razor blades”, while another ad for *Diamond* blades attests that “nothing is more pleasant than shaving with our razor blades”. Being joyful, having a positive attitude and going about your daily life in high spirits were the things that mattered to men. In this sense, the male body was an expression of inner feelings (*I feel good = I look good*), whereas the female body had the function of generating these feelings (*I look good = I feel good*).

The fact that men had to be preoccupied not by the way they looked but about the way they felt is candidly showed by ads for drugs and medicine: “medicine made its contribution to the construction of modern masculinity through its assertion that a healthy mind and a healthy body are inseparable, a view whose function parallels that which gymnastics and physical exercise fulfilled in sculpting the male body”.<sup>19</sup> **(Figure 14)** Like cosmetics for women, drugs were heavily advertised in favor of men, confirming the idea that women were constituted as “symbolic objects whose being (*esse*) is a being-perceived (*percipi*)”<sup>20</sup> and masculinity “as an increasingly rational achievement of mind over body whether through self-restraint or disciplines of power and strength”.<sup>21</sup> According to 1930’s ads, men had to be in control of their bodies so that they can perform their masculine duties – working, thinking, providing: “You will fulfill your duties cheerful, strong and with superiority and you will achieve more than before with less effort. You will sleep well, you will sleep admirably and you will wake up ready to work, with a clear mind” (*Bromural Knoll* headache tablets). An ad for *Aspirin* sees the male body as part of the civilizing process: “The civilized man doesn’t allow himself to be tortured by cold and the flu, he simply takes *Aspirin* tablets”. A couple of ads for the flu and cold drug *Helmitol* show figures of joyful men. One of them is addressing the reader directly: “Me, sick? Since I started taking *Helmitol*, I feel like a newborn every day, while the other shows a truly rare human specimen: you can always read the good mood on his face and in a moment he is ready to happily do his work”. An ad for *Magnesia Bissurata* (stomach pains) states that “the center of a man’s happiness truly is the stomach for a stomach that does not function properly will not allow anyone to physically and morally enjoy their life”. Finally, an ad for *Panflavin* (painkiller) repeats the idea that men need to have a healthy body in order to fulfill their gendered duties: “He who controls his nerves is in charge of his destiny! He who controls his nerves has the best guarantee that he will triumph in the life’s hard battle, working incessantly towards his goals”. **(Figure 15)**

### Fearing social sanctions

Portraying women as entities that constantly need external validation meant that they were (or were supposed to be) in a permanent state of corporal insecurity: “the probability of experiencing the body with unease, embarrassment, timidity grows with the disparity between the ideal body and the real body, the dream body and the 'looking-glass self' reflected in the

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<sup>19</sup> Mosse 1996, 60.

<sup>20</sup> Bourdieu 2001, 66.

<sup>21</sup> Edwards 2006, 139.

reactions of others”.<sup>22</sup> In this sense, ads often scared women into wanting and trying to become beautiful. **(Figure 17)** The female body was thus the subject of a wide range of social sanctions that could legitimately be applied to women that didn’t value their physical appearance enough. These sanctions were meant to precisely define the boundaries within which interwar femininity could be expressed. Ads offer detailed accounts of the unhappiness and the misery of women that neglect the way they looked. While it has already been shown that being a young and beautiful woman in the 1930’s meant living a happy and fulfilled life, ads also create the exact opposite scenario – the sorrow that accompanies ugly, old, withered, repulsive or simply unfeminine women. If their bodies weren’t up to the esthetical and pleasing standards of the day, their gender identities were questioned and great psychological and mental tensions arose. In this sense, an ad for *Elizabeth Arden* cosmetic treatments emphatically points out the fact that “a negligent woman will soon be neglected”. A great number of ads point out the fact that non-feminine women not only should and will be neglected by the man they love, but that he will also leave them for a woman that knew how to be feminine. The fear of abandonment, the dread of loneliness, the terror of living a hollow, meaningless and sorrowful existence are the main emotions that ad makers strived to create and make women aware of. This nightmarish life of ugly women as portrayed by ads proves the idea that physical beauty was an important cornerstone of female gender identity in this time period. The fact that women had to go about their daily lives in a sort of constant “emotional siege” marked by anxiety and fear is revealed by ads like those for the toothpaste brand *Kolynos*: “She is neglected even though she is beautiful. Cute couples pass by, without even noticing her... and she never guessed what the cause was. She doesn’t know that everyone hates ugly teeth”, “How shameful! To hear him say: ‘It’s as if she doesn’t even clean her teeth!’ If you are worried about what your friends and acquaintances think about you, don’t hesitate to use *Kolynos* toothpaste”, “Paled-colored, ugly and rotten teeth hurt your beauty, health and happiness. They are also repulsive and inexcusable”. **(Figure 20)**

The gaze is an important element of the advertising discourse: disciplined to correspond to specific ideals of beauty, the feminine body had to be constantly watched, scrutinized, judged and, if necessary, condemned. **(Figure 18)** Ads often argue that women should be aware that their femininity can be expressed only if their bodies are constantly on display, confirming a well-known idea in visual culture studies: “Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between

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<sup>22</sup> Bourdieu 1984, 207.

men and women but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyor of woman in herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object – and most particularly an object of vision: a sight”.<sup>23</sup> **(Figures 23-24)** Being constantly ready to be gazed upon meant that women had to always look impeccable and to always be prepared to make a good impression: using *Dulmin* hand cream, they “are able to withstand with self-confidence the critical looks of the people around her”. The gaze that transformed any woman into an object of admiration and desire had in 1930’s ads a double nature. On the one hand, it implied admiration and had the role of confirming female beauty and social worth. On the other hand, it criticized and chastised bodies that didn’t live up to the aesthetic standards of the day. While the former aspect of the gaze had to be searched for and wanted by the magazine’s female readers, the latter should have been avoided and feared. **(Figure 19)**

The gaze of others (especially men) in ads, sometimes searched for, other times avoided, distinguished between two types of women: young, unmarried and available damsels who want to attract everyone’s attention and to seduce men in any and all social spaces (in ballrooms, cinemas, theaters, bars, teahouses etc.) and older women, already married and settled down. The latter have the very difficult goal of “defending” their social and marital status obtained whilst in their youth. They are condemned, thusly, to permanently try to protect, maintain or, in the worst case scenarios, to regain the love of their husbands. More often than not, ads highlight the relationship between these two types of women as being competitive and even conflictual. **(Figure 21)** Considering the aspects of gender identity already pointed out, it is no wonder that the prizes for which women have to compete are male attention and affection, as showed by ads for *Tokalon* face cream: “He started to be very interested in a blondie with a wonderful complexion that I have to admit I became awfully jealous. Then I tried to figure out why he was attracted to that girl. Her nose never shined. Her face was always tender and charming, even when she danced all night long in an overheated hall. To my great delight, after trying for the first time *Tokalon* face cream, my man said to me: ‘You look wonderful tonight!’ Now my tender and enchanting complexion is admired by my man and envied by my friends”. **(Figure 22)**

The same youthful “blondie” appears in another ad that takes the form of a cartoon in which two female friends chat on the phone:

Anița: George told me he will arrive late today. Surely that blondie is to blame.

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<sup>23</sup> Berger 1972, 47.



Anița's friend: It was just as awful with my husband too – but I'll tell you, Anițo, what I did... and in three days all my pimples and open pores were gone.

George: Sorry I'm late again, Anițo. Wow, what did you do? You look great.

(The next day)

Anița's friend: Tell me, Anițo, did you follow my advice?

Anița: Yes, and with great success. George loves me more than ever.

This scenario is repeated in another ad, with George and Anița performing the same stereotypical gender roles:

Anița: Hello! Bonjour! You know, I had a little argument with George.

Anița's friend: What was it?

Anița: You see, he telephoned me last week on three occasions that he is working late. But I found out that he went to "Bamboula Club" with that cute blondie from his office. I was overwhelmed with grief. Just that day, my hairdresser advised me to use *Tokalon* cream. Won't you believe it, at the end of the week George told me that I never looked so young and charming since the day we married, 10 years ago. No doubt he loves me more than ever. I'm certain that he totally forgot about that blondie.

### **Gendered activities**

Activities in the 1930 were also gendered and subjected to specific social interpretations regarding what can and should the female and male body do. Ads often talk about the wide range of social spaces in which women could have acted, perhaps as a way of promoting the fact that femininity wasn't confined anymore to taking care of the household. This shift from private to public life is often hailed by ad makers as a social and symbolic revolution, a hallmark of the female emancipation process that had started in the West and was slowly making its way in Romanian society. The dislocation of the female body from performing domestic roles (the mother-wife-caretaker identity) to public exposure can be traced in ads that portray women in either leisure or professional activities. It will be argued that although ads see the participation of women in these male-dominated activities as a sign of emancipation, the underlining principle of femininity is not only maintained, but often time enforced, meaning that women can engage in these activities so long as they are aware of and expose their femininity – their physical beauty.

It has already been pointed out that the ideal women of 1930's ads went to balls, soirées and parties for the sole reason to be seen by others, to be gazed upon, admired and envied. But these same women can also be seen enjoying cultural activities performed at the National Theater, the Opera House or the Concert Hall. However, ads show us that women

“Beauty has no price, for a beautiful woman has the world at her feet”: female body in advertisements

and men viewed and valued these social activities differently. While men are portrayed as being genuinely interested in these artistic performances, women are seen as much more pragmatic. They see these outings just as new occasions for people to notice and compliment their looks. **(Figure 25)** The female body becomes in itself a work of art that needs to be admired: women don't have to be preoccupied with the artistic message and meaning of the play or melody as long as their body is the main attraction of the evening. Instead of knowing the aesthetic thrill that comes with contemplating art, women had to generate this feeling: “Whether at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, or at the Opera in Paris, or at the National Theater in the Capital, some women from the lodges or from the front seats are so charming that the spectators look at them more than they pay attention to the show” (*Richard Hudnut* cosmetics). Another ad for the same brand is created in the same spirit: “At the theater... Those women, that are the arbiters of elegance, the souls of social life, realize that the few free moments between acts are very favorable for exhibiting their beauty, their charms”. **(Figure 26)**

Another set of ads talks about the relative transgression of gender boundaries regarding the insertion of women in the labor market. It is often stated that a new feminine role model was emerging in the 1930's – the “modern woman” that worked side by side with men in a professional and highly efficient manner: “most historians agree that the postwar period was transitional in terms of women's work, but they consider the changes more qualitative than quantitative - having to do with the type of women working and the labor they performed rather than a numerical increase in the percentage of women in the work force”.<sup>24</sup> This emancipatory act is seen a triumph of modernity, of the positivist and egalitarian spirit that sought to rid women of the plights of domestic life. Women who work alongside men in similar conditions can often be seen in these ads and one can easily be deceived by the elusory egalitarian impetus of his discourse. However, this formal liberty is undermined by the fact that women had to be reminded that an unsurpassable gap separated them from men, that one crucial element made them totally different from their male coworkers: their femininity – “professions either exclusive or accessible to women demanded less physical strength, but greater attentiveness, patience, good behavior and manners, orderliness, and care. Besides being stereotypically feminine attributes, these moral qualities sustained the popular image of woman as naturally fit for the unstimulating, repetitive, and highly fatiguing work associated with low-paying, low-prestige jobs”.<sup>25</sup> The body, in the form

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<sup>24</sup> Roberts, 188.

<sup>25</sup> Roberts, 194.

of beauty, and not the development of skills and assets (these were, as shown, male traits – efficiency, seriousness, a strong work ethic, rationality), became the element that created professionally successful women. This is clearly stated by an ad for *Pixavon* shampoo: “The modern woman, at work... Then fights – alongside men – in different professions for her existence – will be successful only if she will know how to maintain her feminine charm. How the look of offices and counters has changed since women actively work alongside men! It’s as if they brought with them sunshine and radiance, you can see their polite smiles at the counters, their presence inspires, their work demands respect”. **(Figure 27)**

An ad for *Tokalon* cream shows the power of the gaze in this new, professional setting. Even at work, a woman should desire to be looked at and admired by her male co-workers: “For many weeks, while going to work, I was constantly running across him and hoping that he will notice me. But he barely absent-mindedly glanced at me. The best dresses that I wore made no impression on him. Finally I understood that men don’t want to get to know me because of my horrible complexion. But now I receive looks of sincere admiration not only from the man whose attention I sought, but also from many others”. Another ad for *Tokalon* again shows that the female body is essential for gaining a certain professional status, even though femininity is irrelevant in this line of work: “When I applied for a job at the Symphonic Orchestra, the Director said that it wasn’t enough that I played perfectly, but that I also should have a pleasant appearance. What a shame! I had neglected my complexion! My face was full of open pores and pimples that gave my cheek a nasty and withered look. The Director told me that other ladies in the Orchestra regularly used *Tokalon*”. It is also worth mentioning that the “skills” a member of the Orchestra should possess are determined and enforced by a Director that inevitably is a man.

## Conclusion

The body was one the most important parts of modern Romanian visual culture. Created, molded and imagined so as to enforce particular social word-views, it constitutes one of the most engaging lenses through which the symbolic world of the 1930’s can be examined. Observing the ways in which feminine and masculine identities were constructed in this time period and implicitly comparing them with their present-day avatars denotes the conviction that “beneath the surface of ordinary social behavior innumerable small murders of

“Beauty has no price, for a beautiful woman has the world at her feet”: female body in advertisements the mind and spirit take place daily”.<sup>26</sup> Deconstructing the social and symbolic mechanisms through which modern Romanian gender identities were institutionalized and reproduced is thus part of the wider effort of uncovering some of the most obscured and less studied historical processes – the already mentioned “historical labor of eternalization“, of creating the illusion that a certain historical definition of femininity and masculinity is ahistorical, therefore eternal. Historians have always been preoccupied with how past worlds normally functioned, but it is my belief that historical inquiry should focus on what did this *normality* imply and what were the mechanisms that enforced it. Studying the way in which ads from the 1930’s argued that “normal” women and men had to look, feel, act and interact reveals the existence of a social “order” that isn’t visible through the critical investigation of other types of historical sources, be they political and economic documents, statistics, or demographics: “We are often so fascinated with the exceptional, the especially interesting of challenging, that we forget that it is the normative – that which is considered normal – which motivates most people and determines their perceptions of society and their place within it”.<sup>27</sup> In essence, this article can be seen both as a sum of arguments in favor of using printed ads as legitimate historical sources and as an investigation of the role that the body played in constructing specific gender identities.

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*Toaletele de bal reclamă un ten imaculat. un decolteu impecabil.*

**INTREBUNTAȚI  
AMBELE CREME POND'S**

Crema „C” pentru demachiat și aplicat seara. Fină, spumăoasă, emolientă, acționează cremă admirabilă curăță toate impuritățile, înmoale epiderma, o regenerează, dându-i o albeață de crin, o frăgezime neînțrecută.

Crema „V”, ca bază a pudrei, e incomparabilă. Pudra Pond's — lipsită de orice substanțe toxice — e extrem de fină și aderentă; nuanțele ei delicate dau tenului un colorit fermecător.

**ARNAVALUL** este sezonul cel mai amuzant; balurile, seratele, petrecerile se țin lanț, premierele la teatre și operă se succed. Trebuie să fii frumoasă, mai frumoasă ca oricând. Toaletele de bal reclamă un ten imaculat, un decolteu impecabil.

Și tocmai acum tenul e mai iritat ca oricând. Vântul este o veșnică amenințare pentru tenurile delicate. Numai o îngrijire atentă și constantă, o **îngrijire rațională**, îi poate reda frăgezimea, îl poate apăra contra intemperiilor.

Metoda ideală, singura care ajută este metoda Pond's, metoda științifică, o metodă care și-a atras elogiile unanime ale celor mai de seamă dermatologi din America și Europa. În America metoda Pond's a fost supranumită „Metoda Infașibilă”.

Într-adevăr Pond's nu dă greș, Pond's ajută întotdeauna. Simplă, practică, eficientă și convenabilă, această metodă minunată este la îndemâna tuturor femeilor, ea nu cere prea mult timp și nici prea mulți bani. Două creme, „C” și „V”, aplicate cu regularitate, fie pur și simplu minuni.

Ar fi bine să faceți chiar astăzi prima încercare. Tenul Dv. iritat de vânt are nevoie de Pond's.

*Pudra și cremele*  
**POND'S**

PRODUCTS OF THE POND'S EXTRACT COMPANY—NEW-YORK—LONDON

Figure 1 – The body was a key element in defining ad worlds. This ad from 1932 shows a typical social interaction. Observe the tilting position of the female body as opposed to male firmness.



**VĂ  
MUTAȚI ?**

*Iată  
cea mai bună  
ocazie să vă*

**instalați o**



**MAȘINĂ DE GĂTIT  
PERFECTION  
VALOR**



Economie la combustibil, curățenie în bucătărie, bucate minunat gătite, muncă mai ușoară — toate le puteți avea dacă veți cumpăra pentru noua Dv. locuință o mașină de gătit Perfection Valor, ce funcționează cu petrol lampant.

Vizitați expoziția permanentă din Calea Victoriei 126, unde vi se va demonstra cum puteți prepara tot felul de bucate, prăjituri, fripturi pe mașina Perfection Valor.



Pentru a asigura buna funcționare a mașinei de gătit Perfection, în-  
trebuințați petrolul  
„DISTRIBUȚIA”

**AGENȚIA AMERICANĂ S. A.**  
BUCUREȘTI, CALEA VICTORIEI, 126 — TEL. 2 3734, 2-4083  
EXPEDIȚIUNI ÎN PROVINCIE CONTRA RAMBURS

Figure 2 – Many ads portray women and men in stereotypical roles. Here, a woman is happily enjoying her new cooking machine while her husband oversees her with content.



The advertisement features a large, detailed illustration of a woman's face with styled, wavy hair and a soft smile. In the upper right corner, the brand name "RICHARD HUDNUT" is displayed in a stylized font, preceded by a monogram. Below the woman's face, on the left, is a tin of "three flowers face powder" and a box of "three flowers" cream. The central text is in Romanian, with a large headline "Frumusețea e cel mai prețios bun al femeii..." (Beauty is the most precious good of a woman...). The text describes the benefits of the cosmetics and promotes a gift set. At the bottom, the brand name "RICHARD HUDNUT" is repeated in large letters, followed by a list of products: "GEMEY", "LE DEBUT VERT", and "RICHESSÉ".

Proprietățile cremei și pudrei **THREE FLOWERS** Richard HUDNUT sunt neîntrecute.

Crema **THREE FLOWERS** întreține tenul și contribuie simțitor la netezirea ridurilor, cât de imperceptibile ar fi. Se întinde perfect pe obraz, înlăturând rezidurile atât de supărătoare. Pudra **THREE FLOWERS** este cea mai aderentă pudră, din câte s'au fabricat până acum. Parfumul ei discret mărește puterea de atracție a unei femei distinse.

## Frumusețea e cel mai prețios bun al femeii...

Când seara coboară și odată cu stelele cerului se aprind becurile și iau foc tuburile de neon, reflexele de lumină pe obrazul Dv., frumoasă Doamnă, sunt cu totul deosebite de reflexele luminii de ziua.

În budoar, în salon, pe străzile luminate, în noaptea parcurilor, tenul Dv. trebuie să aibe și el altă strălucire, decât sub razele soarelui și în claritatea zilei.

Nu uitați: noaptea vă avantajează, noaptea este complicea frumuseții D-voastră.

Deci pentru această generoasă noapte, și mijloacele de îngrijire a frumuseții, trebuie să fie alese cu potrivire. Deaceia femeia distinsă își alege crema, pudra, rujul, Apa de Colonia **THREE FLOWERS** Richard HUDNUT.

# RICHARD HUDNUT

Oferiți de sărbători un cadou superb:  
o sticlă cu minunata **Apă de Colonia** RICHARD HUDNUT  
**GEMEY · LE DEBUT VERT · RICHESSÉ**

Figure 3 – “Beauty is a woman's most valued possession” – ad from 1933.





Figure 4 – An ad from 1931 that states that a “superb” woman is always “self-confident and envied”.



**IULIU CEZAR,**  
stăpânitorul lumii, a fost  
sclavul unei femei... divina  
**CLEOPATRA!**

Lumea nu a văzut încă un al doilea Cezar și istoria universală nu cunoaște decât unul. Iuliu Cezar a fost în război un comandant desăvârșit și în timp de pace un om de stat fără pereche. Și totuși... o femeie a reușit să-l stăpânească după voia ei. Alungată din Egipt pentru extravaganta ei-refugiată în Siria—Cleopatra îmblânzește în scurt timp leul Romei, iar mândrele legiuni ale Eternei Cetăți luptă în țara Piramidelor pentru a urca pe tronul Egiptului pe frumoasa regină. După asasinarea lui Cezar, Cleopatra l'a ingenunchiat pe mândrul Marcus Antonius, declanșând un război civil care duse la prăbușirea republicii romane.

*Da, astfel sunt farmacele feminine! Fiecare femeie are dorința de a juca rolul Cleopatrei în viață, de a subjuga bărbații. Dar farmecul trebuie cultivat, sunt doar atât de fragile, trecătoare... Parfumul captivant al apei de Colonia Chat Noir, vă dă acea notă de feminitate, care e mult mai prețioasă, mult mai atrăgătoare, mult mai puternică decât frumusețea însăși.*

**Chat Noir** lady  
EAU DE COLOGNE—Poudre—Parfum



Figure 5 – A historical feminine role model: Cleopatra.





Figure 6 – One of the many ads from the year 1930 showing a woman pampering herself while being surrounded by cosmetic products, suggesting that femininity had to be a constant female preoccupation.



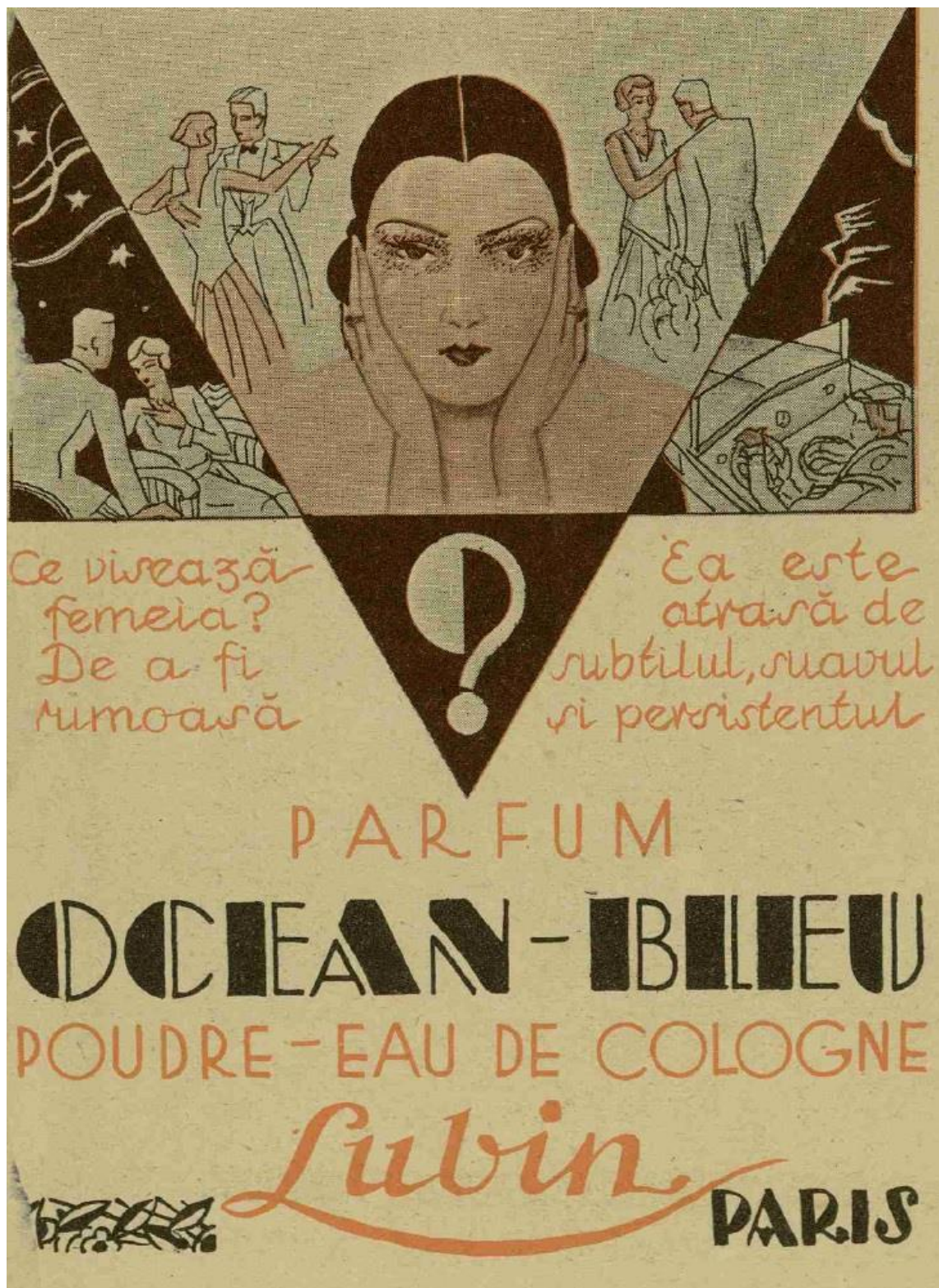


Figure 7 – Beauty was portrayed as a constant female state of mind. Here we can see that a woman's wants and desires were driven and fulfilled by this feminine trait.





Figure 8 – Femininity is encapsulated in the perfume bottle. This item hides in its “effluence a woman's entire charm” – ad from 1935.

*Dar*  
*Dumineca viitoare ce facem?*

Vom pleca în excursiune și ne vom bucura de soare. Numai de am avea o zi frumoasă! Dar înainte de asta și la timp să ne gândim la Leocrem cu ajutorul căreia vom căpăta mai repede o piele brună, fără pericol de arsuri.

Cutii elegante de Lei 15,- și 30,-  
Chlorodont S. A. R., Brașov.

**LEOCREM**  
cu vitamine de soare

Figure 9 – This ad portrays the “hierarchy of functions” by showing a woman pampering her face even while riding in the sidecar of a motorcycle.





Figure 10 – The female body imagined as a collage of different body parts.



Figure 11 – A scientific discourse that permeates four centuries of iconography (1632 - 1932).



**KURLASH Rochester U. S. A.**  
 Cele 6 produse științifice americane pentru înfrumusețarea ochilor  
 Ce poate fi mai frumos și atrăgător la o femeie, ca doi ochi mari și strălucitori, încadrați de gene și sprincene lungi, negre și stufoase?

**KURLASH**, aparat pentru arcuitul genelor dă expresiei ochilor un farmec deosebit 200 Lei

**KURLENE**, pomadă pentru creșterea genelor în borcan 200 Lei  
 „ tub 100 Lei

**TWEEZETTE** pensetă automată ce înlătură nedureros sprincenele stufoase 200 Lei

**LASHPAC**, compactă, elegantă cu periută specială, pentru înegritul genelor și sprincenelor 200 Lei

**LASHTINT**, tuș lichid pentru gene 200 Lei

**SHADETTE**, fard în cremă pentru pleoape 200 Lei

(Cereți gratuit catalogul „KURLASH” în engleză și franceză)



ANITA PAGE, dragălașă artistă arcuindu-și genele cu „Kurlash”-ul său

**GENE FALSE,**  
**CILS ROYALE**  
 se adaptează pe pleoape la cele proprii într-un mod perfect și de neobservat, dând genelungșișimăt soase. (Ține și la spălat).  
 În negru, chatain, brun  
 Perechea 150 Lei



Aplicarea genelor false

**MĂȘTI DE ÎNTINERIRE**  
 Crème Massages (se aplică sub mască 75.— și 100.— lei.  
 Depozitul General (en gros și en detail)



Frunte 150 lei  
 Demi-Masque 400 lei  
 Binocle 250 lei



**GUSA CU GÂT**  
 Mentonieră 150 lei  
 Mentonieră cu gușe 300 lei  
 Mentonieră cu gușe și gât 450 lei

**INSTITUTUL DE ÎNFRUMUSEȚARE**  
**DORTHEIMER**  
 BUCUREȘTI I, Calea Victoriei 50  
 Se fac expedițiuni în toată țara. — Catalogul General se trimite gratuit la cerere.

Figure 12 – Notice the utensils through which the female body had to be coerced into fulfilling the aesthetic ideal of the day.



Figure 13 – The well-groomed male body seen as a source of happiness – ads from 1933.



rei Fund.  
sabona Str.

**In timpul lucrului**  
nu puteți face gargară. Lăsați deci  
din timp în timp să vi se topească  
încet în gură câte o

Pastilă de

**Panflavin**


Astfel vă veți desinfecța gura și  
gâtul, prevenind acțiunea nocivă  
a micro-  
bilor.

Se găsesc în  
toate farma-  
ciile și dro-  
gheriile.

BAYER

Figure 14 – A healthy man was a hard-working man – ad from 1930.





## Omul își omoară stomacul

turburându-l  
obosindu-l  
slăbindu-l

Cu rare excepții, ne naștem cu un stomac sănătos și normal. Omul dă puțină atenție organelor sale mai cu seamă stomacului, până în ziua când... un prim simptom se ivește, o mică indispoziție, o senzație de arsură, gaze, un nod care urcă, somnolență după mese, sau nopți de insomnie. Toate aceste indispoziții sunt cauzate de un exces de aciditate, care arde pereții delicai ai stomacului, putând duce la gastralgie, dispepsie sau ulceratie.  
Intr'o bună zi vă dați seama că aceste indispoziții au devenit atât de grave încât stomacul e „mort”, a fost distrus.

Dar nu natura, ci omul este asasinul.  
Dacă aveți o digestie grea, luați dela primele indispoziții o mică doză de Magnesia Bisurata și durerile Dv. vor dispăre în curând.  
Magnesia Bisurata ușurează, pentru că apără mucoasa delicată a stomacului contra acțiunii iritante a excesului de aciditate. Neutralizând acest exces vătămător, Magnesia Bisurata previne orice indispoziție stomacală redând stomacului digestia sănătoasă și normală.  
In sfârșit, ea redă viața stomacurilor slăbite din neglijența noastră.

# MAGNESIA BISURATA

De vânzare la toate farmaciile și drogueriile la prețul de Lei 75 sau în format mare economic Lei 110 flaconul.

Figure 15 – A graphic depiction of the importance of having a healthy body – ad from 1937.



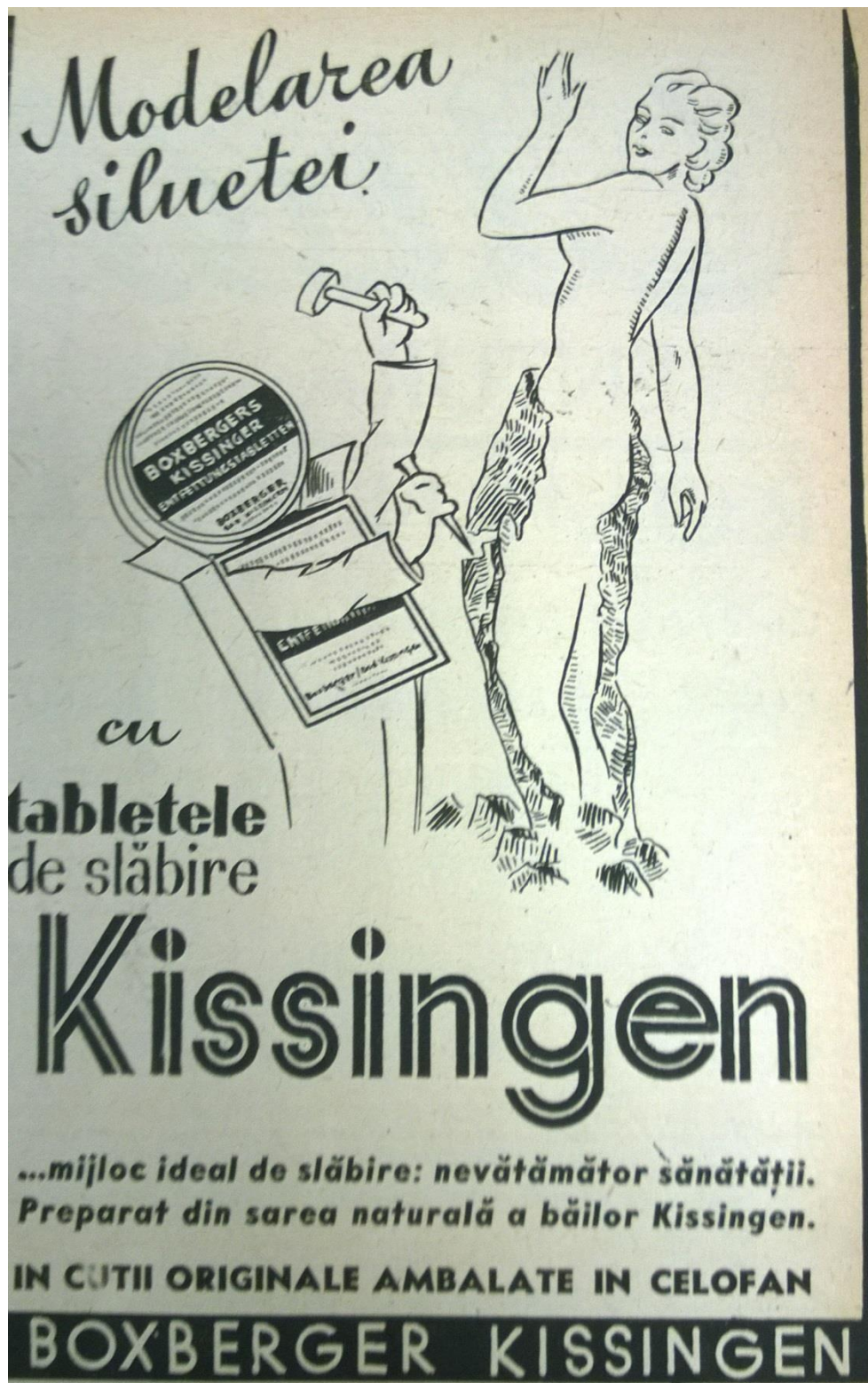


Figure 16 – Women should have been preoccupied with “sculpting” their body  
– ad from 1934.



**COLȚUL FEMEII**

**FEMEILE INTELIGENTE**

*sunt prevăzătoare...*

Multe femei își neglijează sănătatea și frumusețea și apoi se plâng că au îmbătrânit de timpuriu. E o neglijență condamnată care le cauzează suferințe fizice și morale și le poate distruge un cămin fericit.

Este datorită oricărei femei să ia din vreme măsurile necesare pentru a combate și a înlătura pericolul acelor afecțiuni feminine care întunecă existența femeii, o fac să sufere și să se ofilească înainte de vreme.

Metoda e simplă: spălături interne cu **LYSOFORM** — un preparat științific extrem de eficient.

**LYSOFORM** apără sănătatea femeilor. **LYSOFORM** este singurul preparat care poate fi întrebuințat zilnic fără a cauza iritațiunile pe care le provoacă săpunul sau alte preparate de calitate inferioară.

**Pentru TOALETA INTIMĂ**, întrebuințați numai **Lysoform** — un preparat științific, un antiseptic cu miros plăcut.

**IMPORTANT** Cereți **Lysoform** numai în flacoane originale închise. Acest preparat fiind superior tuturor preparatelor din acest gen, se falsifică și se vinde vândut sub denumirea **Lysoform**. Refuzați aceste imitațiuni fiindcă sunt foarte pădătoare sănătății. Deci, doamnelor, pentru sănătatea Dv., nu cumpărați decât **Lysoform**, în flacoane ermetice închise.

**Lysoform**

apără sănătatea femeilor și le mărește farmecul fizic.

Figure 17 – “Intelligent women are cautious” and know that lack of personal hygiene “will cause them physical and moral suffering and can destroy their happy marriage”





Figure 18 – The subtle male glances that control the female body – ad from 1931.





*Fieea bărbatului este schimbătoare...*

Tocmai din acest motiv femeile măritate trebuie să-și îngrijească frumusețea cu mare atenție, pentru a-și păstra simpatia bărbatului iubit. Un mijloc simplu, dar extrem de eficient, pentru a-și păstra frumusețea până la o etapă înaintată, este Crema

**Crema FLOAREA REGINEI**

Dr. BIRO la farmacie și droguerie.



*Mijlocul de frumusețe pentru obraji și buze*

trebuie să producă efect „personal”. Khasana superb crème de culoare portocalie o face. Ea nu este un cosmetic și are efect pe fiecare față datorită caracterului său special. Numai după fricționare începe să se desvolte puterea ei, că ea se transformă pe piele. Ea întinereste, îmbogățește și înfrumusețează.

In acest efect personal „Khasana Superb Crème” nu este întrecută decât prin „Khasana Superb roșu de buze”. Această, nu accentuează nici prea puțin nici prea mult buzele Dvs. și dă gurii o tinerească frăgezime.

Khasana superb crème și roșu de buze, rezistă apei, vântului și sărutatului și nimeni nu poate recunoaște întrebuintarea lor. Numai cu săpun se poate îndepărta culoarea lor

**KHASANA SUPERB**

KHASANA Super-rouge de buze Lei 30.- in tub rotativ elegant cu dublu continut Lei 110.- cu creion de rezervă lei 70.- Super-rouge de obraji in amănunțită formă, borcane lei 30.- Parfumuri Khasana și mijloc de înfrumusețare Khasana in rețineră mondială

Făceti încă dintr-o încercare cu un pachet mic Khasana Superb rouge de buze (lei 30) și veți ști că este cel mai bun.

Dr. M. Albersheim, Frankfurt a. M. - London

depozitul G-ral pentru România: „Gea”-Kraye, Timișoara



*De ce îi cer cu toții favoarea unui dans?*

Din, de ce cere sunt unde sunt unde de obicei, de ce nu este un lucru atât de mare? Frumusețea, conversația interesantă, spiritul, dăruirea, toate acestea în un singur lucru. Dar mai mult ca orice, poartă pe care îl îndrăgim.

**O NOUĂ CREAȚIE A CASEI JAZZ. APA DE COLONIA JAZZ.**

Această apă de Colonie este, conștient pentru toate femeile care doresc să își păstreze frumusețea și sărutele bărbatului iubit, și care, în același timp, să se simtă în orice loc în care se află.

Această apă de Colonie pe care o veți găsi în toate magazinele de parfumerie, vă oferă posibilitatea de a vă simți în orice loc în care vă aflați.

**EAU DE COLOGNE Jazz lady**

*EA este punctul de atracție la petreceri și în orice împrejurare*

FIE că e un ceri intenționează să se balsemeze în lumea mare, ea se remarcă prin frumusețea ei discretă și elegantă. Tot ce îmbracă, gesturile, conversațiile au acel „crașet” specific femeilor din lumea bună.

Această lucră se poate spune despre parfumul care face că femeile din lumea ei – discret și totuși persistent. Jockey Club este apă de Colonie parfumată pe care o întrebuintează în permanență pentru că știe că parfumul acestei ape de Colonie dezvoltă impresia pe care o face asupra oamenilor, impresia care o distinge de marea femeilor.

**JOCKEY CLUB creation lady**

TOILETTE CREATION MAGGY ROUFF PARIS • PHOTO ROCKWELL

Figure 19 – The ominous power of the male gaze – ads from 1930, 1932, 1935 and 1938.



O va săruta el oare?...

**Nu!**



Luni    Marți    Mierc.  
nuanțe din ce în ce mai albe

**Vă este imposibil de a ascunde urății Dv. dinți îngălbeniți**  
*Se zăresc de cum deschideți gura*

**A**SCULTAȚI, iată modul cel mai rapid și lesne de a avea dinți frumoși, sănătoși, strălucitori și gingii întărite și roze — serviți-vă de KOLYNOS, exact timp de 3 zile... și observați apoi rezultatele.

Desigur, dinții vor fi — cu 3 nuanțe din ce în ce mai albe. Gingiile vor părea mai întărite, vor fi chiar mai sănătoase și gura dv. va vibra de un gust de curătenie înviorătoare.

KOLYNOS-ul curăță dinții și gingiile așa cum ar trebui să fie curățate.

De îndată ce pătrunde în gură, această spumă dentifrice antiseptică, concentrată la un înalt grad, vă va oferi o surpriză plăcută. Ea se transformă într-o spumă abundentă.

Această spumă pătrunde, curățind radica fiecare crăpătură minuscule dintre dinți. Ea omorâă repeze milioanele de germeni cari determină o răsulire desagreabilă, provocând caria dentară, petele, gălbeneala urâtă care îi despodobesc și bolile gingiilor.

Doriți să aveți dinți mai albi, fără teama de carie și gingii întărite, roze, — puneți la o parte dentifriciul care nu-și indeplinește opera sa decât pe jumătate — adoptați KOLYNOS-ul — el vă va curăța în 3 zile.



Figure 20 – A surprising visual expression of rejection. The ad's title reads "Will he kiss her? No!" (1931).

## Amândouă l’au vrut



### însă una singură a triumfat

El a ales femeie a cărei piele era albă, moale și catifelată — acel fel de piele iubit și admirat de toți bărbații. Orice femeie își poate acum înalbi, catifela și înfrumuseța ușor pielea întrebându-l zilnic Crema Tokalon, celebra Cremă de Paris, Aliment pentru piele, Culoarea Albă (neunsuroasă). Această cremă se prepară actualmente din smântână proaspătă și untdelemn, combinate cu ingrediente astringente care înălbesc și tonifică. Ea pătrunde îndată, calmează iritația glandelor pielii, strânge porii dilatați, dizolvă punctele negre până ce dispar, înălbesc și catifelează pielea cea mai întunecată și mai aspră. Totodată ea menține pielea cea mai uscată într-o stare continuă de frăgezime și de umezeală delicată fără a o face unsuroasă. Ea este indicată deasemenea pentru o piele unsuroasă.

Crema Tokalon, Aliment pentru piele (Culoarea Albă), dă în 3 zile pielii o nouă frumusețe și frăgezime de nedescris și aceasta într-un mod imposibil de obținut pe altă cale. Trebuie aplicată în fiecare dimineață. Dacă pielea Dv. este sbârcită și îmbătrânită, trebuie deasemeni să întrebuințați Crema Tokalon, Aliment pentru piele (Culoarea Rose), seara înainte de culcare. Ea hrănește și întinereste pielea Dv. în timpul somnului.

Noile prețuri reduse: Crema Tokalon, culoarea albă, de la Lei 50.—, Crema Tokalon aliment, culoarea roză, de la Lei 60.—.

De vânzare la toate farmaciile, drogheriile și parfumeriile din țară.

## Mărturisirea unei femei geloase



„Știu că iubirea soțului meu începea să se răcească. La 20 de ani aveam un obraz frumuseț și o piele fragedă și limpede. Însă truda gospodăriei și creșterea a doi copii au produs curând cute și sbârcituri. La 30 de ani m’ar fi lăsat ușor drept 40. Atunci am citit de uimitoarea descoperire a Biocelului, făcută de un renumit medic din Viena, care face ca femeile să-și recapete aparența juvenilă. Am cumpărat imediat un borcan de Biocel Aliment pentru piele și l-am întrebuințat în seara aceea. Chiar în dimineața următoare tenul meu părea mai fraged și mai limpede. După o săptămână, bărbatul meu zise: „Stii Lenuto? Parcă ai întinerit.” După o lună toate prietenele mele vorbeau de schimbarea produsă în înfățișarea mea.

Biocelul este un aliment esențial pentru celule și se extrage din ani-male tinere alese cu îngrijire de către Dr. Stejskal, profesor la Universitatea din Viena. E conținut exclusiv în Crema Tokalon Aliment pentru piele culoarea roză, celebra Cremă de Paris.

Această nutrește și întinereste pielea în timp ce dormiți înlătură cutoile și sbârciturile.

Ziua întrebuințați Crema Tokalon, culoarea albă (neunsuroasă). Ea dizolvă coșurile, contractă porii dilatați și face albă, moale și netedă pielea cea mai întunecată și aspră.

Se garantează excelente rezultate, altfel banii se restituie. De vânzare la toate farmaciile, drogheriile și parfumeriile din țară.



Figure 21— “Both wanted him, but only one triumphed.” and the “confession of a jealous woman” – ads from 1934.



# Aveam tot-afară DE DRAGOSTE!

*Povestea tragică a unei  
femei insetate  
de dragoste*

“Aveam tot ce o femeie putea dori — bani, bijuterii, rochii scumpe — tot, afară de dragoste. Mă simțeam cât se poate de nefericită și plictisită de viață în hoteluri de lux — singură de tot. Nici un bărbat nu m’a cerut în căsătorie — și știam cauza. Aveam un ten grozav de urât. Pielea mea era acoperită cu coșuri și pori dilatați. Am încercat fel de fel de remedii, dar fără folos. Atunci, după sfatul droghistului meu, am încercat Crema Tokalon, culoarea albă, celebra Cremă de Paris. După puține zile pielea mea era mai fragedă și mai limpede. După o săptămână toți porii dilatați și coșurile dispăruseră — pielea mea era netedă, catifelată și albă. Și după puțin timp m’am măritat cu bărbatul, pe care inima mea îl dorea.”

Crema Tokalon, culoarea albă (neun-

suroasă), conține smântână proaspătă și untdelemn rectificat care pătrund în pori și aduc la suprafață necurățiile ascunde în adâncime, pe care apa și săpunul nu le pot atinge niciodată. Alte ingrediente conținute în Crema Tokalon, culoarea albă, hrănesc și întineresc pielea, strâng porii dilatați și fac în trei zile moale, albă și netedă pielea cea mai întunecată și aspră. Chiar femeile de o vârstă avansată pot căpăta un ten fraged și dragălaș, de care ar fi mândră o fată tânără. Se garantează excelente rezultate, altfel se restituie banii. —

De vânzare la toate farmaciile drogheriile și parfumeriile din țară. —



Figure 22 – The nightmare of possessing an unattractive body: “I had everything a woman could want - money, jewelry, expensive dresses, everything - but love”.





Figure 23 – The mirror is pictured in a number of ads as an indispensable feminine artifact.



Figure 24 – A unique iconic metaphor: the female body simultaneously caught between the mirror and the male gaze in a sort of tridimensional submission.





**Poate fi comparată cu stelele scenei...**

**G**ie la Opera Metropolitană din New York, sau la Opera din Paris, fie la Teatrul Național din Capitală, unele femei din loji sau fotolii de orchestră sunt atât de fermecătoare încât privirile spectatorilor se îndreaptă mai mult spre ele decât spre scenă.

O frumusețe are să se poată compara cu aceia a stelelor scenei, iată visul tuturor femeilor, însă un vis pe care puține îl pot realiza. Și cu toate acestea o îngrijire continuă și atentă a tenului, alegerea cosmeticelor adecuate, pot fi de mare folos în lupta pe care o dă femeia pentru a reuși.

**Preparatele RICHARD HUDNUT THREE FLOWERS**

- Pentru îngrijirea frumuseții, cremele și pudra de obraz THREE FLOWERS — produse ale casei RICHARD HUDNUT — sunt auxiliare neprețuite care au câștigat încrederea femeilor din înalta societate din New York și Paris.
- Prin finețea compoziției și aderenței incomparabile, prin parfumul îmbătător și suav, pudra RICHARD HUDNUT THREE FLOWERS se clasează cea dintâi. Cremele THREE FLOWERS RICHARD HUDNUT mențin tenul catifelat și tineresc.

**Three Flowers FACE POWDER**  
RICHARD HUDNUT PARIS NEW YORK

Figure 25 – Femininity had to be affirmed in all social and cultural contexts - here we see the embodiment of this ideal in the form of a woman in a balcony inside the National Theater – ad from 1936.

*Dentru femeia elegantă  
apa de Colonia ChatNoir  
este un auxiliar neprețuit*



**FEMEILE ELEGANTE**

femeile care se remarcă prin grație și înălțimea lor firească, întrebându-se apa de Colonia ChatNoir.

Aceste femei adorabile, văditoare și adevărate ca niște regine, știu să prețuiască această apă de Colonia minunată, al cărei parfum suav și delicat le dă acel farmec turbător care fascinează și cucerește din prima clipă.

La baluri și serbări, la orice petreceri și reuniuni mondene, apa de Colonia ChatNoir este cea mai indicată fiindcă parfumul ei îmbătător le menține lângă câteva ore în jur.

ChatNoir este o creație a casei Lady — o apă de Colonia de calitate superioară, ale cărei însușiri artistice caracterizează femeile elegante.

**EAU DE COLOGNE  
ChatNoir**  
UNE CRÉATION DE LA MAISON



**Femeia... la teatru**

Dacă observăm triumful celebrelor artiste, ne întrebăm întotdeauna cui i se datorește această închinare, frumuseții, sau artei acestor femei. — Această întrebare este de prisos: Triumful unei mari artiste se datorește armoniei între arta, care este în adâncul și în personalitatea ei, și frumusețe. — Nu este dat oricărei femei această artă divină, dar îi este dat de a fi frumoasă, și să împărtășească în juru-i un farmec de nedescris. — O femeie care-și îngrijește în mod metodic părul cu Pixavon Shampoon, va avea același triumf în cercul ei, pentru care-și învidiază pe rivala ei de pe scenă. — Succesul tuturor femeilor în societate, se bazează pe frumusețea părului lor, iar femeile care sunt în viața particulară ca și pe scenă frumoase, și au succes, întrebându-se numai Pixavon Shampoon pentru îngrijirea părului lor. —

Păr frumos prin Pixavon Shampoon. Nu conține sodă! Un pic ajunge pentru 2 întrebuințări, și costă numai Lei 10.-

**PIXAVON**  
*acum și Pixavon-Shampoon!*

Pixavon Shampoon nu este un Shampoon simplu (săpun în praf parfumat)  
Pixavon Shampoon este un mijloc de primul rang de a îngriji părul, conținând aceleași ingrediente ca și Pixavonul lichid.

Figure 26 – Affirming one's femininity in cultural contexts – ads from 1931 and 1932.



strigă: Arabella II Arabella să-l turbure.  
In timpul acesta se desfășură



## Femeia moderna in activitate . . .

Care luptă — alături de bărbați — în diferite profesii pentru existență — va fi încununată de succes, dacă va ști să-și păstreze farmecul ei feminin.

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Figure 27 — “The modern woman at work...” — ad from 1932.



**RECENZII, PREZENTĂRI DE CARTE**  
**REVIEWS, BOOK PRESENTATIONS**

**Paola Perazzi, Gabriella Poggesi, Susanna Sarti (eds.), *L'ombra degli Etruschi. Simboli di un popolo fra pianura e collina*, Edizioni Firenze, 143 p., 133 illustrations, ISBN 978-88-7970-771-8.**

**Corina-Ruxandra (GAVRIȘ) ȘTEFLEA**  
**University of Bucharest**

This work represents the catalogue of the homonym temporary exhibition at *Museo di Palazzo Pretorio* (Museum of the Praetorian Palace) from Prato, Italy, between 19<sup>th</sup> of March – 31<sup>st</sup> August 2016. The first pages of the catalogue describe the exhibit's layout, hosted in three halls at the ground floor of the museum. The project was designed by the same team that curated the exhibition map: Giuseppina Carlotta Cianferoni (*Polo Museale della Toscana*), Paola Perazzi, Gabriella Poggesi, and Susanna Sarti (all from the *Soprintendenza Archeologia della Toscana*), in collaboration with Rita Iacopino (*Museo di Palazzo Pretorio*). The making of this exhibit entailed an important collaboration between cultural institutions from Italy. Some of the displayed artifacts were borrowed from the following institutions or museums: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze* (a great part of the funerary monuments displayed came from the collection of *Cippo di Settimello* and *Stele di Via di Camporella* Museums), *Museo di Casa Buonarroti* (*Stele di Larth Ninie*), *Museo Archeologico di Artimino*, *Museo di Fiesole*, *Museo di Dicomano* and from *Villa Medicea di Cerrato Guidi*. Other exhibited objects were borrowed from private owners.

The purpose of this catalogue is to clarify some specific aspects on the territory situated north of Arno River, which in the Etruscan archaic period was characterized by a powerful cultural homogeneity, especially in important centres such as Fiesole, Artimino and Gorfienti. Also, the publication of this catalogue brings up-to-date the whole collection of stones known as “*pietre fiesolane*”, including the latest discoveries.

The book includes many images and maps. Sixteen researchers collaborated to produce this catalogue. At the beginning, we find the summary and two expositions. The first

is made by Andrea Pesina (*Soprintendenza Archeologia della Toscana*) (p. 9) and the second is made by Prato's mayor at the moment of the book's publication, Matteo Biffoni, together with Simone Mangani (*Assessore alla politiche Culturali*) (p. 11). The authors establish the spatial correspondence between the catalogue and the exhibit. They emphasize the latest archaeological discoveries from Gonfienti and they remind readers of the great development of the local museums during the last decades: the museums from Fiesole, Dicomano and Artimino. This is the main reason why the organizers chose the *Palazzo Pretorio* to display bronze artifacts that were discovered in the area – some were being displayed for the first time within an exhibition. An important selection of “pietre fiesolane”, 24 pieces from the most significant ones, taking into account the iconographic and geographic criteria were also presented to the public for the first time. The exhibit, together with the catalogue, acknowledges both the historical and cultural patrimony of the city of Prato.

These short expositions are followed by the Introduction (pp. 13-17) realized by Paola Perazzi and Gabriella Poggesi. As I mentioned, the catalogue (and the exhibit, too) focuses on the Etruscan archaic period of the region and on the characteristics of this period. This epoch was very active and productive in the production of the so-called “pietre fiesolane”, *stelae*, and memorial stones made from conglomerate and realized, probably, by a class of master artisans. At that time, in the Northern parts of Etruria the city of Gonfienti was founded on the Bisenzio River, as a colonial city, on the Trans-Appennines route.

The importance of studying the “pietre fiesolane” consists in the fact that this type of artistic representation is fundamental to understanding the organization of Etruscan society. These stones marked the tombs of the high ranking personalities that stood out in the vast territory of Northern Etruria: from Montalbano to Mugello, to Valdiesie and along the direction of the Florence-Prato-Pistoia plain – a wide territory that was always identified as “agro fiesolano”. In the past years, in this region, the museums suffered transformations. In searching for a better approach of the local history, new archaeological areas were opened to the public: the Necropolis of Comeana, the archaeological area from Frascole, the funerary complex of Montagnola.

The Introduction concentrates on the Gonfienti locality. In the past decades, the history of archaeology which regards the plain area between Prato and Campi Bisenzio, delimited at the North by the Appennines hills and the mountain range – Montalbano, was decisively rewritten, concerning the periodization and the isolated discoveries of artifacts (bronze statues, ceramic or lithic fragments) have been placed in a proper historical context. In the Etruscan period, the proto-historic place is being superimposed by an archaic settlement

(VI-V BC). On this matter, the book offers details on how the city was then organized and discusses the archaeological researches initiated after 2000. These studies brought other information to light. After centuries of abandonment the space was reused in Roman times, making connections with the actual territory and today's use of the buildings situated there. Hence, the Introduction shows the geographic frame and describes the evolution of the settlement from Gonfienti, bringing together the new discoveries about this archaic period, justifying and showing why it was dedicated an exhibit divided into two parts: bronze figures and stone figures. At this point of the paper, it is suggested that the "pietre fiesolane" could provide information about the connections between powerful families. They testify the exchange of ideas and the existence of economic and cultural relations. The Etruscans express themselves in stone figures on the occasion of death. The bronze figures which are also being discussed attest to a high artistic level in the area.

The catalogue continues with the section *Fra Gonfienti e Pizzidimonte. Figure di bronzo, figure rosse* (Between Gonfienti and Pizzidimonte. Bronze figures, red figures) which corresponds to the study *Fra Gonfienti e Pizzidimonte* (pp. 21-37) written by Gabriella Poggesi and Giovanni Millemaci. These pages comprise a more detailed presentation of the settlement from Gonfienti: the location, its geographical characteristics and those of the surrounding territory. The authors mention the urban centre of Marzabotto with whom Gonfienti shares some features regarding urbanism and architecture, the means for territorial control.

The Etruscan archaic settlement of Gonfienti is one of the most important discoveries of the past decades in the area located north of the Arno River. The scientific community was thrilled by the discovery because in this way it was finally possible to test the Etruscan artifacts that were found in this area, an aspect already partially mentioned above.

The history of the local discoveries has been resumed with a special attention on the small town Pizzidimonte together with Gonfienti plain, an area famous for the findings made there since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Etruscan objects in bronze, some of high quality). The authenticity of these discoveries is questioned and the meaning of the fact that they were found scattered is being discussed; their place in the collections of the noblemen (for instance the collection of Guasti Badiani) is also considered. The authors mention the literature and the writings of that epoch among which the writings of Anton Francesco Gori, the manuscripts of antiquities-lovers, the Annals of the Colombaria Society, with the purpose of reconstituting the history of the objects from the moment of their discovery until the moment of publication.

The most famous example is the *Offerente di Pizzidimonte*, found in the collection of the British Museum, having a fascinating history considered lost for a long period.

This chapter is accompanied by high quality images. The substantial number of bronze artifacts from the archaic period on the Florentine-Fiesolan territory can provide for the existence of a sacred area in this space. This study also deals with another important aspect: the discovery of ceramic fragments. The pottery production from the Etruscan city of Gonfienti indicates the cultural level reached by the city in the period placed between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. There is a particular interest in red-figure pottery of Attic production used for symposium and dinner. The example that stands out, and that is also the symbol of this Etruscan city, is the “Kylix” attributed to Douris, with a rich decoration and a message that is not immediate. It’s obvious that one of the questions the authors try to find an answer refers to the meaning of the presence of a very fine ceramics at Gonfienti. Could this be a reason to attest that this Etruscan city was important within the commercial and cultural network of Northern Etruria and Etruria Padana?

The book continues with the second part, *Il territorio tra pianura e collina. Figure di pietre* (The territory between plain and hill. Figures of stones), which contains four studies preceded by the map with the diffusion of the “pietre fiesolane” which also indicates the types of artifacts. The first article, *Il territorio delle “Pietre Fiesolane”* (The territory of “Pietre Fiesolane”) (pp. 41-59), has four authors: Giuseppina Carlotta Cianferoni, Luca Fedeli, Paola Perazzi, Gabriella Poggesi. In this chapter we find out the general definition of the “pietre fiesolane”. The purpose of these pages is to present the importance of the stones in the context of studying the Etruscan history (particularly, the Etruscan elites), these lithic monuments being a reading guide for the history of the population of these territories.

According to the authors, the “pietre fiesolane” means the production of *stelae* and memorial stones (*Cippi*) with bas-relief, identified and classified in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Filippo Magi and Francesco Nicosia (Filippo Magi made the Corpus of the “Pietre Fiesolane” in 1932 with 20 findings; the established typology was improved in 1966 by Francesco Nicosia who also completed the *Corpus*). These monuments, related to a funerary context were found in a homogeneous and very well-defined area, most of them situated north from Arno River. These stones are useful for understanding Etruscan social and political organization based on criteria of gentility from the middle of VI century BC (p. 41). The chapter offers a set of important information: data about the territory between VI-V BC – the demographic growth, the strong town-planning impulse, the characteristic of the Florentine-Fiesolan territory. The strategic importance of the Arno River is taken into account together with the development of

the northern part of Etruria including the centres of Marzabotto (accessed through Bologna) and Fiesole (accessed through Gonfienti). Regarding the stones, the authors underline the fact that the majority of them have an unclear context of discovery. When they talk about the stones they also make analogies with others findings of the surrounding areas.

The next chapter, *Le “pietre fiesolane”: storia degli studi e classificazione* (The “Pietre Fiesolane”: history of studies and their classification) (pp. 61-71), is written by Susanna Sarti. In this chapter we also come across images and a critical apparatus that is placed at the end of it. As the title already shows, this study deals with tracing the historical researches (the interest for the “Pietre Fiesolane” is noticed from 18<sup>th</sup> century in papers and books with drawings, illustrations and descriptions of these ancient monuments) and with the classification of these stones. At the moment when these discoveries became frequent, toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Luigi Adriano Milani, the director of the Archaeological Museum of Florence at the time, points out the acute need for publishing and classifying findings which were common presence in Etruscology treatises and mentioned sometimes in travel literature. These pages offer some brief details on how these stones ended up in the collections of different archeological museums.

A very important aspect is that these stones don’t have a clear archaeological context. Other aspects that are considered are the debates and hypothesis launched in the past century regarding these stones. Recent transformations of the archaeological museums from Dicomano and Artimino – each museum has a special room dedicated to the display of the “pietre fiesolane” – are being reminded; but then, the book doesn’t mention the situation of the “pietre fiesolane” from the collections of the Archaeological Museum of Florence

The third article, *La scrittura a Fiesole in età arcaica* (The writing at Fiesole in the archaic period) (pp. 73-81), is written by Adriano Maggiani. The material discusses inscriptions, including pictures and illustrations. This study, divided by subtitles, presents the epigraphic proofs (a small quantity) from the “agro fiesolano”, until the beginning of the V century BC. The findings are placed chronologically as follows: from the “Orientalizing” period (640-580 BC), to the archaic époque (580-520 BC) and to the late archaic period (520-490 BC). The author makes an inventory of the artifacts that have inscriptions, *graffiti*. He talks about the evolution, the state of the sources and the context of their discovery. He also divides them into categories using different criteria such as: onomastic, types of texts, language, and inscriptions, raw material, and paleographic qualities. All these discoveries attest to the exercise of writing, the existence of a writing tradition.

The last study of this part, *Una scoperta recente: la stele scritta dal santuario Etrusco di Poggio Colla* (A recent discovery: the inscribed stele from the Etruscan sanctuary of Poggio Colla) (pp. 83-85), is a brief account made by Gregory Warden. The title perfectly resumes the content of this short study. A funerary stele was found in July 2015, during the excavation campaign at the sanctuary of Poggio Colla (Vicchio) where the Mugello Valley Archaeological Project carries on its activities. This stone doesn't necessary fit in the category of the "pietre fiesolane" with whom it only has in common the building material and the territory of reference. At the moment of the publication of the catalogue the stele was under the process of restoration.

The catalogue continues with a *Corpus delle "pietre fiesolane"* (The corpus of the "Pietre Fiesolane") (pp. 87-132). The stones that were displayed in the exhibit are set apart from the ones that weren't exhibited by the authors. Each artifact is illustrated with pictures or illustrations (as in the case of no. 27, *Stele di Casale*, now lost).

At the end of the book we find the Bibliography (pp. 135-143), including the main contributions to this field of study.

The catalogue and the exhibition portray both the historical and cultural patrimony of the city of Prato. They are an opportunity to explore the roots of a vast territory with special focus on the Northern Tuscany by looking at the sacred beliefs and afterlife world. This catalogue is a journey in time guided by precious artifacts from all Tuscany. The city of Gonnfienti distinguishes itself in the pages of the book as a recent testimony in terms of local patrimony and importance of local memory. The city is reminded as a vivid reality with dynamic commercial activities, being a point of reference for the plain area and having maintained commercial exchanges with other Mediterranean cultures, mainly the Greeks.

This book is easy to understand, the great number of images makes it easy to read as well, the discourse is broad-minded and it's not suffocated by a critical apparatus. The title – "L'ombra degli Etruschi. Simboli di un popolo fra pianura e collina" (The Shadow of the Etruscans. Symbols of a People between the Plains and Hills) – is justified by the existent connection – proved mostly by the "pietre fiesolane" – between the plains and hills, meaning: Fiesole-Artimino-Gonnfienti.

**Ingrid Hjelm, Thomas Thompson (eds.), *History, Archaeology and the Bible Forty Years after 'Historicity'*, Part I - Changing Perspectives in Biblical Studies, Vol. VI of Changing Perspectives, a Copenhagen International Seminar series, London and New York: Routledge, 2016, 229 p., 13 fig., ISBN: 978-1-138-88951-4.**

**Cristian-Peter MARINESCU-IVAN**  
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This volume of papers brought by two representatives of the University of Copenhagen, Ingrid Hjelm, associate professor and Thomas L. Thompson, professor *emeritus*, entitled “History, Archaeology and the Bible Forty Years after *Historicity*”, is questioning the historical-critical method of biblical scholarship. The collective work examines the major changes that have taken place within the field of Old Testament studies since the revolutionary works of Thomas Thompson and John van Seters in 1974 and 1975 (both re-edited in 2014). The book is divided in three categories: changing perspectives in biblical studies (which makes the object of this review), history and cult, and ideology and history, presenting new articles from some of the field’s best scholars with comprehensive discussion of historical, archaeological, anthropological, cultural and literary approaches to the Hebrew Bible and Palestine’s History.

The introduction (pp. 1-14) provides information on the arrangement of the international conference held in October 2013, centering on the Copenhagen School’s manifold contributions to biblical studies and discussing future prospects for the discipline. The heavily re-worked articles formed altogether the volumes 6 and 7 of the *Changing Perspectives* series, the present book being historically oriented, while the other is literary. This section also gives synthetic arguments on the critique of “historicity” that began with the falsification of biblical archaeology’s established theory of an historical patriarchal period in the Middle or early Late Bronze Age, with references from 1972’s dissertation of Thomas Thompson. After a chronological description of other scholars’ contribution that has become more regionally oriented as years passed by, is presented Finkelstein’s dissertation on new surface surveys as an example of why the biblical scholarship and historical writing moved yet further away from a biblical perspective of Israel’s past, and why archaeology moved towards a history of Palestine, independent of a biblical perspective. The introduction is

closed by a short presentation of each subject exposed in the book, followed by a list of notes and references.

Part I, on *Changing Perspectives in Biblical Studies* (pp. 15-67), starts with Douglas A. Knight's paper, "Old and New in Scandinavian Interpretation of Hebrew Bible" (pp. 17-34), overviewing key moments in twentieth-century biblical scholarship in Scandinavia, based upon pre-existing methods. He also points out the necessity of producing academic works in international languages rather than vernacular, and the translation of texts beginning quite late, in the 1960's (the case of Sigmund Mowinckel's 1951 book). From Axel Olrik (1864–1917) to Niels Peter Lemche (1945–) some researchers stepped apart from the conventional work of others – the juggernaut – and offered distinctive proposals or approaches that stimulated, if not always won over, biblical scholars elsewhere. They also encouraged critique; for instance, according to Knight, Mowinckel's claim that Ivan Engnell (1906–1964) regarded the vast majority of the Hebrew Bible as having stemmed from oral tradition, and therefore he introduced two types of prophetic literature.<sup>1</sup>

The next article, "Reflections on the relationship between biblical history and the history of Israel" (pp. 35-46), by Reinhard G. Kratz, examines the biblical history as myth based on minimalistic approach (Wilhelm De Wette's view of historiography). Kratz is positively sure that available sources (archaeological or epigraphic) are sufficient to reconstruct an outline of ancient Israel's history, the standpoint being writing Syro-Palestinian making use of existing sources from the biblical regions of Aram, Ammon, Moab or/and Edom.

The following essay, "Some suggestions for the future of Pentateuchal research" (pp. 47-59), by Thomas M. Bolin, is divided in 5 subchapters. Based upon what John van Seters had suggested in 2006, that identifying editors and redactors in ancient Israel is founded upon an anachronism that causes confusion in understanding of what ancient scribes and modern editors did, Bolin examines three alternative avenues of exploration: (a) Understanding of the biblical text as a literary multilayered construct with several distinct historical layers of occupation, through what is called "memory variants", i.e., variants in written texts which are the result of an author who is recalling other written texts from memory<sup>2</sup>; (b) Looking at other large collections of authoritative texts that comprise both narrative and ritual instructions, but apart from *Atrahasis* or *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, there is nothing in the ancient Near East or

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<sup>1</sup> Ivan Engnell, "Profetia och tradition: Några synpunkter på ett gammalt testamentligt centralproblem", in *Svensk exegetisk årsbok* 12, 1947, 110–139.

<sup>2</sup> David Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.



Mediterranean region comparing to a text the size of the Pentateuch, comprising elements as diverse as the patriarchal narratives in Genesis and the detailed descriptions of the tabernacle in Exodus; (c) The admonition of biblical scholars to look at how different collections of sacred literatures are formed and read over time, proposing the model of Hinduism and features of Vedic literature (*see Wendy Doniger and Timothy Lubin*).

The last article of the section, by Martin Ehrensverd, states „The Contemporary Debate over Linguistics Dating of Biblical Texts” (pp. 60-67). Among the discoveries, he claims that all the biblical texts (especially pre-exilic inscriptions) had at least some of the late biblical Hebrew elements, the latter becoming an accumulation. Regarding textual fluidity, the writer considers late biblical Hebrew elements are widespread, making difficult to locate the few late manuscripts. Critics, he said, along with Rezetko and Young, denies the presence of language change, but this feature is no option for dating, since different varieties of Hebrew were used at the same time.

Claimed to be a guidebook for students with affinities to Biblical archaeology and history of the East Mediterranean, merely on the development of Palestine and the ancient Near East, this book’s first part shows a massive amount of theories based on good practices, a possible logical reason for the absence of conclusions, suggesting the quest of each author in the opening of new debates.

**Miron Cihó, *Introducere în studiul limbii medio-egiptene*, Studii de Egiptologie Nr. 1, București, Editura Universității din București, 2016, 316 p., 18 fig., ISBN 978-606-16-0707-5**

**Lorena STOICA**  
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Lucrarea egiptologului și prof. univ. dr. Miron Cihó, intitulată *Introducere în studiul limbii medio-egiptene*, face parte din colecția condusă de același autor „Studii de Egiptologie (Nr. 1)” și reprezintă o sinteză privind atât principiile de bază ale scrierii hieroglifice clasice, cât și aspecte ale gramaticii medio-egiptene. Volumul promite a se încadra într-o serie de publicații care urmăresc identificarea, explicarea și interpretarea anumitor puncte de interes care privesc în special scrierea egipteană antică și produsele mai mult sau mai puțin literare prin care această civilizație se revelează omului modern. Astfel, în decursul aceluiaș an – 2016, o a doua lucrare a văzut lumina tiparului: *Ostraca: Surse pentru studierea universului faraonic* („Studii De Egiptologie Nr. 2”), fiind anunțat și titlul cercetării pentru cel de-al treilea volum, anume *Scrisori către morți în Egiptul faraonic*.

Încă de la început este important de subliniat, sub aspect laudativ, factorul motivator principal în realizarea acestui amplu proiect pe termen lung, reprezentat de preocuparea autorului pentru promovarea și încurajarea aprofundării egiptologiei în România, în special de către studenții interesați de această știință. Având în vedere aceste premise, volumul este conceput asemeni unui manual de lucru și se bazează cu predilecție pe redarea organizată, clară și concisă a conținutului. Totodată, este urmărit un parcurs metodologic, cu aspecte didactice care se dovedesc a fi deosebit de utile, având în vedere faptul că publicația de față reprezintă prima sinteză egiptologică din literatura de specialitate românească.

Lucrarea este sistematizată în 12 părți, anume introducerea motivațională a autorului, opt capitole tematice, lista abrevierilor, bibliografia și o listă a semnelor hieroglifice, însumând un total de 316 pagini. Pe lângă informațiile ce țin de integrarea cititorului în tematica propusă, volumul pune la dispoziție o serie de tabele și liste explicative ale semnelor și grupărilor hieroglifice sau ale regulilor gramaticale (ex.: Tabelul semnelor monoconsonantice, pp. 83-84; Tabel cu desinențele substantivului, pp. 160; Tabelul formelor pronumelui-suffix, pp. 167; Listă de semne hieroglifice, pp. 227-314). Capitolele sunt însoțite de numeroase exemple care demonstrează aplicarea cunoștințelor teoretice expuse și cuprind,

de asemenea, o serie de lucrări bibliografice relevante pentru fiecare subtemă tratată. Catalogul bibliografic de la finele volumului dovedește o calitate a literaturii de specialitate consultată, cu un număr de 138 de lucrări în limbi de circulație internațională (engleză, franceză, germană) și națională, care au stat la baza întemeierii acestei lucrări, dar care mai ales slujesc drept îndrumători pentru îmbunătățirea cunoștințelor și continuarea cercetării acestui subiect. Este de apreciat totodată inițiativa autorului de a pune la dispoziția studenților interesați în mod special de subiectul abordat acest bogat material bibliografic, după cum afirmă încă din introducere: „Menționez faptul că lucrarea de față cuprinde o bibliografie accesibilă studentului român prin intermediul unor biblioteci autohtone, dar mai ales prin colecția impresionantă de cărți, teze de doctorat și articole în format pdf ale subsemnatului” (p. 12).

Volumul este deschis prin *Motivația* autorului (pp. 7-14) fiind realizat un parcurs al etapelor necesare pentru inițierea și specializarea în domenii precum lingvistica sau paleografia. Autorul subliniază cu regret faptul că studiul egiptologiei se află încă într-o fază debutantă în societatea românească și urmărește într-o expunere succintă instituirea cursurilor despre Egiptul Antic în cadrul Universității București - Facultatea de Istorie, începând cu anii 1990 și până în prezent.

Al doilea capitol, *Noțiuni introductive* (pp. 15-54) este conceput pe definirea principalilor termeni specifici, anume scrierea hieroglifică și evoluțiile acesteia, cu accent pe scrierea hieratică, hieratica neobișnuită, limba demotică și copta. Pentru fiecare dintre aceste categorii, autorul oferă informații cronologice, ce țin de apariția și dezvoltarea în timp a fiecărui tip de scriere, precum și o serie de exemple ilustrate, foarte utile pentru o analiză comparativă. Sunt prezentate apoi informații teoretice despre materialele utilizate pentru scriere – papyrusul, piatra (calcarul, gresia, granitul, cuarțul, alabastru) și alte tipuri: ostraca (un aliaj între bucăți de calcar și teracotă), piele, pânză, lemn, metale.

Al treilea capitol se ocupă de *Originea hieroglifelor* (pp. 54-64), fiind menționate cele mai importante opinii ale specialiștilor în domeniu, în urma a căror expunere autorul își permite observații obiective. În acest sens, argumentația egiptologului H.G.Fischer (p. 54) - teoria dezvoltării rapide a scrierii hieroglifice în special prin exemplul sumerian, reprezintă unul dintre exemplele pe care autorul și alți egiptologi (amintim J. Kahl, p. 61) îl infirmă, în baza datelor care demonstrează diferențe majore între cele două tipuri de scriere. Prof. Miron Cihó susține elaborarea progresivă (după J. Vercoutter, p. 58), caracterul autohton și evolutiv al scrierii hieroglifice (conform lui K. A. Bard, p. 59; P. Vernus, p. 60).

Al patrulea capitol prezintă *Trăsăturile scierii hieroglifice* (pp. 64-136), însumând subteme care oferă informații despre aspectul grafic al semnelor, direcțiile de scriere (cu explicații și ilustrații sau tabele didactice), semnele monoconsonantice (fiind incluse liste sub formă de tabel ale hieroglifelor, precum și explicații și transliterații ale acestora). Expunerea urmărește și clasificarea hieroglifelor în fonograme, ideograme/semograme și determinative, fiecare categorie fiind explicată de sine stătător.

Capitolul al cincilea, *Particularități grafice* (pp. 136-152), se bazează pe explicații ale autorului în baza informațiilor deja acumulate de către cititor prin parcurgerea capitolelor anterioare, oferind noi exemple de lucru în principal pe baza anumitor pasaje din Povestea lui Sinuhet, fiind aduse în discuție și listate o serie de complemente fonetice.

Capitolul șase, *Scrierea silabică* (pp. 152-153), se ocupă cu subsistemul dezvoltat încă din perioada Regatului Vechi pentru incorporarea unor cuvinte străine în canoanele scrierii hieroglifice.

Al șaptelea capitol, *Scrierea criptografică* (pp. 154-155), amintește succint de folosirea acestei metode și diferitele variante sub forma cărora criptografia era utilizată.

Capitolul opt - *Întâietatea scrierii sau a limbii?* (pp. 156-157) abordează această întrebare prin argumentația cercetătorului Depuydt (p.156) subliniind prioritatea limbii înaintea scrierii, ipoteză pe care autorul de volumului nu o susține.

Capitolul al nouălea, *Gramatică medio-egipteană elementară* (pp. 158-218), expune pe larg o serie de reguli cu privire la părțile de vorbire și sintaxa propoziției pentru egiptenii antici. Prin exemple, tabele și scheme didactice, autorul oferă explicații în privința substantivelor, pronumelor (pronomine sufix, dependent, independent, demonstrativ), adjectivelor (și gradele de comparație), numeralelor (cardinale, ordinale), adverbilor și verbilor (fiind incluse timpurile verbale – infinitiv, imperativ, stativ, participiu și diatezele verbale).

Capitolul zece prezintă lista de *Abrevieri* (pp. 218-219), iar capitolul al unsprezecelea conține lucrările de specialitate care alcătuiesc lista bibliografică (pp. 220-225).

Lucrarea se încheie cu includerea unei *Liste de semne hieroglifice* (pp. 226-314) compusă în grupe ordonate de la A la Z, ordonate în funcție de principalele categorii ale semnelor hieroglifice (A – *Omul și ocupațiile sale*, B – *Femeia și ocupațiile ei*, C – *Zeități antropomorfe*, D – *Părți ale corpului uman*, E – *Mamifere*, F – *Părți de mamifere*, G – *Păsări*, H – *Părți de păsări*, I – *Reptile, animale amfibii*, K – *Pești și părți de pești*, L – *Nevertebrate și animale mici*, M – *Copaci și plante*, N – *Cer, pământ, apă*, O – *Clădiri, părți de clădiri, etc.*, P – *Corăbii, părți de corabie*, Q – *Mobilă casnică și funerară*, R – *Mobilă de*

*templu și embleme sacre, S – Coroane, îmbrăcăminte, însemne, T – Arme, vânătoare, măcelărie, U – Agricultură, meserii și profesii, V – Frânghii, fibre, coșuri, saci, etc., W – Vase de piatră și lut, X – Pâini și turte, Y – Scris, jocuri, muzică, Z – Semne, figuri geometrice).*

Volumul se constituie așadar într-un deosebit de util instrument de lucru, fiind gândit conceptual, dar și practic, prin definirea conceptelor la nivel teoretic și apoi aplicarea lor în exemple ce ajută la solidificarea informației. Merită apreciată inițiativa autorului de a preceda capitolul despre limba medio-egipteană antică, printr-o introducere care să integreze cititorul într-o discuție de interes general despre aspecte variate ale scrierii hieroglifice.

**Miron Cihó, *Ostraca: Surse pentru studierea universului faraonic*, Studii de Egiptologie Nr. 2, București, Editura Universității din București, 2016, 172 p., 26 fig., ISBN 978-606-16-0792-1**

**Lorena STOICA**  
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La finalul anului 2016 a văzut lumina tiparului, la Editura Universității din București, cel de-al doilea volum din seria „Studii de Egiptologie (Nr. 2)”, intitulat *Ostraca: Surse pentru studierea universului faraonic* prin care autorul, prof. univ. dr. Miron Cihó, continuă intenția anunțată anterior, în preambulul *Introducerii în studiul limbii medio-egiptene*, de a edita cercetări ale civilizației Egiptului antic și de a le pune la dispoziția tuturor acelor care doresc să aprofundeze studiul egiptologiei, fie din mediul academic, fie din cadrul „publicului nespecialist” (p. 9). Acest volum reprezintă un nou prilej de aprofundare a problemelor legate de limba și cultura egipteană printr-o perspectivă actualizată și racordată la noile lecturi interpretative din literatura de specialitate contemporană (reliefată prin consistenta listă bibliografică finală – pp. 155-160).

Cele 172 de pagini ale lucrării, structurată în douăsprezece părți principale (introducere, cinci capitole tematice, abrevieri, bibliografie, tabel cronologic și repertoriul surselor analizate) abordează viața cotidiană a vechilor egipteni, pornind de la o categorie particulară de surse, și anume ostraca, parte dintre acestea fiind pentru prima dată traduse în limba română și însoțite de o analiză explicativă și contextual-istorică.

După precizările tipologice preliminare, conținute în cel dintâi capitol, *Ostraca. Trăsături generale și tipologii* (pp. 12-15), profesorul Miron Cihó realizează în capitole distincte o catalogare și interpretare a acestor surse în funcție de categoria identificată, respectiv, ostraca figurative și ostraca însoțite de texte. În capitolul al doilea, rezervat fragmentelor figurative – *Ostraca cu figuri* (pp. 15-20), autorul folosește criteriul complexității desenelor și pe cel cromatic, inventariind trei tipuri principale de fragmente figurative: schițe, imagini obținute prin linii de contur, imagini policolore, pe care le analizează și explică, utilizând și datele oferite de interpretările actuale ale specialiștilor (A. Dorn, p. 15). Celor două criterii enunțate mai sus li se adaugă un al treilea, legat de tipul de text inscripționat, în analiza fragmentelor ceramice însoțite și de text, pe parcursul următorului capitol, intitulat *Ostraca cu figuri și text* (pp. 24-34). Aici, cercetarea este

realizată pe baza a șapte exemple relevante pentru categoria delimitată, explicațiile descriptive fiind însoțite de traducerea textelor și interpretarea lor contextuală.

Al patrulea capitol, *Texte traduse* (pp. 34-101), oferă o selecție de nu mai puțin de 63 de ostraca propuse pentru studiu. Metoda catalogării, magistral utilizată de autor, este răspunzătoare de meticulozitatea cu care fiecare text este însoțit de un antet ce conține date de inventar (titlu, locul unde se află ostraca, material utilizat, încadrare cronologică), precum și detalii despre publicarea obiectului, o scurtă descriere a conținutului, traducerea textului și explicații succinte, dar cuprinzătoare. În majoritatea lor, textele incluse provin de la Deir-el-Medina (o localitate rurală populată de muncitorii palatului regal, din timpul dinastiilor a XVIII-a – a XX-a), dar profesorul Miron Cihó a ales exemple cu tematici variate pentru a demonstra caracterul divers al acestor piese de ceramică – dovezi ale pietății, consemnări medicale, aspecte de viață cotidiană.

O selecție a acestui vast repertoriu este, apoi, clasificat tematic (evenimente politice, elogi aduse anumitor orașe, aspecte din sfera juridică, texte medicale) și supus unei duble cercetări, de natură filologică și istorică, în cadrul ultimului capitol, *Texte traduse și comentate* (pp. 101-155). Și aici metoda catalogării fundamentează prezentarea fiecărui exemplu în parte, căreia i se adaugă un demers interpretativ extrem de minuțios, în care traducerea propriu-zisă este însoțită de istoricul descoperirii fiecărei piese și de importanța ei cultural-istorică.

Pentru cei interesați de studiul Egiptului Antic, dar nu numai, această lucrare aduce în lumină categoriile sociale de condiție medie, un segment demografic mai puțin favorizat de cercetarea istorică. Tocmai de aceea, lucrarea *Ostraca: surse pentru studierea universului faraonic* are meritul de a se înscrie într-o linie modernă de studiere a civilizației egiptene antice. Pe lângă acest calificativ de modernitate, însă, demersul riguros al profesorului Cihó, bazat pe utilizarea unei metodologii complexe (catalogare, analiză interpretativă, analiză comparativă, contextualizare), claritatea expunerii și varietatea conținuturilor, caracterul inedit în peisajul istoriografic românesc al unora dintre sursele traduse, toate laolaltă conferă acestui volum o ținută academică deosebită și îl recomandă drept o pagină de cercetare realizată cu înalt profesionalism.

**Andrea Carandini (ed.), *Le case del potere nell'antica Roma*, Roma-Bari, Ed. Laterza, coll. Economica, nr. 713, 2014 (2010), 392 p., 109 fig., 8 pl. color, ISBN 978-88-581-1632-6**

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Lucrarea profesorului Andrea Carandini și a colaboratoarelor sale, Fabiola Fraioli și Daniela Bruno, pe care Editura Laterza (colecția *Economica*, nr. 713) a republicat-o în urmă cu doi ani (prima ediție apărând în 2010), fructifică un imens efort de cercetare arheologică și interpretare istorică desfășurat de-a lungul a câtorva decenii în inima istorică a Romei antice (*il cuore di Roma*). Andrea Carandini este un cercetător de înaltă ținută științifică, cu numeroase studii despre arheologia și topografia lumii romane din spațiul italic și insular, începute în anii 60 ai secolului trecut prin doctoratul susținut sub îndrumarea lui R. Bianchi-Bandinelli despre vila romană din Piazza Armerina, Sicilia. În anii 80, prin colaborarea cu Soprintendenza Archaeologica di Roma, profesorul Carandini începe studierea sistematică a zonei Forului republican și a Palatinului – unde investigația lui Giacomo Boni se opriese la începutul secolului al XX-lea – și, aplicând cu meticulozitate metodele de cercetare arheologică, începe să dezvăluie specialiștilor și publicului larg o imagine cu totul nouă a Palatinului și a proximităților lui. Rapoartele preliminare ale săpăturilor din ”inima orașului Roma” vor rescrie începuturile istoriei romanilor ca departe de a fi modeste, cum se apreciasse până atunci, aspect atestat – printre altele – de reședințele (cel mai probabil, aristocratice) decopertate pe pantele palatine, cu suprafețe ce cuprindeau zeci (uneori sute) de metri pătrați. În plus, începând cu finalul deceniului al 8-lea al veacului anterior, sunt publicate și interpretate planurile multor locuințe aristocratice republicane târzii din aria Palatin, *Via Sacra*, *Vellia* cu *Carinae*. Continuarea cercetărilor și efortul de corelare a datelor arheologice cu informația din alte categorii de surse permit apariția acestei lucrări deosebite, care reprezintă o amplă prezentare a lumii private și publice din timpul ultimelor două secole republicane și din vremea primei dinastii imperiale, fiind, în egală măsură, și un vast instrument de lucru prin datele topografice pe care le conține.

Cele peste 320 de pagini de imagini și text interpretativ cuprind trei capitole și 7 anexe (de întinderi diferite) urmate de abrevieri, note, bibliografie, glossar de termeni, referințele a 78 de imagini din totalul de 109 și două categorii de indici (pentru nume și monumente).



Primul dintre capitole – *Politica nel Foro, ozzio in villa e vita nella casa*, pp. 3-17 – este unul introductiv, cu precizarea cadrelor principale, atât spațial-cronologice cât și metodologice, în care transpare întreaga perspectivă de cercetare-interpretare, oarecum tributară viziunii transmise de Vitruvius la începutul cărții a șasea a tratatului său *Despre Arhitectură*, și anume, aceea potrivit căreia locuința privată este *retroscena de la vita politica* (p. 11), fiind organic legată de activitatea publică a proprietarului.

Următorul capitol este însă mai consistent, ocupându-se de perioada ultimelor două veacuri ale Republicii romane și domnia lui Augustus – *Dalla tarda Republica a Augusto (210 a. C.-14 d. C.)* (pp. 18-225) – și urmărește evoluția tuturor clădirilor din zonele central-rezidențiale ale Romei (amintite mai sus), planurile și tehnicile constructive, identificarea lor, modificările de proprietari și dinamica funcționalității acestor clădiri, un loc special avându-l interpretarea de factură socială și politică a vecinătăților. În bună măsură sunt evidențiate locuințele aristocrației din ultimele generații ale Republicii iar evaluările comparative privind suprafețele locuibile, luxul decorațiilor interioare și al amenajărilor deschid drumul unor noi orizonturi de cercetare. Spre pildă, dimensionarea corectă a distanței dintre anumite case, ale căror proprietari își disputau întâietatea în For – inclusiv pe tema traiului privat, face posibilă o interesantă lectură socială a spațiului urban central al Romei în perioada tranziției de la Republică la Imperiu. Reședinței primului împărat îi este alocat, firesc, un amplu spațiu în acest capitol (pp. 151-225), autorul mărturisind dintr-un început dificultățile întâmpinate în studierea stratigrafică a complexului de locuințe atribuit lui Octavian, în condițiile existenței unor informații modeste despre clădirile imperiale ce provin din sursele scrise. De altfel, caracterul laborios al cercetării este mărturisit și de durata cercetării (2006-2010). În cel de-al treilea capitol – *Da Tiberio al 69 d C.* – care este mai scurt (pp. 226-292), A. Carandini se oprește la locuințele împăraților iulio-claudieni, la modificările constructive și extensiile realizate pe toată suprafața colinei palatine, a forului republican și a ramificațiilor colinelor Caelius și Esquilin (integrate de Nero în complexul său palățial după incendiul din anul 64).

Informațiile din cele 7 anexe sunt reluări ale unor articole publicate anterior și fac referire la evoluția locuinței romane în epoci anterioare (arhaică și republicană mijlocie), la amenajările din mediul rural, de la Cassinum, ale lui Terentius Varro, la luxul privat aristocratic (prin prezentarea cadrului arhitectural posibil al tricliniului lui Trimalchio sau prin sala de banchet din *Domus Aurea*) și la propaganda familială în spațiul politic al ultimului veac republican. Și aici, ca și în cuprinsul propriu-zis al lucrării, fraza minuțioasă de arheolog devine bază a evaluărilor pluridisciplinare la capătul unor analize comparative cu documentația scrisă.

De altfel, această din urmă mențiune caracterizează pe ansamblu toată lucrarea și, pe lângă volumul extrem de consistent de informații tehnice pe potrivă maturității dobândite de autor în calitate de istoric și arheolog cu o activitate de pe peste o jumătate de secol, cartea *Le case del potere...* „adună” mai multe direcții de cercetare: istoria arhitecturii și a artei, istoria economică și socială, topografie, epigrafie, studii clasice, studii culturale. Precauțiile interpretative (regăsite în ipotezele exprimate), atenția față de dinamismul socio-arhitectural, față de dimensiunea moștenirii anumitor practici sociale și moduri de locuire (cum este cazul Domitiilor Ahenobarbi, deținători ai unor săli octagonale și subterane, încă din secolul I a. Chr., ce corespundea printr-o scară cu o grădină cu criptoportic, ambient pe care Nero îl va ”monumentaliza” ulterior, în cadrul propriei locuințe), recursul permanent la sursele scrise sunt tot atâtea argumente pentru deschiderea oferită. Logica de prezentare este una simplă dar eficientă – locuitorii și materialitatea locuirii, „personaggi e case”. Tratarea cronologică imprimă claritate dar și o oarecare amprentă evoluționist-progresivă a grandorii rezidențelor din inima Romei, explicabilă prin decupajul de timp analizat, care reprezintă o perioadă de reală prosperitate a elitelor politice ale Romei antice.

# **REZUMATE TEZE DE LICENȚĂ ȘI DE DISERTAȚIE**

## **Fenomenul muzical tradițional african**

**Lucrare de disertație – 2013 (rezumat)**

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Muzica a reprezentat încă de la începuturi un element primordial ce a condiționat viața. În Africa Subsahariană repertoriul muzical este de o mare diversitate, deoarece muzica își are menirea sa centrală în ceremoniile de cult ale strămoșilor, ceremoniile de inițiere, ceremoniile de vânătoare, funerare, de seducție, toate acestea fiind preocupări care ritmează viața și cotidianul africanilor.

Scopul lucrării intitulată „Fenomenul muzical tradițional african” a fost acela de a scoate în evidență aspectele muzicii în viața triburilor africane și semnificația pe care o are muzica în, și pentru o societate africană. Ce ne-am propus de asemenea prin intermediul acestui studiu a fost să aducem în discuție instrumentele muzicale și rolul pe care îl joacă muzicianul în raport cu instrumentul.

Direcțiile de cercetare pe care lucrarea de față s-a axat au fost acelea din câmpul etnomuzicologiei. Etnomuzicologia, ale cărei rădăcini le vom găsi în secolul al XIX-lea odată cu activitățile de teren începute din Germania și America, i-au fost date diferite definiții. Etnomuzicologul Jaap Kunst considera că, obiectivul ei este de a studia muzica tradițională, instrumentele muzicale ale tuturor straturilor culturale ale lumii, de la așa-numiții oameni „primitivi” până la națiunile civilizate, această știință investigând toată muzica tribală și folk a fiecărui soi de artă muzicală. Dar așa cum afirma și Alan P. Merriam în lucrarea sa „The Anthropology of music” (1964), etnomuzicologia trebuie definită și ca „studiul muzicii în cultură”, pentru că sunetul muzicii este rezultatul procesului comportamental al omului ce este modelat de valorile, atitudinile, credințele care fac parte dintr-o anumită cultură. Așadar, prin domeniul său clasic, etnomuzicologia ajutând la descoperirea urmelor istorice ale unei civilizații și ale activității sale tehnice, culturale și la organizarea socială a grupului.

Muzica africană devine obiect de studiu al muzicologilor și teoriilor muzicale, iar cercetătorii – deși puțini la număr și în absența documentelor scrise – au reușit să aducă contribuții de mare importanță. Prima înregistrare folclorică datează din anul 1902

(Phonogrammarchiv din Berlin), anchetele fiind focalizate în mod special pe unele grupuri vizitate mai intens, ca de exemplu cele din partea Africii de Vest.

Conceptul de *muzică africană* este utilizat frecvent de către europeni ca fiind un fenomen singular, deși putem spune că, există mai multe tipuri de *muzică africană*. Prin urmare, Africa se poate diviza în două mari regiuni muzicale: Africa de Nord și Africa Subsahariană. Partea de nord a Africii a fost influențată prin excelență de muzica orientală și arabă, unde întâlnim ca noi stiluri de muzică astăzi, fenomenul *rai*. Gama melodică, ornamentația, dezvoltarea tematică și complexitatea ritmică, umorul muzical, polifonia și ansamblul de instrumente, caracterizează celelalte regiuni din Africa Centrală, Africa Occidentală de-o parte și Meridională de alta. *Polifonia* este caracteristica fundamentală a muzicii tradiționale africane, traducându-se printr-un tip de muzică bazat pe îmbinarea armonică a mai multor linii melodice sau voci în cadrul unei acțiuni muzicale.

Structura lucrării a fost divizată în trei capitole, după cum urmează. Capitolul întâi, numit *Muzica și ritmul african*, a tratat percepția muzicii în ciclul vieții, în educația muzicală, funcția pe care o are muzica în relație cu alte aspecte culturale, rolul ritmului ca cel mai semnificativ parametru în muzica africană și nu în ultimul rând statutul pe care îl posedă cel care performează. Cel de-al doilea capitol intitulat *Instrumentele de muzică africană*, s-a concentrat pe analizarea legendelor privitoare la originea instrumentelor muzicale ce aduc detalii prețioase și numeroase despre practica muzicală, de asemenea fiind urmărită și repartiția lor geografică cât și folosirea lor separată („instrumente pentru bărbat” și „instrumente pentru femeie”). Al treilea capitol, sub numele de *Dansul, Ritualul și Muzica*, a tratat relația existentă între cele trei, pentru că muzica și dansul sunt cele care punctează o anumită sărbătoare - cum este cazul ritualului de excizie al fetelor care aparțin societății secrete Sande, unde în bătaia tobelor are loc clitoridectomia - acestea fiind hipnotizate prin intermediul dansului performat de *Soweisia*.

Desigur, nu a fost neglijată analiza materialului muzical și organizarea sa (scară melodică, ritm muzical, polifonie, stil). Metodologia folosită spre realizarea acestei documentații s-a bazat pe examinarea surselor materiale pentru studiul muzicii africane ce a cuprins sursele vizuale (instrumentele muzicale tradiționale expuse în muzee), sursele orale, sursele scrise (jurnale de călătorie ale diferitelor misiuni de teren), înregistrări sonore, fotografii și imagini.

Deopotrivă, am adus la cunoștință instrumentele de origine africană ce uimesc prin varietatea lor. În turul realizat pentru clasificarea instrumentelor, am întâlnit instrumente cvasi-primitive, ca de pildă anumite jucărioare, pârâitoare, dar și instrumente complexe

precum *balafonul* sau *kora* (figura 1). Printre instrumentele muzicale africane reprezentative, semnalăm aici instrumentele cu coardă (harpe), instrumente de suflat (flaut, valiha), dar poate printre cele mai particulare instrumente specifice muzicii tradiționale africane fiind *sanza* și *tobele* (figura 2). Fiecare tobă poate dezvălui un rit, un personaj, secretul fabricației acestor instrumente fiind transmis din generație în generație, toate având diferite forme și denumiri, ce diferă de la o regiune la alta.

O atenție deosebită a fost atribuită și *griților*. *Griot* sau *djeli* în limbajul malinke, este un muzician profesionist întâlnit în Vestul Africii, de regulă fiind cunoscut ca un mesager, genealogist, istoric care recită legende, povești, poezii, perpetuând în acest mod tradiția orală africană.

În final, se cuvine să menționăm că, antropologii și etnomuzicologii s-au concentrat considerabil asupra muzicii într-un context individual, și nu îndeosebi la cum acționează aceasta și achiziționează anumite funcții. S-ar răspunde la multe întrebări dacă ar fi studiate funcțiile tradiționale ale muzicii, ale evoluției sale de-a lungul vremii până în prezent. Problema nu este deloc simplă în măsura în care, au dispărut multe dintre obiceiurile tradiționale. Însă, cercetările pot fi realizate cu ajutorul unui studiu aprofundat de teren pentru a putea înțelege rolul acesteia la păstrarea, apărarea și întărirea coeziunii comunității și la cum se mai integrează muzica tradițională în noile sale timpuri. Să încercăm să îi dăm un nou cadru muzicii folclorice pentru a o menține prezentă în această lume aflată în permanentă schimbare. Muzica este sursa divertismentului, a plăcerii estetice, a comunicării, iar, în Africa mai mult decât în oricare colț al lumii muzica este parte integrantă a vieții. Muzica este arta vânătorii, este credința, munca, ea se asociază gestului, dansului, participând astfel, la viața cotidiană a societății.



Figura 1. Kora, Senegal/Gambia, sec. XIX, Musée de la musique, Paris,  
© Luciana-Florentina Ghindă



Figura 2. Tobă, Coasta de Fildeș, pop. Baoule, sec. XIX, Musée de la musique, Paris  
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# **Alimentarea cu apă a Romei**

## **Rezumatul lucrării de disertație – 2014**

**Adrian-Marius VLADU**  
**Universitatea din București**

Orice așezare umană are nevoie de o sursă de apă de calitate și în cantități suficiente pentru a satisface nevoile locuitorilor ei. În cazul comunităților mai restrânse aceasta poate fi reprezentată de instalații simple cum ar fi: puțuri, fântâni sau chiar un izvor curat. Când vorbim însă de așezări urbane, mai extinse, sunt necesare sisteme mai complexe capabile să suplimenteze resursele locale, cum este cazul apeductelor romane, eficiente pentru comunități cu o putere financiară ridicată necesară susținerii costurilor mari de construcție și de întreținere a acestora, orașele romane din perioada imperială fiind capabile de acest lucru.

Exemplul urmărit pentru a descrie alimentarea cu apă în lumea romană este acela al Romei, capitala unui Imperiu care ajunge în secolele I-II d.Hr. să domine politic și militar cea mai mare parte a lumii cunoscute. În cadrul lucrării mele am apelat și la alte exemple care depășesc granițele Romei pentru a atinge scopul propus, acela de a reda modul de funcționare al unui apeduct și de a surprinde evoluția rețelei de alimentare cu apă a orașului de-a lungul timpului precum și de a o plasa în contextul economic, politic și social în care a fost creată.

Lucrarea *Alimentarea cu apă a Romei* este structurată în două capitole, cu subcapitole care tratează separat problematica alimentării cu apă în lumea romană: primul capitol al studiului, intitulat *Apeductele romane – Considerente tehnice și administrative* este împărțit în cinci subcapitole, după cum urmează: *Tehnologia apei înainte de romani; Apeductele romane; Materiale de construcție; Componentele unui apeduct; Administrarea rețelei de apă a Romei*. Al doilea capitol, intitulat *Impactul apeductelor asupra civilizației romane*, conține trei subcapitole: *Relația dintre evoluția tehnologiei și arhitecturii și construcția de apeducte; Contextul socio-politic și economic în care s-au construit apeductele Romei; Apeductele ca indicator al urbanismului*.

### **Tehnologia apei înainte de romani**

Că romanii nu au fost primii care au realizat construcții hidraulice importante este un fapt bine cunoscut, exemplele venind din zona Mesopotamiei, unde apar baraje și canale pentru irigații, încă din mileniul IV î.Hr.; Valea Indusului, unde în mileniul III î.Hr. întâlnim

un oraș, Mohenjo-Daro, care avea o baie întinsă pe o suprafață de 1700 m<sup>2</sup> și un sistem de drenaj din cărămidă, *qanatul* folosit de asirieni încă din sec. VIII î.Hr., sau sistemele de alimentare din lumea greacă care încep să se dezvolte în Creta cu civilizația minoică, realizări continuate în perioada miceniană, cu o dezvoltare constantă în perioada clasică și elenistică, Atena fiind servită de un apeduct construit de tiranul Pissistrate și de urmașii săi încă din sec. VI î.Hr., cu două secole înainte de construirea primului apeduct al Romei (*Aqua Appia* - 312 î.Hr.).

### **Apeductele romane**

Apeductul roman era modalitatea comună de a transporta apa de la o sursă la locul unde era necesară, fiind practic un râu artificial, proiectat să curgă cu ajutorul gravitației, datorită pantei de scurgere foarte bine calculată de ingineri. Foarte rar exista presiune în conducte, doar în cazul celor închise, de plumb (folosite de regulă la sifoane, unde chiar putem vorbi de presiune) sau a celor de ceramică, pe anumite porțiuni ale lor. Nivelul apei nu era întotdeauna constant, acesta depindea de volumul de apă venit de la sursă, care putea fi mai mic sau mai mare în funcție de cantitatea de precipitații.

### **Materiale de construcție**

Constructorii romani foloseau în general materialele de construcție care se găseau în apropierea zonei de lucru, cele găsite în stare brută în natură (piatră, lemn, marmură,) dar și fabricate (cărămidă, țiglă, composite din beton) sau metalele pe care le aveau la dispoziție – în cazul apeductelor plumbul era utilizat pentru fabricarea conductelor, folosite în general la distribuția apei în interiorul orașelor sau la sifoane.

### **Componentele unui apeduct**

Acest subcapitol prezintă modul de funcționare al unui apeduct roman urmărind traseul apei de la sursă până la distribuirea ei în interiorul orașului roman: sursa de alimentare a unui apeduct și captarea ei într-un *castellum* de colectare. După colectare apa își pornea cursul către orașul roman prin conductele apeductului care puteau fi de mai multe feluri, în funcție și de materialele disponibile: de zidărie, din plumb, din piatră, sau din lemn, folosite cu precădere în zonele intens împădurite din nordul Europei.

Pe traseu, un apeduct putea întâlni diferite obstacole, care erau depășite de măiestria și inventivitatea inginerilor: prin săparea unor tuneluri, în cazul în care întâlneau în cale un munte, când linia unui apeduct întâlnea pe traseul ei o vale sau o depresiune inginerii romani

aveau la dispoziție două modalități de a o traversa, când nu era foarte adâncă se apela la construirea unui pod cu arcade (cele mai înalte nu depășesc 50 m), când adâncimea văii era prea mare pentru un pod se apela la construirea unui sifon.

Când conducta apeductului ajungea la marginea orașului, aceasta se conecta la un *castellum divisorium* din care apa se distribuia consumatorilor din interiorul orașului. Acesta era situat de regulă într-un loc mai înalt, pentru a se asigura panta de curgere adecvată pentru distribuția în interiorul orașului: la Pompei se află lângă *Porta Vesuvii*, la *Nemausus* (Nîmes) pe o culme înaltă din nordul orașului iar la Roma, diferitele *castellae* se află în puncte înalte de la marginea orașului.

### **Administrarea rețelei de apă a Romei**

În timpul Republicii responsabilitatea pentru administrarea rețelei de apă a Romei și pentru întreținerea și construcția de apeducte cădea în sarcina edililor, pretorilor și cenзорilor, care se ocupau și de contractarea forței de muncă și de inspectarea lucrării după finalizarea ei, precum și de distribuția apei în interiorul orașului.

În anul 12 d.Hr. Senatul legiferează funcția de *curator aquarum*, numit de împărat (de rang senatorial în majoritatea cazurilor). Acesta avea ca sarcini: coordonarea echipei de întreținere a rețelei de apă, trebuia să se îngrijească de respectarea legislației în domeniu, respectarea cantității de apă care putea fi consumată de un particular în funcție de autorizația pe care o avea și trebuia să prevină sau să limiteze abuzurile existente.

### **Relația dintre evoluția tehnologiei și arhitecturii și construcția de apeducte**

Inovațiile în domeniul tehnologiei și arhitecturii se reflectă și în construcția de apeducte, importanța rețelei de apă pentru orice aglomerare urbană obligându-i pe constructorii de apeducte să apeleze la ultimele inovații tehnice și arhitecturale. După construirea primului apeduct al Romei (*Aqua Appia*) în anul 312 î.Hr. metodele de construcție și materialele folosite au avut o evoluție importantă: betonul hidraulic deschide enorme posibilități de diversificare a construcțiilor romane, cărămida începe să fie folosită în construcții la scară largă încă din secolul I d.Hr., însă inovația care a schimbat cel mai mult aspectul fizic și funcțional al apeductelor romane și chiar a aspectului orașului roman în general a fost folosirea arcadei, care pătrunde în Italia treptat, începând cu secolul III î.Hr., preluând modele etrusce și grecești, fiind folosită în construcția de apeducte pentru prima dată la Roma în anul 146 î.Hr. pentru al treilea apeduct al Romei, *Aqua Marcia*.

### **Contextul socio-politic și economic în care s-au construit apeductele Romei**

Construcția de apeducte, fiind o întreprindere costisitoare, este inevitabil legată de dezvoltarea economică a comunității pe care urmează să o servească. Finanțarea construcției de apeducte, extrem de costisitoare, era susținută în perioada republicană de prada de război (*Aqua Anio Vetus*) sau de inițiative private ale cetățenilor înstăriți, în timp ce în perioada imperială această sarcină îi revenea în primul rând împăratului, care se folosea de construcția de apeducte (ca și în cazul altor lucrări publice) în politica de legitimare sau de propagandă. Întreprinderea unei construcții de asemenea anvergură avea un impact pozitiv asupra mentalului populației, finanțatorul, precum și oficialul statului care o realiza putând câștiga un capital politic imens.

### **Apeductele ca indicator al urbanismului**

Existența unei rețele de apă elaborată, reprezentată de apeducte, este un indicator al urbanismului, iar un oraș își putea permite finanțarea unei astfel de construcții numai în momentul când atingea un nivel dezvoltare economică ridicat. Orice așezare umană are nevoie de o sursă de apă iar cu cât este mai mare și mai avansată devine necesară și dezvoltarea unei rețele de apă mai elaborată, care să vină în completarea unei infrastructuri menită să susțină viața economică, socială, publică și privată a reprezentanților comunității respective. O sursă de apă de bună calitate și în cantități suficiente era o facilitate esențială pentru menținerea unei vieți urbane în lumea antică.

### **Concluzii**

În privința alimentării cu apă Roma nu poate fi considerată un model, ci mai degrabă o excepție, este singurul oraș al lumii antice care ajunge în sec. III d.Hr. să aibă un sistem de alimentare cu apă de dimensiuni uriașe, format din nu mai puțin de 11 apeducte, construite în mai bine de 500 de ani, care realizau o distribuție uniformă a apei pe întreaga suprafață a imensului oraș antic.

Ruinele apeductelor Romei au fost mereu un motiv de fascinație, arcadele impresionante care străbat astăzi Câmpia Campaniei, cele care purtau conductele ce alimentau odată cel mai mare oraș al Antichității, continuă să uimească și în prezent. Cu toate acestea, partea spectaculoasă și grandioasă a acestor construcții nu reprezenta mai mult de 10% din întreaga infrastructură dedicată aducerii apei în orașul roman. În spatele impresionantelor poduri formate din unul sau mai multe rânduri de arcade suprapuse se află o construcție

utilitară cu un rol extrem de practic, spectaculoasele arcade nu sunt altceva decât unul dintre mijloacele la care constructorii romani apelau pentru traversarea unor văi sau depresiuni și pentru menținerea unei pante de scurgere adecvată, realizată în urma efectuării unor calcule foarte exacte.

## Construcțiile etimologice în *Geografia* lui Strabon

Rezumatul lucrării de disertație – 2014

Dragoș HĂLMAGI

Universitatea din București

Gânditorii stoici credeau că numele date de oamenii din vechime nu sunt întâmplătoare și conțin experiențe și cunoștințe despre lume, descrieri codificate care, odată cu trecerea timpului, mai pot fi înțelese doar prin investigații etimologice, căci doar astfel putea fi recuperat adevăratul (ἔτυμος) sens al cuvintelor.

Convingeri stoice a avut și Strabon, cărturar grec al epocii augustane, cunoscut mai ales ca autor al unei erudite și voluminoase lucrări de geografie, care este totodată cea mai importantă sursă pentru biografia sa. Numeroase studii moderne s-au aplecat asupra învățatului din Amaseia și a operei sale. Cercetarea mea a pornit de la o serie de pasaje din *Geografia* în care informațiile geografice, etnografice sau chiar episoadele istorice sunt însoțite de aprecieri etimologice. Cum Strabon nu a fost remarcat în studiile dedicate etimologiilor literare grecești, în lucrarea de disertație examinez o parte a acestor digresiuni, în căutarea unor scheme alternative de interpretare ce permit o evaluare mai atentă a informațiilor pe care încercăm să le desprindem din scrierea acestui autor savant.

Fiind o abordare cu totul nouă, este de așteptat ca rezultatele mele să fie provizorii și îndreptările și completările ulterioare necesare. Am întâmpinat dificultăți în încercările de formalizare a etimologiilor, care, în unele situații, pot fi greu de definit și de extras. Unele etimologii sunt repetate în mai multe locuri în forme ușor schimbate. Altele sunt incomplet articulate sau doar sugerate. De aceea am evitat să definesc o unitate formală de analiză și am ales să urmez expunerea autorului, oprindu-mă asupra fiecărui pasaj relevant pentru studiu. Pentru textul grecesc am folosit edițiile critice ale lui Francesco Sbordone, *Strabonis Geographica*, vol. 3 (2002) și Stefan L. Radt, *Strabons Geographika*, vols. 1-4 (2002-2005). Instrumentarul metodologic cuprinde critică internă și externă de text, studiu semantic, contextualizare și analiză comparativă. Din motive pragmatice am ales doar cartea a șaptea, de altfel cea pe care cititorii români o știu cel mai bine. Strabon parcurge în această carte atât ținuturile barbare din nord, puțin cunoscute în vremea sa, dar și altele, mult mai familiare scriitorilor greci, precum Epirul și Macedonia. Între acestea se dezvoltă un spațiu nou, cel al recent înființatelor provincii romane, un spațiu desfășurat între sălbăticie și civilizație. În fața



unei lumi incomplet și inegal cunoscute, Strabon apelează la strategii variate în prezentare: alternând între știință și poezie, între descriptiv și polemic, el își îmbogățește călătoria sa imaginară prin digresiuni ce conțin istorii locale, legende, pilde, argumente, versuri, proverbe și, nu în ultimul rând, etimologii.

Etimologiile presărate în *Geografia* iau adesea forma unor relații eponimice, deși, uneori, în lipsa precizărilor autorului, nu putem fi siguri dacă între nume similare sau identice Strabon și cititorii săi contemporani percepeau un raport etimologic. Ele sunt înfățișate de obicei ca observații ce completează expunerea geografică, dar pot fi invocate drept explicații în cadrul unor digresiuni mai largi, în polemicile la care Strabon alege să ia parte, mai ales pentru a-i apăra reputația și autoritatea lui Homer. Strabon cunoaște în detaliu poemele homerice și bogata literatură a comentariilor, astăzi în mare parte pierdută, și se angajează în numeroase dispute exegetice cu privire la limbajul poetului și la sensurile lui ascunse. Excursurile pot fi înțelese ca paradă de erudiție, dar sunt totodată necesare pentru a justifica tonul ferm al argumentației și atitudinea polemică. Căci printre amănunte utile sau amuzante, Strabon se angajează în dezbateri filozofice și istoriografice, iar în arsenalul desfășurat de învățatul din Amaseia, argumentele etimologice ocupă un loc însemnat.

Strabon, ca orice alt autor din vremea sa, recurge la etimologii fără a avea cunoștințe științifice despre limbă, dar intuiția sa surprinde și fenomene lingvistice reale. Spre deosebire de alți contemporani, care căutau etimoane doar în greacă și latină, Strabon ia în considerare și origini barbare, notând, bunăoară, o serie de toponime compuse cu βρία, un cuvânt trac pentru „oraș”. Cu toate acestea, incursiunile etimologice sunt fără îndoială tributare tradițiilor literare. Majoritatea covârșitoare a etimologiilor populează și structurează spațiul grecesc și imediat învecinat (illyric, scitic). În schimb, primele două capitole ale cărții a șaptea, cele care îi descriu pe germani și ținuturile lor, cuprind doar două construcții etimologice explicite. Strabon atribuie o parte din etimologii unor alți autori, în primul rând lui Poseidonios, a cărui metodă de analiză etimologică și-o însușește, dar și altor istorici precum Thucydides, Ephoros sau Theopompos. O parte din aprecierile etimologice nu sunt atribuite – în spatele formulărilor vagi se pot ascunde autori cunoscuți, dar și Strabon însuși.

Un principiu pe care Strabon îl aplică în mod consecvent în etimologizarea numelor este cel al apropierii geografice, după o schemă propusă de Poseidonios. O obârșie comună implică nu doar asemănări onomastice, în aspectul fizic, limbă sau obiceiuri, dar și teritorii învecinate sau măcar nu prea îndepărtate. Populațiile Orientului Apropiat și Mijlociu sunt frecvent prezentate ca fiind înrudite, cu obiceiuri și limbi comune. Distanțele mari sunt recuperate prin presupunerea unei migrații sau colonizări: cimbrii nestatornici străbăt toată

Europa pentru a se metamorfoza în cimerieni, mysii homerici traversează Hellespontul în Asia, iar urmașii lor „scitici” sunt colonizați de romani la sud de Dunăre devenind moesi. Un caz special este cel al legegilor din vechime pe care tradițiile îi arată băștinași în mai multe ținuturi, numele lor fiind explicat de Strabon ca acela al unui popor adunat de prin diferite locuri.

Etimologiile care trimit către origini mai recente nu sunt foarte numeroase și sunt legate de istoria și expansiunea marilor forțe politice: macedoneană, pontică, romană. O însemnată parte a etimologiilor conectează geografia secolelor I a. Chr. – I p. Chr., cea care face obiectul expunerii lui Strabon, cu o realitate arhaică desprinsă din legende și în special din poemele homerice. Autorul apelează la etimologii fie pentru a potrivi numele din vremea sa cu cele din vechime, fie pentru a descifra în textul lui Homer înțelesul unor nume sau epitete asociate acestora. Este de remarcat în acest context că unele episoade istorice sunt subordonate în primul rând anchetei etimologice și exegezei textului homeric, fapt ce recomandă precauție în citarea unor astfel de pasaje ca surse primare în cercetarea istorică modernă.

Strabon încorporează etimologiile în discursul său urmând o tradiție literară la capătul căreia se poziționează: le preia de la alți autori, le discută și le completează uneori cu interpretări proprii. Etimologiile sunt surse de informație, dar se pot constitui la nevoie în argumente decisive în tranșarea unor conflicte de idei și totodată un bun prilej pentru introducerea unor episoade mitologice sau istorice. Astfel, Strabon se pune în relație cu ceilalți învățați, etalându-și erudiția și capacitatea de a manevra un material vast și eterogen: date, dar și versuri, proverbe, legende, anecdote și etimologii. În același timp el încearcă să-și apropie cititorii prin presărarea periegezei geografice cu amănunte care-i fac scrierea mai atrăgătoare și mai ușor de parcurs.

Unul din câștigurile incontestabile ale demersului meu este apropierea de textul lui Strabon. Perspectiva abordată de mine recomandă mai multă prudență în folosirea sursele narative în încercările moderne de reconstituire a trecutului. Dincolo de avertismentul proverbial *testis unus testis nullus*, trebuie să avem în minte că Strabon manipulează informația pentru scopurile sale: să arate cum trebuie scrisă o lucrare de geografie, să laude gloria Romei, să demonstreze știința lui Homer și să-i confirme autoritatea, să filozofeze despre istorie, civilizație și barbarie și, nu în ultimul rând, să scrie despre el însuși, un autor savant care compilează și judecă cu discernământ scrierile înaintașilor.

## **Raport privind activitatea Centrului de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice pe anul 2015**

### **Ședințe lunare**

20 ianuarie – conferința: *O perspectivă arhitectural-urbanistică asupra centrelor romane târzii din Dobrogea*, dr. Alexandra Teodor, Universitatea de Arhitectură „I. Mincu”.

18-21 februarie – workshop: *Cartografie Istorică II – Atelier GIS* – Ioana Crăciunescu și drd. Mihai Ștefan Florea, MNIR, cu 18 participanți.

9 martie – conferința: *Afirmarea științei moderne a arheologiei în România*, prof. univ. dr. Alin Ciupală, FIUB

24 martie – comunicarea: *De la Monumentum la Cultul Patrimoniumului*, masterandă Delia Marinescu, Universitatea Națională de Arte, București

3 aprilie – comunicarea: *Metode de semnalizare pe frontierele romane*, Șerban Micu, Universitatea din Leiden, Olanda, alumnus FIUB

9 iunie – workshop: *Burse de studiu, stagii de cercetare în Europa: experiențe, impresii, oportunități*; drd. Liviu Iancu, masterande Luciana Ghindă și Corina Gavriș-Șteflea, studentă Alexandra Bivolaru (FIUB)

7 octombrie – conferința: *Archaeogeography, another way to understand Landscape History: tools, concepts and methodology*, arheolog Philippe Phajon, Ministerul Culturii din Franța.

21 octombrie – conferința: *Les navires de commerce et leur cargaison en Mer Noire (Ve.- Ier s. Av. J.C.)*, drd. Thibaut Castelli, CRASA, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense

12 noiembrie – conferința: *Magia faronică și crocodilul de Nil*, prof. univ. dr. Miron Cihó, FIUB

8 decembrie – prezentarea campaniei de săpătură – vara 2015 – a sectorului Acropola Centru-Sud (UB), conf. dr. Valentin Bottez, masterande: Iulia Iliescu, Alexandra Bivolaru, master ICPA, FIUB

### **Sesiunea anuală**

24-25 aprilie – *Fizic și simbolic în reprezentări ale corpului uman*, 23 de participanți din UB, Institutul de arheologie „V. Pârvan”, MNIR, Universitatea Națională de Arte

### **Vizite de studiu:**

8 mai – Vizita de documentare la Muzeul Județean Teleorman.

20 noiembrie – Vizita de documentare la Muzeul Regional de Istorie din Ruse (Bulgaria).

### **Alte activități**

6-10 aprilie – Participare la programul „Școala altfel” – Școala gimnazială pentru deficienți de auz „Sfânta Maria”, București

## Raport privind activitatea Centrului de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice pe anul 2016

### Ședințe lunare

14 ianuarie – *Aristocrats and Imperial Service in the Later Roman Empire: observations on an East West Contrast* – dr Alexander Skinner

11 martie – workshop metodologic: *Metode privind cercetarea, documentare și interpretarea surselor istorice: exigențe și provocări*, cu 11 prezentări

15 martie – *Șantierul de la Radovanu, jud. Călărași* – prof. dr. Cristian Schuster și dr. Alexandru Morintz

19 mai – *CULTURALIA – biblioteca digitală a României* – Dan Matei dir. INP, drd Bogdan Șandric (INP)

2 iunie – *Cercetarea interdisciplinară în arheologie. Studiu de caz: Sultana-Malu' Roșu* – dr. Cătălin Pavel, dr. Adrian Bălășescu, dr. Valentin Radu, dr. Constantin Haită, drd. Mihai Florea, drd. Mădălina Voicu, drd. Ionela Crăciunescu, drd. Mihaela Golea (MNIR); dr. Theodor Ignat, drd. Vasile Opriș, drd. Adelina Darie–MMB, Dr. Monica Mărgărit (UV Târgoviște), Roxana Sandu (FIB)

14 iunie – Proiecție film documentar *Le Parfum Retrouvé*, comentariu realizat de drd. Corina-Ruxandra (Gavriș) Șteflea

17 octombrie – *A Reconsideration of Gendered spheres and values in Ancient Greek festivals and life-cycle rituals*, susținută de dr. Evy Johanne Håland

9 noiembrie – *Histria 2016* – prezentarea campaniei de cercetare arheologică din vara anului 2016, pe sectorul Acropola Centru-Sud (UB), conf. dr. Valentin Bottez

12 decembrie – Proiecție film documentar: *L'Alba degli Etruschi, aspetti e testimonianze della cultura villanoviana* (Italia, 2015), – mrd Diana Pavel și drd Corina-Ruxandra (Gavriș) Șteflea

### **Sesiunea anuală**

22-23 aprilie – cu tema *Violența, forme, contexte, interpretări, resemantizări*, cu 28 de participanți din Universitatea din București, Universitatea "1 Decembrie 1918" din Alba Iulia, Institutul de arheologie "Vasile Pârvan" din București, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Gavrilă Simion” din Tulcea, Institutul de Antropologie „Francisc I. Rainer” din București

### **Vizite de studiu și documentare**

27-29 ianuarie – *Vestigii materiale și artefacte în context, exigențe privind cercetarea contextualizată a surselor primare I*, Roma, cu participarea a unui număr de 8 studenți și 1 cadru didactic

17-26 septembrie – *Vestigii materiale și artefacte în context, exigențe privind cercetarea contextualizată a surselor primare II*, Roma, cu participarea a unui număr de 10 studenți și 2 cadre didactice