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# THE THEFT OF WATER FROM THE AQUEDUCTS OF THE CITY OF ROME IN FRONTINUS' TIME

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## Abstract:

At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Rome's water supply network was formed by a number of nine aqueducts which transported the water throughout the entire city. Iulius Sextus Frontinus was *curator aquarum* from 97 till his death in 103/104 A.D. In his work about the aqueducts of Rome, *De aquis*, which he said it was written to be a guide for him and for his successors in office as well, Frontinus shows a lot of interest in fighting the corruption around the construction, delivery and administration of the aqueducts of Rome.

**Key-words:** *aqueduct, specus, quinaria, curator aquarum*, Frontinus

## Introduction

There is no doubt that hydraulic works, and in particular the aqueducts have played a basic role in the evolution and daily life of Roman society. The huge network that brought water to Rome by the time of Frontinus (1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.) was the result of more than four centuries of work, investments, technological and architectural innovations.

The elaborate network which brought water to the city of Rome came to meet the needs of a city in constant development, the means for building a new aqueduct were found every time when a new source of water was needed in the city. But as in many other domains of Roman administration the water distribution was not protected from corruption and abuse of the private citizens and the water commissioners as well. The theft of water from the public network in particular and the abuse around the distribution of water were important issues for Frontinus, since he referred obsessively about these acts in his book. There are 38 paragraphs in his book when he speaks about dishonesty and of the abuse a corruption of the *aquaria*.<sup>1</sup>

This paper tries to create an overview of the water supply of the city of Rome at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, focusing on the problems met by Frontinus at the beginning of his office as

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<sup>1</sup> Peachin 2004, 161-171.

*curator aquarum*: the theft of water from the public network, the corruption around the construction of the aqueducts and the corruption and abuse of the *aquarii*.

### **Sextus Iulius Frontinus**

Sextus Iulius Frontinus was born around the year 35 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> we know very little about his early career,<sup>3</sup> he was active in public life under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan. We know from Tacitus that in 70 A.D. was *praetor urbanus*,<sup>4</sup> he was elected consul for three times: in 73, 97 and again in 100 A.D. and after his first consulate was the governor of the Roman province of *Britannia*.<sup>5</sup> From that time we have from Tacitus the description of the conquest of the Siluri tribe: *Iulius Frontinus, a great man, as great as one could be, could fight and succeed in his mission. In that way, by defeating, not only the courage of his foes, but the difficulties of the field as well, he submitted the strong people of the Seluri[...]*.<sup>6</sup>

In 97 A.D. he was appointed *curator aquarum* by the emperor Nerva,<sup>7</sup> an office in which he shows again the qualities of a capable man and a good organizer, as described by Tacitus too. In that position he initiated an important reform of the administration of Rome's water supply network.

His book *De Aquis Urbis Romae*, which he said it was written to be a guide for him and for his successors as well,<sup>8</sup> shows his fight against corruption, abuse and against the incompetence which became usual for this office. Even from the prologue of his book, Frontinus reveals his commitment to the war against corruption and abuse, putting himself above the passivity of his predecessors in the office of *curator aquarum*.

### **The water distribution system of Rome**

In Rome's case, the distribution of water in the city was different from every other city in the Empire, the reason being the large number of aqueducts that fed the biggest city of Classical Antiquity.

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<sup>2</sup> Hodge 1992, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Perkins 1937, 102.

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV, XXXIX.

<sup>5</sup> Hodge 1992, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Tacitus, *Agr.*, XVII.

<sup>7</sup> Rodgers 2004, xi.

<sup>8</sup> Frontinus, I, 2.

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In Imperial Rome the aqueducts were a component of the imperial propaganda and a mean of strengthening the political power for the ruling class. For common people the aqueducts were bringing the water needed for their daily activities, although the priority was always the *Thermae* and the wealthy citizens.<sup>9</sup>

By the time of Frontinus Rome's water was brought into the city by a huge network formed by the conduits of no less than nine aqueducts, which transported water from distances far away from the city. This network was the result of more than four centuries of improvement and technical, engineering and architectural innovations. From 312 B.C., when *Appia* was brought into the city by Claudius Appius Crassus,<sup>10</sup> to *Claudia* and *Anio Novus*, begun by Caligula and finished by Claudius in 52 A.D.,<sup>11</sup> the network of Rome's water supply knew a continuous expansion to meet the needs of a continuous growing population of a city in constant development.

After running through the aqueduct's conduits all the way from the source, the water reached the edge of the city where it was collected in an *castellum divisorium* in which it entered through a pipe (the main conduit of the aqueduct) and left it through more conduits which directed the water to consumers, directly, if they were big ones, like the *Thermae*, or to other secondary *castellae*, from which the water was redistributed to the smaller consumers.<sup>12</sup> These structures were sometimes built on brick pillars in form of a water tower from which the water was distributed through lead pipes<sup>13</sup> called *fistulae plumbeae*<sup>14</sup>, in most of the cases,<sup>15</sup> to different consumers. At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century the aqueducts of Rome had on their route no less than 247 secondary *castellae*: *Aqua Virgo* had 20, *Anio Vetus* 35, *Marcia* 51, *Tepula* 14, *Iulia* 17, *Virgo* 18, *Claudia* and *Anio Novus* had 91.<sup>16</sup>

Vitruvius describes a distribution scheme with a *castellum divisorium* divided in three connected chambers: the central one delivered the water to *all the basins and fountains*, the second was for supplying the baths and the third one was *for private houses, so that water for*

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<sup>9</sup> Brunn 2000, 162.

<sup>10</sup> Frontinus, I, 5.

<sup>11</sup> Frontinus, I, 13.

<sup>12</sup> Mays 2010, 121.

<sup>13</sup> Hodge 1981, 486.

<sup>14</sup> Starace 2002, 40.

<sup>15</sup> Lead pipes were usually used for the distribution network within the city or for the construction of inverted siphons.

<sup>16</sup> Hodge 1992, 293.

*public use will not run short.*<sup>17</sup> But since Vitruvius' arrangement never was found *in situ*, we can argue that this, as in many other cases when we speak about Vitruvius, to be what he recommended, not really what the Roman builders did.<sup>18</sup>

From the nine aqueducts that served the city of Rome by the time of Frontinus, seven of them reached the edge of the city in the same spot, in the eastern part of the city, a place called by Frontinus *Spes Vetus*, the place where *Porta Praenestina* was:<sup>19</sup> *Appia, Anio Vetus, Marcia, Tepula, Iulia, Claudia, Anio Novus*. The other two had different places where they began the distribution of water: *Virgo* entered the city from the north and *Alsietina* from the west, across the Tiber.<sup>20</sup>

### ***Quinaria* – Frontinus' unit measure**

In the place where the water was leaving the *castellum* a device called *calix* was fitted, which had standardized dimensions, with the role of controlling the distribution and the consumption of water, being also an instrument for the measurement of the volume of water which ran through the aqueducts of Rome<sup>21</sup>:

*“The calix, now, is a bronze ajutage, inserted into a conduit or reservoir, and to it the service pipes are attached. Its length ought not to be less than 12 digits,<sup>22</sup> while its orifice ought to have such capacity as is specified. Bronze seems to have been selected, since, being hard, it is more difficult to bend, and is not easily expanded or contracted.”*<sup>23</sup>

The smallest *calix* was that of a *quinaria*, which is also the measurement unit used by Frontinus, who offers us information about the introduction of *quinaria* as a measurement unit for the capacity of water that flows through the aqueducts of the city of Rome:

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<sup>17</sup> Vitruvius, VIII, 6, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Brunn 1997, 133.

<sup>19</sup> Aicher 1995, 53.

<sup>20</sup> Aicher, 1995, 34.

<sup>21</sup> Aicher 1995, 20.

<sup>22</sup> 22 cm.

<sup>23</sup> Frontinus, I, 36.



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*“Later on, an ajutage called a *quinaria* came into use in the city, to the exclusion of the former measures. This was based neither on the inch, nor on either of the digits, but was introduced, as some think, by Agrippa, or, as others believe, by plumbers at the instance of Vitruvius, the architect.”*<sup>24</sup>

A *quinaria* is the capacity of a pipe with a diameter of 2.3 cm,<sup>25</sup> Di Fenizio takes it as the minimum capacity of a 2.3 cm. diameter pipe through which can run 41,5 m<sup>3</sup> in 24 hours.<sup>26</sup> A lot of scholars ask themselves how did Frontinus measure in this way the quantity of water which flowed through the aqueducts of Rome, since the modern estimations are almost similar with Frontinus'. Di Fenizio compared Frontinus' figures with the modern estimations, using as a case study *Aqua Virgo*, an aqueduct that still brings water to Rome, *Fontana di Trevi* being one of the ancient aqueduct *terminus*.<sup>27</sup> In spite of that, Brunn considers that Frontinus' figures could only be an approximation since the *quinaria* is in fact the size of the pipe, a measuring unit based only on the section of the pipe's area,<sup>28</sup> and in the moment we have a faster flow we definitely have more water in the aqueduct's conduits and viceversa.<sup>29</sup> Modern scholars have tried to convert Frontinus' *quinaria* in cubic meters, the results being very different from case to case, from the impressive 60 m<sup>3</sup>/24 h calculated by Rondelet at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>30</sup> with Di Fenizio's 41.5<sup>31</sup> m<sup>3</sup>/24 h to the more nuanced figures given by Fahlbush: a minimum of 21 m<sup>3</sup>/24 h and a maximum of 38 m<sup>3</sup>/24 h.<sup>32</sup>

### **The roman laws regarding the distribution of public water**

Even in regard with the legislation by which the distribution of water in Rome took place Frontinus offers us valuable information: a private citizen could not use the aqueduct's water without a written permission from the Emperor, and only the quantity allowed by the Emperor:

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<sup>24</sup> Frontinus, I, 25.

<sup>25</sup> Hodge 1984, 205.

<sup>26</sup> Di Fenizio 1916, 227-331.

<sup>27</sup> Di Fenizio 1916, 323.

<sup>28</sup> Cioli 2009, 7.

<sup>29</sup> Brunn 1997, 127-128.

<sup>30</sup> Rondelet 1841.

<sup>31</sup> Di Fenizio 1930.

<sup>32</sup> Fahlbush 1982.

*“No one shall draw water without an authorisation from Caesar, that is, no one shall draw water from the public supply without a licence, and no one shall draw more than has been granted”.*<sup>33</sup>

Frontinus speaks about the most ancient law regarding the distribution of water in Rome:<sup>34</sup> *No private person shall conduct other water than that which flows from the basins to the ground.* And more, this water has to be used only for baths and fulleries and a tax should be paid for it.<sup>35</sup> Another law is the one that forbids the pollution of the aqueducts' water: *No one shall with malice pollute the waters where they issue publicly,* the fine for that being 10 000 *sestertii*.<sup>36</sup>

The report about some private parties that took water directly from the conduits made by the consuls of 11 B.C.: Quintus Aelius Tubero and Paulus Fabius Maximus made the Senate pass a resolution that banned the private citizens to tap the main conduit of an aqueduct, this thing had to be done only from the *castellum*. Many consumers damaged the conduits by illegal tapping, made by themselves or by corrupt *aquarii*. The problem raised by Frontinus regarding this is not only the fact that they used water without paying for it, but the conduits also suffered from repeated illegal tapping. So, Frontinus recommended that all the tapings should be made from the *castellum* where their installation and functionality could be checked.<sup>37</sup>

Titus Quintius Crispinus, the consul of 9 B.C., initiated a law (*Lex Quintia*<sup>38</sup>) that forbade the damage of the conduits by piercing or breaking them, damaging any other part of the aqueducts or any action that could disturb in any way the delivering of water to Rome, the fine for breaking that law being 100 000 *sestertii* and the guilty one was *condemned to repair, restore, re-establish, reconstruct, replace what he has damaged, and quickly demolish what he has built*.<sup>39</sup>

Another fine of 10 000 *sestertii* would be paid by the person that obstruct the access for maintenance by building illegally or planting trees too close to the aqueducts. The law was initiated by the same two consuls of 11 B.C. and stipulated that the land around the aqueduct

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<sup>33</sup> Frontinus, II, 103.

<sup>34</sup> Brunn 2000, 148.

<sup>35</sup> Frontinus, II, 94.

<sup>36</sup> Frontinus, II, 97.

<sup>37</sup> Frontinus, II, 106.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor 2000, 78.

<sup>39</sup> Frontinus, II, 129.

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would be kept clear for 15 feet on each side *and it shall not be permitted to erect a tomb at these places after this time, nor any structures, nor to plant trees.*<sup>40</sup>

As we can see, the Roman laws regarding the water supply were made to protect the aqueducts and their good functionality and to prevent the theft of water, which not only reduced the amount of water reaching the city, but the methods by which was made affected the conduits and the structures that supported them. The fines that Frontinus presented us were not to be neglected, the fine for damaging the conduits being 100 000 *sestertii*, a huge sum of money.

### **The theft of water**

Frontinus offers us a lot of information about the methods by which the water was diverted to the consumers with no authorization:

*“Another variance consists in this, that one measure is used at the intake, another, considerably smaller, at the settling-reservoir, and the smallest at the point of distribution. The cause of this is the dishonesty of the water-men, whom we have detected diverting water from the public conduits for private use. But a large number of landed proprietors also, past whose fields the aqueducts run, tap the conduits; whence it comes that the public water-courses are actually brought to a standstill by private citizens, just to water their gardens”*.<sup>41</sup>

Later on in his book, Frontinus brings more information about that practice, describing what he personally saw in the field: *In a great number of reservoirs is found certain ajutages of a larger size than had been granted and among them some that had not even been stamped.* He blames for that both the corrupt *aquarii* and the private citizens that rob in that way the water supply of the city<sup>42</sup>. Another *method of cheating* practiced by the water-men and noticed by Frontinus is: *“When a water-right is transferred to a new owner, they will insert a new ajutage in the reservoir; the old one they leave in the tank and draw from it water, which they sell”*.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Frontinus, II, 127.

<sup>41</sup> Frontinus, II, 75.

<sup>42</sup> Frontinus, II, 112.

<sup>43</sup> Frontinus, II, 114.

There is another method of robbing the public water supply and a way of gaining money for the water-men, that Frontinus called it *puncturing*:

*“There are extensive areas in various places where secret pipes run under the pavements all over the City. I discovered that these pipes were furnishing water by special branches to all those engaged in business in those localities through which the pipes ran, being bored for that purpose here and there by the so-called ‘puncturers’”.*<sup>44</sup>

Frontinus reminds us about the letter of Marcus Caelius Rufus to Cicero, by the time he was edile, in which he presents the problems faced by him with the abuse of the corrupt *aquarii*, who were bribed by the *tabernarii* to receive a greater quantity of water than was granted by the contract.<sup>45</sup> The message here is that the problems faced by Frontinus regarding the water theft and the abuse and corruption around the water supply of Rome were not new, they were as old as the aqueducts themselves.

The games of corruption and abuse regarding the water supply of Rome appeared, as described by Frontinus, from the time when the first aqueduct of Rome – *Aqua Appia* – was built. The aqueduct received his name from the censor Appius Claudius Crassus (Caecus) who had Gaius Plautius as his colleague in censorship. Plautius resigned his office after 18 months, which was the regular term of office for the censors, *under the mistaken impression that his colleague would do the same*. Appius, by various subterfuges, as Frontinus said, *extended the term of his censorship until he should complete both the Way (Via Appia) and the aqueduct*,<sup>46</sup> in that way the honour of giving the name of the road and the aqueduct remained only his.

The story of the second aqueduct of Rome – *Anio* – is also susceptible of an abuse. One of the two censors appointed by the Senate to bring a new water supply into the city, Manius Curius Dentatus, died and the credit for the construction of the aqueduct remained to Fulvius Flaccus alone.

The corruption and breaking the laws are still present in the case of the construction of the 3<sup>rd</sup> aqueduct of Rome – *Aqua Marcia*. Marcius Rex, the man who received this task from the

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<sup>44</sup> Frontinus, II, 115.

<sup>45</sup> Frontinus, I, 76.

<sup>46</sup> Frontinus, I, 5.

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Senate, extended his praetorship for another year, for the construction to be finished<sup>47</sup>. Marcius' political influence is revealed in Frontinus' relating about the problem this project deals with. The Decemvirs, "*while examining the Sibylline Books, for another purpose, found out that it was not right for an aqueduct to be brought to the Capitol*".<sup>48</sup> The matter had been debated in the Senate three times, each time Marcius' influence was decisive and that way "*the water was brought to the Capitol*".<sup>49</sup>

A.E. Astin and R.H. Rodgers believe that the real reason that made the Decemvirs to oppose this project was more a political then a religious one.<sup>50</sup> With this accomplishment M. Rex won a huge political capital, being the first man that brought the water to the Capitol. Marcius used his political influence for his cause that looked like a political debate in which M. Rex is the winner, the proof of that being his statue erected on the Capitol, behind the Temple of Jupiter, which commemorates his grand achievement.

From the correspondence between Pliny the Younger and Trajan, from around 110 A.D. we know about another case of abuse in the construction of aqueducts. This time it is about the City of Nicomedia, where important sums of public money were spend for the construction of two aqueducts (3 318 000 *sestertii* and 200 000 respectively), the works being started and abandoned. Trajan ordered Pliny to take care of the matter and find out the ones responsible for spending so much public money in vain.

Another case of corruption which, this time relates the distribution of *Aqua Julia*, is presented by Frontinus. Agrippa made a deal with the proprietors whose land the aqueduct passed through granting them an exact amount of water, but the *aquarii* couldn't keep the promise since they were using the water of this aqueduct for personal gain. About Julia, Frontinus says that the water of this aqueduct maintained a good quality in sufficient quantity, despite the constant robbing and the damage of the conduits by illegal tapings.<sup>51</sup>

When he made an analysis of the quantity of water delivered by the nine aqueducts of Rome in his time, Frontinus discovered great inconsistencies between the quantity of water from the imperial records and the quantity which the aqueducts were really delivering to Rome. Thus, after measuring all the conduits, he reached the conclusion that almost 10 000 *quinariae* were not

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<sup>47</sup> Rodgers, 1982, 174.

<sup>48</sup> Frontinus, I, 7.

<sup>49</sup> Frontinus, I, 8.

<sup>50</sup> Astin 1961, 547.

<sup>51</sup> Frontinus, I, 9.

recorded in the official records. He observed each aqueduct, detecting the places where water was diverted for personal gain.<sup>52</sup>

*Aqua Appia*, after entering the city at *Porta Praenestina*,<sup>53</sup> crossed under the republican wall, *Porta Capena* and *Via Appia*, feeding with water the lower parts of the city, the main spot for delivery being the commercial zone around the Aventine, in particular *Forum Boarium*.<sup>54</sup> *Appia* was recorded with 841 *quinariae* but after his calculations, Frontinus reached the conclusion that this aqueduct delivered 1825 *quinariae*, 984 more than was credited within the official records, which means that more than a half of the water from the *Appia* was stolen or lost on its way to the city, Frontinus also discovered illegal conduits in many parts of the city.<sup>55</sup>

*Aqua Anio Vetus*, with a source higher than *Appia*, could take the water on higher places than *Appia*. It entered the city under *Porta Praenestina*, having a *castellum divisorium* near *Porta Esquilina*.<sup>56</sup> This aqueduct was credited in the records with the amount of 1541 *quinariae*, Frontinus finding 4398 *quinariae* at the aqueduct's intake, 2875 more than the official recorded quantity. But in this case, Frontinus does not exclude the possibility that the lost amount could be blamed only on the damage of the conduits, since he himself couldn't find any place where the water of this aqueduct was stolen.<sup>57</sup>

*Aqua Marcia* (the aqueduct with the best water), after entering the city flowed in a large *castellum divisorium* on the *Viminal*, from where a complex network of distribution was formed, and due to the fact that it's conduit was situated at a big height at the entrance in the city this aqueduct was able to supply 10 of the 14 regions of Imperial Rome,<sup>58</sup> including the Capitol.<sup>59</sup> Over time, more branches of this special aqueduct<sup>60</sup> were build, which delivered the water in different parts of the city. On the Aventine the water was brought by a branch called *Rivus Herculaneus*, which split from the main conduit of the aqueduct near *Porta Tiburtina* and crossed the valley between the Aventine and Palatine hills. Another branch for this aqueduct, called *Rivus Herculaneum*, was built by Caracalla for supplying his bath complex.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Frontinus, I, 65.

<sup>53</sup> Frontinus, I, 5.

<sup>54</sup> Aicher 1995, 53.

<sup>55</sup> Frontinus, I, 65.

<sup>56</sup> Aicher 1995, 53.

<sup>57</sup> Frontinus, II, 67.

<sup>58</sup> Starace 2002, 48.

<sup>59</sup> Aicher 1995, 37.

<sup>60</sup> Marcia was still the aqueduct with the best water from Rome at the time Frontinus lived.

<sup>61</sup> Aicher 1995, 56.

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*Marcia* was recorded with the amount of 2162 *quinariae*. At the intake Frontinus found 4690 *quinariae* and after he calculated the amount of water distributed legally on the road to the city, he found an amount of 2499 *quinariae* unjustified, telling us that he also found some places where the water was diverted from its normal course for illicit purposes.<sup>62</sup>

*Aqua Tepula* was built for delivering water to the *Capitol*.<sup>63</sup> From the original aqueduct nothing remained when Frontinus lived, Agrippa rebuild it in 33 B.C. when *Aqua Iulia* was build, the two aqueducts having the same *castellum divisorium* near *Porta Viminalis*.<sup>64</sup> In the case of *Tepula* there are 45 *quinariae* unexplained with 400 *quinariae* officially recorded.<sup>65</sup>

*Aqua Iulia* was built by Agrippa in 33 B.C. It's *specus* was on the same structure as *Marcia* and *Tepula*.<sup>66</sup> It was able to supply 7 regions of Rome through 17 distribution basins, it had a branch that brought water to the Caelian and Aventine hills and another one to the Esquiline.<sup>67</sup> *Iulia* had an amount of 213 *quinariae* unjustified, the exact difference which Frontinus had discovered to be diverted by those with no authorization.<sup>68</sup>

*Aqua Virgo* is one of the aqueducts that entered Rome from the north part of the city. This aqueduct did not have a *castellum divisorium* at the edge of the City, it was built by Agrippa in 19 B.C. to supply the newly developed area of the *Campus Martius* and Agrippa's public bath near *Pantheon*.<sup>69</sup> *Virgo* was credited with 652 *quinariae*, there was 2504 *quinariae* by Frontinus' calculations, resulted an amount of 1852 *quinariae* unexplained.<sup>70</sup>

*Aqua Alsietina* was the Rome's aqueduct with the worst water, Frontinus begins its description by saying that he *fail to see what motive induced Augustus, the most sagacious sovereign, to bring in the Alsietian water, also called Augusta*.<sup>71</sup> It was built specially for supplying Augustus' *Naumachia*,<sup>72</sup> sometimes it is water being used for irrigation.<sup>73</sup> In the case

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<sup>62</sup> Frontinus, I, 67.

<sup>63</sup> Frontinus, I, 8.

<sup>64</sup> Aicher 1995, 38.

<sup>65</sup> Frontinus, I, 68.

<sup>66</sup> Aldrete 2004, 28 .

<sup>67</sup> Starace 2002, 51.

<sup>68</sup> Frontinus, II, 69.

<sup>69</sup> Aicher 1995, 39.

<sup>70</sup> Frontinus, II, 70.

<sup>71</sup> Frontinus, I, 11.

<sup>72</sup> Brunn 1997, 125.

<sup>73</sup> Aicher 1995, 41.

of *Alsietina* Frontinus found no problems, all the amount of 392 *quinariae* being officially recorded.<sup>74</sup>

*Aqua Claudia*, whose construction was initiated by Caligula in 38 A.D.,<sup>75</sup> had approximately the same route as *Marcia* and *Anio Novus*. It entered the city at *Spes Vetus*, crossed above the *Porta Praenestina* to reach a huge *castellum divisorium* on the *Esquilin*.<sup>76</sup> Due to the large height with which it enters the city *Claudia* could supply all the 14 regions of Imperial Rome. Since its inauguration, in 52 A.D.,<sup>77</sup> more branches were built over time: Nero built *Arcus Neroniani* for supplying the Temple of Claudius and the Aventine, and Domitian built a branch for supplying the Imperial Palace on the Palatine.<sup>78</sup>

*Claudia*, with 2855 *quinariae* in the records and the amount of 4607 *quinariae* calculated by Frontinus, had 1752 *quinariae* more than officially recorded. Frontinus also discovered a discrepancy at a *castellum* from the 7<sup>th</sup> milestone from Rome, which received 3312 *quinariae*, and above that, he discovered more places on the route of the aqueduct where the water was stolen and before reaching the reservoir there were some secret deliveries made.<sup>79</sup>

*Aqua Anio Novus*<sup>80</sup> was the highest aqueduct of Ancient Rome. Its conduits ran above those of *Claudia*, reaching the same *castellum divisorium* on the *Esquilin*, also having the greatest volume of water.<sup>81</sup> *Anio Novus* had 3263 *quinariae* found in the records, and from the amount given by Frontinus resulted an unjustified difference of 1475 *quinariae*.<sup>82</sup>

## Conclusions

We can see that the loss of water from the aqueducts of Rome was not uniform. We have a special situation with *Anio Vetus*, the aqueduct with the biggest amount of unjustified loss of water (2875 *q.*) from all the aqueducts of Rome, but Frontinus informs us that he did not discover any place where the water was stolen, putting the blame on the damage of the conduits. The situation is different with *Marcia*, the 2<sup>nd</sup> in loss of water, the amount of water lost from it is

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<sup>74</sup> Frontinus, II, 71.

<sup>75</sup> Frontinus, I, 13.

<sup>76</sup> Aicher 1995, 42.

<sup>77</sup> Frontinus, I, 13.

<sup>78</sup> Aicher 1995, 42.

<sup>79</sup> Frontinus, II, 72.

<sup>80</sup> Both aqueducts, *Claudia* and *Anio Novus* were built in no less than 14 years. The constructions were initiated by Caligula in 38 A.D. and finished by Claudius in 52 A.D.

<sup>81</sup> Aicher 1995, 44.

<sup>82</sup> Frontinus, II, 73.



## The Theft Of Water From The Aqueducts Of The City Of Rome In Frontinus' Time

huge as well (2499 *q.*), but the fact that was the aqueduct with the best water from Rome and could supply 10 of the 14 regions of Rome could be motives for being robbed.

The aqueducts with the greatest amount of water delivered to Rome were *Anio Novus* (4738 *q.*) and *Claudia* (4607 *q.*), they reached all the 14 regions of the city, the quantity of water lost from them being important (1475 *q.* for *Anio* and 1752 *q.* for *Claudia*) but considering their total capacity we can say that the losses of these two is not to be compared with the amount of water lost by *Appia* (984 *q.*) and *Marcia* (2499 *q.*), in the cases of which more than half of their water was stolen, and more, with *Virgo* with an amount of lost water (1852 *q.*) that means 2/3 of the total capacity of the aqueduct.

Even if Frontinus could exaggerate the amount of water illegally distributed, the numerous mentions of the abuses in that domain means that the water theft was a very important issue for him. Moreover, the presentation of these irregularities is meant to provide the serious situation in which his institution was at the beginning of his term as *curator aquarum*, anticipating the time of reforms and improvements that he will bring to the administration of Rome's water supply network.

Through this Frontinus shows the importance of his office and of the department he leads, he praises the aqueducts of Rome, the greatness of Rome being reflected as well in the impressive structures that transported her water. The mention of the laws that combat the abuses in the field of water supply conveys the message that these abuses had never been accepted, whether we are speaking about the republican or imperial era, and will not be tolerated even during the time he will be acting as *curator aquarum*.

No matter the unit of measurement used for calculation, the amount of water brought to Rome by her aqueducts was a huge one, yet, we can still say that, at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, direct access to the water of the aqueducts was still a luxury, a privilege of the few. The names of the privileged were found on the inscriptions on the *fistulae* analysed by W. Eck<sup>83</sup> who concluded that those were the proprietors of grand estates in Rome who needed a copious supply of water only for irrigating their gardens. And if we add that those privileged were no more than 600,<sup>84</sup> we can say that we found one of the reasons for robbing the aqueducts in the inequalities of water distribution in Rome.

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<sup>83</sup> Eck 1982, 207.

<sup>84</sup> Brunn 1997, 146.

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# LOOTING IN MILITARY THOUGHT - TRADITIONS IN ROMAN ARMY

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**Abstract:** Considering the information that Polybios offers about the warfare in the Roman army, our paper attempts to identify the changes in attitudes that the Roman army had due to the military reform of the Late Republic.

**Keywords:** military reform, soldier, military booty, siege, sack.

The profession of soldier has always been one of the most dangerous tasks that one could have for a living. Life in the barracks doesn't always offer material and professional satisfaction during peace. However, during a war the situation changes radically. While the risks of dying increase, the chances of gaining rewards through looting or awards for courageous acts during a battle or siege also multiply. As we shall see in the few events selected for this research, the greed of a Roman soldier can be influenced by numerous factors.

Military tradition from which a soldier is formed has an important impact over their mentality and training and it can affect their reaction towards looting, such as deciding what to keep and what to share. In certain cases, we must take into account that the Pre-marian Roman army was formed from citizens, educated under the Roman law and lifestyle. While there aren't significant changes in the executions of certain manoeuvres, like marching or assaulting a city, we can clearly observe discrepancies during the looting of the cities mentioned by Polybios and Flavius Josephus (such as the looting of New Carthage in 209 BC), before and after the military reforms from 107 B.C. A second factor that must be pointed out would be the attrition suffered throughout the war. It's very easy for a commander to lose the control of his men after they've fought for months or years and the rewards aren't consistent. At the same time it's easy to control a fresh and young army that fights small battles from time to time. The third factor would be the commander himself. His attitude towards the enemy, the loot gained and strategic interests over the cities are also part of the pillage.

The events selected have some aspects in common. Both of them analyse the Roman army, during a siege. Both of them talk about the pillage of the assaulted cities. Both of them tell the events after the conquests of the cities. The major difference is the time period of the events. The first event is about the conquest of New Carthage during the Second Punic War, while the second event is focused

around the siege of Jerusalem during the First Jewish-Roman war. The commanders are Scipio Africanus and Titus, the son of the future emperor Vespasian.

The advantage of these two situations is that they will point out the differences between the two armies, such as the practice and rules of looting itself and the reaction of the commanders after the conquest. The disadvantage is that both armies are in essence, different from the start of the siege, without taking into account the Marian reforms. The Republican army is far more inexperienced, younger and small in numbers, but knows the theory behind sieges and battles. The Imperial army is experienced, but due to attrition and war exhaustion, their morale is a strong variable and may realize small mistakes. The opponents are different two. The Carthaginians were small in numbers and were taken by surprise by Scipio, while the Jews fought madly over the city of Jerusalem, with countless of skirmishes and guerrilla tactics used against the Romans.

Although Gaius Marius is popular for his military reforms, some of them were improvements from the previous reforms and continued to develop even after 107 BC<sup>1</sup>. The Republican army was formed from landowners, who were part of the most important census classes and could afford to buy their own equipment. The advantage of such an army is that a general cannot use it in order to gain power in Rome. The disadvantage is the lack of manpower. While the state was growing in size, the army had to operate in different regions, on multiple fronts, all at the same time. Due to restrictions to enrol in the army, Marius and his predecessors were forced to weaken the restrictions in order to gain more soldiers on the front lines<sup>2</sup>. The results of the reforms allowed everyone to enrol in the army, while the equipment was provided by the state. The army became permanent and apart from gaining loot you had to chance to become a landowner and a citizen of the state at the end of the military service.

After we've made an idea over how the Roman army looked we need to see how the army acted. The two situations will be presented in a chronological order, with the reminder that the Marian reforms were adopted between the two events.

Firstly, the looting of New Carthage in 209 BC had been mentioned by Polybios, a Greek historian that was a hostage under the Scipio family and wrote a history of the Roman success over the Greeks and the Carthaginians. The character focused on this event is none other than Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who volunteered for the campaign in Hispania, after his predecessors met failure against the

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1. Keppie 1998, 42.

2. Keppie 1998, 42.

enemy. Initially, Polybios gives us a portrait of Scipio, who despite his age proved to be very cunning and temperate (10. 6. 10-12)<sup>3</sup>:

*"He was now but twenty-seven years of age, and yet he in the first place took in hand a situation pronounced by most people as desperate owing to the serious nature of the recent reverses, and secondly in dealing with it he put aside the measures obvious to anyone and planned out and decided on a course which neither his enemies nor his friends expected. There was nothing in all this that was not due to most close calculation."*

Scipio analysed the position of the enemy armies and preferred to avoid the armies and concentrate his forces on the siege of New Carthage, upon Polybios (10. 8. 2-9):

*"He learnt in the first place that it stood almost alone among Spanish cities in possessing harbours fit for a fleet and for naval forces, and that it was at the same time very favourably situated for the Carthaginians to make the direct sea crossing from Africa. Next he heard that the Carthaginians kept the bulk of their money and their war material in this city, as well as their hostages from the whole of Spain, and, what was of most importance, that the trained soldiers who garrisoned the citadel were only about a thousand in number, because no one dreamt that while the Carthaginians were masters of nearly the whole of Spain it would enter anyone's head to besiege the city, while the remaining population was exceedingly large but composed of artisans, tradesmen, and sailors, men very far from having any military experience. This he considered to be a thing that would tell against the city, if he appeared suddenly before it. Nor was he ignorant of the position and plan of New Carthage and of the nature of the lagoon which surrounded it, but had learnt from some fishermen who plied their craft there that the whole lagoon was shallow and in most parts fordable, and that usually the water in it receded every day towards evening. Taking all these facts into consideration he came to the conclusion that if he succeeded in his enterprise he would not only damage the enemy, but would much advance the Roman cause,*

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3. The translation is that of W. R. Paton in the Loeb Classical Library edition, with some modifications.

*while in the event of failure he could, since he was master of the sea, place his troops in a position of safety, once he had secured his camp — an easy matter as the forces of the enemy were at so great a distance.”*

In other words, New Carthage was an important target for the Roman army to gain control over since it was the primary base for the enemy army to supply and maintain connections with Africa. Also the economic gain and prestige would have increased the morale of the senators back in Rome. Worth mentioning is that Scipio had the help of the Roman navy for this operation and helped him during the initial siege.

Scipio planned the siege in two phases. The first phases consist in a small confrontation with the garrison and then the actual siege itself. However, it's unclear whether or not Scipio actually wanted to siege the city twice, but it's probable that Scipio knew his fresh army lacks experience (Polybios, 10. 13. 6-8):

*”When the front rank advanced confidently to mount the ladders, it was not so much the numbers of the defenders which made the assault hazardous as the great height of the wall. Those on the wall consequently plucked up courage when they saw the difficulties of the assailant. For some of the ladders broke, as owing to their height so many mounted them at the same time, while on others those who led the way grew dizzy owing to their elevated position, and a very slight resistance on the part of the besieged sufficed to make them throw themselves off the ladders.”*

The first phase failed and made the enemy to believe they've won and can afford to wait for reinforcements. However, Scipio had other plans and started the second phase of the siege during the night. The assault of the walls was successful and the fury of the Roman army was unleashed over the unarmed civilians. The massacre stops when the enemy commander surrenders and Polybios noted that at Scipio's signal, the army started the looting of the city. Polybios also wanted to give us a set of rules on how the Romans pillage a city, after they massacre the civilians. Based on his descriptions, the Roman soldier had the duty to not hide his gains, to loot for those other soldiers that don't participate during the pillage and to be protected by half of the army during this process. Polybios insists why this “tradition” is advantageous (10. 17. 2-5):

*"So that, as most of the men start pillaging, commanders cannot maintain any control and run the risk of disaster and indeed many who have been successful in their object have, after capturing the enemy's camp or a town, not only been driven out but have met with complete disaster simply for the above reason. Commanders should therefore exercise the utmost care and foresight about this matter, so that as far as is possible the hope of equal participation in the booty when such a chance presents itself may be common to all."*

Secondly, the siege of Jerusalem in 70 AD was witnessed by Flavius Josephus, who recorded the events during the six months siege. The Roman army had a different composition than in the previous event, and it was leads by Titus, the son of Vespasian, emperor of Rome. Josephus was a Jewish historian, who served under Titus, and tried to negotiate a peace deal with the rebels during the Judaic-Roman war.

Unlike in Scipio's case, Titus (Vespasian's son) was already in campaign, with an exhausted but very experienced army. Unlike New Carthage, that had only one level of walls with a fortress, Jerusalem had three walls, around 190 turrets, fortress Antonia and as we shall see, the Temple which will the last bastion for the rebels. Josephus claims that during this six months siege, over one million people died, the region around Jerusalem was completely deforested and the rebels were relentless with their guerrilla style tactics (F. Josephus, V. 11.4)<sup>4</sup>:

*"Now as the Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, [Jyar,] so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after they had laboured hard for seventeen days continually. For there were now four great banks raised, one of which was at the tower Antonia; this was raised by the fifth legion, over against the middle of that pool which was called Struthius. Another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at the distance of about twenty cubits from the other. But the labours of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, were on the north quarter, and at the pool called Amygdalon; as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high priest's monument. And now, when the engines were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as*

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4. The translation is that of H.ST.J. Thackeray in the Loeb Classical Library edition, with some modifications.



*the banks themselves, and had supported the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another; whereby the Roman works stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire; and as the cross beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down, and fell into the ditch with a prodigious noise. Now at the first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank; but as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame brake out; on which sudden appearance of the flame a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them; and indeed this accident coming upon them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come.”*

The siege ended with a Roman victory and the “accidental” burning of the Temple itself (F. Josephus, V. 4.5):

*”[...] for upon Titus's retiring, the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning the inner [court of the] temple; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and being hurried on by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it.”*

During the burning of the Temple, the Romans started the looting. The “prize” was so valuable that Josephus claims the price of gold in Syria has been halved. The comical part of this entire siege is that the Roman army was running after the rebels’ loot. The rebels gained the loot after they’ve pillaged the area behind each wall. In other words, the Romans didn’t waste time looting after each conquered wall.

Considering the two events, we must discuss about a few difficulties met when comparing them. First, regarding the fidelity of the authors in their writings, while Polybios presented an efficient pillage, excluding the massacre part that was part of the assault phase, instead of the looting phase,<sup>5</sup> Josephus focused more on the tragedy of the siege and the attitude of the army towards the enemy. The two authors wrote for different kinds of readers and tried to concentrate on particularities. Unlike Polybios, Josephus doesn't try to justify with rules why the Romans pillaged the Temple in a specific way. Polybios didn't try to show the driving force that made the defenders impressive. Due to the strategic importance of New Carthage, we understand why Scipio wanted to keep the city up and running. However, Titus' care for the Temple is not understandable since the siege was gruesome.

If we take Polybios' rules we have to put some questions, as is, for instance, the lack of raping in the description. One argument would be the fact that the image of Scipio throughout the beginning of the campaign is one of a very concentrated man over his mission. He's the ideal citizen. Or, Scipio was concerned about the hostages that appear later, after the sacking. One problem concerns the fact that he accepts the impossible and makes it possible with dignity and cleverness. The other problem that he had with the rules is that they give the impression that they are rigid and anytime a soldier breaks the rules can be equivalent of a sacrilege. In practice however, it's hard to believe everything looted was actually shared with the rest of the army. Probably big objects that weren't easy to carry would have been sold, while small objects like coins, rings, necklaces would have been secretly kept by the soldiers.<sup>6</sup> The fact that half of the army had to protect the other half during the looting is questionable since we clearly know that Scipio knew the distances between the city and the closest enemy army. We also know that the actual defenders were captured and Scipio also had the navy at his disposal for the hostages.

If we look at Jerusalem, we can clearly see the lack of knowledge of any possible rules present in Polybios' work. It's pretty difficult for even a commander like Titus to tell one of his angry soldiers to loot in a specific way, especially since the rebels were so resilient with their defences. What is also true is that the army composition is different. In the imperial army, not only the diversity was higher, but so were the numbers. All of the legions had to face difficult sieges, moments of ecstasy and desperation, while not gaining any immediate loot from the city. They had to wait six months for a successful sacking. A massacre like the one in New Carthage didn't exist since Titus didn't want to oppress the people more than the rebels already did, but there was the destruction of the Temple and fortifications, mostly as a way to prevent any further difficult insurrections. Unlike in Polybios,

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5. Ziolkowski, 1993, 76.

6. Ziolkowski, 1993, 89-90.

Josephus doesn't say a word about the sharing of the booty, which was Titus' right<sup>7</sup>. But we must remember. The legionnaires were many and very angry.

The common ground of these two sackings is the fact that both of them underwent after a siege phase. In Scipio's case the siege took one day, but that's only because he wasted months on planning. In Titus' case, the siege took months, but one can argue that his army was fatigued from constant fighting and marches. While not clear initially, we can imagine the fact that Scipio's army had a similar level of hatred towards the Carthaginians just as the imperial army had towards the Jews. Both armies were thirsty for money and in some regards, peace.

In conclusion, I find that the Marian reforms changed the sacking of cities dramatically, in ways that made any possible rules presented in Polybios' work redundant and may even be impossible to apply in situations outside of the mentioned one.

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7. Shatzman, 1972, 203.

# ABUSE OR REUSE? ATTITUDE OF „PRIVATE OWNERS” TOWARDS PUBLIC SPACE IN LATE ANTIQUITY

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**Abstract:** The Late Antique roman-byzantine society is a constantly changing world. A new political and military background also calls for economic, social and cultural changes. In such an instable world the abuse was inevitable. The existing historical research focused mainly on the abuses of public authorities and even on imperial abuses. This paper is a research on the abuse of private owners against the public property. Using archaeological and historical evidences there had been identified two kinds of abuses: invasion of the public property and the use of *spolia*. This paper is divided in two parts, analysing those two kinds of abuses. The main primary sources which the author used in this paper were the laws combined in the Theodosian Code and also in the Iustinian Code which showed us the perspective of state regarding the abuse of private owners who affected the integrity of the public domain. Studying them we came to the conclusion that the state failed to stop those abuses and ended up by accepting these behaviours. This new kind of attitude of individuals toward urban landscape may show us a new perspective of how the „city” is understood. The consequence of this new behaviour is dramatic for the image of urban landscape in Late Antiquity.

**Keywords:** abuse, private property, *spolia*, legislation, Late Antiquity.

## Introduction

In this article we propose to analyse the attitude of „private owners” towards public property during Late Antiquity. To be exact, we will analyse from a legal and historical source perspective, the invasion of public space phenomenon and the usage of *spolia* by private owners. To what extent can we define this attitude as abusive? Which kind of sources can vindicate us the invasion of public property by private property? How can we make a connection between the information obtained from sources and the situation found in the archaeological context? “Private owners” are private persons who have a separate interest from the community. They define “abuse” as a violation of social rules in effect, an unjustified and illegal use of public space, as it was considered in the Roman-Byzantine urban landscape. Chronologically, I have studied the period between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD

and as a spatial framework, I have analysed the contents of the Roman-Byzantine cultural-material world, both the Roman Empire of the West and the Roman Empire of the East. I will focus mainly on Roman law combined in the *Theodosian Code* and the *Justinian Code*. We have chosen this approach because the legal sources offer the widest range of information concerning the studied phenomenon, which show the state's standing point concerning the historical phenomenon in question. We have also analysed archaeological sources which can be considered “the other side's manifestation”, the one who „abuses”. By analysing legal and historical sources, as well as from the scientific literature concerning property relations in the Late Roman Empire, I have identified two types of private owners' abuses between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD: the invasion of public space by private properties' extension or complete occupancy of certain public buildings and the destruction of public monuments for the use of construction materials, called in scientific literature – *spolia*, or even abusive possession of these materials from the imperial marble warehouses.

### **Invasion of public spaces in late roman cities**

By analysing the sources concerning the relationship between private and public property during Late Antiquity, we can observe that Roman society had a clear change of attitude towards its society of the classical period. By researching the legislation of the time, some contemporary scholars have started talking about an invasion of private space in the public domain<sup>1</sup>. New economic, political, social, cultural even religious circumstances, as well as a weakening of legislative authority determine the change of urban environment and the decay of some spaces and public buildings. The same applies to pagan temples, forums and even theatres. Private owners seek to occupy this space, thus beginning a real clash between public authority that wanted to protect public monuments and private owners, who wanted to extend their control over those spaces.

When we talk about the invasion of public space by private owners, we are referring to both occupancy of certain spaces and buildings, as well as disposing public monuments of architectural fragments and their reuse in new contexts, a phenomenon called *spoliation*. The

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<sup>1</sup> Baldini Lipollis 2005, 197-238.

using of *spolia* and occupancy of certain monuments or the changing of its role had also been done by public authority, with the explicit agreement of imperial power. Thus, this work endeavour can't be considered from a semantic point of view as an abuse.

We must distinguish the meaning of public space and private space. Late Roman legislation has a clear definition of public space which was represented by public square, temples and churches, porticos surrounding the street, public workshops (*ergasteria publica*), public baths, statues or other monuments. Private buildings consisted of residential buildings, private workshops, taverns or other building that weren't administered by authorities.

Central imperial authority will try by means of legislation to protect these spaces, by implementing certain urban rules that would clearly specify the size and places accepted for the construction of private buildings in order to keep the city's monuments' space undamaged. Likewise, the construction of decorated buildings was encouraged and the ones that would break the law would be destroyed. The same case applied to buildings that would affect urban aesthetics.

In the year 326 AD, the first edict that would regulate the maximum legal size of space between private buildings was given. Constantine's rescript states a length of 100 feet (30.48 m). The rescript was addressed to an aristocrat called Felix, who had violated this statement.<sup>2</sup> Buildings that would violate this statement were to be demolished. This kind of abuse was practiced mainly by the senatorial class, many of whom occupied administrative functions at a local and central level.

Constantine's successors would continue to protect public domain policy by implementing laws targeting the destruction of private buildings from the *Forum*<sup>3</sup> or The Field of Mars.<sup>4</sup> The authority tasked with implementing these urban regulations was the

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<sup>2</sup> CTh.15.1.4: “*Idem a. have, Felix, carissime nobis. Omnis intra centum pedes uicinitas, quantum ad horrea pertinet, arceatur ac si quid constructum fuerit, diruatur, quoniam experimentis nuperrimis palam factum est aedificiorum, quae horreis adhaerebant, incendiis fiscales copias laborasse. Quod si quis aedificandi amore publica damna neglexerit, non solum quod construxit, sed omnes res eius et quidquid in suo iure habuit, fisco adiudicari praecipimus. Dat. XI kal. aug. Sirmio Constantino a. IIII et Constantio c. cons. (326 iul. 22)*”; apud Baldini Lipollis, 2005, 207.

<sup>3</sup> CTh.15.1.22: “*Idem aaa. have, Procule karissime nobis. Praescriptio temporis iuri publico non debet obsistere, sed ne rescripta quidem. Adque ideo diruenda sunt omnia, quae per diuersas urbes uel in foro uel in quocumque publico loco ciuitatis extructa noscuntur. Dat. III id. iun. Constantinopoli Merobaude II et Saturnino cons. (383 iun. 11)*”; apud Baldini Lippolis 2005, 201.

<sup>4</sup> CTh.14.14.1 tre: “*Imp. Arcadius et Honorius aa. ad populum. Post alia: eos, qui in campo Martio casas seu tuguria collocare temptauerint, sententia uiri illustris praefecti spoliatos omnibus facultatibus tradi in perpetuum exilio praecipimus. Et cetera. Dat. et proposita Romae in foro diui Traiani Caesario et Attico cons. (397 apr. 7?)*”.

prefect city.<sup>5</sup> As stated in *Cod Th.15.1.22*, he was responsible with keeping the civil laws (*iuro publicae*).<sup>6</sup>

Other similar laws were issued in 389 AD, focusing on the destruction of buildings that did not respect the urban plan of Constantinople or protection measures against fires.<sup>7</sup> The Eastern Roman Empire's capital had, as well, a law issued in 406 AD that targeted destruction of private buildings which were 4.5 meters away from a public building.<sup>8</sup> In 409 AD, a rescript had referenced again the capital – Constantinople and stipulated that private owners, who would raise their buildings in the occupied area of the old imperial palace, would be destroyed.<sup>9</sup> The edict of Theodosius II speaks of an injury of the imperial majesty and a fixation of a *res publica disciplinae*, affected by the behaviour of those who had lived in public buildings, without taking into account the existing laws.

The edict of Honorius and Theodosius is also mentioned in *The Justinian Code* (*CJ. 8.11.17*), which would still prove the existence of the practices mentioned above or the maintenance of a legislative setting concerning the occupation of public space, especially the one representing the imperial institution. In the same legislative and urban setting regarding the regulation of space occupancy by private residencies, in 423 AD, the same Theodosius issues what the maximum size of balconies (*maenina*) should be – 4.5 m (*quim per decem pedes*).<sup>10</sup> This measure is meant to standardize the urban appearance of Constantinople and the maintenance of street tram unaffected by the expansion of the residential buildings.

<sup>5</sup> Baldini Lipollis 2005, 201.

<sup>6</sup> Research on the prefect's public authority was also conducted by (Isabella Baldini Lipollis, 2007, Dagron, 1992, Janvier, 1969).

<sup>7</sup> *CTh.15.1.39*: "Idem aa. Seuero praefecto Urbi. Aedificia, quae uulgi more parapetasia nuncupantur, uel si qua alia opera publicis moeniis uel privatis sociata cohaerent, ut ex his incendium uel insidias uicinitas reformidet aut angustentur spatia platearum uel minuatur porticibus latitudo, dirui ac prosterni praecipimus. Dat. V id. octob. Constantinopoli Honorio a. IIII et Eutychiano cons. (398 oct. 11)".

<sup>8</sup> *CTh.15.1.46*: "Idem aaa. Aemiliano praefecto Urbi. Aedificia priuatorum publicis aedibus adhaerentia siue superposita destrui tollique praecipimus. Et in posterum id aperte sancimus, ut, si qui aedificandi iuxta publicas aedes animos dederit, quindecim pedum spatio interiecto inter publica ac priuata aedificia ita sibi nouerit fabricandum, ut tali interuallo et publicae aedes a periculo uindicentur et priuatus aedificator uelut perperam fabricati loci destructionis quandoque futurae non timeat detrimentum. Dat. XI kal. nov. Constantinopoli Arcadio a. VI et Probo cons. (406 oct. 22)". apud Baldini Lippollis 2005, 204.

<sup>9</sup> *CTh.15.1.47*: "Impp. Honorius et Theodosius aa. Monaxio praefecto Urbi. Quicumque locus in palatio huius urbis priuatis aedificiis incommode occupatus est, is quam primum subrutis omnibus quae in eo sunt aedificiis palatio reformetur. Quod priuatorum non est parietibus coartandum, nam imperio magna ab uniuersis secreta debentur: ut hi tantum locum habeant habitandi, quos legitimus maiestatis nostrae usus et rei publicae disciplina delegit, in futurum etiam uniuersis ab huiusmodi usurpatione prohibendis. Dat. VIII kal. mar. Constantinopoli Honorio VIII et Theodosio III aa. cons. (409 febr. 21)".

<sup>10</sup> *CJ.8.10.11pr.*: "Imperatores Honorius, Theodosius, Maeniana, quae graece ezustas appellant, siue olim constructa siue in posterum in prouinciis construenda, nisi spatium inter se per decem pedes liberi aeris habuerint, modis omnibus detruncetur. \* honor. et theodos. aa. seuerino pp. \* <a 423 d. iii non. mai. constantinopoli theodosio a. viiii et constantio iii cons.>".

Also, an edict issued in 376 AD concerning the preservation of monumental public buildings prohibited the usage of construction materials, including marble and the columns of public monuments.<sup>11</sup> Another punishment, in addition to property confiscation was exile. A similar case involved private owners from Rome at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, who had occupied The Field of Mars. This made Emperor Honorius issue a rescript in the year 397 AD where he ordered the destruction of these buildings, abusively built and the punishment of the ones responsible by means of *perpetuum exilio* meaning they were permanently exiled.<sup>12</sup>

Towards the 5<sup>th</sup> century private owners managed to advance to the public space, due to more permissive legislation. Ever since 362 AD the emperor had issued an edict to Egypt in which the private buildings raised over big public workshops (*super ergasteria publica*) became legal.<sup>13</sup> The emperor faced a generalized *de facto* situation, because the edict did not mention a city or an entire province. Due to the acceptance of this situation, he isolated the policy of protecting public space. Nevertheless, he gained additional benefits because the legalisation on buildings meant payment of afferent taxes.<sup>14</sup>

Starting with the 5th century this practice becomes more generalized, the emperors making concessions in favour of the private owners. If in 362 AD, Julian the Apostate allows the aristocratic families the construction of buildings in the public space, under the condition of keeping the monumentality of the city,<sup>15</sup> in 424 AD the private owners' buildings who had taken possession of the baths of Zeuxippus,<sup>16</sup> are recognized as being accepted by the imperial authority.

The edict in 424 AD, allowed the empire citizens to come into public buildings, as porticos and other buildings on secondary streets, which lost their importance and were

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<sup>11</sup> CTh.15.1.19: “*Imppp. Valens, Gratianus et Valentinianus aaa. ad senatum. Post alia: nemo praefectorum urbis aliorumue iudicum, quos potestas in excelso locat, opus aliquod nouum in urbe Roma incluta molitur, sed excolendis ueteribus intendat animum. Nouum quodque opus qui uolet in urbe moliri, sua pecunia, suis operibus absoluat, non contractis ueteribus emolumentis, non effossis nobilium operum substructionibus, non rediuiuis de publico saxis, non marmorum frustis spoliatarum aedium deformatione conuulsis. Lecta in senatu Valente V et Valentiniano aa. cons. (376.....).*”

<sup>12</sup> CTh.14.14.1: “*Impp. Arcadius et Honorius aa. ad populum. Post alia: eos, qui in campo Martio casas seu tuguria collocare temptauerint, sententia uiri illustris praefecti spoliatos omnibus facultatibus tradi in perpetuum exilio praecipimus. Et cetera. Dat. et proposita Romae in foro diui Traiani Caesario et Attico cons. (397 apr. 7?).*”; apud Baldini Lipollis 2005, 201.

<sup>13</sup> CTh.15.1.9 [=brev.15.1.1]: “*Imp. Iulianus a. Ecdicio pf. Aegypti. Post alia: comperimus, super ergasteria publica, quae ad ius pertinent ciuitatis, plerosque sibi domos extruxisse. Praecipimus ergo, eos inconcusso iure, quae aedificauerunt, possidere. pp. IV. non. dec. Antiochiae, Mamertino et Neuita cons. Interpretatio. Si quis in ciuitate consistens in locis publicis sibi domos forte construxerit, eas sine inquietudine aliqua possideat.*”, apud Baldini Lipollis 2005, 201.

<sup>14</sup> Baldini Lipollis, 2005, 202.

<sup>15</sup> Baldini Lipollis 2005, 204.

<sup>16</sup> Zeuxippus's baths were built over the Temple of Zeus by Septimius Severus who destroyed Byzantium in 192 AD and then rebuilt it again. The baths are restored in time of Constantine the Great when the building gained a monumental appearance. Zeuxippus's baths are destroyed after the suppression of Nika Uprising.



abandoned. Also during this period, Theodosius indulges in purchasing or renting some spaces from the public workshops.<sup>17</sup> Observing the attitude of the roman-byzantine authorities starting with the 4<sup>th</sup> century until the 5<sup>th</sup>, we can conclude that this was a period of disproof of a practice which has become out of control, in the end being accepted, recognized and conditioned by the imperial legislation.

### **Abuse or reuse? Using *spolia* in private context**

Another type of the private sector abuse in late Antiquity is the spoliation of the public monuments which, just like in the case of public spaces previously discussed, had degraded and lost their usefulness, the significance and importance within the urban and social landscape of the Roman-Byzantine city.

The first observation we can make, and the most important one, is that we can find an almost perfect similarity between the public sectors, which had lost their significance, and the architectural fragments reused in another context, known in the specialized literature as *spolia*. Between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, the public Roman-Byzantine authorities decries the abuse of the privately-owned over the public monuments robbed, being overcome by the magnitude of the phenomenon and finally accepting the de facto situation by accepting the de facto phenomenon and trying to limit the extent of the magnitude of the phenomenon by imposing certain conditions, which were considered abusive.

To begin with, it must be made clear that the term *spolia* is a contemporary term that designates, as we have previously stated, those architectural materials and fragments removed from their original context and reused in a completely different context. The term dates back to the '40s when the phenomenon began to be studied by historians, archaeologists and art historians.

In ancient sources, we can find the verb *spoliatio*, which designates the action by which the monuments are stripped of material, so the action of acquiring to despoil. Nonetheless we can also find the noun *spolium*, which designates the denomination trophies of war. And we also have reports of a military action called *spolia opima*, which represented the greatest military honour which could be given to a Roman general. The general who managed to kill an enemy leader used to strip the body of the armour, which he attached to a tree trunk and was brought to the city in order for the victory to be celebrated, the trophy being dedicated to *Iuppiter Feretrius* on the Capitol.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Baldini Lipollis 2005, p. 205.

<sup>18</sup> Greenbalgh 2011, 75-76.

The term *spolia* used with a different connotation other than the prey of war, seems to have been used for the first time by Giorgio Vasari in his work, “*Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostril*” (1550), when he narrated about the despoil of ancient monuments by the Catholic Church. Vasari considered that the phenomenon of using *spolia* is a factor of the decline of art in the Late Antiquity.<sup>19</sup>

The use of *spolia* as a subject of scientific research begins with Hans Peter L'Orange in *Der Spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* (1939), where he analyses the changes in the art of late antiquity as a result of the use by Constantine of statuary objects belonging to emperors such as Trajan, Hadrian or Marcus Aurelius. Major studies were then continued by Arnold Esch (1969), Richard Krauthemeier (1961) and Beat Brenk (1987). They considered that the main factor in the emergence of this phenomenon in the late antique world was the economic decline, followed by other factors such as aesthetics or ideologies. Bryan Ward Perkins makes little sense of the conversation and talks about an attempt to transform the past while preserving its monumentality. The old buildings and monuments that had lost their signification in the new cultural, social, political and especially religious context were left to decay and gradually transformed by changing their function and significance.<sup>20</sup> This idea is also supported by Greenbalgh who believes that the old Roman buildings or monuments have survived only by adapting their function to the new cultural realities.<sup>21</sup> Greenbalgh is also among those who associate the phenomenon from the perspective of the state, the legionnaire. And although the state forbids this phenomenon, “the more often something is forbidden the commoner it tends to have been”.<sup>22</sup>

However, from my point of view, Greenbalgh also omitted the fact that not only ordinary citizens were responsible for such abuses, but rather senior magistrates, including those who were responsible for the protection of the city's public patrimony. Out of a number of 22 rescripts in which we found abuses of the private owners with regard to the illegal use of the company, we notice a number of 15 patricians, who belonged to the illustrated or senatorial category, unlike only 7 characters who were part of a lower-grade category.<sup>23</sup> Historical sources, such as Ammianus, also remind magistrates who transfer *spolia* from public monuments or marble stores to their own domain. He reports the abuses of Lampadius, the prefect of Alexandria, who appropriated building materials from the public domain, being

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<sup>19</sup> Huberts 2016, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ward Perkins 1987, 121.

<sup>21</sup> Greenbalgh 2002, 78.

<sup>22</sup> Greenbalgh 2009, 82.

<sup>23</sup> See Marcone 1998; Barnes 1974.

removed as a result of a revolt of the population in 365. Lampadius was then exiled by Emperor Julian.<sup>24</sup>

About the marble warehouses I mentioned earlier, Hugo Brandenburg has made a very important contribution, demonstrating with solid arguments that *spolia* were in fact saved fragments or even replicas of original fragments that were stored for purchase and reuse for various purposes.<sup>25</sup>

Analysing both the public and the private buildings in Rome in the 4th and 5th centuries AD, he noticed that the decoration of the buildings from the 4th and 5th centuries was largely represented by “half-finished or totally completed architectural elements which came from different epochs or even various spaces”. Completely finished ornaments belonged to projects that had not materialized and had been saved from a destroyed building or a building in ruins or were of recent origin, being purchased from a certain space and which had been stored for future use. The need for storage was also determined by an increase of demand for such materials, which was more financially advantageous and also a change in mentality.<sup>26</sup>

Many archaeological studies published lately seem to reinforce Brandenburg's hypothesis that architectural fragments considered to be *spolia*, in the strict sense of the word, actually came from imperial deposits rather than buildings that existed and were destroyed for the purpose of using material. This makes it very difficult to consider an ideological fact in using the *spolia*.<sup>27</sup> This does not mean that some specific materials have not been robbed and that there were no buildings that were destroyed for the purpose of using materials from these ravaged spaces. But the phenomenon was less intense than previously thought.

The Roman legislation is a very clear one concerning the protection of the property and aesthetics of public monuments. The use of the *spolia* was an inconceivable fact in the early Roman period. Although we might consider as the first case in the 1st century BC., this case is about Verres, the governor of Sicily, who is accused of robbing the Sicilian temples of statues and other valuable architectural fragments that he appropriated by decorating his own villa with them<sup>28</sup>. In order not to get a tough punishment, Verres emigrated.<sup>29</sup> This case, however, is a singular one and does not necessarily require the destruction of buildings in

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<sup>24</sup> Amm. 22.4.14.

<sup>25</sup> Brandenburg 2011, 44-45.

<sup>26</sup> Brandenburg 2011, 50.

<sup>27</sup> Huberts 2016, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Cic. *Ver.* 1.1.12-15.

<sup>29</sup> Huberts 2016, 22.

order to obtain building materials, but in fact tracks the abusive appropriation of very valuable items of decoration.

The use of the *spolia* is a specific phenomenon of late Antiquity. The first manifestations of this practice are made by the emperors. The use of these materials was itself an Imperial prerogative, the emperor being the one who elaborated and represented the authority of the law.<sup>30</sup> The first act that records the reuse of architectural materials in the rehabilitation or building of a building is the rebuilding of the Colosseum in the year 220 AD.<sup>31</sup> But it is still a problem to name these fragments as *spolia*, because the reused materials came from the ruins of the Colosseum affected by the earthquake. In this case we can not talk about abuse. Also in the third century, in the second half of the century, we can identify other cases of constructive activities in which *spolia* were used. Therefore we can mention Aurelian's *Arcus Portogallo*, Diocletian's *Arcus Novus*, and Maxentius's Romulus Temple<sup>32</sup>.

The best known case remains the Constantine's Arch, which celebrates his victory against Maxentius. Hugo Brandenburg identified many elements that had been taken from the imperial deposits in Rome, as well as fragments from the Trajan's forum.<sup>33</sup> Starting with the Constantinian period, the use of *spolia* becomes a constant, being also linked to imperial ideology. All types of Constantinian buildings, from residences, triumphal monuments to Christian basilica, all used *spolia*. Herbert believes that for the Constantinian period one cannot accept an economic motivation of the use of the *spolia*, but one of ideological nature and of aesthetic nature.<sup>34</sup>

Also from the Constantinian period private owners also started to use the *spolia*, but this act was a violation of the law, of imperial prerogatives, and the practice is therefore illegal. It was totally forbidden to transmute constructive elements such as columns or marble from one city to another. The Emperor could also allow exceptions to this law, such as that offered by Constantine's 326 AD re-enactment, which permitted the transport of building materials from one city to another, if they were part of the private property of the person who wanted to transfer them; and if the public *decus* (city decoration) was not affected.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Alchermes 1994, 130-132.

<sup>31</sup> Huberts 2016, 17.

<sup>32</sup> Huberts 2016, 17; Alchermes 1994, 145.

<sup>33</sup> Brandenburg 2011, 51.

<sup>34</sup> Herbert 2016, 18.

<sup>35</sup> *CJ. 8.10.6.1*: “*Si quis autem ex alia in aliam ciuitatem labentium parietum marmora uel columnas de propriis domibus in proprias transferre uoluerit, quoniam utrobique (!) haec esse publicum decus est, licenter hoc faciat: data similiter facultate etiam de possessione ornatum huiusmodi ad possessionem aliam transferendi, quamuis per muros uel etiam per mediam ciuitatem ea transferri necesse sit, ita ut ea solummodo quae illata fuerint ciuitatibus exportentur. <a 321 d. vi k. iun. viminacii crispo ii et constantino ii consss.>*”; apud Baldini Lipollis 2005, 219.

Future Constantinian Emperors will face many abuses and will therefore have to give up the concession made by Emperor Constantine. In 357 AD, Emperor Constantius sent a rescript addressed to the proconsul of Africa, Flavianus, in which he bans the transfer of building materials belonging to an earlier period from one city to another.<sup>36</sup> A similar edict is also given by Emperor Julian in 362 AD, which forbids the Vicar of Africa to move building materials from one place to another. However, many *spolia* fragments of monuments belonging to the buildings of other cities were found in private residences located in cities other than those of origin.

This phenomenon characterized the whole period represented by the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>37</sup> In general, we can observe the redistribution of these goods from small towns to major cities such as Mediolanum or Ravenna in the West or Constantinople or Ephesus in the East. A responsible person also identified in the law is the governor<sup>38</sup>.

City magistrates often abused and misappropriated these materials. That is why the legislation seeks to prevent any way of committing abuse. Ammianus mentions in Book 22 of a measure taken by Emperor Julian who forbade the transport of building materials belonging to a magistrate using public transport.<sup>39</sup> Another abuse committed by senior local magistrates was that of dispossessing small towns of statues and columns to embellish large cities. Also in this case, the Roman emperors took action and banned the practice. An example is the Edict of the Emperors Valentinian and Valens, which forbade the Prefect of Rome, Mamertius, to do so.<sup>40</sup>

But not only senior magistrates abused the use of *spolia*. The many imperial edicts and rescripts of the first half of the fourth century show the loss of authorities' control over the protection of funerary monuments. Serious punishment is imposed in the rewritings of 349<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> CTh. 15.1.1: "*Imp. Constantinus a. ad Flavianum proconsulem Africae. Nemo propriis ornamentis esse priuandas existimet ciuitates: fas si quidem non est acceptum a ueteribus decus perdere ciuitatem ueluti ad urbis alterius moenia transferendum. Dat. IIII non. feb. Mediolano, accepta VIII id. iul. Constantino a. et caes. cons.* (... [357] febr. 2)."

<sup>37</sup> Ward Perkins 1998, 382-386; Liebenschuetz 1996, 6-11; Liebenschuetz 2000, 212-213.

<sup>38</sup> Sloojties 2006, 178.

<sup>39</sup> Amm. 22.4.2

<sup>40</sup> CTh 15.1.14: "*Idem aa. ad Mamertinum praefectum praetorio. Praesumptionem iudicum ulterius prohibemus, qui in euersionem abditorum oppidorum metropoles vel splendidissimas ciuitates ornare se fingunt transferendorum signorum uel marmorum uel columnarum materiam requirentes. Quod post legem nostram sine poena admittere non licebit, praesertim cum neque novam constitui fabricam iusserimus, antequam uetera reformentur, et, si adeo aliquid fuerit inchoandum, ab aliis ciuitatibus conueniat temperari. Dat. kal. ian. Mediolano Valentiniano et Valente cons. (365 ian. 1)*"; apud Baldini Lipollis 2005, 220.

<sup>41</sup> CTh. 9.17.2.

AD and 357 AD<sup>42</sup>. But such abuses continue to exist because such laws are also issued in the 5th and until the end of the 6th century.

Towards the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the task of restoring old monuments rests solely with magistrates, who had to do this from their own funds. Thus, Roman emperors are becoming more permissive in terms of using *spolia* by the magistrates<sup>43</sup>. In 398 AD, Honorius allowed the monument to be destroyed only if this act was approved by the emperor<sup>44</sup> and was done for the restoration of the old monuments, the construction of roads or the repair of the aqueducts. The sources of *spolia* become the former pagan temples left to decay after declaring Christianity as the only religion in the empire and implicitly forbidding pagan cultures<sup>45</sup>. One of the first rescripts that allow the destruction of temples as a source for the acquisition of building materials is that of the 397, given in the Orient<sup>46</sup>. Since the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century similar rescripts have been given in the West as well. Former pagan temples become “an important measure for economic exploitation and the transfer, supervised by the authorities, to the use of the private owners.”<sup>47</sup>

However, monuments that did not have a religious function were protected: former theatres, forums, amphitheatres, etc. Since the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the practice of mending down monuments has already become out of control. The Imperial Authority has no choice but to accept but in a convinced way to maintain the discipline of *res publicae*. The act marking the legality of the phenomenon of despoil of public monuments is the *Nouela Maioriniani* from year 458.<sup>48</sup> This imperial edict permitted the destruction of any fallen public

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<sup>42</sup> CTh. 9.17.4: “*Idem a. ad populum. Qui aedificia manium uiolant, domus ut ita dixerim defunctorum, geminum uidentur facinus perpetrare, nam et sepultos spoliant destruendo et uiuos polluunt fabricando. Si quis igitur de sepulchro abstulerit saxa uel marmora uel columnas aliamue quamcumque materiam fabricae gratia siue id fecerit uenditurus, decem pondo auri cogatur inferre fisco: siue quis propria sepulchra defendens hanc in iudicium querellam detulerit siue quicumque alius accusauerit uel officium nuntiauerit. Quae poena praeae seueritati accedit, nihil enim derogatum est illi supplicio, quod sepulchra uiolantibus uidetur impositum. Huic autem poenae subiacebunt et qui corpora sepulta aut reliquias contrectauerint. Dat. id. iun. Mediolano Constantio a. VIII et Iuliano caes. II cons. (357 [356] iun. 13).*”

<sup>43</sup> Baldini Lipollis 2005, 226.

<sup>44</sup> CTh. 15.1.37: *Idem aa. Theodoro praefecto praetorio. Nemo iudicum in id temeritatis erumpat, ut inconsulta pietate nostra novi aliquid operis existimet inchoandum uel ex diversis operibus aeramen aut marmora uel quamlibet speciem, quae fuisse in usu uel ornatu probabitur ciuitatis, eripere uel alio transferre sine iussu tuae sublimitatis audeat. Etenim si quis contra fecerit, tribus libris auri multabitur. (398 ian. 1).*

<sup>45</sup> Saradi Mendelovici 1990, 100-102.

<sup>46</sup> CTh. 15.1: *Idem aa. Asterio comiti Orientis. Quoniam uias pontes, per quos itinera celebrantur, adque aquaeductus, muros quin etiam iuari provisus sumptibus oportere signasti, cunctam materiam, quae ordinata dicitur ex demolitione templorum, memoratis necessitatibus deputari censemus, quo ad perfectionem cuncta perueniant. Dat. kal. nov. Caesario et Attico cons. . (397 nov. 1).*

<sup>47</sup> Baldini Lipollis 2005, 221.

<sup>48</sup> *Nouela Maioriniani 4, De aedificiis publicis*: „Of course, if any building must be torn down for necessary considerations, for the public construction of another work or on account of the desperate need or repair [of another building]. We direct that such claim shall be alleged with the suitable documents before the Most August Order of the venerable Senate. When it has decreed, after deliberation, that this must be done, the matter shall be

building, in order to take up building materials and decorative elements. At the same time, it is worth noting the decrease of the imperial power in this sense. For the first time the emperor shares his prerogative and privilege with the Roman Senate.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, analysing the abuse of private owners toward public space in Late Antiquity we can observe an obvious change of mentality by comparison with the previous period. We can identify a weakened authority who failed to stop those practices and who is constrained to accept those phenomena. Also, we can observe that the state itself encouraged those practices by transferring the city income in *res privata* a measure that had as a consequence the fact that the local magistrates are obliged to destroy public monuments who lost their meaning, in the Late Roman urban world, and use *spolia* in order to rehabilitate and build new or old monuments. Local magistrates do not limit spoliation in rehabilitate city public buildings and used *spolia* in private purposes. The attitude of private owners toward public space shows us a change in mentality regarding urban landscape, a detachment for the Roman way of life.

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referred to the knowledge of Our Clemency, so that We may order that such building shall nevertheless be transferred to the adornment of another public work, if we should see that it can in no way be repaired, O Aemilianus, dearest and most beloved Father” (trans. Clyde Pharr 1952)

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# **BUREAUCRACY AS A NECESSARY EVIL: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CORRUPT BUREAUCRAT IN THE CARICATURES PUBLISHED IN THE ROMANIAN PRESS IN THE LATE 1940S AND 50S**

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## **Abstract:**

The Romanian communist regime used the press and the new centralized and controlled media system as the main propaganda tool, both to manipulate information, and to shape the beliefs, mentalities and behaviours. In this complex and mix of ideological instruments, an interesting place is occupied by the caricature. The drawing was used as an easier form to manipulate and which, through its artistic appearance, touch the emotional sphere, so it was considered as being more effective by having a stronger effect than the written texts. One of the subjects of the caricatures in the 50's, the bureaucrat, occupies a distinct place, being seen as a necessary evil, which must be controlled. Although it is placed next to the other enemies of the regime and considered corrupt, the bureaucrat is acknowledged as part of the administration and there is a constant struggle to control and to adapt it to the requirements of the regime, by constant criticism. The study is centred on a qualitative analysis of caricatures published in the late 1940s and during the 50s in the "Urzica" magazine and in the newspapers ("România Liberă" and "Informația Bucureștiului") used for propaganda.

**Keywords:** bureaucracy communism propaganda caricature press

## **Caricature and press in the first years of communism**

In the first decade of the communist regime, one of the issues to be addressed, in addition to applying the Soviet model was the need to identify themselves, a process that would be supported by propaganda. One of the most effective ways to impose a new vision among the people was relying on images whose message can be understood more easily and have a strong psychological impact. If the text was difficult to read or understand, caricature, presenting situations of everyday life appealed to the emotional side of people and thus could identify or can easily adopt ideas imposed by them. As has been observed in studies of caricature, is achieved unwritten agreement between author and reader, and "The satirist, either explicitly or implicitly, tries to sway us toward an ideal alternative, toward a condition

of what the satirist believes should be. It is assumed that the satirist has our best interests at heart and seeks improvement or reformation.”<sup>1</sup>

The caricature contains those behaviours or human types who have changed. The deconstruction of messages by analysing the symbols will be achieved by observing the images and the textual components that together create the dialogue between the public and the author and which are determined by the historical and social context. Of the three periodicals analysed the earliest, “România Liberă” was published illegally on January 28, 1943 and legally from August 23, 1944 to December 21, 1989, having the subtitle “patriotic newspaper, reportage, literary page” which from the beginning presents the ideological beliefs underlying it. “Informația Bucureștiului” is printed for the first time on July 28, 1953 with the subtitle “newspaper of the PMR City Committee Bucharest and the Popular Council of Bucharest”, which appears alongside “România Liberă” throughout the communist regime. The image offered by them is complemented by the magazine “Urzica”, which presents most of the creations of the artists who publish in the two newspapers and who promotes new authors and makes a curating description of the work of the artists who, over time, may undergo changes, the way it adapts to the ideological requirements of the regime. The magazine, edited by the Council of Culture and Socialist Education, printed at “Casa Scânteii”, appears from 1949 until the end of the communist regime, being the longest humour magazine, following the model of the Soviet magazine “Crocodile” (“the example of Soviet humour is ahead of us. On this line, the “Crocodile” magazine, which introduced a new spirit into satire, will be a good guide to us”<sup>2</sup>). As every post-World War II publication was funded by the state, regardless of its subordination to an institution or organization, and as the regime declared openly that the press was serving the Communist Party's interest, “Urzica” and the other newspapers analysed, had a propaganda program.

### **Caricature as an effective propaganda tool**

The ease with which the message of the graphic compositions was received was determined by the humour which they imply" A caricaturist's intent is often humorous and many caricatures are undoubtedly funny". The manner by which the humour, can cause fear or shame is the contrast that is made between, caricature's distortion and ideals of beauty and

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<sup>1</sup> Quintero 2006, 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Urzica" 1949, No. 1, 1.

proportion.<sup>3</sup> Most of time, caricature, being a comic satirical graphic composition will include demonstrations and exposure of human vices or follies in order to scorn or ridicule humans,<sup>4</sup> as noted in earlier attempts to define: "The term *caricature* has been employed to indicate exaggerated representation of the most characteristic features of persons or things, and, as noted, in a satirical manner".<sup>5</sup>

Using caricatures, especially for propaganda, meant a shift, presenting concepts human typologies and "It may also be a symbolic representation of a nations, political party, idea or social issue. The caricature does not aim *contemplative readers* but at passionate, stand-taking, mass reading publics".<sup>6</sup> The combination of imagery and inscription It is considered as a whole, with explanatory text, and sometimes contrast between image and text produce the comic effect. Therefore, "the words of caricaturists, either below their prints or coming out of the mouth of their subjects in balloons, helped to give their subjects life and natural reality."<sup>7</sup> During the Cold War was noted the importance of this graphic compositions, the caricaturist is one who knows the reality, but at the same time, he can change it "A caricaturist may sometimes represent the only informed critic of propaganda and he may create in opposition a counter image of reality."<sup>8</sup> And can create a feeling of accessibility to the subject by skilful manipulation of imagery and also by simply having the subjects "talking".

Caricature was present mainly in journalism and reflected in real time the tares and obsessions of the present and its repertoire includes those elements of representation which, by virtue of his nature, illustrate the most suggestive individual expression: hands, facial features, especially nose, eyes or mouth, clothing. Very important elements that will play a role in transmitting the message, appealing to emotion, as observed in other studies of this topic "The aim of these images is to provoke laughter, antipathy or even hatred of the topics addressed; In fact, the caricature had to urge the viewer to immediate critical reflection (and reaction)".<sup>9</sup> The reaction caused by the caricature is the one that plays an important role in shaping opinions, especially by repeating a limited number of topics.

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<sup>3</sup> Myers 1960, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Streicher 1967, 431.

<sup>5</sup> Ashbee 1928, 30.

<sup>6</sup> Streicher 1967, 433.

<sup>7</sup> George 1959, 437-438.

<sup>8</sup> Streicher 1967, 434.

<sup>9</sup> Mărginean and Fătu-Tutoveanu 2013, 703.

A study realized on the caricatures presented in a periodical publication of propaganda has advanced an explanation for the use of caricature, explaining that the "large number of caricatures printed in other periodicals, as *The Spark* could be a consequence of the high degree of illiteracy of the Romanian population in the early years of communism",<sup>10</sup> the image is therefore successful within a broader category of public.

The success that the caricature proved and propaganda in general in shaping opinion was expressed state control over the main media as Jacques Ellul theorizes the concept of total propaganda: "To make the organization of propaganda possible, the media must be concentrated, the number of news agencies reduced, the press brought under single control"<sup>11</sup>. This will achieve convergence of ideological texts and caricatures, as we will illustrate later in this study. So, they must therefore be read in the context of a particular communication between the politicians emitting a message transmitted through the controlled press and its recipients – the general public who had access to such images and which had a number of ideological expectations. Another factor to be considered is the identity markers of the population living within the newly configured spaces, as well as the way in which technological progress influences the semantic construction of messages<sup>12</sup>. And the force represented by the media is the ability to formulate attitudes: "The press tends more to shape general views; radio is likely to be an instrument of international action and psychological warfare, whereas the press is used domestically",<sup>13</sup> its messages being disseminated in specific groups.

The success the caricatures have is given by: "The highly-polarized and stereotyped visual rhetoric thus hides a complex mechanism of articulation and application of these self-image construction policies". Caricature is the one that translates for the great public understanding the ideology of the party, and „the limited number of periodicals, published but distributed extremely, with the purpose of popularizing the latest „orientations”.<sup>14</sup> Private opinion tends to become devalued where public opinion is organized by propaganda: "Individual opinion is without value or importance in a milieu and even in the individual himself as public opinion assumes greater authority and exercises more power."<sup>15</sup> Use of

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<sup>10</sup> Mărginean 2013, 43.

<sup>11</sup> Ellul 1965,102.

<sup>12</sup> Mărginean and Fătu-Tutoveanu 2013, 703.

<sup>13</sup> Ellul 1965,10.

<sup>14</sup> Mărginean and Fătu-Tutoveanu 2013, 717.

<sup>15</sup> Ellul 1965, 207.

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stereotypes, easily identifiable and assumed, makes caricatures appreciated by the public. In this period we notice and in the corrupt bureaucratic basis, as a result of studies of "laterite" at the beginning of the communist regime: "a radical antagonism between the recognisable elements defining the "self" (symbolised through keywords and key-images) and those, equally familiar through a process of simplification and repetition, defining the *enemy*."<sup>16</sup> Stereotypes are imposed and language including a limited number of topics, easily identifiable: "Media used standardized language and a limited number of themes, symbols, or characters, all easily recognizable. The Soviet-inspired propaganda mechanism had a local apparatus of the same origin behind it".<sup>17</sup>

### **Bureaucracy – general considerations**

About the concept of bureaucracy there were several approaches over time: "In nineteenth century, this word used in German language as 'bureaucratic' and then gradually it became known in English language as 'bureaucracy'. In France this term was used as negative side of bureaucracy as misuse of power."<sup>18</sup> For a more accurate sources analysis we refer to the concept of bureaucracy from the viewpoint of communist ideology, in order to have a broader view of the ideas that have shaped graphic compositions from the late 40s and 50s. The issue of bureaucracy appears wider explained after encountered references to Marx and Lenin suggesting that: "*the state* has been turned from *a state of bureaucrats* into *a state of armed workers*. Therefore, we observe the negative perception of bureaucracy that is perceived as a reminiscence of the old regime. State-building implies an administrative system and according to Marxist theorists: "Efficiency was the major part which took into account and soviet model was built upon bureaucracy".<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it came to a middle formula implying that bureaucrats were used by the regime on condition of their enrolment within the party and this model was also used by Eastern European communist countries."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Fătu-Tutoveanu 2011, 307-308.

<sup>17</sup> Mărginean and Fătu-Tutoveanu 2013, 702.

<sup>18</sup> Adhikary 2016, 233.

<sup>19</sup> Miliband 1970, 310.

<sup>20</sup> Adhikary 2016, 233-234.

### **The corrupt bureaucrat - from ideology to imagery**

The *bureaucrat* theme, as we shall see, appeared both in caricatures and in the speeches of this period. Thus, in the volume of speeches supported by Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, published in 1955, there are many references from which there were selected a part to compare with the published caricatures, which, after having made samples, we obtained 50 images, from which 12 are analysed in this study. After the first references to bureaucrats that appeared around 1948, the number of cartoons increased in the 50's, and the relevance of the theme for the studied period is also determined by the numerous references in the volume published in 1955 in which it is sustained the "style and methods of revolutionary work, a struggle against its return, routine and bureaucracy".<sup>21</sup>

The bureaucrat is portrayed from the first issue of the journal "Urzica" (Figure 1). We see in the foreground two characters who write nervously in the registers, and behind we see piles of files. Their dialogue confirms the idea of bureaucrat as a representative of the negative reminiscences of the old regime, which, without reasoning, continues to work and has no ability or does not want to adapt to the new regime. The flies present in this space become a symbol that attributes them profoundly negative qualities. In other caricatures (Figure 2), the facial expression of the characters is used to suggest the negative intentions of the characters that are often confirmed by the text that accompanies the drawing. The bureaucrat becomes the enemy inside the state that opposes knowingly, this time, and who wants to conceal the evidence of his deeds.

During the end of the 40's and then in the 50's, we will see antagonistic structures between the working class, which is the essence of the regime and the other categories that represent the external enemy (the representatives of the Western society) and the internal enemy, the farmer or the bureaucrat, as part of the old administrative system. The caricatures (Figure 3) portray accountants who present absurd demands to the worker. From the clothing of the characters we observe two typologies: on the one hand we find the worker, characterized by the willingness to carry out his activity and showing his sincerity through the hands that we can see and on the other hand the accountant is represented as a character wishing to hide his intentions and who can not carry out his work without the presence of files, and plans.

Although the caricatures often include references to assuming the change or abolishing of bureaucratic system (posters or texts written on objects contain the message: "Down with

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<sup>21</sup>Gheorghiu- Dej 1955, 573.

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the bureaucracy”), the bureaucrat is the one who continues to work (Figure 4). The file is an element that appears mostly in caricatures and represents the uselessness of their approach. They are also those that contain evidence against their actions. The signature, the symbol of legitimacy, is obtained without declaring their intentions (“Finally, I have the last signature for burning the files”).<sup>22</sup>

After a year since the appearance of “Urzica”, the enemies of the regime were identified, which were fought within the magazine (Figure 5): the capitalist, the landowner and the bureaucrat. The caricature is built on the opposition of the representatives of the new regime, illustrated in the upper side of the image: the symbol of the nettle, the magazine and the postman who brings letters to the magazine and the regime's enemies, representatives in the lower side. Caricature, beyond the exaggerated features particularly expressive, also appeals to compositional elements that indicate us the hierarchy of the characters in the picture.

During the 50`s, the bureaucrat remained in the caricatures' attention, being a necessary evil, without which the regime could not function because they were part of the administrative apparatus. The need for the regime to control it is suggested both at the discursive level, but also through the drawings. On the front page of “Urzica” magazine appears, therefore, the new bureaucrat proposed by the regime, which has many features similar to the representations of the worker, with strong arms. The tied files have a dual representation in this case. On the one hand, it is suggested the need for control that the regime exerts on the bureaucratic apparatus or on the other hand the renunciation of the old bureaucrats, the archiving of the old methods. The control of bureaucrats, including those coming from the party, is supported, as the bureaucracy itself is the one that can corrupt the individual.

”It should not be forgotten that alongside old bureaucrats, inherited by us from the state and economic apparatus of bourgeois-landowners, new bureaucrats have emerged. It is the people who, although out of the ranks of the working people, being put into work of lesser or greater responsibility, they broke up, broke the masses, and became infected by the cursed illness of bureaucracy and indifference to what it concerns the working man in his work and in his life all days ”.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> “Urzica”, 15 April 1949, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Gheorghiu-Dej 1955, 612.

In "România Liberă", the concept of "bureaucracy" is illustrated (Figure 9). We see how bureaucrats work from the perspective of the regime. A volleyball game is very suggestively built where the ball, the object of the game, is the worker and his request, and the players are different representatives of the bureaucratic system. Those who support the game, having a static role, are inactive and virtually useless in this system are those who are at the top of the hierarchy: the assistant manager and the inspector, and the players who illustrate several categories of bureaucrats are those whose simple debt seems to be the one to give up their responsibility for others.

A problem, remarked at the discursive level, is the shortening of the connections between the people who are beginning to be engaged by the communist system, the peasants and the representatives of the administration, the bureaucrats, who do not do their duty. A caricature published in autumn of 1956 (Figure 10) features two characters, the bureaucrat and the snowman. On the one hand, we note that the bureaucrat in an ostentatious posture falsely presents the situation on the ground and is similar to the character in the film "The Lying Girl", released in 1956 under the direction of Ion Popescu-Gopo, who, as explained in the text that accompanies the drawing ("version of the film *The Lying Girl*. Her nose is growing when she lies"<sup>24</sup>), grows her nose when she lies and on the other hand we have the snowman that represents the idea of agriculture, it is a character that brings together the symbol of snow that is the one that helps the harvest, but also the one who symbolizes the peasants, who are protected by him.

"The infiltration of these hostile elements has resulted hostile and hostile manifestations of the party's line and directives : use of violence against midfield peasants, support take the villages of the so-called good housekeepers, that is to say, the trolls, the liquidator's line of the small craftsman and the small private trader, liberalism and reconciliation towards the class enemy. Finally, the presence of enemy elements in the party was manifested in the practice of some foreign methods in the organs' activity of the party: criticism and self-criticism, methods of command, the collapse of collective labour, bureaucracy and mass isolation, etc."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *România Liberă*, 13 October 1956, Vol. XIV, No. 3737

<sup>25</sup> Gheorgiu-Dej 1955, 313-314.



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The plot against the responsibilities of the regime, against the progress, in favour of personal needs is another side of the corrupt bureaucrat, the opposite of the new man, he is interested in personal projects, and he is lazy and dedicates his time to unnecessary activities, unlike the worker who is dedicated to collective goals and values. The inspector (Figure 11), being part of the bureaucratic apparatus, is the one who plots with the other and does not respect the regime's responsibility to control the bureaucratic activity. "I'm glad that even at your office is a perfect discipline: everyone stands in his place and works".<sup>26</sup>

The proposed solution is constant control and removal of those who have been corrupted by bureaucracy:

"On the occasion of verification, a number of party activists and from state apparatus have been removed from their functions as inappropriate, bureaucrats, people who broke the masses, etc. Instead their number has been promoted a few tens of thousands of elements young, honest, verified"<sup>27</sup>.

The hierarchy within the bureaucratic apparatus and, above all, the characters at the top of the hierarchy aren't agreed by the regime, since their work presents the temptations of the capitalist regime (exploitation of their subordinate). It is suggested in the text that accompanies the graphic composition, where are joined together two opposing concepts "comrade" (representative for the communist regime) and "chief" (representative for the capitalism): "Comrade Chief, your support for work ... overwhelms me".<sup>28</sup> Although the bureaucrat is the one who ideologically opposes progress, he is the emblematic character of the communist period, he is the representative of the administration and of the party whose behavioural patterns have been shaped in this period and today are seen as specific to the communist world, although at the beginning of the communist period his powers were denied and he was considered an enemy of the system: "The struggle against bureaucracy must be fought in all sectors of activity [...] because bureaucracy is the enemy any progress, the enemy of everything new, the suppressor of all initiatives and the creative momentum of the working people".<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> *Informația Bucureștiului*, 3 February 1956, Vol. III, No. 780

<sup>27</sup> Gheorghiu-Dej 1955, 316.

<sup>28</sup> *Informația Bucureștiului*, 1 June 1956, Vol. III, No. 981

<sup>29</sup> Gheorghiu-Dej 1955, 611.

## Conclusions

Along with topics which have had been numerous studies dedicated to (the external enemy represented by capitalist society and internal enemy represented by the landowner a category that was not discussed, the bureaucrat, represents a new point of view regarding the first years of communism. Although an superficial interpretation, without resorting to text ideological texts indicates that the State shifts its responsibility on individuals, therefore it appears that is using them as scapegoats to explain failures, the bureaucrat theme is rooted much deeper, which we identify and in the works of Lenin, and in the speeches of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. Although in the case of internal or external enemies proposed by the regime we notice their removal from the communist society, in the case of the bureaucrat we observe the delegation of responsibilities and its presence in the administrative apparatus.

Although it is placed next to the regime's enemies, the bureaucrat is presented distinctly, being seen as a necessary evil, but must be controlled more rigorously, which is why we observe the critical constant towards inappropriate computations. As it is seen as a reminiscence of the capitalist society, the bureaucrat is corrupted by the system it originates from, so the bureaucrat's representations often contained defects that were considered to be specific to the other: corruption, laziness. This statement can also be found in the pages of the magazines that publish caricatures: "Hence a warning: lazy people, liars, arrogant, bureaucrats, booters, partisans, panicars, thorns, svoniltii, baldness, servile, and others will be desoiled in our columns".<sup>30</sup>

The presence of bureaucrat representations in caricatures has made it through its visual character and the ability to effectively convert political and social messages into a language accessible to a broader and more heterogeneous audience, the caricature has taken over part of the task of dialogue between authority and the masses. Faced with recent historiography through power relations, and implicitly social engineering, the images thus constructed acted solely in the sense of reconfiguring social structures; but, as a rule, in favour of those who had formulated ideology. And the artists engaged in this case have become the bearers of the political project.<sup>31</sup> Thus, from the first pages of the magazine "Urzica", we notice the laughter considered as an ideological weapon: "We believe in the value of combat weapon of laughter.

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<sup>30</sup> "Urzica" 1949, No. 1, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Mărginean and Fătu-Tutoveanu 2013, 704.

## Bureaucracy As A Necessary Evil: Representations Of The Corrupt Bureaucrat In The Caricatures Published In The Romanian Press In The Late 1940s And 50s

To capture the evils, mistakes, weaknesses in their caricature and satirical aspect – but not devoid of reality - and their public enunciation, that is what we propose to do”.<sup>32</sup>

The caricatures success in the imposition of opinions is the use of scenes from everyday life that will stir the laughter of the reader and are used to be shared in social groups: „Laughter must meet certain requirements of shared life, laughter must have a social significance”,<sup>33</sup> as has been argued in the theories of laughter. And the way laughter manages to impose new opinions is explained by the incongruity theories claiming that ”humour arises from the perception of an incongruity between a set of expectations and what is actually perceived.”<sup>34</sup> The public perceives this and places the two proposed caricature typologies: the negative model, which is presented in the compositions and the ideal model that is suggested in opposition to the presented situation. So laughter works within society above all, as a correction. Made to humble, he has to give the person who serves as an object an awful impression and laughter would not achieve its purpose if it bears the mark of sympathy and goodness.<sup>35</sup>

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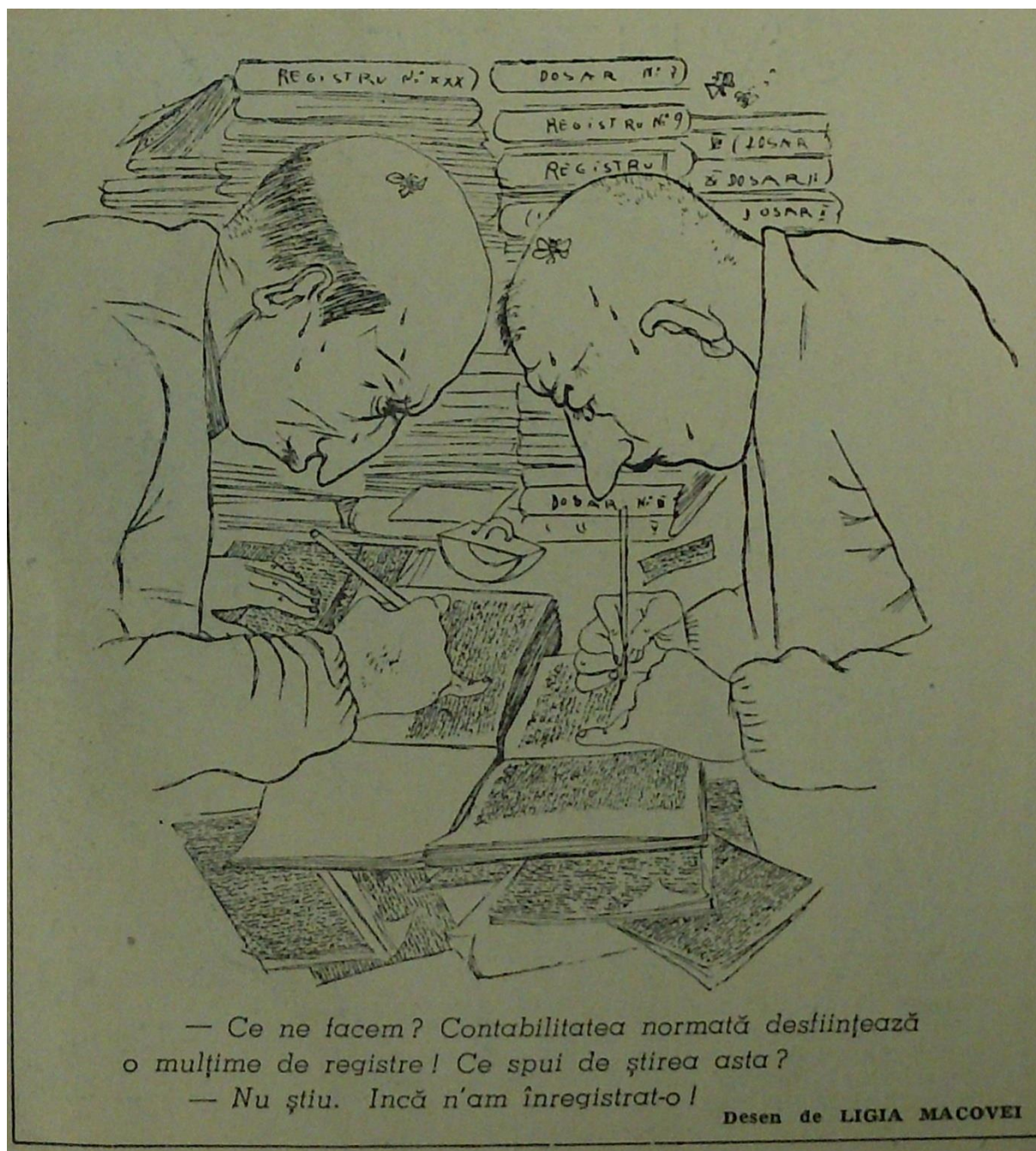
<sup>32</sup> ”Urzica” 1949, No. 1, 1.

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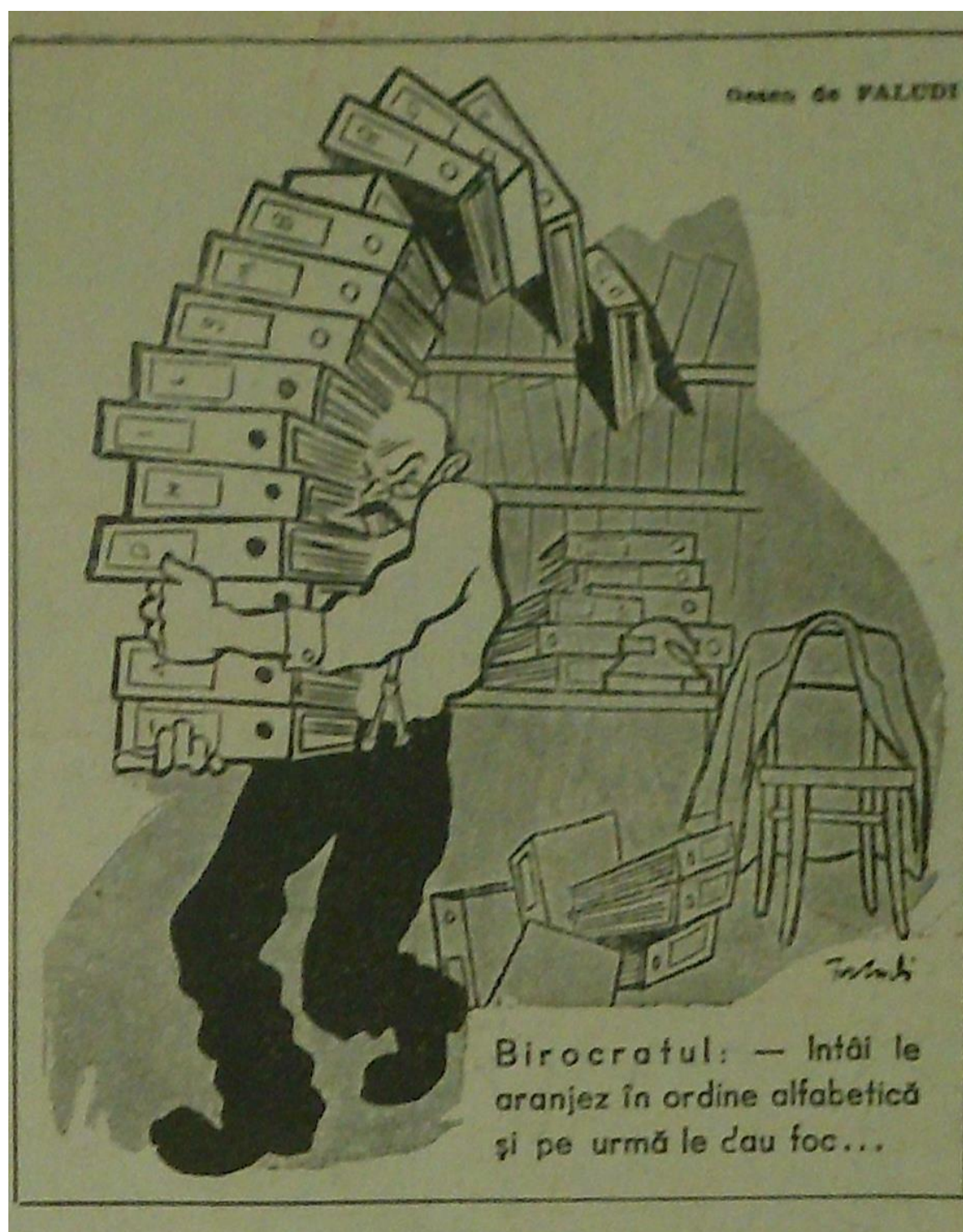
**Figure 1**

“What are we going to do? Regular accounting abolishes a lot of registers. What do you say about this?”

“I do not know. I did not record it yet!” (Drawing by Ligia Macovei)

*Urzica*, February 1, 1949, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 7.

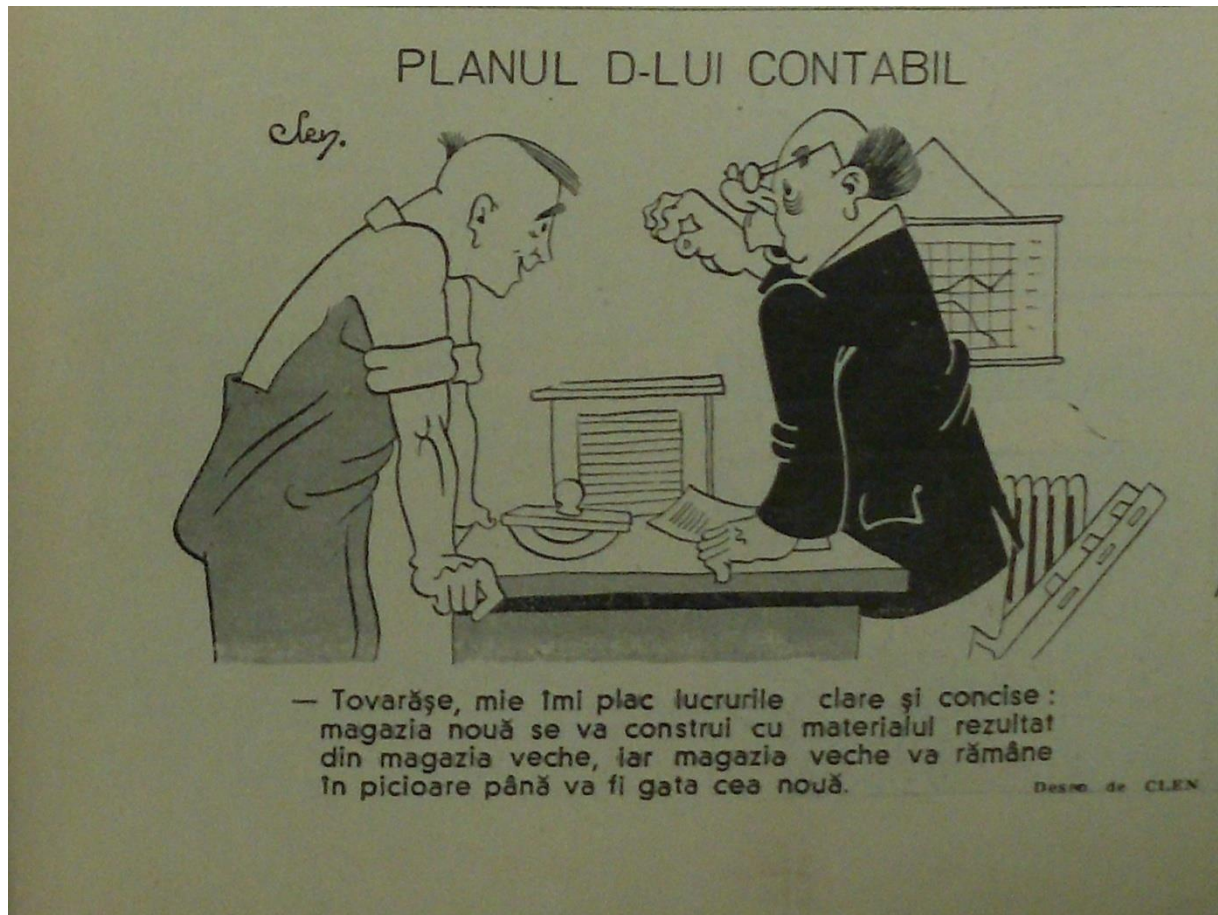




**Figure 2**

The bureaucrat: “First I put them in alphabetical order and then fire them ...”

*Urzica*, March 1949, Vol. I No. 2, p. 15.



**Figure 3**

Mr. Accountant's plan

“Comrades, I like the things that are clear and concise: the new stowage will be built with the material of the old stowage, and the old stowage will stand until the new one is ready.”

(Drawing by Clen)

*Urzica*, April 6, 1949, Vol. I, No. 5, p. 11.





**Figure 4**

“Finally, I have the last signature for burning the files” (Drawing by I. Darie)

*Urzica*, April 15, 1949, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 7.





**Figure 5**

THE REACTION - “I knew that the nettles are to be eaten cooked, but this nettle is eating us roasted!” (Drawing by Nell Cobar)

*Urzica*, February 5, 1950, Vol. II, No. 25, p. 3.



**Figure 6**

Bureaucratic issues

Citizen: “If I do not wake him up, I would have to come tomorrow; if I wake him, he tells me to come tomorrow. What to do? ... ” (Drawing by T. Negrea)

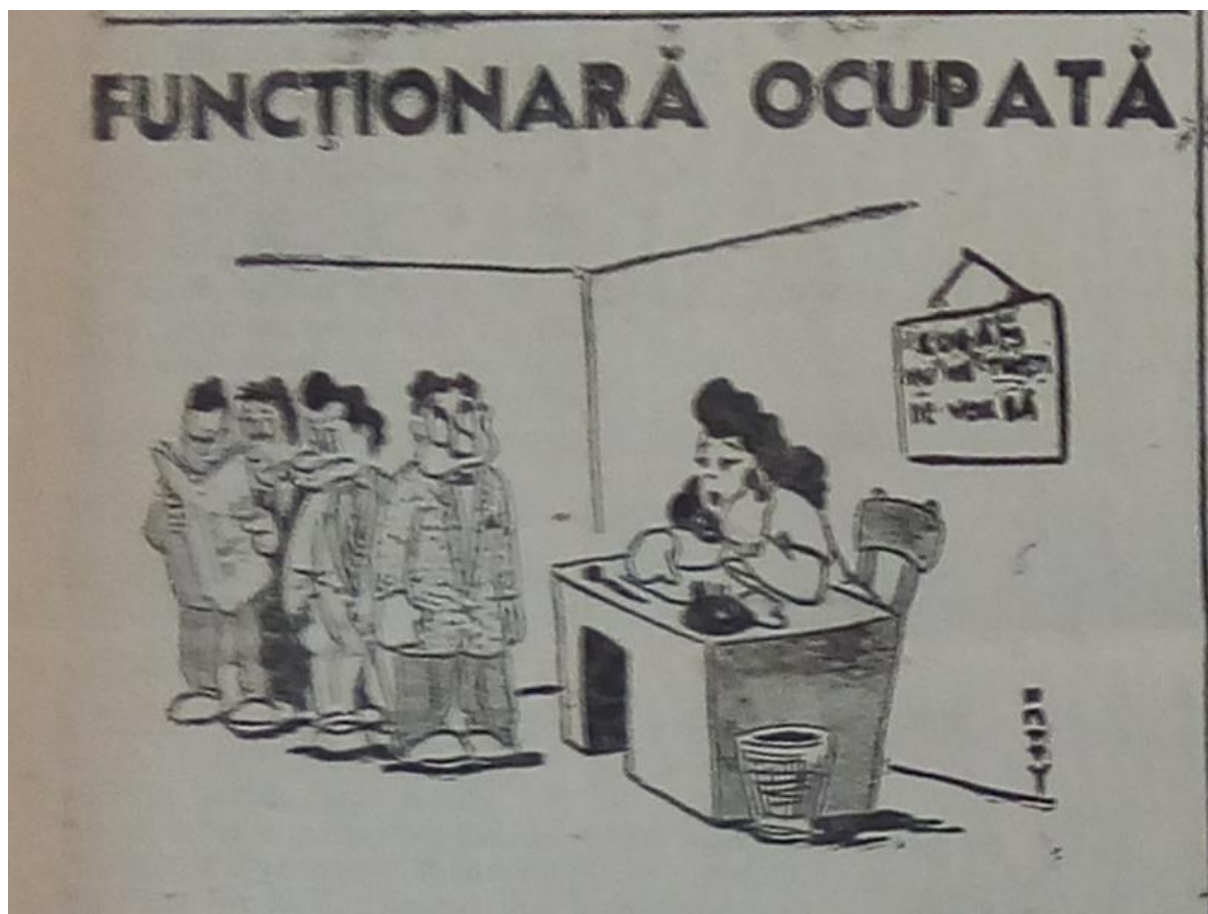
*Urzica*, April 16, 1950, Vol. II, No. 29, p. 14.





**Figure 7**

*Urzica*, May 18, 1952, Vol. IV, No. 75, p. 1.

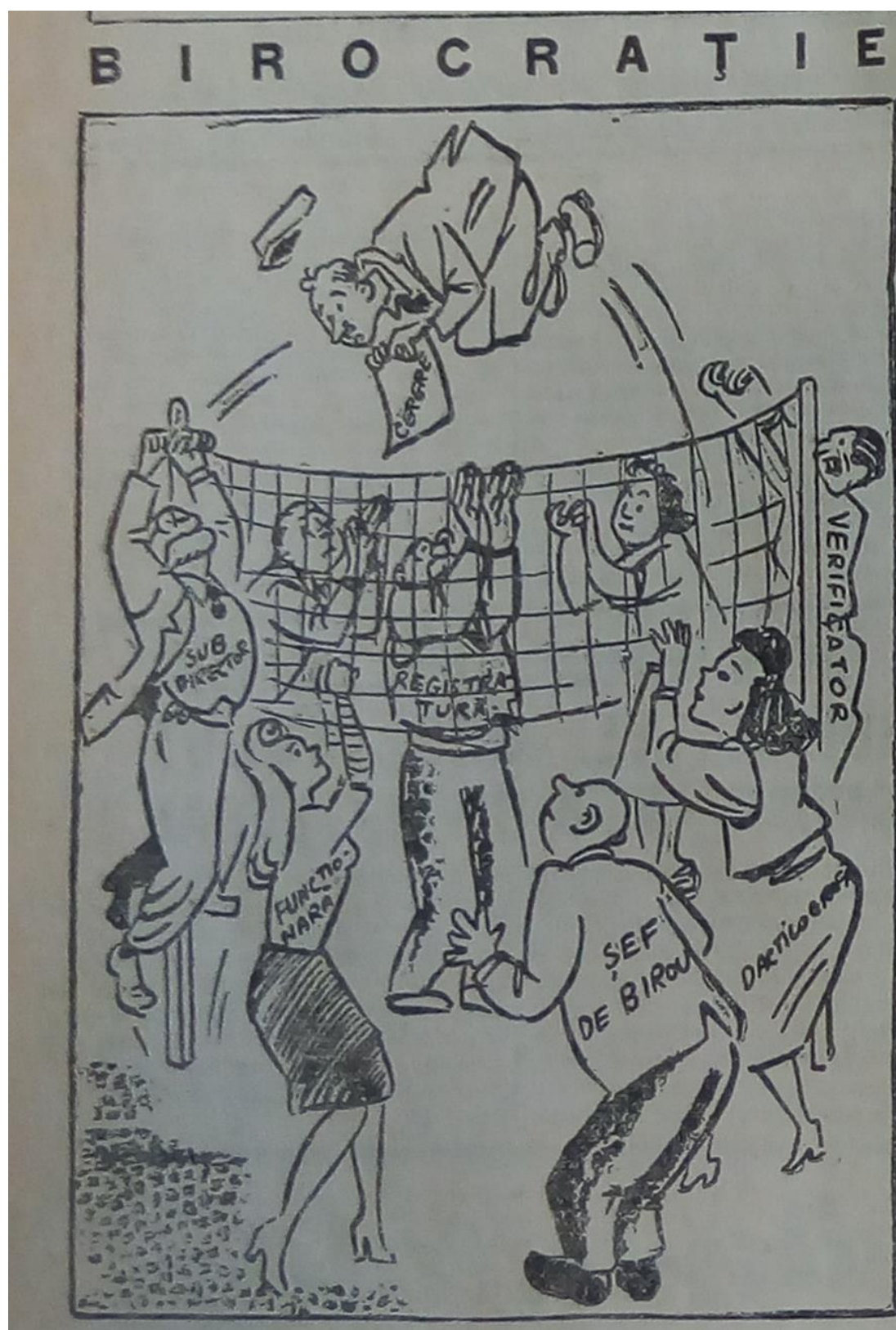


**Figure 8**

The busy functionary

*România Liberă*, June 21, 1948, Vol. IV, No. 1175.





**Figure 9**

Bureaucracy

*România Liberă*, December 5, 1948, Vol. IV, No. 1318, p. 8.



**Figure 10**

The snowman: -How do you handle your sowing?

The bureaucrat: Well!... (Drawing by Gh. Chiriac)

*România Liberă*, October 13, 1956, Vol. XIV, No. 3737.





**Figure 11**

Inspection... Inspector: "I'm glad that even at your office is a perfect discipline: everyone stands in his place and works" (Drawing by Geta Brătescu)

*Informația Bucureștiului*, February 3, 1956, Vol. III, No. 780.



**Figure 12**

Comrade Chief, your support for work ... overwhelms me, (Drawing by Constantin Cazacu)

*Informația Bucureștiului*, June 1, 1956, Vol. III, No. 981.



# NEW LIFE SONGS IN THE PROCESS OF BUILDING A SOCIALIST IDEAL - AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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## Abstract:

In the years of communism, folklore has stood for an important propagandistic instrument for remodelling the thought patterns of the masses. Censorship tucked away any form of creation that was not in accordance with the process of building socialism. My approach proposes a critical analysis, from an anthropological perspective on the setting up of new life songs and a representation of how folklore was used for propaganda purposes in the years of communism.

**Key words:** new folklore, new life songs, propaganda, socialism, censorship.

After the Second World War, once the political regime established in Romania required the use of instruments to support ideas, popular culture became a victim, to be used intensely as an instrument in propagandistic support of the new authorities.

After the *Casa Centrală a Creației Populare* was founded in 1953, following the soviet pattern, the number of amateur artistic musical groups whose members were simple men from different social contexts, workers and peasants grew. The *Casa Centrală a Creației Populare* organised this type of artistic movement stimulating new folkloric creation in line with the spirit of those years.

Propagandistic instruments were to be found in each county where branches, “dance groups, choirs and music formations had been built in all villages”.<sup>1</sup> Through the establishment of the national contest “Cântarea României”, a new tool was created later, facilitated by an immense competition which brought to the stage different segments of traditional culture with the purpose of “substituting professional art with an amateur, alternative art form accessible to the general audience whose themes could be imposed or led from the centre.” This resulted in “the coverage of habits and their transformation into consumption products” in a perpetual

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<sup>1</sup> Eretescu 2007, 244.

spectacle often emptied of substance. The ritual of the Căluș ends up on stage increasingly often, beyond ritualistic context of the holiday that made it famous, Rusaliile, although this is not a singular case.

The constant coverage of tradition, songs and dances between 1947 and 1989 led to the appearance of a new occupation, that of „professional in transforming popular tradition into spectacle”.<sup>2</sup> However, more elements were necessary to attract masses in a process of building socialism. Thus began the new folklore, popularised either through poetry or through new life songs imposed to consecrated singers or amateurs to grant them their presence on stage or possible recordings on Radio and Television. Nothing passed the filter of censorship. Each poem, each lyric was closely studied such that nothing forbidden could sneak in, such that no substrate existed nor anything that could damage the ideological construction. By Decree no. 301/1971, the State Council decided to set up the Council of Culture and Socialist Education (CCES), which replaced the State Committee for Culture and Art, subordinate to all committees of socialist culture and education, thus controlling the activities of cultural houses, libraries, community cultural centres, The National Centre for Cinematography, the Editorial Centre. Six years later, in November, the Decree no. 442 of the State Council, issued as a result of the decisions of the CC Plenary of the PCR of 28-29 June 1977, the CCES was reorganized, and in December the same year there were introduced a series of regulations aimed at the control of mass communication. In this context, several decrees have been developed to abolish some institutions and to limit the activity of others. By Decree no. 471/1977 the Law on Press was amended, and by Decree no. 472/1977, the State Committee for Press and Prints was abolished. The series of acts regards the reorganization of the Romanian Radio Television (by Decree 473/1977), and the Romanian Press Agency, *Agerpres* (by Decree 474/1977).

In this way, censorship increased its control, emphasizing the supremacy of the party, and the presidents of the Council of Culture and Socialist Education - Dumitru Popescu, called “God”, Miu Dobrescu and Suzana Gâde<sup>3</sup> contributed easily to the purpose, being simultaneously members of the Council of Ministers. Since 1977, the Village Museum, the Museum of Art of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the History Museum of the Socialist Republic of

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<sup>2</sup> Cuisenier 2005, 95.

<sup>3</sup> See the article *Ghiveciul propagandistic comunist, iluzia libertății și șopârlele studentești*, written by Călin Hentea, online <https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/ghiveciul-propagandistic-comunist-iluzia-libertatii-si-soparlele-studentesti>, site accessed at 18.01.2017

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Romania have been entered under the coordination of the CCES. The latter institution controlled the creation in the field of literature and arts, as well as the elaboration of the repertoires of the theatres and all the art institutions. The whole activity had to resonate with the “ideological and artistic orientation of the national cinematographic production and the broadcasting of the film in the country, according to the cultural policy of the party and state”.<sup>4</sup> The censorship of this Decree does not stop here, but controls the activity of publishers and performers by making “lists of newspapers and publications, broadcasting and publishing houses available to ministries and other central bodies provided by law, including the categories of data and information which, according to the law, are forbidden to be published”. The same decree established the National Festival of Socialist Culture “The Song of Romania” (*Cântarea României*), defined by law as “a broad educational, political-ideological, cultural and artistic expression of creation and interpretation meant to enrich and diversify the spiritual life of the country, to increase the contribution of the creative genius of the Romanian people to the national and universal cultural heritage”.

In an article I published in *Jurnalul National* in 2008, the interpreter Mihai Constantinescu confessed that towards 1986 when he launched the song “Up on the hill there is a house” (“Sus în deal e-o casă”), his song was forbidden for an year and a half:

*“It had (...) an immense success but it was also unfortunate that, since it was at the end of The Golden Age, some people had started calling me and asking «Fellow Constantinescu, when you wrote the text “Up on the hill there is a house” and there’s my love? Who? Fellow Elena Ceausescu? Why “Up on the hill” where the People’s House is being built, where is she?!» And I told them: «Good people, I did not even think about it! I was at the countryside, visiting friends, and their house was placed right where the hill began and a little higher, on the top of the hill, in a house lived a woman. I do not know if she slept standing, but so small was the house. She was a lonely woman who worked and*

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<sup>4</sup> Decree no. 442/1977 on the organization and functioning of the Council of Culture and Socialist Education, a text published in the *Official Monitor* of Romania, on November 28, 1977.

*mind ed her business, but that image, with the beautiful green hill and the wooden house inspired me, and... I wrote the text»”.*<sup>5</sup>

Certainly, every époque left its mark on popular creation, on ways of mirroring in song the joys and sorrows of the times that people experienced. Thus, we were left with confessions through time, ballads of inestimable value, epic songs that built historical settings and battles whose heroes benefited from immortalising important moments from the glory of brave combats that they led, old “stories” that are still told with passion by elderly folk men today. The years of Communism under the “Empire” of Censorship brought to attention other types of songs, agreed by those who listened to them for being advised or forbidden.

In this paper, I took into account an analysis the way in which the Literature (especially *Revista de Folclor*) presented propagandistic elements by studying a series of works (written sources, online and audio documents using the YouTube channel for the last category), which reflects the attempt of the folklorists to fulfil their duty in the years of restraint, without resorting to the imposed forms of control. At the same time, I will emphasize some aspects of the perception of the new type of events after 1989 from the point of view of the testimonies of those who “crossed, in different ways, with the censorship”.

As the political regime changed and socialism was quickly implemented, there were thousands of community centres in the villages of Romania already. The bases were installed by the Romanian Cultural Foundation „Prince Carol” (Fundăția Culturală Regală “Principele Carol”) by applying the method first established by Dimitrie Gusti, who structured the direction of activity of these village settlements, through the speech known as “Chezășia unei munci rodnice: Căminul cultural” (“The Guaranty of productive work: the Community Cultural Centre”).<sup>6</sup> The Gusti’s idea, however, had nothing to do with the fanatical direction that he had acquired in the communist years later, but was a way to implement the Social Service, which had on one hand a sanitary side (pharmacy, dispensary, maternity, bathroom), an economic side

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<sup>5</sup> *Cenzura*, article published in *Jurnalul Național*, by Luminița Ciobanu, disponibil online: <http://jurnalul.ro/editie-de-colectie/mihai-constantinescu-11-august-2008/cenzura-316296.html>, site accessed at 12 aprilie 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Hîmpă, Laura Rodica, *Din activitatea Fundăției Culturale Regale «Principele Carol» 1922-1948, documente de arhivă*, in “*Studii de Biblioteconomie și Știința Informării*”, no. 18/2014/Library and Information Science Research, No 18/2014, p. 56-67. The author takes into consideration the data published in the book *Cartea Echipelor*, edited by Fundăția Culturală Regală “Principele Carol”, București, 1937.

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(including agricultural tools, cooperatives, etc.) and also a cultural side (a festive hall, a conference hall, a radio, a library, a museum, workshops). Thus, in 1934, 419 Cultural Centres were functional, “and in four years, in 1938, their number got to 2034”, as Hîmpă sustains.

As the mass gatherings were there before the war, amateur artistic movements, coordinated by instructors who were responsible for implementing the directives arrived from the “Centre”, were easy to set up. But not all of them went smoothly, but there were also „template” moments criticised by folklorists in the Folklore Magazine (*Revista de Folclor*), through the voice of Mihai Pop (a researcher who, during the communist regime in the 1970s, is - without any doubt - a genuine folklorist of outstanding scientific value):<sup>7</sup>

*„The artistic movement of amateurs is an important factor in today's cultural life of our people. It increases with the rise of the cultural level of the people, not only in numbers, but also in the quality of achievements. (...) But along with the true achievements and courageous endeavours whose enumeration may be continued, either phenomena that diminish the efficiency of the movement and prevent its development have emerged either locally or in general. We only observe a few related to the development of folklore. After years of activity, some teams have reached patterns, stereotyped formulas that kill what is essential to any activity in search of new ways to express. (...) The template hides a lack of courage and, in a strange way, the lack of courage was also present in the promotion of the new and in the valorisation of tradition. It undoubtedly comes from much confusion still related to tradition, its renewal and the rise of new forms of folklore (...).”*

In an earlier article Pop underlined the fact that “the artistic movement of amateurs is an important factor in today's cultural life of our people. It increases with the rise of the cultural level of the people, not only in numbers, but also in the quality of achievements”.<sup>8</sup> In the same article, the author admitted that:

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<sup>7</sup> Pop and Ruxăndoiu 1976.

<sup>8</sup> Pop, 1956, 308-309.

*“(...) alongside true achievements and courageous attempts whose enumeration may continue to occur, either phenomena that diminish the efficiency of the movement and prevent its development have occurred either locally or in general. We only note a few about the development of folklore. After years of activity, some teams have reached patterns, stereotyped formulas that kill what is essential to any activity in search of new forms of expression. (...) The template hides a lack of courage and in a strange way the lack of courage was also evident in the promotion of the new and the valorisation of tradition. It undoubtedly comes from the confusions still related to tradition, its renewal and the emergence of new forms in folklore (...)”.*

The contests were held with thousands of contestants, as Tiberiu Alexandru mentions in his rubric „Folklore and cultural life”,<sup>9</sup> recalling the participation of 150 artistic formations of all kinds – not only traditional music or dance groups – in which more than 6.000 amateur artists competed, throughout the five days of the manifestation organised between the 16th and 20th of August in 1959, “from early in the morning until late at night (...) with songs, poetry and dances”. The folklorist appreciated the new “forms of popular art”:

*„The Popular Orchestra (...) has a different form compared to the taraf (small folk music ensemble), and the bands with traditional specific instruments are new forms, barely ever seen in the past. Songs performed on several voices are also new, practiced by some of the folk instrumental ensembles, intertwining of the whistles with the voice of the people is also a new concept, in the ingenious ensembles, the processing our old popular dances, for the needs of the audience.”*

The performance becomes the focus, gains priority and develops under new forms in a new context. The role of the “*brigăzile artistice de agitație*” is highlighted in the same article (at the pages 78-79):

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<sup>9</sup> Alexandru 1959, 75.

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*„(...) the younger formations of our artistic movement of amateurs must become the genuine context of popular creation. The new and old folklore provides plentiful materials, forms and types of processing and exploitation. An array of the “brigăzi artistice de agitație” – especially from the rural space – uses folklore on a large scale, while at the same time these bands prove themselves to be important means of popularising of the new creation. The militant character these artistic formations must maintain in their struggle for the establishment of socialism requires a considerable attention that the responsible institutions must ensure.”*

The cooperative, the fieldwork, the plant, the overrunning of the production quotas and other such themes, all for the creation of socialism, grew with every day that passed. One of the tasks of folklorists had become the research of the „popular creation” of the working class.

The newspaper “Scântea” published a series of measures presented by Nicolae Ceaușescu, imposed on the executive committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR), which apparently did not lack the propaganda direction for building the multilaterally developed socialist society, „For the improvement of political-ideological activity, of Marxist-Leninist education of party members, of all working people”<sup>10</sup> on its first page on July 7, 1971. Thus, emphasis was placed on removing programs and productions that cultivated “ideas and principles foreign to philosophy and morals” PCR, or “the bourgeois way of life and harmful mentalities for the youth’s education”, stating that “radio and television will stimulate the creation of revolutionary and patriotic songs, songs of the workers, as well as their dissemination in the masses, organising, in this manner, creative and interpreting contests, special performances etc.” The performing arts – theatre, opera, ballet repertoires – were based on “original, militant, revolutionary creation”, and “the county and municipal party committees are responsible for the correct orientation of repertoires of professional artistic performances, as well as those of cultural houses and community centres”. At the same time, the editorial and book productions were drastically controlled to fit “even more to the demands of communist

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<sup>10</sup> Scântea 1971, 1.

education, to a greater extent”. These principles<sup>11</sup> were bringing to the attention of the masses some productions of exaggerated festive character, by promoting the personality cult and a type of folk politicized at the highest intensity. Up until the appearance of this directive when the new creation was strengthened through songs dedicated to the beloved ruler, several essays have been published containing a series of so called „new songs”, the first of which was published even before 1959, with its appearance singled by „*Revista de Folclor*” in a review signed by A. Vicol:

*„The initiative of editing of new popular songs must be met with eagerness. The lack of such a collection has long been felt in our cultural life. Although the Folklore Institute gathered and studied the new creation of songs from the very beginning of its activity, along the anthologies published so far, it is the first to reveal a plethora of popular songs created after the liberation of our people from under the fascist domination. (...) If from the beginning the new folk creation spontaneously responds to all events in the people's life, it participates in all the struggles and records all its victories on the road to the removal of the bourgeois-heirloom order and the establishment of the regime of popular democracy in the second phase, the process of renewal gains increasing proportions and manifests itself multilaterally in music, dance and folk literature, embracing the content, form and function of folk acts. While since the beginning new popular creation continuously responds to virtually all events in the life of the nation, takes part in all struggles and officialise all its victories on the road to eliminating the bourgeois social structure and establishments of the democratic popular regime, in the second phase, the renewal process becomes increasingly widespread and manifests itself across multiple domains, in music, dance and popular literature, embracing content, form and function of folklore alike (...) New folklore is a reflection of changes in the life and mentality of the people, and simultaneously, an element that actively contributes of these change developing itself through a complex dialectic process. In this process of historical growth, some creations disappear others undergo innumerable successive transformations. (...) The*

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<sup>11</sup> These principles were stated by Nicolae Ceausescu in the “Theses of July 1971” (Proposals for measures to improve the politico-ideological activity of Marxist-Leninist education of Party members, of all working people).



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*content and even the technique of artistic accomplishment change. (...) Moving on to the analysis of the themes of new songs, the authors show that in the second stage of its development, the essential themes are: the love of one's own nation and the political party, the freedom from exploitation, the gratefulness towards the Soviet Union, the fight for peace, the new attitude towards work, themes related to the socialist development of our culture, etc."*<sup>12</sup>

A series of lyrics are exemplified regarding the „enthusiasm of creationist work filled with zeal and perspective”, the author of the review states that „reading either of the text, the impression of deep emotion, of a warm love for this new life is spontaneously generated:

*“on the tractor we shall work/ And surpass the plan/ Work to surpass the plan/  
And a child before next year/ And in the years to come/ Bear me darling more  
children/ From two to make big handymen/ And from the others scribes/ The girl,  
when she grows old/ I shall make her a proud weaver/ To work and to love them/  
The great country to serve./ Long live the Republic/ For it is my country and  
yours!” (...)*

*“Joy, joy/ How dear you are to me/ Like dew on white flowers/ And like my  
darling on holidays/ Apple tree branch/ I am joyful and happy/ For together here  
people work hard/ Like the ant in its hillock/ And they have bread on their tables/  
And a bottle of wine/ And once again green leaves of walnut tree/ A lot of joy they  
carry,/ And I have found it, sincerely/ In the middle of the field/ The gift of  
collectivity.”*<sup>13</sup>

Under the new directives, the access of foreign researchers was obviously restricted. Katherine Verdery, professor of anthropology at City University in New York, and author of many papers dedicated to Romania during the communist regime, emphasizes in an interview

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<sup>12</sup> Vicol 1959, 117-118.

<sup>13</sup> Vicol 1959, 119.

published in 2011, in *Vingtième siècle. Revue d'Histoire*,<sup>14</sup> the way he has hardly undertaken the research for the doctoral thesis in Socialist Romania:

*“Mihail Cernea<sup>15</sup> explained to me (...) that I do not have to present a project that would refer more or more explicitly (explicitly or implicitly) to the socialist regime, but that I should choose a topic that interests the authorities (from Bucharest) such as folklore. Here was the first constraint on my work. The Romanian authorities settled me in another community in southern Transylvania, in Geoagiu, but here I did not have ethnographic micro-zones. It was the second compelling constraint. So I decided to make the social history of a village emphasizing social mobility and interethnic relation.”<sup>16</sup>*

Returning to Romania in the 1980s, Katherine Verdery was again “reoriented”. The supervision of the Securitate created her great shortcomings:

*“The villagers harder accepted to receive me because after my previous research there were systematically visited by the militia. So, during the 1984 research campaign, I was forced to stay in Bucharest and Cluj where I did research in the library and met many intellectuals who led me to reorient my research to reflect on national ideology among Romanian intellectuals.”<sup>17</sup>*

Thus the “re-orientation” became the “word of order” and the Security and the censorship took care of all. Not even the emblematic interpreters of those years who brought traditional songs from their native villages and popularised them through performances on different stages of the world had access to the radio or televised Romanian shows unless they also brought a series of new life songs, carefully censored. Even songs of great success from the great Maria Lătărețu’s repertoire such as „I leave you my songs” were censored. Under the sensitive heart and feeling of the singer, the changing of a lyric was never disastrous, however. Whereas the initial lyrics of the

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<sup>14</sup> Verdery and Faure 2011.

<sup>15</sup> He was a Romanian sociologist who continued the Gusti’s Sociological School.

<sup>16</sup> Verdery and Faure 2011, 202.

<sup>17</sup> Verdery and Faure 2011, 203.

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song stated: „I will not live as long as the Earth/ World, dear world/ And I will die when He desires/ World, my dear”<sup>18</sup>, once the representatives of censorship attracted her attention saying that they will forbid the song unless she changed it, Maria Lătărețu found a way not to mutilate the lyrics so that eventually she expressed them just as beautifully: “For I shall not live as long as the Earth/ World, dear World/ And I shall die when it is my turn/ World my dear”.<sup>19</sup> “Accidentally”, both versions (the first tucked in drawers) ended up in the archives. However, to permit her to record on the radio and pass through television, Maria Lătărețu was, too, forced to write some new life songs. An example is „Gheorghică comes in the evening from the field”, written with glimpses of emotion but in the simplistic manner as opposed to other songs that feel as if they were products of the native Gorj itself, shaping still frames from nature. It is not the case of this song whose lyrics are extremely modest:

*“Gheorghică comes from the field in the evening/ His tractor flying like a ghost/  
He leads the tractor singing with a leaf/ For all the girls to hear him./ Come  
young lady down the valley/ For I'll meet you on my tractor/ Come young lady  
down the valley/ For I'll offer you a flower and a kiss/ Hear my darling how the  
cuckoo sings/ Come down to work in the valley/ Come young lady, come down the  
valley/ I'll meet you on my tractor/ Come my darling down the valley/ And I shall  
offer you a flower and a kiss/ Drive Gheorghică, drive the tractor/ But don't send  
me your nostalgia/ Keep it with you in the evening on the field/ Do not fly like a  
ghost/ Come my darling down the valley/ For I will meet you on my tractor/ And I  
shall offer you a flower and a kiss./ Come down, Gheorghică, down to the valley/  
To give me a flower and a kiss/ With all the girls to help you sow/ Come,, my  
darling down to the valley/ For I shall meet you on my tractor/ Come my darling  
down to the valley/ And I shall give you a flower and a kiss.”<sup>20</sup>*

In the final years of the *Golden Age*, new life songs were more and more intensely favoured subjects in media and poems dedicated to the „beloved rulers” and the „leading party”

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<sup>18</sup> Lătărețu, Maria, *Vă las cântecele mele*, online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CSvFE8I-mZE>.

<sup>19</sup> Lătărețu, Maria, *Vă las cântecele mele*, online: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XipHwUznEpU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XipHwUznEpU;);

<sup>20</sup> Maria Lătărețu, *Vine Gheorghică seara din luncă*, online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1F9kF9uMM-Q>.

were constantly present in the radio and television shows. The phenomenon disappeared, evidently, in a natural and simple manner, as if it never existed, immediately after the fall of the communist regime, in December 1989. In those days numerous volumes of this kind were burned under an impulse mixed with the desire to wipe away a period charged with overwhelmingly bad memories. In this context, embracing a series of unfair attributes, the folklore has once again to suffer, leading to a substantial reduction of popular songs especially from televised programmes.

The spectacular nature of tradition and the changing of musical preferences of Romanian people was highlighted after 1989 by multiplying open air shows, by inventing celebrations that have long turned into traditions, such as the days of the communes, of the villages, of the city but also by creating festivals with all kinds of made up themes: The Herring Festival, The Seashell Festival, The Autumn Festival, The Painted Eggs Festival, The Cheese and Țuica Festival, and so on. However, beyond these aspects, traditions specific to the villages from before survived, although as Mihai Pop stated:

*„The festive air is increasingly present. (...) Similar to the traditions across the year, which had significantly changed, they remain and are still celebrated, also due to the fact that they are important cultural traditional moments in the life of the villages. (...) they are the proof of a long lived historical growth and must be viewed as such. The lengthy historical development involves an initial nucleus that underwent severe changes of content, form and function that could lose as well as gain elements”.*<sup>21</sup>

In conclusion, through the new folklore, the factors responsible for the promotion of culture in communist Romania constituted an ideological concept, perpetuating this type of song in propaganda cultural actions, by constraining the artists who saw themselves cast into a mixer, impossible to avoid. Foreign researchers also faced censorship, security oversight that was trying to reorient their research. At the same time, the spectacular character of some festivals, accentuated with the appearance of the “Cântarea României” competition, is preserved today, through invented manifestations under the “umbrella” of tradition.

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<sup>21</sup> Pop 1999, 144.

## New Life Songs In The Process Of Building A Socialist Ideal - An Anthropological Perspective

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# WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED IN TWO DECADES OF THEORIES ABOUT THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF ROMANIAN CORRUPTION

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## Abstract

After 1989, corruption has become a matter of importance in Romanian society and many theories and analyses on the specificity of the phenomenon emerged. Among them, some tried to explain the causes of Romanian corruption and usually reached a fatalistic conclusion. My article focuses on the theories of historical origins of Romanian corruption. The first is the transition period from communism to democracy, which first brought societal anomy and the arbitrary or discretionary redistribution of power and resources. This state of affairs revealed older corrupt practices, but also encouraged more subversive corruption configurations. Another theory refers to the communist practices and values. I make an observation on the contradictory nature of corruption in this era: Corruption had a negative effect on the communist state, but it led to the achievement of ambitious results through the informal network. There is also a question I ask: is it possible for corruption to be legitimate when the government becomes illegitimate? The last theory on the origin of Romanian corruption is the experience of Balkanism and Orientalism and I try to discuss the scientific fairness in analysing corruption by referring to a historical moment that does not recognize it as such.

**Keywords:** corruption, transition, communism, Balkanism, Orientalism

Since the post-war era the corruption has been approached as a societal illness which undermined the democracies' legitimacy, judiciaries' efficiency, governments' effectiveness and economic performance. Despite its apparently new place on national and international public agenda, corruption is old both as a practice and as a subject of law, being recognized as such ever since ancient times, under a very close meaning of *repentudae*. *Lex Cincia de deonis et muneribus*, dated two centuries BC, regulated the gifts offered to magistrates in order to prevent abuses from their side.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, during the Roman Republic, many other such laws were enacted. For instance, *Calpurnia* provided the restitution of the bribe to the

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<sup>1</sup> Popa 2012, 47.

corrupting part, *Acilia* turned *repentudae* into a crime and provided the punishment of returning the double amount of the bribe's value, *Servilia* added the loss of political rights to the punishment, while the last one in 59 BC, *Iulia Rependutarum*, provided a proportional punishment. If the guilt was proven, the defendant could pay from twice to 4 times the value of the bribe he could have been exiled or sentenced to death<sup>2</sup>. Historical dynamic in the following centuries and changes in social structures and mentality determined the loss of many ancient legal practices and with them corruption became more a matter sanctioned by the moral duty and unwritten laws.

Today, corruption came back to the whole world's attention and the commonly accepted, but yet general understanding of it is the "abuse of public office for private gain",<sup>3</sup> as many international organizations, like United Nations or World Bank, and experts first defined it. However, after international debates and controversy over a too restrictive perception of the phenomenon, part of the international literature replaced "public office" with "entrusted power". Of course, defining corruption has never been only the job of international organizations, every anti-corruption expert, and specialist in the fields of politics, economics, philosophy, sociology, cultural studies etc. have come up with their own approach. Thus we differentiate between several corruption acts, as established by legal frameworks and a lot of corruption typologies and categories: moral behaviour grounded corruption, social corruption, economic and political corruption, grand and petty corruption, state capture, organizational corruption, active and passive corruption, systemic and endemic corruption, legal and administrative corruption, private and collective corruption, extractive and redistributive corruption, collusion and extortion etc.

The very first time corruption has become a relevant topic in Romanian society was in the '90s when it has been also recognized as a general problem. This happened under two major factors of influence: on one side, internationally, people and organizations of many kinds started to demand the abolishment of corruption and several conventions had been signed in this regard. On the other side, immediate actions against corruption and for strengthening the rule of law became mandatory for Romania's European path. As the other post-communist countries, Romania became a revelation for many experts as "example of not to" and the theories about the endemicity of Romanian corruption started to emerge, but on the positions of Western individualism and rationalism.

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<sup>2</sup> Popa 2012, 48.

<sup>3</sup> The World Bank 1997, 8.

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In general, the international research in this field is based on the premise that the phenomenon of corruption in Romania is a given, a pre-existing reality attributed to the communist past, transition period, currently legal, administrative factors, and, eventually, to the cultural and the social background. The purpose of my article is to shortly analyse Romanian corruption in respect to theories about its perceived historical origins. Therefore, I will try to punctually and coherently present the way in which each targeted historical period contributed to Romanian corruption practices today.

Firstly, the most recent perceived historical cause of corruption in Romania lays in the recent transition from the communist order to liberal democracy and the free market. Dahrendorf analysed the transition to democracy and made an important statement. The communist apparatus's dismantling and the political elite's replacement led to the breakdown of the nucleus where the decisions used to emerge from. As a result of this process, society started to experience symptoms of anarchy and anomy. In return, the same society worked on re-establishing the political and economic order due to individuals and social groups' demand. Among these people, there were also some who had monopolistic claims and came both from former communist structures and the new ones.

As a result the transition to democracy was rather sinuous and turbulent.<sup>4</sup> As Tismăneanu shows, the transition within a society should have been carried out under the influence of several factors: political pluralism, the existence of a strong and dynamic political opposition that was capable of redefining the power relations and fostering a normal functioning of democracy, and a political elite who supposed to be committed to open society's values despite electoral interests and discrepancies.<sup>5</sup>

However, this very theoretical standpoint of Tismăneanu was never fully applied to any former communist state, much the less in Romania where the transitioning started in such a violent way that first led to political and economic anomy and so, to institutional vulnerability. More so, liberation from a totalitarian regime did not automatically imply democratic consolidation, on the contrary, market liberalization in the context of weak institutional and legal framework led to unequal access to public resources and corruption. Eventually the transition ended up being unable to satisfy the immediate needs of the mass population and created a gap between citizens' expectations and the state's ability to fulfil them, which explains the social frustration and part of the further on disrespect for the rules.

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<sup>4</sup> Dahrendorf 2001, 117.

<sup>5</sup> Tismăneanu 2007, 249.



Nowak's theory relies on this last remark. He shows that the transition created a legislative void where institutions were rebuilt but not entirely consolidated. Bulei claims that the legal and political void has instead been filled with a race for enrichment.<sup>6</sup> Both disappointment and distrust have been encouraged by the falsely self-proclaimed new political elite who were raised from the former communist class and used their favourable positions in order to extract rents and supplement their wealth. Therefore, starting the privatization process at the same time made oversight exercised by public bodies inefficient, while there was enough room left for arbitrary decisions and pursuit of personal interests. This was where corruption started to flourish and created a vicious circle. It interfered with the institutional ability to satisfy people's needs, while people became more willing to use corruption in order to secure themselves or to gain access to public resources.<sup>7</sup> The immediate effect was a growing distrust in public institutions, comparable to the one in the communist era. In theory, there are several types, categories, and acts of corruption, each one established in respect to the discipline of analysis, historical moment, the purpose of analysis etc. Most of these theories discuss transition and post-communist corruption separately, focusing on its specificity. What led to corruption during the transition period and the first years of post-communism was a range of factors starting from the "it is how the system works" mentality. Bureaucratic inefficiency and deliberately created administrative burden accompanied by the lack of predictability of rules and changes in legislation determined citizens and business to permanently be a step behind in terms of compliance. Thus, in a cost-efficiency model, even today, most of these actors still choose corruption whose costs are lower. This situation is suitable for the small business example. Due to the lack of Romanian small enterprises' capacity to be constantly compliant and updated to permanent overregulation, their managers use bribery to avoid fines, because the cost of corruption is lower than the most fines received for non-compliance. The consequences of communism and transitions were also visible when corruption was commonly used out of the need by citizens to gain access to public resources like health or education.

On the other side, there was the public employees' intention to supplement their income through abuse of power or embezzlement. As Karklins stresses, receiving bribery was a threat to public order and safety, but asking for it by a public official, no matter the status, was a threat to the rule of law because it showed a clear mark of institutionalized corruption.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Bulei 2011, 265.

<sup>7</sup> Nowak 2001, 12.

<sup>8</sup> Karklins 2002, 24.

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This public official's self-serving corruption, which has been common during the communist era, reached its peak during the privatization process after 1989. The whole idea of privatization was to create a free and competitive market, and thus break the tie between company management and the political sector and eliminate political monopoly over economy.<sup>9</sup> However, when the privatization process started in Romania, the political elite and high public officials first blocked several attempts of foreign investment and afterward discouraged it through laws and regulations.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the process looked more like a reallocation of resources among former political elites and their cliques, selling those resources for derisory amounts in exchange for consistent bribes and political favours.

Nevertheless, the most subversive type of corruption in transition and post-communist era remained the grand and political corruption, when high public officials and members of the parliament abused their power to develop laws and regulations which served personal and private interests. Sometimes the same legal distortion was used to cover illegal practices by making them legal or by bringing constant amendments to the legal framework in order to make it contradictory or to create confusion.

Similarly to resource allocation in the privatization process, there are well known cases of post-communist political elites who kept their privileges during and after transition, privileges like receiving houses from state's patrimony, gaining access to vacation houses, cars, trips, special salaries, and even acting like public institutions or companies had been their own. As Karklins stated, "these practices could turn public institutions into private fiefdoms serving the whims of entrenched lords".<sup>11</sup> The kinship networks were also common within public institutions, while collusion usually took place between public officials and companies dependent on state contracts, magistrates, media, and even civil society organizations. Moreover, these cliques have remained untouched after the break down of communism. Even when the post-communist political elites seemed new, *nomenklatura* never disappeared. The only difference is that first rank elites were replaced by communists of second rank who, overnight, became revolutionary and democratic, sometimes even liberal.

This corrupt elite self-perpetuated under the action of several factors. Firstly, the impunity they benefited from, which they assured through artifices to defraud law, and due to corruption encountered within oversight bodies and judiciary. Secondly, collusive networks, political, economic, judicial etc., acted by their own system of checks and balances based on

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<sup>9</sup> Nowak 2001, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Bulei 2011, 265.

<sup>11</sup> Karklins 2002, 25.

complicity and mutual blackmail. This equilibrium made corruption network impenetrable. Furthermore, in order to conceal corruption acts, usually more corruption practices were used and this is how the system perpetuated.

After 1989, Romanian society faced a corruption outbreak, typical for communism but displayed in a liberal context, which determined it to spread and become more chaotic. Although we would be tempted to assume that the main loser was the state by being caught between private fiefdoms, Romanian reality showed that among the main exploiters of the state were its representatives and citizens, each by own capacity and power. Lovell pointed out the same thing by claiming that in post-communist states, corruption was displayed both at the top of society, among politicians, government officials and the ordinary individuals. This specific corruption was, thus, a mix of needs, greed and lack of professionalism.<sup>12</sup> As Boia states, nowhere else did such discrepancy between the proclaimed rupture and actual continuity took place among post-communist countries.<sup>13</sup>

The second historical cause of Romanian corruption drifts from the previous discussion and is the psychologically unsettling experience of communism, as Zerilli <sup>14</sup> calls it. For former communist states like Romania, there is a whole literature on the communist legacy which has kept influencing the state's democratic and economic performance until today. As I mentioned before, the transition did not manage to diminish corruption, on the contrary, it encouraged and expanded it. What was it that favoured corruption in the communist regime? The classic arguments usually come from political and economic areas. The lack of political and electoral rights, the lack of a free civil society and independent media made any demand for accountability impossible. Moreover, the rigorous five-year economic plans were based on an artificial market demand and supply and so a gap between what people needed and actually received was created. Sandholz and Taaepera theorized the communist legacy of corruption using two arguments: the first refers to the subversive effect the communist society had over culture. The second refers to the opportunity based structure of the communist society, in this case, the argument being one of social importance.<sup>15</sup> The situation worsened in the last decade of communism because of external debt which led to serious privations from basic supplies. Therefore the corrupt practices and shadow economies emerged. Informal exchanges and collusion, however, did not take place only among ordinary people who were trafficking jeans, soap or cigarettes from more liberal Yugoslavia. Boia

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<sup>12</sup> Lovell 2005, 76.

<sup>13</sup> Boia 2012, 2013, 115.

<sup>14</sup> Zerilli 2005, 93.

<sup>15</sup> Sandholtz and Taagepera 2005, 111.

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points out that the whole history behind exchanging Kent cigarettes which represents the symbol of the giant parallel black market and network of informal connections. Most of the time, the pack or carton received was not kept for personal use but sent over to some other individual in exchange for a favour.<sup>16</sup> During the last years of Romanian communism, informal exchanges intensified due to the lack of goods necessary for daily life, which justifiably determined Sandholz and Taaepera to first conclude that the communist corruption was one of self-defence and self-preservation.

The same scenario of informal dealings going beyond regulations also applied to state enterprises which desperately needed to adjust production to reach their five-year plans' established goals. When it was impossible to carry out informal exchanges between companies, these enterprises benefited from financial infusions from the state through credits, the mission statement being not to let them collapse and become bankrupt. Miroiu named this strategy of permanently pumping up money and exceeding budget lines as "malleable budget". The same financial support had been maintained during the first years after the communist downfall,<sup>17</sup> as well as many other communist practices. The survival oriented corruption, though apparently justified, in the long run had the most negative effects, even for an authoritarian society. Rose, for instance, recalls what a huge obstacle corruption was for socialist states' real progress. The longer corruption existed among young generations of leaders, the more they became indifferent to lack of values and thus started considering corruption the only game available to face the corrupt state. This same behaviour had proven crucial during the transition when corruption seemed the norm and both former young generations – now leaders – and ordinary citizens used it to acquire status and access to states' resources open for privatization. Although beneficial for some people in the short term, in the long run, corrupt practices, disrespect for rules and values showed some effect on mentalities and social culture. The common tendencies of the masses were still blaming the political elites while the same unethical behaviour was spread among all of society's layers, which jeopardized any chance of society becoming intolerant to corruption other than by speech. As the future elites rose from the masses, little could be done to rapidly and efficiently change the corruption perception.<sup>18</sup>

Lovell, on his turn, came with his own theory on the communist origins of corruption. His formula combines a lack of professionalism from state employee's side with the

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<sup>16</sup> Boia 2012, 2013, 97-98.

<sup>17</sup> Miroiu 2016, 80-81.

<sup>18</sup> Rose 2001, 105.

undefined borders between private and public sectors, accompanied by lack of oversight and sanction or their discretionary application. As long as state employees related to public resources as being their own and placed themselves in a power relation with respect to citizens, all these created opportunities for corruption to flourish. The profiteering mentality sustained communist corruption, while lack of sanctions drove to moral chaos.<sup>19</sup>

Huntington came up with a different theory, stating that corruption is a substitute, a valve through which social frustration unfolds in those societies where revolution and reform are needed.<sup>20</sup> Huntington approaches corruption in relation to rules and human behaviours stating that corruption is not the exercise of a deviant behaviour in respect to the rule, but the exercise of the deviant rules in respect to already existent social behaviour. For Huntington, as well as for Girling, corruption is the symptom, not the disease, a red flag pointing to reform or other problems society faces. In Romania, both revolution and several reforms took place, but only after the communism's fall yet corruption still did not give back which means either the problem was somewhere else, or a real and sustained reform did not take place. The simultaneous and rapid political and economic transition seemed to have encouraged corruption. Kaufmann raises awareness about this kind of reform, stressing that, in states where political and economic transitions started simultaneously, the latter usually got ahead, but it did not happen properly in the absence of a political one.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, the economic reform was thus paternalized by arbitrary and discretionary acts.

Kotkin analysed the perception of the West in respect to corruption in former communist states, concluding that the phenomenon was usually understood in very loose terms.<sup>22</sup> Romanian society itself blamed communism for the corruption and society dysfunctions it caused. Communism, as Zerilli stated, had been the symbol of a completely different morality in respect to what Romania's perception of its specificity was. It was treated as a historical phase and used to give an answer to the question "why?" no matter if its nature as part of Romanian spirit was assumed or refused.<sup>23</sup>

Boia stresses that although communism lost the game, the communists still won, as they all converted to capitalism and became "too capitalist".<sup>24</sup> He adds that the whole contemporary disequilibrium Romania faces is mainly rooted in the communist past. The legacy communism left behind was a combination of corruption, selfishness to the detriment

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<sup>19</sup> Lovell 2005, 75.

<sup>20</sup> Huntington 1968, 64.

<sup>21</sup> Kaufmann 1997, 10.

<sup>22</sup> Kotkin 2002, 391.

<sup>23</sup> Zerilli 2005, 94.

<sup>24</sup> Boia 2016, 205.

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of public good and a constant need to elude rules.<sup>25</sup> Therefore it is much of an exaggeration to talk about the legacy of the communist regime as its demise was only a matter of formal institutional, economic and ideological transformation while the whole net of mentalities, practices and education are still being preserved by and through the people. Another, the last and probably the most socially accepted cause for today's Romanian corruption is a range of historical moments under the Ottoman influence that spanned over five centuries. Today, its social remains, implying ideas and attitudes towards rules, informal practices, power management and corruption are generally named Oriental or Balkan practices and mentality and they are defined in opposition to what is modern or western.

This historical, political, economic, cultural etc. interaction mainly during the Phanariot rule in Romania is perceived as the grounds for corruption oriented behaviour. Louis Alexandre Andrault de Langeron's travel notes about Romanian medieval lands in the eighteenth century remind us of old time's corruption. Back in that century, Romanian princes lost their ruling right established by birth and used to be appointed for no more than seven years by The (Ottoman) Porte. Moreover, those appointed princes were not even of Romanian origin, but of Greek one, hence the name of Phanariot ruling, after the Greek neighbourhood in Istanbul. However, bribe offered to ottoman ministers endowed the princes with many rights.<sup>26</sup> Langeron describes with finesse the way Phanariot princes used to enrich themselves after several years of ruling in Moldavia or Wallachia. First, they seized properties and goods which they shared with ottoman ministers and secondly, they sold state offices to Romanian noblemen. In turn, noblemen covered their debts at the people's expense.<sup>27</sup>

On their turn, the representatives of a former Phanriot ruler, Constantin Mavrocordat, confirmed the need to use corruption in relation to Ottoman officials. The statement is found within the reports made by the Moldavian Diplomatic Representation in Istanbul, between 1741 and 1742. Mavrocordat's representatives complained about their ruler's rebukes for having to provide gifts and bribes to Ottoman officials. They describe the whole Turkish administration as being extremely greedy, especially the ones low in status that had acted like "wild beasts" and had used threats and force to extract the rents they sought.<sup>28</sup> Gifts consisted of money, jewellery, horses and fabric and were usually sent, way before the seventeenth century by Romanian and Phanariot rulers to the Ottoman Empire with specific occasions like the Bayram, ascension to the throne of a new sultan, celebrations within the family of the

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<sup>25</sup> Boia 2016, 208-209.

<sup>26</sup> Bezviconi 1947, 149.

<sup>27</sup> Bezviconi 1947, 149.

<sup>28</sup> Camarino-Ciocan 1985, 83 in Murgescu 2001, 173.

sultan, every time the sultan or other Ottoman officials visited and meetings.<sup>29</sup> A close etymological analysis reveals that even the archaic lexicon covering corruption acts has its origins in Turkish and Slavic languages, as described by Zafiu. Behind all words lies the whole social reality and common corrupt practices for Ottoman influence and Phanariot rule in Romania. For instance, *bacșiș* and *ciubuc* referred to a tip offered by superiors to those of inferior status during festive occasions; both are of Turkish origin. *Rușfet*, on the other side, as well *mâzdă*, *mită* and *șpagă*, first of Turkish etymology, the next two of Slavic, and the latter of uncertain origin, referred to the bribe given by inferiors in status or extorted by those of superior rank, like sharecroppers and noblemen. Finally, *peșcheș* and *plocon*, referred to gifts and tips offered by superiors or those of equal status.<sup>30</sup> Part of these words is up to date after almost two centuries of political and cultural transformation. *Bacșiș* and *ciubuc* kept their original meaning, as well as *plocon*. *Rușfet* and *peșcheș* no longer have social and political coverage and became archaisms, while *mită* has become the official legal terminology for bribe. Corruption lexicon, however, got enriched with other words so that it could better reveal the social reality behind it, new words have been developed (like *extorcare* and *pantuflij* meaning extortion and revolving-door) or already existing ones received a new meaning like *atenție* (which means “care”, used as a substitute for both tip and bribe).

However, Ottoman officials were far from being the only ones to claim or extort bribes and the Romanian noblemen gave consistent gifts to persuade governors to use their influence in relation to the ruler so that he would name the noblemen in question in high ranked offices. While in Istanbul, the rulers used to corrupt, back on Romanian lands, they used to let themselves be corrupted, thus they all used money received to cover their own kingship’s trading and expenditures<sup>31</sup>. Not until the eighteenth century did rulers enact laws to prevent bribery, first applied to the judges, and afterward, in nineteenth century, *Codica Criminalicească* (1826) and *Codica de drept penal și procedură penală* (1852) prohibited officials and then public employees to receive gifts or other advantages in certain circumstances. The first Criminal Code, although enacted in 1865, when Romania was still under Ottoman suzerainty, also prohibited passive bribery and trading influence.<sup>32</sup>

To what extent communism and Orientalism specificity managed to shape Romanian behaviours so they became more corrupt and to what extent corruption is a side effect of the societal clash and transitions is hard to figure out. Maybe it is too much to conclude that

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<sup>29</sup> Giurescu 1946, 459.

<sup>30</sup> Zafiu 2007, 132.

<sup>31</sup> Popa 2012, 60.

<sup>32</sup> Popa 2012, 61-62.

## What We Have Learned In Two Decades Of Theories About The Historical Origins Of Romanian Corruption

communism or any oriental influence fostered corruption, but, in any case, they tolerated it. Considering socialist states' self-proclaimed rationalism, they should have managed to successfully fight and diminish corruption, which they tried in the '80s. What is characteristic for the communist legacy was a high level of distrust and struggle for survival and corruption was another way to succeed it. Sandholtz and Taagepera reached the same conclusion: Communism had an indirect impact on corruption through its boost on self-preservation instincts and its destructive effects over personal and social morality, both visible during the transition period when anomy and uncertainty enhanced corruption even more. In respect to eastern influence, Balkan, Turkish and even Slavic, we can hardly assume that they encouraged corruption as we today perceive the phenomenon. Informal exchanges, collusion and power abuse are rather very typical for medieval times and the beginning of the modern era both in western and eastern countries. The fact that Romania experienced them until very late in the 19th century, I would say, is more a matter of overall delay and other historical, political, social and even cultural factors, which need increased and separate attention and analysis.

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# LE ROYAUME DE DAHOMEY, UNE PAGE D'HISTOIRE DU PATRIMOINE BENINOIS AU MUSEE DU QUAI BRANLY<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract:

In 2016, the Benin government expresses the request in an official letter to the French state to return the royal objects belonging to the Kingdom of Dahomey (XVII-XIXth century), taken as "trophy of war " in 1892 following its conquest by French general Alfred Dodds. At the beginning of March 2017, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave an unfavorable response to the request for the return of Benin heritage, motivating the fact that France ratified the UNESCO Convention in 1970. According to the law, these are already part of the French public domain subject to the principles of inalienability. For the present study, an ax will be led to bring into discussion the conventions of the international organizations regarding cultural goods, and also on the analysis of press articles.

**Keywords:** patrimony, Kingdom of Dahomey, restitution, trophy of war, UNESCO

Patrimoine, trafic d'art, retour, restitution, sont des notions que nous entendons très souvent, qui font aujourd'hui l'objet de plusieurs études, conférences et ce sont des thématiques de travail pour les institutions culturelles du monde.

La question du trafic d'art et des objets qui sont arrivés en certains pays en tant que butin de guerre, ce n'est pas tout à fait une actualité, et on trouve ses origines depuis l'Antiquité. La Grèce, l'Egypte, le Nigeria sollicitent toujours au British Museum le retour de leurs trésors, et ce sont quelques exemples parmi une longue liste de pays qui réclament le pillage.

Avant d'aborder le sujet de notre synthèse, il nous convient de noter que comprend-on par le mot patrimoine? Évidemment, nous sommes entourés par plusieurs définitions, selon Unesco « Le patrimoine culturel est, dans son sens le plus large, à la fois un produit et un processus qui fournit aux sociétés un ensemble de ressources héritées du passé, créées dans le

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<sup>1</sup> La présente étude a été exposé à la cinquième édition de la Session annuelle de communication scientifique, organisée dans le cadre de la Faculté d'Histoire, Université de Bucarest, entre le 21-22 avril 2017 par le *Centre d'Histoire Comparée des Sociétés Anciennes* (CICSA), portée sur la thématique «Vol, Corruption et Abus». Il est à noter le fait que l'aperçu a eu quelques changements dus à de nouvelles données sur ce sujet.

présent et mises à disposition pour le bénéfice des générations futures. Il comprend non seulement le patrimoine matériel<sup>2</sup>, mais aussi le patrimoine naturel et immatériel<sup>3</sup>».

Le XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, c'est la période dont beaucoup de musées voient le jour, c'est un siècle qui est marqué par l'accumulation des objets royaux et des butins de guerre qui vont arriver dans le sein des musées européens, ce qui vont souligner la notion de l'extension territoriale. En arrivant au cœur de la problématique qui fait l'objet de cet article, on va vous présenter dans la suite juste un fragment, notamment le cas de la République du Bénin qui depuis juillet 2016 ont demandé à la France la restitution des objets royaux, symboles du Royaume de Dahomey, prises en 1894 par le Général Doods.

Dans les écrits dédiés à l'histoire du Royaume de Dahomey nous découvrons qu'il va connaître une floraison dans la période du XVII-XIX<sup>èmes</sup> siècles, sous la direction de douze souverains. L'apogée de richesse économique et territoriale étant sous le signe de ses derniers trois rois : Ghézo (1851-1858), Glèlè (1858-1889) et Béhanzin (1890-1894).



Fig. 1. *La carte du Royaume de Dahomey*

*source: fr.unesco.org*

Le Général Alfred-Amédée Dodds défait le Dahomey en 1892 et prendra comme trésor de guerre les objets royaux d'une grande importance, qu'il offrira au Musée du

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<sup>2</sup> Conformément *Unesco*, le patrimoine culturel matériel englobe à son tour plusieurs catégories: le patrimoine culturel mobilier (peintures, sculptures, monnaies, instruments de musiques, armes, manuscrits), le patrimoine culturel immobilier (monuments, sites archéologiques) et le patrimoine culturel subaquatique (épaves de navire, ruines et cités enfouies sous les mers).

<sup>3</sup> Officiellement reconnue par la Conférence générale de l'Organisation des Nations unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture (Unesco) de Paris en 1972, disponible en ligne sur:

<https://fr.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/digital-library/cdis/Dimension%20Patrimoine.pdf>, consulté le 13 janvier 2018.

Trocadéro à Paris. Après quatre ans de guerre, Béhanzin signe la reddition, et il est envoyé en exil à Martinique<sup>4</sup>. On était en pleine époque coloniale, et cette victoire contre le Dahomey n'est pas autre chose qu'une simple gloire militaire, mais également il nous montre la domination coloniale de la France, dont l'objet devient le témoin d'un territoire conquis; d'après l'affirmation de Beaujean Baltzer, dans un de ses articles, ces artefacts vont prendre immédiatement le statut de trophée de guerre<sup>5</sup>.

En conséquence, deux siècles plus tard, le 27 juillet 2016, le ministre du Tourisme et de la Culture de la République du Bénin, fait une demande officielle au gouvernement français, sollicitant le retour des objets royaux volés lors de la confrontation avec les troupes françaises en 1892. Les personnages principaux de la requête ce sont les statues zoo-anthropomorphes représentant les trois derniers souverains du royaume, le siège royal de Cana, des sceptres, qui sont actuellement dans la collection du Musée du Quai Branly Jacques-Chirac. Les statues qui reproduisent les portraits des rois Ghézo, Glèlè et Béhanzin, depuis leur entrée dans la vie du musée ont changé au fil du temps de statut, de scénographie, elles ont fait le délice des études muséographiques et d'esthétique<sup>6</sup> – du statut de trophée on va passer à celui de chef d'œuvre.



Fig. 2. *Statue de Ghézo, Glèlè, Béhanzin*

*Source: Musée du Quai Branly Jacques-Chirac, Numéro de gestion : PV0005583*

<sup>4</sup> Pour plus de précisions à ce sujet, voir: Cornevin 1960, 161-12.

<sup>5</sup> Beaujean-Baltzer 2012, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Beaujean-Baltzer 2007, 70-5.

Si on jette un œil sur les titres des journaux, on observe que le média a représenté le principal moyen de diffusion de la «série» de l'histoire de restitution. *L'Humanite*, nous dit «Des trésors culturels loin du pays natal», *NOFI*, «Trésors volés au Bénin: pourquoi la France refuse-t-elle de les rendre?», *Le Point Afrique*, «Bénin : la France dit "non" à la restitution des biens culturels mal acquis».

Au début du mois de mars 2017, le Ministère Français des Affaires Étrangères a réagi défavorablement à la demande de retour du patrimoine béninois, en motivant la ratification de la Convention de l'UNESCO, par la France, en 1970. Selon la loi, ceux-ci font déjà partie du domaine public français, soumis aux principes d'inaliénabilité.

Ensuite, c'est important de noter ce qu'ils nous révèlent *la Convention Unesco de 1970 concernant les mesures à prendre pour interdire et empêcher l'importation, l'exportation et le transfert de propriété illicites des biens culturels* et la *Convention d'UNIDROIT sur les biens culturels volés<sup>7</sup> ou illicitement exportés<sup>8</sup>*, adopté à Rome en 1995. L'Article 11 de la Convention Unesco nous spécifie « Sont considérés comme illicites l'exportation et le transfert de propriété forcés de biens culturels résultant directement ou indirectement de l'occupation d'un pays par une puissance étrangère<sup>9</sup> ». Le *Chapitre II* de la convention UNIDROIT qui porte sur la question de la restitution des biens culturels volés, met en évidence, dans l'Article 3, *paragraphe 1* – le fait que le possesseur d'un bien culturel volé doit le restituer. Par contre, les *Dispositions Générales du Chapitre IV, Article 10, paragraphe 1* – nous informe que « Les dispositions du Chapitre II s'appliquent à un bien culturel qui a été volé après l'entrée en vigueur de la présente Convention à l'égard de l'État où la demande est introduite<sup>10</sup> ». Mais, il faut prendre en considération aussi que le *Chapitre V–Dispositions finales*, l'Article 19, *paragraphe 1*, rajoute que « La présente Convention peut être dénoncée par l'un quelconque des Etats parties à tout moment à compter de la date à laquelle elle entre en vigueur à l'égard de cet Etat par le dépôt d'un instrument à cet effet auprès du dépositaire ». Ainsi, nous trouvons d'une part, le caractère ambigu de la Convention de l'Unesco et d'un autre côté la Convention d'UNIDROIT qui comporte plusieurs objectifs.

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<sup>7</sup> Qui implique le concept de restitution.

<sup>8</sup> Qui implique le concept de retour.

<sup>9</sup> Mise en ligne sur : <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/1970-convention/>, consulté le 15 avril 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Pour une lecture détaillée consulter la Convention d'UNIDROIT, ici:

<https://www.unidroit.org/french/conventions/1995culturalproperty/1995culturalproperty-f.pdf>, 15 avril 2017.

Pour finir l'analyse, le code du patrimoine français, *Livre IV, Titre V concernant les collections des musées en France, Sous-section 2 : Collections publiques, Article L451-5*, nous affirme que « Les biens constituant les collections des musées de France appartenant à une personne publique font partie de leur domaine public et sont, à ce titre, inaliénables. Toute décision de déclassement d'un de ces biens ne peut être prise qu'après avis conforme de la commission scientifique nationale des collections mentionnée à l'article L. 115-1<sup>11</sup>».

Cet épisode a provoqué beaucoup de réactions et il représente encore un sujet débattu par de nombreux articles de presse et des reportages. Le président du CRAN (Conseil représentatif des associations noires de France), Louis-George Tin, Marie Cécile Zinsou présidente de la *Fondation Zinsou* au Bénin, Sindika Dokolo, et des artistes, ont été parmi les personnes qui ont dénoncé l'attitude d'indifférence et la réponse négative suite à la demande de restitution.

Après une période dont le silence s'est installé, l'étonnement est venu le 28 novembre 2017, lors de la visite du Président de la République Française, Emmanuel Macron à Burkina Faso où, dans le cadre de l'Université de Ouagadougou, il a présenté dans un discours son point de vue concernant cette question: « Le patrimoine africain ne peut pas être uniquement dans des collections privées et des musées européens. Le patrimoine africain doit être mis en valeur à Paris mais aussi à Dakar, à Lagos, à Cotonou, ce sera une de mes priorités. Je veux que d'ici cinq ans les conditions soient réunies pour des restitutions temporaires ou définitives du patrimoine africain en Afrique ».

Cette déclaration, a suscité des vagues d'opinions et de points d'interrogation qui sont apparus dans la presse mondiale. Dans *Le Monde Afrique*, « La restitution des œuvres issues des pillages coloniaux n'est plus un tabou », *The Art News Papers*, « What restitution experts have to say about President Macron's pledge to return African artefacts »<sup>12</sup>.

Lors d'une récente interview publiée en janvier 2018, par *The Art News Papers*, le directeur du *Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac*, Stéphane Martin annonce que le retour des œuvres en Afrique doit être considéré «dans le cadre de projets culturels<sup>13</sup>». Stéphane

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<sup>11</sup> <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCode.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006074236>, consulté le 10 janvier 2018.

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2017/12/01/la-restitution-des-uvres-issues-des-pillages-coloniaux-n-est-plus-un-tabou\\_5223058\\_3212.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2017/12/01/la-restitution-des-uvres-issues-des-pillages-coloniaux-n-est-plus-un-tabou_5223058_3212.html), <http://theartnewspaper.com/news/restitution-experts-react-to-president-macron-s-pledge-to-return-artefacts-housed-in-french-museums-to-africa>.

<sup>13</sup> Lisez l'intégralité de l'interview au lien suivant: <http://theartnewspaper.com/news/ethnographic-museum-ready-to-return-african-art>, consulté le 04 janvier 2018.

Martin a communiqué encore pour le *Paris Match*<sup>14</sup> sur la question *Comment restituer le patrimoine africain*:

« Je ne vois aucune objection de principe à des transferts de propriété, après la définition d'un vrai projet. Il ne faut pas voir l'œuvre, mais le projet. Il ne faut pas voir la France et ses anciennes colonies mais un continent qui veut reconstituer son patrimoine et la communauté internationale qui serait prête à l'aider (...) Il faudrait voir à Dakar comment élaborer une coopération internationale pour mettre en place ce musée, ce qui passe par une vraie priorité au niveau des gouvernants. Jusqu'à présent à ma connaissance – peut-être que cette revendication du Bénin est un signe –, aucun chef d'Etat africain n'a vraiment pris les choses en main (...) Mais j'espère qu'il y aura une réponse en face, c'est-à-dire des pays qui vont dire : "Oui, nous voulons reconstituer une partie de notre patrimoine". »

En résumé, on se retrouve dans une étape optimiste des premières car, c'est pour la première fois qu'un pays d'Afrique demande à la France la récupérations des objets, et de même, la première fois que un président français parle et s'exprime par rapport à cela. Dans ce sens, si nous avons la curiosité de faire une visite sur la page en ligne de l'*UNESCO*, on découvrira certains cas de restitution, un d'entre eux que nous pouvons le mentionner ici, c'est sur une affaire concernant le don d'un masque *Makonde*, au sujet dont la procédure de médiation a été dirigée en 2010, par le *Conseil international des musées (ICOM)*, la République Unie de Tanzanie et le *Musée Barbier-Mueller de Genève*<sup>15</sup>.

Une autre restitution qui a fait le propos d'un scandale médiatique, a eu lieu en 1996 quand le Président de la République Française Jacques Chirac reçoit comme cadeau un béliet en terre cuite. L'objet, il a été identifié étant originaire d'un site pillé au Mali (l'époque du Royaume de Djenné). En janvier 1998, après négociations il sera restitué sous forme de don au musée de Bamako<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Disponible en ligne sur: <http://www.parismatch.com/Culture/Art/Comment-restituer-le-patrimoine-africain-1432793>, consulté le 08 janvier 2018.

<sup>15</sup> L'histoire portée sur cette restitution, peuvent être examiné au lien suivant: [http://archives.icom.museum/press/MM\\_Dossierdepresse\\_fr.pdf](http://archives.icom.museum/press/MM_Dossierdepresse_fr.pdf), consulté le 10 janvier 2018.

<sup>16</sup> Seth et al. 2015, 1-7.

C'est pourquoi, je conclurais en proposant le fait que cette discussion sur la restitution du patrimoine béninois reste encore à suivre, en étant bordée par beaucoup de questions ouvertes qui se posent continuellement autour du patrimoine, entre la morale, la politique et le droit, *à qui appartient le patrimoine?, est-il universel*<sup>17</sup>?

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<sup>17</sup> À cet égard, nous pouvons exemplifier un ouvrage qui traite la question du patrimoine, Dominique Poulot, *Patrimoine et Musée: l'institution de la culture*, Paris, Hachette, 2001.



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**Stella Spantidaki, „Textile Production in Classical Athens” in *Ancient Textiles Series*, Oxford and Philadelphia, Oxbow Books (2016), 228 p.**

**ISBN 9781785702525, 1785702521**

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The recent volume „Textile Production in Classical Athens”, written by Stella Spantidaki, derives from the author’s PhD thesis titled „L’activité textile en Attique (Ve et IVe siècles avant notre ère)” and it was published by Oxbow Books as the 27<sup>th</sup> volume of *Ancient Textile Series*. This new introspection in the domain of ancient textiles is a useful insight into the very rare category of Greek classical textiles, exceptionally preserved thanks to environmental conditions. Having the possibility to gather and study the material textile evidence from Attica dated in the Classical era, the author provides a detailed image on the ancient Greek technology of spinning and weaving, discussing as well the principal raw materials, the technologies of thread production, the warp-weighted loom and other weaving techniques, the decoration, dyeing, fulling and finishing of the cloths. The present volume has a very strong terminological component, as long as each chapter contains such a literary analyse and the last chapter is exclusively reserved for a much more detailed research in this respect. It is an important contribution which enriches the recent efforts made in this respect by many specialists in the domain.

In introduction (pp. XXII- XXVII), the author highlights the importance of the topic in the field of archaeological textiles. Therefore, it is sketch the historical, social and religious background in which the Attic textiles were produced and used. We found out that textiles were important items with a central role in the cultic life of women, being in the same time the main dedications during important festivals, such as *Panathenaia*. Their importance is revealed by the very frequent occasions in which cloths and garments were part of temple inventories (e.g. the Temple of Artemis from Brauron), being frequently mentioned in the written sources. Therefore, the first chapter of the book (pp. 1-8) discuss the written, iconographical and archaeological sources used in the study of Attic textiles dated in Classical times. Consequently, we have a general idea about the fabrics, utilitarian textiles, dyeing and decorative techniques. The author

describes as well the possible funerary functions of actual textiles preserved in such a context, usually mineralised on metal vases, mirrors and not only.

The second chapter (pp. 9-18) is a general overview on the organisation of textile production, taking into account the domestic sphere of production and the various activities performed in workshops (weaving, dyeing, fulling etc.). An important section of this chapter is dedicated to the problematic of gender-specific occupations and tasks. The author argues that apparently both men and women were involved in different extent of textile production, being very difficult to have a clear separation. Anyway, according to sources, we know almost for sure that fullers were always men. The second part of the chapter is focused on the exchange, trade and distribution of textile production and it reveals how important was the industry of this perishable wares.

The third and fourth chapters (19-47 pp.) describe the raw materials used for textile thread production and analyses the techniques performed in order to produce various types of yarn. According to the author, flax was one of the most important plant fibres used in Classical Athens, and despite of the lack of sources regarding the local production of flax, we should admit that the need of substantial amount of flax fibre for all kinds of textiles, including utilitarian textiles, would require as well a local production. On the other hand, cotton and hemp seem to be rather imported in Attica, because of the rare discoveries of this kind. It remains for the moment on open discussion. Regarding the animal fibres, wool was largely used in textile production and we know today even the different centres of production (e.g. Miletus and the Ionian world). Silk and various metal threads were rare and luxurious materials used for producing cloths. Furthermore, the discussion expands to the problematic of dyestuff, bleaching and the use of olive oil in textile production.

The forth chapter is entirely dedicated to thread production. Here is argued the importance of fibre preparation before spinning (e.g. wetting the fibres, pre-spinning and thread twist). Moreover, the various techniques of spinning and splicing are analysed in order to have a clear idea about the quality and thickness of threads. Then, the most important tools used for spinning are described: spindles, distaffs, *epinētra*, baskets and spindle-whorls.

The fifth chapter (48-70 pp.) is focused on the presentation of the warp-weighted loom, the main technology for weaving in Classical Attica and not only. This chapter is very useful and necessary because of its detailed terminological discussion regarding the component parts of a

weighted-loom. Moreover, the iconographical evidence displayed by the author in this chapter is very relevant and rich. Important technical aspects of fabrics are described, such as the density of the fabric, the twill and the edges. Finally, the chapter ends with some remarks about the role and characteristics of loom-weights.

The sixth chapter (71-77 pp.) investigates other techniques of weaving, used by ancients to obtain smaller fabrics such as borders: small looms, sprang techniques, crochet and knitting, tablet weaving and felt technique. Again, we remark the richness of the iconographic support. The very explicit technical scheme cited by the author to explain the tablet-weaving is very welcome. This chapter shows the complexity of the weaving methods in Classical Greece, being strongly supported by the good and relevant illustration accompanied by a detailed terminological discussion. Furthermore, the seventh chapter (79-85 pp.) reviews the decorative techniques used to embellish the garments and utilitarian textiles. A great variety of decorative techniques and special treatments applied to fabrics at different stages of the production process are very well documented by author with the support of archaeological remains and written sources.

The eighth chapter (86-90 pp.) is reserved for the colouring of textiles, which turns out to be a very complex topic. This contribution is important, as long as recently international Symposia were held up exclusively on the topic of ancient techniques and methods of dyeing textiles because of the lack of research in this direction. Therefore, Stella Spantidaki draws new conclusions related with the various types of ancient dyes, as well as methods of painting and impressions on textiles.

The ninth chapter (91-96 pp.) stresses the importance of the final activities performed in order to finish a garment or fabric. It refers especially to fulling, washing, sewing and pleating of textiles. The last remarks refer to maintenance and the possibility and role of perfuming the finished products. The tenth chapter (97-105 pp.) is entirely reserved for a terminological discussion of various ancient Greek terms connected with the world of textiles.

In my opinion, this recent volume is a major work in the field, being rich in new interpretations and ideas. Moreover, the methodology used by the author in her research is a good example in this quite new domain which still lives its pioneering age. The illustration is very diverse and relevant for the topics in discussion. Finally, the annexes are an important part of the book. The textile catalogue (106-144 pp.) sums up the main archaeological remains of

Classical Attic textiles, preserved in a mineralised state. They were analysed with modern techniques mainly by Dr. Christophe Moulh  rat, providing a strong ground for a detailed discussion related with technical aspects of fabrics conducted by Stella Spantidaki in the chapters of present volume. The last two annexes (145-213 pp.) consist in a preliminary discussion on spindle-whorls and loom-weights. Therefore, I conclude that the volume „Textile Production in Classical Athens” is a major work in the domain, with important contributions in many spheres related with ancient textiles.

**Marisa Ranieri Panetta, *Messalina e la Roma Imperiale dei Suoi Tempi*,  
Milano: Salani Editore, 2016, 238 p., ISBN 978-88-6918-549-6**

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*Messalina e la Roma Imperiale dei Suoi Tempi* prezintă viața Valeriei Messalina în contextul evenimentelor care se petrec la curtea imperială și a transformărilor pe care Roma le resimte la începutul secolului I p. Chr.

Autoarea acestei lucrări, Marisa Ranieri Panetta, propune publicului o lectură lesne de înțeles. Arheolog de profesie, Panetta scrie pentru două publicații importante din Italia, *l'Espresso* și *Archeo*. De treizeci de ani se dedică popularizării istoriei în rândul maselor. S-a bucurat de recunoaștere de-a lungul carierei sale, în 2014 câștigând premiul “Rhegium Julii” pentru narațiune pentru romanul *Vesuvius*, apărut în 2013 la editura Salani.

Publicarea cărții *Messalina e la Roma Imperiale dei Suoi Tempi*, în 2016, la editura Salani, atestă interesul continuu și fascinația pe care cercetătorii, și nu numai, îl au pentru Messalina, această figură feminină controversată. Acest aspect poate fi observat mai jos.

Cele mai multe materiale științifice publicate și dedicate vieții Messalinei apar după anii '70 ai secolului trecut, cu precădere în spațiul anglo-saxon, alături de studiile care tratează figura împăratului Claudius. În ultimele trei decenii au apărut multe articole, și din categoria studiilor de gen, care au în vedere episoade precise din existența Messalinei, precum ascensiunea acesteia la putere, desfrâurile sau declinul care-i va aduce și sfârșitul.

Cercetătorii ridică un mare semn de întrebare în privința veridicității surselor antice scrise atunci când vine vorba despre relatările cu privire la Messalina<sup>1</sup>. Contribuții semnificative au adus Susan Wood<sup>2</sup>, Sandra R. Joshel<sup>3</sup>, Garrett G. Fagan<sup>4</sup>, Peter Keegan<sup>5</sup>, Katherine T. Von Stackelberg<sup>6</sup> și Kristen A. Hosack<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ne referim la consemnările despre Messalina care apar la Tacitus, în *Anale*, la Suetonius, în capitolul dedicat lui *Claudius*, la Iuvenal, în *Satira a VI-a* și la Cassius Dio, în *Istoria romană*, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Susan Wood, “Messalina, wife of Claudius: propaganda successes and failures of his reign”, în *Journal of Roman Archeology* 5, 1992, 219-234.

<sup>3</sup> Sandra R. Joshel, “Female Desire and the Discourse of Empire: Tacitus's Messalina”, în *Signs* 21.1, 1995, 50-82.

<sup>4</sup> Garrett G. Fagan, “Messalina's Folly”, în *Classical Quarterly* 52.2, 2002, 566-579.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Keegan, “Boudica, Cartimandua, Messalina and Agrippina the Younger. Independent Women of Power and the Gendered Rhetoric of Roman History”, în *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers* 34.2, 2005, 99-148;

<sup>6</sup> Katherine T. Von Stackelberg, “Performative Space and Garden Transgressions in Tacitus' Death of Messalina”, în *American Journal of Philology* 130.4, 2009, 595-624.

Pentru spațiul italian, în 2010, cercetătoarea Francesca Cenerini publica un articol despre căsătoria Valeriei Messalina cu tânărul aristocrat Caius Silius<sup>8</sup>.

Prin urmare, apariția lucrării Marisei Raniera Panetta se încadrează într-un trend ascendent al studiilor preocupate de personalitatea și viața Messalinei.

*Messalina e la Roma Imperiale dei Suoi Tempise* se deschide cu două citate: unul îi aparține lui Ovidius, *Ars amatoria*, III, 7 (vv. 57-59), iar cel de-al doilea îi aparține lui Tacitus, *Anale*, I, 1. Înainte de a pătrunde în lectura propriu-zisă a lucrării, cititorul este avertizat de către autoare cu privire la anumite aspecte speciale de care trebuie să se țină cont: spre exemplu, pentru secolul I p. Chr., în ceea ce privește numele bărbaților și al femeilor, exista obiceiul de a fi preluate de la o generație la alta, autoarea indicând astfel și numele personajelor importante în prezentarea ei și criteriile aplicate în folosirea numelor (*Avvertenza per i lettori*, p. 9).

La începutul lucrării se găsește și arborele genealogic al dinastiei Iulia-Claudia. Cuprinsul este bogat iar argumentele tratate se derulează rapid. Cartea este alcătuită din douăzeci și două de capitole numerotate, alte zece capitole nenumerate, bibliografia (p. 232-236) și indexul (p. 237-238) fiind plasate la final.

*Premessa* (*Premisa*) este alcătuită din *Le fonti storiche* (p. 13-20) și *Il quadro politico* (p. 21-27). În *Le fonti storiche*, autoarea explică motivele pentru care alege să o prezinte pe Messalina reconstituind viața politică, atmosfera urbană și domestică, moda vremii, cultura, arta timpului ei. Panetta construiește prin acest mecanism figura Messalinei, pe rând, de femeie și de împărăteasă.

Panetta este de părere că, cel mai probabil, Messalina nu a fost atât de perversă și crudă așa cum a fost transmis din generație în generație (p. 20), și subliniază faptul că orice reîncercare de reconstituire a vieții și figurii Messalinei întâmpină o serie de dificultăți; dovezile arheologice sunt aproape inexistente, ca și cum Messalina ar fi fost doar o invenție a anticilor. Încă de la început, autoarea se îndoiește de surse și își exprimă dubiile referitor la veridicitatea izvoarelor scrise.

Astfel, *Il quadro politico* accentuează importanța și necesitatea reconstituirii structurii statale din vremea dinastiei Iulia-Claudia (așa cum fusese definită de Augustus) pentru a putea înțelege tot tabloul politic din care Messalina făcea parte ca unul din actorii principali.

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<sup>7</sup> Kristen A. Hosack, "Can One Believe the Ancient Sources That Describe Messalina?", în *Constructing the Past* 12.1, 2011, Article 7.

<sup>8</sup> Francesca Cenerini, "Messalina e il suo matrimonio con C. Sillio", în *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis II. Akten der Tagung in Zürich 18.-20. 9. 2008*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010, 179-192.

De însemnătate este și evoluția raporturilor dintre clasa conducătoare și împărat. Urmărind aceste premize, pot fi explicate și înțelese comportamente, acțiuni și reacții ale împăratului Claudius și ale mai tinerei sale neveste. În aceste pagini întâlnim o prezentare a lui Octavian Augustus, cu o enumerare rapidă a puterilor acumulate de către acesta, o scurtă expunere a clasei senatoriale, a ordinului equestru, a modului în care se conturează monarhia, succesiunea la putere, pe scurt, climatul puterii la Roma. Accentul este pus pe figura împăratului care trebuia să-și apere tronul la Roma, fiind mai puțin prezent pe câmpul de luptă.

În primul capitol, *Gens aristocratica* (p. 29-25), autoarea inserează imaginea Agrippinei, trăsăturile acesteia, ca mai apoi să introducă personajul Messalinei. Discuția se construiește în jurul a ceea ce definea femeia din acele vremuri; formarea Messalinei este imaginată pe baza a ceea ce însemna creșterea și dezvoltarea ca fată în Roma antică. Autoarea, cu vădit talent scriitoricesc, creează imagini, pentru care lipsesc surse scrise de orice fel, și emoționează cititorul, cerându-i acestuia să și-o imagineze pe Messalina la vârsta copilăriei, jucându-se cu păpușile.

Următorul capitol, *Il matrimonio* (p. 36-41), se bazează pe sursele antice scrise care descriu ceremoniile tradiționale de căsătorie. În aceste pagini avem prezentarea obiceiurilor care priveau căsătoria, vârsta medie la care fetele se căsătoreau. Autoarea apelează din nou și la imaginație și croiește scenarii despre cum i s-ar fi părut viața la curte tinerei Messalina, despre modul în care a fost primită de Messalina decizia luată de familia ei de a o căsători cu Claudius, vărul tatălui ei.

Panetta subliniază de-a lungul întregii lucrări faptul că, alegerea lui Claudius ca împărat și venirea acestuia la tronul Romei a avut un impact și a provocat o serie de schimbări în viața Messalinei. Urmează câteva pagini dedicate tocmai acestui episod. *Una strana elezione* (p. 42-50), descrie momentul asasinării lui Caligula și atmosfera care a urmat. Toată atenția se concentrează pe soțul Messalinei, de acum, împăratul Claudius.

Unde se afla Messalina în aceste momente? Este întrebarea legitimă care apare. Scenariul propus de autoare în *Imperatrice a sedici anni* (p. 51- 57) face apel la normalitate. Messalina, în vârstă de șaisprezece ani, se afla în așteptarea celui de-al doilea copil, care se va naște la scurt timp după venirea lui Claudius la putere. Aceste ipostaze umane dau căldură personajului.

*Vita a Palazzo* (p. 58-63) descrie viața domestică a cuplului imperial. Autoarea oferă detalii despre Domus Tiberiana și Palatin, aducând în discuție și legătura reședinței imperiale cu centrul orașului.



Lucrarea continuă cu o descriere succintă a obiceiurilor elitelor. *Baia* (p. 64-69) înfățișează locurile în care elita se retrăgea în sezonul estival. Autoarea lansează presupuneri și cu privire la persoanele pe care Messalina le frecventa. Un alt capitol dedicat obiceiurilor elitelor este și *Festeggiamenti* (p. 80-84).

În *Il nuovo governo imperiale* (p. 70-74) este prezentată imaginea lui Claudius înconjurat de liberti. Este descris și raportul Messalinei cu libertii.

Capitolul *Le prime ombre* (p. 75-79) exprimă începutul domniei lui Claudius. În acest context, autoarea propune o reexaminare a asasinatelor atribuite Messalinei, în baza credibilității (p. 79); spre exemplu, asasinarea Iuliei Livilla care s-ar fi datorat doar unui capriciu feminin.

*La prima congiura* (p. 85-92) discută climatul politic de la Roma și prima încercare de detronare a lui Claudius. Sunt înșirate delictele Messalinei, situația familială, atmosfera îmbibată cu frică și suspiciuni ș.a. Sunt amintite diverse evenimente politice și sociale în care s-ar fi putut afla Messalina, cu scopul de a înțelege potențialul comportament al acesteia și ce anume din ceea ce relatează sursele scrise poate fi considerat veridic.

*Premure imperiali* (p. 93-99) aduce în atenția cititorului portretul lui Claudius desprins din sursele antice, măsurile pe care acesta le-a luat, în acest decor fiind incluse și relația Messalinei cu Mnester, alte evenimente publice și detalii despre capitala Roma.

Capitolul anterior a pregătit terenul pentru *Roma ai tempi di Messalina* (p. 100-107), o secțiune cu și mai multe detalii despre Roma în vremea Messalinei. Împărăteasa este doar un pretext pentru a povesti viața și tumultul orașului de atunci, pornind de la întrebări precum: *Ce ar fi putut Messalina să vadă? Unde se deplasa?*

Interesul lucrării se mută imediat pe campania de succes din Britannia la care ia parte Claudius. *Feste e guere* (p. 108-113) și *Il trionfo* (p. 114-119) sunt capitolele dedicate acestui episod. Sunt menționate surse numismatice, epigrafice și reprezentări iconografice. Triumful lui Claudius implică și onoruri acordate Messalinei<sup>9</sup>. Roma este descrisă precum o imensă scenă de teatru pentru victoriosul Claudius care acum primește supranumele de *Britannicus*.

Panetta lansează ipoteza că absența lui Claudius a produs schimbări în personalitatea Messalinei, Războiul din Britannia facilitând modificarea comportamentului tinerei împărăteasă. Această ipoteză este expusă în două capitole: *Lupa imperiale* (p. 120-127) și *Jeunesse doreé* (p. 128-132).

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<sup>9</sup> Senatul votează pentru Messalina dreptul la *carpentum*. Acest vehicul a fost dezbătut de literatura de specialitate. Nu era un vehicul funerar sau un simbol pentru ceremonia deificării. În anumite circumstanțe, *carpentum* era folosit de preotese și, în particular, de către vestale. Marisa Ranieri Panetta consideră că acest *carpentum* este de fapt *proedria*, o mare onoare acordată vestalelor.

Despre pasiunile Messalinei vorbește și *Voglia di giardini* (p. 133-140) care are în vedere și ce presupunea deținerea unei grădini și de ce Messalina ar fi putut râvni la Grădinile lui Valerius Asiaticus.

Următorul capitol, *I Giochi Secolari* (p. 141-147), aduce în atenție Jocurile Seculare sărbătorite de Claudius în 47 p. Chr. Sunt amintite și alte evenimente cheie ale domniei lui Claudius, fiind subliniată și rivalitatea dintre Agrippina și Messalina.

Pe tot parcursul lucrării o atenție foarte mare îi este acordată lui Claudius, portretului acestuia, poziției pe care acesta o deține în cadrul *Domus Augusta*, politica implementată și virtuțile pe care și le asociază. Autoarea încheie capitolul *Claudio, imperatore di Roma* (p. 148-156) cu un pasaj ce reflectă foarte bine situația din mediul istoriografic (p. 156): Principatul lui Claudius “é ormai rivalutato per la burocrazia più efficiente, le opere pubbliche, l’aspetto giuridico e l’oculatezza nella gestione della finanze statale.” (*este reevaluat acum pentru birocrăția mult mai eficientă, pentru lucrările publice, pentru aspectul juridic și prudența în gestionarea finanțelor publice*).

Declinul Messalinei și sfârșitul acesteia este descris în trei capitole. *Gaio Silio, il piu bello di Roma* (p. 157-169) este partea care prezintă comportamentul Messalinei, ce anume o motivează și de ce alege să meargă pe calea “oficializării” relației cu Caius Silius. Este discutat și limbajul folosit de Tacitus pentru a descrie pasiunea Messalinei pentru Caius Silius (p. 159).

*La morte di Messalina* (p. 170-180) prezintă ultimele clipe ale Messalinei, încercările acesteia de a vorbi cu Claudius, toate sortite eșecului, fiindcă Messalina nu izbutește să se facă auzită.

Ultimele evenimente din viața împărătesei Messalina necesită o serie de reflecții. În *Vere nozze o colpo di stato* (p. 181-185) vedem cum interpretează aceste întâmplări autorii antici: Suetonius, Tacitus, Cassius Dio.

Următoarea secțiune a cărții, *Dopo Messalina*, conține cinci capitole nenumerate, care vorbesc pe rând despre Claudius, *Claudio. Il marito* (p. 189-195), despre Domitia Lepida, *Domizia Lepida. La madre* (p. 196-199), despre Octavia și Britannicus, *I figli* (p. 200-216), despre inventarul menționărilor Messalinei, *Seneca, Claudio e Messalina* (p. 217-222), despre reciclarea statuiilor Messalinei, enumerarea portretelor antice, *L’arte* (p. 223-227). Această parte este poate una dintre cele mai interesantă a lucrării pentru că amintește de epoca modernă și fascinația pictorilor pentru Messalina, mai ales în secolul al XIX-lea. Pictorii romantici găseau în povestea vieții Messalinei un subiect de inspirație generos.

Finalul lucrării împarte astfel referințele folosite: *Fonti latine e greche citate* (p. 229-230), *Per i monumenti di Roma* (p. 231), *Bibliografia di riferimento* (p. 232-236), aici fiind înșirate cele mai valoroase și de actualitate intervenții din literatura de specialitate.

Lucrarea prezentată are un aspect îngrijit, materialul urmând o structură cronologică. Capitolele sunt scurte, limbajul folosit este lesne de înțeles iar cartea se parcurge ușor. Autoarea are o capacitate uriașă de sinteză și reușește cu naturalețe să se adreseze publicului larg, nespecialist. Sunt avute în vedere toate etapele vieții Messalinei, chiar și cele care nu au fost înregistrate de sursele antice.

Pe tot parcursul lucrării, autoarea aduce în discuție pasaje din autorii antici Suetonius, Tacitus, Iuvenal, Cassius Dio, citând pasaje din operele acestora fără să facă trimitere la pasajele propriu-zise. Astfel, lucrarea de față se încadrează într-un trend al publicațiilor de popularizare a istoriei în Italia, care de cele mai multe ori au foarte puține note de subsol sau chiar deloc.

*Messalina e la Roma Imperiale dei Suoi Tempi* poate fi utilă pentru cineva care dorește un prim contact cu subiectul tratat. În același timp, le poate fi practică și cercetătorilor, ca un exercițiu pentru însușirea unei componente de prezentare a unui episod din istoria antică într-o manieră atrăgătoare.

**Mihaela-Lorelai Mănescu, *Portret de femeie bizantină*, Câmpulung-Muscel: Editura Sinergii, 2008, 395 p., ISBN 978-973-99769-4-7**

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Mihaela Mănescu, absolventă a Facultății de Teologie Ortodoxă a Universității din București, publică în anul 2008 *Portret de femeie bizantină*, o lucrare de sinteză ce urmărește un parcurs al femeii de-a lungul celor zece secole de istorie bizantină, din perspective multiple: juridică și religioasă, femeia în plan social și în sfera vieții private, femeia ca reprezentantă a diferitelor păături sociale și nu în ultimul rând, femeia în cadrul vieții monahale. Dacă în plan internațional problema statutului femeii bizantine a mai fost abordată în ultimele decenii, cum este cazul Lyndei Garland și al lui Judith Herrin, în spațiul englez, ori al lui Joelle Beaucamp în cel francez, istoriografia românească s-a preocupat mai puțin de acest subiect. Astfel se justifică și alegerea temei propuse de Mihaela Mănescu.

Lucrarea propriu-zisă este alcătuită din opt capitole, cu o prefață realizată de profesorul Emanoil Băbuș, la care se adaugă un dicționar de termeni, un indice analitic dar și o listă a împăraților care s-au succedat la conducerea Imperiului de Răsărit, în decursul milenarei sale existențe. Autoarea preferă să-și deschidă sinteza cu o prezentare succintă a istoriei romeilor, ce constituie o bază pentru punerea în lumină a rolului pe care femeia îl joacă în interiorul acestei societăți. Sunt astfel surprinse principalele aspecte ale vieții cotidiene în Bizanț: politica internă și externă a imperiului, problema naționalităților și a limbilor de circulație, elemente ale vieții sociale, economice și religioase, toate văzute în ansamblu și expuse în liniile generale ale evoluției lor. Tipul acesta de introducere permite chiar și unui cititor neavizat să pătrundă în universul istoric al imperiului lui Constantin, pentru a putea înțelege mai bine statutul de care femeile „se bucurau” în acest context.

Discuția efectivă despre femeia în Bizanț pornește prin analiza diferitelor statusuri sociale pe care aceasta le deține în societatea romeilor (în calitate de fiică, soție, mamă și văduvă, pe de o parte, ori femeia sclavă și prostituată, pe de alta), oprindu-se și asupra unor teme colaterale pe care le deschide discuția acestor ipostaze feminine, precum problema încheierii și desfacerii unei căsătorii, cea a vârstei potrivite pentru legarea unui mariaj, poziția femeii în afara propriului său

cămin, asistența medicală și socială acordată femeilor dar și instituții care se ocupă de situația acestora. Din deschiderea acestui capitol, *Statutul femeii în societatea bizantină*, aflăm că intenția autoarei este de a înfățișa condiția femeilor Imperiului de Răsărit mai ales din perspectivă juridică, enumerând principalele acte legislative ale Bizanțului care încep cu *Codexul* lui Theodosius cel Mare, continuă cu cel al lui Justinian și se încheie cu *Ecloga* lui Leon al III-lea. Codurile de legi emise în perioada Macedonenilor, precum *Procheiron*-ul lui Vasile I sau *Basilicalele* lui Leon al VI-lea sunt omise. Este adevărat totuși că legea iustiniană are cel mai mare impact asupra dreptului occidental și în egală măsură asupra celui bizantin, chiar și după secolul al VII-lea când avem de-a face cu o variantă greacă a codului lui Justinian; totuși, textele de legi din secolele IX-X aduc unele modificări prevederilor anterioare, mai ales în cazul dreptului penal, care privesc implicit și femeia, și merită deci menționate.

O altă precizare ce trebuie făcută este că, deși titlul lucrării nu ne indică vreo delimitare clară a perioadei de care se ocupă, „portretul de femeie bizantină” ce ni se înfățișează corespunde mai ales perioadei timpurii a istoriei bizantine și ultimelor secole ale Imperiului Roman. Nu se acordă aceeași importanță figurii feminine din epoca de mijloc a Imperiului din Orient, și cu atât mai puțin din ultimele sale secole de existență.

În capitolul dedicat femeii de la curtea imperială, care ne vorbește despre nașterea și educația tinerelor prințese, încoronarea unei suverane și statutul de care se bucură în fața supușilor, raportul acesta al perioadelor istorice analizate se schimbă. Ceremonia încoronării și a nașterii în camera de purpură ne sunt mai ales prezentate din perspectiva lui Constantin al VII-lea. Dacă în cazul instituției porphyrogenetilor, oficializate în vremea împăratului menționat, *De ceremoniis* reprezintă principala sursă, în cazul ceremonialului încoronării, acesta nu a fost întodeauna identic cu cel descris de fiul lui Leon al VI-lea, în secolul al X-lea. Apar aici unele derapaje terminologice, precum folosirea titlului de regină, pentru desemnarea basilisei proaspăt încoronate, ce corespunde mai degrabă regatelor din Occident, nicidecum Bizanțului. O contribuție importantă însă a lucrării avute în discuție este lista cronologică a împărăteselor bizantine pe care autoarea Mihaela Mănescu o întocmește la finalul acestui capitol, cu date succinte dar esențiale despre fiecare dintre acestea. Nici de această dată lista nu începe cu prezențele feminine din viața împăratului Constantin, întemeietorul orașului ce-i poartă numele, așa cum ne-am aștepta, ci pornește de la Teodora, soția lui Constanțiu Chlor și fiica adoptivă a lui Maximian, deci din perioada tetrarhiei romane. Se va încheia tot cu o Teodora, soția

împăratului Constantin al XI-lea, ultimul suveran bizantin, urmată de Maria de Mangop, o prințesă moștenitoare din neamul Paleologilor, care nu va urca pe tronul lui Constantin, ci pe scaunul domnesc al Moldovei, prin căsătoria cu Ștefan cel Mare. Acestei liste pe linie feminină îi corespunde o alta, analogă, a conducătorilor bizantini, care debutează cu împăratul Constantin cel Mare și sfârșește cu cei trei suverani titulari ai Paleologilor, Tomas, Demetrios și Andrei (1503). Pe lângă femeia din păturile inferioare ale societății romeilor și femeia-împărăteasă, o altă ipostază a acesteia ne este înfățișată, aceea a femeii burgheze. De departe însă cea mai bine conturată perspectivă asupra femeii bizantine este cea religioasă. Ne sunt aici prezentate începuturile monahismului feminin, preocupările spirituale ale bizantinelor, poziția pe care femeile ce iau calea bisericii o ocupă în interiorul lăcașului de cult (femeile diaconițe, femei trăitoare în pustiu, mucenicia, agapetele), dar și prevederi ale sinoadelor ecumenice în raport cu acestea ori imaginea lor în opera Sfinților Părinți; îi găsim aici pe Sfinții Clement al Alexandriei, Ioan Gură de Aur ori Ignatie al Antiochiei, Tertulian, Epifanie și mulți alții. Un ultim capitol este dedicat importanței pe care femeile o dobândesc în viața culturală a Bizanțului, cu exemple oferite în acest sens.

Așadar, lucrarea *Portret de femeie bizantină* este o lucrare de sinteză și mai puțin de analiză, ce ne oferă o imagine de ansamblu asupra poziției pe care femeia o ocupă în diferitele medii ale societății bizantine (în cadrul familiei, în Biserică, ori la cărmuirea statului). Și, deși în prezentarea anumitor aspecte se concentrează pe o singură etapă din istoria Imperiului din Orient, fără a surprinde clar o evoluție sau, dimpotrivă, un regres al statutului feminin de-a lungul secolelor, lucrarea oferă informații prețioase despre sfere diferite ale vieții în care activează bizantina secolelor IV-XV. În plus, stilul în care este scrisă nu este unul greoi, astfel că poate fi accesibilă oricărui pasionat de istorie bizantină, dar poate constitui deopotrivă și un excelent text de pornire, în cadrul unei cercetări serioase a unui specialist în teologie istorică ori isorie a Bizanțului.

**Kostas V. Karastathis, *Marele Constantin: învinuiri și adevăr: studiu istoric*, trad. Ion Andrei Gheorghe Târlescu, Editura Egumenița, Galați, 2013, 432 p., ISBN 978-606-550-120-1.**

**Alexandru STAN**  
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Cartea *Marele Constantin* a lui Kostas V. Karastathis își propune să fie o lucrare care să fie un studiu istoric și o apologie. Munca la această lucrare a început-o din anul 2006, ca răspuns la polemicile contra împăratului Constantin cel Mare, autorul scriind în *Cuvântul la cea de a treia ediție* că „În prezent, scriitori atei, de altă religie, eretici, diverși dușmani ai Ortodoxiei, duc mai departe acuzele împotriva lui Constantin cel Mare.” (p. 7). O asemenea lucrare este de apreciat, fiind un răspuns la ideile subiective de formă ateistă, eretică, păgână cu privire la împăratul Constantin. Lucrarea a fost apreciată și de Ieronim al II-lea și de Hristodul, Arhiepiscopii Atenei și întregii Elade. Deși cartea fost publicată în limba greacă în anul 2012, motivul traducerii lucrării în limba română în anul 2013, a fost fiindcă era anul omagial al Sfinților Împărați Constantin și mamei sale Elena. Traducerea cărții a fost aprobată de Pr. Conf. Dr. Ioan Moldoveanu de la Facultatea de Teologie Ortodoxă ”Iustinian Patriarhul”, de la Universitatea din București. Dar deși cartea are o temă interesantă și este prezentată pozitiv de anumite persoane teologice, traducerea lui Andrei Gheorghe Târlescu lasă de dorit.

Cartea este formată din epistolele arhiepiscopilor Atenei și a întregii Elade, succedate de cuvintele autorului la diverse ediții, apoi de *Introducere*, urmată de 20 de capitole, organizate în mai multe subcapitole. Anexa conține fragmente din epistolele și cuvântările împăratului și este urmată de un rezumat în limba engleză, apoi de o listă de izvoare, care, în realitate, reprezintă mai mult o listă de autori antici, și de *Bibliografia modernă*. De apreciat este faptul că lucrarea folosește citate din multe surse antice.

După *Introducere* (pp. 25-28), *Capitolul I* (pp. 29-50) discută despre originea și starea imperiului în timpul Tetrarhiei. Traducătorul Andrei Gheorghe Târlescu dă dovadă că nu cunoaște denumirea istorică a provinciilor romane sau a cronologiei. Acestui aspect i se adaugă multe alte greșeli care duc la concluzia că nu a avut un editor sau traducerea a fost grăbită pentru a fi publicată rapid la începutul anului 2013, așa că, probabil, nu au avut timp să o recitească. Greșelile de traducere fac lucrarea pentru un istoric cunoscător al cronologiei

secolului al IV-lea să devină stresantă sau chiar ridicolă, de exemplu: „Astfel că scriitorul are posibilitatea de a fi sau nu de acord cu scriitorul și de a verifica izvoarele lui.” (p. 12). Traducerea nu are sens, doar dacă înlocuim primul cuvânt „scriitorul” cu „cititorul”. Apoi la p. 30, se susține că Dioclețian a pus în aplicare sistemul Tetrarhiei în anul 289, când în realitate acest fapt s-a petrecut în anul 293. Apoi, o altă frază ridicolă este la p. 37 unde autorul susține că: „fulgerul a căzut peste împărat, arzându-l și făcându-l cenușă”. În realitate Dioclețian nu a fost făcut cenușă în anul 303, ci, potrivit lui Eusebius de Caesarea, fulgerul a lovit palatul din Nicomedia provocând un incendiu. La p. 45, când enumără provinciile din Apus, se confundă Galatia cu Galia. Autorul Kostas V. Karastathis îl consideră pe istoricul Zosimos ca fiind un „păgân fanatic și foarte dușmanos față de Constantin” (p. 44), ni se pare mai nimerit să considerăm că Zosimos îl atacă pe Constantin în lucrarea sa *Istoria Nouă*, mai ales în *Cartea a II-a* în calitate de favorizator al practicilor păgâne.

*Capitolul al II-lea* (pp. 51-94) discută despre moartea lui Maximian, Maxențiu, Vassian și Liciniu. Greșelile de traducere se găsesc și aici, de exemplu la p. 63 scrie „eparhiile franceze”, în loc de eparhiile galicane, fiindcă nu exista Franța în secolul al IV-lea. În cazul citatelor din Eusebius din Caesarea, traducătorul face referi în notele de subsol la traduceri făcute la edițiile românești din anul 1991, publicate de Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Române, în loc să ofere notele originale ale autorului. Și notele oferite la traduceri românești au greșeli, de exemplu în nota 64 de la p. 70 și în nota 67 de la p. 72, traducătorul a confundat *Vita Constantini* cu *Istoria Bisericească* a lui Eusebius de Caesarea.

*Capitolul al III-lea* (pp. 95-105) se ocupă de contextul istoric al vedeniei lui Constantin, unde autorul face apel la faptul că și profeții și apostolii și mulți sfinți au avut vedenii dumnezeiești. Apoi, enumeră și descrie sursele primare care menționează vedenia, subliniind riscul la care s-a supus împăratul, și anume acela de a pierde suportul armatei sale care era majoritar păgână.

Tema convertirii lui Constantin, cu menționarea discuțiilor antice și moderne asupra datării și motivațiilor ei fac obiectul *capitolului al IV-lea* (pp. 106-122), iar preocupările sale spirituale sunt dezbătute pe baza lucrării *Vita Constantini* și a *Istoriei Noi* a lui Zonaras în *capitolul al V-lea* (pp. 123-134).

Firul cronologic al evenimentelor este principala axă de desfășurare a următoarelor capitole: Sinodul I Ecumenic din anul 325, arianismul și rolul episcopului Arius (în *capitolul al VI-lea* – pp. 135-122); personalitatea lui Constantin (în *capitolul al VII-lea* – pp. 153-163), discutată pe baza autorilor romani târzii și bizantini, precum Malalas (sec. al VI-lea) și Sfântul Teofan (sec. al VIII-IX); moartea Faustei și a lui Crispus unde mai întâi folosește sursele



primare pentru a înțelege ce s-a întâmplat (*capitolul al VIII-lea* - pp. 165-214); „*damnatio memoriae*” a Faustei și a lui Crispus, pe care o găsește nefondată, pe faptul că nu este menționată de istoricii antici (în *capitolul al IX-lea* – pp. 165-214). Discuțiile raporturile lui Constantin cu păgânismul, ”decăderea treptată” (motivată de însemnele imperiale păgâne și caracterul risipitor al împăratului), raporturile cu creștinii, îmbolnăvirea împăratului, botezul său creștin și moartea sa sunt cuprinse în următoarele 6 capitole (pp. 221-277). Referitor la botezul împăratului, sursele pe baza cărora este organizată analiza urcă din veacul al IV-lea până în veacul al IX-lea, cu Biblioteca Sfântului Fotie cel Mare, concluzia autorului fiind în sensul negării rolului lui Eusebiu din Nicomedia în episodul botezării lui Constantin.

Ultimele patru capitole ale cărții (pp. 279-356) se opresc la faptele edilitar-culturale și la moștenirea lăsată de împăratul Constantin, iar capitolul al XX-lea (pp. 357-362) oferă o biografie a lui Eusebius din Caesarea, fiind urmat de 6 capitole scurte asupra vieții Sfintei Elena (pp. 363-406).

După *Anexă* urmează *Izvoarele* (pp. 419-426), unde se oferă o listă alfabetică de autori a izvoarelor primare. Este de remarcat greșelile traducătorului, unde la Ammianus Marcelinus este trecut ca titlul *Istoria bisericească* (p. 419) în loc de corectul titlu *Istoria romană*.

Lucrarea lui Kostas V. Karastathis este în general bine documentată mai ales în privința surselor primare. Diversitatea izvoarelor este bine primită mai ales că Eusebius de Caesarea este insuficient pentru a reconstrui domnia lui Constantin, la fel și izvoarele păgâne sunt insuficiente, pentru că ele nu menționează multe evenimente importante, mai ales Sinodul I Ecumenic sau faptele episcopilor. După citirea lucrării cititorul poate să tragă concluziile finale asupra adevărului despre polemicile cu privire la împăratul Constantin, munca autorului fiind bine primită de un istoric cu intenții obiective, care nu se lasă limitat de părerile subiective ale unui istoric ateu de marca lui Edward Gibbon, cât și a altora ca el. Din păcate traducerea cărții în limba română este deficitară, cu multe greșeli de sens în interiorul frazelor, dar și greșeli în privința datelor și surselor. În acest fel, puțința unor erori este foarte mare. Ne exprimăm speranța unei re-editări mai îngrijite în viitorul apropiat.

## **Ancient Spool-shaped Objects Made of Rare Metals**

### **Master Thesis presentation**

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This paper is focused on the presentation of the MA dissertation that the author has submitted in June 2017 at The Faculty of History, University of Bucharest. The dissertation on the topic of *Ancient Spool-Shaped Objects Made of Rare Metals* was written under the supervision of Associate Professor PhD. Flori Bohîlțea -Mihuț (Faculty of History, University of Bucharest) and PhD. Iulian Bîrzescu (Senior researcher at The National Institute of Archaeology „Vasile Pârvan”, Bucharest). \* The aim of this brief presentation is to underline the importance of this specific topic, which was almost never explored and investigated from an archaeological point of view, even if the larger domain of Ancient textiles gains more importance while many pioneering volumes on textile technology started to appear as a result of symposia and international conferences dedicated to this relatively new field.

Therefore, I claim that by studying the Ancient bobbins, spools and spool-shaped objects, scholars can draw new conclusions regarding the storage of textile yarn after the process of spinning. Moreover, this category of artefacts has the same importance as the best-known loom weights and spindle whorls. Until recently, bobbins were almost totally ignored in archaeology, especially because their functionality is very unclear, and consequently they are scarcely mentioned in excavation reports and small finds catalogues. Nevertheless, a few scholars have approached the topic, but only the exceptional types of bobbins and spools were preferred: e.g. the Classical Greek pottery bobbins which are painted on the component disks by some of the most talented painters in that time.

Excepting the above-mentioned Classical objects interpreted as bobbins, magic wheels, homoerotic gifts or toys in a series of publications (G. M. A. Richter 1929, D. Gould 1975, I. Wehgartner 1980, H. A. Shapiro 1985, E. Böhr 1997, A. Ciobotaru 2017), the Etruscan pottery spools made the subject of some recent papers (M. Gleba 2008, L. Raeder-Knudsen 2012 ), and the Bronze Age Greek spools have aroused the interest of A. Ulanowska and M. Siennicka

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\*I am grateful to my MA coordinators for their pertinent comments and insights regarding my thesis. Without their help and support, I would not focus my attention today on this topic.

(2016). Otherwise, we have only few other approaches on the topic. Friedrich Brein studied in 1983 the spool-shaped objects made of crystal rock from Ephesos, dated in the Archaic period. He concluded that they were earrings. In 2015 Milla Chacheva interpreted in the same manner the glass spool-shaped artefacts from Apollonia Pontica, dated in the Hellenistic period. Taking into account the lack of research about other types of bobbins, I have decided to focus my research for the MA thesis on this topic. I chose to study the particular type of spool-shaped objects made of rare metals such as gold, silver and electrum. This represents the first attempt to study in detail a category of objects which turn out to be very controversial and to raise various questions.

The most important sources employed in my research were various archaeological sources (around 70 spool-shaped objects and their funerary and votive contexts of discovery, pottery vases decorated with depictions of scenes related with textile production (figure 1). For the problematic of spool-shaped earrings, I studied numerous statues of *kuroi* and *korai* with preeminent discoid earrings (figure 2). On the other hand, I used written sources to document the Ancient name of bobbins: Anakreon, *Antologia Greca*, Homer, Herodotus, Euripides, Pindar, Xenophon and Philon of Byzantium.

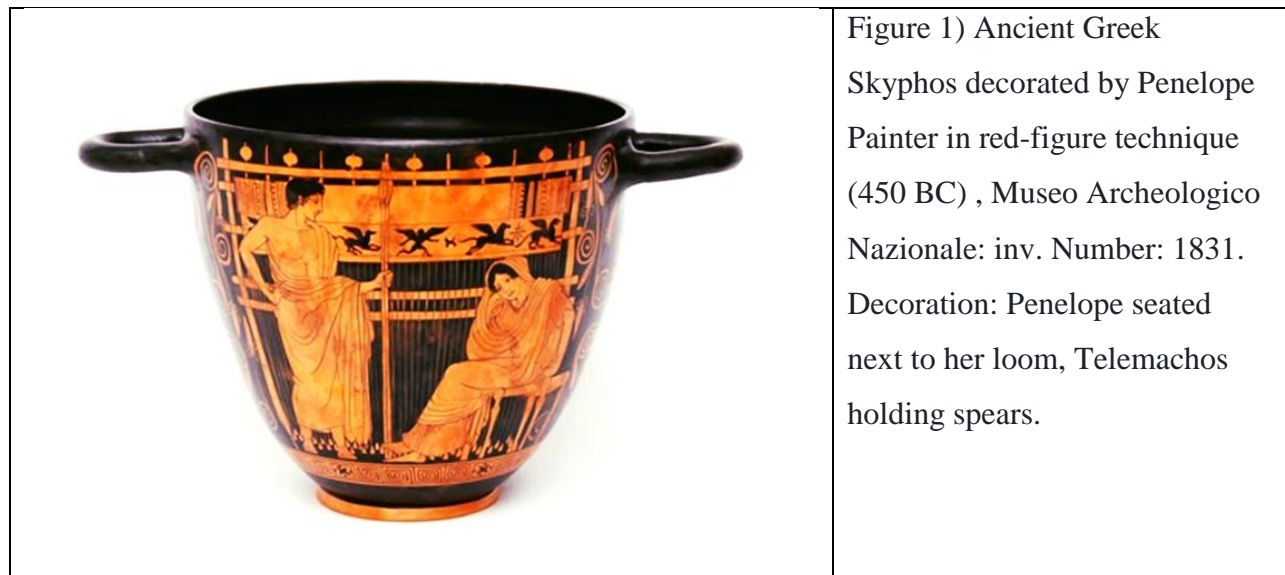




Figure 2) Head of ancient caryatid, interpreted as part of the Knidian thesaurus in Delphi.

Archaeological Museum of Delphi, inv. Number: 1203

In my dissertation I have recorded, described and analysed around 70 artefacts which have the characteristics above-mentioned. They are spool-shaped, having the basic form of a cylinder with a disk on each side, they are made of rare and precious metals and they have a specific amount of storage space between the two disks. The first aim of my research was to do a general typology of metal spool-shaped object, paying attention to their shape, weight, dimensions (thickness and height), decoration and material. Other secondary, but very important objectives, were the following:

- to give a clear definition for the terms „bobbin” and „spool”, according with the actual functionality of those objects in the process of textile production in Ancient societies. Personally, I consider that terminology is a major aspect when we study this problematic. There are many

confusions regarding the clear meaning of those words and the only complex attempt of defining bobbins can be read in a guide of techniques and shapes of ancient Greek vases which says that a bobbin is a „...vase shaped like a yo-yo or a pulley: two back-to back disks, connected by an axle like cross-piece with a picture on each disk. The shape is rare, occurring in red-figure and white ground. Although neither the name nor the purpose of this form is known, the subjects depicted on bobbins suggest that they had some **erotic** or **magic purpose**. It is probable that a bobbin was meant to be suspended by a cord wound around the cross-piece or threaded through the small holes seen on some examples. There is little reason to think that bobbins were actually **ordinary yo-yos or toys or bobbins for thread**.” (Clark E. J., Elston M., Hart M. L. , *Understanding the Greek Vases: A Guide to Terms, Styles and Techniques*, Los Angeles, Getty Museum, 1949, p.73). This is a limited explanation for various reasons: it refers only to Classical painted bobbins made of clay, it defines this shape as a „vase”, which is very inappropriate and it says that the ancient name of the object is unknown. Anyway, I proved in my dissertation that we can study the Ancient written sources in a productive effort of identifying the ancient Greek name of the bobbins, which can be related with the semantic family of the word „πήνη” (Antologia Graeca, 6.288; Homer - *Il.*, 23.740; Euripides - *Hec.*, 471 și *Ion*, 197).

- to make a detailed and critical analysis of this category of artefacts with the purpose of drawing new conclusion regarding their possible functions. A general view on the topic shows how many confusions and unsupported assumptions were made when it comes to the role of different rare metal spool-shaped objects. Some of them were interpreted as parts of musical instruments of *sistrum* type (figure 3), on the basis of the pallet of gold and electrum kept inside of their cylindrical body. This theory ignores the fact that it is not even one archaeological context when a *sistrum* or a part of it was discovered next to the objects in question. Another theory states that they could be earrings similar with nowadays „flesh tunnels” and „ear studs” which have the capacity to modify the lobe of the ear, causing a big perforation in the lobe. This opinion, mentioned usually in catalogues of Greek and Anatolian small finds made of rare metals, do not stand on strong ground, even if the theory in question deserves our attention (Williams-Ögden 1994, 88 ). According to other scholars, they could be bobbins used in textile production for storing the fine textile threads, as F. Marshal points in his work, „Some recent Acquisitions in the British Museum ” *JHS*, Vol. 29 (1909), pp. 151-167. : „The most obvious explanation for their use is that they were employed by wealthy ladies for the winding of silk”. Until now none of

these theories have been fully demonstrated or denied. In my dissertation I had a critical view regarding the ancient role of the spool-shaped object made of rare metals. Thus, I made a first typology taking as main indicator the shape of those artefacts, because this could be the clue for their functionality (Table I).



Figure 3) Ancient *Sistrum*. Ziegelmeyer 2013, p. 394, pl. 4.

- to create a representative catalogue of spool-shaped objects made of rare metals. This catalogue, consisting in over 50 objects, represents one of the most consistent parts of my dissertation, being in the same time the first attempt to gather a large amount of artifacts which can be found otherwise separated in various excavation reports and catalogues of precious metal small finds. The catalogue is organized on different sections (typical spool-shaped objects with a cylindrical body and two disks, spool-shaped pieces with the cylindrical body secured by a central tube and with gold and electrum pellets inside, spool-shaped pieces with only one disk linked to a cylindrical or tronconic body made of silver and double-spools made of gold).
- to explain the geographical distribution of spool-shaped objects made of gold, silver and electrum. I used in this respect the cartographic method, resulting special maps for the archaic and classical periods.

The most important questions identified along my research were:

- 1) Which was the actual functionality of spool-shaped objects made of precious metals in Archaic and Classical periods?

2) Can we accept more roles for one type of spool-shaped object (for example bobbins and rattles (as Curtis does : Curtis 1925, 85)?

3) In which kind of archaeological contexts did they occurred?

4) How should the scholar treat the objects with a lost context (e.g.: part of private collections, some of them are exposed for selling in the online Antiquity sites)?

5) Which was the technological process for producing such spool-shaped objects?

The main hypothesis of my research was that we can attribute the most appropriate role for different types of spool-shaped objects according to their shape, which I found to be their most important characteristic. In support of my hypothesis, I analysed very carefully the exact shape and the contexts of how the pieces were discovered. Moreover, for the funerary complexes I took into consideration the object position related with the skeleton (some of them were placed under the skull or under the chest).

Using the traditional methods of research in archaeology (analogies, comparison, cartographic method, quantitative methods etc) I draw important conclusions regarding the issues of this category of objects. There are consistent numbers of spool-shaped artefacts discovered in East-Greek islands as Cyprus, Rhodes and in West-Anatolian space (Sardis, Iasos, Ephesus and Halicarnassus). The objects above-mentioned are made of gold, silver and electrum, which suggest that they were valuable possessions for rich persons and families. They occurred usually in graves and sanctuaries. I was able to distinguish five types of artefacts (Table I). For each different type I analyzed critically the possible functionalities, concluding that while a part of them have the physical characteristics of bobbins, others could be used definitely as something else (rattles, accessories etc).

I catalogued as non-bobbins the double spools, the objects consisting of one disk attached to a tronconic or a cylindrical body and the pieces with two disks, a cylindrical body and pellets of metal inside them. In my opinion, even if the shape of those objects is very close to a true bobbin, they have specific characteristics which suggest a different role. For example, I consider that the rich number of pellets placed inside some Anatolian pieces discovered at Sardis, but as well as inside some similar objects from Cyprus, indicate a musical and cultic role. I do not agree with the hypothesis that they could be parts of *sistra*, as long as we do not have situations when our objects were discovered next to such tools. I consider them to be rather common rattles of West Anatolian origin, maybe Lydian, and they were later imported in the

eastern Greek islands such as Cyprus. Curiously, these pieces occur usually in pairs, maybe because they were kept in both hands when they were shaken.

Nevertheless, I stress that the objects of type I (consisting of a cylindrical body with a decorated disk on each side) are the most appropriate for the role of bobbins. Unfortunately, none of them was discovered with a textile yarn around it as long as the environment does not allow the organic materials to survive. We have Egyptian parallels in this respect (Figure 4). Anyway, the fact that the majority of those objects were discovered in pairs lead to a strong debate between scholars, and many catalogue authors (since they did not make the subject of a specific material until now) claimed that in fact they were ear studs. I find this theory to be unsupported by their poor arguments, but I admit that there is an archaeological base and even some scarcely written sources which can be used in this direction. Taking into consideration the progress made in the present dissertation, I consider that in the future many things can be done, and the research of spool-shaped objects made of all kind of metals can be continued.

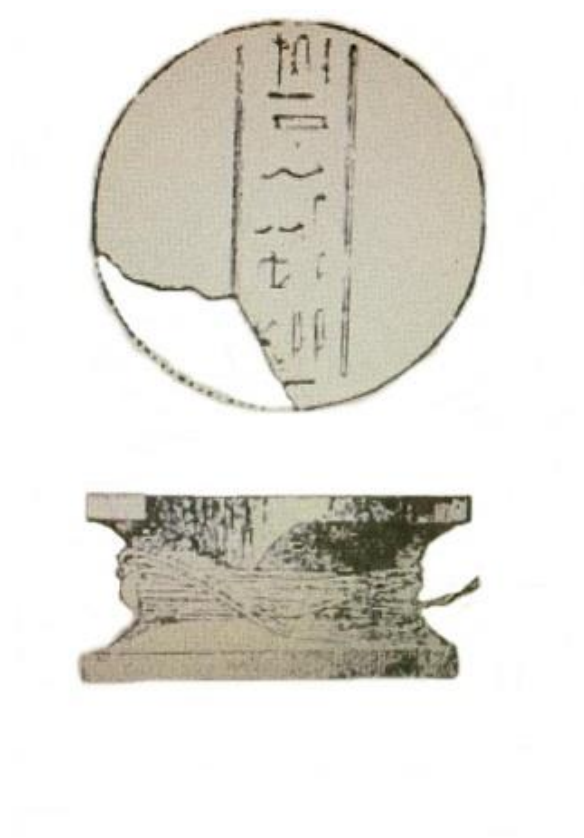


Figure 4) Egyptian bobbin made of wood, with the textile thread still wrapped around it, XVIII Dynasty (Wilkinson, II, 176, pl. 392).



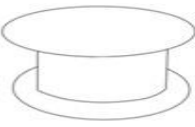
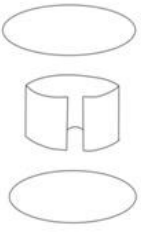

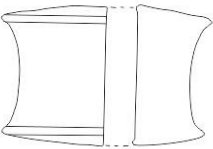



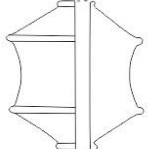

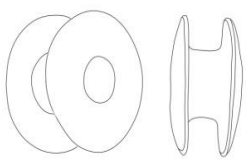

### **Dissemination and future possibilities of research on the topic**

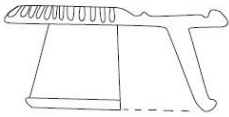
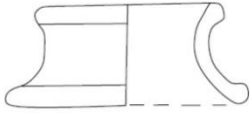
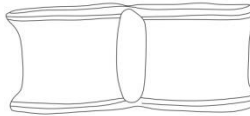

Personally, I believe that this new approach on the topic of Ancient spools, bobbins and spool-shaped objects is very welcome in the domain, because it highlights new ways of research which were ignored until now. Here I will mention my attempt of terminological research on the margins of the ancient name of bobbins and as well my efforts of clarifying the significance of the term „bobbin” and „spool” related with the field of ancient textile production. Working mainly with metal spool-shaped objects, I had the opportunity to understand how puzzling this subject is and to observe all the limitations of research on the topic. In my opinion, all types of archaic and classical bobbins and spools need further investigation. In this respect, I submitted recently (September 2017) a PhD plan with the title „Archaic and Classical bobbins in Mediterranean and Pontic regions” at The University of Bucharest, Faculty of History. My plan was accepted under the supervision of Dr. Alexandru Avram, who I would like to kindly thank for his trust and support. Consequently, I aim to continue my research by introducing new methods of study, as the experimental methods. I will extend my attention to all kind of materials: pottery bobbins and spools, spool-shaped objects made of various metals (rare metals, bronze and iron), bone, ivory, wood, glass and crystal rock.

Table 1 – The typology of spool-shaped objects made of rare metals

The typology belongs to the author of the MA dissertation.

TYPE	SHAPE	COMPONENT PARTS OF THE OBJECT	SUBTYPE	PLACE OF DISCOVERY/DATATI ON	EXAMPLES
				Rhodes 4 objects; Classical	

TYPE I				period	 <p>Williams - Ogden 1994, no. 41.</p>
TYPE II		  	<p>II-1</p> 	<p>Sardes 7 objects Rhodes 4 objects Archaic and classical period</p>	 <p>Wolf, 1995, pl. 42, 43.</p>
			<p>II-2</p> 	<p>Unknown provenience 2 objects (II-1)  Iasos 2 pieces ( II-2) Hellenistic period</p>	 <p>Williams &amp; Ogden 1994, nr. 40, p. 89.</p>

TYPE III				Istros 1 object archaic Ephesus 5 objects, Archaic period	
TYPE IV				Ephesus 10 objects, Archaic period	
TYPE V				Unknown provenience 5 objects (Uşak Museum), Classical period (???)	 <p>Özgen - Öztürk 1996, pl. 172-174.</p>

# **Cultul dionisiac în Etruria. Secolele VI- IV a.Chr.**

## **Rezumatul lucrării de disertație- 2017**

**Diana Pavel**

**Universitatea din București**

Numeroasele abordări inițiate cu scopul de a produce o cercetare amănunțită în ceea ce privește componența panteonului etrusc au dus la anumite puncte centrale de dezbateri, în special referitoare la încercarea de stabilire a naturii anumitor divinități, oscilându-se între natura autohtonă și influențele externe asupra acestora provenite, ca urmare a contactelor de natură comercială, culturală, politică, în mod predominant din sfera grecească. În acest sens însă, cercetarea arheologică din ultimele decenii întreprinsă în cadrul regiunii antice a Etruriei a produs un număr important de descoperiri arheologice semnificative, acestea oferind informații care necesită în mod constant a fi analizate și reevaluate întrucât ele prezintă argumentele necesare reconstituirii adecvate a unui tablou al divinității și a manifestărilor culturale relevante.

Lucrarea de disertație *Cultul dionisiac în Etruria. Secolele VI- IV a.Chr.* și-a propus să urmărească evoluția iconografică a zeului etrusc al vegetației, regăsit în Etruria sub cele două nume locale, Fufluns și Pacha (cel din urmă atestând etimologic legătura cu zeul roman Bacchus), pe baza stabilirii unui dosar elaborat cu reprezentări ale acestuia și cu alte reprezentări relevante ale anturajului său, *thiasos*. Deși constituie un subiect mai puțin dezbătut în istoriografie, prezența acestui zeu într-un număr important de reprezentări iconografice ne poate oferi o perspectivă de ansamblu asupra importanței acestei divinități și a cultului acesteia în cadrul vieții religioase etrusce. Așadar, au fost urmărite în același timp indiciile furnizate de către aceste surse referitoare la atributele și simbolurile zeului, precum și cele care atestă scene mitologice specifice, dar și cele care sugerează manifestări ale cultului în Etruria, conducând spre o analiză a elementelor autohtone și a celor asimilate din cultura grecească.

În ceea ce privește structura acestei lucrări, o împărțire în trei capitole principale a fost utilizată. Primul capitol a reprezentat o introducere în cadrul cultural al lumii etrusce cu scopul de a observa evoluția legăturilor dintre populația etruscă și cea grecească, precum și amploarea anumitor fenomene de ordin cultural, artistic sau social care ajung să străbată chiar

întreaga zonă mediteraneană, influențând puternic așadar și mediul etrusc, în special în timpul secolelor VI-IV a.Chr. Se observă faptul că unele fenomene religioase etrusce sunt influențate de contactele pe care populația etruscă le are cu cea grecească, în special dacă ne referim la o preluare a iconografiei grecești a zeilor, dar și prin preluarea unor atribute și funcții ale zeităților ce ajung să fie desemnate unor divinități proprii.

Cel de-al doilea capitol și-a propus înregistrarea pe baza diverselor categorii de surse arheologice a celor mai importante dovezi cu privire la iconografia zeului Fufluns-Dionysos sau la iconografia anturajului său alcătuit din satiri, menade sau alte divinități relevante. Categoriile arheologice importante care au fost luate în considerare sunt următoarele: oglinzile de bronz autohtone, vasele de ceramică provenite din atelierele locale sau din atelierele unor imigranți greci, precum și vase importate, dar care corespund gusturilor și mentalității clasei aristocratice etrusce. În plus, au fost analizate și diverse obiecte de bronz cu funcții diferite care conțin scene iconografice interesante, precum și diverse reliefuri și picturi funerare din cadrul mormintelor care au furnizat informații pertinente despre subiectul discutat.

Cel de-al treilea capitol cuprinde rezultatele analizei dovezilor prezentate în capitolul anterior, urmărind obiectivele acestei lucrări. Astfel s-a putut discuta concret pe baza acestor surse asupra caracteristicilor cultului etrusc al lui Fufluns, despre trăsăturile sale autohtone și cele grecești, ca urmare a elenizării treptate, precum și modul în care acest fenomen a avut loc, dar și despre importanța sa în cadrul lumii etrusce. În ceea ce privește însăși portretizarea zeului Fufluns, se poate observa că dacă în vasele etrusce, locale sau de import, zeul apare majoritar în ipostaza de bărbat adult, se poate constata faptul că în oglinzi sau în alte reprezentări, acesta apare ca un tânăr, observându-se așadar diferențe stilistice majore care țin cont și de caracterul categoriei arheologice: dacă iconografia vaselor este mult mai predispusă la influențe externe, grecești, în schimb gravura oglinzilor este un fenomen local, oferind o mai mare predispunere spre o viziune autohtonă.

O analiză a celor mai importante atribute ale zeului Fufluns se leagă de două mari domenii: cel vegetal și cel chtonic. Cel dintâi este dedus în majoritatea scenelor iconografice prin abundența de motive vegetale prezente sau prin detalii ale unui mediu natural în care pot avea loc festivități de muzică și dans. Particularități ale cultului lui Fufluns în Etruria pot fi oferite însă și prin reprezentarea unor episoade mitologice autohtone, în care zeul este însoțit de divinități vegetale etrusce sau de origine italică. Caracterul chtonic este evidențiat în cazul zeului Fufluns și prin intermediul asocierii sale cu Ariadna, prezența cuplului fiind cea mai frecventă reprezentare iconografică din repertoriul zeului, în special în cadrul oglinzilor,

Ariadna fiind deseori reprezentată în imagini cel mai probabil ca o zeiță cu atribute chtonice, constituind un arhetip pur etrusc sau fiind rezultatul unei asimilări a personajului grecesc cu cel al unei zeițe etrusce cu atribute chtonice.

O altă observație se poate face cu privire la caracterul autohton al anumitor episoade mitologice care se reflectă în cadrul iconografiei etrusce, precum prezența lui Semla- Semele înaripată în multe dintre imaginile discutate. Și în acest caz, se poate sugera existența unei interpretări locale și preluarea unor atribute specifice sau chiar formarea un sincretism între Semele și o altă divinitate autohtonă lumii etrusce care prezintă caracteristici similare. Alte episoade mitologice autohtone sunt ilustrate prin reprezentarea celor trei personaje împreună, Fufluns, Ariadna și Semele, precum și prin unele episoade necunoscute din mitologia grecească, de exemplu, episodul mitologic al lui Fufluns și al Ariadnei în întâlnirea acestora cu Iason și Castor, sau episoadele care implică figura misterioasă a personajului Esia.

Ca urmare a acestei analize se pot constata și anumite elemente ritualice și de cult care îl implică pe zeul Fufluns. Există un număr ridicat de reprezentări ce indică scene ritualice de muzică și dans la care participă menade, satiri, preotese sau însuși zeul. Apar și elemente de cult, precum redarea unor statui care să îl reprezinte pe zeul Dionysos, iar în alte cazuri se remarcă edificii precum altare construite, de obicei o jertfă fiind sugerată prin prezența unui animal de sacrificiu. Apar posibile scene de inițiere, dar și imagini ce duc la ipoteza prezenței unor preotese ca personal religios specializat. Nu lipsesc însă nici redările unor gesturi de libații, iar unele contexte trimit la desfășurarea unor ceremonii agrare. Măștile apar cu o frecvență sporită și în mediul etrusc, iar foarte interesante sunt și simbolurile astronomice care apar conectate cu sfera dionisiacă. Toate aceste elemente ne oferă un tablou complex asupra ceremonialului dionisiac din mediul etrusc.

Toate aceste elemente diferite care pot fi deduse ca urmare a analizei unora dintre cele mai reprezentative surse ce prezintă scene iconografice mitologice importante demonstrează că figura lui Fufluns-Dionysos, așa cum este ea reprezentată pe categoriile de surse arheologice discutate, deși menține o anumită bază stilistică grecească de reprezentare, precum și o anumită tipologie a scenelor mitologice reprezentate, este totuși construită riguros ținându-se cont de particularitățile etrusce ale participării zeului local Fufluns în mit și cult, existând un substrat autohton puternic peste care se adaugă ulterior influența elementelor grecești. Așadar, analizarea combinată a acestor dovezi produce o conexiune între diversele categorii diferite de surse arheologice, oferind perspectiva unui tablou complet privind caracteristicile importate și locale în dezvoltarea și difuziunea imaginii zeului Fufluns-Dionysos în cadrul lumii etrusce.

**Vesela de servit de epocă romană târzie din spațiul vest-pontic.**

**Studiu de caz: Histria – Sectorul Acropolă Centru-Sud**

**Lucrare de disertație (2017) – rezumat**

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De nenumărate ori materialul ceramic a reprezentat una din cele mai importante, dacă nu chiar principală, categorie de artefacte descoperite în cadrul cercetărilor arheologice. Nu numai că descoperirile ceramice sunt foarte numeroase, dar ele dețin și o importanță deosebită, reflectată în multiplele informații obținute în urma studierii acestora. Prin urmare, este firesc ca ceramica să fie considerată una din sursele arheologice de bază folosite de istorici în încercarea de a înțelege modul de funcționare al diferitelor societăți, reușind să surprindă aspecte referitoare la activitățile zilnice (alimentație, meșteșuguri), la relațiile de ordin economico-comercial sau chiar la viața religioasă și artistică.

Lucrarea de față a avut ca temă centrală ceramica de epocă romană târzie (secolele IV–VI p. Chr.) din spațiul vest-pontic și ca studiu de material ceramic vesela pentru servitul mâncării – *vasa escaria* –, reprezentată prin boluri, castroane, farfurii și platouri, descoperită la Histria, în Sectorul Acropolă Centru-Sud. Aici, în urma săpăturilor arheologice desfășurate în perioada 2013–2016, a fost identificată și parțial cercetată o *insula* de locuire romană târzie, datată în general în secolul VI.

Din punctul de vedere al aspectelor abordate, lucrarea a fost structurată în șase capitole, fiecare dintre acestea fiind la rândul său împărțit în mai multe subcapitole. Primul capitol, intitulat *Considerente generale și metodologice*, a fost dedicat prezentării generale, într-o primă fază, a Sectorului și a contextelor în care au fost descoperite piesele avute în discuție, ulterior fiind descrise o serie de aspecte care țin de cercetarea veselei romane de servit, cum ar fi procesul metodologic, caracteristicile morfologice ale vaselor (tipurile de ardere și culorile pe care le determină, incluziunile, tipurile de pastă, slipul, etc.), precum și evoluția motivelor decorative întâlnite pe vesela de epocă romană târzie.

Următoarea parte, care este și cea mai stufoasă, a fost dedicată prezentării materialului ceramic descoperit, folosindu-se o structură-standard: după o prezentare generală a categoriei din

care face parte (centrele de producție, tipuri atestate, morfologie), a fost descrisă fiecare formă și, acolo unde a fost cazul, tipurile și variantele aferente. Pentru fiecare formă și/sau tip au fost prezentate caracteristicile generale, diferențele față de tipurile precedente, analogiile din Imperiu, din spațiul dobrogean și din alte sectoare de la Histria, precum și perioada din care datează. La finalul fiecărui capitol a fost elaborat un catalog al respectivelor descoperiri, fiecare fragment încadrabil într-o anumită formă sau tip fiind descris în funcție de caracteristicile pastei, a dimensiunilor și a decorului.

În final, ultimul capitol a fost dedicat *Rezultatelor cercetării*, lotul ceramic fiind analizat pornind de la criterii precum preponderența unor categorii ceramice, raportul dintre piese și contextele în care au fost descoperite, cronologia descoperirilor, precum și prezența decorului și tehnicile de decorare. De asemenea, la finalul lucrării au fost anexate 37 de planșe care ilustrează toate piesele discutate pe parcursul textului.

În urma prelucrării întregului lot ceramic descoperit pe parcursul campaniilor arheologice din anii 2013–2016, prelucrare ce a presupus curățarea și inventarierea materialului ceramic, selectarea în funcție de reprezentativitatea fiecărui vas sau fragment ceramic, desenarea, descrierea morfologică și identificarea tipologică a acestora, am obținut un lot de 742 de piese ce pot fi incluse în categoria veselei de servit. Din punct de vedere cronologic, predominante sunt piesele romane târzii, mai mult de 80% dintre acestea datând din secolele IV–VII p. Chr., restul fiind reprezentat de material mai timpuriu, datat în intervalul cuprins între secolele II–III p. Chr.

Având la bază criteriul zonei de origine a materialului roman târziu, acesta a putut fi împărțit după cum urmează: de departe, categoria cel mai frecvent întâlnită este reprezentată de ceramica micro-asiatică (*Late Roman C* sau *Phocaeen Red Slip Ware*), cu un procent de circa 66% din totalul descoperirilor, fiind urmată de ceramica nord-africană (*African Red Slip Ware*), cu un procent de 15%, și de ceramica produsă în bazinul pontic (*Pontic Red Slip Ware*), atestată printr-un procent de 10%. În final, 9% din descoperiri au fost încadrate în categoria *varia*, fiind tratate aici acele piese pentru care nu s-a reușit o identificare, lucru cauzat în principal de starea mult prea fragmentară a acestora.

Din categoria ceramicii micro-asiatice fac parte numeroase forme și tipuri, o mare parte dintre acestea regăsindu-se și în cadrul descoperirilor din Sectorul Acropolă Centru-Sud. În lucrarea sa<sup>1</sup>, John Hayes prezintă 10 forme principale, la care se adaugă o a 11-a, reprezentată de

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<sup>1</sup> John W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, London, The British School at Rome, 1972.



ceramica cnidiană, unele dintre acestea având unul sau mai multe tipuri, precum și variante adiacente. În lotul avut în discuție au fost identificate 9 forme, cu 21 de tipuri – Hayes 1 (cu tipurile A – D), Hayes 2 (cu tipurile A – B), Hayes 3 (cu tipurile B – H), Hayes 408-410/92-4, Hayes 4, Hayes 5 (cu tipul B), Hayes 6, Hayes 8 și Hayes 10 (cu tipurile A – C) –, acestora adăugându-li-se alte două forme, menționate pe de o parte de Frederik Waag<sup>2</sup> – Waagé 932 f –, iar pe de altă parte de Catherine Abadie-Reynal și Jean-Pierre Sodini<sup>3</sup> – Abadie-Reynal/Sodini CF 183. Dintre acestea, cele mai numeroase piese aparțin formelor Hayes 1, Hayes 3 și Hayes 10. Din punct de vedere cronologic, formele și tipurile ceramice micro-asiatice sunt datate între secolele IV–VII p. Chr., însă unele din acestea sunt specifice anumitor intervale: pe baza descoperirilor ceramice și din alte așezări, nu doar de la Histria, s-a observat că Hayes 1 este forma predominantă pentru a doua jumătate a secolului IV și prima jumătate a celui următor, celei de-a doua jumătăți a secolului V și primei jumătăți a secolului VI îi sunt specifice farfuriile formei Hayes 3, iar ultimului interval (a doua jumătate a secolului VI și prima jumătate a secolului VII) îi sunt caracteristice vasele formei Hayes 10.

Cea de-a doua categorie atestată în cadrul descoperirilor ceramice de la Histria este cea de origine nord-africană, pentru care au fost identificate 12 forme, cu 14 tipuri aferente și variante: Hayes 57, Hayes 60, Hayes 61 (cu tipul A), Hayes 67 (și cu o posibilă variantă), Hayes 87 (variante ale acesteia), Hayes A52, Hayes 94, Hayes 99 (cu tipurile A – C, dar și cu variante), Hayes 103 (cu tipul A), Hayes 104 (cu tipul B), Hayes 105 și Hayes 109. Formele predominante, reprezentând aproape jumătate din lotul ceramic nord-african, sunt Hayes 99 și Hayes 109. Asemeni ceramicii micro-asiatice, și această categorie este datată în intervalul cuprins între secolele IV–VII p. Chr, apogeul fiind însă atins în perioada cuprinsă între a doua jumătate a secolului VI și prima jumătate a secolului VII, când produsele nord-africane ajung chiar să fie mai numeroase decât cele orientale. Din cele 82 de piese care aparțin acestui interval, mai mult de jumătate sunt de proveniență nord-africană, cele mai multe încadrându-se în formele Hayes 99 (30 de piese), Hayes 104 (3 piese), Hayes 105 (4 piese) și Hayes 109 (5 piese).

În ciuda faptului că centrele de producție ale ceramicii pontice sunt necunoscute deocamdată, acestea sunt atestate în spațiul dobrogean prin două categorii ceramice: amforele și

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<sup>2</sup> Frederik O. Waagé, *Hellenistic and Roman Tableware of North-Syria. Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV. Part 1. Ceramic and Islamic Coins*, Princeton, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Catherine Abadie-Reynal, Jean-Pierre Sodini, *La céramique paléochrétienne de Thasos (Alik, Delkos, fouilles anciennes)*, ÈtThas, 13, Atena-Paris, 1992.

vesela de servit. În cantități mai reduse, vesela de servit pontică este prezentă la Histria prin 5 forme deja cunoscute – PRSW I<sup>4</sup>/Forma Opaîț IV<sup>5</sup> (cu tipul A), PRSW III/Forma Opaîț II, Forma Opaîț 1991<sup>6</sup> (cu tipul II), Forma Opaîț 2004<sup>7</sup> (cu tipul I) și Forma Suceveanu 17/32<sup>8</sup> – și prin trei forme diferite de boluri, castroane și farfurii necunoscute. Ceramica pontică este cel mai bine reprezentată pentru secolul IV și pentru jumătatea secolului următor, predominante fiind formele PRSW I/Opaîț IV, PRSW III/Opaîț II și Opaîț 1991. II.

O serie de observații au putut fi conturate în urma analizării materialului ceramic prezentat pe parcursul lucrării: încă de la început am observat că acesta este foarte variat atât din perspectivă tipologică – aceasta reiese din multitudinea de forme, tipuri și variante de vase atestate, indiferent că vorbim de ceramica micro-asiatică, de cea nord-africană sau de cea pontică –, cât și cronologică – pe de o parte, au fost descoperite atât piese timpurii, cât și târzii, iar pe de altă parte, piesele târzii acoperă o perioadă destul de îndelungată (secolele IV–VII p. Chr.), depășind trei secole. Aceeași caracteristică poate fi observată și prin analiza tehnicilor de decorare a vaselor: în majoritatea cazurilor, vasele sunt decorate fie cu roțița dințată, fie prin ștampilare, motivele decorative evoluând de la cele geometrice și vegetale la cele zoomorfe și antropomorfe și, într-o ultimă fază, la simboluri și reprezentări iconografice creștine; mai mult decât atât, acestora două li se adaugă alte tehnici, cum ar fi incizarea, vopsirea sau pictarea.

Această diversitate a materialului poate fi explicată în raport cu contextul arheologic în care a fost descoperit, cele mai multe dintre piesele ceramice provenind din straturi (unul de depunere modernă și alte două de dărâmătură) aflate deasupra ultimului nivel de construcție al clădirii romane târzii. În ceea ce privește nivelul de depunere modernă, există posibilitatea ca o parte din material să provină din alte sectoare, fiind adus odată cu pământul rezultat în urma diferitelor cercetări de la Histria. De asemenea, există și posibilitatea ca în timpul distrugerii locuinței să fi fost angrenate și materiale provenind din contexte mai timpurii.

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<sup>4</sup> Tat'jana M. Arsen'eva, Krzysztof Domzalski, „Late Roman red slip pottery from Tanais”, *Eurasia Antiqua. Zeitschrift für Archäologie Eurasiens*, Band 8, 2002, pp. 415–492.

<sup>5</sup> Andrei Opaîț, „Ceramica”, în Andrei Opaîț, Mihail Zahariade, Gheorghe Poenaru-Bordea, Cristina Opaîț, „Fortificația și așezarea romană târzie de la Babadag-Topraichioi”, *Peuce*, nr. 10, 1991, pp. 211–262 (vol. I), 219–283 (vol. II).

<sup>6</sup> Idem, „Ceramica din așezarea și cetatea de la Independența (Murighiol) în secolele V î.e.n. – VII e.n.”, *Peuce*, nr. 10, 1991, pp. 133–182 (vol. I), 165–216 (vol. II).

<sup>7</sup> Idem, *Local and Imported Ceramics in the Roman Province of Scythia (4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD)*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1274, 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Alexandru Suceveanu, „Contribuții la studiul ceramicii romano-bizantine de la Histria”, *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie*, tom 33, nr. 1, 1982, pp. 79–107.

## **Cronica activității Centrului de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice 2017**

### Sedințe lunare:

17 ianuarie – conferința *Oase vechi, prejudecăți moderne. O abordare contextuală a începuturilor antropologiei fizice în secolul al XIX-lea*, susținută de drd. Ciprin Nicolae Crețu, Școala Doctorală de Istorie a FIUB

23 martie – conferința *Problematica moștenirii culturale în contemporaneitatea românească*, susținută de drd Margareta Arsenescu, Școala Doctorală de Istorie a FIUB

30 martie – conferința *Ce încapă într-un Dolium? Despre vase mari pentru provizii din lumea greco-roman*, susținută de Georgiana Dinu și Diana Șonu, studente ale FIUB

16 mai – conferința *Istoria arheologiei românești și sursele cercetării ei*, susținută de prof univ dr. Alin Ciupală, FIUB

31 mai – conferința *Aspecte ale industriei materiilor dure animale – IMDA (os, corn, fildeș, dinți, cochilii) pe teritoriul României în preistorie și antichitate. Studii de caz: artefacte preistorice (Transilvania) și artefacte de epocă romană (Dobrogea-Histria)*, susținută de Corneliu Beldiman, Univ. Creștină D. Cantemir și Diana-Maria Beldiman, Școala Centrală, București

13 noiembrie – conferință – *Drawing History*, susținută de Gulio Zeloni, absolvent al "Scuola Internazionale di Comics" din Florența.

28 noiembrie – proiectare și analiză de film documentar - *Spotlight on San Paintings (despre picturile rupestre sud-africane)* – prezentat de drd Luciana-Florentina Ghindă, Școala Doctorală de Istorie a UB

12 decembrie – prezentarea *Campaniei de săpături de la Histria, sector UB – vara 2017*, susținută de Anca Constantin masterandă a FIUB

### Sesiunea anuală

21-22 aprilie, cu tema *Jaf, Corupție, Abuz*, cu 23 de participanți reprezentând instituții academice din România, Franța, Republica Moldova.

### Comemorări

9 noiembrie – *In memoriam* Zoe Petre, în colaborare cu DIAAIA; au luat cuvântul: acad. prof. univ dr. Răzvan Theodorescu, prof. univ. dr. Emil Constantinescu, prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe Vlad Nistor, dr. Alexandru Niculescu, lect. univ. dr. Daniela Zaharia.

### Proiecte derulate prin Centru

Proiect PED 163/2017 – ROMBRICKS - De la cărămizile romane de la Romula la materiale moderne pentru restaurare