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Serie Nouă, anul I
2015

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Noua serie a *Revistei CICSA (Revista Centrului de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice)* debutează cu un număr în care contributorii sunt în principal membrii afiliați ai Centrului – studenți ai Facultății de Istorie din București (de la nivele: Studii Masterale și Doctorale) și alumni, care au participat cu prezentări și comunicări în cadrul sesiunilor lunare și anuale ale CICSA, din perioada 2013-2014. Această opțiune stă sub semnul intenției noastre de a sprijini valorificarea activității de cercetare care se desfășoară în cadrul Centrului încă de la fondarea sa, în anul 1997, în urma inițiativei domnului prof. univ. dr. Gheorghe-Vlad Nistor. În egală măsură, prezentul număr al revistei reprezintă concretizarea unuia dintre obiectivele CICSA, respectiv, stimularea activității de cercetare cu sprijinirea resurselor umane care au reale competențe profesionale în domeniile promovate prin misiunea Centrului.

The new series of the *CICSA Journal (Journal of Center for Comparative History of Ancient Societies)* begins with a collection of studies whose authors are mainly affiliate members of the Center: students of the Faculty of History of Bucharest (enrolled in master's or doctoral programs) and alumni, who have presented their contributions during the monthly and annual sessions of CICSA in 2013 and 2014. This choice is determined by our intention to support the development of research taking place in our Center, since its founding in 1997, at the initiative of prof. Gheorghe-Vlad Nistor. Equally, this is the pursuance of one of the CICSA's objectives, namely to support the research and the individuals with genuine professional skills in the areas promoted by our mission.

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO MORTUARY RITUALS – A SYNTHESIS

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Abstract:

Anthropology and archaeology have a long tradition in shaping a discourse on the phenomenon of death. From the very beginning of the archeological discipline there is to be noticed a special interest regarding the funerary contexts – the funerary inventory, the body of the deceased and the treatment applied to it. This paper is an attempt to review a vast literature concerned with the significance of funerary rituals, from both disciplines – cultural anthropology and archaeology – while seeking to capture the emergence of some research paradigms that marked the history of archaeological thought from the beginning of the 20th century till today. In an attempt to determine what funerary archaeology means for the researcher of the 20th and 21st century, I bring into discussion the two major current of archaeological thought known as processual and post-processual paradigms. What information may be obtained from the analysis of mortuary rituals and what methodologies have been formulated within such research? Which were the purposes of funerary rituals? What is the relevance of funerary archaeology in shaping of a discourse about past societies? These are just some of the questions whose answers I am seeking for.

Keywords: mortuary rituals, cultural anthropology, archaeological theory and method.

Introduction and methodological premises

The death phenomenon and funerary behaviour are some of the most fascinating and productive areas of investigation within the scope of social sciences given their universal nature, but mostly because of the complexity and diversity of the attitudes towards death and their profound implications. As Metcalf and Huntington noted in their book “*What could be more universal than death? Yet what an incredible variety of responses it evokes. Corpses are burned or buried, with or without animal or human sacrifice; they are preserved by smoking, embalming, or pickling; they are eaten – raw, cooked, or rotten; they are ritually exposed as carrion or simply abandoned; or they are dismembered and treated in a variety of these ways. (...) The diversity of cultural reaction is a measure of the universal impact of death.*”¹

The concern for the funerary contexts was a steady in the archaeological research since the pioneering period of this field in the nineteenth century. The archaeological materials from funerary contexts had a significant share in researching various central aspects. Whether it was about spectacular tombs or about monuments linked with certain burial complexes, these drew significant attention to antiquarians and collectors. The richness of early Mycenaean graves, for example, has struck the researcher from their discovery and excavation by Schliemann in 1876.² Probably the interest in the funerary environment was the result of some spectacular discoveries. If the findings were neither rich, nor they presented unusual traits, the research

¹ Huntington and Metcalf 1991, 24.

² Schofield 2007, 15-19.

interest diminished proportionally. This was the case, subsequently to Schliemann's findings, this time on the American continent. In 1896 Pepper and Wetherill began the first scientific excavation within a site belonging to Native American Chaco culture.³ They identified a large number of skeletons, but the few ceramics and other specific artefacts from the archaeological record cause loss of interest and finally giving up the research.⁴

The main purpose of this paper is to provide an overview on the historical evolution of various approaches within funerary archaeology, arose from the desire to shape a coherent and complete picture of this field of study from the enormous amount of bibliographic material. The general works on this topic⁵ are rather fragmented – taking shape based on case studies, and thus fail to outline the development of archaeological perspectives on funerary practices in a synthetic manner, preferentially focusing on one or another of the dominant paradigms. Nevertheless, these works come as an essential endeavour, given the existence of a huge body of works which constitute the theoretical foundation and prerequisites of these of various approaches.

In terms of methodology I opted for a chronological presentation, as encountered in previous works dealing with the history of archaeology and archaeological thought.⁶ A historiographical approach seemed the most appropriate way to address this issue, through the selection of suggestive readings that helps to identify and analyse the main features of various research directions.

Traditionally, with reference to the twentieth century, three major schools of archaeological thought have been identified: culture-historical archaeology paradigm during the first half, processualism and postprocessualism for the second half of the century. In an attempt to determine what funerary archaeology means for researchers in the twentieth century, the last two paradigms – processual and postprocessual archaeology – will be discussed more fully. How funerary archaeology was seen within the two major current of thought and what is the nature of the theoretical and methodological framework in which have been analysed the burial practices and the funerary complex as a whole represents one of the central concerns of this paper.

In the nineteenth century most of the data regarding the Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Age came from funerary contexts, with settlements being less visible, with some exceptions such as the tell sites in south-eastern Europe.⁷ Thus, funerary areas are subject to some systematic archaeological excavations followed by major publications.⁸ In this context should be discussed the research activities of the Danish archaeologist Jens J. A. Worsaae. His book, *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*⁹, represents a milestone in the history of archeology. Worsaae applies

³ Sebastian 1996, 14.

⁴ Christenson 1989, 51.

⁵ Bartel 1982; Chapman et al. 1981; Parker Pearson 1999.

⁶ Chippindale et al. 2009; Johnson 2010; Trigger 1989a.

⁷ Chapman et al. 1981, 3.

⁸ Greenwell 1877 (It presents over 230 burial mounds, belonging to the pre-Roman period, grouped on the basis of their geographical distribution. A substantial part (pp. 537-622) is dedicated to the analysis of individual skulls discovered in graves.); Jewitt 1870 (Promote a historical archeology whose objective was to record facts, and by no means an attempt to reconstruct the lives of the builders of those funerary structures or other "extraneous matters" (Jewitt 1870, xxiii); concerned about the deceased position within the grave.) Anderson 1886 (a work considered by Gordon Childe a comprehensive scientific study, without precedent (Ritchie and Ritchie 1991, 9).

⁹ Worsaae 1849.

and demonstrate the validity of Thomsen's tripartite system in researching funerary complexes. These are classified chronologically, either by reference to the types of artefacts or by graves' morphology and observation of stratigraphic sequences. Worsaae, just like his forerunner Thomsen, focuses more on the context of findings, rather than on developing a typology of the artefacts themselves.¹⁰ Unlike "antiquarian's archaeology" whose primary objective was to find artefacts, Worsaae sought to answer questions – What information can artefacts give us about people's lives in the past?¹¹

Funerary practices and social-cultural anthropology

Studies related to the phenomenon of death were a concern for social and cultural anthropology¹², with different approaches bearing the influences of different schools of thought prevailing at some historical moment (e.g. evolutionism, functionalism, etc.). Archaeology has been strongly influenced by the ideas expressed within cultural and social anthropology, whence it borrows concepts and wordings in order to articulate its own theoretical foundations. By the end of the nineteenth century at the beginning of twentieth century burial practices are becoming a major point of interest, particularly in the area of sociology and anthropology concerned with the issue of death. This stage is identified by Binford to be one of "philosophical perspectives" in analysing funerary practices,¹³ serving primarily to the construction of a discourse on (primitive) religion and beliefs.

Several authors have considered that funerary rituals are designed to restore and maintain the social cohesion as well as the group's structural integration.¹⁴ A first important step was the bringing into discussion of some aspects regarding social organization, as a relevant component in the understanding of funerary practices, by the study of Hertz, *Contribution à une étude sur la représentation collective de la mort*, one of the first to explore the complexity of funerary rituals. For Hertz, concerned with the practice of secondary burials, death has a special significance for the social consciousness, entailing a complex body of beliefs, emotions and activities.¹⁵ Hertz examines funerary practices within a tripartite relationship (mourners – the body of the deceased; mourners – the spirit of the deceased; the body of the deceased – his spirit). Death is not just a physical event and the triggered emotion is not produced by the simple observation of the changes that affect the body after death. Hertz provides a sociological explanation: the emotion provoked by death varies in intensity according to the social status of the deceased.¹⁶ The higher it is, the funeral arrangements are longer and the impact on social consciousness is deeper. However, as a student of Durkheim, Hertz also analyses the funerary rituals from a functionalist perspective: they were social events meant to meet the threat of

¹⁰ Greene and Moore 2010, 24.

¹¹ Kelly and Thomas 2009, 8.

¹² Tylor 1871; Morgan 1877; Frazer 1885; Hertz 1907 (published in 1907 in French, in *Année sociologique* 10, 48-137, better known after the translation into English in 1960: "A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death", in *Death and the Right Hand*, edited by R. Needham and C. Needham, Aberdeen, pp. 25-86; here I am using the English edition); Mauss 1899.

¹³ Binford 1971, 6-8.

¹⁴ Bendann 1930; Durkheim 2005; Evans-Pritchard 1965; Hertz 1960; Mandelbaum 1959; Radcliffe-Brown 1922

¹⁵ Hertz 1960, 27.

¹⁶ *At the death of a chief... a true panic sweeps over the group... On the contrary, the death of a stranger, a slave, or a child will go almost unnoticed.* (Hertz 1960, 76)

death, to restore order and ensure survival, endangered both by the event of death.¹⁷ In the same spirit of functionalism, for Malinowski also funerary rituals and religion itself have the specific purpose to reintegrate the shattered group solidarity and re-establish its morale.¹⁸ Mandelbaum tried to illustrate the multiple functions and the content complexity of funerary practices focusing in particular on the cathartic purposes and on those of strengthening the group solidarity.¹⁹

To sum up, in functionalist accepting ritual actions in funerary context had multiple explanations: burial as a collective representation (Hertz), as a mean to create an obligation, as a forum for the exchange of gifts (Mauss), as a mechanism for maintaining social stability (Malinowski), and as an opportunity to strengthen family relationships (Radcliffe-Brown). In addition to the research coming from socio-cultural anthropology burial practices were also a concern for various schools of “historical” anthropology whose main purpose was a reconstruction of history usually at a regional or continental level (Australia, South America).²⁰ The archaeology of the first half of the past century has been dominated by a culture-historical approach whose exponential advocate was Gordon Childe. His book *The Dawn of European Civilization*²¹ provided a model for addressing European prehistory. Childe tried to deal with the entire prehistory of the European continent. He defined prehistoric cultures based on the typology of artifacts, rejecting the ideas of Kossinna relating to human progress due to the biological superiority of the Indo-Europeans.²² Cultural groups (or cultures) were illustrated by a series of elements that appear associated constantly including pottery, tools and funerary rites and rituals.²³ For Childe cultural “ensembles” were not equivalent with ethnic units. Observable changes in the material culture were explained rather through the introduction of new ideas from outside especially from the Aegean and Near East regions.

“*Disposal of the Dead*”, Kroeber’s cross-cultural study,²⁴ is one of the earliest major contributions in the field of funerary studies. His goal is to understand the reasons for which cultures adopt different strategies regarding the treatment of the dead through a cross-cultural comparison, regardless of chronological limits.²⁵ In its analysis are used examples from Neolithic, as well as Antiquity and modern age. Within a given group customs may vary according to status, sex / gender, age, but can also be idiosyncratic choices of the mourners.²⁶ A historical approach is required in order to evaluate the patterns and their causality. Kroeber argues that it is more likely that the economic and material circumstances have influenced the diversity of funerary practices more than the thrill caused by the event of death.

¹⁷ McCane 2003, 4.

¹⁸ Malinowski 1974.

¹⁹ Mandelbaum 1959.

²⁰ See Binford 1971, 9.

²¹ Childe 1925.

²² Trigger 1994, 11-14.

²³ Childe 1929, v-vi.

²⁴ Kroeber 1927.

²⁵ Kroeber 1927, 309.

²⁶ Kroeber 1927, 313.

Processual paradigm and a new way of seeing things

Until the 60s the main approach regarding archaeological material from funerary contexts was a descriptive one in nature with an interpretation built upon the culture-historical paradigm frame. Such approach entails a major limitation in the conclusions drawn from the archaeological research due to the use of an inductive model,²⁷ which meant gathering and interpreting data about an archaeological site in order to describe cultural traits and to build inferences about the occurrence of these features within other archaeological sites, without seeking explanations (“why” and “how”) of this phenomenon. Thus, it was not possible to formulate some explicit hypotheses. Things were to change appreciably with the New Archaeology.

The influence of anthropological structural functionalism had on archaeology, particularly in the United States, has led to the definition of culture as a mechanism for adapting to the environment, with technology as the primary adaptive mechanism. The central concept of "function" is based precisely on such a definition of culture as a coping mechanism through which a group of individuals can lead a social life, forming a community in a certain environment.²⁸ By "function" Radcliffe-Brown understands the contribution that a partial activity has on the total activity of which is a constituent part.²⁹ The function of a social institution was defined as the correspondence between the social institution and the necessary conditions of existence of the social organism.³⁰ The function of a ritual is a social function. Therefore (funerary) rituals are an expression of group solidarity, a coping mechanism. Following the death of a person the social cohesion is affected and the society must act to reach a new equilibrium. The "ideological" background of this new movement came mostly from the writings of the American anthropologist Leslie White on the structure, function and evolution of human sociocultural systems. System theory represents maybe the most powerful theoretical framework embedded in processual archaeology. Archaeology would be the cultural anthropology of the past who understood the culture in terms of non-genetic adaptations to the environment. From Binford's point of view the great advantage of the systemic approach is that allows archaeology to address issues of social or ideological structures, not just aspects concerning economy and technology.³¹

Therefore, the study of funerary practices will be oriented towards the discovery of some reasons of social nature giving rise to the diversity and variations thereof. The main thesis of positivism, applied also in archaeology, argues that statements are meaningful only to the extent that can be verified by means of the scientific method. The purpose of a positivist science was objectivity, by opposing hypothesis testing to authoritative argument.³² The main aim of archaeology as anthropology was to understand cultural processes on a large chronological and spatial scale. In view of these claims, the understanding of these processes should have a nomothetic nature, implying hypotheses testing in order to obtain a set of cross-cultural laws.

²⁷ Krieger 2006, 36-7.

²⁸ Morris 1987, 124.

²⁹ Radcliffe-Brown 1935, 397.

³⁰ Evans-Pritchard 2013, 54.

³¹ Binford 1962.

³² McGuire 2008, 56.

In his paper “Mortuary Practices: Their Study and Their Potential”,³³ Binford rejects Kroeber’s theory according to which burial practices were not an important part of the cultural system but were a separate entity. Through the use of ethnographic analogies³⁴ Binford demonstrates that the differentiation and complexity of funerary rites and of the related inventory reflect the compartmentalization of distinct *social personas* within the society’s structure. Through the social person of an individual I understand a composite made up of social identities held throughout life – age, sex, social position and social affiliation – or assigned to death – cause or place of death.³⁵ More briefly, the variability of funerary practices of a culture is a function of social differentiation.³⁶ This is the main criterion in determining the treatment of the deceased. In specialized literature the analytical approach which assumes that the social role of an individual will be reflected in the funerary treatment, in the energy invested into it, and in the richness of the inventory it is known as the Saxe-Binford approach (or hypothesis).

Saxe’s PhD thesis “Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices”³⁷ complies with the processual paradigm, by submitting for testing eight hypotheses to reveal the rules that govern the burial practices as well as the relationship between them and the existing social organization.³⁸ Just like Binford, Saxe believes that by observing a whole range of funerary practices within a given culture may be inferred the nature of the social system. The study has a functional (since it involves the establishment of rules in how elements of a socio-cultural system interact with each other) and cross-cultural character (wishes to determine, by comparison, whether there is regularity in the functional relationships that are not specific to a single system), thus becoming an exponentially case to illustrate the proposed methodologies of processual archaeology.

As one can notice, particularly in the 1970s, stands out the attempts to reconstruct the social systems of the past based on data from funerary contexts based on the principle that there is a direct link between material culture associated with funerary practices and the form and complexity of social organization.³⁹ A successful approach following this direction generally depends on (at least) three factors: one that is based on anthropological theory – an understanding of the reasons for cultural variety and differentiation within burial customs; an understanding of the relationships between mortuary practices and the formation and transformation of the archaeological record (archaeological ‘middle-range’ theory⁴⁰); methodological issues concerning the choice of analytical methods relevant to the questions posed of the archaeological data after consideration of the previous factors.⁴¹

The merits of the New Archaeology have been recognized especially with regard to the methodological framework – a paradigm that is based on new and different goals, a

³³ Binford 1971.

³⁴ Analogies were not used for explanations, but in the construction of hypotheses about the past that could be tested by relating to the archaeological register.

³⁵ See Saxe 1970, 7; Binford, 1971 (Table 1 and 2).

³⁶ Morris 1992, 22.

³⁷ Saxe 1970.

³⁸ Saxe 1970, 3.

³⁹ Saxe 1970; Binford 1971; Brown 1971; Shennan 1975; Goldstein 1976; Tainter 1978.

⁴⁰ For a general discussion on middle-range theory see Binford 1977. For *behavioral archaeology* and formation processes of the archaeological record see Schiffer 1976, 1987.

⁴¹ Chapman 1987.

methodology that supports comparative research approach and allows testing of hypotheses and a systematic definition of culture and environment.⁴² The frequent use of quantitative and statistical methods and the concern for the research design are also among the elements that make up the processual legacy.

Postprocessual archaeology and the new roles of funerary practices

It is obvious that the processual approach has continued to influence archaeological research until today, because of these merits. However, in the early 1980s critical attitudes arose against the processual “orthodoxism”, the grievances being related usually to the way in which archeology developed a research method closely linked to a systemic vision on society and culture.

This new movement, the postprocessual archaeology appears as a manifestation of the growing influence of postmodern thinking within social sciences.⁴³ In the field of cultural anthropology, at the end of the seventh decade and the beginning of the eighth of the past century, emerges the symbolic anthropology (known as semiotic or interpretive anthropology in the case of Clifford Geertz). Geertz is considered one of the leading figures of symbolic anthropology. He defines culture as a pattern of meanings, of significances embodied in symbols, which is historical transmitted, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by which people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge and attitudes towards life.⁴⁴ Archaeological research will focus towards the study of ideology, symbols and meanings starting from some elements of material culture identified in the archaeological record.

In the last decades of the twentieth century have occurred some important changes in humanistic and social sciences, whose manifestations were included in the so-called “postmodern turn”.⁴⁵ If modernism desired the picture of a totality and had the ambition of reaching definitive and objective knowledge, postmodernism is against these objectives. Instead of seeking order, coherence and the existence of general laws it promotes diversity, plurality, the anti-normative and the fragmentation that characterizes the contemporary world.

Hodder identifies some features that make archaeology suitable for the postmodern context, characterized by a fragmented and decontextualized time. In the first place, it comes the fragmentary character of archaeological finds to be considered.⁴⁶ Hodder refers primarily to the distant prehistoric past and to the limited knowledge of the context in which prehistoric objects were produced. In the second place, we face a paradox of the archaeological items: they are real, tactile, thus giving the impression that they bring the past closer and allow us to experience another reality, yet at the same time this reality is a distant one, and unrelated to the present.⁴⁷

In archaeology, the postmodern turn began to take shape with the foundation of the postprocessual approach in particular through the contribution of the British archaeologist Ian

⁴² Zubrow 1972, 182.

⁴³ Knapp 1996.

⁴⁴ Geertz 1973, 89.

⁴⁵ Hassan 1987.

⁴⁶ “Archaeologists dig up fragments, bits and pieces of pots and societies.” (Hodder 1995, 237).

⁴⁷ Hodder 1995, 237-8.

Hodder. In the first chapter of his book “*Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*” Hodder summarizes the criticism of processual approach. The functionalist perspective can’t explain the cultural variety and uniqueness in an appropriate manner. Yet another weak point in this approach comes from the relationship established between the individual and society by marginalizing the creativity and intentionality of individuals, the latter being considered almost a set of mechanisms for meeting the needs of society. Hodder believes that individuals can’t be just a bunch of instruments, and that a proper explanation about the social systems should take into account the assessments and individual goals.⁴⁸

One of the central issues of the debate was represented by the forms of knowledge suitable for a social science, the way in which society can be conceived, the functioning of the archaeological discipline, its ideologies and cultural policies in the postmodern present. The debate led to a polarization of positions: on one hand we have a scientific research aiming at an objective knowledge, and on the other side a relativistic interpretation of postmodern expression. Shanks and Hodder believes that the various postprocessual approaches – cognitive, contextual, symbolical and structural – can be gathered under the name of interpretative archaeologies (which works through interpretation).

Just like in the case of postmodernist movement in philosophy, there is no single postprocessual archaeological school of thought. Trigger distinguishes two types⁴⁹: the moderates and the hyper-relativists. The first admit that the archaeological evidence exists and that these can be studied. They do not reject all knowledge in an absolute way but tend to focus on identifying those hypotheses which have been accepted, trying to develop “interpretations”, without claiming absolute objectivity. The second category rejects all truth and knowledge and questions the human capacity to perceive any personal or physical reality. Any analysis of archaeological finds is completely subjective the interpretations being created by our own prejudices. For them the study of archaeological findings is a mechanism for achieving specific political goals not something worthy of study in itself.⁵⁰ For Shanks and Tilley⁵¹ the archaeologists’ role requires empathic capacity, inspiration, imaginative reconstruction and emotional affinity archeology becoming a personal confrontation with the past.

The processual paradigm was based on the idea that material culture plays an important role in how social relations are constructed is not simply a reflection of the organization of society; the individual must be a part of the theories on material culture and social change.

With regard the mortuary practices probably the most important objection to the processual approach relates to the increased attention given to the representation of the social person (*social persona*) of the deceased. Postprocessual archaeologists argue that the hypothesis proposed by Binford and Saxe – funerary rituals are a direct reflection of the social structure – omits their ideological and symbolic nature. Funerary practices are not just one quantifiable coordinate in measuring the complexity of societies from equalitarian to hierarchical forms. Unlike Binford, Hodder considers that burial rituals are not passive reflections about certain

⁴⁸ Hodder 1982a, 5.

⁴⁹ Trigger 1989b.

⁵⁰ Fotiadis 1994.

⁵¹ Who in two of their works, *Re-Constructing Archaeology* (1992) and *Social Theory and Archaeology* (1988), are promoting a dogmatic skepticism.

aspects of life. At death, the individual often becomes what was not life.⁵² Therefore, the study of funerary practices should focus on attitudes towards death that may bring distortions of reality.

Parker Pearson believes that the study of social organization, as it appears reflected in burial practices was based on the role theory, a component of the inadequate conception of social systems.⁵³ He also proposes a reconsideration of the data coming from funerary contexts. The reconstruction of social organization by identifying roles can be placed in opposition to the idea that supports that social systems are not constituted of roles but by recurrent social practices. The funerary context generates actions and communications that differ from everyday practical communication. Funerary rituals are sensitive to ideological manipulation in the construction of social strategies⁵⁴ with specific goals such as maintaining influence and dominance of a group. In a society symbolic links find expression in some specific associations between forms of material culture. From this point of view, for Parker Pearson the analysis should focus on the following aspects: spatial positioning of the deposition places for the dead in relation to the world of the living (the existence of boundary elements between these two), differentiation between buried individuals (what roles are expressed and idealized within the funerary practices and why), what objects are associated exclusively with the deceased, the relationship between the context of deposition and other forms of expressions related to death (ancestor shrines, cenotaphs etc.) Such analysis leads to the consideration of death as a favourable social affirmation platform, a ground of dealing and manipulations. Undertakings are risky, with chance of failure or success and with predisposition to perform and recreate rituals, leading to new forms with the risk of a failure.⁵⁵

Funeral rituals are also seen as an enabling environment transactions and renegotiation of alliances by strengthening social obligations and solidarity.⁵⁶ With the death of an individual the social relationships established by him also come to an end. This system of relations must be recreated and renegotiated by the intervention of survivors and descendants of the dead. The renegotiation of statutes and social roles lead to competition and exchange, and the emergence of new alliances. But how are these dynamic elements identifiable in the archaeological record? Oestigaard and Goldhahn distinguish two ways: either by the occurrence of foreign imported exotic objects within the funerary inventory, or by a symbolic manifestation through the tomb itself.

As we have noticed the postprocessual approach is interested in what burial customs could tell us about relations of power, symbolism and their cultural meaning. Funerary practices and the material elements within do not directly reflect the organization of society in the past being rather symbolic representations of social structures that can be manipulated and negotiated. Thus, rituals can be used both as means of reversing or masking the social relations and as the presentation of idealized situations of relations between the social actors.

⁵² Hodder 1982b, 201.

⁵³ Parker Pearson 1982.

⁵⁴ Parker Pearson 1982, 99.

⁵⁵ Chesson 2001, 3.

⁵⁶ Oestigaard and Goldhahn 2006.

Conclusions

I tried to illustrate through this brief presentation the key features of the two main orientations in the past half century archaeology to understand how they have shaped the perception of funerary phenomenon, rites and rituals. I considered useful for the present purpose a chronological approach whilst operating a selection of certain works regarded either as milestones or indicative of a paradigm change.⁵⁷

As pointed out, anthropology exerted a major influence on archaeology in general (on funerary archaeology in particular). Roughly, up to the 1960s, the main approach on archaeological material from funerary context was descriptive in nature, constructing an interpretation built upon the skeleton of the culture-historical paradigm. The New Archaeology further suggested a “decoding” in sociological terms of the archaeological record, through a systemic approach, allowing archaeology to address issues of social and ideological structures. Therefore, the study of funerary practices was oriented towards the discovery of some reasons of social nature giving rise to their diversity and variations.

In a postmodern context (in cultural and, also, historical ways), significant changes occurred in humanities and social sciences.⁵⁸ The postmodern turn in archaeology began to take shape with the promotion of the new postprocessual approach. It criticizes the attempts to understand human activity in terms of functionalism – systems theory, or in those of environmental interaction between biological organisms and the physical world. The material culture plays an important role in how social relationships are built, is not merely a reflection of society organization; the individual must be part of theories about material culture and social change.

The dynamic theoretical and methodological framework of archaeology has been influenced by default the perception of funerary phenomena, causing changes in the way and perspective from which they are viewed, and also in the set of questions formulated by the archaeologist within a research program: from the possibility of reconstruction of societal organization and differentiation of status and position within society by analysing the funerary environment and practices, to the perspective of death and associated rituals being manipulated by those who live, the analysis focusing on key-elements such as symbols, ideologies and power relationships.

We should always keep in mind the fact that the nature of archaeological discipline has a changing character, being suspended between history and anthropology, humanities and natural sciences. It should be noted that, in practice, an archaeological paradigm does not exclude another. I think the best solution, in order to obtain a more coherent image over the past, as complete as possible it could be obtained, is that of a complementary discourse with both, the apollonian positivist beliefs of the processual school, and the Dionysian romantic tendencies of postprocessual archaeology.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ I consider such an approach as an optimal solution given the immense body of bibliographic material dedicated to this issues.

⁵⁸ See Hassan 1987.

⁵⁹ Bintliff 1993, fig 2.

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ATHENIAN *ARCHĒ* AND ITS IMPACT ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATHENS AND ATTIKA

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Abstract:

Some ideas resulting from a particular analysis of Athens and Attika in the second half of the 5th century B.C. are underscored as they are enriching the already traditional theory of complementarity between *asty* and *chora* in the Greek world. Thus, whereas the economic dependence of ancient towns (viewed as consumer centres) on the resources of their surrounding rural areas is also stated, in order to supplement this theory sketched by Moses Finley four decades ago the phenomenon of separation between the urban centre and its traditional hinterland in 5th century Athens is investigated, as a direct consequence of sea trade, of the new public and private income sources and especially of the access to new arable land, other than that of Attika. The main reason of this evolution is represented by the Athenian maritime supremacy in the Aegean, which boosted the means of the Athenian elites and *demos* alike to acquire wealth.

Keywords: rural areas, arable land, abroad property, wealth, the Peloponnesian War

The paradox underscored by modern researchers that ancient authors barely mention the world outside the city walls, although the existence of the Greek polities was essentially determined by the exploitation of natural resources in the rural areas, ceased to be a novelty¹. Despite this inconvenient, during the last decades, the research of rural areas in the Greek world and especially of the complex relationship between them and the urban centers, has known a remarkable development. The most influential paradigm is still the one sketched by Moses Finley forty years ago, which was permanently supplemented since then by scholars such as S.C. Humphreys, G.E.M. de Sainte-Croix and Robin Osborne². Based on concepts introduced by Max Weber, the paradigm states that ancient towns were consumer centres (*Konsumentenstädten*) which thoroughly influenced the activity of the rural areas in the midst of which they were situated. Most of these towns were typically agricultural in character, their

* References to ancient works are made using the abbreviations in Oxford Classical Dictionary, 3rd edition.

¹ Osborne 1987, 13-26.

² Some of the most representative instances are: Finley 1973, 123-149; Humphreys 1978, 130-135; Ste.-Croix 1989, 9-19; Osborne 1987, 13-26; 2005, 5-13.

existence depending on the resources gathered from their rural hinterland. The town represented the place where part of the landowners had their residence, the refuge in case of danger, both for people and for a variable quota of the agricultural inventory and products, the place where the community took decisions regarding its existence and collectively celebrated the city gods. Thus, the complementarity between village and town was not mainly a matter of economic symbiosis between two different units, as it was in fact determined more by the political, military and cultural pre-eminence of the town in front of the village, materially reflected in typically urban buildings such as great walls, markets, *gymnasia* etc.

This general model, a true Weberian *Idealtypus*, can be easily used for describing small and medium sized cities in mainly agricultural regions such as Boiotia or Peloponnesos³, introducing however the differences which normally occurs as a result of different geographical environments, interactions with other human communities and historical evolutions⁴. Besides local differences, most Greek cities had the main characteristics of the model and especially that of the economic dependency of the town on the resources provided by its rural complement. Furthermore, this relationship is strengthened by a social and political consequence of the aforementioned economic dependency: citizenship in ancient Greek cities is conditioned by the ownership over a plot of land (whose minimum surface differed from city to city) in the *chora*.

This strong complementarity was somehow weakened over time by the development of naval transport and sea trade. As these were much cheaper than land transport and trade, they provided a real opportunity for supplying towns from other sources than their own agricultural hinterland. Additionally, when sea transport and trade were associated with monetization (although its scale should not be overestimated), they provided new means of acquiring income and accumulate wealth. However, the weakening of the dependency on the adjacent rural areas, both for food supplies and for wealth accumulation, was limited, as sea trade routes were not safe⁵ and the traditional civic values hampered the orientation towards other economic activities than agriculture.

The 5th century B.C. overwhelming maritime hegemony of Athens over the Aegean was in fact the main reason that finally determined an actual departure from the traditional Greek city model, built on the complementarity between *asty* and *chora*. On the one hand, sea trade

³ Such as Plataia (Thuc. 2.2-6) or Mantinea (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7; 6.5.3; 7.5.14-15). The mentions in the histories of Thoukydides and Xenophon bear proof for the organization of those cities closely under the main coordinates of the model.

⁴ Cf. Osborne 1987, 27: "All Greek cities were fundamentally dependent upon their countryside, but there was enormous variation in the particular landforms available to individual cities."

⁵ Piracy was a wide spread activity during the dark and the archaic ages, classical authors such as Thoukydides even trying to explain why such a situation occurred (Thuc. 1.5). The scale of piracy and sea raiding was so large that Polycrates of Samos even made from them a state policy at the end of the archaic age (Hdt. 3.39.3-4).

was free from danger of piracy, on the other hand, the Athenian domination over its former allies, progressively transformed into subjects, generated manifold new sources of income both for the state and for the individuals, causing a decrease of Attik land significance for a large part of the Athenian population. The direct consequence of this phenomenon was the actual possibility for the Athenians to abandon Attika *en masse*, in order to preserve their hold on the town and on the sea, possibility that was even put into practice during the Peloponnesian War.

The aim of this study is to review some of the premises and the manifestations of this particular Athenian phenomenon, which demonstrates that the origin of the complementary relationship between *asty* and *chora* was fundamentally economic: as the economic dependency of the town is gradually disappearing, the complementarity passes itself through a process of erosion.

First of all, we should notice the special nature of Athens among the other Greek cities. With a population estimated at ca. 20-30000 citizens (males aged 18 years and over), which can give a total of 150-250000 inhabitants, including women, children, metecs and slaves⁶, Athens was by far the greatest classical Greek city, surpassing the medium size of several thousands of inhabitants per *polis*. The wholly uncommon size of Athens was a consequence of an extensive process of uniting all the autonomous Attik communities, for whom Theseus was traditionally given credit, but which must actually took place during a few centuries, ending quite late, through the definitive incorporation of the Eleusinian community, probably in the 7th century B.C.⁷. Although Robin Osborne maintains that the intense political life of the demes came as a result of the kleisthenic reforms at the end of the 6th century B.C., being a proof of the increasing role gained by the rural areas through the new constitution⁸, I am more inclined to the opinion that the reforms were just sanctioning and rearranging a situation firmly rooted in past traditions⁹. Instead, the great innovation consisted in grouping the *trittyes* into *phylai*, using a rule of combination that prevented the division of the inhabitants into the former *staseis* of those of the plain (*pediaei*), those of the coast (*paralioi*) and the up landers

⁶ The estimates vary greatly, from the “old orthodoxy” of Beloch and Gomme (for example, Gomme 1933 - 315000 inhabitants in 431 B.C.), with some revisions in Hansen 1988 (200000-250000 inhabitants in 4th century Athens; 60000 male citizens in 431 B.C.) to the “new orthodoxy” (for example, Osborne 1987, 46 – 150000 inhabitants in the 4th century).

⁷ Although there are some ancient accounts, based on traditions, regarding the unification of Attika, such as Thuc. 2.15 and Plut. *Thes.* 10, the way Athens had started to be what it was at the end of the 6th century B.C. is not very well known. The integration of Eleusis into Attika is a good example for this crux; see Folley 1993, 169-173 and Lavelle 2004, 31-33, (n. 60) 255-256.

⁸ Osborne 2009, 279-282, where he emphatically affirms: “*The creation of the deme was a political revolution.*”

⁹ See, for example, Thuc. 2.16.1. Cf. also Osborne 2005, 9.

(*hyperacrioi/diacrioi*)¹⁰. The tensions in Attika in the middle of the 6th century B.C., as well as the significant political role played by the demes, are, from my point of view, further proofs for a higher heterogeneity of the Attik population in comparison with other Greek cities. Thus, the Attik *chora* is considerably different from the classical Greek norm, some premises for the alteration of the complementarity between town and village existing from the beginning.

On the other hand, precisely in the second half of the 6th century B.C., Athenian expansion outside Attika becomes evident. After the final acquisition of Eleusis and Salamis, the Athenians made their first steps towards the colonization of the regions placed along the Pontic route, facing Mytilene for Sigeion, in the Troad, and the Thracians in the Chersonesos. After the fall of the tyrants, the Athenians also started the practice of founding cleruchies: after defeating the Boiotians and the Euboians in 506 B.C., they transferred 4000 cleruchs to Euboa (Hdt. 5.77). In the same period, the first activities towards the control of the Kyklades are registered, as Peisistratos helped Lygdamis to establish a tyranny in Naxos and conducted a partial purification of Delos (Hdt. 1.64.2; Thuc. 3.104.1-2; *Ath. pol.* 1.15.3)¹¹.

The collective expansion towards other territories is intermingled with the enrichment of individuals and families. Some of the most prominent Athenians in the late archaic age acquired significant wealth outside Attika, using it back in Athens in the struggle for political power. The best known example is that of Peisistratos, whose third tyranny was established using an army partly financed by the income resulted from the exploitation of the natural resources in the Strymon area (Hdt. 1.64.1, *Ath. pol.* 1.15.2)¹², while the clan of Philaids, whose most conspicuous members were Miltiades the Elder and Miltiades the Younger, compensated the losses from Attika by their actions in the Chersonesos (Hdt. 6.34-41). In the same manner, the Alkmeonids benefitted from the wealth they gained in Lydia, by serving king Kroisos' interests (Hdt. 6.125)¹³.

¹⁰ Hdt. 1.59.2-3; *Ath. pol.* 13.3-14.1; Plut. *Sol.* 30; Diod. Sic. 13.95.6. The historicity of the three geographically based *staseis* is disputed by modern scholars (for example, Lavelle 2004, 67-89; a more moderate view, trying to balance between the "literary" and the "historical" extremes, in Forsdyke 2005, 105-107), but the fact that Kleisthenes' reforms seem to address the problem of family and territorially based factions could be a proof for the authenticity of the ancient sources' account.

¹¹ For Peisistratos' Kykladic policy, see Constantakopoulou 2010, 63-66.

¹² However, the source of Peisistratos' wealth is contested, as there is no consensus if the Athenian tyrant extracted gold and silver from Pangaion or became rich by receiving gifts from the local dynasts, plundering and engaging in trade. Even if the second variant is the correct one, Peisistratos indirectly benefitted from the Pangaion ores, as they were the ultimate source of the Thracians' wealth. Cf. Lavelle 2004, 129-133.

¹³ The account of the enrichment is suspect as Alkmeon lived a generation before Kroisos and the story is profoundly anecdotic. Nevertheless, the main point of the account might very well be true: part of the Alkmeonids' wealth was acquired as a result of a good relationship with the Lydian dynasty. Especially Kroisos seemed to be very active in developing ties with some prominent Greeks, particularly Athenians: besides the Alkmeonids, the tradition mentions a visit made by Solon to him (Hdt. 1.29-33) and a special relationship between Miltiades the

However, none of these gains, both public and private, could compare with those acquired as a consequence of the Persian Wars and the establishment of the Athenian maritime supremacy. Chronologically, the first source of wealth was the booty taken from the Persians, which, in spite of exaggerations, should have been huge from the Greek perspective. Herodotos' account is revealing as only Artayktes, the governor of Sestos, promised to pay a ransom of 200 talents of silver to the Athenians (and 100 talents to their general – Hdt. 9.120)¹⁴. Secondly, as the Athenians gradually transformed the coalition against Persia into their own empire, other revenues started to be of the greatest importance. Thus, the tribute (*phoros*) received by the Athenians was the most important financial resource for the city, as it was estimated at the beginning of the Archidamian war at nearly 600 talents of silver (15600 kg) per year (Thuc. 2.13.3)¹⁵. However, the tribute was just one of the manifold revenues of the Athenian state, made possible by the maritime supremacy. Even though there are not so many details, we know about consistent sums of money resulted from fines applied to revolted subjects¹⁶, the lease of sacred lands confiscated from the allies¹⁷, taxes on trade¹⁸, possibly special demands for contributions of the allies¹⁹. Some public income, as that resulted from taxes on the activity of metics or the lease for the ore extraction, resulted indirectly from the maritime supremacy of Athens, as it enabled the development of very attractive markets in the town and in Peiraios or the enhanced control of the mines at Laurion and Pangaion.

The amount of these revenues was so high that the Athenians did not need to impose a direct tax on their citizens until 428 B.C., when the first known *eisphora* is attested, in a time of great stress for the Athenian finances (Thuc. 3.19.1)²⁰. But the economic gains were not limited only to liquidities, as the maritime expansion paved the way to acquisition of new public lands abroad. The process of founding cleruchies and colonies became prodigious in the 5th century,

Elder and the Lydian king. The famous *kouros* of Anavyssos, which is dedicated to a young man named Kroisos (IG I (3), 1240), is another proof of the strong ties between the Athenian aristocracy and the Lydian king.

¹⁴ There are also other instances for the great extent of the booty taken from the Persians: Hdt. 9.80-81- the booty taken after Plataia, Plut. *Cim.* 13.6 - the spoils taken after Eurymedon (in this case, the public use of the money resulted from selling the booty is known: among other various financial demands, the Athenians built the southern wall of the Acropolis). Xen. *Ages.* 1.34 provides another instance of the great fortunes that could have been made from looting the Persians, as Agesilaos is credited to consecrate at Delphi, after only two years of campaign, a tithe no less than 200 talents.

¹⁵ A very informative account on *phoros* in Samons 2000, 70-199.

¹⁶ As is the case of Thasos (Thuc. 1.101.3) or Samos (Thuc. 1.117, Diod. Sic. 12.28.3).

¹⁷ For the leasing of sacred realty, see Papazarkadas 2011, 16-98, with references to sacred lands abroad at 21, 24 etc.

¹⁸ Pébarthe 2009, 384-385, for taxes on the trade conducted in colonies. Thuc. 7.28.4, with Samons 2000, 250-254, Pébarthe 2009, 387-388, for an Athenian attempt in 413 B.C. to change the tribute with a tax of 5% on trade.

¹⁹ Thuc. 2.69.1, 3.19.1, 4.50.1, 4.75.1, with Kallet-Marx 1993, 162-164, who considers that the *argyrologoí nēes* mentioned by the historian were collecting special contributions, without any connection to the regular tribute.

²⁰ Kallet-Marx 1993, 134-136.

with establishments in Euboia (Hestiaia, possibly Khalkis and Eretria)²¹, Chersonesos, Naxos, Andros, Lemnos, Skyros, Imbros, Sinope²², Amisos, Astacos, Aigina, Lesbos²³, Brea, Thurioi and Amphipolis²⁴. As we have already seen, the ownership over land was extremely important from a social and political point of view, so the access to new lands was one of the major advantages provided by the maritime *archē*.

The public gains were closely paralleled by the private ones. The already rich Athenians reaped the most advantages from the rise of Athens. Whether they managed to take the greatest share from the Persian booty (as a malicious anecdote says of Kallias – Plut. *Arist.* 5.7-8; schol. *Ar. Nub.* 64)²⁵ or they took into lease the profitable mines of Laurion and Pangaion (as Thukydides probably did in Thrace – Thuc. 4.101 – and Nikias, Hipponikos and Kallias surely did at Laurion)²⁶, whether they took into possession large plots of lands in the rural areas of the subjected allies (see below) or possibly entered the business of lending money to the same allies²⁷, the rich Athenians consistently used in their own interest the benefits of public domination over the Aegean.

Nevertheless, the middle class and the poorest took their own share in the empire directly, by looting and allotment of plot of lands in cleruchies and colonies, and indirectly, by being moderately paid by the state for various activities in its service (campaigning in the land army or in the fleet, taking part to the political life and the act of justice, working at the great building projects).

This continual flow of resources and money towards Athens determined a permanent decrease of its dependency on the Attik estates, which permitted even their abandonment by their owners in time of need. Thus, Kimon made free the access on his estates for every single

²¹ Hdt. 5.77.2-3; Thuc. 1.114.3, 7.57.2; Plut. *Per.* 23.4; Paus. 1.27.5; Ael. *VH* 6.1; IG I (2), 32.52-57, with Fornara 1977.

²² Plut. *Per.* 20.2, with Pébarthe 2009, 376-378.

²³ Thuc. 3.50.2; Diod. Sic. 12.55.10; Antiph. 5.76-80; IG I (3), 60, with Gauthier 1966.

²⁴ See the full list of Athenian colonies and cleruchies in Garland 2014, 244-251.

²⁵ Herodotos also spreads the malevolent Athenian tale that the Aiginetans made their fortunes by buying at a very low cost the precious objects looted by the Helots at Plataia (Hdt. 9.80). Thus, it seems that after the Persian Wars there was a practice to attack one's opponents by maintaining their wealth was acquired using immoral or impious means during the conflict. The success of such allegations proves nevertheless that they were plausible and the Persian Wars really were a very important source of enrichment for many Greeks.

²⁶ See Osborne 1987, 76-78.

²⁷ There are no mentions whether Athenian citizens lent money to the subjected allies in the 5th century B.C., but the fact is certain for the 4th century, as Androtion, the orator and the Attidographer, is praised for lending money to the community of Amorgos, for various needs, without demanding any interest (IG XII (7), 5). The praise for this particular gesture points to a general practice of lending money with high interests to allies in the 4th century B.C. As lending money is also attested for the previous periods, it is highly plausible that rich Athenians lent money in the empire in the 5th century B.C. See Millett 1991, 19, 52 (for the scarcity of sources regarding the practice of lending money in the 5th century), 162 (for Athenian money-lenders in the 5th century) and 299 (for the inferred practice of lending to the allies, starting from Andoc. 3.15).

Athenian citizen (Plut. *Cim.* 10.7), while Perikles was ready to give his properties to the community in order not to be suspected of treason (Thuc. 2.13.1)²⁸. The most impressive abandonment remains however the collective one which occurred during the Peloponnesian War. The scale of the devastation incurred by the Peloponnesian army is still a matter of debate²⁹, nonetheless it is certain that the annual raids disrupted the normal rural life in Attika. However, the city resisted without serious problems as long as the maritime supremacy was kept. In spite of powerful opposition from those who were the most interested in an unharmed Attika (probably the rich whose wealth consisted mainly in Attik estates and some countrymen not very well integrated into the city life), attested by Aristophanes' *Acharnians* or by Thoukydides (Thuc. 2.14-17; 2.21; 2.59), the *chora* was firmly abandoned, revealing the fact that the town was no more dependent on its agricultural hinterland.

This consequence of the Athenian *archē* was not just a matter of constant revenues. The empire provided in the same time solutions for the provision of supplies and the competition for fertile land, the most important economic, social and political asset in archaic and classical Greece³⁰. As land was significant both for subsistence and for social status and political power, the Greek city was continually put under stress when the available plots were not sufficient. The maritime supremacy of Athens eliminated the tension by providing enough secure land to the greatest part of citizens, eliminating both the economic prospect of famine and that of social unrest and political strife.

The social and political issue is all the more intriguing, because it took various forms. Firstly, the poor and the discontented had the opportunity to gain land by participating in the foundation of colonies and cleruchies. The phenomenon did not only remove a great source of unrest, but also consolidated the military domination of Athens in the Aegean. It is really frustrating that we do not know much on the particular arrangements regarding the rights of possession over the plots of land allotted in the colonies/cleruchies, the duties involved or the

²⁸ ἀφίησιν αὐτὰ [τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ οἰκίας] δημόσια εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν οἱ ὑποψίαν κατὰ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι. However, Perikles probably meant that he would give only the crops and not the estates.

²⁹ There is no consensus yet over the period the Peloponnesians encamped in Attika, the extent of the areas where they did not allowed any Athenian activity or how destructive was their looting and ravages. The school which sees devastation as not very damaging, represented, for example, by Hanson 1983, 131-173, is having the upper hand now, yet there is some vigorous opposition, like that of Thorne 2001. There are other authors who stress mainly the psychological issue of devastation (supporting thus the former school): Osborne 1987, 151-154; Foxhall 1993.

³⁰ The view that ancient Greek cities were in fact "agrotowns" (Osborne 1987, 95-96) is becoming more and more plausible. Land was the most precious asset as it provided both the means of subsistence for the poor and the middle class and of enrichment and acquiring higher status for the elites, which traded their surplus in change of luxuries. In consequence, land was very important for maintaining a high status in the community and taking a more prominent part in the political life (Forsdyke 2005, 37-38, 51-53, 62, 71; Foxhall 2002, 219-220). Many phenomena in the archaic and early classical ages, such as permanent *stasis* or colonization, could be explained in this general context of the economically, socially and politically driven land hunger.

relationship between these properties and the exercise of political rights by those who went abroad³¹. A better understanding of these aspects would have deepened the insight into the importance of the land acquired by the Athenians in their empire.

A similar frustrating situation is encountered in the case of private properties acquired abroad by other means than those of participating into a public establishment. The Attik Stelai are the most important source for the matter, attesting the Athenian aristocrats' ownership over plots of lands situated in Oropos, Euboia, Thasos, Abydos and Ophryneion, in the Troad³². Not just the geographical extent of these properties is significant³³, but also their value, which made owners such as Oionias and Adeimantos some of the richest people in Athens: unless the stonecutter was wrong in writing the inscription, Oionias owned estates valued at almost 82 talents³⁴ (for comparison, the 4th century banker Pasion, renowned for his wealth, is said to have owned a fortune of approximately 70 talents³⁵). Unfortunately, we do not know how these lands were acquired³⁶, but probably their cost was lower than that should have been paid for the same surface in Attika. Moreover, these abroad properties had some very significant advantages for the Athenian elites, as they were most probably more fertile than the poor soil of Attika, and they concealed their owners' wealth from the masses' jealous eyes³⁷.

The importance of these lands in offering the possibility to separate Athens from its *chora* is very well remarked by Thoukydides in Perikles' and Archidamos' speeches (Thuc. 1.80; 1.143.3-5; 2.36.3; 2.51.4; 2.62.3-4). The main idea of both speakers is that Athens is self-sufficient even without its Attik *chora*, because of its citizens' lands elsewhere, in high contrast with Sparta and its allies which cannot replace their lands with other agricultural areas in case they are destroyed.

There are also other proofs for the fact that in 5th century Athens the abroad lands became more significant than the Attik rural areas. One of them is represented by the importance given to the islands and specifically to Euboia, which were seen as a safe place of refuge for cattle (Thuc. 2.14.1) and much more productive than Attika itself, as Thoukydides

³¹ Pébarthe 2009, 367-369.

³² The Attik Stelai were lists of confiscated property of those participating in the mutilation of the Hermes, sold at auction (IG I (3), 421-430, with Pritchett 1953 and 1956). For the list of abroad properties in the Attik Stelai and for commentaries regarding the means of their acquisition, their costs, their owners etc. see Pritchett 1956, 271,275-276; Gauthier 1973, 163-170; Finley 1978, 115-117; Zelnick-Abramowitz 2004.

³³ See Andoc. 3.9, who was probably exaggerating, but nevertheless, gives an important hint regarding the extent.

³⁴ See Finley 1978, (n. 35) 308.

³⁵ Bogaert 1986, 42-47 estimates Pasion's fortune to 74 talents, including his real estates. Further information on Pasion's wealth and life in Davies 1971, 427-435 (with an estimate of 66 talents) and Trevett 1992, 1-17, 27-31.

³⁶ However, see Fornara 1977, 49-51.

³⁷ Foxhall 2002, 215-216; Sears 2013, 46-52. The constraints placed on the elites and their fortunes by the democratic regime in Athens are summarized in the concept of "property-power" in Davies 1971, xvii-xviii.

highlights at 8.96.2, narrating the way the Athenians lost Euboia in 411 B.C., “*by which they received more commodity than by Attika*” (ἐξ ἧς πλείω ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὠφελοῦντο). Furthermore, the loss of Euboia is depicted by Thoukydides as the greatest disaster for the Athenians during the whole war, even worst than the unfortunate campaign in Sicily (Thuc. 8.96.1-2).

Another proof is represented by the provision in the decree regarding the foundation of the Second Athenian Confederacy that prohibited for the Athenians, both publicly and privately, the acquisition of property in the territories of their allies (IG II (2), 43.25-32). The prohibition is so firmly stated that it should have been one of the most important conditions imposed by the allies for establishing the confederacy. The allied steadiness on the matter could not have been determined by something else than the scale of this type of acquisitions during the first alliance with Athens. The prohibition was not only firmly stated, but carefully guarded, as Isocrates bears proof of this (Isoc. 14.44).

In conclusion, we see that the strong relationship between towns and surrounding rural areas in ancient Greece was not the result of an economic interdependence. Only the towns were economically dependent on the rural areas for their food supplies, behaving as typical consumer centers. However, the towns were able to attract these resources due to their political preeminence over the rural areas.

That this conceptual model fits well the historical reality is proved by the Athenian example. Athens' unquestionable maritime supremacy provided the city and its citizens with huge amounts of money and alternative land to that of Attika. The inevitable consequence was that Attika could have been abandoned for extremely long periods of time: the town was no more economically dependent on its surrounding rural areas. It must be stressed that the abandonment of Attika was not made possible mainly by the preeminence of other economic activities, but by the opportunity to farm the land elsewhere in better conditions. The town left its traditional *chora* as it gained another one in the islands and the other dominions under its control.

One last proof in this regard is given by the fact that in the 4th century B.C., when Athens lost its control over most of its overseas territories, the strategy towards Attika was changed in a way more common for a typical Greek city: instead of leaving it, the Athenians protected their *chora* by establishing a series of effective border forts³⁸.

³⁸ Cf. Constantakopoulou 2010, 174-175.

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HDT. 3.11 – PUNISHMENT, HUMAN SACRIFICE, OATH, *SYMPOSION*? RITUAL AND GROUP COHESION

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Abstract:

At the beginning of the third book of the *Histories*, while presenting the way Kambyes conquered Egypt, Herodotos makes a short digression on the way the Greek and Karian mercenaries serving the Egyptian king killed the children of a former comrade who defected to the Persians and conspicuously drank their blood, mixed with water and wine. Although the fragment is one of the few sources regarding the practices and rituals conducted by Greek mercenaries in the archaic period, the fact narrated by Herodotos remains obscure as there is no consensus whether it should be linked with Greek punishment customs, *symposia* or the blood rituals used when taking oaths. The interpretation proposed in this paper is that of an oath taken in order to dispel any suspicions regarding the commitment of some mercenaries to their former comrade's cause.

Keywords: mercenaries, Egypt, Phanes of Halikarnassos, battle of Pelusion

The evidence regarding Greek mercenaries serving in the Near East in the archaic age is meager and few things are known about their organization and their social standing. Moreover, even fewer things are known regarding the cultural practices they employed as means of permanently reinstating their identity among strangers and the social order inside their groups. A fragment in Herodotos is one of the rare sources that provide some pieces of information in this respect. Narrating the conquest of Egypt by Kambyes in 525 B.C. (3.1-14), Herodotos introduces the story of Phanes of Hallikarnassos, one of the most important Greek mercenary captains serving Amasis, the Egyptian king (Hdt. 3.4). A very influential man among his comrades, Phanes deserted his master because he had a grudge against him and went to Amasis' arch-enemy, the Persian king, revealing to him the way to cross the Arabian desert into Egypt. Kambyes followed the counsel and succeeded into entering Egypt with his army. Herodotos goes on with the fragment I intend to analyze (Hdt. 3.11):

[1] οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεῖτε διεξέλασαντες τὴν ἄνυδρον ἴζοντο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὥς συμβαλέοντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπικούροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ἐόντες ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες τε καὶ Κᾶρες,

μεμφομένοι τῷ Φάνη ὅτι στρατὸν ἤγαγε ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον ἀλλόθροον, μηχανῶνται πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε. [2] ἦσαν τῷ Φάνη παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι: τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὅσιν τοῦ πατρὸς κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα: [3] διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παίδων οἶνόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπίκουροι οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον. μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων πλήθει πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

[1] After the Persians had crossed the waterless country and encamped in front of the Egyptians intending to engage them, the Egyptian mercenaries, Greeks and Karians, angered at Phanes for leading a foreign army into Egypt, devised a plan to punish him. [2] Phanes’ sons had been left in Egypt; these they brought to the camp, into their father’s sight, and set a great *krater* between the two armies; then they brought the sons one by one and cut their throats over the bowl. [3] When all the sons had been slaughtered, they poured wine and water into the bowl, and all the mercenaries drank this mixture and then gave battle. The fighting was fierce, and many of both armies fell; but at last the Egyptians were routed.

(Translated by A.D. Godley, with some minor personal revisions)

The gruesome and abnormal character of the fact narrated in this fragment was noted by modern scholars and many hypotheses were raised on the origin and the meaning of the “ritual” performed by the enraged Greek and Karian mercenaries. Some scholars linked it to human sacrifices required for the worship of the Karian god Zeus Stratios¹, others to old and obscure practices for taking oaths and creating strong bonds between warriors grouped into sworn bands². Similarities with odd stranger customs were also noted, as well as with sympotic practices³. The difficulties in interpreting this fragment were further increased because the other sources presenting the conquest of Egypt (Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F13 (10); Diod. Sic. 10.14; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 7.9) are few and less comprehensive, none of them including the story of Phanes and his sons⁴.

¹ Stein 1881-1901 *apud* How, Wells 1912.

² Lateiner 2012, 156 n. 3.

³ Hobden 2013, 87.

⁴ The only account that somehow resembles the story in Herodotos is that of Ktesias, where an Egyptian eunuch, Kombaphis, betrays his king to Kambyses. However, the differences are so big that we can surely dismiss the possibility that the tale about Kombaphis is an echo of Phanes’ betrayal. It is more likely that Ktesias’ account preserve genuine information about the betrayal of a certain Egyptian high official, as the collaboration between former Saite dignitaries and the new Persian dynasty is attested. See Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2007, 413-414.

At the meeting of the University of Bucharest Center for Comparative History of Ancient Societies in April 2014 I presented a paper in which I noted possible explanations of this practice, drawing on historical parallels and a cautious analysis of the Herodotean text, summarized below.

Elements of punishment/vengeance. Herodotos is clear in stating the motivation of the act and its target (μεμφόμενοι τῷ Φάνη; πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτόν). Furthermore, a possible important Greek punitive element is also added – the visual range (in this case: ἐξ ὅψιν τοῦ πατρὸς) within which either the criminal and its victim (Plat. *Leg.* 872b-c; Just. *Epit.* 9.7), or the criminal and some of those dear to him (Hdt. 9.120.4) must be placed at the moment when the punishment is delivered.

Elements of human sacrifice before battle. The Greek mythical repertoire of voluntary or forced sacrifices before battles (or other similar enterprises), especially of youngsters of the own stock, in order to gain the divine benevolence, is particularly rich: Agamemnon attempt to sacrifice Iphigeneia at Aulis (Aesch. *Ag.* 184-247; Eur. *IA* etc.); the self-sacrifice of Aglaurus, Erechtheus' daughter (Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F105, Lyc. *Leoc.* 98-100); the sacrifice of Menoikeus at Thebes (Eur. *Phoen.* 903-1094; Paus. 9.25.1; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7; Hyg. *Fab.* 67-68) or of Makaria at Marathon (Eur. *Heracl.* 406-629; Paus. 1.32.6). There are also some statements on historical sacrifices, such as that of Persian prisoners of high-rank before Salamis (Plut. *Them.* 13.2-5). However, there are solid arguments which discard the possibility of such practices being conducted by the Greeks in the Late Archaic age⁵. Neither contamination from the Egyptians is probable, as the practice of human sacrifices among them in this period is disputed and the alleged sacrifices were anyway conducted in totally different contexts⁶.

Elements of oath-taking. Most scholars, including Glotz, Hartog and Lateiner, read this fragment as an uncomplete description of an oath, Hartog being explicit in accusing Herodotos of not understanding that the slaughter of Phanes' children was not a punishment directed against him, but the fulfilling of the sacrifices needed to be done in order to strengthen the oath⁷. The incompleteness is even bigger as the oath itself (composed of promissory or assertory declaration, invocation and curse)⁸ is not recorded by Herodotos. Nevertheless, the assumption the fragment preserves a ritual that accompanies an oath-swearing, strengthened by

⁵ See Hughes 1991, 71-138, where both mythical and historical human sacrifices are discarded as being fictional.

⁶ See Yoyotte 1980. Another possibility might be contamination from other mercenaries, of Semitic stock, with whom the Hellenes were grouped together in units of ἀλλόγλωσσοι (ML 7a with Bernand, Masson 1957, 7-8; the term is also recorded in Hdt. 2.153.5). Nevertheless, there are no proofs in this regard.

⁷ Hartog 1988, 116. See also Glotz 1904, 160-161; Lateiner 2012, 156 n. 3, 159 n. 13. For the significant role played by sacrifices in concluding alliances strengthened by oaths see Bayliss, Sommerstein 2013, 151-153.

⁸ Bayliss and Sommerstein 2013, 1-2.

a blood ritual, is based on a broad series of comparisons. One difficulty arises as the comparisons may be included in two separate groups⁹:

1. Covenants between individuals, when, in order to create a blood-fellowship between individuals of different kin, they had to make a symbolic exchange of their own blood, most frequently by consumption (Hdt. 1.74.6 – the Medes and the Lydians cut their arms skin and licked each other's blood; Hdt. 3.8.1-2 – the Arabians cut their palms near the thumb, took the blood with pieces of wood brought by both parties and mixed it on seven stones placed between them; Hdt. 4.70 – the Scythians made little cuts on their bodies, mixed the blood with wine, and after dipping their weapons into the mixture drank it etc.);

2. Covenants between larger parties (for example, when making alliances), where the participants to the agreement used the blood of one or more sacrificial victims in various ways, from its simple spill on the ground to that of sacred (magical) substance that must be touched with weapons or their own hands (Hom. *Il.* 3.269-301 – truce between the Greeks and the Trojans; the sacrificial victims are lambs, their blood is flowing to the ground; Aesch. *Sept.* 43-48 – the seven Argive commanders swear to destroy Thebes by sacrificing a bull, collecting its blood into a shield and touching the blood with their hands; Xen. *An.* 2.2.9 – the Ten Thousand and the Persians sacrificed a bull, a wolf and a boar over a shield and dipped some weapons in the blood). However, the blood is not consumed and sometimes the hair¹⁰ or the full body of the victims¹¹, possibly cut into pieces¹², may complement or take the place of the blood.

Even the proponent of this differentiation, the orientalist W. Robertson Smith admitted that the two types probably have the same origin, the symbolic idea beneath both ritual forms being the creation of an artificial consanguinity¹³. However, for the first type, the consumption of human blood is attested, specifically the own blood of those who take the oath, but there are no victims, while in the second case, there are sacrificial victims, but they are not human beings and their blood is not drunk¹⁴.

The problem in our particular case is that the practice recorded by Herodotos combines features from both categories. Nevertheless, there are so many similarities between elements

⁹ Distinction proposed for the first time by Smith 1894, 314-323, who extend the analysis to agreements between mortals and gods or ancestors.

¹⁰ Smith 1894, 323-325.

¹¹ As in the case of the so-called Oath of Plataia (RO 88, 4th century inscription from Acharnai), where the participants covered the victims with their shields.

¹² Casabona 1966, 219 *apud* Hartog 1988, 114-115.

¹³ Smith 1894, 317-318.

¹⁴ There is one exception, provided in Plat. *Crit.* 119d-120b. There the kings of Atlantis drink the blood of the sacrificed bulls. However, this instance is merely fictional and there are not any grounds to presume it is inspired from a real practice.

described by Herodotos and rituals attested in other situations that it is almost certain the practice in Hdt. 3.11 originated from an oath-taking ritual.

Two additional possible connections with the practice of oath-taking should also be mentioned:

1. The event occurs in an environment composed by groups of male warriors (placed in a foreign country, possibly separated for a long time from their families, making a lot of activities in common). The situation is somehow similar to that of Spartan ἐνώμοσται, which etymologically and historically may be described as bands of sworn soldiers, united not only by an oath to fight together, but also by eating, drinking and spending most time together¹⁵. Thus, there might have been enough usual sources of inspiration for a possible extraordinary oath taken in an extraordinary occasion.

2. For later periods, very similar practices are attested in connection with political conspiracies, συνωμοσται, once again a term derived from the verb ὅμνυμι (to swear). Oath-swearing was needed in order to protect the secrecy, so the oaths were very frightful and later ancient and medieval sources even preserve many stories in which the conspirators sacrificed human victims and consumed part of their blood or their flesh with the aim of creating a powerful bound between them. The earliest instances of oaths strengthened by human sacrifices are that of Apollodoros of Cassandreia (3rd century BC), who aiming at tyranny sacrificed a young friend and gave his flesh to the other conspirators (Diod. Sic. 22.5.1) and that of Catilina (1st century BC), who, aiming to overthrow the constitutional order in Rome, had allegedly requested his fellows to drink human blood mixed with wine (Sall. Cat. 22). However, such accounts are not very reliable; even Sallustius notes that the consumption of human blood by Catilina's followers might have been an invention of his enemies. In the Middle Ages, legends of witches killing children and drinking their blood were created, starting from such stories¹⁶.

Elements of symposion. Fiona Hobden highlighted the similarity between the practice recorded by Thucydides and some elements of *symposion*: the use of a *krater* for mixing the blood with wine and water, its position on the field (ἐν μέσῳ), the way every mercenary participated to drinking¹⁷. Indeed, the practice of *symposion* among Greek mercenaries seems to be attested in contexts strongly connected with their own. In this respect we can cite both Archilochos' verses (fr. 124b West) and Alkaios' lyric (fr. 70 Lobel-Page; fr. S240 Page), whose brother Antimenidas served in the Babylonian army (Strab. 13.2.3 with fr. 48 and 350 L-

¹⁵ See Hdt. 1.65; Hesychius 3464 (τάξις τις διὰ σφαγίων ἐνώμοτος); Bayliss and Sommerstein 2013, 22-29.

¹⁶ For more on the subject of συνωμοσται, see Bayliss and Sommerstein 2013, 121-128.

¹⁷ Hobden 2013, 87.

P)¹⁸. Pottery found at Tell Defenneh (*kraters*, cups and chalices among other types)¹⁹, the allegedly place for the Herodotean Stratopeda, the Greek mercenary camps in Eastern Egypt, bears proof for the existence of the practice of *symposion* among Greek troops serving the Saite pharaohs. However, mixing wine with water, even within the elements of context highlighted by Hobden (some of them being questionable - ἐν μέσῳ probably refers to the place between the two armies, not to that in the middle of the mercenaries; the σφαγεῖον, the vase used for collecting the blood of the sacrificed victims was always one of a great type – *krater* or *skyphos*²⁰), is not a practice circumscribed only to *symposion*, an example being the above mentioned truce between the Greeks and the Trojans when wine mixed with water is spilled to the ground. Nevertheless, it is plausible that sympotic practices might have altered some other rituals, the one in this particular case included.

In the end, bringing also in discussion the essential words μηχανῶνται πῆγμα, I concluded then that the deed represented a novelty which added to an older ritual of oath-taking new elements determined by the mercenaries' wish to get revenge on Phanes.

I believe this conclusion can be further developed and slightly modified if we add a thorough analysis of the whole episode regarding Phanes and the conquest of Egypt, as well as a better understanding of Herodotos' intentions and literary techniques employed in presenting this fact.

First of all, the historicity of the episode and the reporting accuracy should be tested by assessing the sources used by Herodotos²¹. For the recent history of Egypt, beginning with the Saite dynasty, he is very clear in stating that the Egyptian priests are no more the most important providers of information, introducing instead as informants the others who live in Egypt (Hdt. 2.142, 147). Most probably, those were descendants of Greek settlers, merchants and mercenaries, who had come into Egypt beginning with the first years of Psammetichos' I reign (Hdt. 2.154.4)²². The significance of these new informants is clear: the historical essay on the Saite dynasty is much more accurate than the previous information regarding the ancient history of Egypt.

¹⁸ Quinn 1961. Kaplan 2002, 234-235 states that Alkaios himself served as a mercenary.

¹⁹ See the useful table of Archaic Greek pottery found in Egypt in Sørensen 2001, 160-161.

²⁰ Durand 1989, 125-127.

²¹ For a discussion on the sources employed by Herodotos in his Egyptian *logos*, see in Asheri, Lloyd, Corcella 2007, 228-232.

²² There are some hints that a part of the Greek mercenaries serving in Egypt received lands, in a system similar to that employed for the local warrior elite of μάχιοι, the flow of Aegean mercenaries to Egypt resembling somehow the colonisation in the West. Raaflaub 2004, 2007; Hornblower 1982, 354-355. The same situation of lands granted to foreigners from Greece may be inferred for some of the inhabitants of Naukratis (Hdt. 2.178). The descendants of Greek mercenaries moved to Memphis by Amasis were organized into a well-established community and were known as *Hellenomemphitai*, even long after the Persian conquest (Aristagoras *FGrH* 608, F9).

As Herodotos visited Egypt towards the middle of the 5th century B.C. and the event narrated in 3.11 happened in 525 B.C., it is plausible that he collected information even from sons of the Greek mercenaries who survived the battle of Pelusion. Mesopotamian kings and their Persian heirs were eager by tradition to employ some of the most valiant defeated enemies as mercenaries²³ and probably that was also the situation in Egypt after the conquest²⁴, especially as the Greeks and Karians were renowned for their military prowess.

Moreover, for this specific episode of Egyptian history, Herodotos might have had access to other first hand informants. The main character of the story was a Halikarnassian, like the historian, and we know nothing about him after Kambyses' Egyptian campaign. Did he stay in Egypt and made a new family? Did he follow his new master back to Asia? Did he return to Halikarnassos? In any case, there is a high probability that Herodotos met relatives or followers of Phanes and got to know his story from them even earlier than his own visit into Egypt. Further proof for this hypothesis is the favorable attitude towards Phanes in Herodotos' account: the Greek captain received a positive portrayal, while the deed of his former comrades is disavowed by the historian (see below). In addition, Herodotos could have received information from a third party: descendants of the Ionians and Aiolians who fought in Kambyses' army (Hdt. 3.1.1).

Secondly, it should be taken into account the authorial intention: why did Herodotos introduced this episode into the history? Phanes' defection is very important for the story of the conquest as it provides an explanation for Kambyses' success in crossing the Arabian desert²⁵. However, both the Arabian excursus and the digression on the slaughter are not instrumental to the exposition. They are both θαύματα, marvels that are worth being presented for their abnormality. Θαύματα in general can have multiple functions, from enhancing the writer's authority as a very well informed enquirer on a large series of topics²⁶, to giving a glimpse on the greatness of other civilizations²⁷ and revealing facts about barbarians, uncommon to the Greeks, which were able, by comparison, to provide essential knowledge on Hellenic culture²⁸. But this particular θαῦμα was all the more tempting to be introduced into the narrative because it presented to the Greek audience a totally abnormal behavior conducted by Hellenes and

²³ Van Seters 2010, 201.

²⁴ See Waerzeggers 2006 for Karian families from Egypt accommodated to Borsippa, in Mesopotamia, while the men were probably still on duty.

²⁵ Not necessarily the correct one: Egypt was invaded several times before by other Asiatic powers, which hadn't employed the services of high-rank defectors. However, for the coherence of Herodotos' discourse, Phanes' treason is significant from this point of view.

²⁶ Goldhill 2002, 22-24.

²⁷ Drews 1973, 134-135.

²⁸ Hartog 1988.

partially Hellenized people, Herodotos even emphasizing through the structure of his phrase the ethnic origin of the ἐπίκουροι participating to the slaughter.

However, Herodotos account is not full. I have already stated above that the most ritual similarities point to an oath-taking, although the verbal content of the oath is omitted. And probably other ritual elements were also omitted, whether they were not told by the informants or they were not written by the enquirer. In fact, as he usually does, Herodotos noted only what is interesting, which is the uncommon to his Greek audience²⁹. We are fortunate to have a telling example of this habit of Herodotus, which is straightly related to oath-taking. In 1.74.5, presenting the way the Medes and the Lydians are taking oaths, Herodotos notes that they use to make sworn agreements as the Greeks do, adding that the only difference is the mutual blood licking.

Thus, from all that happened before battle, Herodotos selected only the uncommon. In fact, this is also lexically emphasized in the structure μηχανῶνται πρῆγμα, the verb employed denoting the fact that something new was constructed by the mercenaries, most probably starting from well known practices which were not worth to be reminded to the audience.

The verb μηχανάομαι is all the more significant as it also bears proof for Herodotos' disapproval and even disgust of this πρῆγμα. In many ancient works, as well as in the *Histories*, it often carries strong negative connotations³⁰. We should admit a similar use in here as there are also other arguments for this interpretation: the similar negative stance adopted by Herodotos towards another cruel deed of the Egyptian side during the war (Hdt. 3.15 – the slaughter of a Mytilenean ship crew which accompanied a Persian ambassador to Memphis) and also the general Greek attitude towards cannibalism, a basic threshold between barbarism and civilization in Hellenic culture (and even between human and not human)³¹.

Moreover, the negative stance towards the deed might have been enhanced by his view on Phanes. Herodotos describes the Halikarnassian mercenary as a clever man and a good soldier (Hdt. 3.4.1 - γνώμην ἱκανὸς καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἄλκιμος), much too clever even for Amasis' most trusted eunuch (Hdt. 3.4.2 - σοφίη γὰρ μιν περιῆλθε ὁ Φάνης). It is likely that

²⁹ For the way Herodotos applied this principle in his ethnographic discourse, with an analysis on the Lydian *logos*, see Vignolo Munson 2001, 235-237.

³⁰ Examples in Herodotos: 1.60.3 (Peisistratos and Megakles devise a plan for deceiving the Athenians into allowing the former to become once again tyrant); 4.154.2 (Etearchos of Oaxos devises a great evil against his daughter, Phronime), 6.88 (the Athenians are plotting to harm and even destroy Aigina) etc.

³¹ An interesting discussion on cannibalism and Greek culture in the context of Homeric epic may be found in Buchan 2001.

their common origin, as well as the orientation of the source which provided the information, would have contributed much to Herodotos' way of presenting the event³².

In conclusion to this analytical section on the narrative of Herodotos it should be noted that our fragment is incomplete, preserving only the uncommon, which is all the more monstrous as it characterizes a deed made by Hellenes. We should also be cautious about the details of the story, given the fact that Herodotos attitude is not objective, his disapproval being fostered by his own cultural background and possibly by his informants' partisanship. Can we be sure the mercenaries really drank the children's blood? We have already seen in the case of συνωμοσίαι that the accounts of monstrous deeds committed by conspirators might have been fabricated by their opponents.

Nevertheless, we can see this episode as a typical example of ὕβρις recorded by Herodotos. He depicts a serious transgression of the moral and ritual norms, so conspicuous that it can be seen as a θαῦμα, which is followed by disaster for the Hellenic mercenaries. In fact, the whole story of the conquest of Egypt can be seen from the perspective of a continuous series of hubristic acts committed by Amasis, Phanes or Kambyses. As in all cases of ὕβρις, Herodotos must explain the cause for the transgressive lack of measure in behavior. For example, Xerxes' ὕβρις is caused by his transgression of the limit between what is reserved to humans and what is reserved to gods. Here, in Herodotos' view, the mercenaries' hubristic behavior is triggered by their uncontrolled anger towards Phanes.

Hartog is mistaken when he accuses Herodotos of excessive rationalization of the situation, as he presumably missed to figure out that the slaughter of the children was intended to stand in the place of a sacrifice. As I shown above, Herodotos did not highlight the sacrificial nature of the killing, due to his narrative art. However, Hartog is certainly right when he emphasizes that Herodotos connects the slaughter to an act of vengeance, caused exclusively by anger.

In fact, Herodotos missed the whole point about the necessity of the terrible act, ignoring its context, although he provided sufficient details so that we can reconstruct it. Phanes was just one of a long series of Greek mercenary captains who had prominent positions in Saite Egypt³³. His duties made him such a good specialist in the matter of the Egyptian system of

³² A parallel to this situation may be found in the discourse on Artemisia, especially in Hdt. 7.99.1.

³³ A synthesis on this subject in Agut-Labordère 2009, where the cases of Pedon, son of Amphinneios (*SEG* 37.994), Psammetichos, son of Theokles (ML 7a) and Wahibre-em-akhet, son of Alexikles and Zenodote (canopic vase in Stockholm Museum no. 98-101 and sarcophagus in Leiden Museum no. 1383) are cited. See also the suggestion in Diod. Sic. 1.67.2 – “*he [Psammetichos I] henceforth entrusted these [the mercenaries] before others with the administration of his empire.*”

defense (Hdt. 3.4.2 - τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτρεκέστατα), that Amasis felt necessary to send his most trusted servant on a ship to pursue the traitor.

But there is also one more explanation for such a decision: Phanes' great influence among the foreign mercenaries (Hdt. 3.4.2 - ἐόντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι λόγου οὐ σμικροῦ ἐπιστάμενον). Given this information, probably even more mercenaries were tempted to commit treason. Even greater suspicions would have arisen after Phanes cunningly managed to get rid of his pursuers, some of them being probably also Greek (Hdt. 3.4.3 – a trireme was specifically sent to Lykia after Phanes, the type of ship and the destination requiring the presence in the crew of at least some Hellenes or Karians). There were allegedly other suspicions of treason in the Egyptian camp, echoed by Herodotos' account of an Egyptian eye-physician's instigation at the court of Kambyzes against his pharaoh (Hdt. 3.1) and Ktesias' record of Kombaphis' betrayal³⁴, and partly proved by the Persian easiness in finding Egyptian collaborators after the conquest³⁵.

The atmosphere might have been even more tensed by reason of previous Greek revolts and betrayals. In the reign of Apries, the foreign mercenaries in the garrison of Elephantine, including Greeks, revolted and were calmed only by the prompt intervention of Nesuhor, a senior Egyptian official³⁶. During the civil war between Apries and Amasis, Greek mercenaries played a significant role³⁷ and Amasis' decision to move their quarters from Stratopeda to Memphis (Hdt. 2.154.3) might have been taken in a very similar context, in which another Asiatic power, the Babylonians, attacked Egypt with help from inside, especially from the Hellenes³⁸.

Tensions between mercenaries and their employers represent a well recorded situation in history, both parties repeatedly breaking the bond between them. A fragment in Bible, probably written between the 7th and the 4th century BC and inspired by the situation in this period³⁹, records the dismissal of David and his Hebrew troops by the Philistine commander Achish, before a battle conducted by the Philistine confederation against the kingdom of Saul. The reason is the mistrust of the other Philistine commanders, even though David was probably

³⁴ See above n. 4.

³⁵ There is an extended bibliography regarding the hypothetical treason and collaborationism of an Egyptian high-rank official named Udjahorresnet, starting from a naophorous statue in Musei Vaticani (catalogue no. 22690). See Bareš 1999, 31-44.

³⁶ Inscription on the statue Louvre A90, with Breasted 1908, 506-508.

³⁷ Hdt. 2.162-169; Diod. Sic. 1.68.2-5; the Elephantine Stela; a historical text from the 37th year of reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (BM33041), with Leahy 1988 and Ladynin 2006.

³⁸ Leahy 1988, 192-193.

³⁹ The date for the composition of the so-called David Saga is disputed: see for example, Finkelstein 2002, 132-133 – the account is exclusively ascribed to the Deuteronomistic History, 7th century B.C.; Van Seters 2009, 53-120; 2010, 209 – much of the Saga is attributed to a historian writing in the late Persian period.

bound by oath to Achish⁴⁰. A famous inscription found at Pergamon, dating around 260 B.C., preserves a contract, followed by an oath, between Eumenes I and his revolted mercenaries (*OGIS* I 266)⁴¹. A similar situation may be envisaged between the Egyptians and part of Phanes' former comrades before the battle of Pelusion, especially in the context of previous Greek revolts and interethnic tensions between the autochthonous military elite and the newcomers (Hdt. 2.30.3-5, Diod Sic. 1.67.3-4).

However, the practice recorded in Hdt. 3.11 encompasses only the activity of Greek and Karian mercenaries. There is no oath between the pharaoh and his foreign soldiers. Nevertheless, it is likely that Greek mercenaries serving in Egypt were grouped in several distinct contingents⁴². Some of them might have supported Phanes' view; others would have shared the Egyptian suspicion, being angry, as Herodotos mentions, for the unexpected trouble brought by their former comrade. Between Phanes and other mercenary captains might have existed even previous conflicts. As the anti-Phanes stance prevailed among the mercenaries, but suspicions subsisted, there was an imperative need to bring an end to this situation. A fearful oath sworn by all mercenaries, especially before battle, would have restored their cohesion as a group and would have dismissed the suspicions, both among mercenaries and between them and the Egyptians.

The oath-taking before battle seems absolutely normal in this context. Its gruesome features are also much more explainable given the situation: participating in the slaughter of the children, in full view of their father, would have certainly been the ultimate proof for commitment to the common cause and abandon of Phanes. Herodotos is right in emphasizing the innovative character of the ritual: drawing on old customs, it was particularly adapted to an extreme situation in order to contribute both symbolically and pragmatically to the strengthening of the group cohesion. Although Herodotos' account of the battle seems to prove the efficiency of the newly-envisaged deed (Hdt. 3.11.3), documents from Borsippa, in Mesopotamia, attest that at least part of the Karians in Egypt changed sides sometimes during the war between the Persians and the Egyptians⁴³. Given the strong ties attested between Karians and Halikarnassos, the initial suspicions of betrayal might not have been merely a product of imagination.

The reconstruction I attempted is, of course, highly hypothetical. However, I think it is beyond doubt that the practice recorded by Herodotos represents the ritual required to

⁴⁰ 1 Sam. 29:1-11 with Van Seters 2010, 211.

⁴¹ For this oath see Griffith 1935, 282-288; Garland 1975, 96-98.

⁴² Bernand and Masson 1957, 10-15; Haider 2001, 204-206.

⁴³ See above n. 24.

strengthen an oath-swearing, with certain additions and modifications introduced in response to an extraordinary context.

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NOTES ON THE DURA EUROPOS MAP

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Abstract:

Since the discovery of Dura Europos parchment, several studies attempted to elucidate the nature and function of this remarkable artifact. The present contribution starts with an overview of the current research and then examines several controversial or unexplored issues. The Greek text was copied from a Latin source and one of the misspellings indicate the original was written in cursive. The itinerary was probably created by private initiative and it described a maritime route. The double name of the Danube is unlikely to contain a reference to the city of Histria. Finally, the reception of this text in Romanian historiography has been shaped by an influential study published more than 70 years ago, which unfortunately caused the proliferation of some fictitious mentions of settlements on the western coasts of the Black Sea.

Keywords: Roman maps, Black Sea, Danube, periploi, itineraries, navigation, epigraphy, historiography.

A piece of leather parchment was discovered at Dura Europos, on the banks of Euphrates, during the 1922-1923 excavation campaign led by Franz Cumont.¹ The object is now being kept in Paris, in Bibliothèque nationale de France (ms. *Suppl. gr.* 1354² V, nr. 5).

The fragment measures 45 cm by 18 cm and it depicts a map. The sea fills two thirds of the remaining design and is painted in dark blue, bordered by a pale curved line portraying the coastline. Some ships, manned by sailors, are navigating the waters. There's a list of stations along the coast: cities, marked by vignettes consisting of stone-walled buildings, and rivers, represented by straight dark blue lines. The stations are accompanied by Greek text, indicating names and mileage. The surviving sequence runs clockwise along the shores of Black Sea, from Odessos in Thrace to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and indicates a symmetric original design, consisting of a circular coast surrounding the Black Sea and perhaps parts of the Mediterranean, as well:²

¹ Cumont 1925a; Cumont 1925b; Cumont 1926, 323–37.

² Cumont, 1925b, 2; Uhden, 1932; Dilke 1985, 120–21; Arnaud, 1989a, 374–79; Brodersen 2001, 15–16; Salway 2004, 93.

[Π]αν[υσός ποτ(αμός) ? μί(λ)ια ...]
Ὅδεσ[σός μί(λ)ια ...]
Βυβόν[α μί(λ)ια ...]
Κάλλ<α>ντις μί(λ)ια ...
Τομέα μί(λ)ια λγ'
Ἰ[σ]τρος ποτ(αμός) μί(λ)ια μ'
Δάνουβις ποτ(αμός) [μί(λ)ια ...]
Τύρα μί(λ)ια πδ'
Βορ[υ]σ[θέν]ης [μί(λ)ια ...]
Χερ[σ]όν[ησος –]
Τραπε[ζοῦς –]
Ἄρτα [μί(λ)ια ...]

After the restoration of the parchment, Pascal Arnaud and Robert Marichal found the text ...]gill[... written in Latin cursive in the cartouche between the two large ships. The writing, dated on paleographical grounds to 200 p. Chr., was considered a fragment of the owner's signature, thus a *terminus ante quem* for the entire artifact.³



Figure 1. The Dura-Europos parchment illustrated in *Syria*, 6 (1), 1925.

³ Arnaud 1988, 159; Arnaud 1989a, 385.

Cumont believed the parchment was originally a shield leather cover, but Arnaud's more recent and thorough analysis casted some doubts on this hypothesis. The document was found in the so-called "Tower of the Archers", together with other fragmented parchments and papyri, including a sale contract dated to the early 2nd century BC.⁴ Its state of deterioration suggests it was discarded as waste, and then buried under a large embankment of earth and debris built along the inner face of the city wall and covered with mud bricks. In addition, the fragment shows no traces of the shield boss and rivets.⁵

The Latin original

Although the text is in Greek, several details reveal a Latin source. The distances are given in Roman miles, not in stades. Oswald Dilke pointed out that Ἄρτα is the Latin *arta* 'narrows' transliterated into Greek, referring to the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Be it as it may, several other toponyms also indicate a Latin original: Ὀδεσσός instead of Ὀδησσός, Βυβόνα from Byzona instead of Βιζώνη, Τύρα from Tyra instead of Τύρας.⁶ The corrupt name *Bybona suggests the text was written in Latin cursive. The letter ζ could have been misread as λ in a ligature or in the presence of a deterioration resembling the bow,⁷ perhaps also because this *littera graeca* is less common in Latin texts.⁸ Latin was the language used mostly by soldiers in Dura Europos,⁹ but the fragmentary nature of this text does not permit much speculation.

A maritime itinerary?

It is generally agreed that the list of stations represents a real itinerary. However, in contrast with many periploi and itineraries, most names are put in nominative.¹⁰ While many

⁴ The texts were published by Cumont 1926, 281–379.

⁵ Arnaud 1988, 152–54; Arnaud 1989a, 379–83.

⁶ Cumont, 1925b, 14–15; Dilke 1985, 121–22; Podossinov 2003, 321; Charalampakis 2011, 127.

⁷ For ligatures see, for example, *PDura* 98 and the discussion in Austin 2010, 219–20. Sometimes the bow can be separated from the tail, as in *POxy.* IV, 735, cf. Gaebel 1985, 309.

⁸ Biville 1990, 98–136.

⁹ Pollard, 135–37.

¹⁰ Τομέα may be interpreted as a Greek accusative (cf. Cumont 1925b, 5), but it's difficult to reconcile this reading with the rest of the names. Podossinov 2003, 321 claimed Τομέα is the Greek rendering of a Latin Tomea instead of Τομέας (see also note 6 *supra*). However the closest contemporary variant of this name is the third declension Τόμης, see Strabo 7.5.2: *περὶ Κάλλατιν καὶ Τομέα καὶ Ἰστρὸν* and Arr., *Peripl. M. Eux.* 35: *ἐς Τομέα πόλιν* and *ἀπὸ δὲ Τομέως*. There's also a first declension Τομέα attested in the 7th century by Theophyl. Simoc. 7.13.1: *Τομέα τῇ πόλει* and 7.13.2: *Τομέαν τὴν πόλιν*, which may refer to another city in the territory of Remesiana, see Ștefan 1967 and Olteanu 2007, 83.

researchers suggested a land route,¹¹ Benet Salway argued convincingly it is rather a maritime one. There are no roads depicted, nor inland cities. All the cities are harbors along the seaside. The sea and the vessels occupied a central position on the original map.¹² The distances in miles are not indicative for roads, as some Roman maritime routes were measured in miles, too.¹³

While some itineraries were created by the Roman authorities,¹⁴ more often they were created by travelers themselves. We have, for example, the testimony of Galen who wrote, in the 2nd century AD, about his journey to Hephaistias, a city on the northern shore of Lemnos, famous for its red earths:

For when I was passing over from Italy into Macedonia, and had traversed nearly the whole of that province, I arrived at Philippi, which is a town on the frontiers of Thrace. From here I went down to the neighbouring coast, one hundred and twenty stades away, and sailed first to Thasos, some two hundred stades distant, thence to Lemnos, seven hundred stades; then again from Lemnos to Alexandria in the Troad, another seven hundred stades. I have purposely written about my voyage, and the number of stades, in order that if anyone wishes like me to visit Hephaistias, he may know its situation, and arrange his voyage similarly.¹⁵

The routes made up of stations and distances were useful instruments, helping travellers to plan their journeys accordingly. Kai Brodersen observed that the arrangement of geographical information in itineraries, as opposed to scale maps, is to be paralleled by the modern simplified diagrams of the regional transport, consisting of stations connected by straight lines.¹⁶ This is arguably not so different from the Dura-Europos painted itinerary, even though the map, as we have it, seems to have had a rather decorative function.¹⁷ Whatever the case may be, we can at least infer that its text was copied from one or more real maritime itineraries.

¹¹ Cumont, 1925b, 4, 10–11; Dilke 1985, 122; Rebuffat 1986; Brodersen 2001, 15–16.

¹² Salway, 2001, 42–43; Salway 2004, 94.

¹³ For example see *It. Ant.* 95.2–96.4. Salway 2004, 68–85 gives a full discussion.

¹⁴ Rebuffat 1986 presumes a single source for this itinerary, *It. Ant.*, *Tab. Peut.* and *Geogr. Rav.*

¹⁵ Galen, *De simpl. med.* 9.2. The Greek text was edited by Kühn 1826, 172–73 and translated into English by Brock 1929, 193. For another translation see Brodersen 2001, 8. Kühn's text comes from the Aldine edition of 1525 and there's no critical edition of this work. I'm grateful to Caroline Petit of University of Warwick for checking this passage in two important 14th century manuscripts from Vatican: Urbinas gr. 67 and Palatinus. gr. 31.

¹⁶ Brodersen 2001, 16, 18–19.

¹⁷ Arnaud 1989b, 18–19; Salway 2012, 196.

Histria or the Danube?

Since Cumont's publication, almost all scholars agreed that Ἰστρος ποταμός was a misreading for Ἰστρόπολις, and thus it refers to the city of Histria.¹⁸ Radu Vulpe argued further that a similar formula was used in the periplus of Pseudo-Scylax, a text composed in the 4th century BC and erroneously attributed to Scylax of Caryanda.¹⁹ This work enumerates geographical features, mostly cities, along the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The list of πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες along the Thracian coast of the Black Sea runs as follows: Ἀπολλωνία, Μεσημβρία, Ὀδησσός πόλις, Κάλλατις, και ποταμός Ἰστρος.²⁰ Can we read the last two words as referring to a city? The answer must be negative for a number of reasons. First, this text is not a genuine guide for navigation, but rather a literary geography drawing from various earlier sources.²¹ Moreover, the author used headings such as αἶδε πόλεις in a loose manner. His lists include sites which were not even settlements.²² For example, in the description of Macedonia we find rivers: Ἀλιάκμων ποταμός, ποταμός Λυδίας, Ἄξιος ποταμός, Ἐχέδωρος ποταμός, a sanctuary: Καναστραῖον τῆς Παλλήνης ἱερόν ἀκρωτήριον, a mountain: Ἄθως ὄρος, and a lake: Βόλβη λίμνη.²³ At the same time, the omission of Histria is not an exception: this periplus ignores many other important πόλεις such as Byzantium and Olbia in the Black Sea.²⁴ In conclusion, there's no evidence to suggest that ποταμός Ἰστρος here is a reference to the city of Histria.

On the Dura-Europos parchment there's a blue line running under Ἰ[σ]τρος ποτ(αμός) and another one under Δάνουβις ποτ(αμός). This indicates that at least the author of this map regarded them both as rivers. Moreover, as our discernible source was written in Latin, we have no reason to suppose ποτ(αμός) here is the result of a misread πόλ(ις). Perhaps the same author chose to illustrate in this fashion the distributaries of the Danube and the two known

¹⁸ Cumont 1925b, 5–6; Dilke 1985, 121; Arnaud 1989a, 385; Brodersen 2001, 15. The name is attested by Ptol. *Geog.* 3.10.3. The Latin variants of the name are attested by itineraries: *Historio* in *It. Ant.* 227.2, *Histriopoli* in *Tab. Peut.* 7.4; *Histriopolis* in *Geogr. Rav.* 4.6 and 5.11.

¹⁹ Vulpe 1969, 169. His hypothesis was further supported by Bounegru 1988, 75. I used the edition of Fabricius 1878, but see also Counillon 2004 for the text of Pseudo-Scylax and the Black Sea.

²⁰ Ps.-Scylax 68.

²¹ Flensted-Jensen and Hansen 1996, 137–38; Shipley 2010, 100–01.

²² Flensted-Jensen and Hansen 1996, 140–42. For a full list of ποταμός occurrences see Flensted-Jensen and Hansen 1996, 145–46.

²³ Ps.-Scylax 67.

²⁴ Such omissions may be related to the sources of Ps.-Scylax, cf. Counillon 2004, 43, 72–73, 76.

names of the river, Istros and Danubius.²⁵ It is also possible that he conflated the delta and the two names of the river out of geographical ignorance.



Figure 2. Parchment detail showing the two Danube rivers.

The itinerary also gives a distance of 40 miles or more between Tomis and the river.²⁶ This is entirely plausible: the delta had a different configuration in the Roman times and the southernmost distributary was Dunavăț, flowing into the sea through the now extinct Coșna-Sinoie delta, several miles north-east from the city.²⁷

The Romanian historiography and the location of *uicus Amlaidina*

As the place-names of this itinerary also concern areas of what is today the Romanian coast, this document drew the attention of the Romanian scholars. Franz Cumont's discovery was reported in the same year by Vasile Pârvan,²⁸ and for some years the Romanian scholarship echoed the studies of Cumont and Uhden.²⁹

A curious turning point occurred in 1943, when the engineer Ion Mititelu published a new reading of the parchment, following the study published by Cumont in 1926.³⁰ He enlarged a low quality photograph, and then he used the negative mirror image of it.³¹ Thus

²⁵ See also Salway 2004, 93. He is not correct, however, when assuming that Istros and Danubius were the names of two distinct distributaries in Antiquity: Danubius was the name of the upper course of the river for both Strabo 7.3.13 and Mela 2.8.

²⁶ The parchment is deteriorated right after $\mu\acute{\iota}(\lambda\iota\alpha) \mu'$ which could have been followed by another letter. See also Arnaud 1989a, 384. The distance between Tomis and Histria is 37.5 miles (= 300 stadia) in Arr., *Peripl. M. Eux.* 35; 36 miles in *It. Ant.* 227.2; 40 miles in *Tab. Peut.* 7.4.

²⁷ Panin 2003, 261.

²⁸ Pârvan 1926, 9.

²⁹ For example see Christescu 1937, 88, 114, 161, 164.

³⁰ Mititelu, 1943.

³¹ Mititelu 1943, 79–81, 91. The author acknowledges he was unable to see all the details mentioned by Cumont and he provides accordingly an incomplete description of the vessels, sailors and buildings.

he claimed to read a list of 30 place-names, with more than half of the entries not appearing in any other independent study. His interpretations are fanciful and many of the readings are not even plausible, such as OY[AM]YPYA for Halmyris, or ICTPOCΠOTΓ for a ford across the Danube.³²

Nevertheless, Mititelu's version of this text was assumed and translated by Vladimir Iliescu in the first volume of *Izvoare privind istoria României*.³³ Surprisingly, with the notable exception of Radu Vulpe,³⁴ these readings and arguments were perpetuated by Romanian scholars. There were only few contributions analyzing the entire document and they all valued Mititelu's article over other studies.³⁵ Many scholars used the new readings to identify ancient sites from the western Black Sea coast, notably Stratonis and Amlaidina, which are otherwise poorly attested.³⁶ Some also used the route to argue for the existence of a military road and lines of fortification along the littoral.³⁷

The location of *uicus* Amlaidina is especially problematic, because this ancient toponym is else known from a single inscription³⁸. Mititelu identified it with the village Domnița Elena, now renamed 23 August.³⁹ However Amlaidina does not appear in the Dura-Europos itinerary. What do we know, then, about its whereabouts?

Let's have a look at our only piece of evidence. A limestone stele was found in the late 19th



Figure 3. The epitaph of Aurelius Dalenus from *uicus* Amlaidina (Source: EDCS)

century, in the area of the former village of Urluchioi, near the southwestern end of Lake

³² Mititelu 1943, 83–84. According to him “l’abréviation Γ, par élision de γη = sur terre, de terre, en terre, indique donc « lieu de passage »”.

³³ Iliescu 1964.

³⁴ Vulpe 1969, 169 finding Mititelu's new readings disputable. A somewhat ambivalent position can be found in Vulpe and Barnea 1968, following Mititelu on pp. 205–206 but Cumont on p. 360.

³⁵ Zahariade 1975; Popescu-Spineni 1978, 83–84.

³⁶ Gostar et al. 1969, 18, 23, 69, 76; Barnea 1976a; Barnea 1976b; Aricescu 1977, 134, 139, 143–46; Suceveanu 1977, 52, 55, 131; Irimia 1980, 72; Avram 1991, 130–31; Bărbulescu and Câteia 1998, 120, 123; Avram 1999, 190–91, 538–39 = *IScM* III, 237; Bounegru 2003, 140; Avram 2007, 246–47, 249; Matei-Popescu 2014, 192. Fortunately only few scholars outside Romania followed these misidentifications, see for example Ferjančić, 2009, 110–11.

³⁷ Suceveanu 1974, 224–25, 229, 234; Aricescu 1975; Suceveanu 1981, 606, 612; Suceveanu 1992, 203, 218–19; Ionescu and Papuc 2005, 107, 133.

³⁸ *CIL* III, 13743 = *CCET* IV, 117 = *IScM* II, 266 = *IScM* III, 237 = Conrad 2004, nr. 123.

³⁹ Mititelu 1943, 83, 86.

Techirghiol. The monument is now at the Bucharest Institute of Archaeology, inv. L 317. Its upper part depicts a horseman and a seated woman, while the lower part holds a funerary inscription. Both the relief and the inscription are damaged and worn. The first editor was Grigore Tocilescu, whose reading is virtually unchanged today:

D(is) M(anibus)
Aur(elio) Daleni ex uic(o) Am-
[l]aidina et q(uondam) prae-
torianorum
Aurelia Uthis
[u]xor eius titu-
*[l]um de suo m(erenti) p(onendum) c(urauit).*⁴⁰

The name of the *uicus* is not certain: Tocilescu read *Am/[l]aidina*, but Iorgu Stoian and Alexandru Avram read *A[m/l]aidina*⁴¹. The missing letter should be taken with a pinch of salt, since this name is a *hapax legomenon* and, moreover, the *-ml-* cluster is absent from the local onomastics.⁴² The ancient place-names ending in *-dina* occur only in the eastern regions of Moesia Inferior.⁴³

It is appealing to locate *uicus* Amlaidina south-west of the lake Techirghiol, where this inscription was found⁴⁴ and where the remains of an ancient Graeco-Roman settlement were also identified.⁴⁵ However, it is also possible that the deceased, Aurelius Dalenus, was not buried near his home village, or that the monument was brought from somewhere else. The evidence is too thin for a definitive answer. Nevertheless, there's no reason to believe there was a *uicus* with this name at 23 August, the site preferred by many scholars.

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⁴⁰ Tocilescu 1896, 93; Tocilescu 1903, 72. The second reading was included in *CIL*.

⁴¹ In *IScM* II and *IScM* III respectively. The latest reading by Matei-Popescu 2014, 204 suggests that the inscription became worn and hardly legible.

⁴² Ζυμλ[υδρηνη] or Ζυμλ[υζδρηνη] on *IGBulg* III,1 1153 is a mistake for Ζυλμυζδρηνη. This inscription was found in the sanctuary of a local Asclepius, near modern Batkun, Bulgaria.

⁴³ Beševliev 1961, 67–68.

⁴⁴ Tocilescu, 1903, 72; Pârvan 1913, 347; Matei-Popescu 2014, 204.

⁴⁵ Boroneanţ 1977, 321; Irimia, 1980, 71; Ionescu and Papuc, 2005 132.

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URBANISM AND ELITES – ROME AND THE CITIES OF ITALY (2nd Century BC – 1st Century AD): AN OVERVIEW¹

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Abstract:

This article brings up for discussion the urban manifestation in the Italian Peninsula, during the end of the Republic and beginning of the Principate, as well as the importance of the rural space in the definition and the evolution of urban planning. Local elites play a defining role as regards urban space because they are involved, to a lesser or higher extent (depending on the time and area), in the construction of public buildings. Also, urban development directly affects the elites causing changes in terms of their way of referring to the urban space. The degree of building development throughout the territory of Italy is not uniform. As a matter of fact, a different level and pace of public buildings constructions is observed between the regions in Italy. Furthermore, the article presents and briefly discusses the most important ideas and work assumptions which have marked the research at the end of the twentieth-century, with regard to urbanity in the Roman antiquity.

Keywords: Urbanism, elites, urban area, rural area, ancient Rome.

Introduction

In the last decade of twentieth-century, in the Western historiographical framework, the theories with regard to urbanity in ancient times were debated and subjected to rigorous research grids. New hypotheses were launched and many of the theories accepted until then, were doubted or even combated. We are dealing with new perspectives for analyzing of all sources. It is observed also an enrichment of the processed material. This fact is also due to the historian Penelope M. Allison, who sounds an alarm and shows the need to also integrate

¹ This article was presented within the Conference “Urban and Rural in the Ancient World”, organized by CICSA, and which took place at the Faculty of History of the University of Bucharest in 19-20 of April, 2013. I started this research for two reasons. Out of a personal desire to observe the manner in which the ancient Roman city is discussed in western historiography in the last decade of twentieth-century. The fact that I have attended the course “Urban spaces and fortifications in the Mediterranean space” held by the late professor Cristian Olariu, during the academic year 2011-2012, represents the second reason that led to this research. Thus, this study is a personal contribution meant to enrich the personal status of the Romanian research concerning the cities of the italic space. Also, the topic of this article can be resumed in a future research to identify the manner by which the assumptions launched in the '90 have evolved in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

in studies the analysis of the archaeological findings². Historians emphasize the flaws and shortcomings of the research and advocate through their writings a multidisciplinary approach to this subject, as well as special attention in terms of research of ancient literary sources, by placing them in context. Allison also emphasizes a series of shortcomings with respect to the study of the urban space³. It should not be overlooked that in ancient times, almost exclusively, the elite is the one that writes.

It is also observed the fact that researchers are reluctant to make generalizations and consider that many of the subjects relating to urbanism still remain an open topic. The city's economic feature no longer represents the major share of research, but is integrated into the analysis along with the social and political factors.

The concept of “consumer city” and the debate about the ancient city by which it was attempted to determine to what extent the ancient city is only a consumer city, and why this can't be classified in the category “producer city”, become topics that no longer receive great attention⁴, but, on this background, it also attempted a new approach of the ancient city from an economic point of view. For example, the Weberian model made of the land holders the only members or representatives of the elite. Thus, it is assumed that an urban elite cannot emerge⁵. Ancient city is viewed by comparison with the medieval city, classified as a producer city. The cause of the ancient city's decline is seen in its feature as a consumer. Leaving this space of confrontation between consumer city and producer city, Wallace-Hadrill aims to realize a radiography of the situation of the elite in the Roman city at the end of the Republic and the early period of the Empire. He aims to question, even to disapprove

² Allison 1997, 109-142. It is about establishing a relationship between textual information and the nature of this information that archaeological findings can provide with respect to the interaction between people who lived under the same roof. Her study is useful for entering into the intimate world of the Romans and the domestic behavior.

³ As Morley (1997, 41-56), Lomas (1997, 21-40) also identifies some shortcomings of the study, this time in relation with the changing of the elite's attitude towards the city. It is difficult to identify it so far as we are lacking a complete set of information (archaeological and epigraphic).

⁴ The consumer city is classified as such in terms of the functioning of the economy. The consumer city obtains its resources from rural area, from taxes and rents. The Weberian concept of “consumer city” is poached and nuanced by M. I. Finley in the study *The ancient city: From Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond* in the year 1981. Finley's work, *The Ancient Economy* (1973), caused a strong debate in the era. Two points of view emerged with regard to the economic and sociological aspects of the Greco-Roman world economy summarized by: primitivists and modernists. The first believe that fees and rents are predominant in the distribution of agricultural production, that there is a limitation of productivity due to labor force, and purchasing power was low. Primitivists claimed that ancient economy was limited and as a result, they had a negative attitude toward trading activity and manufacturing. Modernists denied this latter fact and they were underlining the elites' contribution in the trade process and to the appraisal of the profit arising as a result of trading activities. About economy and market exchange in ancient times see also Garnsey 1999, 22-33.

⁵ Wallace-Hadrill 1991, 241-244. Lomas (1997, 21) also, speaks about the emergence of a sophisticated urban elite that establishes its residence in *villa*. *Villa* was thus seen as an honorable part of the city but which was placed in the rural region.

the idea that Roman elite was composed of a rural nobility for which trade was foreign and repulsive. It also brings up for discussion the local trade carried out in the small *tabernae*. These things are viewed from two perspectives and concerns elite attitude toward the city, as reflected by ancient authors' writings, as well as the organization of the city's physical space. These aspects will be addressed throughout the course and economy of this article.

Morley⁶ also addresses briefly the relationship between “consumer city” and “producer city”⁷. Morley addresses the economic relations existing between the city and rural area, and states that the urban food supply that is considered when discussing about “consumer city” shows in fact a shortcoming, because the discussion should not be restricted solely to this aspect. Between rural area and the urban one there is no political separation. Both are run by the same elite with the same values.

The Roman Empire was vast, the ancient city had a wide range of sizes, traditions, forms and functions throughout its territory. In such a situation we cannot generalize⁸. Studies on urbanism show us a city model, which, however, shows the situation in an ordinary city. The model should be extended sufficiently to include a wider variety of different cities.

Cities must be placed in a context in order that when we analyze the economic side to see it as a part of the production and consumption system in the society as a whole, and political and social roles as part of larger structures of power and domination. Morley claims that it is necessary to look at the process of urbanization in certain parts of the Empire than to focus on identifying the ideal Roman city.

Morley proposes another possibility for studying the Romanian cities, by placing them in the context of larger urban systems. When the author speaks of *urban system* he refers to the fact that this *urban system* is greater than the sum of the cities that comprise it. Hence, it should be observed the presence and nature of cities in regions, the manner in which they relate and how they are arranged.

⁶ Morley 1997, 41-56.

⁷ See also Mattingly, who is concisely examining the idea of “consumer city” in the article “Beyond Belief? Drawing a line beneath the consumer city” (1997, 205-213). Ancient cities, with a few exceptions: Rome, Athens, Alexandria, Carthage were dependent on the exploitation of surrounding territories in terms of taxes and rents to support themselves. In this way they intended to obtain a necessary from their own region. Mattingly draws the attention on a few shortcomings. This model of a city was seen and labeled as an archetype, hence the low level of analysis of the different variations. It is stressed the need of bringing into discussion other disciplines as well. This model of a city is being perceived more in terms of its economic functions rather than a part of a theory applied in the urban field.

⁸ This idea is highlighted also by Allison 1997, 109-142.

In the first place, Roman cities were connected through trade. We are talking about economic ties. This includes the movement of goods that connected the cities: those inland with those on the coast line, tying them also with Rome.

Rome had an increased need for products and therefore the level of demand was high. Rome was connected to other cities in order to ensure its necessary, so as to allow its functioning and also the arrival of needed supplies. Furthermore, Rome was relying on provinces for its supply with grains but at the same time, it was relying on the Italian territory to meet other needs⁹. Due to this fact, port cities as Puteoli and Ostia enjoy prosperity¹⁰.

The occurrence of a network of power and of influence represented another mean that assured the interaction between the cities of Italy. The various statuses of the cities were set according to their relations with Rome, not depending on their authority over other cities. Power systems were informal and less visible. The power and influence enjoyed by cities was offered also by the possession of information. Distance and travel speed ensured the power. Port towns or those situated nearby major waterways or roads were favored.

Information did not travel alone. These were brought on different routes (roads, inland waterways, and coast of Italy) by people belonging to all social categories. This discussion brings along the topic of the migration of population. For the phenomenon of urbanization, the long-term or permanent migration is important. For a long time it has been claimed that the importance of an economic, administrative and social center is reflected in its size. This debate involves several factors. It is admitted that people migrate to the places that offer them economic opportunities. In ancient times, however, it was a problem with political rights which could be exercised only at the place of origin¹¹. A large channel of migration of goods and of people was to Rome, so that the growth and expansion of Rome over the past two centuries before our era could be due only to a large scale and sustained migration. Other cities in Italy could also offer opportunities, especially ports and cities that were involved in supplying food to Rome.

Some cities were closer to the power centers than others. Also, as we shall see, some senators remained in contact with the cities of origin and the areas where they had their properties, and exercised their influence in Rome in ways that brought privileges to those cities or settlements.

⁹ Supply of products such as: wine, oil, fruit, vegetables, meat, wool, but also raw material, wood.

¹⁰ They are in a close connection with Rome and occupy an important place in the network of Rome suppliers.

¹¹ A person that was migrating would be able to exercise their political rights in Rome (it should be taken into consideration the group to which this person belongs and the time period). The inhabitant of Italy, by moving to another city became *incola* and could vote only at the local elections but he could not run for a position.

Cities must be regarded also in the context of regional system. Markets have an important role in the study of urbanization. Urban centers were connected through the local markets system¹².

The development of the urban system in Italy may also be observed as follows: cities in Italy were connected to each other through the movement of goods, property, people, information and power. Through their connection with the capital they were connected with the trade and power system, in the whole Mediterranean basin, the hierarchy being dictated by the level of proximity with Rome. Ostia and Puteoli, major ports, become prosperous.

Regarding the geographical distribution of constructions during the first century of our era, anticipating the discussion, we can state that the region in the immediate vicinity of Rome develops due to the wealth in the area and it comes to form a *suburbium* because of Rome's needs which are dictating the economic development, but also because of the urban culture possessed by the elite.

In the economy of this article it should be added the fact, already obvious, that urban areas cannot be discussed without considering also the rural area¹³. The problems occurred during the process of research are related to the nature of the relationship existing between these two spaces.

Urban life in the light of the ancient roman sources

The city was typically the residence of elites, the center of their social, political and cultural life so that, in order to obtain a better image on the ancient city, but also in order to determine the elite's characteristics, the elite's reaction towards the city should be determined. This approach reflects attitudes with regard to the city and rural area. Great men of antiquity preferred the rustic way of life to the detriment of the lifestyle of the townsman. Cicero, in the work *De Officiis* (1.151), rejects the idea of trade placed in urban areas. He considered this activity as being unworthy of a nobleman; to be at the disposal of another man meant by definition, servility. Agriculture and not trading would have been in his point of view a suitable occupation for an aristocrat.

¹² A circuit of the markets is not known. Inscriptions of the 1st century AD, *indices nundinarii*, certify the organizing of *nundinae* that served rural population. In areas with a high degree of urbanization these were held in markets.

¹³ In the introduction chapter of *City and Country in the Ancient World* (1991), Wallace-Hadrill says something that we should not overlook: "Town and country were antithetical for the ancients too".

From the Roman perspective, the city was perceived as a center of trade and sordid affairs. Varro¹⁴ stands as being the most vehement and explicit defender and supporter of a long tradition of rejection¹⁵ of the city. We meet with the ancestral contrast of the rural territory, as a place of virtue and the city, as a place of laziness, idleness, loss of time. Ancients saw two possibilities of living the life: *rustic* and *urban*. The dialectic opposition between the city and rural life represents an all-pervading topic in Roman literature. This antithesis¹⁶ is developed thoroughly in the satirical Roman tradition. *Satire III* that belongs to Juvenal and suggestively entitled, *Inconveniences of living in Rome*, stands as testimony to the traditional Roman morality, deeply rooted in the agrarian values. The city is seen as dangerous, warm and unpleasant, with emphasis on *officia* and *luxuria*, while in the countryside you are safe, there's coolness, it's pleasant and you can enjoy the simplicity and physical effort. Therefore, in this satire is rendered the difficulty or inability to rest in the city (232-238); is presented the burdening traffic (239-267). Toward the end of the satire, Juvenal builds an apocalyptic conclusion mentioning the crazy people walking on the streets (268-301) and the dangers that are present everywhere, as well as the increased level of crimes (302-314).

From written sources also stand out certain stereotypes, for example, slaves in rural areas worked hard, and slaves in urban areas were idle and dedicated themselves exclusively to fulfill their master's pleasure. Therefore, this antithesis, urban - rural areas, caused the occurrence of rhetorical discussions showing clearly that rural area is preferred. Tibullus, also, in his Elegy 2.1., sings the rural pleasures; and in Elegy 2.3 shows his attachment to the rural area when he says: *Ferreus est, heu! heu! quisquis in urbe manet*¹⁷. Vergilius¹⁸, however, in *Praise of Italy*, praises the whole land of Italy, making a true inventory of Italy treasures about which he says: *Add as many/ Large incomparable cities, and great things/ Built with hard work, and fortresses built/ High up on abrupt cliffs, and the insurgent waters that/ Roll along the ancient ramparts*. Of course, such a source should be treated with reluctance.

¹⁴ *Rerum Rusticarum* 2.1.1.

¹⁵ Of moralizing nature.

¹⁶ Perceived as a vice against virtue, modernity against ancestral values, luxury against *industry*, the loafer and the lazy, contractor against working peasant, foreign import products against Roman products, disorder produced by man against natural and divine order.

¹⁷ *It's hard as iron, ah, ah, that who stays in town*.

¹⁸ *Georg.* 2.109-176.

The negative assessment of the city is counterbalanced by an opposite set of values. The city is home for *urbanitas*¹⁹, which contradicts with *rusticitas*²⁰. A noble Roman was supposed to be a good farmer, but to avoid being *rustic*, and in the countryside it was necessary to be seen as an urban person.

Rome was the supreme center of values, and urbanity was an ambivalent virtue for that it showed also a threat against Roman traditional morality²¹. Contradictions in the attitude toward the city and rural territory are understood through: rustic - easy to be denigrated and idealized and city - easy to be recommended²², but also to be denigrated.

Lawrence discusses the situation of Rome²³. In terms of urbanism, Rome is shown in historiography as a dystopian metropolis. Lawrence manages to demonstrate that the unfavorable image of Rome is due to shortcomings in terms of the approach²⁴ and the analysis of literary sources as well as diminished archaeological evidence. But how did Rome end up being presented as a dystopian metropolis? Lawrence identifies the root of these creations (or inventions) in themes of the 19th century and 20th century, than in ancient sources. Modern historiography about the city influenced also theoreticians in their work. The city Rome has been used by researchers as a mean, with the aim of presenting much easier their views with respect to modern urban planning. As a result, the dystopian metropolis of Rome is an ideological construct²⁵.

Lawrence identifies also a rejection coming from the theoreticians in terms of overpopulated metropolises, rejection which is also found in their speech about the ancient city of Rome. Many of the subjects in respect of urbanism launched in the 19th century can be found in the written literature with regard to Roman urbanism²⁶. Therefore, the exaggeration

¹⁹ Refinement and culture of a civilized man which expresses himself in cultivated manners and wise expressions.

²⁰ Awkward behavior of an uneducated peasant.

²¹ Wallace-Hadrill 1991, 247.

²² Especially for comfort and culture.

²³ Lawrence 1997, 1-20.

²⁴ Which most of the times serves the personal interests of the author, as we are talking about a certain subjectivity.

²⁵ It was created the manipulation of the image of a metropolis in order to create a dystopian reflection on urban life.

²⁶ Written literature with regard to the ancient city of Rome becomes the product of modern urban conditions, rather than a form of objective truth obtained through an appropriate study of ancient texts. For the twentieth century, Lawrence presents two works that have influenced the course of historiography with regard to urbanism in the Roman era. He refers to the work of Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (1961), whose research is associated with that of Patrick Geddes, *City Development* (1906). Rome was used as a model for how a modern city shouldn't be like. Existing realities are compared in order to reflect the fact that the present is not so different from the past. The baths of antiquity are compared with the shopping malls of modern America. Because they involved high costs, baths were supposed to be placed in cities with a high population density. So that, in terms of morality, the metropolis was ill because by its size allowed people to ignore the pressure existent in smaller villages and this issue led to cases of alcoholism, drunkenness, adultery, etc. Another negative aspect is the stifling traffic that occurs from the lack of proportions between streets and buildings.

with regard to the overpopulated metropolises is one of the subjects applied to ancient Rome. Urban dystopia is being characterized and, in practice, there are discussions about sentencing life in the city²⁷, as we have noticed above. Settlements which have a low population density, like Pompeii and Timgad, are praised in contrast to conditions found at Rome through the ancient sources.

The reference made by Vitruvius²⁸, in which he claims that the inhabitants of *insulae* led a comfortable life is questioned, because such a statement, believes Lawrence, can be seen as a statement made by the architect with the purpose to flatter Augustus, rather than a personal opinion of his with respect to the living conditions of the residents in these tall buildings.

Lawrence also offers an interpretation in a different key for *Satire III* of Juvenal, whose text he considers to be routed and interpreted in such a way as to support the construction of a dystopian image of ancient Rome. In a way, it is blamed the action of taking information out of context and the attention is drawn towards the need of looking at the source as a whole. Satire is a testimony of attitudes and not of facts. Juvenal's dystopia leaves room to create an utopian space. How? Because of the fact that the city, by its size and by its capacity to generate anonymity, conferred the feeling of freedom. Juvenal's representation is illusory, imaginary, but real: "It coincides with our modern perception and categorization of the city"²⁹.

Although Juvenal is thus exercising his attitude with regard to the city, at the end of the 1st century AD, the city was seen as a symbol of civilization. Barbarians lived in villages or isolated farms or led a semi-nomadic existence³⁰.

Roman elites and the city

Romans used the city as a civilizing tool, when it was necessary to impose order in the conquered barbarian territories³¹. Urbanization is, without doubt, the result of Roman control

²⁷ Lawrence 1997, 4.

²⁸ *De Arh.* 2.8.17.

²⁹ Lawrence 1997, 17.

³⁰ Strab. 4.1.5; Tac., *Agr.*, 21; *Germ.* 16.

³¹ The Roman Empire tried, but failed to achieve this goal, to unify or to assimilate existing local situations, which were of an infinite variety. In spite of all efforts to impose the desire of the political and administrative center, serving the cause of Rome claiming identity in the Empire, the local level has never ceased to exercise its influence. From one province to another, from one region to another, urbanization had various features which need to be connected with local specificities and with the possibility of absorption of the Roman civilization elements. The city was seen by a large part of the indigenous people as belonging to the arsenal of domination, comparable

and without the mechanism of self-government of the city-state, the imperial Roman government would not have been able to obtain too many results. The disseminated municipal districts of Rome have imposed urban structures that explicitly implied the residence of members of the leading order in the city or in the immediate vicinity of the latter.

A city's elites had their residence in the city a large part of the year³². A variety of social connection involved them in contacts with the commercially active population. As private owners, partly when it comes to customers born free, but freedmen also, they were attracted in activities aimed at advising and supporting trade. In social and political terms, contact with the trading world of the cities was inevitable for elites. The economic dimension was vital. As owners of certain freedmen, who were involved in a trade, but also as owners who benefited from revenues from the rental of *horrea* and *tabernae*³³, we can allow us think that a substantial section of the elite must have obtained a part of their revenues through commerce, trade, even if they were not personally involved in the business³⁴.

The urban investment by the ownership of urban properties (houses, apartments, warehouses, shops etc.), represented another important source of income for the elite³⁵. Compared with the ownership of land, this investment was considered to be risky³⁶. But some compensation may be brought up for discussion. The elite could benefit from such an income, which could be at their disposal at times of the year in which benefits from agriculture seemed too far. One of the advantages of possessing properties in the cities is the possibility of extending the network of connections which offered social and political influence along the lines of economical power. Possession of immovable property often implied a complex relationship between ownership and occupation. Urban property has been the subject of constant changes over time; it was not simply owned by families who continued as single units from generation to generation³⁷.

It can be said that the behavior of the elite has been clearly and substantially amended by the political conditions and cultural assumptions of the new regime installed with the

to the confiscation of lands. Local elites were, however, the first to borrow from the *Roman language* because they were the first to benefit from the new statute (exceptions are areas with rooted traditions).

³² Wallace-Hadrill 1991, 250.

³³ With regard to *tabernae* it should be noted that these were seen as a cost-effective source of income. Adding a store to a house was increasing the value of the latter.

³⁴ An approach with regard to the presence of the Roman elite in the city is met also at Parkins 1997, 84.

³⁵ With regard to the function of urban properties see also Parkins 1997, 86; Wallace-Hadrill 1991, 250.

³⁶ Mostly it's about the danger represented by potential fires.

³⁷ Houses were the subject of all sorts of complications of the Roman model of inheritance, transmission and sale. The owner could leave the usufruct or right of habitation to a spouse or to another legatee, thus creating a problem with regard to a potential situation: if the owner or legatee, as usufructuary, was responsible for the roof repair. In the same way, someone could sell a house but to retain the right of habitation of his freemen.

Principate. This fact was represented by changes in urban areas, as we will have the opportunity to notice.

The urban evolution and the elites' status starting with the region of Samnium

Roman Empire, in the first three centuries, is stressed by Corbier³⁸ in some different stances. It's seen as a political and administrative space, from which Rome and Italy detach because they have a privileged status in relation to the other provinces. This area forms a center that opposes periphery, i.e. provinces. Secondly, the Empire is perceived as a space of circulation and market exchange. This is due to the technological boom and development of land and navigation routes. Periodic extension of roads, maintaining the old ones, would allow inhabitants and also the army to circulate throughout the whole Roman Empire, Empire which is being defined also as a cellular space at the foundation of which lies the city, *civitas*. Therefore, the importance of the connection between the city and its territory, *ager, territorium*, stands out. Roman Empire was relying in its daily operation on the city's structures.

Corbier discusses the tax mechanism in the Roman Empire, as well as the concept of *census*. This control over the territory and resources by levying taxes has generated disparities between Italy and other provinces of the Empire and therefore between cities that were subject to taxation and those which were exempt from taxes and fees. Between what was and what was not within the city's territory, between the city and its own territory. Wealth is a determining factor in determining the cities hierarchy. Thus, the provinces being subject to taxation were disadvantaged, while Italy's inhabitants enjoyed tax privileges.

At the end of the Republic, the cities in Italy received lands outside the territory of Italy. Octavian, after he deprives Capua by a part of its lands which he grants to veterans, he offers back to the city, as compensation, lands in Knossos, Crete³⁹. Territorial expansion played an important role in the development of a set of social inequalities, enabled mobility upwards and also, assured the strengthening of local nobility wealth based on lands owning.

These effects due to territorial expansion existed also in Italy. Their impact on the development of urbanism interests us directly. Let's take for example the elites situation in the Samnium region. Patterson analyzes the situation with regard to the level of urbanism in the

³⁸ Corbier 1991, 211-40.

³⁹ Corbier 1991, 219.

region of Samnium⁴⁰ and conducts his research in three directions which are useful to this approach, too. The discussion with regard to the urban phenomenon in the region of Samnium starts from the relationship city-rural space in terms of: public buildings in cities, changes in respect of rural settlement and mobility shown by those members of the elite whose prosperity was due to the rural area, but who spent their fortune in cities.

During the Republican period, in the region of Samnium and Central-Apennine area, unlike other regions of Italy, such as Latium and Campania, there isn't a strong trend with regard to the construction of public buildings, or even the establishment of cities. In fact, the characteristic settlement unit in Samnium, during this period, was the village.

Roman dignitaries, however, get involved in building projects in Roman colonies on the Italian territory. Rich families from this area invest in the construction and improvement of rural sanctuaries which, was also a characteristic of the area. Such an example is the monumental complex at Pietrabbondante. The complex has been added during the second century BC a temple, followed by the construction of another temple, which was associated with a theater. The ones responsible for these additions was the Staius family⁴¹.

Building projects in Italy and the role played by the elite

We notice that the analysis of the concept of urbanism requires an examination in respect of the construction projects in the colonies of Italy, so that such a short discussion with regard to aqueducts and baths is more than appropriate. The urbanism implies the existence of civilization. Civilization is foreseen in the existence of aqueducts and implicitly, baths. In areas such as Latium and Campania is noted an interest of dignitaries for the construction of aqueducts⁴².

Urban space was connected to the rural space through aqueducts⁴³, too. These ensured the water supply of the baths, thus still making a distinction between the inhabitants of the

⁴⁰ Patterson 1991, 147-168. He discuss about the urban evolution occurred there during the first two centuries of our era. Samnium is a mountainous area in the Italian Apennines. Patterson describes this region also from a geographical point of view, fact that draws our attention that any such research will also have to consider these factors. The area consists of rocky and small mountains, fertile fields, poorly served by ancient roads, partly owed to the difficulty of the terrain, but also in economic terms as the area does not represent a significant interest.

⁴¹ Patterson 1991, 151.

⁴² Of course, these actions may have various reasons. Buildings can be made to the benefit of the common Roman population, but also for acquiring fame by the one who has been involved in these projects, and this ensures, to a lesser or greater extent, a perpetuation of the family memory into the collective mentality.

⁴³ Aqueducts were another tool of power.

two spaces: those who enjoyed a good personal hygiene were the representatives of a civilized space, and they are also the ones who rejected the odor of inhabitants in the rural area.

Patterson brings up for discussion a few examples of public buildings carried out with financing that came from Rome income acquired after its expansion in the East. The case of Gaius Lucretius Gallus illustrates this trend. In Antium, in 170 BC, under his supervision and with his contribution an aqueduct⁴⁴ was built.

This source of wealth also gave opportunities to others who have endowed their cities with a whole range of facilities intended to improve the comfort level. L. Betilienus Varus of Aletrium built roads, a portico, a sport field for athletic contests, a solar quadrant, a market, a basilica and a treasury. He also attended the baths, bringing them enhancements⁴⁵.

During the period of the Empire the situation in Samnium begins to change. At the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire is noted an increased interest for the construction of public buildings in "Roman" style. Targeted are the designated cities by Augustus as administrative centers. Indigenous sanctuaries are abandoned or become part of the new *municipia*. Baths and aqueducts are built either from municipal funds or as a result of the generosity of private benefactors.

The era of Augustus comes with changes in the urban area and implicitly in that of public buildings. A boom of constructions takes place. This tendency is noted throughout Italy, in particular in colonies founded by *princeps* and by *triumvirs*: Venafrum, Brixia, Capua, Bononia - that will benefit of aqueducts⁴⁶.

Local elite shift their interest from *vici* towards *municipia*. Certain individuals get into the Senate near the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Principate⁴⁷. The largest flow has happened in the second part of the first century and in the second century. Statius is the first senator known of samnite origin to get in the Senate. The fact that he was an ardent supporter of Sulla has brought him success. The entry of new members in the Senate illustrates elite's mobility⁴⁸, because in this situation, mobility means "a transfer of activities by the existing elites to a new (and more prestigious) location"⁴⁹.

⁴⁴ It must be added that this character held also a property in the area and was notorious for the fact that in the campaigns which he led in the East has proven to be very greedy and predatory.

⁴⁵ *CIL* X 5807 = *ILS* 5348.

⁴⁶ Patterson 1991, 151-152.

⁴⁷ The entry in the Senate is due to various reasons: political events, individual acts of Imperial patronage, development of the Empire, wealth growth.

⁴⁸ See also Mouritsen 1997, 57-80, which talks about mobility and social changes in the cities of Italy during the time of the Principate. Mouritsen investigates by comparing the elite situations of the following cities: Pompeii, Beneventum, Ostia, Puteoli and Canusium. He also discusses the accepted traditional model of social mobility, involving the affirmation of new classes coming in opposition with the old elite. He draws attention on the fact that mobility should not be perceived in terms of antagonism and conflict between *nobilitas* and *novitas*. Also, strict

This whole affair may suggest a growth of wealth and influence, as well as an orientation towards urban space of local elites. This direction is illustrated also by the increase in the number of public buildings. At the same time occurs also the launching of a competition between elite members for the acquisition of prestige, but also with the scope of attracting imperial goodwill in favor of their cities of origin. We see, thus, that there is a connection between the phenomenon of mobility of elites and the construction of public buildings, which however does not exclude the existence and influence of the other political, social and economic factors. Patterson sees the mobility of elites as a product of local elite competition in the Roman system. Constructing public buildings was one of the ways that elite members could compete for glory.

These things do not remain echoless in the rural area, giving voice to a series of social inequalities. Small properties are *swallowed* by the major land owners⁵⁰. During the first century, properties of the Samnite elite members increase as a result of inheritance, purchases and even violent conflicts.

The occurrence of voluntary evergetism, in Lomas⁵¹ opinion, is due to a combination of factors, including Romanization of Italian elites, the increase of the amount of wealth held and the status of those municipal aristocrats who become part of the Roman elite. The Principate influenced the construction of buildings with ideological character that obeyed a certain ideological program, so that this activity of the elite is reduced also as a result of the fact that they could not contribute to large-scale projects without giving the impression that they yearn to the throne of Rome or that they pose a threat to the authority.

Urbanism in other regions of Italy. The development of cities

Because we discussed the situation existing in Samnium, I propose to focus our attention on other regions in Italy.

In the Republican era, in the southern part of Etruria, there were a lot of land properties, of small dimensions and only a few cities: Veii, Nepi, Sutri, Falerii Novi, Lucus Feroniae, Capena.

separation between agriculture and trade loses its feasibility, in the case of Pompeii being identified situations where local dignitaries were involved in commercial activities, such as A. Umbricius Scaurus, *duovir*, involved in the fish industry and about which Mouritsen discusses extensively. It would seem that the public offices do not prevent the involvement of some members of the elite in commercial activities.

⁴⁹ Patterson 1991, 152.

⁵⁰ It should not be forgotten that to be a member in the Senate, it was required to fit the financial scale of 1 million sesterces.

⁵¹ Lomas 1997, 34.

The big land properties seem to be missing. The reasons that could have led to such a situation were discussed by scholars. It was argued that this region of Etruria, in fact all Italy, passed through a difficult period as a consequence of the Punic war and as a result of the growth and development of Rome itself.

In Ager Faliscus, Roman authority in the area is cemented by two actions: by the construction of Via Flaminia, action started in 220 BC, and the founding of the city Falerii Novi, which has been granted the status of *foedus*.

As we have already seen, rural area represents a source of supply for Rome: both of food and construction materials. It is very likely that the regions from the immediate vicinity of Rome, precisely because of their proximity with Rome, acquire a different status. This influenced also their development. Potter discusses the situation of southern area of Etruria taking into account the new findings from the Mola di Monte Gelato. This settlement, found at 30 km N of Rome, is located in the heart of Ager Faliscus area, on the valley of the Treia River. A road connected this locality to Via Amerina making then the connection with Rome. This communication way has been paved repeatedly in the Roman era, starting precisely with the reign of Augustus⁵². Thus was ensured a permanent route between Rome and the region of Ager Faliscus.

A string of discoveries at end of the first century BC and end of the first century AD from the Mola di Monte Gelato attest the existence of patronage structures in the region. Among these, an inscription drew the attention of researchers⁵³. It is an inscription in *nenfro* [IVS ET HILA] discovered on a building. Potter considers that the two persons mentioned in the inscription might have been officials, members of the local temple or members of the rural community. The inscription is connected with another archaeological discovery part of a funeral monument which also preserves a partial inscription, from the middle of the first century A D. So, this could be about two freedmen who have had the same owner, both being called C. Valerius C. L. but only one cognomen, Hilario, has been preserved until today. The other is supposed to have been Achilleus.

Starting with the first century BC in this region is visible an increase in the number of large and small properties. Their owners might have come from Rome or might have been veterans. We find at Cicero⁵⁴, for the year 63 BC, a reference regarding the Ager Faliscus area, which is considered to be suitable for allocation of lands. Likewise, we find another

⁵² Potter 1991, 200.

⁵³ Potter 1991, 201.

⁵⁴ *Leg. Agr.* 2.66.

reference, again at Cicero⁵⁵, for the year 46 BC. This time, the areas Ager Capenas and Ager Veientanus are considered favorable territories for the establishment of veterans.

Under Julio-Claudians occurs a considerable expansion of cities. An influx of population and wealth is recorded in the cities Lucus Feroniae, Falerii Novi, Sutri. Connections between Rome and rural area are enhanced thoroughly during the early period of the Empire.

In order to better understand urbanism in the italic space, we must see exactly how cities in Italy worked and what exactly shaped their development. Lomas⁵⁶ examines the physical form of the italic city along its evolution between the first century BC and the first century AD. Lomas seeks to identify the public buildings that were constructed during this period, and who was in charge of these constructions. Such a study finds utility in the fact that can shed light as regards the way in which italics referred to and thought about the city, about their social dynamics and the role of the city as mediator in the process of Roman acculturation and unification of the peninsula.

Lomas also draws the attention on the minuses met in the research with regard to the nature of the Roman city. The discussions seem to focus on the economic sphere of the city, and in this way it occurs a delimitation and a restriction in the debates. It should be noted that the cities were not purely economic constructs.

Examination of urban development can give us clues as to the perception of the elites to the changes occurred in the city and from here we can obtain information about the social changes and political conditions within the cities and relations between Italian municipalities and Rome.

It is already clear that the attitude of the elite on the city changes along the era analyzed. This has a direct effect on how cities develop. Evolution of a city is influenced by the overview of the inhabitants, the manner in which the physical form of the city lay the foundation social relations and interactions. In order for an approach to be integral, it is noted a need to connect the changes occurred in the urban space. This approach becomes a mean of perception and analysis of social and political changes⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ *Ad. Fam.* 9.17.2.

⁵⁶ Lomas 1997, 21-40.

⁵⁷ The complexity of urban society is also reflected by physical versatility of the city. Social and economic relations require a structured environment. The customer must know how to wait for the owner in a specific location and time, the buyer had to find the market during the bargain hours and so on. The need for such structures increases as the settlement is larger, a larger settlement meaning a larger number of possible activities, but also more developed social relationships. Most information of this nature is visual, so that the people in order to be able to use urban facilities must recognize them.

Public buildings can be divided into the following categories: religious buildings, fortifications, major public works (under this category fall roads, aqueducts, cisterns, and ports), civic buildings (*curiae*, basilicas, *macella* and baths), triumphal monuments and buildings intended for public entertainment (such as theaters, amphitheaters and cirques)⁵⁸.

For the end period of the Republic, as regards public constructions, a series of distinctive features for the italic space can be noted. There is a substantial number of fortifications (either that these already existed or new ones have been built). Latium is the area with most fortifications, followed by Etruria, Campania and Picenum. Umbria and Samnium, Lucania and Apulia have a smaller number of fortifications. These constructions have been made in the form of *summae honorariae* by magistrates.

In respect of the temples, religious buildings and sanctuaries, which are also numerous, stands out a high concentration in Latium, followed by areas such as Campania, Samnium, Umbria and north of Italy. These buildings are added other construction or restoration works⁵⁹.

The period between the first and second century BC attests a sustained activity for the restoration of religious buildings. Public works on a large scale - roads, aqueducts, and bridges have a high concentration in Latium and Campania and are conducted under careful and strict control of Roman; these works fell under the powers of censors.

Civic buildings - baths, *macella*, basilicas, and *curiae*, few in number had an irregular distribution. For example, baths are found almost exclusively in Campania and a few of them in Latium. They were built by magistrates as *summa honorariae* or of civic funds.

There have been identified *macella* and basilicas for Latium and Campania, and even in remote areas such as Aquileia, Firmum Picenum, Volsinii and Brundisium. Theaters and auditoriums have a large distribution in Campania, reduced in Samnium and medium in Latium⁶⁰.

It is noticed a high building activity in the center of Italy, with a concentration on Latium and Campania and less in the south, in Etruria and Umbria.

Evergetism is poorly attested before 90 BC, with an increase after the period of Sulla⁶¹. For the Imperial period, more precisely, the reign of Augustus and the first century of

⁵⁸ This division belongs to Hélène Jouffroy (1986). Jouffroy's work offers much information. The authoress gathers in one place, using the Augustan categorization of the regions in Italy, existing public buildings and provides for the period that concerns us, the situation of these buildings, through a census of these.

⁵⁹ Like the Roman intervention to the temple of Antium which I mentioned already.

⁶⁰ But it must be taken into account that the figures considered are those relating to the structures of stone. Many such buildings were temporary constructions of wood.

⁶¹ Corbier discusses also about evergetism 1991, 215; *Supra*, 10.

our era, it is noted that the imperial patronage is focused on the buildings of Rome and on major projects, construction of roads, bridges and aqueducts, for the population of Rome to benefit from in the first place⁶².

There is an increase in the construction of public buildings with funds from private wealthy individuals but also by the municipality. There was a time when cities are endowed with buildings intended for leisure - theaters, auditoriums, baths, forums, public buildings. The élan for fortifications decreases but not in the areas which are being less urbanized. The number of works on a large scale is limited. Baths construction increases and focuses on the central and the north area of Italy. Temples witness a setback.

Augustus and Julio-Claudians carry on a more reduced activity and focus on urban structures than on major extra-urban sanctuaries in central and southern Italy. A decline is recorded also with respect to the building of basilicas and curiae.

Elite's behavior at the beginning of the Principate is substantially amended by political conditions and the supposed cultural beliefs of the new regime. And this fact is reflected also in changes occurred in the urban landscape. During the early Empire, buildings concentration in Latium is more reduced, but with an intense character in Campania.

Perring leads an initiative to restore the city planning⁶³. At first, space has been structured to encourage public use. Perring argues that changes in social arrangements have been generated by changes in the urban area.

Over time, street plans also suffer changes⁶⁴. In some Italian cities of ancient times, such as Ostia and Pompeii, the streets were leading directly to the forum. Not all cities led directly to the center⁶⁵. In the provinces from N-W *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* could pass unhindered from one side of the city to the other or may lead to a center of stone or a Piazza⁶⁶.

⁶² Let's take for example the time of the emperor Claudius. Public works were performed with a purely utilitarian character: aqueducts, sewers, ports. In 52 AD, have been completed the works carried out to bring, from rivers and lakes around the capital, fresh water in Rome by two new aqueducts: *Aqua Claudia* - which had a length of 68 km and reached Rome on a huge viaduct of more than 10 km - and *Anio Novus* which had a length of 93 km, and that passed in part under the same arcades like the aqueduct named above (Tac., *Ann.*, 11.32.2; Suet., *Claud.*, 20.1). The aqueduct *Aqua Virgo* had been restored in 45-46. The boldest public works of Claudius's reign have been the building of a new port at Ostia and the drying of the lake *Fucinus* (52 AD). Requirements of supplies of Rome with wheat, brought from provinces, have imposed to Claudius drastic measures for improving the port network. Claudius ordered the construction of dikes in the port of Ostia (Suet., *Claud.*, 20; CD., 60. 11).

⁶³ Perring 1991, 273-293.

⁶⁴ Perring 1991, 275-280.

⁶⁵ The center of the city was concentrated around the forum or a group of public buildings. As the city grows a new center appears, often outside the gates.

⁶⁶ The rigorously systematized plans of the streets, the continual adhesion of the street and of the boundaries of the property, and the clear differentiation between urban and rural area are all testimony to the firm control on the use

The plan of the forum changes; from a public and open space it ends up to be a confined space. The transition from inclusion to exclusion occurs now. The evolution of the forum's architecture has the motivation in the control of public activities, but also in the desire of achieving a differentiation of the inhabitants, practically, the need of highlighting the elites through the spatial organization of the city.

Therefore, the forum, which was originally an open space ends up in time, towards the end of the Republic, to designate a closed space and controlled by the authorities.

The forum of Pompeii, in 150 BC is added a portico to close the piazza and to hide the stack of houses in the back. The Imperial Forum in Rome ends up to be a ceremonial space separated from that of the fair.

In the north of Italy and in Gaul, the cities' situation at the end of the Republic and beginning of the Principate is the following: the forums were made up from a Piazza closed by rows of shops located behind a portico. Access was made through fixed entries⁶⁷.

This fact attests the change mentioned above. It occurs the transition from a public space to a closed space, controlled by the authorities.

The evolution occurred during the gladiator games attests this movement of exclusion of the common population from the cities' center as well as a visual differentiation among social classes. Gladiator games are moved from the forum - from an open space, in the open air - and transferred to auditoriums, enclosed buildings, with designated places and which could be controlled more easily. Spatial arrangements reflected social layouts. For example, in auditoriums were areas clearly designated for the different classes and social groups⁶⁸.

Temples also become enclosed spaces. Public activities were encouraged but controlled. A clear division between the private sector and the public sector takes place. The public space may to the same extent include or exclude access of the public. This spatial organization derives also from the need to regulate social relations.

With respect to the enclosure walls⁶⁹ of the city, I've chosen to render Perring's definition: "The concept of the boundary and the sanctity of the urban area were consequently

of urban space. This control allows the facilitation of the division of land in order to avoid and resolve disputes concerning the properties and a better assessment of the possibility for taxation.

⁶⁷ See also Lomas 1997, 37. Starting with Sulla, when the first attempt to close the forum occurs, Augustus and then Trajan and the Antonins concerned to systematize this space. To forums are added porticos and tabernae, basilicas or macella; temples are added or restored. A space intended to serve the interest of the elites is created. Colonization and urban changing are correlated. The change in attitude of the elites is also due to the process of municipalization that occurred in the 1st century BC and to the sustained removal of non-Roman forms of organization.

⁶⁸ See also Lomas 1997, 38. Theaters attest a social division.

⁶⁹ Lomas 1997, 33, also discusses the defense walls.

powerful instruments in shaping social behavior within the town”⁷⁰. In the era of the Empire this republican and Augustan tradition to endow cities with walls is partly abandoned, only to experience a revival towards the end of the 2nd and 3rd century.

Therefore, the extension of the Empire produces changes in the city planning. Also, we encounter a flow of population towards Rome and other urban centers due to mirage of the city that offers real economic opportunities. With the emergence of the Empire it also occurs an increase of resources and social complexity which has contributed to the development of a social segment, which the elite were not able to integrate with all its parts in the society.

In Pompeii, commercial activities were carried out on the main streets and at the corners of streets. Other areas were mixed. Then it occurs an architectural change, from the Roman houses with atrium to houses which also have a peristyle⁷¹. It's a trend towards a more formal organization of the space. These examples seem to reflect changes in social attitudes during the period of Augustus because: "the more hieratical and formalized use of space implies an increased concern for social distinction".

At the end of the Republic, trade tends to be carried out in a controllable space. Public buildings intended for trade (*macella*) ensures the control of elites on economic aspects of the city and involves an encouragement of trade. The situation changes with time. Imperial intervention in Rome on grain supply decreased the importance of markets and the elite have gradually removed them from the urban area.

With regard to the manner in which houses in urban space evolve, we can look at Ostia's situation, a particular case, which, however, we can not use to generalize. Here is to be noticed a clear transformation in the nature of urban houses. From a mixture of rich and poor, commercial areas and residential areas in buildings of type *insulae* of the early Empire period, occurs the transitions to a city dominated by the dwellings of the type *domus* toward the end of the Empire⁷².

A response to this development can be found in the architectural innovations at the end of the Republic and under Augustus.

⁷⁰ Perring 1991, 282.

⁷¹ Allison conducted a research referring to the content of 30 households with atrium found at Pompeii. An useful observation made by Allison is that concerning the emergence of peristyle houses, a fact which led to a major division of the activities in the roman houses in the 1st century AD, the family conducting its activities in the back of the house. Until then, the atrium was the active center of the house. Allison asserts that the content of the atrium houses at Pompeii does not seem to approve this theory.

⁷² The process of zones' division takes place. Rome is being regarded as an illustrative example for the *zoning* concept. The Palatine represented the most high-end residential district of the aristocracy, in contrast with areas like the Aventine.

The way in which space was organized contributed to the creation of a controlled urban environment and helped to outline social institutions and vital attitudes in order of maintaining public order in the ancient city.

Short conclusions complementing the Introduction

Taking into account everything that has been stressed so far, it becomes clear that the Roman city is subject of complex mechanisms of functioning or, in other words, it is defined by many processes. There are so many factors that must be taken into account, even when attempting to get solely an overview of the urbanism in the Italic space.

We have seen that local elites play a defining role as regards the urban area because they get involved, to a lesser or higher extent (depending on the time and area), in constructing public buildings. Urban development directly affects the elites, causing changes in terms of their mode of referring to the urban space. The degree of urban development throughout Italy is not uniform. As a matter of fact, between the regions in Italy it is observed a different level and rhythm of constructions of public buildings.

In the works referred to in this article it was also noted that the efforts led by historians are characterized by innovation and sustained critique. New sources have been added, and for the old sources new interpretations have been proposed. The city is more than just about food supplying, than its economic size. For example, the city can not exist in the absence of the countryside. Elites are defined by possession of lands, but only in the city they come into contact with *urbanitas*. In the end, the elites and urbanism come to shape each other.

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GLADIATORS ON FILM: SPECTACLE AND HISTORY

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Abstract:

The intriguing world of the Roman gladiators has been represented in many different ways along the brief history of the seventh art. From realistic portrayals to romanticized visions, film directors have offered a wide spectrum of visual spectacles that catered to the visual culture of the audiences they were targeting. In this analysis, we take an incursion into the minds of various movie directors and comment on the ways in which various cinematic stories were created.

Keywords: cinematography, gladiators, film, visual culture, art

Cinematography has represented, ever since it appeared, a medium through which people have managed to transport themselves into another dimension, in other spaces, other times and other places and which they used to identify with other characters. If, during the old times, people would gather around a fire to tell and listen to stories containing all types of storylines, from heroic stories to fantastic tales of fairies and gnomes, today people are gathering in front of luminous screens, such as the television screen, the cinema screen or the computer screen, to be part of modern stories.

One subject that has always been at the center of both folk and cult tales has been the myth of the hero and that of combat. The theme of fighting is one that is present in most cultures of the world. It seems that, regardless of time or place, every group has a need to relate in one way or another to the notion of “fight”. In cinematography, the subject that has concretized this theme, since the dawn of cinema, has been represented by the lives and fights of the gladiators. They were armed combatants that were trained to entertain audiences in the Roman Republic and Roman Empire. These men were used to fight with other gladiators and with animals. Their lives and battles have been recorded and told by their contemporaries in writings and with the help of paintings and mosaics.

Along the course of the seventh art’s brief history, gladiators have been presented in various ways, and their context and world has been built by directors in different ways, despite the fact that the means of communicating stories through cinema have barely changed. Film has

always been created with the help of cameras, lights, and sets. After a brief silent age, sound was introduced and more recently, 3D technologies have allowed directors to use a new mean to communicate their ideas. Cinematography has developed its own language and grammar, which consists of manipulating technical tools and techniques in order to create a coherent illusion of reality, even in the absence of color¹. By knowing how to light a scene, shoot it and then cut and sound design it, film makers are able to create such a complex illusion that the viewer barely perceives it as a constructed work, and rather as a flowing alternative reality with a strong political, aesthetic, psychological and personal dimension².

Cinematography is an art of synthesis, as it utilizes elements of visual language taken mostly from other forms of art. Therefore, in order to tell their stories, film makers are using composition-building elements, which they borrow from painting and photography, actors and lines, which they borrow from theater, and sounds and music, borrowed from the music world. The only two tools that are unique to the seventh art and its derived medium are camera movement and editing the shot scenes.

Frames and angles

Film directors, together with camera operators and director of photography, are using framing as one of the means of telling the story they wish to convey and to describe their characters and the relations between them. Framing introduces the viewer in the mind of film characters by using different types of shots, which refers to the distance in which the camera lies in relation to the filmed subject, to the story told and to the character described. More than that, the different shot types (close-up, medium shot, wide shot etc.), mixed with the shooting angle, offer insight to the emotions lived by a character on screen.

To give an example, a character that is shot from a long distance, is distant in relation to us, the viewer (and the character whose point of view we share), while a character shot at a close-up, whom we can see very clearly and whose 'micro-expressions' we can see and subconsciously interpret, is a character in whose mind the director allows us to enter. Moreover, a character shot from a low angle is a character perceived by the viewer as a character in a position of power, whereas a character filmed the other way around, from a high angle pointing to the ground, is a character that is situated in a position of inferiority. The camera movement is a good indicator of our participation and relation to the events that are presented on the screen:

¹ Aumont 1992, 13.

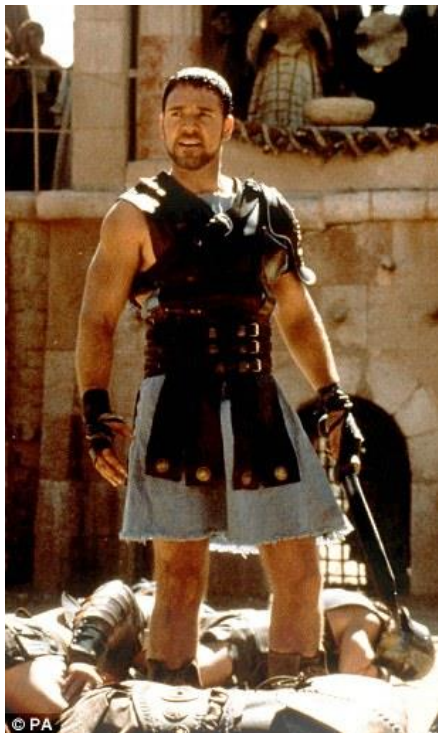
² Villarejo 2013, 11.

a moving image involves us more than a static image. A shot that is filmed dynamically is a shot that involves the viewer in the action that is taken place, sets the tone of an alert story line and allows us to relate to the characters more. A shot filmed from a subjective angle is probably the most engaging type of shot.

Editing

Editing is the process through which the shot frames are assembled in a film. The way in which two frames are 'glued' provides clues above the relation between the characters who take part in a scene and about the dynamic of the story. For example, a character shot at a long shot, followed by a character shot at a close-up indicate a relation of inequity between the two characters.

In the next lines, we will be taking a look at a series of film and TV productions from the 20th and early 21st century that had as a subject the world of the Roman gladiators and we will break down the ways in which directors told their stories, and why they told the stories using those specific cinematic 'words' and structures.



„Gladiator”, Ridley Scott, 2000

For starters, we will look at Ridley Scott's „Gladiator”, starring Russell Crowe, from 2000, as it is probably the most memorable film dealing with the subject of gladiators that is found in our collective memory and the most accurate one from a historical authenticity point of view.

This film revolves around a Roman general who becomes a gladiator, but gains the adoration of the crowd, leaving the emperor in the shadows. In the first battle in the arena scene, we can see a lot of action shots filmed with a dynamic camera and edited at a very fast pace. This way, the director introduces us in the main character's mind, finds himself for the first time in the gladiators' arena and doesn't understand much. The only shots that are filmed with a still camera are those of the audience, which is watching the show and cheering. The last shot of the

scene is a calm 360 degrees rotation around the character, and, together with the viewer, is just starting to make sense of what has happened after the rush of (visual) adrenaline.

Later in the movie, during the barbarian cohorts scene, when Maximus, our main hero, is more in control of himself and of the battles, we see a scene that is shot in a more 'clean' manner, with far less dust and more stable shots. Interestingly, this scene features clean dynamic shots that alternate with stable shots of the audience. This type of filming reminds us of the televised soccer games that feature a similar way of filming. When filming a sports event, such as a soccer or rugby game, the nature of the happening is what requires the shooting style. There, due to the constant movement of the players and because the ball is always at the center of the action, most shots of the players and of the actual game are dynamic shots, while the shots of the cheering crowd are immobile shots, as the camera operators have the time to set up their shots and focus on an interesting fan.

It is remarkable the way in which Ridley Scott took this segment of his audience's visual culture and translated it into his movie. This action of the movie is more familiar and creates more comfort for the viewers and, because it is something the film audience has seen before, but in another setting, it makes it easier for them to empathize with the convention of the film, with the plot and with the characters. It is through these means that Ridley Scott offers a lesson in history and tells a story that provides us with a better understanding of the world of the gladiators.

„Spartacus”, Stanley Kubrick, 1960

The „Gladiator” film is supposed to be a faithful portayal of the world of Roman gladiators (even though it has its flaws), but this cannot be said by all films that deal with this topic. In the 1960 production „Spartacus”, directed by Stanley Kubrick, we see a very different approach to this topic. There is an environment that mixes elements from a 1960s amusement park (machines, music)³ and romantic novel, catering to a public that had other sensibilites than the testosterone-driven public of the last year of the 20th century.



³ Dunkle 2013, 296-7.

„Spartacus”, starring Kirk Douglas, is a production that portrays a romanticized and idealized view of the world of gladiators. With a series of sets that look like a theme park setting or a high school theater production decor, and with a very romantic interpretation, the film appears to be more of a museum or city holiday reenactment rather than a realistic portrayal of the world of the Roman men and women who were faced with battles in the arena. The wide shots and the forward angles make the film to be a demonstrative rather than a visual depiction of a blood-dominated world. However, the main focus of this film is the sentimental drama that takes place between the characters, which can explain why Stanley Kubrick did not focus so much on the realism of the era and opted for a painting-style depiction of Spartacus’ life.

Of course, back in the 1960s, the special and visual effects which were used later in films like Ridley Scott’s „Gladiator” were not available, so the aesthetic of the film was also given by the technical possibilities. In a way, this film reminds us of Franco Zeffirelli’s „Romeo and Juliet”, which also presented a painting-like vision of a past time. However, despite all its ‘imperfections’, „Spartacus” was a success, and many people greeted it with open arms, making it a box office hit.

One thing that could explain this is that the cinema audiences of the 1960s were not looking for realism and for historical facts. In a time when the generation born during WWII started to rule the Western culture and when the world was still recovering from the horrors of the War, people could not bare to see blood and sweat. During this decade, the focus was on the *inside*, as one’s inner experiences were more important than what was going on in the outside world. Because director Stanley Kubrick knew how to adapt his film for the audience, and because he managed to convey the spirit of the 1960s through a Roman story, the movie was a success and gained a lot of popularity and has entered in the unofficial hall of fame of global cinema.

„I Due Gladiatori”, Mario Caiano, 1964

The Italian 1964 movie, „I Due Gladiatori” is another great example of the depiction of the world of the Roman gladiators in cinema. Even though the producers of the film wanted to go for a more realistic and historically accurate approach than „Spartacus”, the outcome had a few shortcomings. This production, which lasts almost 85 minutes, can be described as a cinematic theater play, resembling today’s British teleplays, and seems to be dedicated to an educated audience, who wanted to watch a political drama.

The film features a rather simplistic set design, that could very well fit on a stage (with the exception of a few scenes that were shot outdoors), and the dialogue that involves the characters of the spotlight takes place within a naïve silence of other participants to the scene. Moreover, the audience could watch the final battle scene of film is a calm audience, and that resembles to a 1960s audience watching an opera show. This production was so strongly adapted to its audience that it contain almost no element of those that could contributed to a realistic portrayal of the world of the gladiators.



“Quo Vadis?”, Enrico Guazzoni, (1913)

In the 1913 production of “Quo Vadis” we can see one of the earliest depictions of the world of the gladiators in cinema. This black and white production is not far from a filmed theater play too. The forward angle, the almost total absence of close-up shots and the costumes and expressionist acting make it an interesting incursion in the minds of the people who attended the cinema at the beginning of the XXth century. However, interestingly enough, this film is a more realist portrayal of the world of gladiators than the 1964 “I Due Gladiatori”.



Back in those days, film was new and people were not used to being told stories in the form of a moving, visual photograph. The rudimentary technology and the mindset of the film-going audience did not allow directors to create works that would resemble anything else than a theater play. This film, which was created before cinema was a popular medium, presents a different approach to gladiators as opposed to what happened next. What mattered back in the early years of Cinema, it was the actual act of seeing a movie, which was still a curiosity and a new medium. We need to think about the fact that editing had not appeared for a very long time and that it was just a few years before that that people were baffled by close-ups and the use of different angles, which they did not know how to understand, given that they were not the way in which humans usually perceive life.

The audience of the 1920s was an elitist audience gathering those who were rich, well-educated and those that could afford the luxury of going to the cinema. Therefore, because this audience's culture was formed in salons, opera houses or it was created by reading books, it was only natural that the cinematic spectacles would resemble these mediums.

If the audience of the early XXth century had been offered a highly dynamic and realistic portrayal of the world of gladiators, they have probably not been able to understand it or to relate to it in any way.

In the end, film is all about dreaming and seeing characters that one wants to be like, and the social elites of the teens of the XXth Century did not have much in common with the world of the pre-Christian gladiators. Therefore, once again, the story was told in a way that the audience could enjoy it.

“Rome”, Michael Apted, 2005-2007

Now that we have seen how different productions from the XXth century were depending on the cultural, social and political context in which they were created, it is best suited to make a couple of analyses of productions such as HBO's “Rome”. In the



gladiator moments of this series we see what seems to be a realistic depiction of the Roman Empire, but at a closer look, we can see that this reproduction of the ancient world is in fact a hyperrealistic one. The world of “Rome” is composed of two main elements, from a visual culture point of view. On the one hand, the instant familiarity that someone could have with this series is due to the fact that, rather than taking us back 2000 years, the creators of this production are bringing the ancient world to the XXIst century. Therefore, the way in which people act, their thoughts and the way in which they relate to their environment, as well as the way in which their environment is built, is more similar to the XXIst century. On the other hand, the extreme realistic depiction of violence and the aesthetic that features high contrasts and very clean images seem to resemble more a video game rather than any kind of concrete filming.

What this indicates is that the audiences of the XXIst century are so diversified, niched and the productions so specialized, that film and series creators can allow themselves to go to extremes, by featuring scenes that would not make it in the main stream in prime time

television shows. HBO's "Rome" is not the only historic drama of this type. In Starz's "Spartacus" series, we can see a similar approach to the ancient world.



After having analyzed a series of productions, looking at Starz's "Spartacus" and comparing it with Kubrick's "Spartacus" we can also notice how the portrayal of the main character has changed. In the 1960s, when the cinema-going public was an adult audience that followed strict notions on what it meant to be an adult and that wanted to see a soft approach to a violent world, in the 2010 version, the main character is a younger man, who is visually strong and covered in blood, resembling more a rugby player or a character from a computer game.

To conclude, after we have analyzed these productions, what the viewer discovers is the almost unchanged way of representing a historic context. The changes that can be observed in shaping the portraits of gladiators are due not to new archeological findings or historic researches, but to the interest and cultural background of the audience that pays to watch such films. Therefore, if at the beginning of the XXth century, we could see a cinematic representation similar to an opera show (given that the people who attended the opera were the same bourgeois that went to the cinema), we can gradually see that, as the democratization of the seventh art grew, so did the vision palette. Today, given that the audience that enjoys action dramas is mostly a male audience that also enjoys sports and video games, the films are also created for a young, male audience.

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L'ARCHITECTURE DOGON

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Abstract :

The purpose of this paper is to offer a brief review on the architectural style of the Dogon tribe from Mali, who is one of the most famous ethnic groups in Africa. Known for their amazing mask dances and wooden sculptures, they show us how the complex Dogon cosmogony is a part of their daily life because it explains the origin of the world and the traditional customs. The Dogon developed a style of mud architecture what amazes us with its variety because all the buildings in their village, such as granaries and *toguna* have a particular significance. The remarkable earthen architecture, social organization and religion are inseparable, everyday life mingle with the ritual life.

Keywords: Architecture, Myth, Dogon, Granary, Hogon.

La population Dogon a fasciné au fil du temps le monde scientifique, cet intérêt pour tout ce qui concerne leur coutume et leur mode de vie a éveillé le goût des Occidentaux pour leur art et sans aucun doute ils sont devenus les plus célèbres de l'Afrique subsaharienne. Des auteurs tels que Louis Desplagnes, suivi par Marcel Griaule et son équipe, ont contribué avec leurs écrits ethnographiques à la connaissance d'une civilisation qui n'a pas cessé d'attirer l'attention par de nouvelles études.

L'architecture de terre est une tradition d'habitat depuis des millénaires, les populations ont su développer des formes et des techniques de construction en terre qui sont à la base du style architectural dit «soudanais». L'exemple le plus significatif que nous pouvons donner à cet égard est la grande mosquée de Djenné (Mali). Au pays Dogon, où la pierre prédomine en tant que matériel, l'architecture de terre est très présente¹. Avant d'examiner la typologie d'habitat Dogon et étant donnée que l'architecture des Dogon est étroitement liée à leur organisation sociale et religieuse, il est nécessaire de faire une description générale de cette société.

¹ Cissé 2008, 7-8.

Nous rencontrons la civilisation Dogon à l'intérieur du Sahel malien sur la falaise Bandiagara (fig. 1) que l'Occident a choisi d'appeler «Pays Dogon». Ils sont une société patrilinéaire organisée en clans qui cultivent du mil, du sorgho et du riz, ainsi que des oignons. Les hommes cultivent les champs, ils chassent, tissent et font la vannerie tandis que les femmes prennent soin de la maison, elles font de la poterie et s'occupent du filage du coton.

La question souvent posée par les chercheurs concerne l'origine des Dogon, d'où viennent-ils? De nombreuses hypothèses stipulent que leur première migration coïncide avec les bouleversements provoqués par l'affaiblissement de l'empire du Ghana au XI^{ème} siècle², soit qu'ils sont d'origine mandé (cf. M. Griaule, 1971) d'où ils auraient migré par vagues successives durant le XIV^{ème} siècle. À leur arrivée sur la falaise ils ont rencontré la population *tellem* qu'ils ont poussé vers d'autres régions. Le mot *tellem* signifie «nous avons trouvé», qui se réfère à des populations qui ont habité déjà la falaise Bandiagara vers le XI^{ème} siècle. Archaïque et moderne dans sa simplicité, l'art *tellem* est probablement la première source d'influence pour l'art Dogon, car ils vont développer la sculpture et l'habitat architectural³.

L'architecture des Dogon est en symbiose avec le mythe. Selon leur cosmogonie, *Amma* dieu suprême, créa la terre. Les Dogon expliquent qu'*Amma* créa l'homme comme le poisson silure que l'on appelle *Nommo*. Dieu conçut une paire de jumeaux composée d'un être mâle et d'un être femelle. En effet, le jumeau mâle n'est pas représenté comme poisson car il s'opposa à *Amma*, il se révolta contre son créateur et introduisit le désordre dans l'univers⁴. Le dieu suprême est en colère, il va essayer de rétablir l'harmonie en transformant ce jumeau en *Renard Pâle* (*Vulpes pallida*) que les Dogon appellent aussi *Yurugu*⁵. Le sacrifice de l'autre jumeau permettra de purifier le monde, *Nommo* est ressuscité et enfin l'homme a été conçu⁶. Il va créer les ancêtres mythiques, quatre mâles et quatre femelles. *Amma* va construire une arche qui va permettre de descendre, mais la terre n'est pas encore créée, *Amma* tombe et dans sa chute il donnera naissance à la terre. Les ancêtres de même vont se métamorphoser; la nature, les fleuves seront créés et, ainsi, le monde est né.

² Wolfgang et al. 1998, 20.

³ Bedaux 1988, 41-2.

⁴ Palau-Marti 1966, 81.

⁵ *Yurugu* qui est le petit renard blond des sables, pour les Dogon il symbolise l'obscurité, la brousse et la sauvagerie.

⁶ Zerbini 2010, 82.

Ces dernières années, grâce à un travail rassemblant architectes, ethnologues et historiens de l'art, de nouvelles découvertes ont pu être réalisées au niveau des formes architecturales. On ne trouvera pas d'habitations isolées, les Dogon vivent dans des villages, chaque agglomération forme une entité administrative indépendante. Les maisons-dogon en *banco*⁷ que l'on trouve dans des villages comme Shanga, Banani et Ireli sont des bâtiments fonctionnels dont on voit l'adaptation aux conditions climatiques. Situés au-dessus des plaines, les villages Dogon traditionnels offraient des avantages stratégiques en cas d'attaque dans les siècles passés (fig. 2).

La typologie de l'habitat traditionnel Dogon se caractérise en général par des formes rectangulaires et circulaires⁸. Le premier édifice bâti dans un village est la maison des femmes qui ont leurs règles⁹. La société Dogon est très hiérarchisée, dans celle-ci il y a également la notion d'exclusion. Les femmes doivent obligatoirement rejoindre la maison des femmes menstruées parce que pendant cette période elles sont considérées comme impures. Cette maison est une unité architecturale qui est toujours construite à l'extérieur du village, son espace est strictement interdit aux hommes ainsi qu'à certaines femmes. Généralement elle est reconnaissable puisque c'est la seule bâtisse circulaire.

L'habitation chez les Dogon ne comprend pas seulement la maison, mais aussi une sorte de cour où se trouvent les dépendances et où vit la famille, cet ensemble formera la concession. C'est pour cela qu'en Afrique on parlera presque toujours de concession et rarement de maison, la maison n'étant qu'un élément d'un ensemble nécessaire à la vie de la famille.

Une concession est un ensemble architectural qui ne s'agrandit pas, mais se multiplie, elle est dirigée par un chef de famille. Il convient de noter que la notion de concession privée n'existe pas, parce que la terre appartient à l'être humain. La concession se compose de différents domaines tels que *dolu* (de forme rectangulaire) qui permet l'entrée dans la concession, il est le premier espace architectural qui relie les deux milieux sociaux: l'extérieur et l'intérieur. Les autres pièces sont les différentes chambres familiales ventilé par sexe comme *ana déun* qui est la chambre du chef de la famille, la pièce centrale *déun kolo* sera celle de la femme; *déun dagi* sera également réservée aux femmes et aux enfants suivi par *obolon* représentant la cuisine, et bien sûr, nous avons *gono* qui est une cour où se déroulera la vie du groupe.

⁷ *Banco*, c'est-à-dire argile séchée qui permet une bonne isolation thermique, les murs épais d'argile règlent la température intérieure du bâtiment. L'argile est recueillie dans la plaine ou dans les bas-fonds des vallées.

⁸ Wolfgang et al. 1998, 28-7.

⁹ Griaule 1975, 110.

Le centre de l'organisation sociale et économique chez les Dogon est le grenier¹⁰ *Guyo* (appelé aussi *gé* ou *go*). Le grenier est un élément socio-culturel qui montrera – par sa taille – la richesse d'une famille. Il est de même un lieu économique qui permet la conservation de la récolte. Les greniers sont un système de stockage pour la conservation des céréales (mil, sorgho, fiono) qui constitueront la seule ressource de subsistance pour les Dogon.

La technique d'élévation d'un grenier commence dans la première étape par des pierres empilées. Le grenier repose généralement sur des grosses pierres qui supportent des rondins en bois. On recouvre ce plancher de *banco* qui formera le fond du grenier. Le maçon monte les murs en *banco* avec des briques de terre qu'il lisse au fur et à mesure comme la technique du façonnage d'un pot¹¹, avec une épaisseur de cinq-sept centimètre. Le toit ressemblera à un chapeau de paille qui couvrira le dôme, cette dernière phase permettra de protéger le grenier de la chaleur et de la pluie (fig. 3). Les bâtisseurs traditionnels ont su perpétuer leur art par un système efficace de transmission de père en fils. Les ouvriers qui réalisent les constructions en terre possèdent souvent des savoirs ésotériques qu'ils ne transmettent qu'à des proches¹².

On trouve la présence de différents types de *Guyo*. Le *Guyo Ana* est le grenier mâle qui est sous la responsabilité du chef du lignage. Il a un seul compartiment et il comprendra les récoltes des champs collectifs. Habituellement il sera rempli et fermé en automne, seulement en été il sera ouvert ou lors des cérémonies funéraires. Un autre exemple de grenier c'est *Guyo Poru* qui est un sort de *Guyo Ana* mais plus petit. Il appartient au chef du village où il va conserver le mil utilisée pour les besoins de sa famille. On observe à la fois le *Guyo Ya* réservé aux produits des champs individuels, il peut appartenir à un homme ou à une femme, mais dans la plupart des cas nous pouvons dire qu'ils appartiennent à la femme. *Guyo Ya* à un volet qui est fermé à clé, on peut voir qu'il se compose de quatre compartiments pour stocker les grains. Au milieu de cette espace il y a une sorte de réceptacle qui servira de place pour mettre des objets importants tels que des colliers.

En outre, nous distinguons aussi le *Guyo Karu* (appartient à l'homme) et *Guyo Togu* qui ne diffère pas des autres greniers, tout comme il est plus attaché au vieillard qui à un moment de la journée peut venir ici pour se reposer.

¹⁰ Labourdette et Auzias 2008, 266.

¹¹ Pour plus de détails à ce sujet, voir: Prussin 1972, 145-7.

¹² Cissé 2008, 9.

Quand on parle d'un grenier il faut parler en même temps de sa fonction et son iconographie symbolique, parce que ses éléments architecturaux renvoient au mythe associé à la fertilité et à l'origine du monde. Griaule a enregistré chaque aspect architectural du grenier comme correspondant à la représentation symbolique du corps féminin, qui, selon le mythe, se rapporte à la création et à l'ordre dans l'univers. Par exemple, les quatre coins du toit carré sont représentés comme les bras et les jambes, les poutres de soutien sont le squelette, le dehors est considéré comme la peau, et le sol est le dos. On observe d'ailleurs que la porte du grenier peut représenter soit le vagin, soit le cœur. Le symbolisme représenté sur les portes des greniers est consacré à l'origine de la vie¹³.

Les symboles qui se rapportent au mythe de la création ne sont pas des codes directs pour des parties du récit mythique, au contraire, ils expriment la même connaissance de l'origine de toute vie comme un moyen de le maintenir dans le présent. Notamment les volets de grenier qui sont des éléments majeurs de l'art Dogon, jouent un rôle dans la création de connaissances par de nouvelles combinaisons de symboles. Les Dogons emploient des serrures de porte pour sécuriser les greniers et les maisons. Il existe deux types de serrures: celles qui sont attachés directement à des portes et celles fixés à une partie de l'intérieur du cadre de la porte¹⁴.

Les fameuses portes Dogon nous offrent une grande diversité et une incroyable créativité, chaque fois les sculptures qu'on admire sur les volets font références au mythe Dogon (fig. 4). Toujours, nous verrons sur la surface des volets l'image des couples ancestraux créés par *Amma*, leur expressivité étant le gardien qui préserve la fertilité. La signification des différentes représentations est principalement comme suit: les «bras levés», peuvent être interprétés comme un symbole d'invocation aux pluies, mais il y a aussi d'autres suggestions différentes. Il peut symboliser de même la relation entre *Nommo* et *Amma* avant son sacrifice, mais aussi son rôle en tant qu'organisateur du monde. Lorsque les deux bras sont le long des côtés cette position symbolise la descente de *Nommo* sur la terre.

L'iconographie des serrures est conçue en fonction de leur usage et de leur but, une serrure pour *Hogon*, le chef spirituel et politique, apparaît sous la forme du cavalier sur son cheval, qui le distinguait des autres. Les serrures des greniers comportent parfois des motifs qui se rapportant à l'identité et à la vie de leur propriétaire. De manière générale cependant,

¹³ Griaule 1975, 108-9.

¹⁴ Imperato 1978, 54-5.

les motifs, qu'ils soient incisés ou sculptés en volume, nous renseignent sur les principes de fécondité, appelant l'abondance et l'harmonie souhaitées par les possesseurs du grenier comme par les occupants de l'habitation. Un exemple qui nous parle d'une architecture sexuée sont les protubérances en forme de seins jaillissant de deux linteaux de bois liés l'un à l'autre par des lanières de cuir et formant la porte d'une maison de famille dans la perpétuation de la descendance et dans la conduite des affaires de la maison. Le mécanisme de la serrure souligne la même idée: le coffre représentant la partie femelle, le pêne la partie mâle et le mouvement faisant manoeuvrer l'un dans l'autre serait comparable à l'acte sexuel¹⁵.

Un autre bâtiment important que nous distinguons dans le sein de la société Dogon est *Togu Nà (Toguna)*, appelé entre autres «la case à palabres», car il est le lieu de la parole. *Toguna* est le premier bâtiment à être construit à un moment donné dans le village (fig. 5). Cette construction est située au centre. Nous observons également le *Togu Nà Pey*¹⁶ représentant le vieux *Toguna*, mais ils diffèrent parce qu'on pourrait avoir dans un village un seul *Togu Nà Pey* et beaucoup d'autres *Togu Nà*.

Autrement, *Toguna* est un abri où personne ne se tient debout, car ce serait un manque de respect, ils sont toujours assis. En outre, on dit que pendant la nuit les esprits des ancêtres vont venir et ils vont remplir la place avec de la sagesse. Le savoir et la sagesse relient les jeunes gens et les vieillards et les anciens avec les ancêtres. *Toguna* est le lieu où les membres du conseil du village se réunissent, ici les hommes plus âgés parleront pendant la cérémonie de deuil (*Dama*), ils discuteront sur la récolte, ils essayeront de résoudre les conflits familiaux et de nombreuses autres questions qui concernent leur société. De point de vue architectural, il accumule certaines valeurs artistiques, nous avons des piliers en forme de V et les figures sculptées sont toujours en face du village. En fonction de la position topographique, le *Toguna* est construit soit en bois ou en pierre¹⁷.

Une autre unité sociologique est *Ginna Na* qui appartient à *Ginna Banga* (le chef du lignage), c'est lui qui gère cette unité architecturale. Il faut mentionner qu'il n'est pas propriétaire de *Ginna Na* mais habitant. Ce qui nous impressionne à *Ginna Na* est la façade qui se caractérise par des plans et des vides. Nous avons les niches qui viennent se scander dans l'ensemble de la façade. Il y a aussi les huit *vele komo*¹⁸ qui rappelle évidemment le

¹⁵ Coquet 2005, 311-13.

¹⁶ *Togu Nà Pey*, le lieu de la connaissance, est réservé aux hommes qui ont participé à *Sigi*. *Sigi* c'est la fête qui célèbre la naissance du monde Dogon.

¹⁷ Plus le toit est haut plus le *Toguna* est ancienne.

¹⁸ *Vele komo* c'est comme *Togu Nà*, les esprits des ancêtres de la famille pendant la nuit se vont reposer ici.

mythe et qui se réfère aux huit ancêtres. *Vele komo* est un endroit qui fait le lien entre le monde des vivants et des morts, où l'âme du défunt viendra un jour, c'est pour cela que *Ginna Na* donnera une cohésion, car elle permet à tous les membres du lignage d'être reliés les uns aux autres.

Tous les autres ensembles architecturaux sont appelés *ginu sala*, les maisons ordinaires comme par exemple la maison des jeunes célibataires ou celle des vieilles femmes (des veuves) qui peut accueillir des adolescents.

Dans la suite, nous porterons notre attention sur la maison du *Hogon* et le culte du *Lébé*. *Hogon* est le représentant du culte officiel du *Lébé*, c'est lui qui établit la relation entre les humains et les ancêtres mythiques parce qu'il est le chef spirituel par son rôle de garant de la récolte¹⁹. *Hogon* dirigera les rites agricoles, il a également un rôle juridique. Auparavant il était le chef de l'armée, c'est pour cela qu'il est lié à la figure du cheval, identité qui lui donne la légitimité et le pouvoir²⁰. La figure du cavalier étroitement associé à l'image du *Hogon* est très présente dans l'art sculptural des Dogon.

La maison du *Hogon* dénommée *Gina Bana* doit être la plus visible du village et la plus belle. Son style architectural ressemble à *Ginna Na*, on a le même type de façade caractérisé par des plans et des vides. On voit dans la partie de dessus un ensemble de motifs géométriques et polychromes qui renvoie au monde mythique (fig. 6). Sur le toit on voit les huit monticules, l'équivalent des huit ancêtres qui symbolisent la fécondité. À l'intérieur de cette demeure, nous trouvons le temple de *Binu*. Le culte du *Lébé* s'adresse à *Lébé Serou*, l'ancêtre qui est ressuscité sous la forme d'un serpent. Selon Marcel Griaule, *Lébé* était le descendant des huit *Nommo*, il a été mangé par le septième *Nommo* qui vomira un nouveau *Lébé* qui se métamorphose ensuite en un serpent et introduira la mort dans le monde. *Lébé Serou* est l'image du premier ancêtre qui les a guidés dans le pays Dogon. Cette notion du *Lébé* est un culte rendu à la terre pour assurer la fertilité. Il est célébré une fois par an au cours de la saison des pluies, la cérémonie de libation qui se déroule autour de l'autel de *Lébé* est constituée par des prières et des offrandes de bouillie de mil²¹.

Pour finir, on doit mentionner que le culte du *Binu* constitue avec celui du *Lébé* la perpétuation du monde Dogon. Le responsable de ce culte est le prêtre totémique²². *Binu* signifie littéralement celui qui part et qui revient pour assurer la protection et l'harmonie

¹⁹ Blom 2010, 218.

²⁰ Blom 2010, 218.

²¹ Seulement *Hogon* est autorisé à effectuer ce culte.

²² Les hommes qui suivent une initiation spécifique peuvent devenir prêtres totémiques du *Binu*, les femmes ne peuvent pas avoir ce titre.

dans la communauté²³, il est dans la plupart des cas liés à un animal. Les autels du *Binu* sont identiques, on a une porte avec deux grands orifices comme les *vele komo*, et nous reconnaissons également les fresques sur la façade qui se réfèrent au mythe. Au sommet du temple nous avons deux cônes appelé *gobo*, crochets de fer qui, dit-on, vont capturer les nuages et la force vitale *nyama* pour faire tomber la pluie²⁴.

En conclusion, on doit dire que beaucoup de gens ont à l'esprit le stéréotype selon lequel en Afrique subsaharienne on trouve de simples huttes de terre, mais ces constructions nous montrent l'ingéniosité et la variété de la force créatrice de l'homme. Par ce bref aperçu, on a pu voir comment les Dogon vivent leur contemporanéité, l'architecture entourée de monde mythique est le témoignage de l'authenticité de la pensée expressive dirigé par les symboles qui conservent encore les racines profondément ancrées dans la tradition de cette civilisation. Le Pays Dogon est devenu aujourd'hui de plus en plus une destination touristique, mais parfois certaines manifestations folkloriques ouvertes pour le public et aussi les mutations socio-économiques et le phénomène de la mondialisation peuvent constituer une menace pour les fondements de la société Dogon. Les greniers sont une expression forte de l'héritage bâti en terre, malgré les changements dans beaucoup de régions, ils continuent d'être une trace importante de l'architecture traditionnelle.

Enfin, le grand intérêt porté aux Dogons au cours de ces dernières années a fait que la Falaise de Bandiagara soit inscrite en 1989 sur la liste du Patrimoine de l'Humanité de l'UNESCO, afin de sauvegarder ces ensembles traditionnels.

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²³ Blom 2010, 242.

²⁴ Wolfgang et al. 1998, 68-71.

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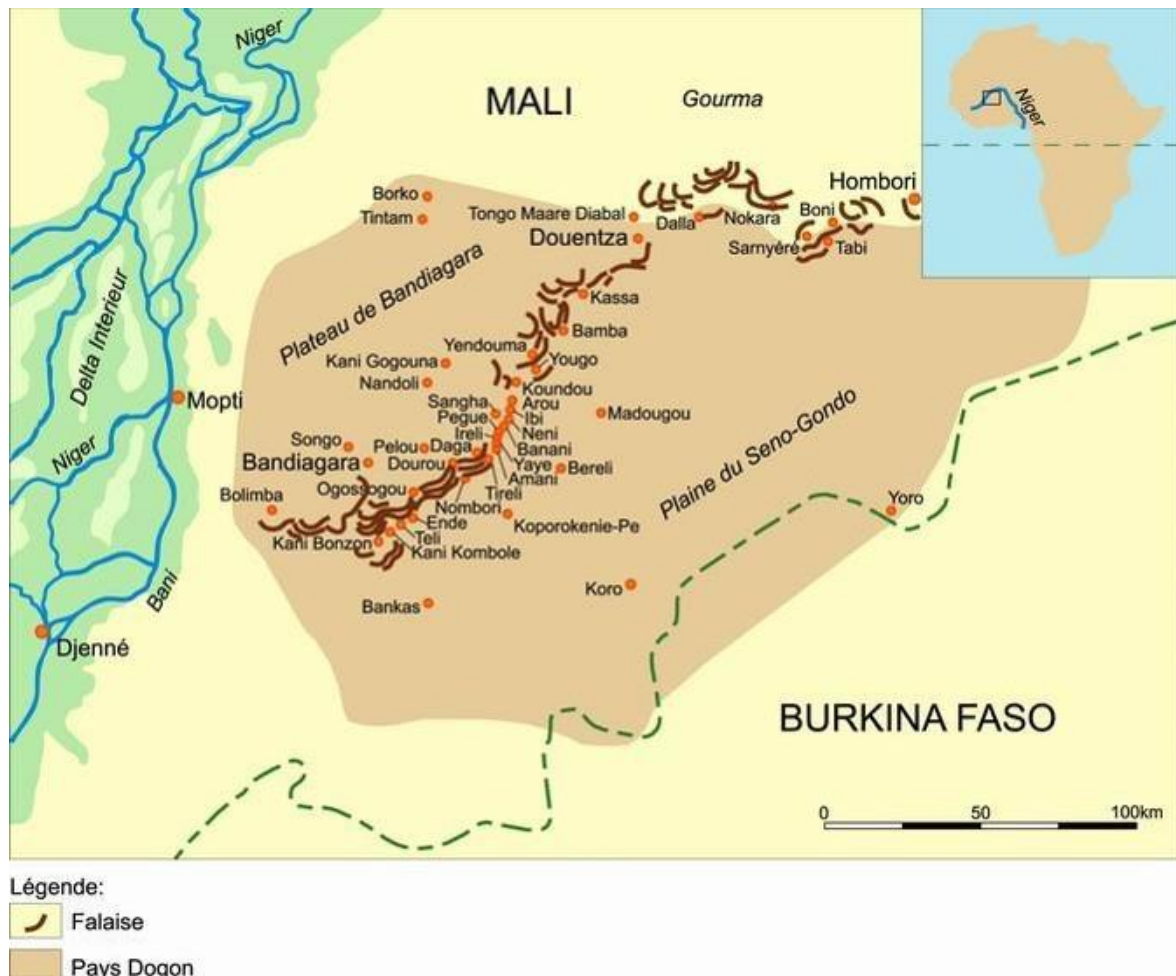


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Source internet: http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/thumbs/site_0516_0002-500-333-20090917101602.jpg, consulté le 27 septembre 2014.

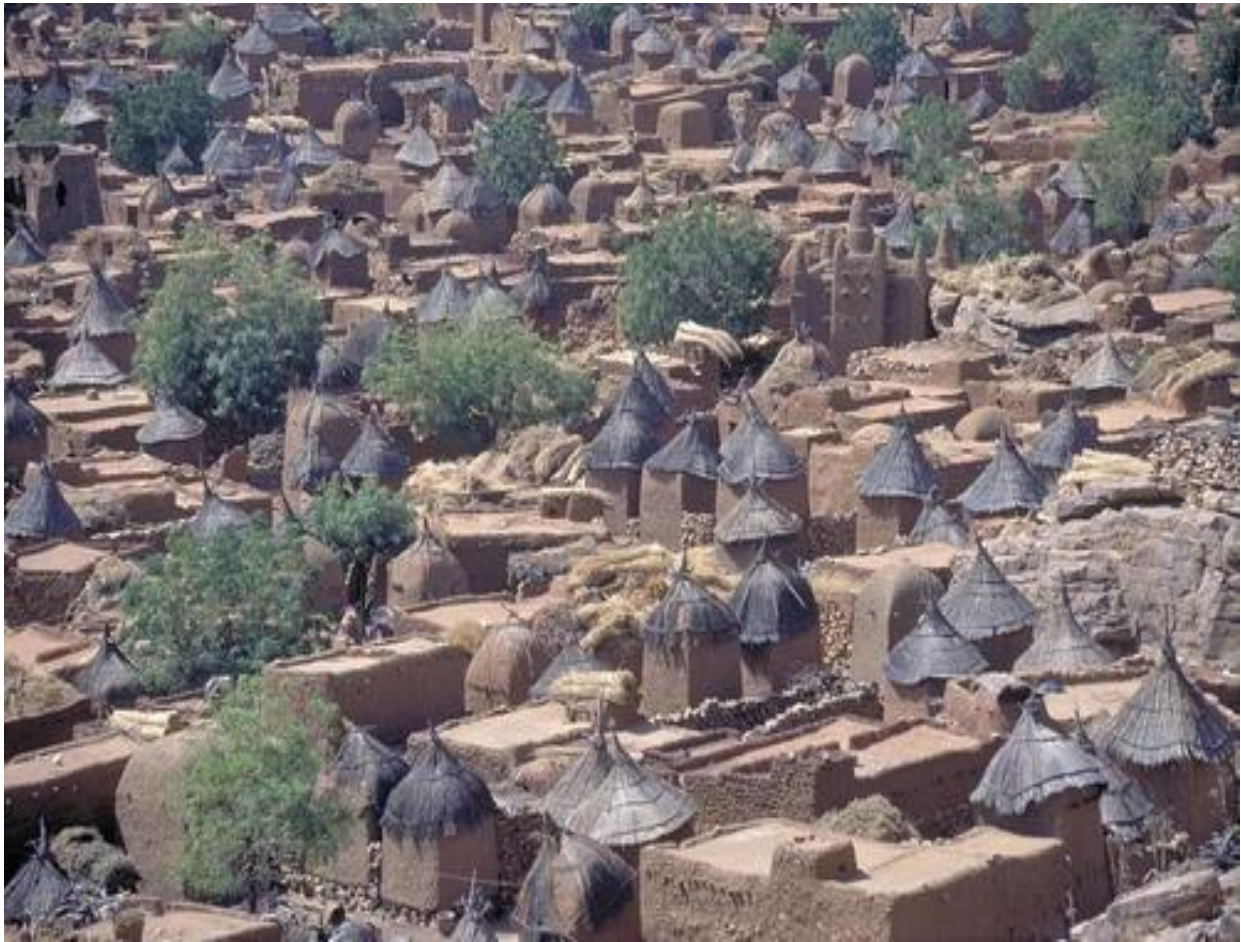


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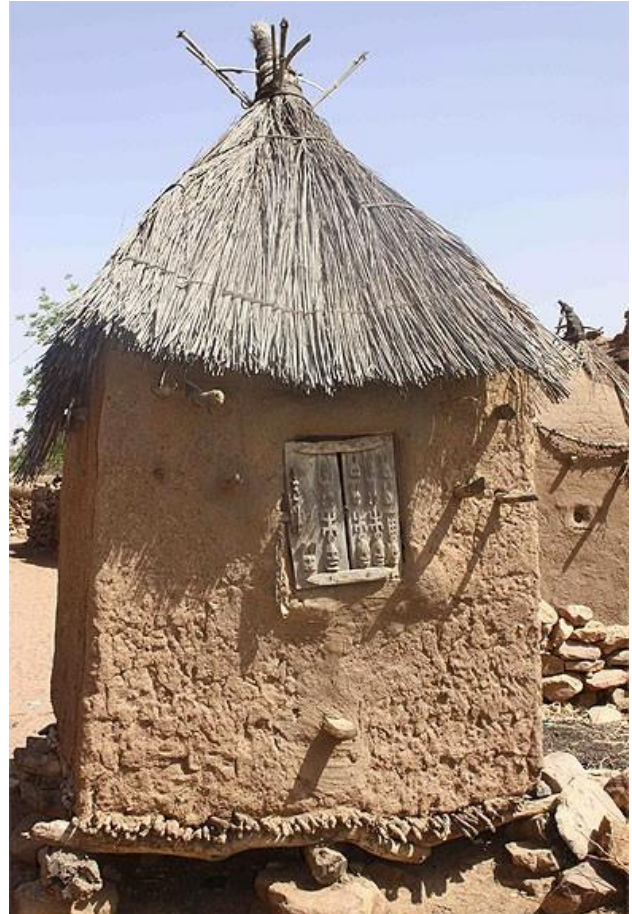


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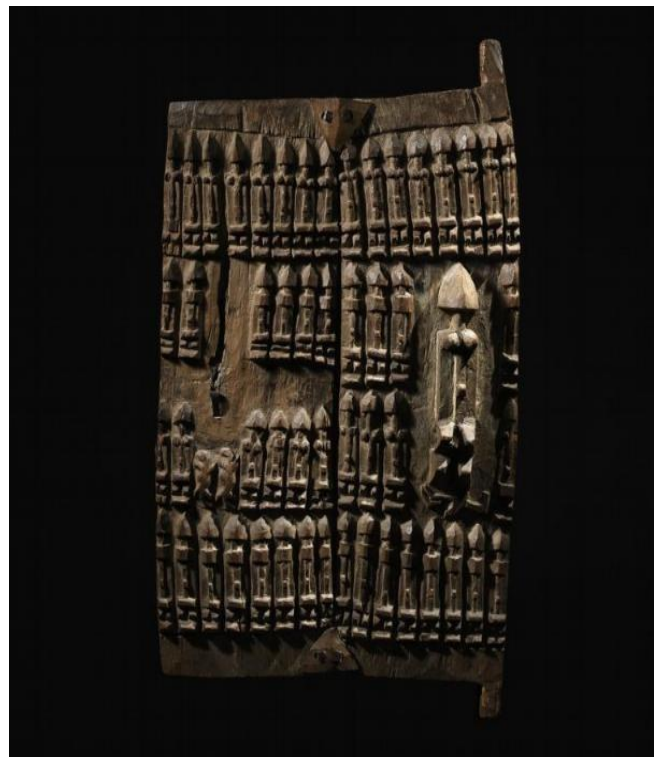


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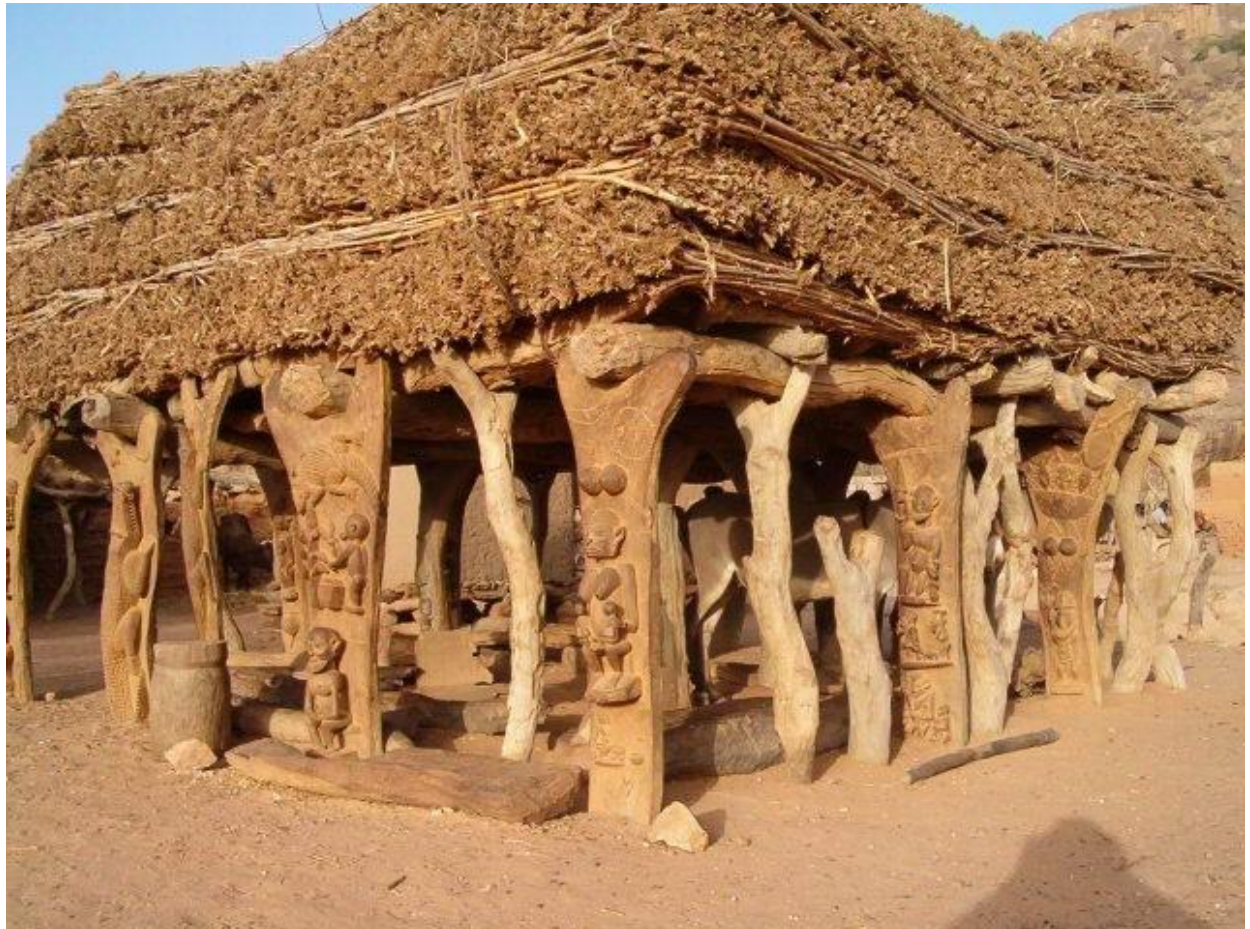


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BERSERKER: ZWISCHEN ARCHAISCHEM KRIEGER UND KÜNSTLERISCHEM MOTIV

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Abstract:

The motif of the reckless raging berserker is one of the richest in all Scandinavian literature. However unclear some aspects may appear, for instance the possible origin of such a figure, the cultural history of this warrior type and the ritual madness it embodies proves his noteworthy symbolic value. In this short essay we will attempt to investigate the figure in older sources, tracing the controversies surrounding it, as well as pointing out its impressive contemporary reception using Heavy Metal music as a study case.

Keywords: warrior, Scandinavian literature, ritual of war, cultural history, symbolic value

Das Nachleben der Wikinger stand immer in Zusammenhang mit einem Bild des übertriebenen kriegerischen Eifers und der unvorstellbaren Gewalt, ein Aspekt welcher man sowohl in den christlichen mittelalterlichen Texten als auch in der modernen Rezeption leicht beobachten kann. Was eigentlich in diesem Bild geschieht ist eine Erweiterung der Züge einer bestimmten Kriegergruppe, die jetzt mit einer ganzen Bevölkerung identifiziert wird. Dieses moderne Vorurteil, das die Wikinger den wilden, tierischen, schreienden, tötenden Kämpfern gleichen, verdankt seine Entwicklung eher der reichen literarischen Tradition als den historischen Wahrheiten. In den berühmten isländischen Epen wird immer wieder über besondere Kriegerkreise gesprochen, die sich nicht nur durch reine Kraft bekannt machen, sondern auch dank u.a. ihrer Verwandlungsfähigkeit oder ihrer magischen Verteidigungsmöglichkeiten.

Im Grunde genommen aber bleibt viel über diese Sonderkreise unerklärt und vielleicht auch unerklärbar. Die umstrittenen Aspekte beginnen mit der Etymologie des Wortes, ein Kompositum des Altnordischen, wobei „serkr“ eindeutig „Gewand“ bedeutet. Das Problem

liegt im ersten Wortteil, „bar“, der einerseits eine Verbindung mit „Bär“ und andererseits eine Verbindung mit „frei, bloß“ zieht, d.h. diese Kämpfer sollen ohne Waffenrock gerauft haben¹.

Das Extremverhalten der bärenkräftigen Menschen, die sich ungebündelt, ungezähmt und ganz turbulent benehmen wollten wird öfters in der Literatur festgestellt. *Ynglingasaga* erzählt von dieser Tradition, u.zw. von den Krieger Odins, die im Krieg keine Rüstung getragen haben sollen² und sich wie rasende Tiere verhielten, während *Grettirs Saga* oder *Vatnsdaela Saga* von den Verwandlungen in Bären und Wölfe (*ulfhedinn*) berichten, ein archaischer schamanistischer Verfahren (*berserkrangr*), das diesen Menschen die Macht der Biester verliehen haben sollte und sie dem Gott Odin näherte. Der Berserker konnte in diesem Sinne entweder seinen physischen Körper verändern indem er einen Fell oder eine Maske verwendete um den Eindruck einer überlegenen Kraft zu erlangen oder vielleicht wichtiger, einer psychologischen Umformung unterworfen war um sich mit dem Tier zu identifizieren³. Einer der vollständigsten Verwandlungen findet man in *Hrolfs Saga* bei Björn und seinem Sohn Böðvar-Bjarkis, wobei der erste einen Pelz benützt und der andere verlässt eigentlich seinen Körper⁴. Unabhängig von der Art der Verwandlung, obwohl die seelische Transformation (*hamask*) den Vorhand hat, gemeinsam sind die Qualitäten die der Berserker gewinnt: außergewöhnliche männliche Fertigkeiten, die aber nicht nur positiv konotiert sind, ganz im Gegenteil werden sie in der mittelalterlichen Literatur und so weiter wegen ihrer ungezügelter Brutalität, die keinen Unterschied zwischen Freund und Feind machte, an den Pranger gestellt.

Die Berserker ähneln trotzdem den Götter und diesen Aspekt hat schon G. Dumézil bemerkt, als er die Wut des Kriegers im Namen Odins gefunden hat (*odur, óðr*⁵) und zugleich bringt der Forscher den Anschluss der Raserei zu einer starken Transformation des Geistes (*hamingja, fylgia*⁶) hervor. Die grimmigen und bössartigen Haupteigenschaften der nordischen Helden werden auch in der *Ynglinga Saga* aufgerufen: *die nehmen rüstungslos am Krieg teil, die kreischen, brüllen und bissen ihre Schilde, die bringen alle auf ihrem Pfad um und die konnten weder vom Feuer noch Eisen verletzt werden. Das nennt man der "Berserkerangang"*⁷. Eigentlich erscheinen diese Charakteristika zum ersten Mal in der *Haraldskvaedi*, Strophe 8,

¹ Die zweite Erklärung scheint glaubwürdiger zu sein, weil im Altnordischen wird der "Bär" schon "bjorn" genannt wurde und außerdem hätte ein Bärenfell den Krieger umsonst überlastet. Es könnte aber eine Art Beschwörung der Bärenkraft gewesen sein, eine Raserei. Trotzdem ist in den mittelalterlichen Epen der zweite Sinn beliebter. Näsström 2006; Johannesson 1956.

² Sturluson 1964.

³ Ellis-Davidson 1978.

⁴ Ellis-Davidson 1978.

⁵ Dumézil 1969, 36 ff.

⁶ Erweiterte Erklärungen der Termini findet man auch bei Dumézil 1973, 142 ff.

⁷ Sturluson 1964.

einem Preisgedicht des Skalden Þorbjörn Hornklofi (9. Jh) für König Harlad Hårfarg. Das Gedicht beinhaltet kurz und bündig den Kern des künftigen unerschöpflichen literarischen Motivs:

grenjuðu berserkir,	es brüllten die Berserker,
guðr vas á sinnum,	der Kampf kam in Gang
emjuðu Ulfheðnar	es heulten die Wolfpelze
ok ísörn dúðu.	und schüttelten die Eisen ⁸ .

Der Berserker war in der Literatur als eine Bestie wahrgenommen, dessen Tapferkeit und Gewalttätigkeit als eine riesige Gefahr empfunden wurde. Einer der bekanntesten shape-shifters ist Kveldulfr in *Egils Saga Skallagrimsonar*, der als einen ungeheuren Bären neben Köning Hrolf kämpft und konnte mit nur seinen nackten Händen die meisten Feinde, Männer oder Pferde erschlagen und seine Zähne so kraftvoll waren, dass er nur Panik und Entsetzen unter König Hjorvalds Soldaten ausbreitete⁹. Das Verfahren des Berserkergangs beschreibt man in den Sagas (*Hrolfs Saga* z.B.) als eine Reihe von physischen Merkmale: die Krieger fingen an zu zittern, knattern und frösteln, danach schwellen ihre Gesichter und wechselte die Farbe. Letzten Endes wurden die Krieger sehr heißblütig und begannen zu wüten und toben. Nachdem sie mit den Vernichtungen Schluss gemacht haben, folgte aber eine heftige Ermüdung¹⁰.

Während dieses Zustandes verlor der Berserker die ganze Vernunft und konnte die Freunde und Verwandten nicht mehr anerkennen, also gewann der tierische Teil die Oberhand. In *Egils Saga* ist genau Egils Vater vom Berserkergang eingefangen, er stürzt sich über seinen eigenen Sohn und seinen Freund und tötet den letzten. Er hätte bestimmt auch Egil umgebracht, wäre die Magd nicht dazwischengekommen¹¹. Trotzdem sind die meist bewunderten Eigenschaften des Berserkers die frenetischen, unerbittlichen Körperkräfte, welche manchmal dazu führen, dass der Berserker mit einem Riesen oder Troll gleichgesetzt wird. Und natürlich mit einem Bären, in welchem Falle er zur selben Zeit einen Bärennamen tragen könnte: Gunbjorn, Arinbjorn, Esbjorn usw.¹², wie uns Saxo Grammaticus u.a. erzählt. Infolge dieser Bemerkungen ist die Frage noch offen, ob die ekstatisch schreienden Menschen nackte Helden

⁸ Jonsson 1973.

⁹ Egil's Saga 1976, 21 f.

¹⁰ Über die Möglichkeit, dass dieses Verhalten eine Wirkung bestimmter halluzinogenischen Pflanzen sei, Fabing 1956. Diese Erklärung sind aber heute viel weniger geschätzt.

¹¹ Egil's Saga, 94 f.

¹² Saxo Grammaticus 79. Der Ritus sei netwegen enthielt auch ein Blutgetränk.

oder Bärenkrieger waren, ob man sie mit Krieger in Bären- oder Wolfspelz gleichsetzen könnte.

Auf jeden Fall sind beide Möglichkeiten dem Bild des wuchtigen odinischen Kämpfers zu subsumieren, welcher lange Zeit als eine entscheidende Kategorie des Krieges betrachtet worden ist: die sollen dieselben Eigenschaften wie der Hauptgott gehabt haben: *shape-shifting*, die rituelle Wut, die magische Geschütztheit¹³ usw. In diesem Sinne wurden sie in den meisten mittelalterlichen Werken porträtiert, doch ältere Hinweise finden wir z.B. bei Konstantin dem 7. mit Bezug auf einen Tanz der Warägergarde oder konkreter auf Helmen aus Schweden (Torslunda), Schwertscheiden oder Brakteaten, wo man Assoziationen zwischen den Krieger, dem Gott Odin und den Tieren feststellen könnte. Trotzdem haben wir mit sehr ungleichmäßigen Quellen zu tun, demzufolge fällt es schwierig, ein einheitliches Bild der Kämpfer zu zeichnen. Wenn wir zurück auf die Mittelalterquellen kommen, bleiben uns von den phantasievollen Geschichten zwei grundsätzliche Aspekte übrig: die Berserker unterwarfen sich einem Ritual (Der Berserkerang) um die stürmische und leidenschaftliche Kraft zu erhalten und danach wurden sie in ihrer Ekstase zu Schocktruppen der Könige, in der Regel in der ersten Reihe der Schlachtordnung, rücksichtslos auf Verluste und von übertriebenen Eifer besessen. Alle Sagas stimmen überein, dass die Berserker dank ihrem Zustand als Elitetruppe am gefährlichsten Platz des Kampfes aufgestellt worden sind. Die Zweideutigkeit der Gestalte wird dennoch klar, wenn man denkt, dass sie zugleich als gewaltige Verbrecher gelten.

Bemerkenswert ist die Tatsache, dass ihre Vorbereitung und Wut mehr Platz in den Epen gewonnen haben, im Unterschied zu den genauen Schlachtberichten. Und noch auffälliger scheint die Abwesenheit des Terminus „Berserker“ zu sein, weil er seit seiner Erstbenutzung beim Dichter des *Haraldskvæði* im 9. Jh bis spät ins 12. Jh. in der Literatur nicht mehr auftritt. Eine ganz seltsame Sache, die der Forscher Klaus von See zur der sehr plausiblen Bemerkung bringt, dass das Wort in der Tat eine Schöpfung des Skalden Þorbjörn Hornklofi ist, dem weitere Wortschöpfungen wie *berfjall* (Bärenfell) beizumessen sind¹⁴.

Mit anderen Worten ist heutzutage die Wirklichkeit eines solchen umwandlungsfähigen, extremen konfliktsbereiten Recken ziemlich hart umstritten. Sicherer ist es, diese Gestalt als literarisches Motiv zu betrachten, ein Motiv der absoluten Männlichkeit, was viel Sinn macht wenn man über die Anknüpfung zu einer im Allgemeinen kriegerisch geprägten Gesellschaft nachdenkt. Manche von Dumezil gepriesene rituelle Ereignisse wie die Initiation mittels der

¹³ Mehr darüber bei Dumezil 1973. Es geht aber um die ältere Auffassung, welche die Berserker als eine archaische und nicht veränderte Realität durch die Zeit gesehen hat.

¹⁴ von See 1981, 311 ff.

Bärenopferung (u.a. in *Grettirs Saga* muss Grettir seinen in einer Höhle geworfenen Mantel wieder erringen und seine Ehre prüfen indem er zuerst den Bären töten muss. Der Held aber nimmt auch die Pfote seines Opfers) lassen sich in der Wirklichkeit schwer beweisen. Ähnliche Geschichten sind wiederkehrend und das Porträt des Berserkers wird von Stereotypen belastet: der ist immer wieder hässlich, verbissen, unvernünftig, grauenhaft und blutig¹⁵. Das Motiv des besessenen Schildbissers tritt wahnsinnig viel in der eddischen Dichtung und isländischen Prosa nach dem 12. Jh., wo diese Gestalt des Tierkriegers eine Zweideutigkeit verweist: die standen zwischen Bewunderung der Tapferkeit und christlich konnotierter Dämonisierung. Ob man die verbotene krieglerische Wut des isländischen Christenrechts (*Gragas*) mit dem Berserkergang gleichzusetzen kann steht unter Zweifel und im Prinzip gibt es keine Gesetzsammlungen wo man genau diese Bezeichnung entdecken kann¹⁶.

Andererseits sind Tierpelze und Kampfschreie nichts ungewöhnliches. Die Tradition, sozusagen, der alten kämpferischen Gemeinschaften (irgendwie Männerbünde) wurde neulich u.a von Michael Speidel untersucht, welcher die Berserker nicht nur als Literaturschöpfung betrachtet. Ganz im Gegenteil, er versucht Gemeinsames in verschiedenen Kulturen zu finden¹⁷. Während er sich nur sehr wenig auf die Bärenreken bezieht (das Beispiel der fränkischen Armee), widmet er viel mehr dem Berserker mit der linguistischen Bedeutungsalternative die auch von Snorri aufgerufen wird: *ber* – nackt. Im Prinzip aber geht es nur um die An- oder Abwesenheit der klaren tierischen Konnotation (der Pelz). Das Bild des kämpferischen Wahnsinns bleibt unberührt. Die Wildnis und Unbesonnenheit der indoeuropäischer Reken seien laut Speidel uralt und er zitiert dafür das Beispiel eines Gedichtes aus der Epoche des assyrischen Königs Tukulti-Ninurta, wo seine unerbittliche, in Kampfekstase geratene Helden viel gelobt worden seien.

Wildly raging, taking forms strange as Anzu.

They fiercely rush to the fray without armor,

Having stripped off their breastplates, thrown off their clothing,

They bound up their hair and polished (?) their weapons,

The fierce heroes danced with sharpened weapons.

¹⁵ Verschiedene Bilder kann man leicht in *Volsunga Saga*, *Örvar-Odds Saga*, *Egils Saga Skallagrimsonar* usw. Erkennen. Das Monster von *Beowulf*, Grendel, zeigt auch gewisse Züge des berserkergangs.

¹⁶ von See 1981, 311 ff.

¹⁷ Das Buch heißt *Ancient Germanic Warriors: Warrior Styles from Trajan's Column to Icelandic Sagas*, 2004. Der krieglerische Stil bedeutet für ihn eine Identitätsform die eine riesige Rolle in archaischen Kulturen gespielt hat.

They snorted at one another like fighting lions with flashing eyes
The swirling dust storms of battle whirl about¹⁸.

Die Vorstellung liegt nicht so weit von den Sagas entfernt. Weitere Beispiele aus dem hethitischen oder mykenischen Raum wollen zusätzlich beweisen, dass der Kult des männlichen Körpers von riesigen Bedeutung gewesen wäre. Die trajanische Säule oder die Berichte Tacitus, Paulus Diaconus, Ammianus Marcellinus und Saxo Grammaticus seien zugleich Quellen für diese Männerbünde wobei die fast kultische Raserei, welche Geschreie, Tänze, Gesänge beinhaltet hätte, im Kampf von entscheidender Bedeutung wäre. Die Götter waren diejenigen die diese Elitesoldaten verteidigten und das soll in allen archaischen Kulturen gegolten haben. Speidel zitiert Saxo mit einem relevantem Beispiel dafür, das der sagenhaften Königs Harald Wartooth:

But his mind was unlike his outfit, for unarmored, wearing only his royal insignia, he went before the armed battalions and gave the raging dangers of war a chance. Yet the spears flung at him could no more harm him than if their blades pointed backward. When others saw this fighter's woundlessness, they were taken aback and shame spurred them to attack him still more fiercely. Harald, unwounded, killed them with his sword or sent them fleeing¹⁹.

Die kriegerische Wut ist zwar kein neues Phänomen und kann nicht nur auf bestimmte Epochen oder Räume begrenzt werden. Das Problem liegt aber darin, dass man die Sagagestalt des Berserkers sehr schwer außerhalb der nordischen Literatur entziehen und vielleicht mit Gemeinschaften alten germanischen Stämmen verbinden kann. Wir verfügen nur über disparate Hinweise die nur zum wenigen Teil eine 'Tradition' des literarisch bezeugten Berserkers und Berserkergangs unterstreichen könnten. Das geschieht hauptsächlich weil die für die Stilisierung verantwortlichen Autoren keine eigene Vorstellung von ihnen und ihren Lebensweisen hatten, sondern nur über Hörensagen verfügten. Als die ersten wichtigen Epen in schriftlichen Form erschienen sind, müssen die Wahrheiten und die Phantasie in einem schwer lösbaren Gemisch verschmolzen sein.

¹⁸ Speidel 2004, 51-52.

¹⁹ Speidel 2004, 63.

Dennoch haben wir mit einem ständigen Element zu tun: die kriegerische Tobsucht. Überdies stellt die fast rituelle Raserei ein sehr lebhaftes Thema sogar in der gegenwärtigen Kultur.

Die Gestalt des Berserkers ist umso interessanter weil sie sich eines sehr reichen Nachlebens erfreut hat. In der Vergangenheit war es die Literatur diejenige welche die sagehaften Helden in den Vordergrund gebracht hat, jedoch spielen in der Gegenwart andere Medien eine ausschlaggebende Rolle. Die Berserker, als Teil des beliebten nordischen Gedankengutes finden wir fast überall in der populären Kultur, von Filmen und Computerspielen bis zu Comics oder japanischen Animes. Aber in keinem anderen Bereich werden die Recken und ihre ruhmreiche Tapferkeit so hoch bewertet wie in der Heavy Metal Musik. Ähnlich den Skaldendichtung oder Prosa rufen die Lyrics mehr oder weniger bekannten Bands die kämpferischen Bilder und mythischen Protagonisten ins Leben. Die kultisch geprägte Raserei des Nordens übt eine besonders starke Anziehungskraft aus, die durch ein paar Bemerkungen erklärt werden könnte.

Die ekstatische Begeisterung wird sowohl auf der Bühne als auch und vielleicht noch härter außer der Bühne spürbar. *Headbanging, moshpits, wall of death* – solche Verhaltenweisen zeigen dass es sich nicht nur um Musik handelt. Die Masse empfindet die Aggressivität und Wahnsinn des Shows mit. Heavy Metal tendiert tatsächlich sich leidenschaftlich mit Themen wie Gewalt, Negativität, Ruhm, Anarchie, Tod usw. zu beschäftigen²⁰. Die Musik allein aber hat sich nicht vorgenommen, das wahnsinnige Verhalten zu ermutigen, sondern versucht eher das Übel und die Extremen in der Gesellschaft zu widerspiegeln. Zugleich ist diese Widerspiegelung als eine Form der Kritik an verschiedenen Aspekten der Welt, wie Konsumerismus, Indifferenz, Egozentrismus u.a. zu verstehen²¹.

Trotz der enormen Vielfältigkeit der Bands und Genres könnte man gewisse gemeinsame thematische Züge und Motive dieses musikalischen Bereichs feststellen. Die thematischen Kerne²² enthalten zu großem Teil Elemente des Chaotischen und Hedonismus, mit anderen Worten drehen sich rund Konflikt, Aufruhr, Unbeständigkeit. Heftige gewaltige Gefühle werden ausgedrückt und eine Möglichkeit, diese besser zu übermitteln wäre durch die indirekte Verweisung, d.h. durch Motive.

²⁰ Das ist aber sehr grob genommen, weil es so viele Genres heutzutage gibt und die Vielfältigkeit sowie die Unterschiede zwischen Mainstream und Extreme Metal sind nicht zu vernachlässigen. Für weitere komplexe Informationen vgl. *Encyclopedia of Heavy Metal Music*, 2009.

²¹ Der anwendbare Begriff wäre *critical madness*. Walser 1993, 146 ff.

²² Weinstein 2009.

Wie schon mehrmals gezeigt könnte man die Figur des Berserkers hauptsächlich mit der Wut, Gewalt, Raserei ziemlich leicht verbinden. Das Berserker-Motiv flieht diesmal vom Raum der Geschichte und Literatur in die Lyrics von Bands aus der ganzen Welt und wie erwartet, insbesondere aus Nordeuropa. Wenn man dennoch die *Encyclopaedia Metallum* untersucht²³, dann wird es klarer dass der Berserker allgegenwärtig ist, entweder explizit in Namen von Bands und Songs, oder viel häufiger implizit, als wesentlicher Teil des sogenannten Pagan/Viking Metal²⁴. Die meisten Lieder mit und über Berserker sind kurz und lauten grauenhaft, kraftvoll, als hätten wir mit einem echten Berserkerkampf zu tun. Der gewaltige Kampfstil wird sehr gepriesen, wie uns die Lyrics von Manowar, *Sons of Odin* zeigt²⁵:

Deep into the earth
Vultures waited for the broken shells
That once were bodies.
But Odin alone would choose the day
They would enter Valhalla
And in their hour of need
He sent forth unto them The Berserker Rage
Now gods and men
They rose up from the ground
Screaming like wild animals
Such is the gift of absolute power
No blade or weapon would harm them
They killed them and horses alike
And all who stood before them died that day²⁶.

Die Berserker-Wildnis ist also notwendig um sich der absoluten Kraft zu erfreuen, eine Kraft die nur dank Odin möglich ist. Man bemerkt auch ein paar Saga-Motive wie die magische Geschütztheit oder die unaufhörliche Wucht. Das ganze Lied bezieht sich auf die Wichtigkeit

²³ <http://www.metal-archives.com>, aufgerufen am 01.12.2014

²⁴ Über dieses Genre, welches sich im Allgemeinen mit der vorchristlichen Mythologie und Geschichte als eine Form der Rückkehr in illo tempore, sollte man auf Metalstile mehr Information finden. <http://www.metalstile.de/pagan-metal.html>, aufgerufen am 05.12.2014

²⁵ Manowar, "Sons of Odin", *Gods of War*, Magic Circle Music, 2007.

²⁶ http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Manowar/Gods_of_War/144208, aufgerufen am 02.12.2014.

des Opfers und Ruhms, die fast eine Mythologiesierung der Macht erzeugt. Dieselbe Idee findet man in den kurzen und scharfen Lyrics von *Going Berserk* der Band Thyrfing²⁷:

All my foes are terrified by the hatred in my eyes
For me this is passion and lust
For them it is nought but fear
All realize my might, I a berserker born of fire and ice
As they go against me they know they'll never meet their dear²⁸.

Hass, Leidenschaft, Aggressivität, Furchtlosigkeit – alle intensive Gefühle, mithilfe des Berserker-Motivs ans Licht gebracht. Der Zustand vor einem Kampf wird beschrieben und ein Prozess der Verwandlung in eine wilde Bestie, die alles zerschlagen will, kommt in Betracht. Der Berserker kann man aber nicht nur so unmittelbar in den Lyrics finden. Viele Songs beziehen sich allein auf den Wutzustand, ohne den dem Prozess unterworfenen Krieger zu nennen. Das geschieht in sehr vielen Fällen, z.B. bei Amon Amarth in Liedern wie *Metalwrath*, *Masters of War*, *Warriors of the North* oder *With Oden on Our Side*:

Futile to resist
You know why we have come
Futile to resist
The battle is already won

Our hearts are full of pounding rage
Our minds are hard as steel
And before the dying day
We will have you kneel

The snow turns red from all the blood
Severed limbs and heads
A sacrifice to one-eyed God
He will claim the dead²⁹.

²⁷ Thyrfing, "Going Berserk", *Thyrfing*, Hammerheart, 1998.

²⁸ <http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Thyrfing/Thyrfing/1260>, aufgerufen am 02.12.2014.

Die Wucht scheint immer wieder Oberwasser zu haben, natürlich mit weiteren Elementen des aufrührerischen Kerns der Lyrics einerseits und konkreteren Referenzen auf die nordische Mythologie wie die Schutzvorrichtung des einäugigen Gottes andererseits ergänzt. Die enorme Beliebtheit des Berserker-Mythos wird noch klarer, wenn man an die Verbreitung des Motivs denkt. In Deutschland beispielsweise gibt eine ganze Menge von neuen Gruppen aus der Viking Metal Szene die auf den Berserker auf keinen Fall verzichten wollen: Sturmgewalt, Land of Frost, Eugenik, Halgadam, Skadika und natürlich viele andere. Die Thematisierung erfährt aber wenige Veränderungen und ist im Grunde genommen nicht so weit von der alten Quellen der wilden Krieger entfernt. Man könnte ein paar weitere Aspekte unterstreichen. Die Heavy Metal Subkultur, sowie die alten nordischen Gemeinschaften, verfügen über einen sehr starken Kult der Maskulinität³⁰.

Die männlichen Tugenden werden hauptsächlich in Betracht genommen und in diesem Sinne fungiert der Berserker als ein sehr passendes Symbol dafür. Überdies ist diese Gestalt in der Musikszene fast ausschließlich positiv konnotiert, im Unterschied zu den alten Quellen wo diese auch ein Feindbild darstellte. Man könnte an zwei Erklärungen denken: erstens fungiert *going berserk* als eine Art Befreiung entweder von den alltäglichen gesellschaftlichen Regeln oder vom Übel und Unrecht der Welt durch die Konstruktion eines Gegenbildes, mit anderen Worten haben wir mit einem Eskapismus zu tun. Hingegen wird dieser Eskapismus mithilfe der nordischen Referenzen erweitert werden, d.h. die ganze nordische Mythologie spielt die Rolle eines ruhmreichen, prächtigen, stolzen phantastischen Raumes wo man alte Tugende neu ins Leben rufen könnte. Folglich erscheint der Berserker als eine Verkörperung physischer und seelischer Kraft und ein Modell für die heidnische Welt die als Alternative zur Zivilisation von der Musikern angeboten wird. Das Nachleben des sehr umstrittenen Berserkers scheint folglich wenigstens ebenso interessant wie die ältere Symbolik dieser Gestalt zu sein.

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²⁹ Amon Amarth, "With Oden on Our Side", *With Oden on Our Side*, Metal Blade Records, 2006. http://www.metal-archives.com/albums/Amon_Amarth/With_Oden_on_Our_Side/122027, aufgerufen am 05.12.2014.

³⁰ Weinstein 2009.

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RECENZII, PREZENTĂRI DE CARTE

Roxana-Gabriela Curcă, *Elenism și romanitate în Moesia Inferior. Interferențe etnice și lingvistice*. Iași: Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2012. Pp. X, 334. ISBN 978-973-703-769-5.

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Volumul recenzat reprezintă publicarea disertației doctorale a Roxanei-Gabriela Curcă, susținută la Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași. După o prefață elogioasă scrisă de profesorul coordonator Silviu Sanie (pp. vii–ix), urmează introducerea autoarei (pp. 1–18) de unde aflăm că își propune să examineze „contactele dintre elenism și romanitate sub aspectul interferențelor etnice și lingvistice în provincia Moesia Inferior”. Printre sumare precizări metodologice, ea subliniază noutatea demersului său și prezintă structura cărții pe capitole, pe care le voi analiza în parte. Contextul istoric este schițat printr-o scurtă dar dezechilibrată istorie a provinciei (pp. 7–10). O ultimă secțiune a introducerii descrie istoricul cercetării (pp. 10–18, atât din punct de vedere al ansamblului „etnolingvistic”, cât și din perspective specifice: onomastica, limba inscripțiilor, bilingvismul. Deși bibliografia este prezentată pe alocuri ca „selectivă” (p. 15), eu o găsesc mai degrabă insuficientă. O completare a ei depășește scopul acestei recenzii; recomand totuși eseul lui Tadeusz Sarnowski, „Greek and Latin in the Moesian provinces”¹.

Primul capitol (pp. 19–33), „Hellenismos et Romanitas: o dimensiune gloto-etnică”, pornește ambițios dar nu reușește să se ridice la înălțimea așteptărilor impuse de titlu. O bună parte a surselor primare ilustrează atitudini din alte epoci (pp. 19–22, 26–27), a căror relevanță rămâne discutabilă: astfel, în opoziție cu Herodot, un Dionysios din Halicarnas nu mai amintește consanguinitatea (ὁμοιότης) printre caracteristicile esențiale, definitorii pentru ce înseamnă a fi elen (τὸ Ἑλληνικόν) și cred că acest detaliu nu este unul lipsit de importanță (Hdt. 8.144.2; Dion Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.89.4). De fapt, latura etnică este neexplorată: capitolul

¹ T. Sarnowski, „Greek and Latin in the Moesian provinces”, în *Transformation. The Emergence of a Common Culture in the Northern Provinces of the Roman Empire from Britain to the Black Sea up to 212 A.D.*, publicat online în 2007, adresa vizitată ultima oară pe 28 martie 2015:
<http://www2.rgzm.de/Transformation/Bulgaria/GriechenInBulgarien/GriechenBulgarienVIIIEN.htm>

se pierde într-o discuție superficială despre identități culturale, fără a arăta ce anume este „etnic” în privința lor. Identitățile colective sunt văzute dintr-o perspectivă esențialistă care, deși nu este articulată *expressis uerbis*, este trădată de termeni precum „etnolingvistic” și „gloto-etnic” ce revin pe parcursul întregului volum. Totodată, autoarea nu distinge abordarea constructivistă specifică unor „orientări recente” (pp. 23–24, folosind de fapt o singură lucrare, restul referințelor fiind preluate *apud* aceasta)², rezumându-se la a remarca situații „paradoxe” (pp. 24, 27). Dezordinea conceptuală aduce unele momente de umor involuntar: astfel citim despre „o elită grecească alcătuită din cetățeni romani, dar care se exprimă în greacă, dar și de romani care [...] vorbesc și scriu grecește”! (p. 24) În niciun caz nu se poate afirma, ca o constatare generală, că grecii îi priveau pe romani ca pe niște barbari, iar a susține că „egocentrismul naționalist al grecilor atinge apogeul o dată(sic!) cu Philon din Alexandria” (p. 30) este o supremă ironie: nu doar că acesta era evreu, ci avea și convingeri stoice! (e.g. *Leg.* 147). În sfârșit, asemenea discuții ar avea de câștigat dintr-o evaluare mai atentă a surselor primare. Un epitaf din Pannonia, de epocă romană târzie (*CIL* III 3576), sugerează un răspuns pentru unele din nelămuririle cauzate de „inexistența unor texte explicite” (p. 33): *Francus ego, ciues Romanus, miles in armis*³.

Al doilea capitol se ocupă cu „Interferențele etnice în onomastică” (pp. 35–58) și debutează promițător: cu circumspecție în privința posibilităților de a identifica etnii pornind de la nume (pp. 35–36), precum și cu un binevenit avertisment legat de judecățile statistice fundamentate pe cifre modeste, influențate de hazardul descoperirilor (p. 37). Tocmai de aceea discuția despre „procesul de identificare etnică a purtătorului” pornind de la componentele unui nume (pp. 37–41) este neconvingătoare, precum și utilizarea unui tip de ceramică pentru a documenta o „prezență indigenă [...] considerabilă” în teritoriul histrian (p. 41)⁴. Trecând peste surse primare citate *apud* primul volum din *Istoria Românilor* (p. 41, n. 46), găsesc pripite încercările de a lega triburile barbare din sursele narative de toponime extrase din inscripții: cele cu terminația *-dina* nu sunt cunoscute doar din zona litorală dintre Odessos și Callatis (p. 42), ci sunt răspândite pe o arie ceva mai largă – astfel, găsim un *uicus* Zinesdina Maior în teritoriul orașului Nicopolis ad Istrum, atestat într-o diplomă militară din

² Literatura este vastă, dar vezi spre exemplu D. J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity. Experiencing the Roman Empire*, Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011. Cu privire la identitate etnică în general recomand abordările din antropologie; pentru o introducere vezi S. Sokolovskii, V. Tishkov, s.v. „Ethnicity”, în A. Barnard, J. Spencer (edd.), *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, London/New York: Routledge, 2010 [1996], pp. 240–243.

³ Vezi și comentariul lui K. J. Rigsby, „Two Danubian Epitaphs”, în *ZPE*, 126, 1999, pp. 175–176.

⁴ Pentru o perspectivă critică vezi Lieve Donnellan, „Ethnic identity in the Western Black Sea Area: The cases of Histria, Kallatis and Apollonia Pontika (7th – 4/3rd centuries BC)”, în *Talanta*, 36-37, 2004–2005, pp. 210–217, 235–238.

anul 225 (*AE* 1999, 1363 = *RMD* IV 311). De asemenea, este neclar de ce toate antroponimele barbare sunt considerate trace, mai ales în contextul citării unui studiu care identifică printre ele și nume de alte origini (pp. 42–44)⁵. Sistemul onomastic greco-latin este împărțit în șapte categorii (pp. 44–50), la care se adaugă alte șase categorii ale numelor ce conțin elemente trace (pp. 51–58). Textul este susținut de 13 anexe voluminoase cu liste de nume (pp. 227–314!), simptom al interesului exagerat acordat onomasticii în detrimentul obiectivelor enunțate ale cercetării. Comentariile probează deseori carențe în metodă⁶ și în documentare. De pildă, nu cred că *Rundacio* este un agnomen tracic (pp. 57, 312), ci, mai probabil, un „nume geografic” (vezi comentariul din *IScM* V 296) care indică fie orașul Πύνδακος din nord-vestul Asiei Mici (Steph. Byz. s.v.), fie râul omonim (Plin. *HN* 5.147; Ptol. *Geog.* 5.1.2–3).

Capitolele despre limba inscripțiilor grecești (pp. 59–92) și latinești (pp. 93–134) sunt, după părerea mea, cele mai reușite din acest volum. Aici autoarea se simte cel mai în largul ei: bibliografia este la zi și comentariile sunt pertinente, prezentate succint, din păcate pe alocuri chiar telegrafic. Aspectele fonetice și cele gramaticale sunt tratate în secțiuni separate. Capitolul dedicat limbii latine este mai amănunțit, fapt datorat variațiilor mai însemnate din limba scrisă. Unele detalii ar putea fi totuși ameliorate într-o re-editare a volumului sau în studii viitoare. Tabelele supradimensionate introduse în mijlocul textului îngreunează lectura; ele și-ar găsi mai bine locul la sfârșitul capitolului sau într-o anexă. Pentru subiectul lucrării de față nu văd rostul unei liste de „ionisme”, care oricum are unele scăpări. De ce ar fi un genitiv Ἐρμιονέος (*IScM* II 375, sec. 3^p) un „ionism” (p. 64), mai ales în contextul unui scurt comentariu privind scrierea lui ο în loc ω (p. 83), ilustrat, printre altele, de un πόλεος (*IScM* III 174, sec. 1^p)? De asemenea, desinența de infinitiv -εναι/-vai pentru verbele atematiche (p. 65) este caracteristică mai multor dialecte grecești⁷: drept dovadă găsim un ἀνατεθῆναι într-un decret callatian (*IScM* III 32, sec. 1^p). Unele aprecieri sunt forțate: de pildă, *coiunx* nu este o grafie hipercorectă (p. 111).

Capitolul „Bilingvism și interferențe glotice” (pp. 135–178) se deschide cu o definiție banală: „practica folosirii alternative a două limbi se numește *bilingvism*, iar persoana respectivă *bilingvă*”. După o serie de considerații teoretice (pp. 135–139), un prim studiu de caz este cel al bilingvismului preroman (pp. 140–141), al cărui martor ar fi fost poetul roman

⁵ A. Barnea, „Etnic în mediul rural provincial roman (Moesia Inferior)”, în *Studii și articole de istorie*, 67, 2002, 45–56.

⁶ Vezi de exemplu L. Zgusta, „Some Principles of Work in the Field of Indigenous Anthroponymy of Asia Minor”, în *AION(ling)*, 6, 1965, pp. 89–99.

⁷ P. Chantraine, *Morphologie historique du grec*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1984 [1945], p. 275.

Ovidiu(!). Dincolo de speculațiile recurente în istoriografia românească privind participarea geților la viața tomitană, criticate pe bună dreptate de Alexandru Avram⁸, și despre presupusa greacă populară, o limbă „stricată” de influențe getice și vorbită „de-a lungul întregii coaste pontice”(!), versurile unui poet latin ar trebui examinate cu ceva mai multă prudență⁹.

Revenind la tema lucrării, autoarea separă în mod just inscripțiile bilingve oficiale de cele private (pp. 142–152). Meritul principal al discuției este prezentarea unor formule și termeni echivalenți. Din păcate, restul interpretărilor lasă de dorit. „Recunoașterea supremației limbii latine față de greacă, ca limbă oficială”(!) în inscripțiile private (p. 148) nu este susținută de dovezi. *IGBulg* II 600 este considerată „importantă din punct de vedere al originii personajului invocat” (p. 148), dar nu este analizată ca text bilingv (vezi precizările metodologice de la p. 139). Nu există nicio remarcă cu privire la mesajele transmise și la publicul cărui i se adresează asemenea texte: de altfel, cele mai multe inscripții nu primesc niciun comentariu. Nici analizele cantitative nu sunt mai reușite. Catalogul de texte din anexele 14 și 15 (pp. 315–327) are unele omisiuni: *IGBulg* II 695 = *CIL* III 12415 și *IGBulg* II 751 = *CIL* III 12441 nu apar deloc, iar *IScM* II 128 este inclusă cu o lecțiune care a fost deja emendată¹⁰. Pe harta 4 (p. 331) inscripțiile bilingve din teritoriile rurale apar ca descoperite în orașe, construindu-se astfel o imagine deformată a distribuției inscripțiilor în spațiul provinciei.

Capitolul se încheie cu o prezentare utilă a interferențelor lingvistice surprinse în materialul epigrafic (pp. 152–178). Comentariile sunt oportune și în general bine argumentate. Adaug aici că unele formule din epigrafia latină în care ablativul este înlocuit prin acuzativ și care apar îndeosebi în inscripțiile moesiene, cum sunt *pro salutem* (tratată în capitolul anterior, la pp. 129–130) și *ex uotum*, au fost explicate uneori prin influența limbii grecești¹¹.

Concluziile (pp. 179–185) sunt numeroase, unele discutabile, și în general prea puțin susținute de rezultatele cercetării.

Această carte are, prin urmare, multe neajunsuri. În opinia mea ar fi fost o lucrare mult mai reușită dacă s-ar fi limitat la studiul interferențelor lingvistice, într-un domeniu pe care Roxana-Gabriela Curcă îl stăpânește fără îndoială și în care demonstrează cu prisosință capacitatea de a realiza o cercetare de calitate.

⁸ A. Avram, „Coloniile grecești din Dobrogea. Aspecte ale culturii locale”, în M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, A. Vulpe (edd.), *Istoria Românilor*, vol. I, *Moștenirea timpurilor îndepărtate*, București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2001, p. 586.

⁹ R. Syme, *History in Ovid*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1978; A. A. Ezquerro, *Exilio y elegía latina: entre la Antigüedad y el Renacimiento*, Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1997, pp. 21–51.

¹⁰ S. Olteanu, „KAGA și KŌGAIONON. Datele problemei”, în *TD*, 10, 1989, pp. 215–217.

¹¹ G. Galdi, „Latin Inside and Outside of Rome”, în James Clackson (ed.), *A Companion to the Latin Language*, Malden MA/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, pp. 574–575.

Laura Dietrich, *Die mittlere und spätere Bronzezeit und die ältere Eisenzeit in Südossteienbürgen aufgrund der Siedlung von Rotbav, Universitätforshungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Band 248, Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2014, 2 vol., 343 p., 92 fig., 6 anexe, 165 pl. ISBN 978-3-7749-3885-4.*

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Cartea reprezintă o variantă prescurtată a tezei de doctorat a autoarei, susținută în 2010 la Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Freie Universität Berlin, și a apărut în binecunoscuta serie Universitätforshungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie.

Lucrarea prezintă rezultatele cercetărilor întreprinse în situl preistoric de la Rotbav, jud. Brașov, în contextul epocii bronzului și primei epoci a fierului din SE Transilvaniei. Lucrarea este împărțită în 2 volume, volumul I cuprinzând textul, iar volumul II anexe, planșe și lista bibliografică.

Volumul I este structurat în 9 capitole, însoțite de ilustrație, și se încheie cu un rezumat în limba engleză.

Capitolul I, *Die Lage der Fundstelle* (p. 1-5), este dedicat prezentării informațiilor privind cadrul geografic și caracteristicile geologice ale zonei în care este situată așezarea preistorică de la Rotbav, punctul „La Pârâuț”, demers sprijinit și de includerea a 3 planșe cuprinzând hărți și fotografii.

Capitolul II, *Die Entdeckung des Fundplatzes von Rotbav “La Pârâuț”* (p. 6-7), cuprinde istoricul descoperirii și cercetărilor realizate de-a lungul timpului în acest sit, cu menționarea lucrărilor în care au apărut informații privind respectivele cercetări.

Capitolul III, *Zur Durchführung der alten und der neuen Ausgrabungen* (p. 8-20), prezintă cercetările arheologice întreprinse în perioada 1970-1973 și în perioada 2005-2009, informațiile fiind însoțite de fotografii și planuri grupate în 9 planșe.

Capitolul IV, *Die Stratigraphie und die Befunde* (p. 21-26), este dedicat prezentării metodei de săpătură, a stratigrafiei sitului și a complexelor cercetate. Planșa IV.1 se constituie într-o reprezentare schematică a straturilor cercetate, iar planșa IV.2 prezintă sub formă tabelară concordanța dintre fazele de locuire ale așezării preistorice, structurile și complexele cercetate, și mediile culturale Wietenberg, Noua și Gáva.

Capitolul V, *Die Keramik* (p. 27-123), reprezintă unul dintre capitolele ample ale lucrării și se concentrează asupra analizării ceramicii descoperite în situl de la Rotbav. Primul subcapitol este dedicat prezentării metodei analitice utilizată de către autoare. În al doilea subcapitol se discută criteriile utilizate în cadrul analizei, de la caracteristicile degresantului, până la tratarea suprafeței vaselor, culoare, duritate, grad de porozitate, spărtură; grupele ceramice principale (ceramică fină, ceramică incrustată, ceramică grosolană, vase de tip pyraunos), acestea la rândul lor împărțite în grupe ceramice pe baza unor criterii bine definite. Al treilea subcapitol se ocupă de formele ceramice întâlnite în situl cercetat, autoarea determinând 5 grupe de forme (*Formgruppe*), cuprinzând în total 32 de forme (*Bauform*). Subcapitolul IV se concentrează asupra decorului ceramicii, autoarea definind grupe pe baza analizării motivelor decorative și combinațiilor acestora, simetriei acestora, tehnicilor decorative, relației decor – zonă decorată. Pe baza observațiilor făcute se construiește subcapitolul V, care este dedicat combinațiilor décor – formă ceramică. Întregul demers este susținut de un număr de 39 de planșe, cuprinzând desene, tabele stilistice și numeroase grafice.

Capitolul VI, *Die Kleinfunde* (p. 124-145), prezintă diferitele categorii de descoperiri mărunte, atât din cercetările vechi, cât și din cele recente: roțițe plate din lut; fusaiole din lut; mici bile din lut perforate (posibil mărgel); bile mari din lut („pietre de încălzit”); prisme mari din lut („căței de vatră” și greutăți); vase cu perforații (strecurători și afumătoare); pyraunoi; vase miniaturale; pyxide; omoplați de vită, crestați și necrestați; ace din os; străpungătoare din os; vârfuri de săgeată din os; mărgel și pendentive din os; vârfuri de săgeată din silex; mărgel din piatră; ace din bronz; alte obiecte din bronz.

Capitolul VII, *Die Siedlungsphasen* (p. 146-239), reprezintă al doilea capitol de mare amploare al lucrării, în care se discută pe larg cronologia așezării preistorice de la Rotbav. Primul subcapitol tratează cronologia culturilor Wietenberg, Noua și Gáva, în lumina istoricului cercetărilor. Subcapitolele VII.2-6 prezintă fazele de locuire: prima fază (Wietenberg timpuriu); faza 2 (Wietenberg mijlociu); faza 3 (Wietenberg târziu); fazele 4 (Noua timpurie); faza 5 (Noua târzie); faza 6 (Gáva). Subcapitolul 7 are forma unui catalog în care sunt prezentate toate complexele cercetate până în prezent, atât în cursul cercetărilor din anii 1970-1973, cât și din campaniile 2005-2007. Acest capitol este urmat de Capitolul VIII, *Zusammenfassung: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Rotbav* (p. 240-245), un rezumat al discuției desfășurate până în acest moment.

Acest extrem de interesant și foarte util demers culminează cu Capitolul IX, *Die Stellung der Siedlung von Rotbav in Südostsiebenbürgen* (p. 246-337), o amplă discuție

menită să plaseze aşezarea preistorică de la Rotbav în contextul mai larg al manifestărilor epocii bronzului şi primei epoci a fierului din SE Transilvaniei. Acest capitol cuprinde un istoric al cercetărilor privind epoca bronzului în această zonă, informaţii foarte detaliate privind cadrul geografic (inclusiv prezentarea căilor de acces), precum şi o prezentare a cunoştinţelor actuale privind manifestările culturale din SE Transilvaniei (necropole, aşezări plane şi de înălţime/fortificate, grupări de aşezări, mobilitate şi transfer în cazul culturii Wietenberg; necropole, aşezări, „cenuşare”/zolniki, mobilitate şi problema migraţiei în cazul culturii Noua; necropole, aşezări plane şi fortificate, apariţia ceramicii canelate în cazul culturii Gáva).

Volumul I se încheie cu un rezumat în limba engleză (p. 338-343), ce reuşeşte să sublinieze foarte bine principalele puncte de interes ale lucrării.

Volumul II cuprinde o serie de anexe şi planşe, ce vin în completarea informaţiei din primul volum. Cele 6 anexe sunt dedicate unor aspecte foarte diverse: anexa 1 este formată din 18 planşe cu grundurile şi profilele rezultate din săpăturile noi; anexa 2 priveşte rezultate analizelor 14C; anexa 3 prezintă rezultatele analizelor XRF asupra obiectelor din bronz; anexele 5 şi 6 prezintă rezultatele cercetărilor arheozoologice şi palinologice. Acestea sunt urmate de un număr de 165 de planşe, primele 145 cuprinzând desene ale ceramicii şi altor categorii de inventar, următoarele cuprinzând fotografii ale celor mai expresive obiecte descoperite în aşezare. Volumul se încheie cu bibliografia ce cuprinde mai mult de 450 de titluri.

Prin volumul şi calitatea informaţiei, precum şi prin modul de abordare a subiectului şi caracterul original al unora dintre ideile exprimate, lucrarea se constituie într-un instrument de lucru extrem de util şi o lectură foarte interesantă pentru cercetătorii epocii bronzului şi primei epoci a fierului.

Jean Andreau, *L'économie du monde romain*, Paris: Édition Ellipses, 2010, pp. 281, 2 pl. ISBN 978-2-7298-5331-0

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Lucrarea istoricului francez Jean Andreau, intitulată *L'économie du monde romain/ Economia lumii romane*, face parte din colecția condusă de Yves Roman „Le monde: une histoire” și reprezintă o foarte bună sinteză privind problematica economică a istoriei Romei Antice, din epoca arhaică până spre finalul Antichității, fiind totodată rodul unor cercetări îndelungate asupra activităților romane productive și de comercializare, pe de o parte, și, pe de alta, asupra dimensiunii lor sociale, juridice și politice. Dintr-un început subliniem faptul că stilul de prezentare și logica demonstrației demersului, împărțit pe șapte capitole, deoalează deopotrivă claritate și profesionalism, mărci ale scriiturii profesorului Andreau, cu care ne-a obișnuit de mai bine de patru decenii. Rigurozitatea științifică și metodologică – decelabilă prin raportarea continuă de factură analitică și comparativă atât la sursele primare de lucru cât și la lucrările moderne și contemporane – sunt dublate de o perspectivă extrem de actuală în cercetarea istorică – numim aici interacționismul care dă substanță și flexibilitate nu doar frazelor analitice ale autorului ci și concluziilor sale.

Lucrarea nu este exhaustivă și aceasta se datorează numărului limitat de pagini, aspect amintit de autor încă din introducere, dar este construită rotund sub aspect metodologic și pe un număr de date istorice (rezultat al unor interpretări din varii domenii de cercetare: arheologie, numismatică, istorie socială, antropologie, palinologie etc.) suficient pentru a se constitui într-un extrem de util instrument de lucru.

Într-un prim capitol sunt analizate interpretările istoriografice care au existat și există în literatura de specialitate de peste un veac, pornind de la așa-numita controversă Bücher-Meyer de la cumpăna secolelor XIX-XX (*Historiographie et structures de l'économie romaine* – pp. 13-50). Conținutul acestei controversă s-a construit în jurul dezbaterii privind caracterul economiei europene de-a lungul veacurilor și, mai cu seamă, în legătură cu raportarea economiei antice la tipul de producție industrială și a generat două seturi interpretative. Primul dintre ele a fost cel primitivist-evoluționist sau „minimalist” – accepție dezvoltată de Karl Bücher (1893), în care istoria Europei era văzută ca o evoluție a trei mari stadii economice, corespunzătoare unor etape istorice circumscrise, respectiv: economia

domestică specifică Antichității, economia citadină caracteristică pentru Evul Mediu și cea „națională” – pentru Epoca Modernă. Cel de-al doilea set interpretativ a fost denumit „modernist” sau „maximalist”, după facilitatea cu care promotorul lui, Ed. Meyer (1884-1902), a recurs „fără ezitare” la un aparat conceptual modern, și adopta perspectiva ciclică asupra economiei antice și a istoriei în general, fiecărui ciclu fiindu-i propriu un stadiu de creștere, unul de apogeu și unul de declin. Dezbaterile în jurul acestor două perspective sunt reluate în mai multe etape, fiecare dintre accepții fiind îmbrățișată ulterior, cu noi adăugiri și nuanțări, de alți istorici: pe linia lui Bücher asociată cu opera lui Max Weber se vor regăsi elenistul J. Hasebroeck (1933), istoricul M. Finley (1973), discipolii acestuia din urmă din generația anilor 1980-2000: R. Saller, W. Scheidel, I. Morris; pe modelul lui Meyer se vor situa M. Rostovtzeff (1926) dar și istoricii din ultimele trei decenii care critică accepția lui Finley, printre ei se pot aminti: W. Harris, A. Schiavone, P. Horden și N. Purcell.

Față de această controversă și grăitor pentru influența pe care a avut-o asupra sa profesorul Claude Nicolet al cărui discipol este, Jean Andreau preferă, mai întâi, să identifice șapte mari teme de interes și, apoi, să-și precizeze poziția, obedient exigenței de a recurge permanent la sursele antice și de a ține seamă de caracterul neuniform al dezvoltării socio-istorice a lumii romane. Privitor la aspectul legat de raționalitatea și la caracterul unitar al economiei antice, profesorul Andreau oferă o explicație pentru eșecul interpretativ al ambelor teorii: „totul depinde de sectorul (economic) despre care se vorbește și de modalitatea de a interpreta viața economică” (p. 24). Referitor la existența sau non-existența unei „politici economice la Roma” se insistă asupra necesității de a defini clar ce înseamnă a avea o asemenea politică („tout dépend de ce qu'on appelle «avoir une politique»!” – p. 24). Alte teme identificate sunt asociate problematicii piețelor, a schimbului, a concurenței, a naturii intereselor economice (teme detaliate în următoarele patru capitole). Acceptând clar că nu se poate vorbi de un blocaj tehnic în Antichitate (p. 25), autorul abordează impasul în care a ajuns dezbaterea despre orașul consumator („consumer city”) și orașul de producție, reiterând unitatea dintre spațiul urban și cel rural în înțelegerea antică a unei așezări de tip *polis* și denunțând, astfel, erorile sau exagerările interpretative moderne care nu țin seamă, de fapt, de accepția anticilor despre cetatea lor (pp. 39-43). Oricare ar fi modelul interpretativ al nucleului urban: orașul parazit – care trăiește pe seama mediului rural (M. Finley), orașul organizator al vieții socio-economice (Ph. Leveau, D. Engels, K. Hopkins) sau orașul cu o dezvoltare autonomă față de mediul rural (A. Ferdière referindu-se la lumea gallo-romană), se preferă în lucrarea de față o abordare nuanțată, cu recuperarea din toate aceste din urmă trei

accepții asupra orașului a acelor elemente care pot oferi în mod complementar tabloul cel mai complet, în funcție de perioada cronologică și regiunea geografică.

Un alt merit al acestui prim capitol este legat de sublinierea aspectelor metodologice din cercetările economice referitoare la lumea romană. În acest sens, autorul clarifică diferențele de substanță dintre interpretările izvorâte printr-o abordare inductivă (specifică numismaților și arheologice) și cele datorate unor demonstrații deductive (care aparțin istoricilor producători de analogii și creatori de ceea ce se poate numi „istoria-problemă”) și precizează că metoda bazată pe modele explicative nu poate funcționa tot timpul și nu poate suplini lipsa unei documentații istorice (p. 46-48).

Lucrarea continuă cu patru capitole de prezentare a conținutului vieții economice romane¹, cu insistarea asupra realităților din Italia, fără ca mediul provincial să fie lăsat deoparte. În aceste capitole, informațiile de factură economică provenite din sursele antice sunt interpretate în dimensiunea lor evolutivă, ținându-se seama în egală măsură de factorii fizico-geografici: întinderea și diversitatea reliefului, ale solului, ale subsolului, ale apelor și de factorii socio-istorici: evoluția statutelor socio-juridice, a construcției politice, legătura cu domeniul militar. Însă, continua raportare la controversa Bücher-Meyer (mai exact la cele șapte teme identificate), permanenta deschidere spre nuanțări, dar cu susținerea logicii demonstrative pe un fundament informațional aflat la granița discursului pozitivist, dovedesc capacitatea autorului de a îmbina discursul analitic cu cel comparatist-sintetic. Coerent în intenția de a sublinia nevoia de poziționare corectă față de economia antică, fără exagerări „primitiviste” sau „moderniste”, autorul ancorează frazele despre realitățile economice la cele care tratează evoluțiile sociale, politice și militare.

Spre pildă, atunci când analizează proprietatea funciară romană în evoluția sa, atrage atenția asupra precizărilor din sursele scrise (Cato și Columella), asupra dovezilor arheologice despre „villa romana” dar și asupra problemei forței de muncă și face o distincție netă între conceptele de „societate sclavagistă” și „economie sclavagistă”. Dacă primul concept ține mai cu seamă de domeniul social, iar aici este de urmărit în asociere cu registrul evolutiv al societății în raportare diacronică față de expansiunea romană și de domeniul politic, putându-se, astfel, accepta faptul că lumea romană este o „societate sclavagistă”, cel de-al doilea concept este mai degrabă golit de conținut, de vreme ce sectorul productiv nu a cunoscut nicicând în statul roman o dependență de mâna de lucru servilă (p. 69). În domeniul activității

¹ Aceste patru capitole tratează: agricultura, păstoritul, pescuitul și consumul de pește (Cap. II: *L'agriculture et l'élevage* – pp. 51-102), „activitățile de fabricație” cum a denumit Jean Andreau activitatea din atelierele meșteșugărești (Cap. III: *Activités de fabrication* – pp. 103-143), domeniul bancar și al vieții financiare (Cap. IV: *Banque et vie financière*) – pp. 145-167) și comerțul (Cap. V: *Le commerce* – pp. 169-199).

meșteșugărești, preponderent atestată de evidențele epigrafice, J. Andreau subliniază problema implicării proprietarilor pe ale căror pământuri sunt zone de exploatare a diferitelor materii prime, motivarea și valorizarea intereselor lor economice (de unde puțină dezvoltării unei activități competiționale în direcția comercializării), ca și raportarea instituției imperiale la acest domeniu de activitate (împărțit în cinci sectoare: textile, sticlărie, mine și metalurgie, cariere de piatră și construcții, produsele din lut ars). Pentru activitățile finaciar-bancare, dincolo de precauțiile privind semantica unor termeni antici, umplută prea adesea cu un conținut modern, dincolo de atenția care trebuie acordată evoluției în timp a înțelesului unor activități de tip bancar, se poate întâlni analiza de detaliu (precum: lipsa de diferențiere între creditul pentru producție și creditul pentru consum din lumea greco-romană, rolul economic al creditorilor prin intervenția lor în activitățile productive – p.149-50). Cât privește capitolul despre comerț, el este construit pornind de la definirea precisă a conceptelor utilizate. Spre exemplu, se face distincția clară între vânzarea directă a unor produse direct de producător și vânzarea produselor prin intermediari – singura care poate fi calificată drept activitate comercială completă (p. 169). Mai departe, autorul specifică faptul că există o mare deosebire între accepția spațială a unei „piețe” – ca loc de tranzacții – și înțelesul teoretic al acestui concept – piața ca principiu care dă libertatea de acțiune (p. 171). În ceea ce privește „concurența”, ea este pusă în relație cu conceptul de „risc”, de „fiscalitate” dar și corelat cu realitățile istorice concrete, cum ar fi: rolul libertăților (p. 181), aprovizionarea armatei și implicațiile în domeniul cererii (pp. 190 sqq.), fragmentarismul economic (idee pe care J. Andreau o împărtășește cu N. Purcell și P. Horden – pp. 178-9) și diferențele istorice dintre Occident și Orient (pp. 194-197).

În capitolul al VI-lea, profesorul Andreau revine asupra problematicei pe care a formulat-o la începutul lucrării, aceea legată de acceptarea sau nu a unei politici economice pentru Roma antică și, implicit, pentru Antichitatea clasică (*Rome avait-elle une politique économique?*- pp. 201-16). Răspunsul este unul extrem de nuanțat și legat de coerența măsurilor din domeniul economic corelate cu instanțele de decizie și de aplicare a acestor măsuri. Făcând din plin dovada unei perspective de factură interacționistă, autorul identifică axele de preocupare în domeniul a ceea ce se poate numi „politică economică”: circulația monetară, problematica, prezervarea statutelor socio-juridice și a echilibrelor sociale.

Ultimul capitol (*Remarques sur l'évolution de l'économie romaine* – pp. 217-41) este rezervat diferențelor încadrate cronologic. Mai întâi, epoca regală apare clasificată drept o perioadă de arhaism economic care precede perioada republicană a cărei dezvoltare economico-socială este legată intrinsec de expansiunea romană și de contactul cu lumea est-

mediteraneană. Apoi, este analizată perioada secolelor III-IV ale erei creștine (cu luarea în considerare a particularității și deosebirilor dintre aceste două veacuri), în care se produc transformările: dispariția domeniilor specifice epocii Principatului (sec. al III-lea), concentrări de proprietate și menținerea de progres economic dar și modificări sociale importante (sec. al IV-lea). Totuși, autorul atrage atenția asupra faptului că a considera secolul al IV-lea ca un secol de tranziție spre feudalism este o aserțiune abuzivă, căci colonul din această perioadă nu este șerbul legat de glie, încă mai coexistă munca sezonieră cu cea servilă, încă mai sunt atestate în mediul urban activități lucrativ-productive și de comercializare.

Prezența la finalul fiecărui capitol a unor texte ilustrative poate crea, pentru această lucrare de sinteză, impresia de manual. Totuși, ea depășește – prin concepția, modul de tratare și problematica ridicată – nivelul unui simplu tratat. Concluziile o probează din plin, căci nu sunt rezumative ci, mai degrabă, deschizătoare de noi direcții de cercetare: implicațiile evoluțiilor de mentalitate asupra domeniului economic, rolul elitelor și al factorilor politici, compararea economiei greco-romane cu alte tipuri de economie non-europene (îmbrățișăm² aici preocuparea pe care autorul o are și pe care o motivează pentru a evita abordările de ordin teleologic care au ca scop plasarea lumii greco-romane în evoluția de ansamblu a Europei, de unde interminabila raportare la societățile industriale cu toate implicațiile teoretice și metodologice – p. 250-51). Mai mult, valorizarea diferențelor și suplețea încadrării lor în discursul propriu dublează această sinteză istorică pe probleme economice cu o viziune antropologică asupra societății romane.

² Mărturisim, deopotrivă, că discursul referitor la regimurile economice regionale, în pofida rezonării lui cu aprecierile autorilor antice (v. Cato. *De agric.* I.1-3), este prea adesea încărcat de influențele reflecțiilor despre Comunitatea Europeană contemporană.

Cristian Olariu, *Lumea romană și barbaricum în antichitatea târzie: confruntare și metamorfoză*, (ediție îngrijită de Elena Olariu, Florica (Bohîlțea) Mihuț), București: Editura Universității din București, 2013, pp. 244, 2 hărți. ISBN-978-606-16-0315-2.

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Este lipsită de dubiu afirmația conform căreia conf. dr. Cristian Olariu a dispărut mult prea repede dintre noi, înainte de a atinge apogeul potențialului său de cercetător. Cu toate acestea, cei 16 ani de intensă activitate ca istoric, arheolog și pedagog sunt o dovadă de nestrămutat cât de aproape era de atingerea acestui punct culminant. Perseverența, seriozitatea în demers și pasiunea sa dedicate studiului antichității romane târzii sunt reflectate poate doar într-o anumită măsură în materialul publicat de-a lungul timpului, colaboratorii și studenții săi fiind cu adevărat martori ai dedicării sale deosebite domeniului de cercetare ales. Astfel, pentru a face accesibilă cunoașterea demersului științific al cercetătorului Cristian Olariu, editorii cărții de față, dr. Elena Olariu și dr. Florica (Bohîlțea) Mihuț, au decis să adune materialele publicate reprezentative pentru activitatea laborioasă a autorului, referitoare la transformarea ireversibilă a lumii romane în secole III-VI p.Chr, aflată în permanent contact cu lumea barbară ce o înconjura.

Data fiind diversitatea abordării de către autor a problematicii antichității târzii, editorii au ales să împartă materialele publicate în diverse reviste naționale și internaționale în trei părți, reflectând diferitele fațete ale cercetătorului dispărut prea repede dintre noi.

Prima parte face referire la istoricul Cristian Olariu, însumând 11 studii de istorie generală a lumii romane în Antichitatea Târzie, atât în limba română cât și în engleză, fapt ce nu poate decât să faciliteze accesibilitatea internațională atât de necesară cercetării sale. Subiectele abordate se dovedesc a fi foarte variate, de la tratarea relațiilor dintre romani și barbarii aflați la periferia imperiului, la principiile ideologiei imperiale, de la analiza unor sisteme de guvernare caracteristice lumii romane târzii la studii de prosopografie (familia senatorială a Ceionilor). Printre acestea este demn de menționat articolul referitor la o serie de considerații privitoare la sfârșitul Imperiului Roman de Apus ce stau dovadă originalității metodologice a autorului, prin realocarea titlului de ultim împărat al lumii romane

occidentale, de la Romulus Augustulus la Iulius Nepos. Această parte se finalizează cu recenzia cărții lui Vasile Nica, *The Coming of Rome in the Dacian World*, ieșită de sub tipar în anul 2000.

Ce-a de a doua parte este menită să reflecte arheologul Cristian Olariu, o fațetă a acestuia debordând de pasiune și un neobosit efort. Cele cinci studii de istorie și arheologie sunt dedicate lumii romane la Dunărea de Jos, mai exact antichității târzii dobrogene, spațiu unde și-a dedicat cea mai mare parte a cercetării arheologice desfășurate în timpul vieții. De la rapoarte arheologice rezultate în urma săpăturilor sistematice efectuate în cetățile antice Dinogetia (Garvăn, jud. Tulcea) și a Tropaeum Traiani (Adamclisi, jud. Constanța), încununate de interpretări cu valoare istorică, autorul își continuă demersul științific abordând metode inovatoare de cercetare arheologică. Mai exact, ultime două articole ale acestei părți reflectă cercetarea arheologică de suprafață în zona Peninsulei Dunavăț și a comunei Adamclisi utilizând mijloace tehnice moderne de înregistrare, GPS și GIS, sistematic cartografiind punctele de interes arheologic, în cadrul proiectelor desfășurate în colaborare cu CIMEC.

Cea de a treia parte reflectă într-o oarecare măsură pedagogul Cristian Olariu și efortul acestuia de natură epistemologică și metodologică. Cele trei studii istoriografice sunt centrate pe definirea conceptului de „Antichitate Târzie” în istoriografia autohtonă, ultimul concentrându-se asupra unui episod tulburător al secolului XX, al folosirii istoriei și arheologiei ca mijloace de propagandă totalitară în Italia fascistă.

Totodată trebuie lăudat efortul celor doi editori în primul rând în adunarea materialului de față publicat, dar și a alcătuirii cărții în sine, anexele fiind menite să faciliteze parcurgerea publicației, fie că cititorul este unul inițiat sau nu în studiul istoriei și arheologiei antice. Astfel, urmând variantei traduse în limba franceză a articolului *La periferia Imperiului. Gothia secolului al IV-lea d.Hr.*, glossarul de termeni și reperele cronologico-istorice referitoare la secolele III-VI p. Chr. aduc aminte de demersul pedagogic al lui Cristian Olariu, sistematizând informația istorică, pentru a fi cât mai accesibilă în vederea însușirii sale de tinerii studenți. Anexele sunt finalizate printr-o necesară listă de abrevieri dar mai ales cu o listă completă a publicațiilor autorului, ce nu face decât să reflecte demersul neobosit al cercetătorului. Editorii finalizează publicația printr-o listă bibliografică a lucrărilor folosite de autor în alcătuirea articolelor adunate aici, o serie de hărți și indexul mereu prezent, menite din nou să ușureze parcurgerea cărții de către cititor. De asemenea, prefața redactată de cele două editoare prezintă într-o manieră succintă dar edificatoare nu doar cartea de față, dar mai

ales caracteristicile care îl defineau pe cercetătorul Cristian Olariu, de la metodologie la subiectele abordate.

Trebuie să recunoaștem o anume dificultate în redactarea textului de față, amândoi autorii fiindu-i alături regretatului cercetător în ultimii ani de viață, mai întâi din postura de studenți, apoi din cea de colaboratori în cadrul echipei de cercetare a șantierului arheologic Halmyris (Murighiol, jud. Tulcea). Cuvintele par incapabile să exprime cu claritate cât de mult mai putea oferi domeniului Cristian Olariu. Mereu având în vedere formarea tinerelor minți ale viitorilor arheologi, neobosit în cercetarea desfășurată atât pe teren cât și în afara lui, golul lăsat în urma dispariției sale pare de necompletat. De aici și motivația existenței cărții de față, un demers puțin spus binevenit în cunoașterea, măcar în parte, a efortului științific al istoricului și arheologului care a fost Cristian Olariu.

Cronica activității anuale a Centrului de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice, anul 2013

Aprilie, 19-20 – Sesiune anuală de comunicări (17 participanți), tema **Urban și Rural în Lumea Antică**

: Drd. Oana-Elena V. PETCU; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie - *Agricultură și alimentație în Egiptul faraonic. Considerații asupra perspectivei autorilor clasici*

: Lorena STOICA; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master, anul I, Istorie și Civilizație, Secția Istorie antică și arheologie - *Dualismul administrativ în Egiptul Antic. Fenomenul dublelor capitale*

: Alexandra BUTNARU; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master, Anul I, Istorie și Civilizație, Secția Istorie antică și arheologie - *Multiculturalitatea în Alexandria secolelor IV – V*

: Drd. Margareta ARSENEȘCU; Universitatea București, Fac. de Istorie, Arheolog, DIAAIA - *Celtica Dunăreană în secolele II a. Chr. - I p. Chr.*

: Dr. Ovidiu ȚENTEȘ; Muzeul Național de Istorie a României - *Despre fondarea și evoluția primului oraș roman din Dacia*

: Dr. Adela BĂLTAC; Muzeul Național de Istorie a României - *„La țară” în lumea romană*

: Dragoș HĂLMAGI; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master, Anul I, Istorie și Civilizație, Secția Istorie antică și arheologie - *Itinerarul nautic de la Dura Europos. Călătorie și cartografie în epoca romană*

: Drd Adrian Nicolae IONESCU, Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, *Delăsarea armatelor romane din Orient: între motiv literar și realitate*

: Dana-Florentina NICOLAE, Universitatea București, Master, anul 1, Facultatea de Istorie, Cătălin MANOLACHE, absolvent, Universitatea București, Facultatea de Istorie - *Alimentație publică și ”advertising” în lumea antică*

: Luciana-Florentina GHINDĂ; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master, Anul II, Istorie și Civilizație, Secția Istorie antică și arheologie - *Arhitectura Dogon*

: Lect. univ.dr. Carol CAPIȚĂ, Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, DIAAIA - *Comunități urbane și rurale în lumea miceniană - o relație ambivalentă*

: Liviu Mihail IANCU; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master, Anul I, Istorie și Civilizație, Secția Istorie antică și arheologie - *Arché ateniană și impactul acesteia asupra relației dintre Athena și Attica*

: Corina Ruxandra GAVRIȘ-ȘTEFLEA; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master, Anul II, Istorie și Civilizație, Secția Istorie antică și arheologie - *Urbanism și Elite. Roma și orașele din Italia (secolele II a. Chr. - I p. Chr. Privire de ansamblu*

: Irina-Maria MANEA; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master, Anul II, Istorie și Civilizație, Secția Istorie antică și arheologie - *Ascensiunea Ravennei în secolul al V-lea*

: Prof. univ. dr. Ecaterina LUNG; Universitatea București, Facultatea de Istorie, DIAAIA - *Reprezentări ale orașelor bizantine în sursele narative din secolele VI-IX*

: Daniel SFREDEL; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master, Anul I, Istorie și Civilizație, Secția Istorie antică și arheologie - *Igiena în orașul roman la sfârșit de Republică*

: Lect. univ. dr. Florica (BOHÎLȚEA) MIHUȚ; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, DIAAIA - *Percepții ale lumii urbane în Epigramele lui M. Valerius Martialis*

Mai, 23 – Comunicări – 2 participanți :

: Drd. Corina COSTEA, Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea din București - *Ecouri hippocratice la istoricii sec. V î.Hr*

: Dr. Irina ACHIM, Institutul de Arheologie "V. Pârvan" din București – *Reflecții asupra arhitecturii paleocreștine din provincia Scythia Minor*

Septembrie, 6 – workshop în colaborare cu DIAAIA pe tema **Utilizarea surselor iconografice în studierea civilizațiilor antice**, cu participarea: prof. dr. Christoph UEHLINGER, Universität Zürich, Switzerland; prof. univ. dr. Miron CIHO, lect. univ. dr. Daniela ZAHARIA; lect. univ. dr. Carol CĂPIȚĂ, lect. univ. dr. Florica (BOHÎLȚEA) MIHUȚ, asist univ drd. Mihaela MARCU.

Octombrie, 24 – **Prezentarea misiunii arheologice româno-franceze din I-la Thasos, Campania iunie 2013**, de către directorul echipei colective, conf. univ. dr. Emilian

ALEXANDRESCU, Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea din București, directorul Seminarului "V. Pârvan".

Noiembrie, 2 – **Prezentarea campaniei arheologie din iunie-iulie de la Histria, sector ACS**, de către lect. univ. dr. Valentin BOTTEZ, Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea din București.

Decembrie, 12 – Comunicări – 2 participanți, tema : **De la Arenă la ecran: Anticii în receptarea modernă**: drd. Irina-Maria MANEA, Universitatea din București - *Mitul lui Spartacus în sursele scrise, din antichitate și până în prezent* ; masterand Iosif TRIF, Master IAFC, Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea din București – *Formule și arhetipuri cinematografice despre gladiatorii romani*

În lunile martie și noiembrie membrii centrului au comemorat pierderea colegilor: Cristian Olariu, conferențiar dr. al Facultății de Istorie a Universității din București, ex-director CICSA și Alexandru Suceveanu, profesor și arheolog de renume internațional, Institutul de Arheologie "V. Pârvan".

Cronica activității anuale a Centrului de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice, anul 2014

Ianuarie, 16 – comunicarea: **Prothesis, mnemosyne, anastasis – reprezentări artistice grecești ale defunctului**, prezentată de studentul Cristian-Valter MARINESCU, III, Istoria artei, Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea din București.

Martie, 12 – lansare de carte, **Cristian Olariu**, *Lumea romană și "barbaricum" – între confruntare și metamorfoză*, București, Editura Universității din București, 2014.

Martie, 26 – comunicarea: **Castrul roman de la Drajna, un scurt episod al stăpânirii romane în Muntenia**, susținută de dr. Ioana CREȚULESCU și arheolog. Lucian MUREȘAN.

Aprilie, 9 – comunicarea: **Alexandru Macedon și legenda sa în poemele Persiei Islamice**, susținută de dr. Tudor IONESCU, Institutul de Tracologie.

Aprilie, 26-27 – sesiunea anuală a centrului, cu tema : **Mit, rit și ritualuri în Preistorie și Antichitate** (18 participanți):

: Nicolae-Ciprian CREȚU; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, anul III - *Perspective antropologice și arheologice asupra riturilor și ritualurilor funerare. O sinteză*

: Radu VĂCĂLIE; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Secția Istorie, Anul III - *Rit și Ritual în Paleolitic*

: Alexandra Monica BIVOLARU; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Secția Istorie, Anul III - *Peisajul ritualic - parte componentă și formă de manifestare a ritului, ritualului și mitului*

: Dr. antropolog Alexandra COMȘA; Centrul de Tracologie al Institutului de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”, București - *Simbolismul aparte al unor morminte de tip Monteoru. O abordare de tip antropologic și psihologic*

: Alexandra-Clara ȚÂRLEA, lect. univ. dr., Universitatea din București, Facultate de Istorie - *Depunerile de obiecte de metal în Preistorie – expresie materială a unui ritual?*

: Lect. univ. dr. Daniela ZAHARIA; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, DIAAIA - *Ritul ca formă de guvernare în China preimperială și imperială timpurie*

: Dr. Ovidiu ȚENTEȚA; Muzeul Național de Istorie a României - *De ce acolo? Despre urmele distribuirii armatelor romane la nordul Dunării în prima jumătate a secolului II p. Chr.*

: Corina Ruxandra GAVRIȘ-ȘTEFLEA; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Centrul de Istorie Comparată a Societăților Antice - *Deificarea lui Claudius*

: Dragoș HĂLMAGI; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master Istorie Antică și Arheologie, Anul II - *Ἄνθρωπος φιλόμυθος / Anthropos philomythos: seducția ficțiunii în Geografia lui Strabon*

: Drd. Liviu-Mihail IANCU; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Școala Doctorală - *Hdt. 3.11 – sacrificiu, pedeapsă, jurământ, symposion? Ritual și coeziune de grup*

: Drd. Ilinca DAMIAN; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Filosofie - Școala Doctorală - *Ahile sau despre necesitatea unui erou*

: Maria BUDA; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master Istoria Artei și Filosofia Culturii, Anul II - *De la incinerare la inhumare în timpul imperiului Roman: modificări survenite pe relieful funerar*

: Mihaela DRĂGĂNESCU; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Master Istoria Artei și Filosofia Culturii, Anul II - *Ritualul urcării pe munte, o trecere de la spațiul profan la cel sacru*

: Dr. Adriana Mihaela Macsut și Drd. Ștefan Grosu; Universitatea din București, Școala Doctorală de Filozofie - *Conceptul de jertfă în lumea antică*

: Lect. dr. Renata TATOMIR; Universitatea Hyperion din București, Departamentul de Istorie - *Theurgia și riturile egiptene*

: Daniel CIUCALĂU; Muzeograf - Muzeul Județean Botoșani - *Focul în cadrul ritualurilor funerare din secolul al IV-lea p. Chr. practicate la est de Carpați.*

: Drd. Irina Maria MANEA; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Școala Doctorală - anul I - *Berserkr - între motiv literar și ritual odinic*

: Lect. dr. Florica (BOHÎLȚEA) MIHUȚ; Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, DIAIA - *Devoțiune și retorică în opera satirică a lui Persius*

Octombrie, 28 – comunicări despre antica insulă Kythira, invitați Aris TSARAVOPOULOS: **Antikythera-Aegila – a Persian ancient military base and/or island of pirates?** și Gely FRAGOU, **The Sanctuaries of Kythira**

Octombrie, 28 – comunicarea: **Dedicanți și ofrande din Zona sacră de la Histria în perioada arhaică**, susținută de dr. Iulian BÂRZESCU, Institutul de Arheologie ”V. Pârvan” din București.

Noiembrie, 20 – comunicarea **Investigații non-invazive în cercetarea arheologică – unmanned aerial vehicle/UAV**, susținută de drd. Mihai-Ștefan FLOREA, dr. Corina NICOLAE, dr. Mihai BOZGAN, dr. Marius AMARIE, dr. Kathia MOLDOVEANU, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României.

Decembrie, 9 – comunicarea **Histria 2014. Sectorul Acropola Centru-Sud (UB). Raport de săpătură**, prezentată de lect. univ. dr. Valentin BOTTEZ, Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie.

Decembrie, 16 – workshop: **Cartografie istorică (I). Imagine, culoare, simbol**, condus de drd. Mihai-Ștefan FLOREA (Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea din București) și Ionela CRĂCIUNESCU, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României.