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PAPERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Genealogies in the Ancient World

Tartu (Estonia) 2016

Introduction

Sebastian FINK[1], Vladimir SAZONOV[2]

In a recently published lecture series, originally given in Tokyo in 1986, the great French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss discussed the relevance of anthropological research, broadly defined as the "study of that 'human phenomenon'",[3] to our modern world. In his first lecture he stressed the fact that at that time (1986) the West had seemingly lost the capacity to develop sustainable models for the future or at least believe in the ideology of progress through science and technology, which had been driving its development for such a long time. He therefore suggested that we should look at "the humble societies"[4] and learn our lesson:

As a first lesson, anthropology teaches us that every custom, every belief, however shocking or irrational it may appear to us when we compare it to our own, is part of a system whose internal balance has been established over the course of centuries; it teaches us that one cannot eliminate an element from that whole without running the risk of destroying all the rest.[5]

In a broad sense, the study of Antiquity is also a part of anthropology as it provides us with insights into ancient societies and, from the background provided in the sentence above, we have to understand that all aspects of any given society are relevant to its functioning as a system. Due to the anthropological fact of birth and death, societies need to replicate themselves over generations if they want to survive. In order to remain stable every society has to develop a kinship system in order to set the relationship of its new(born) members with the others, to set rules concerning marriages and to establish rules concerning the inheritance of property.[6] Lévi-Strauss details further that in many "traditional" societies there exist tensions between social and biological parenthood, which might be relevant for us given the success of reproductive medicine, and which also brings our traditional (western,

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[3] LÉVY-STRAUSS 2013, 6.

[4] LÉVY-STRAUSS 2013, 5.

[5] LÉVY-STRAUSS 2013, 44.

[6] LÉVY-STRAUSS 2013, 45–46.

biological) concepts of parenthood into question and makes new forms of relations between parents and children possible. What Lévi-Strauss pointed out as a possibility—the widespread use of new reproductive technologies—has become a reality today.

He explained the issue using the following example of complex genealogy: *"There is also no reason, it seems, why the frozen sperm of a great-grandfather could not be used a century later to fertilize a great-granddaughter. The child would then be his mother's great-uncle and his own great*[sic]*-grandfather's brother."*[7] Lévi-Strauss hints at the fact that anthropologists have investigated many societies that have different ideas of filiation from ours, e.g., the concept of biological and social parents. Anthropology and (in our case) historical Anthropology has the potential to question the things we take for granted and to hint at new possibilities.

It is quite obvious that someone's claim of being the true heir to a powerful position like that of city-ruler or king might be questioned by more members of society than an "ordinary" person's claim of being heir to their parents' (or however they might be defined in that particular society) property and position. People holding special positions in society are therefore more inclined to justify their claims to such elevated positions using special genealogies. In short: special people tend to have special genealogies. However, even if these genealogies are special they have to be based on beliefs that are somehow acceptable in the society in question. By studying rulers' genealogies we gain insight into a central part of the organization and worldview of any given society, improving our understanding of it as a whole. Whether the genealogies discussed below might be of any help regarding the problems of our contemporary societies remains up for debate, but Lévi-Strauss surely reminds us how central the question of genealogy and filiation is and how we need anthropological evidence in order to understand that "our" biological understanding of filiation is not the only possibility.[8]

Most of the papers presented in this issue were given at a panel at the BAAS conference in Tartu in April 2016 entitled "Genealogies in the Ancient World". While not all speakers were able to turn their talks into papers, a few others agreed to write additional contributions in order to examine the phenomenon of complex genealogies using case studies from different places and epochs. Examples range from third millennium Mesopotamia to the early modern Inka Empire in Peru, and thus cover a wide expanse of time and space.

In their article "Complex Genealogies in Mesopotamia: From Mesilim to Tukultī-Ninurta I" Sebastian Fink and Vladimir Sazonov discuss several case studies of complex genealogies in Ancient Mesopotamia, focusing on Early Dynastic, Neo-Sumerian (Lagash II, Ur III) and Middle Assyrian royal genealogies from the 3rd millennium BCE, and on the Middle Assyrian king Tukultī-Ninurta I (13th/12th century BC) under whom the Middle Assyrian Empire reached

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[7] LÉVY-STRAUSS 2013, 48.

[8] One of the starting points for our interest in genealogies was the claim in the Gilgameš Epic that Gilgameš is a two-thirds god. See FINK 2013; FINK 2014.

the peak of its power. In his article entitled "On the lineage of king Telepinu" Siim Mõttus focuses on the controversial case of the genealogy of Telepinu (ruled ca 1525–1500 BC), one of the last Hittite kings of Old Kingdom who usurped power in ca 1525 and created the famous *Edict (or proclamation) of Telepinu*.

Three articles, those of Mait Kõiv, Jakub Kuciak and Stefan Scharinger, focus on Ancient Greece and thereby provide us with a broad approach to the use of genealogies in Greek texts as they study genealogies in historiography, in tragedy, and in legends and stories about a famous philosopher and school-founder.

Mait Kõiv's article "Manipulating genealogies: Pheidon of Argos and the stemmas of the Argive, Macedonian, Spartan and Median kings" details how ancient Greek authors dealt with the genealogy of Pheidon of Argos and in it he explains how different traditions concerning Pheidon of Argo's genealogy came into being. In his contribution entitled "Der Mythos im Dienst der Politik: das Beispiel der euripideischen Tragödie *Ion*" Jakub Kuciak analyzes the Euripidean tragedy Ion and discusses how the myth and genealogies given therein were influenced by the political situation in which Euripides' text emerged. These two contributions clearly demonstrate that different genealogies, be they of groups or individual persons, can make sense in different historical and political settings. In his article "A Genealogy of Pythagoras" Stefan Scharingen examines the various and partly miraculous traditions of the genealogy of the famous philosopher Pythagoras of Samos.

The last article, entitled "The Origin Myths as a Possible Basis for Genealogy of the Inca Imperial Dynasty in Ancient Peru" by Professor Tarmo Kulmar, deals with ancient Peruvian myths. As Professor Kulmar shows, these myths can be seen effectively in the context of a genealogical interpretation of the Incas' imperial dynasty.

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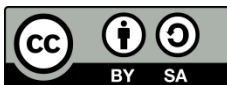
Complex Genealogies in Mesopotamia: From Mesilim to Tukultī-Ninurta I

Sebastian FINK[1], Vladimir SAZONOV[2]

Abstract. *The current article examines four case studies of complex genealogies in Mesopotamia from the 3rd and 2nd millennia BCE. The first three case studies are focused on the complex genealogies used by 3rd millennium BC kings in the Early Dynastic Period III, in Lagaš II, and in the period of 3rd Dynasty of Ur. The fourth case study deals with Assyrian king Tukultī-Ninurta I (1242–1206 BCE).*

Rezumat. *Autorii examinează patru studii de caz al unor genealogii complexe din Mesopotamia din mileniile III–II a.Chr. Primele trei cazuri se concentrează pe genealogiile complexe folosite de regii din mileniul al III-lea a.Chr. în Epoca Dinastică Timpurie III, în Lagaš II, și în perioada celei de-a treia dinastii din Ur. Al patrulea studiu de caz se ocupă cu regele asirian Tukultī-Ninurta I (1242–1206 a.Chr.).*

Keywords: Complex, Genealogies, Mesopotamia, Sumer, Assyria, Mesilim, E-anatum, Gudea, Tukultī-Ninurta I, divine origin.

1. Introduction

This article outlines four case studies of complex genealogies in Ancient Mesopotamia. The first three case studies are devoted to the complex genealogies used by 3rd millennium BC rulers in the Early Dynastic Period III, in Lagaš II (Gudea and his dynasty), and in the Ur III period. The last and fourth case study will focus on Tukultī-Ninurta I, a Middle Assyrian ruler of the 2nd millennium BC who turned Assyria into an imperial power. In all cases we will look at rulers with "complex genealogies" transcending the usual mother-father concept for a variety of reasons. Our general impression is that special people tend to have special genealogies. In the conclusion we will summarize the main strategies and main outlines of complex genealogies in ancient Mesopotamia.

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1.1. Divine origin

The genealogies of Ancient Mesopotamian rulers have a tendency to be quite complex; they have been discussed in several earlier studies, with the focus on different aspects of genealogies. These studies discuss the underlying conception of parenthood, the religious-ideological use that specific rulers made of such concepts, and the special childhood of rulers in general.[3] Besides their natural parents, some Sumerian and Akkadian rulers also mention divine ancestors.[4] In the case of Gudea of Lagaš, they even claim to have had no human father and no human mother (Gudea Cylinder A iii 6–8).[5]

Such a claim is obviously based on the assumption that the ruler's predecessors or parents were gods or divine creatures.[6] From that we can easily conclude that the ruler himself also had divine status as he inherited his divinity from his parents. However, most Mesopotamian rulers did not make such claims. With a few exceptions, Mesopotamian rulers did not use the classifier of divinity diĝir[7] ('divine', 'god') in front of their name or had themselves portrayed with the horned crown (the visual classifier of divinity).[8] One of the few exceptions is the Old Akkadian king Narām-Sîn (23rd century BC) who declared himself a god,[9] but in his surviving inscriptions we find no claim of him being the offspring of divine ancestors.

2. Early Dynastic period III

2.1. Avan and Kish

Mesilim

The first instance we want to discuss comes from Mesilim (Mesalim) of Awan (ca. 2600/2500 BC) (ED III) who also was recognized as lugal Kiš, "king of Kish"[10], which means that he was hegemon over the northern part of Sumer. The inscription reads:

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[3] E.g. WILCKE 1989, 557–71; FINK 2013, 81–107; PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 1997, 75–108; WILSON 1977; BOCK 2012.

[4] For a discussion of the divine selection of the ruler before birth see BOCK 2012, 4–28.

[5] See discussion below.

[6] SJÖBERG 1972, 87–112.

[7] See, e.g., SELZ (2008, 15): "The divine classifier, the DIĜIR-sign, is attested already in the earliest texts from Uruk, and the interpretation that the sign originated as a pictorial representation of a star is generally accepted. However, in the third millennium the use of the DIĜIR-sign for marking divine names is still somewhat restricted."

[8] On the topic of divine kingship in Mesopotamia see contributions in BRISCH 2008 and BRISCH 2013.

[9] SAZONOV 2007, 330–333; FARBER 1983, 67–72.

[10] MAEDA 1981, 1–17.

me-selim (DI) lugal-kiš dumu-⌈ki⌉-áĝ-ᵈnin-ḫur-saĝ

Me-silim, King of Kish, beloved son of Ninhursaĝ.[11]

Here Mesilim is clearly called child (dumu) of the goddess Ninhursaĝ. Without more context it is hard to give a convincing interpretation of the actual nature of the mother-child relationship of the king to this goddess, but it obviously expresses a very close relationship whether we interpret this statement in a biological or metaphorical way. In one way or another, Mesilim was definitely the child of Ninhursaĝ.

According to the rather scant evidence we can rely on today, Awan was a powerful state. In Mesilim's time it controlled large territories in Sumer, especially around Kish. Mesilim was probably an Elamite who originated from Awan.[12] He ruled over northern areas of Sumer, and perhaps his sphere of influence reached into the South.[13] Even the city-state Lagaš in southern Sumer somehow recognized his sovereignty, as we see in texts from Lagaš that mention Mesilim as a mediator in the conflict between Lagaš and its neighbouring city-state Umma.[14] Dietz Otto Edzard concluded that Mesilim was a well-known early-dynastic ruler whose fame is even reflected in proverbs, however the scarcity of sources does not allow us to claim him as an historical figure.[15]

Despite all this uncertainty, we can state that Mesilim was a famous and powerful ruler and that his extraordinary power was expressed by this divine genealogy[16] and his special relationship to Ninhursaĝ.

2.2. Lagaš

From the late Early Dynastic period (ED IIIb) the most informative and most numerous royal inscriptions come from Lagaš which was ruled by one dynasty in this period. The first ruler of this dynasty was Ur-Nanshe, and Uru-KA-gina—the correct reading of his name is disputed—was the last Early Dynastic ruler of Lagaš.[17] Inscriptions from this dynasty document the ongoing conflict with the neighbouring city of Umma.[18]

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[11] RIME 1, Me-silim E1.8.1.3, p. 71, lines 1–4.

[12] HINZ 1977, 70.

[13] Concerning Elamite-Sumerian relations see SELZ 1990, 27–43; POTTS 1982, 33–55.

[14] RIME 1 En-metena E1.9.5.1, p. 195, Col. i 1–12. LIVERANI 2014, 112.

[15] EDZARD 1997, 74.

[16] REISMAN 1970, 21: "The practice of claiming divine parentage, without denying the human, originated in the Old Sumerian period. The first Mesopotamian ruler to claim divine parentage in his own royal inscription was Mesalim of Kiš, who styled himself as the 'beloved son of Ninhursag'."

[17] RIME 1, 77–290; CRAWFORD 1977, 192–197.

[18] For a reconstruction of this conflict between Lagaš and Umma see COOPER 1983.

E-anatum

E-anatum[19] (2450–2425 BC) was first among the rulers of Lagaš who supposedly claimed to be of divine origin. In one of the most famous inscriptions from Early Dynastic times, the so-called Stele of the Vultures, E-anatum describes himself as the perfect king, designed by the gods in order to take revenge for the misdeeds of the neighbouring city of Umma.

[ᵈn]in-[ĝír]-sú-[k]e₄ [a]-ᵗeᵌ-[an]-na- túm -[ma] [šà-g]a [šu b]a-ni-du₁₁

[The god Ni]n[gir]su [imp]lanted the [semen] for E-[a]natum in the [wom]b.[20]

In the same inscription we also read about other 'family' connections between E-anatum and the gods:

ᵈnin-ḫur-saĝ-ke₄ ubur-zi-da-né ᵗmuᵌ-[na-lá]

The goddess Ninhursaĝ [offered him] her wholesome breast.[21]

é-an-na-túm a-šà-ga-šu-du₁₁-ga- ᵈnin-ĝír-sú -ka-da ᵈnin-ĝír-sú mu-da ḫúl

The god Ningirsu rejoiced over E-anatum, semen implanted in the womb by the god Ningirsu.[22]

These phrases from a lengthy and sophisticated inscription of E-anatum (*E-anatum E1.9.3.1*), along with several instances from other inscriptions, demonstrate that E-anatum claimed to be of divine origin because he stated that the god Ningirsu, main protector of Lagaš, procreated him. E-anatum constantly accentuated in his inscriptions that his power was justified by the most important Sumerian gods Enlil, Ningirsu and Inanna.[23] No less important is the fact that E-anatum was *nourished with wholesome milk by the goddess Ninhursaĝ* (ga-zi-kú-a ᵈnin-hur-saĝ-ka-ke₄).[24] To be nourished with the milk of a goddess is a recurring motif in Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions. Gebhard Selz recently traced the history of this idea of "adoption by breast-feeding" from Ancient Mesopotamia up until modern times.[25] The divine origin of E-anatum is also expressed when he states that he was *chosen in the pure heart by the goddess Nanše*[26] or *given a pleasant name by the goddess Inanna.*[27]

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[19] WINTER 1986, 205–12.

[20] RIME 1, E-anatum E1.9.3.1, p. 129, col iv 9–12.

[21] RIME 1, E-anatum E1.9.3.1, p. 129, col iv 27–29.

[22] RIME 1, E-anatum E1.9.3.1, p. 129, col v 1–5.

[23] See e.g. RIME 1, E-anatum E1.9.3.6, col i 10–col ii 2; E-anatum E1.9.3.1, col iv 18–19.

[24] RIME 1, E-anatum E1.9.3.1, p. 150, col. ii 5–6.

[25] SELZ 2018.

[26] RIME 1, E-anatum E1.9.3.4, p. 144, col i 6–8.

[27] RIME 1, E-anatum E1.9.3.6, p. 150, col ii 7–8.

En-anatum I

E-anatum's successor En-anatum I also mentioned several times that he was *nourished with wholesome milk by the goddess Ninhursaĝ.*[28] En-anatum I presented himself as a ruler who *had been chosen in the pure heart by the goddess Nanše,*[29] a typical expression of divine favour. The statement that he was *given a pleasant name by the goddess Inanna*[30] might refer to his throne name, however we have no information on how this name was selected during that period; this expression nonetheless suggests that the name, considered to be an integral part of a person,[31] was chosen by the priests or prophets of Inanna. When he called himself *son of god LUGAL-URUxKAR*[32] a clear genealogical relationship was expressed.

En-metena

En-metena (son of En-anatum I) also followed this tradition. He stressed his family ties with the gods and used more or less the same expressions as his father and his uncle E-anatum I, but in addition to that he declared himself to be the son of goddess Ĝatumdu(g):

dumu-tu-da-ᵈ ĝá-[t]ùm-du$_{10}$

Son born by the goddess Ĝatumdu(g).[33]

Several other gods contributed to his just reign and equipped him with various things necessary to be a just ruler. So, he states that Enlil granted him the sceptre and that Enki granted him wisdom.[34] En-metena, like his predecessors, also mentioned that he was the *beloved son of the god LugalxURUxKÁR*[35] and that he was *nourished with wholesome milk by the goddess Ninhursaĝ* (ga-zi-kú-a ᵈnin-hur-saĝ-ka-ka).[36] He additionally designates himself as the *chosen brother of the powerful master the god Nin-dar-a* (šeš-pà-da-ᵈnin-dar lugal-uru$_{16}$-na (KI)).[37] We can conclude that En-metena inserts himself into a whole network of divine relatives.

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[28] RIME 1, En-anatum E1.9.4.2, p. 171, col i 8–9.

[29] RIME 1, En-anatum E1.9.4.1, p. 171, col i 10–11.

[30] RIME 1, En-anatum E1.9.4.6, p. 176, col i 10–11.

[31] On the concept of the name in Mesopotamia see Radner.

[32] RIME 1, En-anatum E1.9.4.1, p. 171, col i 7–8.

[33] RIME 1, En-metena E.1.9.5.22, p. 226, lines 9–10.

[34] ESPAK 2015b discussses this god in detail.

[35] RIME 1 En-metena E.1.9.5b, p. 206, obv ii 7–obv iii 1.

[36] RIME 1 En-metena E1.9.5.18, p. 222, col i 7'–8'.

[37] RIME 1 En-metena E1.9.5.20, p. 225, lines10–12.

En-anatum II

From En-anatum II, son and follower of En-metena, we only have one short inscription. He died at a young age and only ruled for a very short period of time. However, in this inscription En-anatum II describes himself as *warrior of god Enlil, chosen in her heart by the goddess Nanše*, *chief executive for the god Ningirsu*.[38] In this one inscription he uses no universalistic expressions and does not accentuate his divine origin either but we see no reason to suggest, given the scarcity of sources, that he did not nevertheless behave in keeping with the older tradition.

Lugal-anda

Lugal-anda continued the tradition of the divine origin of rulers of Lagaš in accentuating that he was a *son of Baba* ([d]umu-tu-da-[ᵈ]ba-ba₆).[39] He additionally mentioned that he was *chosen in her heart by the goddess Nanše*.[40]

2.3. Uruk and Umma

The power of the city-state Uruk culminated in the second half of the 24th century BC when Lugal-zagesi (originally king of Umma) also became king of Uruk and conquered a substantial part of the Sumerian south. From the Lugal-zagesi period we have several royal inscriptions and some of them are quite profound and detailed.[41] Lugal-zagesi used ideas already evoked earlier in Lagaš by E-anatum and En-metena, calling himself *a son born by goddess Nissaba* and *nourished with wholesome milk by the goddess Ninhursaĝ.*[42] Lugal-zagesi, in whose inscriptions we find clear claims of world-dominion and universalistic rule,[43] also claimed to be of divine origin. This ideology of universal kingship was taken up by Sargon of Agade who defeated Lugal-zagesi and established the world's first Empire in Mesopotamia.

This short survey of the Early Dynastic evidence has demonstrated that the divine genealogies of kings are already present in the very first inscriptions from Mesopotamia that provide more detail than just the name of a king. Kings designate themselves as children and brothers of divine beings and stress their close relationship to the gods. However, we do not know how ancient these ideas are; it is hard to discern any sense of development in these

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[38] RIME 1, En-anatum II E.1.9.6.1, p. 238.
[39] RIME 1, Lugal-Anda E1.9.8.2, p. 242, col. i' 6'–7'.
[40] RIME 1, Lugal-Anda E1.9.8.2, p. 242.
[41] RIME 1, 433–438.
[42] RIME 1, Lugal-zage-si E1.14.20.1, p. 435, col i, 1–29.
[43] See FINK 2016, 57.

early texts as it is only in the Early Dynastic Period III that they start to become more detailed and reflect the royal ideology in written form. The exceptionally long and detailed texts of the Stele of the Vultures display a highly complex and sophisticated ideology of rulership that, we can say to a very high degree of certainty, was not developed from scratch for this text but was only documented in writing here for the first time.

In the following passages we will turn to another prominent document dealing with Mesopotamian kingship, namely the *Sumerian King List.*

2.4. Divine origin of the kings in the Sumerian King List

The *Sumerian King List* is a famous text, highly relevant to our understanding of the way Mesopotamians understood their history, which describes how kingship passed from city to city and from king to king. We discuss it here because it presents information on the earliest kings of Mesopotamian history. This information obviously does not need to be historically accurate and, as we will see below, the list confronts the modern historian with several problems that cannot be easily solved if we want to use it as a straightforward historical source. The text originated in the third millennium and the oldest manuscript evidence comes from Ur III times but, as is the case with many texts, it was not only copied but also changed and altered over time. A new edition of the texts might provide us with new insights concerning the history of its changes.[44]

At the beginning of the *Sumerian King List* it is described how kingship came down from heaven, therefore making it clear that history starts when the first king enters the scene:

(i)[nam].lugal an.ta.e$_{11}$.dè.a.ba [Eri]du^{ki} nam.lugal.la Eridu^{ki} Á.lu.lim lugal<.àm> mu 28,800 ì.ak Á.làl.gar mu 36,000 ì.ak 2 lugal mu<.bi> 64,800 íb.ak Eridu^{ki} ba.šub nam.lugal.bi Bàd.tibira^{ki}.šè ba.de$_6$[45]

When kingsh[ip] had come down from heaven, kingship (was) at [Eri]du[46]. At Eridu, Alulim <was> king; he reigned 28,800 years; Alalgar reigned 36,000 years; two kings reigned 64,800 years. Eridu was abandoned; its kingship was taken to Bad-tibira.[47]

Here we have no complex genealogies, but one can clearly see how this text is structured: kingship arrives at or moves to a city; then one or more kings are listed with the length of their individual reigns; and at the end the total number of kings and the lengths of their reigns are given. These abnormally long reigns have given rise to several inferred explanations as we have no explicit ancient explanations for them. In the context of the present paper it might come as no surprise to the reader that we argue that these early kings

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[44] The standard edition of this text is still Jacobsen 1939. A new edition by Gösta Gabriel is in preparation.

[45] GLASSNER 2004, 118, *SKL,* i lines 1–9.

[46] For more on Eridu see ESPAK 2015a, 53–70.

[47] GLASSNER 2004, 119.

were considered semi-divine beings—kings with supra-human life spans might just be closer to the gods than contemporary kings. However, this remains mere speculation as the text does not indicate anything to this effect in its first section. The first ruling period (five cities and eight rulers) in SKL ends with the flood and is summarized in the following way:

> uru.ki.meš 8 lugal mu<.bi> 385,200^{sic} íb.ak a.ma.ru ba.ùr <<ra ta>> egir a.ma.ru ba.ùr.ra.ta nam.lugal an.ta.e$_{11}$.dè.a.ba Kiši^{ki} nam.lugal.la [48]
>
> Five cities; eight kings ruled 385,200^{sic} years. The flood swept over. After the flood had swept over, when kingship had come down from heaven, kingship (was) at Kiš. [49]

To us the introduction of the flood seems to be the perfect dividing line between mythological and historical times, but the author had other plans for his text. While the numbers are clearly lower than before the flood they are still far from being realistic in the first dynasties after the flood. However, it is remarkable that information regarding filiation is only given in the part after the flood. At least in this regard, the flood is a divider.

The *Sumerian King List* informs us about several kings of Uruk (1st Dynasty of Uruk) which are all mythological figures from today's perspective. These kings—Meskiagasher, Dumuzi and Lugalbanda—were predecessors of the most famous king of Uruk: Gilgamesh. [50] The names of these kings were frequently written with the determinative for a divinity in the literary texts that mention them. However, the king with the most interesting genealogy, Meskiagasher, has no diĝir-sign in front of his name despite the fact that according to the text he is the son of the sun god Utu:

> É.a[n.n]a.k[a Mes.ki].ág.ga.[še.er dumu] dUtu e[n.àm lugal].àm mu 32[4] ì.ak [Mes].ki.ág.ga.[še.er] ab.ba ba.an.ku4 ḫur.sag.šè ba.e$_{11}$ [51]
>
> In Ea[nn]a, [Mes-ki'ag-ga[šer, son] of Utu, was lo[rd (and) was king]; he reigned 32[4] years; [Mes-]ki'ag-ga[šer] entered into the sea and disappeared [52]

While it is not entirely clear what is described here—the SKL might be describing a popular story at this place that is lost to us—the way of Meskiagasher reminds us about his father's way, as the sun sets in the sea and its journey was often associated with twin-mountains that mark the path of the sun. In the next lines the first "human" genealogy is given as Enmerkar is called the son of Meskiagasher:

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[48] GLASSNER 2004, 120, *SKL*, i lines 35–41.

[49] GLASSNER 2004, 121.

[50] We cannot claim this king as an historical figure. For an edition of the standard Babylonian Gilgamesh epic and an overview of the earlier tradition see GEORGE 2003; see also EMELIANOV 2015; SAZONOV 2019, 209–215.

[51] GLASSNER 2004, SKL, ii 46–iii 6, p. 121.

[52] GLASSNER 2004, 121.

En.me.kár(!) dumu Mes.ki.á[g.ga.še.er] lugal Unuki.ga lú U[nu^ki] mu.un.dù.a lugal. à m mu 420 ì.ak ^dLugal.bàn.da sipa mu 1,200 ì.ak ^dDumu.zi šuku_x uru.ki.ni Ku'ara^ki mu 100 ì.ak^53

Enmekar, son of Mes-ki'a[g-gašer], the king of Uruk, the one who founded Ur[uk], was king; he reigned 420 years; the divine Lugal-banda, the shepherd, reigned 1,200 years; the divine Dumuzi, the fisherman, whose city was Ku'ara, reigned 100 years.[54]

We can clearly see that the early kings in the SKL oscillate between humans and gods, although we do not always understand the scribes' reasoning. For example, we are at loss to explain why certain kings are deified (their name is preceded by a diĝir-sign) and some others, like Meskiagašer with a clear divine origin, are not.

To sum up: we have seen that in the city-state of Lagaš—which, remarkably, is missing from the SKL—and in the SKL itself exceptional genealogies play an important role. Kings are often designated as children of gods, are breast-fed by goddesses, are the brothers of gods, and they enjoy the special support and favour of the gods.

3. Lagaš II: Gudea and its dynasty

The texts of Gudea and his dynasty (Lagaš II) provide us with a lot of material concerning complex genealogies. The lengthy texts of Gudea, especially his Temple Hymns, are often seen as the high point of Sumerian literature and were used to define the standard for the Sumerian language.[55]

3.1. Pirig-me

From Pirig-me (22nd century BC), son of Ur-Ningirsu, we have only one inscription. Pirig-me is mentioned therein as *chosen in the heart of Nanše, named by Ningirsu, child born of Ninsun* (šàg-pa₃-dà-^dnanše-ka-ke₄ mu-pà-da-^dnin-ĝír-su-ka-ke₄ dumu-tu-da ^dnin-sún-ka- ke₄)[56] It seems that Pirig-me was the first ruler in Post-Sargonic Lagaš (Lagaš II) to claim that he had divine origin, as he accentuated that he was a *"child born of Ninsun"*.

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[53] GLASSNER 2004, SKL, iii 7–16, p. 121.

[54] GLASSNER 2004, 121.

[55] The first modern grammar of Sumerian was based on Gudea's texts. See FALKENSTEIN 1949.

[56] RIME 3/1, Pirig-me E3/1.1.2.1, lines 10–15.

3.2. Ur-Bau

The next ruler of Lagaš was Ur-Bau (ruled ca. 2157–2144 BC) who designated himself in several inscriptions as *child born of Nin-agala* (dumu-tu-da-ᵈnin-á-gal-ka-ke₄).[57] Ur-Bau represented himself as a divine ruler whose mother was the goddess Ninagala:

> I, Ur-Bau, ruler of Lagaš, child born of Ninagala, chosen in the heart of Nanše, to whom Ningirsu gave strength, whom Bau called by a favourable name, to whom Enki gave wisdom, the one assigned to the orders of Inanna, beloved slave of Lugal-U., the beloved of Dumuzzi-abzu.[58]

Ur-Bau basically copied E-anatum, En-metena and other Pre-Sargonic rulers of Lagaš by using such bynames and epithets as *child born of Ninagala, chosen in the heart of Nanše, the one assigned to the orders of Inanna, beloved slave of Lugal-U., the beloved of Dumuzzi-abzu* and *to whom Enki gave wisdom.*

3.3. Gudea[59]

The city-state of Lagaš reached the peak of its prosperity and power during the reign of Gudea (2144–2124 BC). In his article on Gudea Vladimir Emelianov points out that there are various problems concerning the genealogy of this king: *"The status of Gudea is difficult to determine. He was a god of Lagash, but lower than Ningirsu in status. His name is unique and means the position of the prophet of Ningirsu. He had only divine parents, and he named two mothers: Gatumdug and Ninsun."*[60]

According to Emelianov's hypothesis, Gudea held the status of a city god and a prophet of Ningirsu because he was the offspring of a divine marriage.[61] This seems to be a possible ritual background for all these claims about divine ancestors and would provide us with an explanation of why the kings could state such things that were obviously somehow accepted by the public. In *Statue B* of Gudea we find the following:

> *Col. ii 4–19–iii 111) Did Gudea, who has a "treasured" name, ruler of Lagaš, shepherd chosen in the heart of Ningirsu, whom Nanše regarded in a friendly manner, to whom Nin-dara gave strength, the one keeping to the word of Bau, child born of Gatumdu, to whom Ig-alim gave prestige and a lofty sceptre, whom Sul-šaga richly provided with breath of life, whom Ningišzida, his (personal) god, made stand out gloriously as the legitimate head of the assembly — when Ningirsu had directed his meaningful gaze on this city, had chosen Gudea as*

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[57] See, e.g., RIME 3/1, Ur-Bau E3/1.1.6.1, lines 7–8; Ur-Bau E3/1.1.6.2, lines 6–7; Ur-Bau E3/1.1.6.5, Col i, lines 7–8.

[58] RIME 3/1, Ur-Bau E3/1.1.6.5, COl i, lines 4–12, Col ii, lines 1–3.

[59] On Gudea see RIME 3/1; SUTER 2000; SUTER 2012, 57–88; SUTER 2013, 309–324; VACÍN 2011a, 253–275.

[60] EMELIANOV 2016, 74.

[61] EMELIANOV 2016, 63.

the legitimate shepherd in the land, and when he had selected him by his hand from among 216,000 persons...[62]

This shows that Gudea had a close connection to the main gods of Lagaš and here he presents Gatumdu as his mother.[63] Gudea was the first Mesopotamian king to compare himself to the divine hero Gilgameš (Bilgames), anticipating the later Neo-Sumerian (Ur III) king Šulgi[64] (2093–2046 BC):

[ᵈGI]Š.BÍL-ga-[m]ès(!?)-da mú-a

Grown as tall as Gilgameš.[65]

4. Ur III

We have several examples of basically all Ur III kings, but we will focus on the most prominent and famous king of this dynasty: Šulgi. He was also often represented as a king who had divine origin (however he had biological parents and his father was the founder of the Ur III dynasty Ur-Namma).[66] Additionally, Šulgi was deified during his lifetime.[67]

King Šulgi called himself son of "Geštinanna" (ᵈgeštin-an-na dumu-ni Šul-gi).[68] He is the "son born of Ninsumun" (dumu u_3-tud-da ᵈnin-sumun$_2$-kam-me-en),[69] which we also find in *Šulgi O* (sipa-ᵈšulgi dumu-ᵈninsúna-ka).[70] We have several texts that mention Šulgi as a brother or a son of the sun god Utu[71], and also as brother of Gilgameš (šeš-gu$_5$-li-ĝu$_{10}$ ᵈgilgameš$_2$-gin$_7$).[72]

From the texts discussed so far we can clearly see that these complex genealogies were present in Sumer from ED III to the time of Šulgi. However, we can then ask ourselves if this tradition of affiliating the king with the gods is bound to southern Sumerian tradition or if this kind of ideology is present all over Mesopotamia. We therefore look northwards towards Assyria for our final case study.

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[62] Statue B – RIME 3/1, Gudea E 3/1.1.7.STB: Col. ii 4–19–Col. iii 1–11.

[63] See also SUTER 2013.

[64] See, e.g., ETCSL transliteration, c.2.4.2.03, *A praise poem of Šulgi* (Šulgi C), Segment A, lines 106–107: "Like my brother and friend Gilgameš, I can recognise the virtuous and I can recognise the wicked."

[65] Cyl. B – RIME 3/1, Gudea E3/1.1.7CylB, col. xxiii, 16.

[66] KLEIN 1976, 271.

[67] Concerning Šulgi, e.g., SAZONOV 2008, 84–107; DI LUDOVICO 2014, 481–493; OBO 160/3, 152–154; VACÍN 2011b.

[68] RIME 3/2: Sulgi E312.1.2.62, lines 1–3.

[69] A praise poem of Šulgi (Šulgi A), ETCSL translation, t.2.4.2.01.

[70] KLEIN 1976; 276f., line 29.

[71] A praise poem of Šulgi (Šulgi A) – ETCSL, transliteration: c.2.4.2.01, line 79 (last visited 15.03.2019).

[72] See ETCSL transliteration: c.2.4.2.03, *A praise poem of Šulgi* (Šulgi C), Segment A, lines 106–107. A similar statement is found in ETCSL, c.2.4.2.15 Šulgi O (A praise poem of Šulgi), Segment A, lines 85–86.

5. Assyria: A new manner of Divine affiliation? God as stepfather and stepbrother

In Assyria we find the first broader evidence for complex genealogies in the inscriptions of Tukultī-Ninurta I[73] (r. 1242–1206 BC), one the most powerful and prominent kings of the Middle Assyrian Empire. His claims and ambitions are reflected in his numerous campaigns in all directions, in his royal propaganda, his royal titles and epithets, and in the foundation of a new capital for the Assyrian Empire.[74]

5.1. The case of Tukultī-Ninurta I

Tukultī-Ninurta I not only claimed to be of divine blood but also, as earlier kings had done before him,[75] to have the status of the son of the god Enlil.[76] But there is one important difference compared to previous kings: while Šar-kali-šarrī (as divine king[77]) and Lipit-Eštar (I Dynasty of Isin) claimed to be sons of Enlil (Ninurta), Tukultī-Ninurta I did not explicitly claim divine ancestry "by blood". According to the "Tukultī-Ninurta Epic" his relationship to Enlil was rather based on divine selection and adoption than on actual family ties:[78]

> 16' *ina* (AŠ) *ši-mat* ᵈ*Nu-dím-mud ma-ni it-ti šīr* (UZU) *ilāni* (DINGIR.MEŠ) *mi-na-a-šu*
> 17' *ina* (AŠ) *purussû* (EŠ.BAR) *bēl mātāti* (EN KUR.KUR) *ina* (AŠ) *ra-a-aṭ šas/turri* (ŠÀ.TÙR) *ilāni* (DINGIR.MEŠ) *ši-pi-ik-šu i-te-eš-ra*
> 18' *šu-û-ma sa-lam* ᵈ*Illil* (BE) *da-ru-ú še-e-mu pi-i nišē* (UN.MEŠ) *mi-lik māti* (KUR)
> 20' *ú-šar-bi-šu-ma* ᵈ*Illil* (BE) *ki-ma a-bi a-li-di ar-ki mār*(*i*) (DUMU) *bu-uk-ri-šu* [79]
> 16' By the fate (determined by) Nudimmud (= Ea), his (= Tukulti-Ninurta's) mass is reckoned with the flesh of the gods. 17' By the decision of the lord of all the lands, he was successfully cast into/poured through the channel of the womb of the gods. 18' He alone is the eternal image of Enlil, attentive to the voice of the people, to the counsel of the land. 20' Enlil raised him like a natural father, after his firstborn son (= Ninurta).[80]

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[73] MACHINIST 1976, 455–482; SAZONOV 2011, 235–276; LAMBERT 1976, 85–94.

[74] See SAZONOV 2016a, 63–100; CIFOLA 2004, 7–15; SAZONOV 2011, 235–276.

[75] Even the earlier Akkadian king Šar-kali-šarrī claimed to be the beloved son of Enlil, and thereby identified himself with Ninurta: *šarkališarrī 2*: ᵈ*Šar-kà-lí*-LUGAL*ʳⁱ* DUMU *da-dì-šu* ᵈ*En-líl da-núm* LUGAL A-kà-de^ki ... *"divine Šar-kali-šarrī, beloved son of Enlil, mighty king of Akkad"* (FAOS 7, 114–115; RIME 2, Šar-kali-šarrī E2.1.5.2, pp. 188–189).

[76] SIMKÓ 2013, 115–118; Емельянов 2008; RIME 4, Lipit-Eštar E4.1.5.3, S. 51, ll 27–29) [ᵈ]li-pi₂-it-eš₄-tar₂ nun za-a-še₃ ĝal₂-la dumu ᵈen-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ – "I am, Lipit-Eštar, son of Enlil". FAOS 7, 114–115; SAZONOV 2007, 325–342.

[77] BRISCH 2013, 37–46.

[78] FOSTER 2005, 301–302, lines 15'–20'; SAZONOV 2016a, 8; SAZONOV 2007, 325–342.

[79] MACHINIST 1976, 465.

[80] MACHINIST 1976, 465–466; see also LAMBERT 1957, 51, ll. 8–15.

This text describes how Tukultī-Ninurta I was *"cast into/poured through the channel of the womb of the gods."* He was also raised by Enlil *"like a natural father, after his firstborn son"*. The fact that it is explicitly stated that Enlil raised him "like a natural father" (*ki-ma a-bi a-li-di*) proves that Enlil was in reality not seen as the natural father of the king. Only through this act of adoption did Tukultī-Ninurta I become the son of Enlil, and at the same time the brother of the god Ninurta (Lipit-Eštar was described as "Ninurta" himself).[81]

The case of Tukultī-Ninurta I could be described as a new manner of divine affiliation/origin because before Tukultī-Ninurta I no Assyrian, Babylonian, Sumerian or Akkadian kings had clearly developed this concept of being the "adoptive son" of a god (in this case the adoptive son of Enlil). We cannot rule out that this was the underlying assumption in all the statements discussed above but, as far as we know, this is the first instance in which it is made explicit that the king is the "adopted" child of the god. Thanks to this process of adoption Tukultī-Ninurta I became the earthly incarnation of Enlil, "he who is the eternal image of Enlil, attentive to the people's voice, the counsel of the land."[82]

It is not entirely clear, however, how we should explain this development. E-anatum and Šulgi both mentioned divine and natural parents. Therefore, they support their claim to kingship with two different genealogies: one based on the gods and one on their human fathers. The ruler of Lagaš, Gudea (22nd century BC), mentions several times that he is the *"child born of goddess Gatumdu"*.[83] Tukultī-Ninurta I, however, places strong emphasis on his bloodline, as we will show below.

5.2. The Human Parents of the King

Tukultī-Ninurta I proudly accentuated his royal bloodline in many of his royal inscriptions, also representing his genealogy, declaring that his father Shalmaneser I was a king in Assyria, and declaring that his grandfather king Adad-nārārī I was king as well:

1) [m]GIŠ. *tukul-ti-*[d]*nin-urta* MAN KIS MAN KUR *aššur*

2) MAN *dan-nu* MAN *kib-rat 4 ni-šit aš-šur*

3) ŠID *aš-šur* MAN *šá ep-še-tu-šu*

4) UGU DINGIR. ME š *šá* AN KI *i-tí-ba-ma*

5) *kip-pát tu-bu-qa-at 4*

6) *a-na is-qi-šu iš-ru-ku*

7) *i-na kib-ra-tì ul-te-li-tu-ma*

8) *kúl-la-at la ma-gi-ri-šú qa-su*

9) *ik-šu-du sa-bit* KUR.KUR KÚR.MEŠ *mu-re-piš*

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[81] SIMKÓ 2013, 115–118; Емельянов 2008.

[82] FOSTER 2005, 301–302.

[83] See, e.g. Statue D – RIME 3/1, Gudea E.

10) *mì-is-ri* MAN *dan-nu na-mad* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ

11) NUMUN *be-lu-ti šá iš-tu ul-la-a*

12) *SANGA-su-nu i-na é-kur ù šá-pi-ru-su-nu*

13) *i-na kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ ᵈBAD

14) ⌐ú⌐-*šèr-bu-ú a-na-ku*

15) [*apil* ᵐ]⌐ᵈ⌐*šùl-ma-nu*-MAS MAN KIŠ MAN KUR

16) *aš-šur* [*apil* ᵐ*adad-É*]RIN.TÀH MAN KIŠ MAN KUR *aššur-ma*

l–16) Tukulti-Ninurta, king of the universe, king of Assyria, strong king, king of the four quarters, chosen of Aššur, vice-regent of Aššur, the king whose deeds are pleasing to the gods of heaven (and) underworld and to whom they allotted the four corners of the earth, (the king whom) they allowed always to exercise rule in the (four) quarters and who conquered all those who did not submit to him, capturer of enemy lands, extender of borders, strong king, loved one of the great gods, of lordly lineage whose priesthood in Ekur and whose rule over all people the god Enlil from of old made great, I, son of Shalmaneser (I), king of the universe, king of Assyria; son of Adad-nārārī (I) (who was) also king of the universe (and) king of Assyria.[84]

6. Concluding remarks

The evidence from different periods (Early Dynastic III, Lagaš II, Ur III and Middle Assyrian) we have discussed here demonstrates how divine genealogies were used by rulers for over 1000 years. These claims to be the son of a god, to be chosen by the gods, and to be nourished with the milk of a goddess can all be seen as expressions of the close relationship of the ruler to the gods.

As discussed above, a king's claim of divine origin could be connected with the highly disputed institution of sacred marriage. If, as Emelianov suggested, the ruler is an offspring of such a ritual then the ruler's real biological parents who participated in this ritual somehow represented the gods, and it is for that reason that it could be said that he only had divine parents, as in the case of Gudea. But this does not explain rulers like Šulgi who was deified, who accentuated in his royal inscriptions that he was the son of Ur-Nammu, and who also claimed divine origin by mentioning that his mother was the goddess Geštinanna and that he was the brother of the son-god Utu and the divine Gilgameš. It seems therefore to be the case that there was no contradiction in the eyes of Mesopotamian kings in having two fathers—one human and one divine.

The question remains of how to explain this continuity of what we call the complex genealogies of kings. One fact that should not be underestimated is that in ancient Mesopotamia temples and palaces were filled with old inscriptions. Many monuments and texts seem to have been accessible for very long periods of time and scribes, most probably

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[84] RIMA 1, Tukulti-Ninurta I A.0.78.2: 1–16.

also the scribes of royal inscriptions, liked to copy and study older texts as sources of inspiration.[85] Therefore, motifs from older texts could always come into fashion again if someone—maybe even the king himself—decided that it would be fitting to adopt the ways of the kings before him.

On the other hand, these ideas about the divine or semi-divine nature of the king were surely present in the teachings and discussions of Mesopotamian intellectuals and it seems probable that such ideas about the special nature of the king were always present, a view evidenced by literary texts such as the Gilgameš epic.

Nevertheless, even if the nature of the king remains the subject of continuous debate by Mesopotamian intellectuals and the answer to this question is thus subject to change, the underlying problem remains the same. Tukultī-Ninurta I explicitly mentions his biological human father and grandfather and stresses the fact that he was adopted by Enlil and became his "appointee" (*šakin Enlil*).[86] However, Šulgi and other kings of Ur III also mentioned their biological human fathers and at the same time they accentuated their family relations with the gods, never mentioning that they were adopted by a male god, as we see with Tukultī-Ninurta I. We can only speculate that human genealogy had become more important in the time of Tukultī-Ninurta I, an assumption supported by the fact that Assyria was basically ruled by the offspring of one family until the end of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, indicating a strong dynastic lineage in Assyria.

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[85] MAUL 2012.

[86] See, e.g., ZAIA 2018, 207–217.

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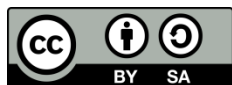
On the Lineage of King Telepinu

Siim MÕTTUS[1]

Abstract. *Sources on the reign of the Hittite king Telepinu, including the principle source in the form of an edict issued by the king himself, are unfortunately taciturn about his relationship to previous kings. Such information that we do have hints at two possibilities: he was either a son or a son-in-law of Ammuna, a previous ruler. He is tied to Huzziya I, a usurper, but the latter's position in the dynasty is uncertain as well. This article makes the case for the view that Telepinu married into the royal family rather than being born into it, and Huzziya I was a lower-rank son who had to eliminate higher-standing candidates in order to ascend to the throne.*

Rezumat. *Surse despre domnia regelui hitit Telepinu, inclusiv izvorul principal sub forma unui edict emis de însuși regele, sunt, din păcate, tăcute cu privire la relația sa cu regii anteriori. Astfel de informații pe care le avem oferă indicii asupra a două posibilități: el era fie fiul, fie ginerele lui Ammuna, un conducător anterior. El apare în conexiune cu Huzziya I, un uzurpator, dar poziția acestuia din urmă în dinastie este, de asemenea, incertă. Acest articol discută punctul de vedere conform căruia Telepinu s-a căsătorit în familia regală mai degrabă ca fiind născut în această familie, iar Huzziya I a fost un fiu de rang inferior, care a trebuit să elimine candidații cu funcții superioare pentru a urca pe tron.*

Keywords: Telepinu, Huzziya I, Hittites, royal succession, genealogy.

Introduction

Best known for the effort to stabilize and normalize the succession of Hittite royal powers, the lineage of king Telepinu (ca 1525–1500 BC)[2] is still under question. Research into his connection with the dynasty helps us to better understand the principles of Hittite succession and the instrument by which these rules were established: the edict (or proclamation) of Telepinu (CTH 19).[3]

The only information we have on his lineage is obtained from the edict itself. The focus of this text is the attempt to stop years of bloodshed over succession rights, stipulating that:

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[2] This article follows the middle chronology after BRYCE 2005, xv–xvi.

[3] For editions and translations of the document see for example BECHTEL and STURTEVANT 1935, 175–200; HOFFMANN 1984, ; GILAN 2015, 137–158; KNAPP 2015, 79–100. See also translations cited in note 17.

LUGAL-*uš-ša-an ḫa-an-te-iz-zi-i̯a-aš-pát* DUMU.LUGAL DUMU-*RU ki-ik-k*[*i-iš*]*ta-ru ták-ku*
DUMU LU[GAL] *ḫa-an-te-iz-zi-iš* NU.GÁL *nu ku-iš ta-a-an pi-e-da-aš* [(DU)]MU-*RU nu*
LUGAL-*uš a-pa-a-aš ki-ša-ru ma-a-an* DUMU.LUGAL-*ma* IBILA NU.GÁL *nu ku-iš*
DUMU.SAL *ḫa-an-te-iz-zi-iš nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an* ^{LÚ}*an-ti-i̯a-an-ta-an ap-pa-a-an-du* LUGAL-*uš*
a-pa-a-aš ki-š[*(a ru)*]

*King shall become a son (who is a) prince of first rank only. If there is no first rank prince, he who is a son
of second rank shall become King. If there is no prince, (no) male, she who is a first rank princess, for her
they shall take an in-marrying (son-in-law) and he shall become King.*[4]

Telepinu also established some countermeasures and punishments in order to avoid
further illegal usurpations. The edict begins with an historiographical prologue[5] which
remains one of the most important sources on the history of the Hittite Old Kingdom from
the reign of king Labarna (1680–1650 BC) up to the reign of Telepinu. The latter also describes,
though very scantily, the circumstances of his own accession and is unfortunately not very
forthcoming about his parentage either.

Modern scholars are divided into two camps on the matter. Some see him as the son of
king Ammuna (1550–1530 BC) who had ruled some years before him, while others see him as
his son-in-law.[6] This view usually depends on which succession principle (for example,
patrilinearity or avuncularity) they theorize to have been true for the pre-Telepinu Hittite
kingship, making the underlying inheritance system take priority over each specific case. This
article reviews the available evidence to help to resolve this dilemma.

Ascension and the position of Huzziya I

To understand the lineage of king Telepinu one must start with his predecessor Huzziya I
(ca 1530–1525 BC). Unfortunately we do not know much about Huzziya; our knowledge about
him is almost completely derived from texts attributed to his political opponent and
dethroner Telepinu. Information on Huzziya's reign comes from the edict itself and from a
few other, quite fragmentary texts — CTH 20 for example.

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[4] CTH 19 §28. Following the translation of VAN DEN HOUT 2003, 196–197. First-rank princes are those born of the king's
main wife, the queen, and second-rank princes are those born of concubines (*EŠERTU*-wives). The third option is a
kind of uxorilocal marriage, resembling the Mesopotamian *erebu* marriage, whereby the father of the bride would pay
the bride price to the future son-in-law rather than vice-versa. This son-in-law (*antiyant*) would become a member of
the bride's family and could also be adopted by the father-in-law: see BECKMAN 1986, 17; BEAL 1983, 117.

[5] The use of an historical introduction is quite common in Hittite texts, especially in Hittite vassal treaties, in which
previous relations between the Hittite kingdom and a vassal are put forth. But historical reviews are also seen in
other texts; for example, the so-called testament of Hattušili I, the edict of Telepinu, and the apology of Hattušili III.
These texts offer a complementary view to the Hittite annalistic texts. Their purpose is to give an account of events
that led to the necessity of issuing these texts and show the reason for political action. See ALTMAN 2004, 43–63 for the
Hittite historiographical prologue tradition.

[6] See notes 33 and 34 for advocates of different views.

Huzziya stepped into the political arena after the passing of his predecessor Ammuna. The edict depicts this death as a natural one, otherwise Telepinu would have certainly emphasized in the edict that Ammuna had been taken from the world by violent means. The text says that Ammuna had "become a god." This phrase was generally used for the natural deaths of Hittite kings and queens.[7]

Immediately after Ammuna's death a man named Zuru, chief of the royal bodyguard (GAL LÚ^MEŠ *MEŠEDI*[8]) at that time, sent his son[9] Tahurwaili who bore the title "Man of the Golden Spear"[10] to kill "Titti's family, together with his sons." Zuru also sent Taruhšu, a courier, to kill "Hantili together with his sons." After that, Huzziya became king. He then moved against his brother-in-law Telepinu but was dethroned and exiled.[11]

Those who were killed were most certainly heirs, and probably the sons of Ammuna, who must have had a legitimate right to the throne. Otherwise, these eliminations would make no sense in this context. One curious aspect is that the text does not directly say that Titti himself was killed, but only his family together with his sons.[12] Many authors, however, draw this conclusion.[13] This may only be a peculiarity of the wording and mean nevertheless that Titti was also killed along with his family; but if not—Titti was possibly already dead—then this may show a situation where the grandsons of the old kings were potential heirs and therefore already a threat to the usurper. The line of succession could in that case skip a generation. When we take the sequence of the events into account, i.e., Titti's family being eliminated before Hantili, then it can be argued that Titti's grandsons had a paramount right to the throne over Hantili. However we cannot be entirely sure about Titti's and Hantili's relations to the dynasty.

Although not directly stated, it is reasonable to see Huzziya as instigator of these murders because he came out of this as the main beneficiary. Why Zuru, one of king Ammuna's highest officials and possibly his own brother, would betray his lord and side with an alternative claimant is another question, especially if Huzziya's place in the royal line might have been quite modest.[14]

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[7] For analysis of the phrase, see HUTTER-BRAUNSAR 2001, 267–277.

[8] He led the royal bodyguard (*MEŠEDI*) which was responsible for the safety of the king. The duty of this band of perhaps twelve men was to prevent threats against the king's life and avert any possible conspiracies; see BIN-NUN 1973, 6–8; BURNEY 2004, 234–235.

[9] *Ḫaššannassas* DUMU-*ŠU* – "natural son" or "son of his begetting", meaning son of a prostitute; see BIN-NUN 1974, 115.

[10] LÚ ^GIŠŠUKUR.GUŠKIN. The Men of the Golden Spear were a kind of auxiliary unit of the royal bodyguard *MEŠEDI* who guarded the royal courtyard and the gates of the palace. BURNEY 2004, 235; COLLINS 2007, 102.

[11] CTH 19 §21–22.

[12] *Nu-za-kán* ^m*Ti-it-ti-ya-aš ḫa-aš-ša-tar QA-DU* DUMU^MEŠ-*ŠU ku-en-ta* – "and he killed Titti(ya)'s family together with his sons."

[13] BRYCE 2005, 103; KLENGEL 1999, 76.

[14] SÜRENHAGEN 1998, 91. The office of GAL *MEŠEDI* was usually reserved for the king's brother; see MLADJOV 2016, 22.

The position of Huzziya and the basis of his accession are clouded with uncertainty; no data on his lineage is given. Telepinu may have left out Huzziya's genealogical link to the previous king Ammuna for a reason; he did not want to display himself as a person of lower status, compared to Huzziya. Mentioning the fact that Telepinu's rank was inferior to the person he overthrew would undoubtedly put his own legitimacy into question. On the other hand, this clarification may have been omitted from the text because these events had only recently taken place and the audience of the edict was already familiar with the situation and its participants.

The only meaningful relation of Huzziya that the text reveals is that he had a sister (NIN) named Ištapariya whom we unfortunately cannot tie firmly to the previous kings either.[15] The sumerogram NIN is supplemented with the adjective *ḫantezzi(ya)* which is used both for "first, oldest, firstborn" and "first rank"[16] and various authors have also used it differently when translating this passage.[17] The second possibility seems more likely as the term *ḫantezzi(ya)* is also used later in the focal point of the edict, the succession rule where the meaning "first rank" is unquestionable.[18] The edict also points out Huzziya's five nameless brothers, and in another text about Telepinu's reign[19] seven nameless relatives are mentioned who are banished and later killed along with Huzziya himself.[20] Would not these brothers also be a threat to Huzziya's accession? The situation would make more sense if Ištapariya was Huzziya's half-sister from a rival line which was ranked higher and had priority in succession.[21] She may even have been a full sister of Titti and Hantili who were assassinated.

Huzziya may have therefore been Ammuna's son with a lower status — a second-rank son from the king's *EŠERTU* wife (concubine). He may even have been the son of an unfree woman — *paḫḫurzi*[22], meaning "bastard, extramarital progeny" who were third-tier offspring and,

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[15] CTH 19 §22; Beckman 1986, 24.

[16] Puhvel 1991, 108.

[17] "Oldest, first" — Bechtel and Sturtevant 1935, 187; Hoffmann 1984, 27; Puhvel 2005, 206; "first rank" — van den Hout 2003, 196; Kümmel 2005, 467; Goedegebuure 2006, 231.

[18] CTH 19 §28. Otherwise the succession rule would state that if there is no older son the younger son is to become the king, which defies logic.

[19] CTH 20 25'–26'.

[20] Bin-Nun suggests that these five brothers included Huzziya himself and the other four were also named in the edict: Zuru, Tahurwaili, Taruhšu and Tanuwa; Bin-Nun 1975, 219–220. It is doubtful that Zuru, chief of the king's bodyguard, was Ammuna's lower-rank son as a brother of the king usually filled this position. See Collins 2007, 102; Bryce 2002, 22. Tahurwaili is said to be Zuru's son in §22. Bin-Nun's idea that in the phrase "his son", "his" stands for Ammuna is not very convincing. Another problem lies with Tanuwa. Edict §26 clearly states that Tanuwa was sent by the higher dignitaries to kill Huzziya and his brothers, in which he was successful. It also says right after that Tanuwa, Tahurwaili and Taruhšu were banished by Telepinu; this means they could not have been Huzziya's brothers who were dead by this point.

[21] Gurney 1973, 663.

[22] Puhvel 2011, 26–27.

according to Telepinu's edict, excluded from succession after the sons of the first wife (*tawannanna*) and *EŠERTU* wives.[23]

There are also alternative possibilities. Riemschneider proposes and Sürenhagen expands the theory that Huzziya was not the son of Ammuna at all but a son of Ammuna's sister (and the GAL LÚ^MEŠ *MEŠEDI*, Zuru), supporting the theory of matrilineality.[24] But this would mean that Telepinu's (who we know to be Huzziya's brother-in-law) position in relation to the core of the dynasty would have been even more distant. He would be too far removed from Ammuna to ascend to the throne, as king's nephew's brother-in-law. Of course, this problem could be resolved with a little incest; Telepinu could still have been the son of Ammuna and wed his first cousin Ištapariya. But Hittite customs were very strict about marrying one's relatives. Sürenhagen's point that the Hittite law code does not explicitly prohibit such relations,[25] making Telepinu's marriage to his cousin possible, does not quite follow. The law code is very detailed on the subject of incest. Eight of the fifteen clauses on sexual behaviour deal with this matter,[26] so it would be only natural to assume that marrying one's cousin was also taboo.[27] There is also a treaty from over a century after Telepinu which confirms that having intercourse with female cousins was regarded as a crime punishable by death.[28]

Forlanini, who has identified papponymical traditions in the Hittite court, puts forward the assumption that Huzziya of Hakmis, a son of earlier king Hattušili I (1650–1620 BC) who is mentioned in the latter's so-called testament (CTH 6), would be a suitable candidate for Huzziya I's grandfather. In his opinion, an unnamed Chief of the Winesteward (GAL.GEŠTIN) who was in the service of Hattušili I could be the father of Huzziya I.[29] But Forlanini provides no compelling evidence for his argument. In all cases, Huzziya's lineage depends on Telepinu's parentage, which is discussed below.

Establishing for how long Huzziya reigned is also problematic. The precise years of his rule are not important in this case, but the duration is. Most chronologies give an approximate five-year period for his sovereignty,[30] which seems too long in the light of the events described in the edict. Of course, Hittite chronologies are rudimentary at best[31] due to poor use of temporal values in Hittite texts, so these dates must be taken with a grain of salt. The edict depicts the events as running their course over a shorter time span; the only deed

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[23] Bin-Nun 1975, 217–218.

[24] Riemschneider 1971, 93; Sürenhagen 1998, 90–91

[25] Sürenhagen 1998, 79, note 17.

[26] Hittite laws §189–195, 200. See also Peled 2015, 287–291.

[27] Mladjov 2016, 22.

[28] Beckman 1996, 27–28.

[29] Forlanini 2010, 124–125. See also his proposed family trees on pages 119–120.

[30] McMahon 1989, 64 – ca. 1530–1525 (middle chronology) or ca. 1470–1465 (low chronology).

[31] For problems concerning the chronology of Hittite history, see Beckman 2000, 23–25; Bryce 2005, 375–382; Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 74–109; Wilhelm 2004, 71–79.

by Huzziya during his rule described in the edict is the move against Telepinu. How can it be that Huzziya took years to try to eliminate Ištapariya and Telepinu, his rivals in succession? There is no hint of lengthy civil war for which Telepinu probably did not have enough political power anyway. It is also doubtful that Huzziya only started to consider his sister and her husband Telepinu as threats to his rule some time after his ascension. While the edict does not connect Huzziya with the murders of Titti and Hantili directly, it does tie him to the plot against Telepinu. It is uncertain if Huzziya himself tried to kill him and his wife or delegated the matter to his subordinates. In the cases of previous assassinations, the edict describes these acts in a manner that hints at the usurper's more "hands-on" approach — they themselves did the killing, but this could also be mere rhetoric. Use of the plural personal pronoun -*uš* meaning "them" in the line does suggest that Huzziya had some co-conspirators in the plot.[32]

Genealogy of Telepinu

As implied previously, determining the genealogy of Telepinu is tricky as researchers are faced with a dilemma. There are two mainstream views: firstly, Telepinu may have been the son of Ammuna;[33] secondly, he may have been the son-in-law of king Ammuna.[34] Both theories have their strong and weak points.

To start with the former (see Figure 1), the strongest evidence for this opinion is one line in the edict where it is explicitly said that Telepinu "sat on the throne of his father" — *ma-an-ša-an* ᵐ*Te-li-pi-nu-uš I-NA* ᴳᴵˢGU.ZA *A-BI-YA e-eš-ḫa-at.*[35] This is a very common phrase in Hittite texts; at least ten instances are known.[36] In most of these cases the kings who used the term were indeed the sons of previous kings, and in at least one case the adopted son. But they may not have inherited the throne directly after their fathers; sometimes they were preceded by a brother or another relative. Also, the name of Telepinu's son and expected heir Ammuna, mentioned in §27, may hint at Telepinu's connection if we believe papponymical traditions to

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[32] CTH 19 §22.

[33] This opinion is represented by GURNEY 1973, 663–664; RIEMSCHNEIDER 1971, 93–95; SÜRENHAGEN 1998, 76, 90–91; BRYCE 2005, 103, 417–418, note 35.

[34] This view was adopted by GOETZE 1957, 56–57; HOFFNER 1975, 51–53; BECKMAN 1986, 22.

[35] CTH 19 §24.

[36] For example (some with slight alternations), KBo III 27 obv. 14' (CTH 5); KUB XXVI 71 i 8' (CTH 1); KBo III 1 ii 16' (CTH 19); KBo X 34 iv 12' (CTH 700.1); KBo III 4 i 5' (CTH 61); KUB III 14 obv. 12' (CTH 62); KBo VI 29 i 23' (CTH 85.1.A); KUB XXI 17 ii 17' (CTH 86); KBo I 8 obv. 16' (CTH 92). For other terminology used for describing ascension, see BECKMAN 1986, 26–31.
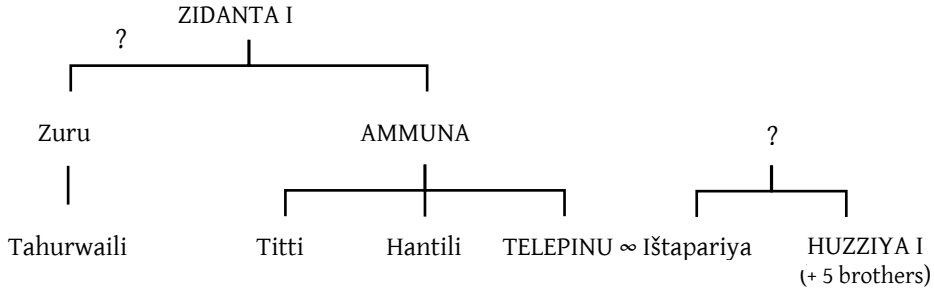
Figure 1. Telepinu as a son of Ammuna

have been present in Hittite royalty as Forlanini does.[37] But if it was possible for Telepinu to claim royal descent, why did he refrain from doing so in the edict? One could argue that Telepinu chose to distance himself from Ammuna because of the latter's violent and unsuccessful past described in the edict. It would be counterproductive for Telepinu to say "Ammuna was unsuccessful" and follow that with "I am his son." Telepinu wanted to differentiate himself from the unsuccessful rulers and present himself as a spiritual heir to the first three kings. He may even have chosen his throne name for the purpose of stressing this point.[38]

However, this genealogy would make Huzziya's ascension to power quite difficult. Would it be possible to seize the throne from such a distant position as the king's daughter-in-law's brother? Despite frequent usurpations of the throne in the Hittite Old Kingdom, these *coups d'état* were always conducted by someone from the king's immediate circle. Of course, when Telepinu said that Huzziya was Ištapariya's brother this does not necessarily imply that this was Huzziya's only tie to the dynasty as royal houses tend to be rather exclusive institutions. Huzziya did, however, come to power right after the deaths of Ammuna's possible sons Hantili and Titti, and before Telepinu, suggesting a proximate position to the king. Huzziya came into conflict with Telepinu only after the former had already entered kingship. Telepinu was therefore a problem for Huzziya, but one that could be dealt with later. One would also expect condemnation of Huzziya in that part of the edict if he had come to power from a lower position, but there is none. The edict is more concerned with how, not from which position, he rose to the throne.

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[37] FORLANINI 2010, 126–127.

[38] HOFFNER 1975, 53. The god Telepinu, Hattic by origin, was associated with fertility and assumed the role of a "missing god", like for example Dumuzi and Persephone. Choosing a name after a god whose absence meant stagnation and wilting in nature and whose reappearance brought about the revival of such natural forces would have stressed king Telepinu's similar role as a ruler who brought an end to instability in the kingdom.

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                          ZIDANTA
           ?                  |
     ┌──────────────┬─────────┴──────────────┐                      ?
                                                                     |
   Zuru                                                              |
     |          ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┤                         |
     |          |                  ┌────────┴────────┐               |
  Tahurwa    HUZZIYA I          Titti            Hantili       Ištapariya ∞ TELEPINU
           (+ 5 brothers)
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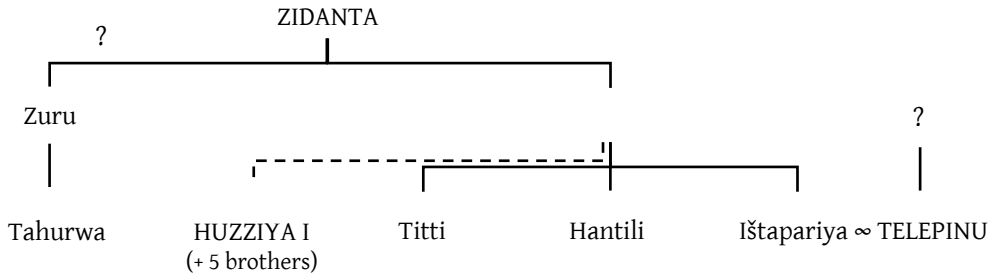
Figure 2. Telepinu as a son-in-law of Ammuna

The point of view that Telepinu was related to Ammuna only by marital ties also has its merits and demerits (see Figure 2). Not presenting his genealogy may not only have distinguishing himself from previous kings as a purpose; it may also imply that he simply could not claim to be descended from a king and his parent may have come from a more modest background. As mentioned previously, Huzziya seems to be a better fit as (a lower-rank) son of Ammuna rather than Telepinu. This would explain how Huzziya came to power before Telepinu was considered a threat. As a son-in-law of the king, Telepinu would be qualified to become king. Sons-in-law were considered eligible heirs in Hittite law and this was sanctioned by the edict itself. With this so-called *antiyant* marriage, adoption of the son-in-law was sometimes practised.[39] This would explain Telepinu's statement that he "sat on the throne of his father." It would not be the only time when the son-in-law of a Hittite king called himself the son of the king. For instance, both Arnuwanda I and his wife Ašmunikal name Tudhaliya I/II as their father on their seals.[40] But as brother-sister marriage was considered *ḫurkel* (an abomination) in Hittite society, Richard Beal has therefore proposed that Arnuwanda was an *antiyant* and merely the adoptive son of Tudhaliya I/II. Similarly, Hattušili I called his heirs "sons" although they were not necessarily so.[41]

The fact that Telepinu's son shared his name with king Ammuna does not necessarily mean that Telepinu was Ammuna's son, as Forlanini believes. Telepinu's son Ammuna could still be named with the papponymical tradition in mind because king Ammuna was still his grandfather, only from his mother's side. The son Ammuna was undoubtedly only born after Telepinu became an *antiyant* and the adoptive son of king Ammuna, so he could still name his new-born son after his step-father.

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[39] HAASE 2001, 394–396.

[40] GÜTERBOCK 1967, 31–32, no. 60: [N]A₄KIŠIB *ta-ba-ar-na* ᵐ*Ar-nu-an-ta* LUGAL.GAL DUMU ᵐ*Du-u[t-ḫa-li-ia* LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG?] – "Seal of the tabarna Arnuwanda, the Great King, son of Tudhaliya, the Great King, the hero"; [NA₄]KIŠIB ˢᴬᴸ*ta-ụa-na-an-na* ᶠ*Aš-mu-ni-kal* SAL.LUGAL GAL D[UMU.SAL ᶠ*Ni-kal-ma-ti* SAL.LUGAL GAL] Ù DUMU.SAL ᵐ*Du-ut-ḫa-li-i̯[a ...]* – "Seal of the Tawananna Asmunikal, the Great Queen, daughter of Nikalmati, the Great Queen and daughter of Tudhaliya the Great King, the hero."

[41] BEAL 1983, 115, 117.

Mladjov states that the fact that Huzziya sought to kill Ištapariya may also indicate that her status was more troubling for Huzziya than Telepinu's.[42] This may be true, but Ištapariya could still produce an heir for Telepinu, even shortly after his death, and she was therefore a danger to Huzziya. Although there were rebellions throughout the land at the start of Telepinu's reign, according to the edict, we are not aware of any direct plots against Telepinu's life. There is one plot, however, against Ištapariya and her son Ammuna in which they are killed.[43]

The understanding that Telepinu was Ammuna's son-in-law also has its counterpoints. Why did Huzziya not consider his own five-to-seven other brothers a threat? Would they not also have been in the same position as Huzziya regarding their ascension to the throne? They seemed to be working instead *with* Huzziya. This problem could be resolved if we consider Huzziya and his brothers to be Ammuna's lower-rank children born from concubines or even from unfree women. The struggle for power may thus have been between different lines of Ammuna's descendants.

Conclusion

King Telepinu's relation to the preceding Hittite rulers has been ambiguous. One thing is certain; Telepinu had to fall into one of the three categories mentioned in §28 of the edict: first-rank son, second-rank son, or adopted son-in-law. Otherwise, he would have delegitimized himself with the edict and its law of succession. Based on the limited information we have, the view that Telepinu was a son-in-law and perhaps an adopted son, and Huzziya I a lower-rank son of Ammuna, fits the evidence better. That is why Telepinu did not present his genealogy at the beginning of the document; he did not have anyone who was worth mentioning. The phrase he "sat on the throne of his father" could be somewhat true nonetheless because he could have been adopted by king Ammuna. Sons-in-law were accepted as heirs as far back as in the Old Kingdom and Telepinu sought to strengthen his (and possibly his successor's) legitimacy even further with the help of the edict. Huzziya I's ascension also makes better sense according to this reconstruction.

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[42] MLADJOV 2016, 23

[43] CTH 19 §27.

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Manipulating Genealogies: Pheidon of Argos
and the Stemmas of the Argive, Macedonian, Spartan and Median Kings

Mait KÕIV[1]

Abstract. *The article focuses on the manipulations of the genealogy of a legendarily famous Argive king or tyrant Pheidon ruling during the Greek Archaic Age (eighth to sixth century BC). The ancients did not possess any precise knowledge about his dating, which caused variable attempts to locate him in time. On the other hand, he became a target of different synchronisations which led to the manipulation not only of the Argive data, but also the genealogies of the Macedonian, the Median and the Assyrian kings. The discussion will reveal how genealogical evidence, or pseudo-evidence, was forged and manipulated for arriving at ostensibly historical accounts which, although possibly based on genuine traditions, produced visions of the past which in many points clearly did not correspond to the truth.*

Rezumat. *Articolul se concentrează asupra manipulării genealogiei faimosului regale legendary Pheidon din Argos în epoca greacă arhaică (sec. VIII–VI a.Chr.). Cei din vechime nu posedau nicio cunoaștere precisă asupra datărilor, cee ace determină încercări diferite de a-l localiza în timp. Pe de altă parte, regale a devenit ținta unor sincronizări diferite care a condus la manipulări nu numai a datelor din Argos, dar și a genealogiei regilor macedoneni, mezi sau asirieni.*

Keywords: Ancient Greece, ancient historiography, royal genealogies, ancient chronography.

When the ancient historians reconstructed the events of their earlier past they usually had to rely on the evidence from oral tradition. Very often these traditional stories, even if more or less reliable, contained no obvious clues for dating the events, which made the reconstruction of a reliable chronology a notoriously difficult task. Some help could have been received from lists of rulers, and in the case of Greece the highest officials of the poleis or the winners of the pan-Hellenic athletic games (although even these were usually later reconstructions and therefore not completely reliable), which could have given clues for dating events.[2] Such lists were however not available for every polis, and they usually did not reach back to a very

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[2] For the recent discussion of how early Greek chronology was reconstructed see HENDRICK 2002; BICHLER 2004; CHRISTENSEN 2007; KÕIV 2011. Note also HEIDRICH 1897 and SHAW 2003 who assume not only that this chronology was (re)constructed by the ancient scholars, but also, and erroneously in my opinion, that it is based on a set of fundamental misunderstandings.

distant past. The consequent lack of adequate evidence had to be compensated by speculative computations and guesswork. In some cases traditions provided genealogical data—stemmas of reputedly early rulers—which could have been mutually compared for establishing synchronisms of the crucial historical figures they included and the events connected to them. This was however elusive evidence, because the genealogies from different traditions did not match, the stemmas were modified during transmission, and the computations necessary for establishing the chronologies required additional rearrangement of the data for making different genealogies match. The manipulation of genealogies by ancient authors was therefore prone to produce diverging and sometimes frankly conflicting results.

The present article focuses on the manipulations of the genealogy of Pheidon of Argos — a famous ruler from southern Greece, who reigned during what we call the Greek Archaic Age (eighth to sixth century BC[3]). The ancients did not possess any precise knowledge about his dating, which caused variable attempts to locate him in time. His fame and reputed importance in early Greek history, however, made him a target of different synchronisations which led to the manipulation not only of the Argive data, but also the genealogies of the Macedonian, the Median and the Assyrian kings.[4] The discussion will reveal how genealogical evidence, or pseudo-evidence, was created and manipulated for arriving at ostensibly historical accounts which, although possibly based on genuine traditions, produced visions of the past which in many points clearly did not correspond to the truth.

It was generally accepted by the ancients that the early Heroic Age of Greek history, the period when the epic heroes like Herakles, Theseus, Achilles and Odysseus performed their glorious deeds, was brought to the end three generations after the Trojan War, when the Dorians from the northern parts of Greece invaded the Peloponnese and overthrew the rulers of the ancient strongholds. The Dorians were led by three brothers, the descendants of Herakles, thus known as the Herakleidai, called Temenos, Aristodemos and Kresphontes. Before or during the conquest the brothers allotted the Peloponnesian kingdoms among themselves. Temenos, the oldest and the leader of the venture according to the tradition, received Argos, the reputed homeland of their ancestor Herakles. Aristodemos was allotted Sparta, but perished during the conquest which was accomplished by Theras his brother-in-law and the maternal uncle and ward of Aristodemos' infant sons, the twins Eurysthenes and Prokles who became the founders of the two royal houses of Sparta. The third brother Kresphontes received the land of Messenia. In this way the Dorian states were founded in the Peloponnese and the Herakleid dynasties were established.[5]

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[3] All the following dates are BC.

[4] The article elaborates on and develops the research in KÕIV 2001 and 2003, 255–276.

[5] For summary of the complex account of the Dorian invasion and its aftermath for Argos see PRINZ 1979, 229–313; KÕIV 2003, 36–38, 216–217; for a recent discussion of this tradition see ZINGG 2016, 26–60. The death of Temenos is

At the beginning Argos was reputedly the strongest of these kingdoms. Temenos conquered a relatively large territory, but was murdered by his sons who completed the conquest of the district allotted to their father — the 'Lot of Temenos' including most of the north-eastern Peloponnese.[6] Temenos' grandson Medon, however, was deprived of real power and was left with only the title of king.[7] This powerless Temenid kingship continued for a number of generations until Pheidon resumed effective power. Pheidon was reputedly an extremely mighty ruler. He reunited the whole 'Lot of Temenos' which had dispersed during the reign of his predecessors, and wished to govern the whole of the Peloponnese. He compared himself to his ancestor Herakles and proceeded to celebrate the festivals which had been celebrated by the hero. He therefore invaded Olympia and presided over the holy games there, violating the custom according to which this was the privilege of the local Eleans. He established a system of measures known afterwards according to his name, and some authors even believed that he was among the first to coin silver money. However, his attack against Olympia appeared as sacrilege and he was therefore defeated by an alliance of the Eleans and the Spartans formed against him. Pheidon was allegedly killed in some skirmish in Corinth,[8] but bequeathed the power to his son Leokedes. His grandson Meltas however was expelled by the people.[9] After that, Argos was occasionally ruled by monarchs from other families, until a democratic republic was established during the first half of the fifth century.[10]

The question of the credibility of this tradition does not concern us here.[11] But it firmly identified Pheidon as a descendant of Temenos and Herakles, as demonstrated by the stories that he re-united the 'Lot of Temenos' and imitated Herakles by celebrating the festivals established by the hero. On the other hand, we will see that the later authors were uncertain

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described in Nic. Dam. FGrHist 90 F 30; Diod. VII 13.1; the conquests of his sons listed in Ephoros FGrHist 70 F 18; Paus. II 29.5.

[6] The conflict between Temenos and his sons was reputedly caused by Temenos's too friendly relations with his son-in-law Deiphontes, which made the sons to fear that Deiphontes would inherit the state (Diod. VII 13.1; Nic. Dam. FGrHist 90 F 30; Paus. II 28.3–7; Ephoros FGrHist 79 F 18. See KÕIV 2003, 38, 216–217).

[7] Paus. II 19.2.

[8] The earliest notice in Herodotos 6.127.3, the most complete account in Ephoros FGrHist 70 F 115, 176. The Olympian outrage is mentioned also in Paus. VI 22.2; the attempt to conquer Corinth in Plut. Am. Narrat. 2 (*Mor.* 772d–773b), the death in Corinth in Nic. Dam. FGrHist 90 F 35; the establishment of measures is mentioned by Herodotos (loc.cit.), Ephoros (loc.cit.) and numerous other writers (Arist. fr. 480 Rose; Ath. Pol. 10.2; Schol. Pind. Ol. XIII 27d; Plin. NH 7.198; etc.); the measures and coins were first noted by Ephoros (loc.cit.), the coinage also in Orion Etym. 118.19.

[9] Leokedes is noted in Hdt. VI 127. 3; Plut. Mor. 89e (spelled Lakydes), and Meltas son of Leokedes in Paus. II 19.2. The exposed Argive ruler in Diod. VII 13.2 may be Meltas (see ANDREWES 1951, 39–40; CARLIER 1984, 393; TUCI 2006, 210–211). The appointment of a new king after the Herakleid dynasty in Plut. Mor. 340c.

[10] For the reputed monarchs of Argos during the Archaic period, apart from the Temenids, see KÕIV 2016a, 49–51; 2016b, 332–333; the events leading to the establishment of democracy are discussed by WÖRRLE 1964, 101–129; GEHRKE 1985, 361–363; ROBINSON 1997, 84–88; BEARZOT 2006, 112–113; TUCI 2006, 216–224.

[11] See the discussion in KÕIV 2003, 239–297; RAGONE 2006, HALL 2007, 145–154.

about the number of generations between Temenos and Pheidon, and inserted different names into the supposed stemma, which indicates that there was no real tradition concerning Pheidon's close predecessors. Nor do we have any evidence for any member of the Temenid family at Argos after the end of their rule, and have no reason to think that the descendants of their last ruler Meltas were known in the classical and later periods. The genealogical distance of Pheidon from Temenos the ancestor and from the later historical periods was thus not fixed in the tradition, which allowed to propose divergent datings for Pheidon, and to manipulate his supposed genealogy.

Herodotos, the first author to mention Pheidon, said nothing about his ancestry. He noted Pheidon in passing, as the father of Leokedes who was among the suitors of Agariste the daughter of the Sikyonian tyrant Kleisthenes.[12] Since the wedding of Agariste must have taken place at ca 570, the notice of Herodotos would date Pheidon the father of Leokedes into the late seventh and/or earl sixth century (see Table 1 for the stemmas).

The earliest author to state something about Pheidon's genealogy is the fourth century historian Ephoros of Kyme, to whom we owe our most substantial account about the king. Ephoros stated that Pheidon was the 10th descendant of Temenos, which, according to how the Greeks imagined the genealogical chronology at Ephoros' time, would place Pheidon in the eighth century,[13] thus more than a century earlier than what was implied by Herodotos. We do not know what led Ephoros to place the Argive ruler to the 10th generation and thus the eighth century. However, nothing suggests that Ephoros could consult a full list of the Temenid predecessors of Pheidon (which he almost certainly did not present). Since he could not calculate the generation according to the Temenid stemma, he must have followed some other evidence that suggested the date which he expressed in the terms of generations.

The method how Ephoros calculated the genealogical dates is reasonably clear. He almost certainly counted according to the stemmas of the Spartan kings (Sparta had two kings ruling together), which were relatively firmly established by his time and thus usable as the chronological framework for early Greek history.[14] Ephoros consequently synchronised Pheidon with some Spartan kings. The exact dates of the Spartan kings before the fifth century were probably unknown to him (and were indeed probably never exactly recorded). He therefore had to count according to the generations, counting back from a certain event in his near history, almost certainly the end of the Spartan hegemony in Greece ca 370. He equalised a century with three generations, thus counting each generations as 33.3 years.

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[12] Hdt. VI 127.3.

[13] For the more exact dating of this generation in Ephoros' account see below, with note 15.

[14] The earliest preserved record of the lists of the Spartan kings is given by Herodotos (VII 204; VIII 131.2). Pausanias (III 2.1–7, 3.1–8; 7.1–10) presented them as the chronological framework for early Spartan history, perhaps following the Hellenistic Spartan scholar Sosibios (Pausanias' dates for the first Messenian war probably derive from Sosibios, as has been demonstrated by SCHWARTZ 1899, 429–431; JACOBY 1902, 128–132; 1955, 641; MOSSHAMMER 1979, 204–209) whose chronology was probably based on the genealogical counting of Ephoros (KÕIV 2001, 339–340).

With such a method he arrived at the date 1069 for the Dorian invasion (21 generations = 700 years before the fall of the Spartan hegemony ca 370).[15] The 10th generation from Temenos, which he assigned for Pheidon (counted inclusively as the Greeks usually did), meant slightly more than 300 years after the Dorian invasion, while counted from the other end of the stemma it was the 12th generation, slightly less than 400 years before the end of the Spartan hegemony. It falls thus roughly at the middle of the eighth century (ca 770–736). In the Spartan stemmas this position was occupied by the kings Alkamenes and Theopompos, whose contemporary Pheidon consequently must have been according to Ephoros. We do not know why he synchronised Pheidon with these kings. He might have known something, possibly some traditional account, which suggested that Pheidon was their contemporary, or he could have had some evidence not related to the Spartan history, which however led him to place Pheidon into the time that coincided in his counting with the generation of Alkamenes and Theopompos in the Spartan stemmas. In that case the synchronism with these Spartan kings was simply a coincidence.

There was a story connecting Pheidon with the foundation of Syracuse in Sicily, which suggested that Pheidon lived shortly before that event, thus around or before the middle of the eighth century.[16] And we know that an early third century Greek Chronicle (Marmor Parium) counted Archias, the founder of Syracuse according to the generally accepted tradition, as the 10th descendant of Temenos, thus placing him into the generation where Ephoros had placed Pheidon.[17] Ephoros may have followed the tradition connecting Pheidon with the foundation of Syracuse and thus arrived at his dating.[18]

Be this as it may, Ephoros did not give, and probably did not know, the names of Pheidon's ancestors. Soon after Ephoros, however, a precise Temenid genealogy including all the names from Temenos to Pheidon appears in the sources, but this placed Pheidon not into the 10th generation after Temenos, as Ephoros had done, but into the 6th or 7th generation, which would date the Argive ruler into the ninth century,[19] at least a century earlier than

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[15] Ephoros FGrHist 70 F 223 = Clem. Strom. I 139.3. For the genealogical chronology of Ephoros see MEYER 1892, 178–179; BUSOLT 1893, 573 n. 8, 613 n. 1; JACOBY 1902, 89 n. 13, 115–116; 1926, 101–102; PRAKKEN 1943, 73–101; KIECHLE 1963, 169–172; KÕIV 2003, 367–372.

[16] Pheidon allegedly plotted against Corinth, and the murder of a very young son or grandson of the man saving the Corinthians reputedly led to the foundation of Syracuse — see Plut. Am. Narrat. 2; Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1212; Diod. VIII 10; Strab. VI 2.4. The foundation was dated by Thukydides (VI 3.2) to 733, which seems to be roughly confirmed by the archaeological record (see recently HALL 2007, 39; OSBORNE 2009, 114; MIKOVICI 2014, 16–18).

[17] Marm. Par. FGrHist 239.31.

[18] This genealogical dating of Ephoros produced the exact dating of Pheidon into the 8th Olympiad in 748 as stated by Pausanias (VI 22.2). See KÕIV 2001, 329–343; 2003, 264–276.

[19] Marmor Parium FGrHist 239.30 following this genealogy (see below with notes 33–36), consequently dated Pheidon ca 895.

Table 1. The variants of the Median, Spartan, Argive and Macedonian royal stemmas

Epochal event	Median	Spartan (Agiad)	Spartan (Eurypontid)	Heracleid	Argive	Argive	Macedonian	Macedonian	Macedonian
Trojan War				**Herakles**					
				Hyllos					
				Kleodaios					
				Aristomachos					
Dorian Invasion		**Eurysthenes**	**Prokles**	**Aristodemos**	**Temenos**	**Temenos**	**Temenos**	**Temenos**	**Temenos**
		Agis	(Soos)		Keisos	—	Kissos	Keisos	Lachares
		Echestratos	Eyrypon		Medon	—	Thestios	Thestios	Deballos
	Sardanapallos	Leobotes	Prytanis		Leokedes	—	Merops	Maron	Kleodaios
	Arbakes 28	Doryssos	Eunomos/**Lykurgos**[21]		Meltas	—	Aristodamidas	Akous	Kroisos
	Maudakes 50	Agesilaos	Polydektes/**Lykurgos**[22]		**Pheidon**[23]	—	**Pheidon**	Aristodamidas	Poias
	Sosarmes 30	Archelaos	**Charillos**			—	**Karanos**[25]	**Karanos**[26]	**Karanos**[28]
	Artykas 50	Teleklos	Nikandros			—		Koinos	**Perdikkas**
	Arbianes 22	Alkamenes	Theopompos			**Pheidon**		Tyrimmas	Argeios
	Artaios 40	Polydoros	(Archidamos)			Leokedes[24]		**Perdikkas**	Philippos
	Artynes 22	Eurykrates	Zeuxidamos					Argeios	Aeropos
	Astibaras 40	Anaxandros	Anaxidamos					Philippos	Alketas
	Astyages[20]	Eurykratides	Archidamos					Aeropas	Amyntas
c 550	**Kyros**	Leon	Agasikles					Alketas	Alexandros[29]
	Kambyses	Anaxandrides	Ariston					Amyntas	
Persian War	Dareios	Kleomenes/Leonidas	Demaratos/Leotychides					Alexandros[27]	

[20] The list of the Median kings (from Arbakes to Astyages) in Ktesias F 5 Lenfant.

[21] The genealogical position of Lykurgos according to Simonides (fr. 628 PMG = Plut. Lyc. 1); Schol. Plat. Pol. X 599 e–d; Suda s.v. Lykurgos.

[22] The usually accepted genealogical position of Lykurgos (Dieuchidas FGrHist 485 F 5; Ephoros FGrHist 70 F 149; Plut. Lyc. 1).

[23] The genealogical position of Pheidon according to Ephoros FGrHist 70 F 115.

what was suggested by Ephoros. The first author to present such a genealogy and the consequent dating was the historian Theopompos (second half of the fourth century) writing a history of the Macedonian kingdom which had become a great power by this time.[30]

The Argead kings of Macedonia regarded themselves as the descendants of Temenos and Herakles. This was firmly established long before Theopompos. Our earliest evidence is given by Herodotos who told a story about the foundation of the Macedonian dynasty by Perdikkas, a descendant of Temenos, coming from Argos to Macedonia seven generations before the king Alexandros who ruled during the Persian Wars (reigning ca 498–454).[31] Herodotos did not indicate how many generations after the ancestor Temenos this was, but if counting the seven generations between Perdikkas and Alexandros back from the time of the Persian invasion, this would date Perdikkas roughly to the seventh century. Herodotos thus dated the foundation of the dynasty by Perdikkas many generations after Temenos and the Dorian invasion. On the other hand, in the tragedy *Archelaos* by Euripides, composed in the Macedonian court during the late fifth century, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty was called Archelaos and described as the son of Temenos.[32] Archelaos must, consequently, have arrived at Macedonia almost at the time of the Dorian invasion. The versions of Herodotos and Euripides thus clearly disagree concerning both the name of the dynasty founder— Perdikkas versus Archelaos—and the date of the foundation.

Theopompos, however, followed neither of these versions. In his account the founder of the Macedonian dynasty was called Karanos and was considered to be a son of Pheidon and the 7th descendant of Temenos. Pheidon thus appears as Temenos' 6th descendant. In the narrative account known from the still later sources Karanos however figured as Pheidon's brother,[33] and a similar genealogy was given by the Hellenistic writer Satyros who listed Karanos as a son of Aristodamidas who was the father of Pheidon according to Theopompos.[34]

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[24] The presumable genealogical position of Pheidon and Leokedes according to Hdt. VI 127.3.

[25] The genealogy of Pheidon and Karanos in Theopompos FGrHist 115 F 393.

[26] The genealogy of Karanos in Satyros fr. 21.

[27] The list of the Macedonian kings in Diod. VII 17 and in the Chronicle of Eusebios.

[28] An alternative version of Karanos' genealogy according to Synkellos 499.

[29] The Macedonian dynasty according to Hdt. VIII 137–139.

[30] Theopompos FGrHist 115 F 393 = Diod. VII 17. = Synkellos 499.

[31] Hdt. VIII 137–139. The Argive and Temenid provenance of the Macedonia dynasty was noted also by Thukydides (II 99.2). For the history of the early Macedonian kings see SPRAWSKI 2010.

[32] Besides this, Euripides might have composed the tragedies *Temenos* and *Temenidai* devoted to this subject — see DASCALAKIS 1965, 109 with n. 33. The plot of *Archelaos* is known from Hyginus. Fab. 119. According to this story Archelaos excelled in the conquest of the Peloponnese, but was expelled from Argos by his brothers and emigrated to Macedonia where he obtained the kingship (see also Dio Chrysost. IV 71; P.Mich. 1313; the discussion in HARDER 1979; RUSTER 1980). We cannot tell if the plot was invented by Euripides (see HARDER 1979, 12) or derives from the common heritage of the Greek tradition (see RUSTER 1980, 41–42).

[33] Synkellos 373, 499.

[34] Satyros fr. 21.

The genealogies given by both Theopompos and Satyros thus connected Karanos with Pheidon, diverging at the point of whether he was Pheidon's brother or son. In both these variants Karanos was the 7th descendant from Temenos, while Pheidon was either the 6th, when listed as Karanos' father, or the 7th, when listed as his brother. Pheidon was also counted as the 7th descendant of Temenos in Marmor Parium.[35] Still another list of the Temenid ancestors of Karanos, completely different from the previous two, counted Karanos as the 8th descendant of Temenos.[36]

The account that the Macedonian dynasty descended from Temenos and Herakles was probably promoted traditionally by the Macedonian kings, but as made clear by the gravely divergent versions, the exact pedigree was far from certain. Even the name of the putative ancestor varied, and the approximate time when he came to Macedonia diverged largely in different versions, ranging from immediately after the Dorian invasion indicated by Archelaos in Euripides to the seventh century suggested by the stemma of Perdikkas in Herodotos.

The reason for these different versions can be guessed. We cannot tell what led Herodotos to posit the particular generation for Perdikkas, but we can assume that the historian followed a Macedonian tradition and can perhaps believe that the rulers between Perdikkas and Alexandros that Herodotos counted were given by a genuine oral account.[37] The reason for positing a direct connection of the dynasty founder with either Temenos or Pheidon seems however obvious. For the Macedonians it was clearly reasonable to claim that their dynasty founder was a son of Temenos the famous Herakleid leader, exactly as Euripides presented Archelaos. In the case of Karanos the underlying assumption seems equally clear: the founder of the dynasty was connected to Pheidon the legendarily mighty Argive king.

What is however not so obvious, is the reason why Theopompos and his followers picked on this particular generation, the 6th and/or 7th from Temenos. Ephoros had indeed placed Pheidon as the 10th descendant of Temenos, dating him thus around the middle of the eighth century, while Herodotos had introduced Pheidon's son Leokedes among the suitors of Agariste the daughter of the Sikyonian tyrant Kleisthens, thus in a wedding that took place ca 570, which would place Pheidon into the late seventh or early sixth century. When Theopompos synchronised Karanos and Pheidon, he however placed the Argive ruler into the

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[35] Marm. Par. FGrHist 239.30 where Pheidon is counted as the 11th descendant of Herakles. According to the standard genealogy, Temenos was the son of Aristomachos, the grandson of Kleodaios, the grand-grandson of Hyllos and the grand-grand-grandson of Herakles (Hdt. VI 52.1; VII 204; VIII 131.2, counting the stemma of Temenos' brother Aristodemos; Paus. I 35.8; II 7.6, 18.7; III 15.10), thus the 4th descendant (counted inclusively) of Herakles. The 11th descendant of Herakles is thus inevitably the 7th from Temenos, which indicates that Pheidon was considered to be Karanos' brother.

[36] Synkellos 499.

[37] SPRAWSKI 2010, 129.

generation which suggests a ninth century dating, a much earlier date than any previous author had proposed.

For explaining this we must look in two directions: towards Asia and towards Sparta. Sparta had been the mightiest Greek state before the rise of the Macedonian hegemony while the Empires of Asia were viewed by the Greeks as the paradigmatic 'other' whose power was replaced by the Greco-Macedonian domination through the conquest of Alexander the Great. Consequently, the Macedonian empire could have been seen as the successor of the Spartan hegemony in Greece and of the Persian rule over Asia. This made it natural to seek a synchronism between the foundation of the Macedonian dynasty and some epochal event in either the Asian or Spartan history, or in both of them.

This was demonstrably the case. We know that Velleius Paterculus, a historian from the early Roman Empire, explicitly synchronised four epochal events in world history:[38]

– the defeat of the last Assyrian king Sardanapallos by the Medes and the beginning of the Median hegemony in Asia;

– the legislation of Lykurgos at Sparta;

– the foundation of Carthage;

– the foundation of the Macedonian dynasty by Karanos who was, according to him, the 11th descendant of Herakles, which means the 7th from Temenos.[39]

The significance of these events for the Romans, the Greeks and the Macedonians is obvious. Macedonia and Carthage had been the main opponents for the Romans; the Medes were known as the close relatives and direct predecessors of the Persians, from whom the latter had almost inherited their rule; and the Lykurgan legislation at Sparta was generally considered as the pledge, and sometimes as the starting point, of the Spartan hegemony in Greece.[40]

The synchronisation of these events was by no means an invention of Velleius. Already during the Hellenistic period the historian and grammarian Kastor of Rhodos had synchronised the last Assyrian king Sardanapallos with the legislation of Lykurgos at Sparta.[41] And we find the traces of the synchronisation of these events in still later sources.[42] As Karanos was since the time of Theopompos connected to Pheidon, we obviously must add Pheidon to this synchronism, which gives us the following set: Sardanapallos–Lykurgos–Pheidon–Karanos (leaving aside Carthage which was important for the Romans and thus for Velleius, but not necessarily for the Greeks).

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[38] Velleius I 6.

[39] See note 35 above.

[40] Hdt. 1.65; Nic. Dam. FGrHist 90 F 56; Plut. Lyc. 30.

[41] Kastor FGrHist 250 F 1d no. 37.

[42] Velleius I 6 seems to have dated the synchronism to 65 years before the foundation of Rome, thus to 818, which appears as the date of the end of Sardanapallos / the beginning of the Median dynasty founded by Arbakos, and of the Lykurgan legislation in the chronicle of Eusebios (Eus. Chron. II 75 Abr. 1198 Schoene; Helm 83–84 = the year 819).

The acknowledgement of this synchronisation does not, however, resolve the question of why this particular generation—the 6th or 7th from Temenos (the 10th or 11th from Herakles)—was picked for Karanos and Pheidon. This could not have been calculated according to the Macedonian genealogy. The stemma that Herodotos gave for the Macedonian founder Perdikkas was clearly too short to produce this position. When counted back from the king Alexandros ruling during the Persian Wars, the stemma would have placed Perdikkas to the 12th generations after Temenos. The later chronographers added two names to the Herodotean stemma, inserted between Perdikkas and Karanos, which pushed Karanos two generations earlier into the past, but even this extended version was too short to reach to the 7th generation from Temenos. Nor could this position have been counted according to the stemma of Pheidon, because, as stated above, there is no indication that the ancients had any traditionally inherited list of the Temenid kings to count upon, and Ephoros had indeed dated Pheidon four to three generations later. This leaves us with the evidence concerning Media/Assyria and Sparta as the possible basis for the calculation.

For the Median kings we know the diverging stemmas given by Herodotos and Diodoros, the latter following the *Persika* ('Persian History') of the early fourth century historian Ktesias.[43] The list of Herodotos contains only four median rulers (Deiokes–Phraortes–Kyaxares–Astyages)[44] who, when added to the two or three generations of the following Persian kings Kyros, Kambyses and Dareios, would make Deiokes the founder of the Median dynasty an approximate contemporary of Perdikkas whom Herodotos indeed counted as the founder of the Macedonian dynasty. However, we have no indication that Herodotos intended this synchronisation. In any case, he certainly did not equate the beginning of Deiokes' rule with the fall of Assyria, and thus with the beginning of the Median hegemony in Asia, because he ascribed the conquest of Ninos (Niniveh) by the Medians to Kyaxares the grandson of Deiokes.[45]

Ktesias, followed by Diodoros, on the other hand, gives a completely different list of nine Median kings beginning with Arbakes and ending with Astyages (Astyigas in Ktesias) the last Median king according to Herodotos.[46] And he let Arbakes defeat Sardanapallos, thus equalising the establishment of the Median dynasty with the fall of the Assyrian empire.[47] We do not know which source or sources Ktesias used, but if he was the physician of the

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[43] On Ktesias and his work see especially LENFANT 2004, VII–LXXXXI; LLEWELLYN-JONES 2012; WATERS 2016.

[44] Hdt. I 96–107.

[45] Hdt. I 106.

[46] Ktesias F 5 Lenfant = Diod. II 32.4–34.

[47] Ktesias F 1b (= Diod. II 27–28); F 1q (= Athen. XII 38); F 5 (= Diod. II 32.4); see also F 1oβ (= Agathias Hist. II 25.4–6) Lenfant.

Persian king Artaxerxes II as the ancient tradition claims,[48] we could assume that he relied on some traditions current in the Persian court. However, the list of the Median kings he presented is clearly unrealistic, demonstrated by the very number, seven, of the kings inserted between Arbakes the supposed destroyer of the Assyrian empire with its capital Niniveh, an event which took place in 612, and the last king Astyages overthrown by Kyros of Persia ca 550, thus only about 60 years later. Ktesias could hardly have received this list from the Persian tradition, but had to compose it himself, perhaps relying on some traditions which he creatively embellished and developed.[49] When his list of the Median rulers would be added to the Persian kings Kyros, Kambyses and Dareios, it would place the founder Arbakes to the generation corresponding to the 6th generation after the Dorian invasion, thus synchronising Arbakes with Pheidon according to the stemma in Theopompos.[50] Theopompos surely knew the work of Ktesias.[51] It is therefore possible that when he connected Karanos the Temenid founder of the Macedonian dynasty with Pheidon, he intentionally synchronised the latter with Arbakes, for stating the synchronism of the foundations of the Median and Macedonian dynasties, and dated Pheidon and Karanos according to the genealogy of the Persian and Median kings given in the *Persika* of Ktesias.

This assumption, however, will still leave open the question why did Ktesias include this particular number of Median kings when composing the list. He certainly could not have arrived at this by calculating according to the Argive or Macedonian genealogies, because the genealogical position of Pheidon and Karanos comparable to that of the Median founder Arbakes in Ktesias was calculated only by Theopompos, thus after the time when Ktesias wrote.

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[48] Ktesias' position in the Persian court was accepted as a fact in antiquity (see the testimony in LENFANT 2014; ALMAGOR 2012, 13–14; LLEWELLYN-JONES 2012, 7–18 who see no reason to doubt this), but has been recently questioned: see DORATI 1995; 2011; ROLLINGER 2011, 343; see also WIESEHÖFER 2011; WATERS 2017, 10–11.

[49] On the sources and methods of Ktesias see LENFANT 2004, XXXIX–LIV; BICHLER 2011; ROLLINGER 2011, 335–343; LLEWELLYN-JONES 2012, 55–80; WATERS 2017, 16–19, 78–94; for the obviously fictional dates that Ktesias assigned to the Assyrian kings see BONCQUET 1990; on the understanding of history in Achaemenid Persia see ROLLINGER 2014. Even if Ktesias could have used Persian traditions for the early past, he almost certainly accommodated this with the Greek view of history.

[50] Ktesias (F 5 Lenfant = Diod. II 32.4–34) assigned 282 year for the Median kings before the last king Astyages. We do not know how long Astyages reigned in his account. If, however, assuming that he assigned Astyages 35 years as Herodotos did (I 130.1) this would give a total of 317 years which, if counted back from ca 550 as the supposed date of Astyages' fall, would produce the date 867 for the beginning of the Median dynasty. This corresponds almost exactly to where Ephoros dated the beginning of the reign of Charillos (who as an orphan according to the tradition became the king at his birth and must thus have ruled for two generations — those of his father and of his own, which fell to the years ca 870–805 according to the genealogical chronology of Ephoros — see KÕIV 2003, 367–372). This would suggest that Ktesias counted the date of the Lykurgan legislation at the beginning of Charillos' reign similar to how Ephoros did this slightly afterwards.

[51] According to Strabo (I 2.35 = Theopompos FGrHist 115 F 381) Theopompos compared his method to that of Ktesias among others.

This would bring us to the evidence concerning Sparta. The Spartan dual kingship continued during the whole historical period and, as has been said above, the sequence of the kings was relatively firmly established, the lists reaching from the Classical period back to the time of the Dorian invasion.[52] They provided thus a firm genealogical framework for calculating the dates for the events in Spartan history, which, given the importance of Sparta for Greece, would have provided a good comparative basis for calculating the genealogical dates for the other states as well.

The famously crucial event in Spartan history was, according to the ancients, the beginning of the good order—*eunomia*—which made the state invincible for the following centuries. This establishment was generally ascribed to the famous lawgiver Lykurgos who was, at least from the fourth century, regarded as the brother or a son of King Eunomos and the tutor of King Charillos, Eunomos' son or grandson and a nephew of Lykurgos, under whose reign Lykurgos supposedly passed the legislation.[53] This genealogy placed Lykurgos to the 6th or 7th generation after the Dorian invasion, which marked thus an epochal event for Sparta and indirectly for the whole of Greece.

It would have been therefore natural for Ktesias, writing for the Greek audience, to seek a synchronisation of the foundation of the Median dynasty by Arbakes, and the establishment of the Median hegemony in Asia, with the legislation of Lykurgos producing the Spartan hegemony in Greece.[54] It is therefore likely that when Ktesias constructed his list of the Median kings he intentionally synchronised the beginning of the Median dynasty with the Lykurgan legislation, placing him thus to the generation which was counted as the 6th after the Dorian invasion, and filled the space between Arbakes the founder and Astyages the last Median king with the necessary number of kings.

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[52] See note 14 above.

[53] The connection between Lykurgos and Charillos was established by the time of the poet Simonides (fr. 628 PMG = Plut. Lyc. 1) and was widely accepted by the ancients: Dieuchidas FGrHidt 485 F 5; Ephoros FGrHist 70 F 149 and Arist. Pol. 1271b 20ff; fr. 611.10 Rose; etc. Herodotos (I 65) and Xenophon (Lac. Pol. 10.8) placed Lykurgos into an even earlier past. The fullest ancient summary of the ancient views is given in Plut. Lyc. 1.

[54] At the time when Ktesias wrote, Lykurgas was probably dated to the 6th generation after the Dorian invasion. King Soos, the son of Prokles in the Eurypontid stemma, was not yet inserted into the list at that time, while later his insertion pushed Lykurgos one generation later, to the 7th generation where he was generally placed by the later writers. Soos is absent from the stemma in Herodotos VII 204. Ephoros, when calling Prokles the son of Eurypon (FGrHist 70 F 117), did not include Soos between them, but when he counted Lykourgos as the 6th descendant of Prokles (F 149) and the 11th descendant of Herakles (F 173) then Soos must have been inserted. This demonstrates that Ephoros' genealogical framework was built on the stemma which already included Soos (BUSOLT 1893, 613 n. 1; JACOBY 1902, 115; PRAKKEN 1943, 92). KIECHLE 1959, 21–22; 1963, 169–172 has suggested that Soos was inserted during the time when Ephoros was writing, that he was absent at the beginning, but present in later parts of Ephoros' work. On the other hand, there was a variant of Lykurgos' genealogy which made Lykurgos the brother not the son of Eunomos (Simonides fr. 628 PMG = Plut. Lyc. 1; Schol. Plat. Pol. X 599 e–d; Suda s.v. Lykurgos) and made him the 6th descendant of the invaders even if Soos was included. Either way Ktesias must have assumed that Lykurgos was the 6th descendant of Aristodemos the brother of Temenos.

On the other hand, the Greeks used to compare the divergent histories of the three Dorian states in the Peloponnese ruled by the Herakleid dynasties: Argos, Sparta and Messenia. The comparison was explicitly made in the 'Laws' of Plato, and Ephoros in all likelihood presented the matter in the same way.[55] It was a usual assumption that at the beginning the three Dorian states were comparable to each other and Argos was prominent among them, but when Lykurgos passed his laws in Sparta and instituted the perfect order the Spartans exceeded, overshadowing the previously powerful Argos and conquering Messenia. Plato states that the kings of Argos and Messenia violated the holy agreements made between the rulers and the people when the kingdoms were founded, and began to rule despotically, which proved disastrous for those states, while in Sparta Lykurgos (human wisdom mingled with divine power, as put by Plato) tempered the still feverish government by instituting the council of elders (*gerousia*) and thus saved the state from the fate of Argos and Messenia.[56] Aristotle, on the other hand, makes clear that the Argive ruler overstepping the traditional limits of kingly power and making himself a tyrant was Pheidon.[57] Moreover, he tells about the nascent tyranny of Charillos put down by Lykurgos at Sparta,[58] thus obviously following a similar conception as Plato.

The tyranny of Pheidon and the legislation of Lykurgos were thus viewed as comparable though divergent phenomena in the histories of the principal Dorian states of the Peloponnese, directing these states to different paths of development. It was therefore highly natural to assume a synchronism between Pheidon and Lykurgos. Since the exact genealogical position of Pheidon was not established by the tradition, it was natural to date him according to Lykurgos whose genealogical position was relatively firmly fixed by the Spartan royal stemma. Such a synchronism between these figures was not yet made by Ephoros, who placed Pheidon three generations after Lykurgos.[59] But when Theopompos in his Macedonian history stated the connection between Pheidon the famous Argive king and the foundation of the Macedonian kingship by Karanos, making Karanos the son of Pheidon, he made Pheidon the contemporary of Lykurgos in Sparta. In all likelihood he followed the

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[55] This appears from the comparison of the fragments of Ephoros (FGrHist 70), of Nikolaos of Damascus (FGrHist 90) and of Diodoros, the last two following Ephoros' account. Argos: Nic. Dam. F 30; Ephoros F 115 (in the context of the Elean and Olympian events); Diod. VII 13. Sparta: Ephoros F 117, 118, 149, 173–175; Nic Dam. F 29; Diod. VII 12. Messenia: Ephoros F 116; Nic. Dam. F 31.

[56] Plat. Nom. 691–692.

[57] Arist. Pol. 1310b17–20, 26–27.

[58] Arist. Pol. 1316a 33–34; fr. 611.10 Rose.

[59] According to Ephoros (FGrHist 70 F 115, 149, 173), Lykurgos was the 7th and Pheidon the 10th descendant of the invading Herakleid brothers. See above with note 13 and 15 and the evidence in note 54.

comparison of the Spartan and Argive histories, and the logical juxtaposition of Lykurgos and Pheidon as divergent determiners of the fate of their dynasties and states.[60]

However, when synchronising Pheidon, and thus Karanos, with the establishment of the Spartan good order, he could have been inspired by Ktesias who had already established the synchronism between the foundation of the *eunomia* in Spartan and of the Median hegemony in Asia. What Theopompos did was simply to add Pheidon and the foundation of the Macedonian dynasty to this already established synchronism. The beginnings of the Median and Macedonian dynasties, the legislation of Lykurgos at Sparta and the reign of Pheidon in Argos became thus regarded as contemporary events.[61]

This synchronism resulted from a fanciful computation, inspired by the wish to state parallelism between the histories of Sparta which had dominated Greece, Media and Persia ruling Asia, and Macedonia taking over the hegemony in both these realms. The synchronisation had no basis in factual history, and it led to an impossibly early dating of all the crucial events, both of Median and Argive history. The foundation of the dynasty by Arbakes on the one hand and the reign of Pheidon on the other were dated to the ninth century, much earlier than the previously accepted traditions suggested. The traditions concerning these historical figures and events might have had some factual basis, the possibility which seems considerable in the case of Pheidon, but the manipulation of the evidence for establishing genealogical chronology poduced obviously unreliable results.

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[60] For a more detailed presentation of this argument see KÕIV 2001, 343–346; 2003, 261–264. When placing Pheidon as the 6th descendant of Temenos, Theopompos might have assumed that this was the generation of Lykurgos (as it was assumed by Ktesias), or he might have placed Lykurgos into the 7th generation (as it was generally done after Ephoros — see note 54), and assumed that Pheidon the father of Karanos preceded Lykurgos by one generation. The later writers, making Pheidon and Karanos brothers, however brought Pheidon to the same generation as Lykurgos — the 7th after the Dorian invasion.

[61] The synchronism of Lykurgos, Pheidon, Karanos and the death of Sardanapallos could also have been placed to the year of the first Olympic Games at 776, following the tradition that Lykurgos established the Olympian truce—*ekeheiria*—supposedly at the time of the first Olympic Games (Arist. fr. 533 Rose; Hieron. ap. Athen. XIV 37; Phlegon FGrHist 257 F1; Paus. V 4.5–6). Consequently, the first Olympic Games appear as a date for the beginning of the reign of Karanos and of the fall of Sardanapallus (Diod. VII 15; for Karanos also Eus. Ser. Reg. Chron. II 13 Schoene), and for Pheidon and Sardanapallos' death (Isid. Chron. 34). This synchronisation, however, led to no detectable manipulation of the genealogical stemmas.

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Der Mythos im Dienst der Politik: das Beispiel der euripideischen Tragödie *Ion*

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Abstract. *The author analyzes the Euripidean tragedy Ion. In this article an attempt was made to explain some important elements, such as the date, when the play could have been staged, and political situation of Athens in that time. Essential question were mythical innovations in this tragedy. The author looks for sources of these innovations and their influence on propaganda meaning of Ion. Regarding the problem of date, when the tragedy was staged, there were additionally made some methodological remarks. Very helpful in that chapter were auxiliary sources, such as another literary sources and epigraphical sources.*

Zusammenfassung. *Der Autor analysiert die euripideische Tragödie Ion. In diesem Artikel wurde versucht, einige wichtige Elemente zu erläutern, wie das Datum, an dem das Stück hätte aufgeführt werden können, und die politische Situation Athens in dieser Zeit. Wesentliche Frage waren mythische Neuerungen in dieser Tragödie. Der Autor sucht nach Quellen dieser Innovationen und deren Einfluss auf die Propaganda-Bedeutung von Ion. In Bezug auf das Datum, an dem die Tragödie inszeniert wurde, wurden zusätzlich einige methodische Anmerkungen gemacht. Sehr hilfreich in diesem Kapitel waren Hilfsquellen wie andere literarische und epigraphische Quellen.*

Rezumat. *Autorul analizează tregedia Ion al lui Euripide. Aspectele discutate privesc datarea, perioada în care piesa ar fi putut fi jucată, situația politică din Atena în vremea respective. Problema esențială o reprezintă inovațiile mitologice ale acestei tragedii. Sunt căutate surse ale acestor inovații și influența lor asupra înțelesului propagandistic al piesei.*

Keywords: Myth, Ion, Euripides, Politics.

1. Einleitung[*]

Ahnengemeinschaft und gemeinsame Geschichtsvorstellung gelten als zentrale Bestandteile der ethnischen Identität und daher liegt nahe diese Elemente   auch politisch zu

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instrumentalisieren.[2] Dies gilt auch für die alten Griechen, denen es die große Anpassungsfähigkeit ihrer Mythologie ermöglichte, verhältnismäßig leicht bereits existierenden Mythen umzugestalten oder neue zu schaffen, was eine Fülle von zahlreichen Versionen einzelner Mythen beweist. Für die Entstehung eines panhellenischen Gemeinschaftsgefühls spielten die Perserkriege eine bedeutende Rolle[3], worauf K. Bringmann neuerlich hinwies[4]. Ein Versuch, die Griechen als eine Gemeinschaft zu definieren, ist bereits in den *Historien* Herodots zu finden: die Athener bestimmten in einer Rede, die vor der Schlacht bei Platää gehalten worden sei, das Griechentum (τὸ Ἑλληνικόν): die Hellenen seien von gleichem Blut, gleicher Sprache und hätten dieselben Göttertempel, Opfer und Sitten (ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα)[5]. In der griechischen Welt, wie wohl auch heute, war Gemeinschaftsbewusstsein auf verschiedenen Ebenen wahrnehmbar – auf der Ebene von einzelnen *poleis, koina* und *ethne.* Ein wichtiges Element, das dieses Bewusstsein mitgestaltete, waren eponyme Heroen, von denen Ion, eponymer Heros der Ionier, im Folgenden behandelt werden soll. Das Beispiel dieser Gestalt ist besonders interessant, da die Quellen zeigen, dass Ion sich bei den Athenern gegen Ende des peloponesischen Krieges großer Popularität erfreute.

Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird die These präsentiert, dass der Mythos des Heroen, wie er uns in der Tragödie *Ion* des Euripides präsentiert wird, den Athenern als Instrument ihrer Politik gedient haben dürfte. Die Thematik der Tragödie, die mythologischen Neuerungen, der historische Kontext und die politische Gesinnung des Euripides weisen darauf hin, dass die Handlung der Tragödie *Ion* mit der athenischen Politik, die in den letzten Jahren des peloponnesischen Krieges betrieben wurde, in Einklang stand.

2. Die Gestalt des Ion in den voreuripideischen Quellen

Angesichts der Tatsache, dass Namen zahlreicher eponymer Heroen bei Homer – beispielsweise im Schiffskatalog (2. Gesang der *Ilias*) – bezeugt sind, ist es auffällig, dass es keine Spur des Ion in den homerischen Epen gibt. Darüber hinaus wird Ion in der erhaltenen Literatur zur ionischen Geschichte nicht erwähnt, obwohl deren Autoren die Gründungsmythen (κτίσεις) von einzelnen *poleis* zu besingen pflegten. Dies scheint darauf hinzuweisen, dass der Mythos über Ion nicht in Ionien wurzelt und dass daher die Aufmerksamkeit auf andere Gebiete des antiken Griechenlands gerichtet werden soll. Die älteste Quelle, in der die Gestalt des Ion belegt ist, bildet der nur fragmentarisch erhaltene *Frauenkatalog* (Ἠοῖαι). In diesem Werk wurde Ion als ein Sohn von Xuthos und Kreusa, einer

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[2] Alle im Text gennanten Jahreszahlen sind, sofern nicht anders gekennzeichnet, vor Christus.

[3] Vgl. z. B. WOLSKI 1973, 3–15; ULF 2015, 11.

[4] BRINGMANN 2016, 14.

[5] Hdt 8.144.

Tochter eines mythischen Königs von Athen Erechtheus[6], und väterlicherseits als ein Nachkomme des Hellen dargestellt[7]. Ein Verwandter (Onkel) des Ion sei außerdem Doros gewesen[8]. Unter unserem Gesichtspunkt ist die Frage der Entstehungszeit und der Autorschaft des Werkes von großer Bedeutung. In der älteren Forschung überwog die Auffasung, dass Hesiod der Autor vom *Frauenkatalog* gewesen sei (8./7. Jhdt.). Eine andere Möglichkeit fasste Martin West ins Auge, der in seinem Buch *The Hesiodic Catalogoue of Women — its Nature, Structure and Origin* die oben genannte Meinung infrage stellte und eine neue Datierung vorschlug. West bestimmte die zweite Hälfte des 7. Jhdts als *terminus post quem* und den Beginn des 5. Jhdts als *terminus ante quem* der Entstehung vom *Katalog,* wobei er dafür plädierte, dass das Werk aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach im 6. Jhdt. entstanden sei[9]. Dem Gelehrten gemäß stammte der Autor des *Katalogs* entweder aus Attika oder griff zumindest auf die attische Tradition zurück[10].

Das nächste Werk, in dem die Figur des Ion vorkommt, sind die *Historien* Herodots. Der Geschichtsschreiber aus Halikarnass dürfte bei der Schilderung von Ion dieselbe Tradition wie der Autor des *Frauenkataloges* herangezogen haben. Herodot präsentiert nämlich den Ion ebenfalls als einen Sohn des Xuthos[11]. In der herodoteischen Darstellung erscheint die Figur des Ion im Kontext der frühersten Geschichte der Athener, und zwar als deren Heerführer[12]. Darüber hinaus sei die ursprüngliche Gliederung von Attika in vier Phylen mit Ion verbunden, weil deren Namen sich von Söhnen des Heroen hergeleitet hätten[13]. Die *Historien* Herodots stellen überdies die erste Quelle dar, in der Ion als ein eponymer Heros charakterisiert wird; von dessen Namen hätten unter anderem die Athener die Benennung „Ionier" übernommen[14]. Es ist nicht zu übersehen, dass Herodot die Figur des Ion ausschließlich mit Attika verknüpft, wohingegen derselbe in denjenigen Passagen nicht vorkommt, die auf die Kolonisation von Ionien rekurrieren. Herodot, dessen Heimatstadt laut der Tradition das unweit von Ionien entfernte Halikarnass gewesen sei und dem ein Aufenthalt auf der ionischen Insel Samos nachgesagt wird[15], müsste umfangreiches Wissen

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[6] Ps. Hes. *Cat. Mul.* F 10.

[7] Ps. Hes. *Cat. Mul.* F 9 = Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 747F.

[8] Ps. Hes. *Cat. Mul.* F 9 = Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 747F.

[9] WEST 1985, 130–136; vgl. HALL 2002, 238–239. Es soll hinzugefügt werden, dass die Auseinandersetzung um die Autorschaft des *Frauenkataloges* bis zum heutigen Tag dauert. Unter den Wissenschaftlern, die sich für die traditionelle Datierung und Urheberschaft des Werkes aussprechen, sei zum Beispiel P. Dräger zu nennen. Vgl. DRÄGER 1997.

[10] WEST 1985, 169–171.

[11] Hdt. 7.94; 8.44.

[12] Hdt. 8.44.

[13] Hdt 5.66; Bei Strabo findet man eine Erwähnung, dass Ion selbst die Gliederung von Attika in vier Phylen durchgeführt habe; vgl. Strabo 8. 7: ὁ [Ἴων – J.K.] δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τέτταρας φυλὰς διεῖλε τὸ πλῆθος [...].

[14] Hdt. 5.66.

[15] *Liber Suda,* s.v. Ἡρόδοτος.

über einheimische Mythen und Traditionen besessen haben. Man kann deshalb davon ausgehen, dass wenn in Ionien zahlreiche Erzählungen um Ion kursiert wären, dies seine Wiederspiegelung in den *Historien* gefunden hätte, insbesondere im ersten Buch, in dem das Thema der Kolonisation von Ionien behandelt wird.

Zusammenfassend zu den obigen Überlegungen lässt sich sagen, dass sowohl der Autor des *Frauenkataloges* als auch Herodot keinen größeren Wert auf die Figur des Ion legten und dem Heroen wenig Aufmerksamkeit in ihren Werken schenkten. Der Grund hierfür könnte darin liegen, dass der Mythos des Ion nicht besonders populär war und es daher keinen Bedarf gab, die Gestalt des Heroen hervorzuheben[16].

3. Euripides – *Ion*

3.1. Die Thematik der Tragödie, das Aufführungsdatum und der historische Kontext

Den Wendepunkt bildet die eurypideische Tragödie *Ion* (Ἴων), in der Ion zum ersten Mal als Protagonist erscheint und in der Folge zu einer prominenten Gestalt wird. Für eine Auseinandersetzung, die sich mit der Gestalt des Heroen und dessen Rolle in der antiken Literatur befasst, ist das Werk zweifelsohne von größter Bedeutung. Im Vergleich zu anderen Tragödien des Euripides[17] führt der *Ion* ein Schattendasein und wird in der historischen Forschung oft übergangen[18]. In der Beschäftigung mit diesem Werk werden vorrangig tragikomische Elemente und weniger politische Fragen und der historische Kontext in Betracht gezogen, obwohl die beiden letztgenannten Probleme in Bezug auf andere Werke des Euripides in der Fachliteratur einen würdigen Platz einnehmen. Mit einem größeren Augenmerk auf die mit der Ethnizität verbundenen Probleme wurde die Tragödie *Ion* allerdings aus anderer Sicht wahrgenommen, wie die Monographie von K. Zacharia *Converging Thruths – Euripides' Ion and the Athenian Quest for self-definition* (Leiden–Boston 2003) beweist.

Um die weiteren Überlegungen klar zu präsentieren, wenden wir uns kurz der Fabel der Tragödie zu. Die Handlung wird in Delphi lokalisiert – vor dem Heiligtum des Apollo, der zwar persönlich nicht in Erscheinung tritt, aber das Geschehen maßgeblich beeinflusst. Die Hauptfiguren des Stückes sind: Ion, Kreusa, Xuthos, Pythia und die Göttin Athena. In einem umfangreichen (über 180 Verse) Prolog wird die Geschichte des Ion umrissen[19]. Hermes erzählt, dass Kreusa (eine Tochter des Erechtheus) nach der Vergewaltigung durch

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[16] Manche Wissenschaftler plädieren dafür, dass Ion eine wichtige Rolle in der griechischen Mythologie gespielt habe; vgl. HOW, WELLS 1961, B. 1, 249; LESKY 1972, 426.

[17] Das Wichtigste über Euripides vgl. z. B. LESKY 1972, 275–523; GREGORY 2005, 251–271.

[18] Ein Beweis dafür ist beispielsweise ein Beitrag von Paula Debnar, in dem die Beziehung zwischen der Tragödie und der athenischen Geschichte im 5. Jhdt behandelt wurde und in dem kein Wort über die Tragödie *Ion* fiel; DEBNAR 2005, 3–23.

[19] ERBSE 1984, 1–20, 73–88.

Apollon ein Kind zur Welt gebracht hatte, das sie daraufhin in einer Grotte verließ. Infolgedessen befahl Apollon Hermes, den Knaben daraus abzuholen und ihn nach Delphi mitzubringen[20]. In den anschließenden Versen wird die kinderlose Ehe von Kreusa und Xuthos erwähnt. Nach dem Prolog setzt eine Rede des Ion ein, in der er seinen Dienst beim Gott in Delphi schildert[21]. Kreusa und Xuthos kommen dann in Delphi an, um beim Orakel Rat bezüglich der Kinderlosigkeit einzuholen. Das Geschehen der Tragödie strebt eine Wiedererkennung (ἀναγνωρισμός) von der Mutter Kreusa und dem Sohn Ion an, wobei sie anfangs nicht in der Lage sind, sich zu erkennen[22]. Inzwischen erfährt Xuthos beim Orakel, dass er und Kreusa mit einem Kind nach Athen zurückkehren werden[23]. Überdies weissagt Apollon dem Xuthos, dass die erste Person, der er nach dem Hinausgehen aus dem Heiligtum begegnen würde, sein Sohn sei[24]. Als Kreusas diese Weissagung zu Ohren kommt, schöpfte sie den Verdacht, Ion müsse ein Sohn von Xuthos und von einer anderen Frau sein, und deswegen sowohl ihren Mann als auch ihren unerkannten Sohn zu töten. Ihre Pläne, von denen Ion in der Zwischenzeit erfahren hatte, scheitern allerdings[25]. Deshalb verheißt das anschließende Treffen von Kreusa und Ion zunächst nichts Gutes. Doch dank Gegenständen, die Kreusa in der Grotte nach dem Geburt des Ion hinterließ, sind sie letzten Endes in der Lage, sich zu erkennen. Dem Heroen wird daraufhin offenbart, wer sein echter Vater ist. Die Göttin Athena, die am Ende der Tragödie als eine *dea ex machina* in Erscheinung tritt, prophezeit der Nachkommenschaft des Ion eine strahlende Zukunft[26].

Dass Ion hier zum ersten Mal zum Hauptprotagonisten gemacht wird, ist eindeutig. Weniger klar ist jedoch, weshalb Euripides Ion dermaßen aufwertete, wenn er sich auf keine breite ältere Tradition berufen konnte, in der Ion als prominenter Held auftritt. Um diese Frage zu beantworten, sollen der historische Kontext der Aufführung der Tragödie, die politische Gesinnung des Euripides als auch die mythologischen Elemente, die die Tragödie beinhaltet, untersucht werden.

Damit die Tragödie korrekt historisch verortet wird, muss zunächst die Frage nach der Aufführungsdatum geklärt werden. Dass die Tragödie während des peloponnesischen Krieges entstand, wird nicht in Frage gestellt. Wenn es sich dennoch um den genauen Zeitpunkt handelt, herrscht in der Forschung keine Einstimmigkeit. Unter den Vorschlägen seien hier folgende Daten zu nennen: 418[27], 414-413[28], 412[29], aus denen das Datum 412 das vernünftigste

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[20] Eur. *Ion* 1–36.

[21] Eur. *Ion* 82–110.

[22] Eur. *Ion* 237–400.

[23] Eur. *Ion* 407–409.

[24] Eur. *Ion* 523–540; es soll hinzugefügt werden, dass Euripides mit diesem Ereignis die Etymologie des Namens „Ion" verband; vgl. 802: Ἴων, ἐπείπερ πρῶτος ἤντησεν πατρί.

[25] Eur. *Ion* 237–400.

[26] Eur. *Ion* 1261–1622.

[27] DELEBECQUE 1951, 225–229.

zu sein scheint, weil der Inhalt der Tragödie (dessen Verbindung mit Ionien) mit den damaligen Ereignissen im Ägäisraum in Einklang steht. In jener Zeit nämlich begann sich die politische Lage Athens in der Ägäis zu verschlechtern, was durch den wachsenden Widerwillen der ionischen Verbündeten gegen den Hegemonen verursacht wurde[30]. Als ein Zeichen dieses Widerwillens kann die Tatsache dienen, dass Erythrai und Chios, die abzufallen bereit waren, sich an Sparta wandten[31]. Nicht ohne Bedeutung war darüber hinaus die Einmischung Persiens, was z. B. die Tätigkeit von Tissaphernes sichtbar macht[32]. Wegen dieser immer schwierigeren politischen Lage könnte Bedarf entstanden sein, die Politik, die die Athener gegenüber ihren Verbündeten betrieben, ideologisch zu unterstützten, wozu der Mythos über Ion und die Tragödie, die darauf fußte, gut geeignet war. In dieser Angelegenheit soll man sich auch zur folgenden Stellung von A. Lesky äußern: „Viel schwerer wiegt die Frage, wie lange während des peloponnesischen Krieges die Tendenz der Schlußpartie tragbar war, den allgriechischen Herrschaftsanspruch Athens mit genealogischen Konstruktionen zu stützten. [...] Wohl aber bedeutet der Abfall der ionischen Bundesgenossen im Jahre 412 eine recht wahrscheinliche Grenze"[33]. Daraus kann man den Schluss ziehen, dass Lesky eine solche ideologische Unterstützung in relativ stabilen Zeiten für möglich hielt – mit anderen Worten, wenn die politische Situation sehr schwierig und kompliziert wird, hat es keinen Zweck, das Verhalten in irgendeiner Weise zu begründen. Die Geschichte, auch die griechische, lehrt indessen, dass ausgerechnet die schwierigen, manchmal extrem schwierigen Situationen, Bedrohungen guten Nährboden für Tätigkeiten dieser Art bilden. Deshalb scheint das Datum 412 nicht *terminus ante quem* sondern *terminus post quem* der Aufführung der Tragödie *Ion* zu sein.

3.2. Die politische Gesinnung des Euripides und die mythologischen Neuerungen in der Tragödie Ion

Dass Eurpidies Athen gegenüber grundsätzlich freundlich, aber bisweilen auch kritisch gesinnt war, spiegelt sich in seinen Werken wider. Ein eindrucksvolles Beispiel für seinen Patriotismus bildet eine Passage aus der Tragödie *Medea,* in der die Stadt Athen gepriesen wird[34]. Dieselbe Stimmung lässt sich in *Ion* erkennen, wobei festgehalten werden soll, dass die beiden Stücke – *Medea* und *Ion* – zu völlig unterschiedlichen Zeiten und Verhältnissen

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[28] LESKY 1972, 426.

[29] ZACHARIA 2003, 1–3; vgl. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF 1926, 24.

[30] Ein solches Verhalten kennzeichnete nicht nur die Verbündeten Athens, aber auch andere Poleis, insbesondere die spartanischen Verbündeten. Thukydides berichtet, dass ganz Hellas (οἱ Ἕλληνες πάντες) gegen Athen aufgetreten sei; Thuk. 8.2.

[31] Thuk. 8.5; vgl. ANDREWES 1992, 433–440.

[32] Thuk. 8.5.

[33] LESKY 1972, 426.

[34] Eur. *Medea* 824–865.

aufgeführt wurden – *Medea* im Jahr 431, also am Anfang des peloponesichen Krieges, *Ion* 412, während dessen Endphase. Im Jahr 415 ist die Tragödie *Die Troerinnen* entstanden, in der Euripides die Schrecken des Krieges schilderte und in der die an Athen geübte Kritik wahrnehmbar ist. Deshalb behaupten manchen, dass diese Tragödie einen entscheidenden Wendepunkt in der literarischen Tätigkeit des Euripides darstelle[35]. Von diesem Zeitpunkt an soll der Tragiker Athen immer schärfer kritisiert haben. Aus dem Inhalt der Tragödie *Ion,* die nach den *Troerinnen* aufgeführt wurde, ergibt sich aber ein anderes Bild. Euripides übt zwar Kritik an Athen – hinsichtlich der Innenpolitik[36], aber in Bezug auf die Außenpolitik wird die Überlegenheit Athens als einer panhellenischen Macht hervorgehoben. Auch auf lexikalischer Ebene findet man Hinweise auf die patriotische Einstellung des Euripides, so etwa wenn der Tragiker folgende Wendungen benutzt: ἔστιν γὰρ οὐκ ἄσημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις (8 – 9), κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν (30), ἐν ταῖς ζαθέαις Ἀθάναις (184), κλεινὸν ἄστυ (263). Den klarsten Beweis für die patriotische Gesinnung des Euripides bilden aber seine mythologischen Neuerungen.

Die Innovationen, die Ion betreffen, sind im hohem Maße im Prolog der Tragödie zu finden und werden dort von Hermes vorgetragen[37]. Der lange Prolog führt den Leser in die von dem Tragiker umgestaltete Version des Mythos ein, - eine Technik, die Euripides auch in anderen Werken benutzt[38]. In der euripideischen Tragödie wird Ion mütterlicherseits als ein Nachkomme eines athenischen Königs – Erechtheus und in der Folge des Erichthonios, der aus der Erde geboren worden sein soll (vgl. *Ion* 20: γηγενής). Dies rekurriert wahrscheinlich auf die autochthone Herkunft der Athener, was Ion selbst erwähnt, wenn er sagt: „von eingeborenem Stamm, nicht zugewandertem ist eure Stadt" (*Ion* 598 – 590: εἶναί φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἐπείσακτον γένος)[39]. In der Tragödie wird Ion zum ersten Mal *expressis verbis* mit der Kolonisation Kleinasiens verbunden. Im Prolog wird er nämlich diesbezüglich mit dem Epitheton „Gründer des asiatischen Landes" versehen (*Ion* 74: κτίστωρ Ἀσιάδος χθονός)[40]. Es soll hier auf eine Nuance aufmerksam gemacht werden – Ion wird zwar als κτίστωρ Ἀσιάδος χθονός dargestellt, aber am Ende der Tragödie erfährt man, dass die Kolonisation nicht von ihm persönlich durchgeführt werden wird, sondern von seinen Nachkommen (siehe unten), was auf den ersten Blick als eine Widerspruch erscheinen mag. Man kann das aber dahingehend interpretieren, dass Ion als Gründer erscheint, weil er der Stammvater derjenigen ist, die die eigentliche Kolonisation Kleinsasiens und der

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[35] Wie z. B. ein polnischer Gräzist Jerzy Łanowski; vgl. ŁANOWSKI 2006.

[36] Eur. *Ion* 585–647; 670–675.

[37] Eur. *Ion* 1–81.

[38] ERBSE 1984: 1–20, 73–88; CZERWIŃSKA 2013, 40.

[39] ZACHARIA 2003, 56–66.

[40] Diese Bezeichnung wurde etwa ungenau von Ernst Buschor als „Gründer des Ionierlands" übersetzt. Vgl. auch die englische Übersetzung von Robert Potter: „founder of the land of Asia".

kleinasiatischen Inseln vornehmen werden[41]. Eine solche Darstellung unterscheidet sich sowohl von der bei Herodot, in dessen *Historien* Ion in keinen Zusammenhang mit der Kolonisation Kleinasiens gebracht wird, als auch von derjenigen in den späteren, römischen Quellen, in denen Ion höchstpersönlich das kleinasiatische Gebiet besiedelt (vgl. Vitr. 4.1; Vell. Pat. 1.4.3). Die Quintessenz der durch Athena prophezeiten Macht der Athener ist eine Textstelle, die wir hier *in extenso* anführen (Eur. *Ion* 1573 – 1588; übersetzt von Ernst Buschor):

> Kreusa, zieh mit diesem Kind
> Zu Kekrops' Stadt und gib ihm seinen Thron,
> Der echte Erbe des Erechtheusstamms
> Hat alle Rechte auf mein liebes Land.
> Ganz Hellas feiert ihn. Er selber zeugt
> Vier Sprossen seines Bluts, man wird
> Vier Völker unsres eingebornen Stamms
> Nach ihnen nennen, rings um meinen Fels.
> Geleon, Hoples, Argas und, benannt
> Nach meinem Aigisfell: Aigikores.
> Die Söhne dieser Söhne ziehen dann,
> Wenn ihre Zeit kommt, nach dem Inselmeer
> Und Asiens Ufern, stärkend meine Macht
> Das Land, das um Meeresengen liegt
> Auf beiden Seiten, wird ihr stolzer Sitz;
> Nach Ion heißen sie die Ionier.

Die oben genannte Passage sagt der athenischen *polis* eine strahlende Zukunft voraus, die von der Kolonisation gekrönt wird, dank derer Athen zu einer berühmten und mächtigen Stadt werden wird. Die Tatsache, dass die Gebiete Europas, Asiens und der Kykladen in diesem Kontext von Euripides erwähnt werden, verstärkt die propagandistische Aussage der Tragödie, die auf die Einheit der athenischen *arche* hinweist[42].

Von großer Bedeutung sind darüber hinaus die genealogischen Neuerungen. Wie schon am Anfang des Textes gezeigt wurde, ist Ion nach Herodot und Ps.-Hesiod ein Nachkomme des Xouthos (Sohn) und des Hellen (Enkel). Bei Euripides wird Ion hingegen als ein Kind des Apollo – eines der wichtigsten Götter des griechischen Pantheons – dargestellt. Das kann als ein Versuch der Athener und ihrer Verbündeten interpretiert werden, ihre Überlegenheit über die Lakedaimonier auf diesem Wege zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Darauf verweist des Weiteren die Tatsache, dass Doros – eponymer Heros der Dorier und im Besonderen der Ahnherr der Lakedaimonier[43] – bei Euripides als ein jüngerer Bruder des Ion geschildert wurde, wohingegen er in der älteren Tradition d. h. im *Frauenkatalog* und in den *Historien*

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[41] Vgl. SAKKELARIOU 1958, 26.

[42] MATTINGLY 1999, 189.

[43] vgl. Eur. *Ion* 1589–1590.

Herodots als ein Onkel des Ion in Erscheinung trat. Darüber hinaus ist Doros in der Tragödie des Euripides kein Sohn von Apollo (wie Ion), sondern ein Sohn von Xuthos, was man als eine *sui generis* genealogische Herabsetzung verstehen kann. Das ist im Angesicht des peloponnesischen Krieges ein vielsagendes Vorgehen[44]. Es könnte aber auch andere Gründe gegeben haben, warum Apollo bei Euripides zum Vater des Ion wurde: Erstens wurde dieser Gott wurde nämlich von den Ioniern als deren Stammvater mit dem Beiname πατρῷος verehrt, was Plato im *Euthydemos* bestätigt[45]. Zweitens ist anzuführen, dass Apollo mit dem Beiname ἀρχηγέτης als Gott der Kolonisation geschildert wurde[46].

3.3. Euripides –Neuerer oder Traditionalist?

In der Forschung wird diskutiert, ob die mythologischen Neuerungen – beispielsweise die Vaterschaft des Apollo – in der Tat von Euripides stammen oder ob der Tragiker seinen Stoff aus einer anderen Quelle (bzw. Quellen) bezog. Im platonischen *Euthydemos* kommt Apollo nämlich als Vater des Ion kommt nämlich vor[47]. Selbstverständlich könnte der Philosoph das aus der Tragödie *Ion* bezogen haben. Es kann jedoch nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass die beiden Autoren sich dabei einer gemeinsamen Quelle bedienten. Bernard Smarczyk behauptet beispielsweise, dass die Darstellung des Apollo als Vater des Ion aus der sophokleischen Tragödie *Kreusa* gestammt haben könne (TGrF F 350 – 359)[48]. Da diese Tragödie nur fragmentarisch erhalten geblieben ist, lässt sich die oben genannte These nicht überprüfen. Die Auffassung, dass die mythologischen Neuerungen aus der Feder des Euripides stammen, scheint mir hingegen überzeugender zu sein. Zu Hilfe kommt dabei eine Episode aus dem Leben des Tragikers. Euripides verließ nämlich im Herbste seines Lebens Athen und begab sich zu Archelaos, dem makedonischen König (413 – 399 vor Chr.). Während dieses Aufenthaltes am Hof des Archelaos soll Euripides – so berichtet Satyros aus Kallatis (3. Jhdt. vor Chr.), der Biograph des Tragikers – eine Tragödie unter dem Titel *Archelaos* seinem Gastgeber zu Ehren verfasst haben[49]. In diesem Werk behandelte der Tragiker unter anderem die mythologische Tradition der Dynastie der Argeaden (Temeniden) und schilderte einen Namensvetter des Königs Archelaos als einen Sohn des Temenos, der zum eigentlichen Gründer des makedonischen Königshauses wird[50]. Von großer Bedeutung ist in dieser

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[44] ZACHARIA 2003, 55.

[45] Plat. *Eut.* 302c-d, vgl. CROMEY 2006, 43–44.

[46] *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischer Mythologie*, B. I, s.v. Apollon, 438; SMARCZYK 1990, 363.

[47] Plat. *Eut.* 302c-d.

[48] SMARCZYK 1990, 362, vgl. LENSCHAU 1944, 201–237.

[49] Satyros, *Vita Euripidi* F 6. vgl. z. B. RIDGEWAY 1926; LESKY 1972, 279; WEBER 1992: 63ff; SPRAWSKI 2012, 17–19; vgl. auch MÜLLER 2016, 97, die darauf verweist, dass die Tradition über den Tod des Eurypides umstritten sei und dass er die Tragödie *Archelaos* „ebenso in Athen hätte verfassen können".

[50] HARDER 1985, 131; WEBER 1992, 63-65.

Hinsicht die Tatsache, dass Archelaos sowohl in den früheren, als auch in den späteren Quellen überhaupt keine solche Rolle spielte. Herodot stellte in seinen *Historien* den Perdikkas als den Gründer der Dynastie dar[51]. Bei Theopompos von Chios und Plutarch hingegen erfüllte Karanos diese Funktion[52]. Das zeigt uns, dass von Euripides geschilderte Versionen eines Mythos sich keiner großen Popularität erfreut haben müsste. Zudem zeigt die Geschichte über Euripides und Archelaos deutlich, dass der Tragiker imstande war, mühelos neue mythologische Geschichten je nach Bedarf und je nach Umständen zu schaffen. Ähnlich kann es im Falle der Tragödie *Ion* gewesen sein – durch die Bedrohung der athenischen *arche*, könnte der Bedarf nach einem patriotischen Werk entstanden sein.

Um die Frage nach der Innovation des Euripides möglichst ausführlich zu beantworten, soll man auch die epigraphischen Quellen, die auf Samos entdeckt wurden, heranziehen. Es handelt sich hier um folgende Inschrift, die heutzutage im archäologischen Museum zu Vathy aufbewahrt ist: Ὅρος τεμένος Ἴωνος Ἀθενέθεν[53]. Der Inschrift kann man also entnehmen, dass sich auf Samos ein dem Ion aus Athen geweihter Tempel befunden haben muss[54]. Die Datierung dieser Inschrift ist jedoch umstritten. In der Forschung plädiert man oft dafür, dass sie 450 – 440 vor Christus entstanden sei[55], was mit dem historischen Kontext in Einklang steht. In jener Zeit kam es nämlich innerhalb des Delisch-Attischen Seebundes zu einem Zwist zwischen Miletos und Samos um eine kleinasiatische Polis – Priene. Die Athener hatten Miletos in diesem Konflikt unterstützt und besiegten schließlich die Samier[56]. Stimmt man diesem Datierungsvorschlag zu, folgt daraus, dass Euripides ein Thema, ein Motiv aufnahm, das in Athen bereits kursierte und möglicherweise ein Teil der athenischen Propaganda war. Wie schon gesagt, ist die Tragödie *Ion* aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach 412 vor Christus aufgeführt worden, also während der Zeit des Aufstandes der ionischen Verbündeten gegen Athen. Es soll hier hervorgehoben werden, dass die Samier während dieser Aufstände dem Hegemonen treu blieben[57]. Wenn man die oben angeführte Inschrift mit diesen Geschehnissen verbände, könnte man sie als ein Teil der Bemühungen der Athener betrachten, die Gemeinschaft mit den Verbündeten zu verstärken. Die von Euripides geschaffene Version des Ion-Mythos kann als ein wesentliches Werkzeug zur Schaffung einer gemeinsamen Identität gedient haben und nicht nur in Athen, sondern auch in Ionien verbreitet worden sein. In diesem Falle soll man den Tragiker als eine der Gestalten betrachten, die den Ton der athenischen Propaganda angaben. Aber unabhängig davon,

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[51] Hdt 8. 137–139.

[52] FGrH 115 F 393, Plut. *Alex.* 2, SPRAWSKI 2012, 17–19.

[53] IG³ 1496; vgl. BARRON 1964, 37–38.

[54] Vgl. z. B. HALL 1997, 55.

[55] BARRON 1964, 39; HALL 1997, 55.

[56] SHIPLEY 1987, 113–128.

[57] Auf der Insel stationierte ein athenischen Garnison, die den oligarchischen Coup d' état 411 vor Christus nicht anerkannte; SHIPLEY 1987, 113–128.

wie diese Inschrift datiert wird, soll festgestellt werden, dass sie sich mit der damaligen athenischen Politik deckt[58].

Im Angesicht der Tatsache, dass unsere Quellen nur fragmentarisch erhalten geblieben sind, ist es schwer zu sagen, ob die euripideische Version der Geschichte über Ion sich großer Popularität erfreute. In den erhaltenen Quellen erscheint die Erzählung um Ion unter anderem in dem Werk *Der Staat der Athener* aus dem 4. Jahrhundert vor Christus[59], bei einem Attidographen – Philochoros[60]. Daraufhin taucht die Figur des Ion erst in späten Quellen, beispielsweise bei Plutarch, Pausanias, Vitruv oder Velleius Paterculus, wieder auf[61].

Fazit

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass der Mythos des Ion bei Eurypides wahrscheinlich als Bestandteil der athenischen Propaganda gegen Ende des peloponesischen Krieges diente. Es müsste damals wegen der politischen Lage in Athen Bedarf entstanden sein, den Ion, der vor Euripides nur als eine zweitrangige Gestalt vorkommt, zu einer Letifigur der ionischen Identität zu machen. Es wurde angenommen, dass die Tragödie 412 vor Christus aufgeführt wurde, worauf der Inhalt des Werkes verweist, der mit historischer Kontext verglichen wurde. Mythologische Neuerungen, die die athenischen Überlegenheit gegenüber den Verbüneten hervorheben, bestätigen, dass die Fabel der Tragödie sich mit der damaligen athenischen Politik deckte, worauf auch die Einführung Apollos als Vater des Ion hinweist. Wie es scheint, blieb Euripides auch angesichts der drohenden Niederlage seiner Heimatstadt treu und versuchte diese mit der Feder zu verteidigen.

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[58] PARKER 1996, 144–145; vgl. BARRON 1964, 47–48.

[59] *Ath. Pol.* 3; 41.

[60] FGrH 328 F 13 = Harpokr. s.v. Βοηδρόμια; JACOBY 1949, 125.

[61] Plut. *Adv. Col.* 31; Paus. 7.1; Vitr. 4.1; Vell. Pat. 1.4.

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A Genealogy of Pythagoras

Stephan SCHARINGER[1]

Abstract. *This article deals with different traditions of the genealogy of Pythagoras of Samos (c. 570–480 BC). It shows how three versions of Pythagoras's lineage were combined in antiquity. Firstly, Pythagoras could be seen as the son of human parents who themselves descend from Ancaeus, the mythical founder and first king of Samos who is closely connected with both Greek and Near Eastern mythology. Secondly, there is the tradition that Pythagoras was the son of a human mother and Apollo, which goes together with the important role that this deity played in the religion of Pythagoreanism from the very start. Finally, the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis holds another possibility in explaining Pythagoras's genealogy that connects him directly with the shamanistic motif of the soul-journey. A distinct analysis of the sources shows that the symbiosis of all three traditions was obviously the most common way of explaining Pythagoras's genealogy.*

Rezumat. *Acest articol tratează diferite tradiții ale genealogiei lui Pitagora din Samos (c. 570–480 î.Hr.). Se arată modul în care trei versiuni ale liniei lui Pitagora au fost combinate în antichitate. În primul rând, Pitagora ar putea fi văzut ca fiul părinților umani care ei înșiși coboară din Ancaeus, fondatorul mitic și primul rege al lui Samos, strâns legat atât de mitologia greacă, cât și de Orientul Apropiat. În al doilea rând, există tradiția că Pitagora a fost fiul unei mame umane și a lui Apollo, ceea ce este alături de rolul important pe care această zeitate îl joacă în religia pitagoreanului încă de la început. În cele din urmă, doctrina pitagoreică a metempsihozei oferă o altă posibilitate în a explica genealogia lui Pitagora: îl conectează direct cu motivul șamanic al călătoriei sufletului. O analiză distinctă a surselor arată că simbioza celor trei tradiții a fost în mod evident cea mai comună modalitate de explicare a genealogiei lui Pitagora.*

Keywords: Pythagoras, Genealogy, Ancaeus, Samos.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the different traditions of Pythagoras of Samos's genealogy. The sources offer at least three versions of Pythagoras's lineage if we take the term in a more generous way: Pythagoras can be seen as the son of human parents who themselves are descendants of Ancaeus (Ἀγκαῖος), a son of Poseidon or Zeus and mythical king of Samos. Other sources speak of Pythagoras as the son of Apollo and a human mother, whereas it is also possible to

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see Pythagoras as "Hyperborean Apollo" (Ἀπόλλων ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων)[2], a certain epiphany of this deity. Still there is a third version because some authors of Graeco-Roman antiquity refer to the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis and give us one to four more or less famous pre-existences for Pythagoras's soul. Pythagoras thus turns out to have a rather complex lineage. Obviously, these versions are based on different traditions that are told in the sources. I will discuss these three traditions and their intertextual connections after providing some important biographical information.

2. Biographical information

Pythagoras of Samos (c. 570–480 BC)[3] was a natural philosopher and founded a political and religious community in Croton in Southern Italy, by the members of which he was regarded as their charismatic teacher and leader. Born most likely on the Greek island of Samos,[4] he is supposed to have travelled to Egypt and the Orient to study the old wisdom of the local priests.[5] The later sources also present the Persians, the Jews and the Chaldeans as Pythagoras's teachers;[6] our latest but most extensive biography of Pythagoras, written by the Neoplatonist Iamblichus of Chalkis (c. 240–325 AD) at the turn of the third to the fourth century AD,[7] even lets Pythagoras study with Celtic and Iberian instructors,[8] a piece of information which shows a legendary aspect of Pythagoras's biography.

Around 530 BC, Pythagoras left Samos and moved to Croton in Southern Italy. Aristoxenus explains Pythagoras's migration with the tyranny of Polycrates which seemed too oppressive and obviously did not reflect Pythagoras's own political convictions.[9] Porphyrius of Tyre (c. 234–305/310 AD), another Neoplatonist philosopher and scholar, who wrote his *Life of Pythagoras* within his greater history of philosophy and who was both teacher and, later, philosophical opponent of Iamblichus,[10] tells us two strange stories that happened on Pythagoras's way to Italy. We want to discuss these stories, as they show Pythagoras's special relationship to the divine world, a motive that has to be taken into account when analyzing Pythagoras's genealogic tree.

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[2] Diogenes Laertios 8,11.

[3] For discussions about Pythagoras's lifetime, see e.g. MANSFELD 1987, 98; RIEDWEG 2001, 649; GEMELLI MARCIANO 2009, 170.

[4] Some sources present other birthplaces, such as Tyre at the Levantine coast, the island of Lemnos, or Phleius on the Peloponnesus; see RIEDWEG 2007, 19. Also see chapter 3 for detailed information on this topic.

[5] Antiphon, FGrH 1096 1a, 1b; Isocrates, Orations 11,28.

[6] Hermippos, FGrH 1026 F21; Porpyhrius, Vita Pythagorae 6, 11; Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 19, 151, 154.

[7] See BRISSON 1998, 848–849.

[8] Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 151.

[9] Aristoxenus fr. 16 Wehrli; see RIEDWEG 2007, 25. — Pythagoras himself and the Pythagoreans obviously preferred oligarchic tendencies; see BURKERT 1962, 182; RIEDWEG 2007, 33–34; GEMELLI MARCIANO 2009, 170.

[10] See CHASE 2001, 175; TANASEANU-DÖBLER 2012, 76.

At first, Pythagoras is supposed to have stopped in Delphi where he left an elegy on the tomb of Apollo, "declaring that Apollo was the son of Silenus, but was slain by Pytho".[11] This seems weird, as the traditional myth about Apollo and the dragon or giant snake Pytho ends with Apollo's victory over the dragon and not the other way round.[12] We will not get into further detail here, but let us just state that obviously Porphyrius thought that Pythagoras was somehow linked to the Delphic Apollonian cults and had a special knowledge about Apollo's true destiny; this will turn out to be important when we discuss Pythagoras's closeness to Apollo a little later.

The second stop on Pythagoras's way to Italy was in Crete. Pythagoras is said to have been purified by the priests of Morgos who also initiated him into secret rites. He even descended into the Idaean cave where he stayed for 27 days.[13] Very similar to the previous story about Apollo, Pythagoras again left an epigram, this time at the tomb of Zeus: "Pythagoras to Zeus. Zan [Zeus] deceased here lies, whom men call Jove."[14] These two episodes hint a certain dimension of Pythagoras's knowledge about the netherworld[15] as well as his special relationship to the gods, in particular Apollo and Zeus. This seems interesting because these two gods play a certain role in at least two versions of Pythagoras's genealogy.

Having finally arrived in Southern Italy, Pythagoras became a political and religious leader for his community in the cities of Croton, Metapontum and Sybaris. Pythagoras's closeness to Apollo finds its analogy in the distinguished role that this deity was attributed to in the *Magna Graecia*.[16] The Pythagorean doctrines refer to ethics and politics, mathematics, astronomy and cosmogony, but also cover many religious aspects. Pythagoras is portrayed as a superb speaker, and in fact the Pythagoreans gained political influence in some Italian cities.[17] However, after some years of great success, we can notice a number of anti-Pythagorean rebellions, probably headed by Cylon, a Crotonian who, if we believe Porphyrius, wanted to become a Pythagorean himself but was rejected by Pythagoras because of his rough and violent disposition.[18] The Pythagoreans' opponents even attacked them physically during

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[11] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 16, translated by K.S. Guthrie.

[12] See RIEDWEG 2007, 25.

[13] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 16; the story is also told by Diogenes Laertios 8,3 with the addition that Pythagoras descended into the cave together with Epimenides.

[14] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 16, translated by K.S. Guthrie.

[15] See RIEDWEG 2007, 26.

[16] There were ancient places of worship to Apollo in Metapontum and in Makalla near Croton; see BURKERT 1962, 178–179. During the time of Greek colonization, the Apollonian oracle of Delphi became an important place for the expanding ventures and Apollo himself a "promotor of civilization": PHILIP 1966, 154.

[17] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 54; see RIEDWEG 2007, 33. — The hegemony of Croton in Southern Italy until 450 BC and its flourishing cultural and political developments might be attributed to the Pythagoreans; see BURKERT 1962, 182; RIEDWEG 2001, 650; GEMELLI MARCIANO 2009, 170.

[18] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 54.

their gatherings. We do not know the exact circumstances of Pythagoras's death — the sources give us at least three different stories,[19] but they all agree on a very sad ending. Nevertheless, many of the Pythagorean doctrines were still being discussed, and so Pythagoras stayed a well-known person even after his death.

The sources also give us an idea about Pythagoras's own family, although there exist a number of different versions. Diogenes Laertius tells us that

"Pythagoras had a wife, Theano by name, daughter of Brontinus of Croton, though some call her Brontinus's wife and Pythagoras's pupil. He had a daughter Damo [...]. They also had a son Telauges, who succeeded his father and, according to some, was Empedocles's instructor [...] Telauges wrote nothing, so far as we know, but his mother Theano wrote a few things."[20]

Porphyrius, on the other hand, hints that

"by Theano, a Cretan, the daughter of Pythonax, he had a son, Telauges and a daughter, Myia; to whom some add Arignota, whose Pythagorean writings are still extant. Timaeus relates that Pythagoras's daughter, while a maiden, took precedence among the maidens in Crotona, and when a wife, among married men. The Crotonians made her house a temple of Demeter, and the neighboring street they called a museum."[21]

We can conclude that there was definitely a tradition of Theano being the wife of Pythagoras, even though her own ancestry is unsure; we may also take for certain that Pythagoras fathered some children, although we do not know their number and their names for sure. Obviously, there was a tradition about one or more famous daughters (Damo, Myia, Arignota), and about Telauges being Pythagoras's son. Iamblichos, *Vita Pythagorica* 146 also mentions Damo and Telauges as siblings who received writings from their father. Apart from that, Iamblichus also hints another son to Pythagoras with the name Mnesarchus;[22] this is obviously a reference to Pythagoras's father who was said to have had the same name.

In this paper, I want to focus on the genealogy of Pythagoras. As we have already seen, the Greek gods Apollo and Zeus seem to be very close to Pythagoras's biography, and indeed there are some sources that call Pythagoras the son of Apollo or some kind of epiphany of Apollo. Apart from that, there are two different traditions concerning Pythagoras's genealogy. One of them speaks of Pythagoras's human parents, who themselves are supposed to stand in the lineage of Ancaeus, a mythical king of Samos and the son of Poseidon or Zeus. We will also see that Ancaeus's mother Astypalaia originates from a famous family. The last tradition is based on the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis which belongs to the most

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[19] Dikaiarchus fr. 41a and 41b Mirhady tell us that Pythagoras fled to Metapontum where he died after 40 days without food; Diogenes Laertios 8,39 knows that Pythagoras was killed on the run by his opponents, because he hesitated to step on a field of beans; finally, Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 57 reports that Pythagoras died full of grief after having seen that none of his followers was left after the attacks.

[20] Diogenes Laertius 42–43, translated by R.D. Hicks.

[21] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 4, translated by K.S. Guthrie.

[22] Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 265.

ancient of all the Pythagorean beliefs.[23] Diogenes Laertios 8,4 and Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagorae* 45 most likely refer to the tradition told by Heraclides Ponticus (c. 390–320 BC)[24] and list four pre-existences for Pythagoras. These are: Aethalides, a son of Hermes; Euphorbos, who fought during the Trojan war and was killed by Menelaus; Hermotimus of Clazomenae, a legendary philosopher and miracle-worker; and Pyrrhus, a fisherman from Delos. We now want to examine these three different lines of tradition in search of the genealogy of Pythagoras.

3. Pythagoras and his human parents in the line of Ancaeus

Let us begin with the tradition of Pythagoras's human parents. Our oldest sources already speak of a certain Mnesarchus (Μνήσαρχος) as Pythagoras's father. Heraclitus of Ephesus mentions the father's name without going into further detail.[25] Herodotus also knows of Mnesarchus's fatherhood to Pythagoras.[26] Porphyrius of Tyre, *Vita Pythagorae* 1 tells us that all the sources agree 'concordantly' (συμφωνεῖται) about the name Mnesarchus, but obviously there were different opinions on Mnesarchus's origin:

> "Some thinking him a Samian, while Neanthes, in the fifth book of his *Fables* states he was a Syrian, from the city of Tyre. As a famine had arisen in Samos, Mnesarchus went thither to trade, and was naturalized there. There also was born his son Pythagoras [...]".[27]

Apart from being a Samian or a Syrian, there were still other speculations on the origin of Mnesarchus. Some sources claim that Mnesarchus came from the Tyrrhenian island of Lemnos[28] or that he originated from Phlius (Phleius) on the Peloponnese.[29] This last city of origin might have been taken into account as a new center of Pythagoreanism developed in Phlius after the expulsion of the Pythagoreans from Southern Italy.[30] Diogenes Laertios 8,1, however, gives us another name of Pythagoras's father when he writes about this possible origin:

> "Some indeed say that he was descended through Euthyphro, Hippasus and Marmacus from Cleonymus, who was exiled from Phlius, and that, as Marmacus lived in Samos, so Pythagoras was called a Samian."[31]

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[23] See ZHMUD 2005, 13–14; HUFFMAN 2009, 21; SCHÄFER 2009, 47, 54.

[24] See STANZEL / ZAMINER 1998, 373; BURKERT 1962, 114; KAHN 2001, 66.

[25] Heraclitus 22 B 129 DK, in Diogenes Laertios 8,6.

[26] Herodotus 4,95.

[27] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 1; translated by K.S. Guthrie.

[28] Neanthes FGrH 84 F 29; Aristoteles fr. 155 Gigon; Aristoxenus fr. 11 Wehrli; Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 2.

[29] Diogenes Laertios 8,1.

[30] See RIEDWEG 2007, 19–20; 136–139.

[31] Diogenes Laertios 8,1; translated by R.D. Hicks.

When Diogenes Laertios talks about this special tradition, he traces back Pythagoras's lineage to Cleonymus. In fact, Cleonymus is the name of a tyrant who ruled the city of Phlius until 229/228 BC but renounced his control to join his city to the Achaean Confederacy.[32] Still, we face a major chronological problem in this part: Since Pythagoras is dated back to the 6th century BC, one of his ancestors cannot have lived in the 3rd century BC. Maybe this is the reason why the other authors do not tell us the lineage through Cleonymus of Phlius and Marmacus, but only refer to Mnesarchus as Pythagoras's father.

Mnesarchus's Syrian provenience from Tyre at the Levantine coast may be explained by Porphyrius's own Near Eastern background. Porphyrius himself came from an aristocratic family of Tyre, which he left for Athens in order to study mathematics, grammar, rhetoric, philology, and philosophy there. In 263 AD, Porphyrius left Athens and joined the school of Plotinus in Rome.[33] Porphyrius's work about Pythagoras thus stands in an orientalizing tradition that also applies to his own sources which were Nicomachus of Gerasa (c. 60–120 AD) and Numenius of Apamea (second half of the 2nd century AD): all three try to make clear that Pythagoras's oriental background gives reason for his special wisdom and abilities.[34]

In the cited text above, Porphyrius tells us that Mnesarchus was a merchant and saved the Samians during a famine. Later on, Porphyrius repeats that Mnesarchus traded goods by ship and also took the young Pythagoras with him on a trading trip to Italy.[35] Speaking about Pythagoras's father, Porphyrius also mentions two brothers of Pythagoras, obviously referring to Neanthes of Cyzikus (died before 300 BC): their names were Eunostos and Tyrrhenus.[36] The names are also mentioned by Diogenes Laertios 8,2 who knows that they were older than Pythagoras. Maybe they are aptronyms: Eunostos ("good yield") might refer to the merchant's hope to make lucrative deals, and the name of Tyrrhenus could relate to one of the possible origins of Mnesarchus from the Tyrrhenian Island of Lemnos. Besides, Diogenes Laertios knows that Pythagoras had an uncle named Zoilos who took Pythagoras to Lesbos where he was instructed by Pherecydes.[37] We do not know, however, if this Zoilos was the brother of Pythagoras's father or mother.

Other authors claim that Mnesarchus was not a trader, but a gem-cutter or gem-engraver (δακτυλιογλύφος).[38] The time of Pythagoras's childhood, the second half of the sixth century BC, is quite famous for the Greek art of gem engraving.[39] The Greeks combined their own techniques with Phoenician and other oriental elements, and probably learned the new styles

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[32] Polybios 2,44,6; see Cobet BNP s.v. Cleonymus [4].

[33] See CHASE 2001, 174–175.

[34] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 5–8; 11–12.

[35] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 2.

[36] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 2.

[37] Diogenes Laertios 8,2.

[38] Diogenes Laertios 8,1; Apuleius, Florida 15; see RIEDWEG 2000, 304.

[39] See DEMAND 1973, 92.

via contacts on Cyprus. It is definitely possible for Mnesarchus to have been one of those Greek craftsmen who went to foreign workshops where he got to know the new techniques. Pythagoras's birthplace, the island of Samos, is very well known for its important role as a cultural bridge between the Near Eastern and the Greek world.[40] We could easily imagine that Pythagoras, being the son of a Greek merchant and/or gem-engraver, was taken to oriental workshops himself by his father, and indeed the ancient sources tell us about such travels: Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorica* 2–3 speaks of a journey to Sidon, on which Pythagoras was supposed to have been born; Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagorae* 1 tells us that Mnesarchus brought his son to Tyre.[41]

Interestingly enough, another center for the new engraving techniques, apart from the Eastern Greek islands—such as Samos—and Cyprus was Etruria.[42] This is worth mentioning, as we have already talked about Pythagoras's migration to Southern Italy where he stayed, amongst other cities, in Sybaris. Some authors tell us that the Sybarites in particular traded a lot of goods with Etruria,[43] and it is possible that the gem- or seal-engraving family background connects with Pythagoras's presence in Southern Italy here.

Let us now have a look at Pythagoras's mother. While Diogenes Laertios does not mention the mother's name at all, Porphyrius, who relies on the information given by Apollonios (1st century AD), knows that her name was Pythais.[44] Pythais is said to be a descendant of Ancaeus, the founder of Samos. Iamblichus can tell us even more: Both Pythagoras's mother and father, Pythais and Mnemarchus,[45] stand in the lineage of Ancaeus: "The tradition is that Mnemarchus and Pythais, Pythagoras's parents, were from the household and family started by Ancaeus."[46] Their common ancestor Ancaeus marks both Mnemarchus/Mnesarchus and Pythais part of an old and influential Samian family, and it is important to have a closer look at this mythological ancestor.

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[40] Herodotus 3,60 reports the technical improvements on Samos such as the construction of the tunnel of Eupalinos, a water pipeline that was dug through a mountain from two sides simultaneously, or the inner harbor of Samos, or also the Heraion of Samos. Detailed analysis has shown that the architects based their works on the technical knowledge of Oriental and Egyptian prototypes; see KIENAST 1995, passim; RIEDWEG 2007, 65–68; WÜST 2008, 92–94. — We also know that during the 6th century BC, Greeks were definitely on their way in the Ancient Near East. For these early cultural contacts see HAIDER 1996; ROLLINGER 1996; ROLLINGER 1997; ROLLINGER 2001; NIEMEIER 2001; KUHRT 2002; BURKERT 2004; ROLLINGER 2004; ROLLINGER 2006; ROLLINGER 2007; ROLLINGER 2009; ROLLINGER 2011a; SULLIVAN 2011; ROLLINGER 2014b. — Obviously, the Greeks even turned up as far East as in Kandahar, see ROLLINGER / HENKELMAN 2009, 336–337.

[41] Also see DEMAND 1973, 92–93; RIEDWEG 2007, 18–21.

[42] See BOARDMAN 1968, 176; DEMAND 1973, 94.

[43] Strabo 6,252; see DEMAND 1973, 94–95.

[44] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 2; also see Apollodoros FGrH 1064 F 1. — The tradition of Pythais being Pythagoras's mother certainly is younger than the tradition of Mnesarchus' fatherhood to Pythagoras. For a discussion of the name 'Pythais', see chapter 4.

[45] The notation "Mnemarchus" instead of "Mnesarchus" only appears in the Vita Pythagorica by Iamblichus.

[46] Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 4, translated by J. Dillon and J. Hershbell.

The tradition says that Ancaeus, son of Poseidon or Zeus[47] and Astypalaea, took part in the journey of the Argonauts, on which he became their helmsman after the death of Tiphys.[48] He then became a Lelegian king on Samos, where he also founded the Hera temple.[49] But let us first consider Ancaeus's own genealogy. Pausanias, referring to Asios, a Samian poet who probably lived at the end of the 5th century BC and wrote genealogical epics,[50] gives us a good impression about his family tree:

> "Asios, the son of Amphiptolemos, a Samian, says in his epic (*EpGF* 7) that there were born to Phoenix Astypalaia and Europa, whose mother was Perimede, the daughter of Oineus; that Astypalaia had by Poseidon a son Ankaios, who reigned over those called Leleges; that Ankaios took to wife Samia, the daughter of the river Maeander, and begat Perilaos, Enoudos, Samos, Alitherses, and a daughter Parthenope; and that Parthenope had a son Lykomedes by Apollo."[51]

Ancaeus thus has quite prominent ancestors. His father, according to Asios and Pausanias, is Poseidon, the god of the sea, of horses and earthquakes,[52] a deity that belongs to the older history of Greek religion, since the name was already used in Mycenaean times.[53] Poseidon was also important to the Argonauts to whom Ancaeus belonged to: The Argonauts dedicated their ship, mythologically spoken, the first in world history, to Poseidon.[54] Ancaeus's mother Astypalaea, on the other hand, comes from a well-known family of Greek mythology. Her parents are Phoenix, the son of Agenor and Telephassa, successor to his father, Agenor, as mythical king of Sidon or Tyre,[55] and Perimede, the daughter of the god Oeneus, probably a wine god who was later replaced by Dionysus.[56] Europa, a sister to Perimede, is the beloved of Zeus, who abducts her from her Levantine home to Crete.[57] Regarding this oriental family background, we may again mention the closeness of Pythagoras's family tree to the Levantine coast: When some authors speak of Pythagoras's actual Near Eastern lineage, they could also refer to his mythical family background from Sidon or Tyre.

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[47] Only Iamblichus calls Zeus the father of Ancaeus, see Vita Pythagorica 3–4; the older version obviously tells us about Poseidon's fatherhood to Ancaeus.

[48] Apollonius of Rhodes 2,894.

[49] See GRAF 1996, 706.

[50] See MADREITER 2015 s.v. 'Asios'.

[51] Pausanias, Graecae descriptio 7,4,1, translated by W.H.S. Jones.

[52] See Pausanias, Graecae descriptio 7, 21, 7.

[53] Poseidon, probably together with his wife, was worshipped in Knossos and Pylus; see BREMMER 2001, 201.

[54] Ps.-Apollodorus 1,9,27; see BREMMER 2001, 203.

[55] Apollodorus 3,2–4; see KÄPPEL 2000a, 936. — Remarkably, also Thales's family is traced back to Agenor and Cadmus by Diogenes Laertius 1,22.

[56] Seen KÄPPEL 2000b, 1141. — The connection to Dionysus is quite interesting because of the Pythagoreans' closeness to Orphic-Bacchic ideas; see Herodotus 2,81; KAHN 2001, 20–21; DREWERMANN 1985b, 169–170; KINGSLEY 1995, 262–263; ZELLER 2003, 42; RIEDWEG 2007, 117–119.

[57] See HARDER 1998, 293.

Pausanias continues with the piece of information that Ancaeus was king of the Leleges. This makes him ruler to a non- (or pre-) Greek people, connected to the early history of Greece and Asia Minor that was already mentioned by Homer, *Iliad* 20,89ff and 21,86ff; most likely, they had a Balkan origin and then migrated to south-western Asia Minor and to western central Greece at the end of the 2nd or at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC.[58] Apart from this non-Greek kingship, Ancaeus was married to Samia, daughter of Maeander. This stresses a close connection to Asia Minor's mainland, Maeander being the god of the homonymous river Maeander in south-western Asia Minor.[59] This story integrates both non-Greek ideas and the traditional Greek pantheon: "The family tree creates a collective identity with Samos being part of a bigger Greek entity."[60]

It is said that Ancaeus and Samia had five children, one of them with the name 'Samos'; this, together with Ancaeus's wife 'Samia' might indicate Ancaeus's destiny to rule over the island of Samos. Another child, their daughter Parthenope, was believed to have Apollo's son named Lykomedes. We will return to this special piece of information within the family tree in the next chapter, in which we will analyze Apollo's contribution to Pythagoras's descent.

Iamblichus tells us another story about Ancaeus that also connects him to Apollo:

"The story goes, then, that Ankaios, who dwelt in Same in Kephallenia, was sired by Zeus . . . (and) surpassed the other Kephallenians in judgement and renown. He received an oracle from the Pythia to assemble a colony from Kephallenia, Arcadia, and Thessaly [...]. In charge of all these, he was to colonize an island, which because of its excellent soil and land was called Melamphyllos, and to name the *polis* Samos after Same which is on Kephallenia. The oracle went as follows: 'Ankaios, the sea-island Samos instead of Same, / I command you to settle. And this (island) is named Phyllis.' [...] The tradition is that Mnemarchos and Pythais, Pythagoras's parents, were from the household and family started by Ankaios."[61]

Opposed to Pausanias, Iamblichus reports about Zeus's fatherhood to Ancaeus, and he explains Ancaeus's reign over Samos in another way: At first, he lived in Same in Cephalonia, but the Pythia, the priestess of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi, told him to colonize another fertile island, Samos. We might add that in this version, Apollo is the one who makes the divine decision that Ancaeus must leave his old home and move to Samos. Apollodorus of Rhodes 1,188 also tells us that having arrived on Samos, Ancaeus founded not only the city, but also the famous temple of Hera.

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[58] Pausanias, Graecae Despriptio 3,1,1; see Gschnitzer 1999, 39; MADREITER 2015 s.v. 'Leleges'.

[59] See FREY 1999, 708; MADREITER 2015 s.v. 'Phoenix'.

[60] MADREITER 2015 s.v. 'Phoenix'.

[61] Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 3–4, translated by J. Dillon and J. Hershbell.

We also know a story of the death of Ancaeus. Pherecydes of Athens (5th century BC) was one of the first to report that Ancaeus was struck by the wild Calydonian boar (during the hunt?[62]) and died.[63] This story connects Ancaeus with his mythological great-grandfather Oeneus, who was supposed to be king of Calydon and forgot to offer sacrifices to Artemis in one year,[64] so that the goddess sent a ferocious monster to the king's land. In his need to get rid of the wild boar, king Oeneus asked the most prominent Greek hunters for help; Ancaeus obviously was thought to have been one of them, even though, of course, the family tree provides a chronological problem here.

This chapter is concluded with a graphical representation of the genealogical tree of Pythagoras via his prominent ancestor, Ancaeus, that sums up our precedent statements (see Figure 1).[65]

4. Pythagoras, son of Apollo?

Since the time of Aristotle, Pythagoras had been considered superhuman by some of his followers. Aristotle mentions in a fragment that the Pythagorean community had a trifold distinction among rational beings: There are gods, men, and beings "like Pythagoras" (οἶον Πυθαγόρας).[66] So people obviously postulated a status somewhere between man and god for Pythagoras; a status that is quite similar to the one of the heroes of the Homeric era or of mythological persons with an oriental background.[67] Later on, Pythagoras was even attested a divine ancestry. Porphyrius preserved the distichon of an unknown Samian poet:

> "Pythais, of all Samians the most fair,
> Jove-loved Pythagoras to Phoebus bare!"[68]

The poet calls Pythais, Pythagoras's mother, "the most fair" of all the Samian women; the emphasis of the physical beauty is a typical motive in the ancient presentation of divine men and their families.[69] When we read that Pythagoras is "Jove-loved", it means that he is a special friend of Zeus's. This is remarkable, as we have already seen that at least Iamblichus tells us about Zeus's fatherhood to Ancaeus, the ancestor of Pythais (and Mnesarchus). But more than that, Pythagoras is called the son of Phoebus, i.e. Apollo, by the poet.

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[62] See MORISON 2011 s.v. 'Ankaios'.

[63] Schol. Apollodorus of Rhodes 2, 895; Schol. Lycophron 488; see GRAF 1996, 706.

[64] Homer, Iliad 9, 933.

[65] A part of this genealogical tree can also be found at MADREITER 2015 s.v. 'Phoenix'.

[66] Aristotle fr. 192 Rose, in Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 31.

[67] See BIELER 1967, 10–14; KUHRT 2007, 475; ROLLINGER 2011b, 46; also see FINK 2013 for Gilgamesh's status of being two thirds god and one third human.

[68] Apollonios FGrH F 1, in Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 2; translated by K. S. Guthrie.

[69] See BIELER 1967, 52–53. Also compare GUFLER 2010 about the beauty of the Persian king.

Agenor ∞ Telephassa   Oeneus

Phoenix ∞ Perimed

Poseidon
(Zeus) ∞ Astypalaea   Europa

Maeande

Ancaeus ∞ Samia

Perila   Enoudo   Samo   Alitherse   Partheno ∞ Apollo

Lykomedes

unknown number of generations

Zoilos   Mnesarchu ∞ Pythais

Eunostos   Tyrrhen   **PYTHAGORAS** ∞ Theano

Mnesarch   Damo   Myia   Arignota   Telauge
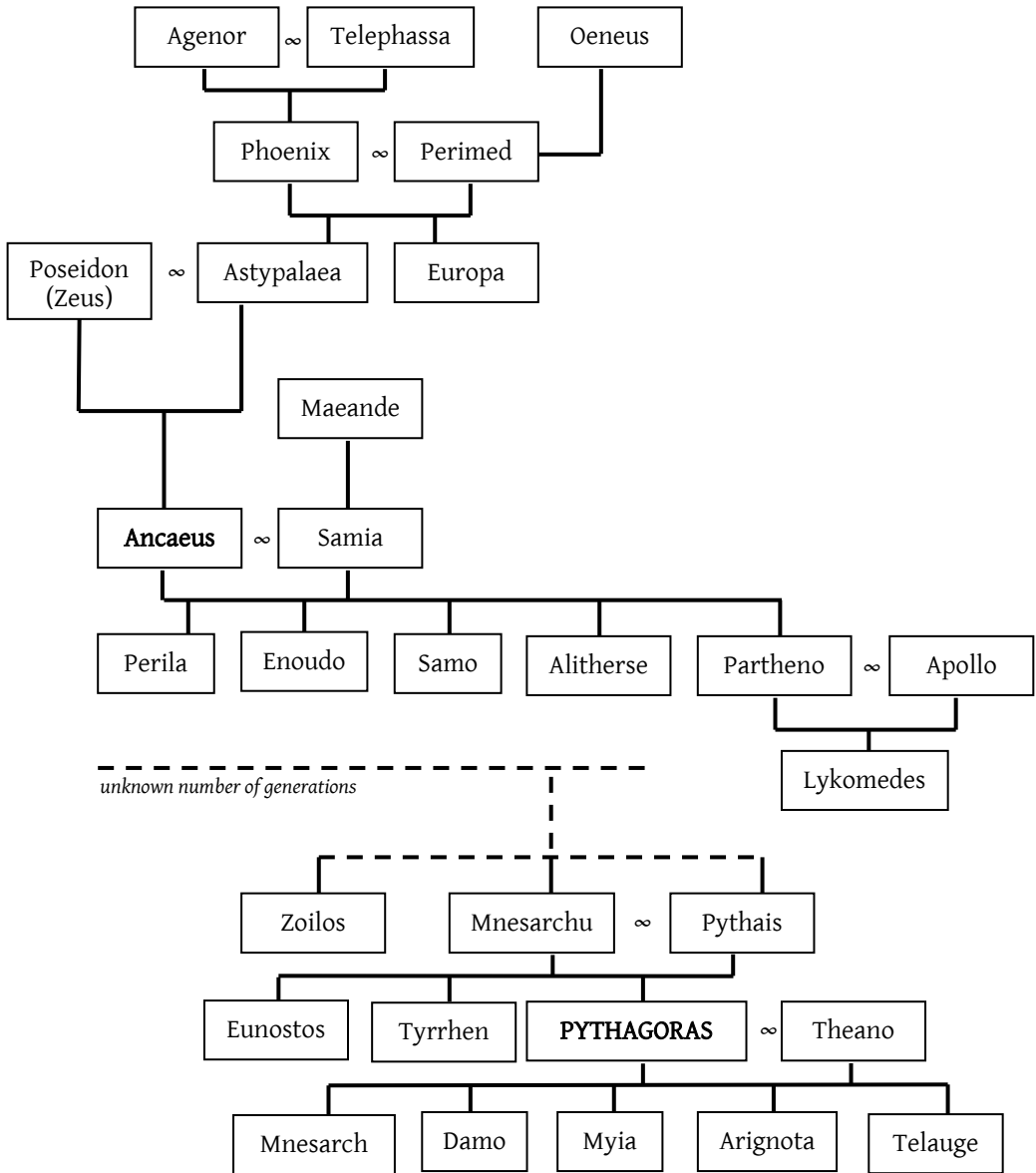
Figure 1. Genealogical tree of the family of Pythagoras (via Ancaeus)

Pythagoras would not have been the only man being called a son of Apollo. Pindar, for example, speaks of Orpheus as Apollo's son,[70] and also the Roman emperor Augustus was portrayed as a son of Apollo by Sueton.[71]

Iamblichus tells us an elaborate story about the birth of Pythagoras. At first, Pythagoras's birth is announced through the Delphic oracle. The Pythia, priestess of Apollo in Delphi, predicted to Pythagoras's father, Mnesarchus, that his wife was pregnant with a son

> "who would surpass all who had ever lived in beauty and wisdom, and that he would be of the greatest benefit to the human race in everything pertaining to human achievements".[72]

Such a divine oracle is of course not restricted to Pythagoras: Augustus's birth was indicated by a flash of lightening,[73] and Jesus's incarnation was prophesied by an angel.[74]

Iamblichus's story goes on that Mnesarchus

> "immediately changed his wife's former name Parthenis to one reminiscent of the Delphic prophet and her son, naming her Pythais, and the infant [...] Pythagoras, by this name commemorating that such an offspring had been promised [to] him by the Pythian Apollo."[75]

With this story, Iamblichus tries to explain Pythagoras's own name and his mother's name: Both were given their names by Mnesarchus in remembrance of the Pythian oracle of Apollo in Delphi. The motive of changing one's name is well known to the ancient audience. Changing the name goes together with changing the inner nature of a person, and in a religious context the person gets a new name after the conversion or vocation.[76]

Another interesting detail in Iamblichus's story is the hint for a virgin birth. Pythagoras's mother's former name was, according to Iamblichus, Parthenis ('virgin'), probably a side blow on the Christian παρθένος Mary.[77] As mentioned above, Apollo had already played a certain part in Pythagoras's genealogy earlier on by fathering Parthenope's son. Of course, the sources do not give any hints at all on which of Ancaeus's children Pythagoras's parents were descendants of. Yet we might spot the idea of a virgin birth with Apollo as the divine father of a son already in this union of Apollo and 'Parthenope', literally meaning 'virgin's voice'. The image of a virgin birth is common in the presentation of the Hellenistic divine man,[78] and even though it is not explicitly made clear for Pythagoras, the audience will have noticed the story all the same without further elaboration. Pythagoras's miraculous birth story on the

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[70] Pindar, Pythian Ode 4,169–184.

[71] Sueton, Augustus 94, 3–4.

[72] Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 5; translated by J. Dillon and J. Hershbell.

[73] Sueton, Augustus 94, 2–3.

[74] In Mt 1, 20–21, an angel appears in Jesus's father's dream, whereas in Lk 1,26–38 the angel tells Jesus's mother about her pregnancy.

[75] Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 7.

[76] A well-known biblical example is given by the apostle Peter, in Mk 3, 16; Lk 6, 14; John 1, 42; see BIELER 1967, 31–32.

[77] See RIEDWEG 2007, 19.

[78] See SMITH 1981, 53; DREWERMANN 1985a, 85, 393.

one hand shows his intensive relationship to the divine world, while on the other hand, it marks the beginning of his "soteriological mission"[79] in the world.

Apart from other sons of gods in Greek mythology, the technical term 'son-of-god' also emerges in the magical literature of Late Antiquity. Obviously, being the son of a god did not necessarily have to be part of the traditional *curriculum vitae* of a magician, but we know that in some magical rites the magus identified himself with the 'son', a superhuman being which enables the magician to do miracles.[80] In other texts, the executor of the ritual relates to Hermes (*Papyri Graecae Magicae* 8, 50) or Apollo (*Papyri Graecae Magicae* 2, 1) and thus does not act as a human being, but as a god.[81] This is why Pythagoras's reputation as son of the god Apollo might also be based on the magical background that Pythagoras was connected with in Late Antiquity.[82]

Still, there is another explanation for Pythagoras's supposed filiation of Apollo. Iamblichus reports the *akousma*, i.e. a Pythagorean proverb, that Pythagoras is the "Hyperborean Apollo".[83] While the Pythagorean community and the authors reporting the life of Pythagoras tell us matter-of-factly about this special status, the cult of "Hyperborean Apollo" is nowhere else to be found outside the Pythagorean tradition. Of course, according to mythology, Apollo spends the winter months in the land of the Hyperboreans, a land which is located somewhere in the far north.[84] There, Apollo appears as an agrarian deity that requests a vegetarian diet and bloodless sacrifices, and indeed the Hyperboreans are supposed to have brought their offerings to the sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Delos.[85] This shows a number of similarities to Pythagorean rules for a 'correct' lifestyle, as Pythagoras also prescribed non-animal sacrifices and a nutrition that is based on either no meat at all or that at least prohibited some kinds of meat.[86]

It stays unclear, however, if Pythagoras was definitely seen as a god when he was called "Hyperborean Apollo" or if this was only an "honorable nickname",[87] but not a real identification with the deity. For the authors of Late Antiquity, it might only have been a small step to extend Pythagoras's evident closeness to Apollo to a father-son-relationship and thus be able to integrate a common Hellenistic motive into the biography of Pythagoras.

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[79] O'MEARA 1990, 39.

[80] See e.g. PGM 4, 535–538; also compare SMITH 1981, 166, 178–179; LUCK 1999, 125.

[81] See BINGHAM KOLENKOW 1980, 1479.

[82] See KINGSLEY 1995, 227; BURKERT 2004, 122–129.

[83] Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 140; see BURKERT 1962, 153.

[84] See Paian of Alcaeus fr. 307c; Pindar, Pythian Ode 10,29.

[85] Diogenes Laertius 8,13; Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 30; GRANT / HAZEL 2009, 213.

[86] See RIEDWEG 2007, 89–98.

[87] ZHMUD 2015, 13.

Both perspectives, namely Pythagoras as son of human parents and as son of the god Apollo, were simultaneously reported by Iamblichus,[88] and obviously nobody felt irritated by the two rivalling traditions.

5. Pythagoras and his pre-existences

As we have already mentioned, the doctrine of metempsychosis belongs to the oldest stratum of the Pythagorean lore and may easily be traced back to Pythagoras himself.[89] Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans obviously used the term ψυχή to describe the transmigrating soul; not the intellectual self, but the emotional personality reincarnates.[90] Diogenes Laertius 8,4 and Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagorae* 45, here depending on Heraclides Ponticus, report that the pre-existences of Pythagoras were Aethalides, Euphorbus, Hermotimus and Pyrrhus (see Figure 2). Iamblichus, amongst others, tells us about Euphorbus as the only pre-existence of Pythagoras, and there is good reason to suggest that this tradition is older than the nomination of the other persons;[91] this might also be the reason why Porphyrius mentions Euphorbus first.[92] Let us thus start with a brief examination of this Trojan hero.

The *Iliad* 17,40 tells us that Euphorbus is the son of Panthous, a priest of—again—Apollo, and Phrontis. The mother's name Φροντίς was translated as 'to ponder seriously' or 'thoughtful care'[93] and therefore seems to fit into place to Pythagoras's biography, since he himself was portrayed as considerate, caring and disciplined.[94] Euphorbus was killed by Menelaus, who took all his weapons.[95] Pythagoras now 'proofs' that Euphorbus really was one of his pre-existences because he recognizes 'his', i.e. Euphorbus's, Phrygian shield when he catches sight of it in the sanctuary of Argos or Mycenae respectively.[96] The audience reacts with amazement about Pythagoras's wisdom and beliefs that he once really was Euphorbus.

Via Euphorbus's father Panthous, the priest of Apollo, Euphorbus himself stands in close connection to this deity, but there is even more: In the *Iliad* the dying Patroclus tells Hector:

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[88] Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 8; 10; 215; see ZHMUD 2015, 16.

[89] See e.g. Xenophanes 21 B 7 DK in Diogenes Laertius 8,36; Ion 36 B 4 DK in Diogenes Laertius 1,120; see BURKERT 1962, 100; RIEDWEG 2007, 87–88.

[90] See HUFFMAN 2009, 23–27.

[91] See BURKERT 1962, 116.

[92] Indeed, Porphyrius reports both versions: In Vita Pythagorae 26–27, he speaks of Euphorbus as the only pre-existence of Pythagoras, whereas in Vita Pythagorae 45 he also refers to the other incarnations of Pythagoras's *psyche*, though starting with Euphorbus.

[93] See SCHOTTENLAENDER 1956, 345.

[94] Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 46–49; see RIEDWEG 2007, 29–31.

[95] Homer, Iliad 17,9–109.

[96] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 27; Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 63, 134. — Maximus of Tyre 10,2 even knows about an inscription on the shield: "Menelaus dedicates this shield, that was taken from Euphorbus, to Pallas Athene."

"Fate [μοῖρα] and the son of Leto have overpowered me, and among mortal men Euphorbus; you are yourself third only in the killing of me."[97]

If Hector is called the "third" one, then fate (*moira*), Leto's son—this is Apollo, of course—and Euphorbus obviously are only two persons; two of them must be identical. W. Burkert suggested that if someone wanted to say, 'I might be Apollo', he could call himself 'Euphorbus' relating to this passage of the *Iliad*.[98] By mentioning Euphorbus as one of the early incarnations of Pythagoras's soul, Pythagoras is again close to Apollo, or he might even be identified with this deity.

A very intense connection to Apollo may also be seen in Pyrrhus, the fisherman[99] from the island of Delos, who appears in the list of the pre-existences to Pythagoras. The Pythagorean biographies come to speak of Delos in other regards as well: Pythagoras is supposed to have sacrificed bloodless offerings at the altar of Apollo on Delos,[100] thus imitating, as we have seen above, the mythological people of the Hyperboreans, and we also learn that Pherecydes of Syros, one of Pythagoras's instructors, was buried on Delos by his faithful pupil.[101] Euphorbus as well as Pyrrhus give a hint that these two pre-existences are to be seen in contact with ideas from the Apollonian religion.

Also the next—or, as is the case with the reports by Heraclides Ponticus and Diogenes Laertius, the first—incarnation of Pythagoras's soul gives hints for the divine sphere. The authors suggest that Pythagoras himself claimed that he once was Aethalides, a son of Hermes. His divine father permitted him to express one wish—apart from immortality, this being "the distinctive attribute of the gods"[102] only—and so Aethalides wished to keep in mind all events that happened during life and after death.[103] This wish was fulfilled, and so Aethalides was able to memorize all his rebirths. Of course, this story requires the doctrine of metempsychosis to make sense, and indeed Pherecydes of Syros wrote that Aethalides was given the privilege of reincarnation.[104] It was also believed that Aethalides was an Argonaut,[105] which connects him to Ancaeus, the important ancestor in the genealogical tree of Pythagoras, and also to Orpheus or Heracles, the heroes that played an outstanding role in

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[97] Homer, Iliad 16,849–850; translated by S. Butler.

[98] BURKERT 1962, 117; also see DREWERMANN 1985b, 145.

[99] A rather famous miracle story also connects Pythagoras to his pre-existence Pyrrhus, the fisherman: Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 25 and Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 36 report that Pythagoras once predicted the exact number of the fish that were caught by fishermen, and what was even more wonderful, no fish died while the fishermen were counting; of course, Pythagoras was right with his prophecy.

[100] Diogenes Laertius 8, 13; Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorica 30.

[101] Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 15.

[102] KAHN 2001, 4.

[103] Diogenes Laertius 8, 4.

[104] Pherecydes fr. 3, in Apollonius of Rhodes 1, 645; see PHILIP 1966, 188.

[105] Apollonios of Rhodes 1, 51–55.

Pythagoreanism as well.[106] Hermes, on the other hand, Aethalides's father, is unusual to be connected to Pythagoras. If we remember, however, that the story about Aethalides implies the journey to the netherworld and back to the world of the living by his rebirth, we should not forget that Hermes was responsible for exactly this situation in his function as the guide of souls.[107]

One last reincarnation of Pythagoras's soul was Hermotimus, who, according to Diogenes Laertius 8,5, was the first to have recognized Euphorbus's shield and thus 'proved' that he had the Trojan hero's soul in him. Hermotimus of Clazomenae was a legendary philosopher who cannot easily be classified in terms of chronology. Pliny reports that Hermotimus's soul could leave his body, and after the soul's return he made prophecies; Apollonios paradoxographus tells us that Hermotimus died during such a soul-journey because his enemies burnt his sleeping body.[108] Scholars have suggested that Hermotimus, together with other (semi-) mythological or also historical figures like Orpheus, Aristeas of Proconnesus, the Hyperborean priest Abaris, Empedocles and Pythagoras, belong to the type of 'Greek shamans',[109] and the doctrine of metempsychosis in particular seems to be closely related to the shamanistic soul-journey that is insinuated in the reports about Hermotimus. Additionally, we could even suggest that the etymology of the name 'Hermotimus' already points to Hermes, the guide of souls, and his gift to his son Aethalides who remembered every detail on his soul's journey in this world and the hereafter.

6. Results

The analysis of Pythagoras's pre-existences or, in other words, his different incarnations, obviously does not contribute a lot of new information to Pythagoras's ancestry. However, the early incarnations directly refer to the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis and show some interesting connections to the people mentioned in other reports about Pythagoras's genealogy: Aethalides, the son of Hermes, is an Argonaut just like Ancaeus; Euphorbus is another mythological hero who is close to Apollo, just like the fisherman Pyrrhus from Delos; Hermotimus, finally, is a shamanistic figure that indicates the motive of the soul-journey in connection with metempsychosis.

Still, we could find out that the divine world did play an important part in the genealogy of Pythagoras. Most authors agree on the old tradition of Mnesarchus being Pythagoras's father; Pythais as Pythagoras's mother is obviously a younger addition. Interestingly enough,

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[106] See KINGSLEY 1995, 274–275; RIEDWEG 2007, 21–22, 117–119.

[107] Aeschylus, Psychagogai F273, F273a, F275; also see OGDEN 2002, 26–27.

[108] Pliny, Naturalis historia 7, 174; Apollonios Paradoxographus, Mirabilia 3.

[109] See ELIADE / TRASK 1972, 270; KOLLMANN 1996, 90; LUCK 1999, 95; OGDEN 2002, 9, 14.

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┌─────────────┐        ┌─────────────┐
│   Hermes    │────────│  Aethalides │
└─────────────┘        └─────────────┘
                              ┊
                              ↓
┌─────────────┐        ┌─────────────┐
│  Panthous   │───┐    │  Euphorbus  │
└─────────────┘   ├────└─────────────┘
      ∞           │           ┊
┌─────────────┐   │           ↓
│   Phrontis  │───┘    ┌─────────────┐
└─────────────┘        │ Hermotimus  │
                       └─────────────┘
                              ┊
                              ↓
                       ┌─────────────┐
                       │   Pyrrhus   │
                       └─────────────┘
                              ┊
                              ↓
                       ┌─────────────┐
                       │ PYTHAGORAS  │
                       └─────────────┘
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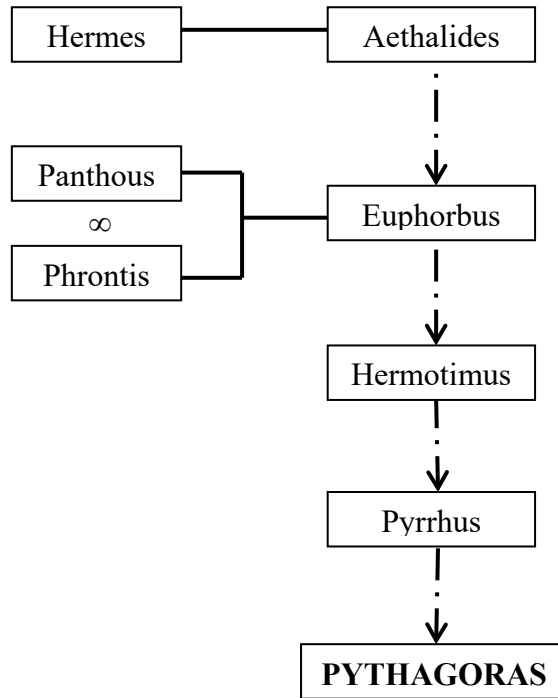
Figure 2. Pythagoras's pre-existences (according to Heraclides Ponticus)

though, Pythagoras's descent from Ancaeus, the mythical founder and first king of Samos, runs via Pythais in Porphyrius's report; only Iamblichus makes both Pythagoras's parents derive from Ancaeus's family. Thus, the story goes that Pythagoras descended from an old aristocratic and influential Samian family. But what is more, we have also seen that the genealogical tree via Ancaeus on the one hand leads to a connection of Pythagoras's family with the traditional Greek mythology, especially when we think of Poseidon (or, in Iamblichus's account, Zeus) as the father of Ancaeus, or of Oeneus and his part in the myth of the Caledonian Boar Hunt, while on the other hand it also links Pythagoras to a Phoenician or Near Eastern background (Agenor, Phoenix, Asytpalaea, Maeander). This matches with the tales that Mnesarchus himself originally might have come from the Levantine coast; his (and his brother's?) profession as a merchant and/or gem-engraver also indicate an oriental connection.

Ancaeus was definitely regarded as one of the most important ancestors of Pythagoras. This might also have to do with his participation in the journey of the Argonauts, a story that might have been linked to shamanistic motives;[110] Pythagoras himself and his pre-existences

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[110] The common motives are the journey of the hero together with superhuman companions into the Eastern home of the sun, an area that could be interpreted as the afterworld; on their way, the protagonists have to master difficult

Aethalides and, most of all, Hermotimus show some of those shamanistic aspects just as well. Furthermore, Orpheus and Heracles, two heroes with a special status in the Pythagorean doctrines, also took part in the journey of the Argonauts which again connects Pythagoreanism with the traditional Greek mythology.

Finally, we have also made clear the role that Apollo played in Pythagoras's biography. Pythagoras's closeness to Apollo, the Pythian god of Delphi, is expressed in various ways: the names 'Pythagoras' and 'Pythais' were explained by Apollo's prophecy concerning Pythagoras's birth by Iamblichus; the tradition of Pythagoras as "Hyperborean Apollo", i.e. some kind of epiphany of Apollo that connects him to the mythical people of the Hyperboreans with similar religious ideas to the Pythagoreans, is old and goes back to Aristotle; Euphorbus and the Delian fisherman Pyrrhus, two of the pre-existences of Pythagoras, were seen in close connections to Apollo; and it may have been a small step to even declare Apollo to the divine father of Pythagoras in Hellenistic times, so that Pythagoras could be seen as a true son of a god. Iamblichus's story about Pythagoras's mother originally being called 'Parthenis' could be reminiscent of the motive of a virgin birth, and indeed we can recognize a doublet of the motive here because of Apollo's and Parthenope's liaison earlier in the genealogical tree of Pythagoras.

The three different traditions of Pythagoras's lineage—Pythagoras as the son of human parents, or as the son of Apollo and a human mother, or the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis—go hand in hand with each other. Hence it is no wonder that the ancient authors could relate to the varying stories simultaneously without feeling disturbed by possible contradictions: These contradictions are rather part of our modern perspective, but obviously the contemporary view permitted the symbiosis of all three traditions.

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challenges to reach their aim, a talisman that is, in this case, the Golden Fleece. See MEULI 1935, 166; BURKERT 1967, 15, 18, 26; DRÄGER 1996, 1068–1069.

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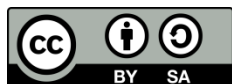
The Origin Myths as a Possible Basis for Genealogy of the Inca Imperial Dynasty in Ancient Peru

Tarmo KULMAR[1]

Abstract. *This article discusses whether the Peruvian myths could help to confirm the thesis of the possible origin of the Inca imperial dynasty of pre-Columbian Peru from the Tiahuanaco culture, and shows that the purpose of the official ideology of the Incas was to justify the descent of the imperial dynasty directly from the gods. In the focus are origin myths of the Incas and archaeological data. Manco Capak who supposedly ruled the Inca at the time of their arrival at the Cuzco Valley, became the first half-legendary ruler of the country and started the official Inca dynasty. Two versions of origin myth end with the account of building Cuzco city by Manco in the name of Viracocha the Creator and Inti the sun god. The founding of city in the name of two gods could be interpreted in a manner uniquely provident and theocratic for the history of the Andean state Tahuantinsuyu: Viracocha had provided that Manco's tribe will rule the world, and Manco started to carry it out at the will and guidance of god Inti. Thus, the civilisational mission of the Inca found a theological explanation as well. The ethnocentric and imperialist origin myth formed the ideological foundation for establishing so-called early totalitarian state. Ancient Peruvian myths can also be effectively seen in the context of genealogical interpretation of the imperial dynasty of Incas.*

Rezumat. *Articolul discută dacă miturile peruane ar putea contribui la confirmarea tezei despre originea posibilă a dinastiei imperiale Inca a Peru-ului precolumbian din cultura Tiahuanaco. Se arată că scopul ideologiei oficiale a Inca era să justifice descendența dinastia imperială direct de la zei. În centrul atenției se află miturile originii Inca și datele arheologice. Două versiuni ale mitului originii se încheie cu relatarea construirii orașului Cuzco de către semilegendarul Manco Capak în numele lui Viracocha Creatorul și Inti, zeul soarelui. Întemeierea orașului în numele a doi zei ar putea fi interpretată într-un mod unic provident și teocratic pentru istoria statului andin Tahuantinsuyu: Viracocha a profețit că tribul lui Manco va guverna lumea și Manco a început să îndeplinească profeția subi îndrumarea zeului Inti. Astfel, misiunea civilizațională a Inca a găsit și o explicație teologică. Mitul de origine etnocentrică și imperialistă a constituit fundamentul ideologic pentru instituirea așa-numitului stat totalitarist timpuriu. Miturile antice peruviene pot fi văzute într-o manieră eficientă și în contextul interpretării genealogice a dinastiei imperiale a Inca.*

Keywords: Pre-Columbian Peru, Inca Empire, Origin myths, Genealogy, Ethnocentrism, Viracocha, Manco Capak, Cuzco, Tahuantinsuyu, Early totalitarian state.

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Following is a discussion on whether the Peruvian myths can help confirm the thesis of the possible origin of the Inca imperial dynasty of pre-Columbian Peru from the Tiahuanaco culture. This article also shows that the purpose of the official ideology of the Incas was to justify the descent of the imperial dynasty directly from the gods.[2]

The article will focus on materials of two ancient Peruvian cultures: Tiahuanaco, which according to the Peruvian archaeological periodisation belongs to the sc. Middle Horizon (approx. 700–1100 AD) and the Inca culture, called also Tahuantinsuyu after the country of the sc. Late Horizon (first part of the 13th century–1532).

The ruins of Tiahuanaco city and centre of worship are located on the Altiplano in today's Bolivia, ca 4000 m from water level, and 21 km north-east from Lake Titicaca. Tiahuanaco was a capital of a theocratic state governed by priest kings. The state exerted its influence on the development of the whole southern part of Peru in the closing centuries of the last millennium, expanding its influence in a peaceful manner on the vast highland as well as coastal territory. Tiahuanaco, therefore, carried out a pacifistic cultural mission quite different from that of its contemporary militant country of Huari (Wari) in the Peruvian Andes. The religious sources of this period are first and foremost archaeological findings, but to a great extent also the recordings of the 16th century chroniclers.[3]

The religion of Tiahuanaco centred around the cult of a sky and thunder god Viracocha. The deity was generally depicted as having staves in both of his hands and an aureole around his head. The aureole suggests the qualities of a sun god, represented on the bas-relief in the upper part of the famous Sun Gate in Tiahuanaco as well as on ceramic. The staves, on the other hand, suggest Viracocha's distant ancestry from the nearly thousand years older Chavín sky god in North Peru. His attendants were ranking deities in the shapes of cougar, condor, falcon and snake. Viracocha was worshipped as the main god in Huari as well; there his characteristics were apparently more militant. A head of Tiahuanaco state functioned both as a king and the arch-priest and he was revered as Viracocha's embodiment on earth.[4]

In 1921 one of the leading researchers of Peruvian cultures from the first part of this century José de la Riva Agüero y Osma, who had also studied the chronicle records as well as linguistic and archaeological data for nearly 25 years, published his "theory of the paleo-Quechuan empire". The theory focused on the hypothesis that Tiahuanaco was originally the cradle and home of the Inca Empire, and the Inca themselves the upper class of the once emigrated Tiahuanaco people. He also argued that the Quechuans, Aymarans and Araucanians had to originate from the same ancient and anthropologically close ancestral

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[2] The article is a further development of a my previous study KULMAR 1999a, 17–25.

[3] PREM 1989, 57–58, 179–180.

[4] KELM 1990, 524–528.

nation who spoke a language related to theirs, and was developed to a degree that could influence them, the younger peoples. Riva-Agüero's term for such ancestors was 'paleo-Quechuans'.[5]

Even today the Aymarans inhabit the surroundings of Lake Titicaca. They have preserved heritage on their ancient migration and the subjugation of the town people who were driven from the city. Also, the archaeological data supports the idea of the late arrival of the Aymarans. Riva-Agüero speculates that the paleo-Quechuans were now forced to leave among other places for the Cuzco Valley, the later settlement of the Inca. A chronicler informs us that the first king of the Inca Manco Capac came from Tiahuanaco.[6] We also know that the relationship between the Quechuans and the Aymarans could be characterised by a constant feud which might have been caused by the fugitives' anger towards the invaders. Agüero also argues that the affinity of the Quechuan and Aymaran languages is due to the existence of a common primal language, possibly the paleo-Quechuan. The archaeological data also confirms the Aymaran immigration. The chullpa's, or the burial towers around Titicaca belonged supposedly to the Aymarans; still, the earliest settlers of Tiahuanaco mummified their dead similarly to the Inca, similarities could be found also between the pottery from the golden age of Tiahuanaco and that of the Inca — the ceramic ware of Aymarans is considerably different. The clothing of the Aymarans differed as well, being shorter than the Quechuan dress, which once again supports the legend about the departure of the long-robed Tiahuanacos. Montesinos, the chronicler, informs us that the priest kings of Tiahuanaco, or los amautas as they were called, fled the country trying to save the cult of their own gods.[7] This is another evidence proving that the Inca originated from the upper class who were forced to leave Tiahuanaco by the militant Aymarans, or los piruas. The idea of the Inca having been militant aroused from the new circumstances. The Inca regarded the surroundings of Titicaca as their former home and revered Viracocha as a god who had told them to build the city of Cuzco. Later, the mythology related to Viracocha acquired an important role in the Inca religion.

Thus, we might reason that the founders of the Tiahuanaco culture were the common ancestors of the Quechuans and Aymarans, i.e. the paleo-Quechuans. Presumably, the militant Aymarans crushed Tiahuanaco in the 10th–11th century and forced the majority of the upper class flee northward to the mountain valleys inhabited by other Quechuan kin tribes. The Aymarans could not destroy the powerful civilisation all at once and founded the kingdom of Colla, which in the 15th century was incorporated into the state of the same Inca who were once driven from their homeland by the Collas. Thus, the hypothesis of Riva-Agüero expanded to a theory which is acknowledged by most of the historians in Peru.

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[5] BUSTO *sine anno*, 186–194.

[6] GARCILASO 1988, Libro I, cap. XV.

[7] BUSTO *sine anno*, 191.

Consequently, the Inca were the genetic and cultural successors of the Tiahuanaco people. According to the archaeological data these Quechuan emigrants arrived at their kin tribes in the Cuzco Valley at the beginning of the 12th century and founded their citystate on the spot. Since 1538 the Inca ruler Pachacutek Yupanqui employed the necessity of defeating the militant Chancas, subjugated other Quechuan city-states and merged them into the empire that reigned the whole of Peru, northern Chile, northern Bolivia and southern Ecuador until the invasion of Spanish conquistadors. The archaeological material for the religion of this period is abundant, and can be compared to the detailed accounts of the 16th–17th century Spanish chronicles.[8]

The highest ranking deity of the Inca was a celestial supreme being who was first known under the name Viracocha, later also as Pachacamak. Originally, Pachacamak was a sky god of the Lurín Valley in central Peru whose name was later given to the sky god of the Inca. The main god of the Inca state religion was the sun god Inti, who might have been a nature totem of the Quechua or a god of a certain tribe. Another significant deity in the Inca pantheon was the thunder god Illapu who was apparently distinctive from the Tiahuanaco sky god, but was named after a thunder god of the central Peruvian tribes. Viracocha became the culture hero of the Inca who was said to have brought culture to people, then set off to the Pacific and promised to return.[9]

Inca myths can be divided in two groups: creation myths and, respectively, origin myths.

1. Briefly about creation myths

The world was created by Viracocha near Lake Titicaca. After the great deluge or the receding of chaotic floodwaters Viracocha descended to earth and created plants, animals and men to the empty land; he built the city of Tiahuanaco and appointed 4 world rulers of whom Manco Capak became the superior of the Ursa Major world, i.e. the north horizon.[10]

2. Briefly about origin myths[11]

2.1. Myths about the Ayar brothers

Four pairs of brothers-sisters created by Viracocha to rule the world left the cave of Mountain Pacaritambo. The whole world was living in an uncivilised and ignorant manner. The newcomers began with organising the mankind and divided people into ten large

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[8] KAUFFMANN 1991, 78; ALBARRACIN-JORDAN *sine anno*; ELLORIETA SALAZAR 2005, 17, etc.

[9] S., for example, SÉJOURNÉ 1992, 215, 258.

[10] BUSTO 1981, 7 8.

[11] S. about Peruvian origin myths more: ROSAS 2012.

communities. Leading the tribes the brothers set off in search of enough fertile land to sustain themselves. They carried Sunturpaucar, a long staff adorned with colourful feathers, a cage with a sun-bird who could give good advice and other sacred objects in front of them. Making shorter and longer stops they moved towards Cuzco. In the course of the long journey the group became smaller: the rivalling brothers confined one of their companions to a cave, two others wished to break away but were turned into stones. The only surviving brother Ayar Manco a.k.a. Manco Capak accompanied by his sister and wife Mama Ocllo and his brothers' wives, founded the city of World Pole in the name of Viracocha the Creator and Inti the Sun God, and settled there with his people.

2.2. A myth of Manco Capak and Mama Ocllo

A long time ago when the world was filled with savages, misery and poverty, a brother and a sister, a married couple Manco Capak and Mama Ocllo left Lake Titicaca. Inti, the sun god had sent them to refine the surrounding peoples, and gave them a golden stick for testing the land for cultivation and then settling in the suitable place. Having found such a place they had to found the state, teach the people how to live proper lives and advocate the worship of the sun god. The journey took a long time. Eventually, in the Cuzco Valley the golden stick disappeared into the ground, and they could start with their mission. Manco Capak taught his people the cultivation and irrigation of land and handicraft, Mama Ocllo taught women spinning, weaving and sewing. The tribe of Manco Capak became to be called by the name of Hanan Cuzco (High Cuzco) and the relatives of Mama Ocllo by the name of Hurin Cuzco (Lower Cuzco). The city and the state was founded in the name of Viracocha and Inti the sun god, also the Sun Temple was built in Cuzco.[12]

Interpretation of the myths

María Rostworowski de Díez Canseco argues that the creation of the Inca state is introduced already in the creation myths.[13] Although originally they seemed tofunction as creation stories about Tiahuanaco culture, they were later apparently customised by the Inca for ideological purposes. The origin of the Inca from the cultural centre around Lake Titicaca has been supported by archaeological data. Editing seems most apparent in accounts of introducing the first legendary ruler Manco Capak, on the one hand, and in dividing the world in four parts, on the other. The Inca state Tahuantinsuyu was also divided into four large provinces ruled by governors.

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[12] GARCILASO 1988; Libro I, cap. 15–18; s. also BUSTO 1981, 10–17.

[13] ROSTOROWSKI 1988, 31–41.

Recent customisation is even more apparent in the origin myths. Today's scholars argue that both the myth of the Ayar brothers as well as the myth about Manco Capak comes from the same source, whereas the former is older and less edited, the latter more recent and also more edited.

Both versions say that the main character Ayar Manco or Manco Capak had arrived from south and settled in the Cuzco Valley. The part of the story suggests the Tiahuanaco origin of the Inca as well as the flight of the Quechuan elite from the Aymaran invaders.

Leaving Lake Titicaca could serve as a hypothesis that the home of the Inca was located on the Isle of Sun (La Isla del Sol) in Lake Titicaca — according to archaeologists it might have been one of the residences of the upper class Tiahuanaco people. The hypothesis would also explain why Manco Capak was sent by the sun god, as the island became to be called the Isle of Sun only after the sun worship had become the Inca state religion.

In the first version the brothers are sent to refine people by Viracocha, which suggests even the earlier modification of the story from the time when Viracocha was revered as the main god. The four pairs of brothers-sisters in the original version refers to the four Quechuan tribes who left Tiahuanaco. The married couple consisting of a brother and a sister, in its turn, could be explained by the fact that the Quechuan tribe was exogamous and consisted of two fraterias: in exogamous societies men belong to one frateria and women to another. This could be inferred also from the myth version concerning the division of Cuzco in two — the High and Lower fraterias. The disposing of all the other Ayar brothers on the journey in the original version refers either to their settling to different places or the feud between the tribes of Manco and the rest of his brothers.

Different accounts confirm that the Inca led to the Cuzco Valley by Manco Capak had to drive local tribes from the land in order to establish themselves there. People from the droughty Altiplano had to search for humid soils necessary for cultivating corn. Therefore, Manco's golden stick was supposed to point to the land where corn could be grown. For settling in the new place a fight was put up, and we all know the outcome of the attack. In fact, chronicler Sarmiento do Gamboa's expression "gloomy and fertile"[14] might refer to the gory battles fought for the fertile valley.

Both versions end with the account of building the city by Manco in the name of Viracocha the Creator and Inti the sun god. The former was originally the sky god of the ancient Tiahuanaco people, whose cult was later abandoned. Inti, on the other hand, was the tribal deity of the Inca who later became the highest ranking god in the pantheon. The fact that in the later version the instigator of refining people was Inti, and also that a temple to the sun god was first erected in Cuzco suggests that the journey from Altiplano to the Cuzco Valley must have taken a long time, at least a couple of centuries (archaeological data

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[14] "triste y fértil" (BUSTO 1981: 8), s. SARMIENTO 1942.

supports the fact that Tiachuanaco was destroyed by the Aymarans in the 10th century, and the Inca reached the Cuzco Valley at the end of the 12th century). Thus, during this period one deity was substituted for another: Viracocha became *deus otiosus*, Inti, on the other hand became so popular that the first temple was built for him. From then on, Viracocha was associated with the myth of a culture hero, because the sc. civilisational emigration of the Inca really did take place.[15]

Thus, Manco Capak who supposedly ruled the Inca at the time of their arrival at the Cuzco Valley, became the first half-legendary ruler of the country and started the official Inca dynasty. Certainly, he was nothing more than a tribal chief — it took another two centuries for the Inca civilisation to reach its golden era under its first emperor Pachacutek Yupanqui.[16]

The founding of city in the name of two gods could be interpreted in a manner uniquely provident and theocratic for the history of the Andean state Tahuantinsuyu: the supreme god Viracocha had provided that Manco's tribe will rule the world, and Manco started to carry it out at the will and guidance of Inti, the sun god. Thus, the civilisational mission of the Inca found a theological explanation as well.[17]

Finally, these origin myths also reveal the ethnocentric world-view of the Quechuans: the Inca believed in the inherent superiority and wisdom of their own people, thinking they were destined to refine the mankind whether other peoples accepted it or not. That could be inferred also from the names of the country and its capital. The name of the Inca empire Tahuantinsuyu stands for "the Kingdom of four parts" [18], or, it means essentially "four points of compass". Most chroniclers (except for Sarmiento) argue that Cuzco means "pole"[19], i.e. the centre of the world or the world pole.

The analysis of the history and society of the Inca state has confirmed that it was the first and only so-called early totalitarian state on the American continent and Pre-Columbian America.[20] The ethnocentric and imperialist origin myth formed the ideological foundation for establishing such a scheme of society, determining also the mentality of its nation by education and in everyday life.[21]

As we have seen, ancient Peruvian myths can also be effectively seen in the context of genealogical interpretation of the imperial dynasty of Incas.

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[15] KULMAR 1999b, 101–109.

[16] BUSTO 1981, 22.

[17] ESPINOZA 1990, 483–499.

[18] "las cuatro partes del reino" (GARCILASO 1988, Libro I, cap. VI).

[19] BUSTO 1981, 8.

[20] S. about the conception of Early totalitarian state, for example, KULMAR 2005, 25–39; s. also an argumentation ESPINOZA 1990, 483–499.

[21] BAUDIN 1956, 64 etc; BAUDIN 2003, 29–32, 87–88, etc.; FRANCIS 1965, 86–92.

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ARTICLES

Community Structure, Economy and Sharing Strategies in the Chalcolithic Settlement of Hăbășești, Romania

Radu-Ștefan BALAUR[1]

Abstract. *This study considers a broader analysis conducted at the community level at Hăbășești. The community is presented as a social institution made up of interactions beyond the household level. The spatial configuration of the settlement, different aspects of the dwellings, the distribution of activities at the settlement level and possibly the social structures associated with the dwellings are discussed here.*

Rezumat. *Studiul de față are în vedere o analiză mai amplă realizată la nivelul comunității de la Hăbășești. Comunitatea este prezentată ca o instituție socială formată din interacțiuni dincolo de nivelul gospodăriei. Sunt luate în discuție configurarea spațială a așezării, diferite aspecte ale locuințelor, repartiția activităților la nivelul așezării și eventual structurile sociale asociate locuințelor.*

Keywords: community, economic strategies, social structures, Hăbășești.

Introduction

This study provides a broad analysis conducted at the settlement level at Hăbășești. The community is presented as a social institution made up of interactions beyond the household level. More precisely, the community is the main unit where the socialization of individuals manifests itself, the place where social skills and the reproduction of culture were learned and applied[2]. The research considers that the main forms of interaction in a community were living in the settlement as well as the activities carried out. The dwelling and the settlements are used as working tools, arguing that living together in the same settlement implies some kind of affiliation or social recognition. The group was spatially limited inside the dwelling and the settlement, just as the ditches or palisades represented the physical boundary of the settlement[3].

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[2] MARCUS 2000, 232; TRIPKOVIĆ, 2013, 11.

[3] TRIPKOVIĆ 2013, 11–12.

The organization of space in Cucuteni communities is a matter of interest. The social order in a community was based on the spatial configuration of the settlement and the use of remaining space. In daily practice, these two elements largely determine the behavioural mode of individuals, and through their behaviour, how to reconstruct and create the social order. It has been assumed that settlements with a certain spatial organization are preconceived in one way or another. The spatial organization of a settlement is considered the result of the cumulative effects and the decisions taken by the individual builders and the occupants of the buildings. In a discussion on the Neolithic in central Anatolia, B. Düring considers the nuclear family the ideal place for social reproduction and economic development, while for other cultures individual families were included in larger social units[4].

Site description

The settlement is situated on a hill with the west-east orientation and the surface of about 1.5 ha, with good natural defensive system provided by the abrupt slopes, situated in the north-northeast side of the village and two complementary ditches, arranged almost in parallel, situated on the western side of the plateau. The settlement was dated to the stage Cucuteni A3. The archaeological researches carried out down led to the discovery of 44 dwellings, of several annexes and of 85 pits and two exterior ditches[5].

Methodology and analysis criteria

In the present study, we extend the analysis at the settlement level, starting from the three components of the household, *the social*, *the material* and *the behaviour* (Table 1). The data used in this study were provided by the monograph of the settlement from Hăbăşeşti. We considered a series of criteria such as the size and orientation of the houses, the activities identified in the dwellings and their distribution in the settlement, etc. in order to identify the economic relations developed in the community. This starts from the analysis of the inventory associated with each dwelling. Important in this study is also the estimation of the population. At the household level, it can provide useful information in addressing the family structure and strategies for accumulating power, prestige and wealth. At the community level, it can offer a series of answers related to issues such as adaptation to the local environment, division of labour and specialization as well as levels of social complexity[6].

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[4] DÜRING 2006, 38, 46; BOGHIAN 2004, 56.

[5] DUMITRESCU *et al.* 1954, 501–504; LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, ŢURCANU 2009, 119–121.

[6] SCHELACH 2006, 331.

Table 1. Household components discussed for the settlement of Hăbăşeşti

Dw.	Social component					Material component								Behavioural component					
	Area (m²)	Nr. of ch.	Combustion structures			Tools					Ceramic	Figurines		Platform		Domestic activities		Ritual	Annex/pits
			H	O	EH	F	S	B	Cl.	Co.		A	Z	yes	no	G	D	R	
1	135	1	?	?	1	x					x	x	x	x					1/2
2	60/80	1				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					0/4
3	60	2	2				x				x			x		2			2/4
4	84	1						x			x			x					1/1
5	72/54	1									x				x				
6	66	1	1	1		x	x				x		x	x		1	1	x	0/2
7	40/48	1		2	1						x	?			x		2		0/2
8	49?	2		2	1						x			x					0/5
9	28,6	1	1	1							x			x					
10	60/84	1		2	1		x				x		x	x					
11	50	1		3			x				x		x	x		1			1/3
12	49,5	1	1	1		x	x				x		x	x				x	0/1
13	38,25	1	1								x			x			1		0/2
14	70	2	1								x	x	x	x		1		x	0/4
15	150	2	1	1			x				x	x		x				x	2/4
16	38,5	1	1	1		x	x				x	x	x	x		1		x	0/1
17	32,5	1	1								x			x		2			0/1
18	58,5	1	2	1							x			x					
19		1				x			x		x	x	x			x		x	0/1
20	31/46,7	1	1								x				?				0/1
21	60/70	1		1		x	x		x		x			x					3/2
22	42,8	1	1	1		x	x		x			x	x		x	2	3		0/2
23	70	1	1			x	x		x		x	x	x	x					1/2
24	62	1	1						x		x			x		1		x	
25/25'	40/44	1	3	1	?						x			x		1	2		
26	26	2?	2								x			x		3			0/1
27	60?	2	1		1		x				x					2		x	0/3
28	49	1	1			x	x					x	x	x		1		x	0/3
29	24	1	1								x	x		x		3		x	0/1
30	45/60	2	2	2							x		x	x					
31	60	1	1	1							x			x					
32	75	2	1								x			x		5			2/2
33	26,25	1	4								x			x		?			
34	55,25	1	1				x	x		x	x	x	x	x				x	2/4
35	54	1		1							x			x			1	x	0/4
36	32,5	1	2	1							x	x		x		4	1		0/1
37		1	1								x			x		2	1		0/3
38	35	1	1	1							x			x		2			1/2
40	41,25	1	2	1	1					x	x			x		2			0/3
41	18,5	1	2	1							x			x					
42	28	1									x			x					2/1
43	35/40	1	1	1							x			x		3	3		0/3
44	50/55	2	2			x	x				x			x					3/3

H – hearth; O – oven; EH – external hearth; F – flint tools; S – Stone tools; B – bone tools; Cl. – clay objects; Co. – Copper objects; A – Anthropomorphic figurines; Z – Zoomorphic figurines; G – Grinding; D – Deposits; R – Ritual or objects associated with rituals;

With respect to the size of the dwellings, Chapman holds that it is important since it is a key factor in organizing and implementing the activities inside and outside the houses. Also, analysing the size of the houses in the Vinča area, he made an estimate of the size of the households, proposing a limit of 50 m² between the nuclear family and the extended family. The limit was set based on a number of dwellings from eight multi-layered sites, where trends in social changes were caught[7].

Site structure and community organization

At the settlement level, the problem of the size of the respective community is raised. Although several methods are available for estimating the population in a settlement, largely starting from the formula developed by Naroll, we consider it appropriate in the present study to apply Brown's formula. It is largely based on establishing a conversion constant (Naroll proposes a constant of 10m²/individual; Porcic of 7m²/individual; Brown of 6 m²/individual), estimating the average size of the household and the number of dwellings in the settlement [8]. We only consider the dwellings for which the dimensions are mentioned.

With respect to the settlement's community, it sought to preserve its coherence, hence to establish relations that will not lead to the appearance of extreme differences between the households. The protection mechanism is usually reduced to establishing norms and rules that regulate and maintain aspects of interest to the community. This is manifested by a control of the construction activities, by the control of the shape, size or orientation of the houses, the solidarity in constructions or the cooperation in daily activities. Therefore, it is not excluded the establishment of rules to implement the works of community interest in order to strengthen the community cohesion[9]. The uniformity and the community sense finally attest to the existence of structures that acted above the household level[10]. There is also a collective identity marked by the existence of artificial boundaries within the settlement, in the form of defensive systems, which varied according to the effort invested, but also to the practical and cultural preferences of the community[11]. However, a series of geophysical investigations carried out in the settlement from Războieni–*Dealul Mare*[12] has identified the evolution of the settlement beyond the defensive system. When discussing the case from Divostin, the grouping of the houses in rows is made by the kinship or by a certain type of organization. It is considered that house grouping is an important element in the

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[7] CHAPMAN 1981, 61; TRIPKOVIĆ 2007, 37.

[8] BROWN 1987, 1–49; PORČIĆ, 2016, 172.

[9] BOGUKI 1999, 206–218; TRIPKOVIĆ 2007, 14.

[10] WHITLE 199, 105.

[11] TRIPKOVIĆ 2014, 138,148.

[12] ASĂNDULESEI 2017; BALAUR 2016, 109–117.

social organization, but there is little information attesting the interaction between relatives, economic cooperation and the dynamics of housing construction. Such habitation dynamics tell us nothing but the fact that relatives lived together as neighbours[13].

Regarding the delimitation of the settlement space, at Hăbășești two defensive ditches were identified, on the western part of the plateau, arranged in parallel, with a wide open mouth and a narrow bottom (Figure 1). The exterior ditch was 121 m long, with a maximum width of 7.10 m and its depth of 2.60 m. The inner ditch, had a length of 123 m, the opening at the mouth of about 6 m, and a depth of 2,30 m, had bifurcations at both ends, with lengths not exceeding 3 m, without specifying whether they were completed by other constructions. Because there is no clear stratigraphic information on these ditches, they were considered to have been built as a unitary structure, most likely with a defensive role. In a new study it was stated that the inner trench would have been built as a consequence of population growth and therefore as a consecration of the community, therefore the two ditches would have
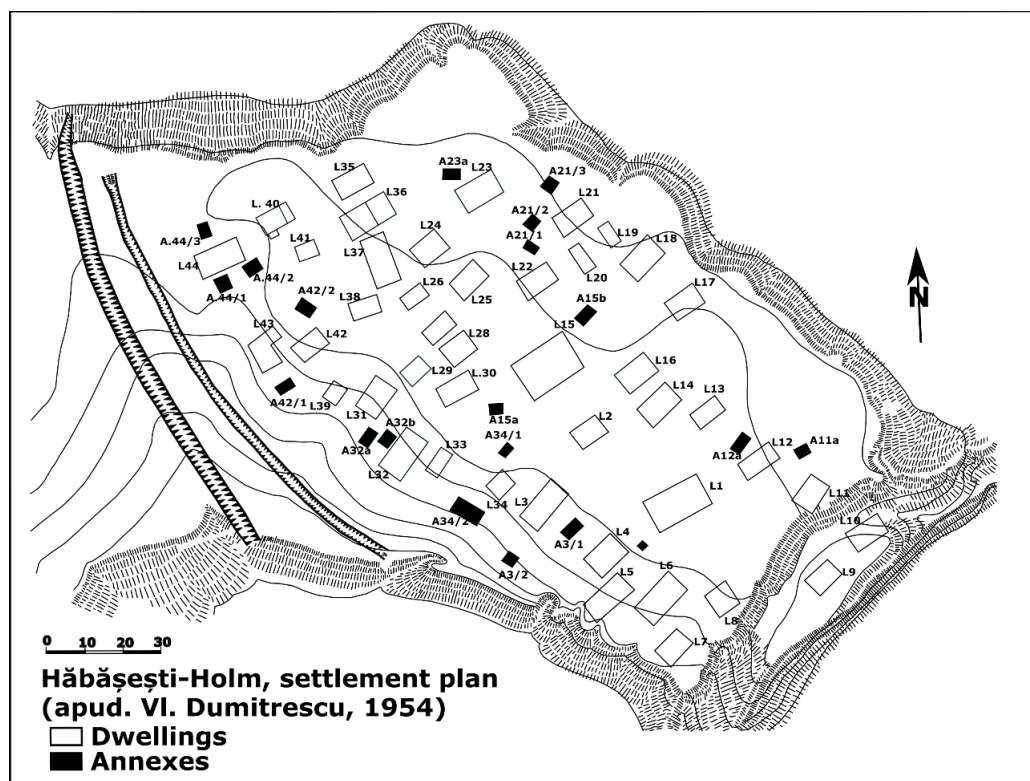

Figure 1. Hăbășești–*Holm*, settlement plan (*ap.* Vl. Dumitrescu, 1954)

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[13] TRIPKOVIĆ 2014, 138,151.

played a rather symbolic role[14]. It was stated that the construction of these trenches involved numerous people and therefore the presence of a person to lead this activity is needed, so it is possible to speak of a certain degree of community organization and the existence of a coordinating leader[15]

There have been long debates on the development and the evolution of the settlement plan. The author of the research supports the arrangement of dwellings in two or three approximately circular groups (Figure 1), the first group arranged around structure 1 (dwellings 1–14), and the second group, tangent to the first, arranged around structure 15 (dwellings 15–34, 39). A third group (dwellings 35–38, 40–44), smaller, consisted of dwellings grouped around structure 14. The author of the research from Hăbășești assumes that the placement of the houses in a circle is due to the need to close the space for habitation and to strengthen it[16]. A new analysis of the stratigraphy from the settlement led to the identification of two occupational levels, at intervals of time that cannot be specified. Therefore, most likely, the houses were built in successive moments, and the entire layout of the settlement endures major changes[17].

According to the information provided by D. Popovici[18] the first level from Hăbășești had at least 29 dwellings (1–4, 6–8, 10–15, 20–22, 25–28, 35, 37–39, 42–44) arranged in two sectors (Figure 2). Between the two sectors, in a central position was dwelling 15. South of structure 15, the dwellings appear to be grouped around structure 1. Taking into account their orientation, we can rather say that they were arranged in three rows, first one formed by the structures 3, 4, 6 and 7, the second one by dwellings 2, 1 and 8 the central row, and the third one made of dwellings 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. The second group of dwellings (20–22, 25–28, 35, 37–39, 42–44), with a more disordered organization, was located north of structure 15. These include a more compact group of housing 25–28, oriented relatively WSW–ENE, probably a related group.

Analysing the same plan, the second level had 24 dwellings (4–5, 9–10, 15–19, 23–25, 27, 29–34, 36–37, 40–41, 44), the majority grouped to the north of dwelling 15 (Figure 2). The case of dwellings 4, 5, 9 and 10 in the southern sector is noted. The structures associated with this level had the orientation of SW–NE (dwellings 4, 5, 9, 18, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36,), WSW–ENE (dwellings 10, 15, 16, 17, 23, 24, 27, 29, 30, 40, 41, 44) and NNW–SSE (dwellings 19, 37).

The dwellings 4, 10, 15, 25, 27, 37 and 44 are associated with both levels of habitation from Hăbășești[19]. Is worth mentioning dwelling15, built on the same place, with a central position

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[14] POPOVICI 2003, 307; BEM 2001, 62–63; DUMITRESCU *et al.* 1954.

[15] DUMITRESCU *et al.* 1954, 220.

[16] DUMITRESCU *et al.* 1954, 499.

[17] POPOVICI 2008, 29–30.

[18] POPOVICI, 2008, fig. 3.

[19] POPOVICI 2008, fig 3.

in the settlement, with a possible ritual, which we will talk about later, that may support the possibility that this structure belongs to a chief. Also noticeable is dwelling 44, which in the first stage has two rooms, one with a platform and the other without, both with a fireplace. In the next level a platform is made in the room that did not have one initially, and in the other room the fireplace was restored[20].

The next step was to discuss the inventory associated whit each dwelling in the settlement (Figure 3). The presence of flint tools was reported in ten structures, grouped five in the southern sector (dwellings 1, 2, 6, 12, 16), three in the NE sector (dwellings 21, 22, 23), and in two cases isolated, dwelling 44 near the defensive system and dwelling 28 near the structure 15. Stone tools were identified in 15 structures, eight dwellings in the southern sector (2, 6, 10. 11, 12, 15, 16), four dwellings in the NE sector (19, 21, 22, 23), two structures located at WNW from dwelling 15 (27, 28), and two isolated dwellings (34 and 44). The presence of bone tools was noticed only in dwelling 2. Copper objects are present in three dwellings, two in the southern sector (dwellings 2, 34) and one in the northern sector

Figure 2. Hăbășești–*Holm*, settlement plan I phase and II second phase

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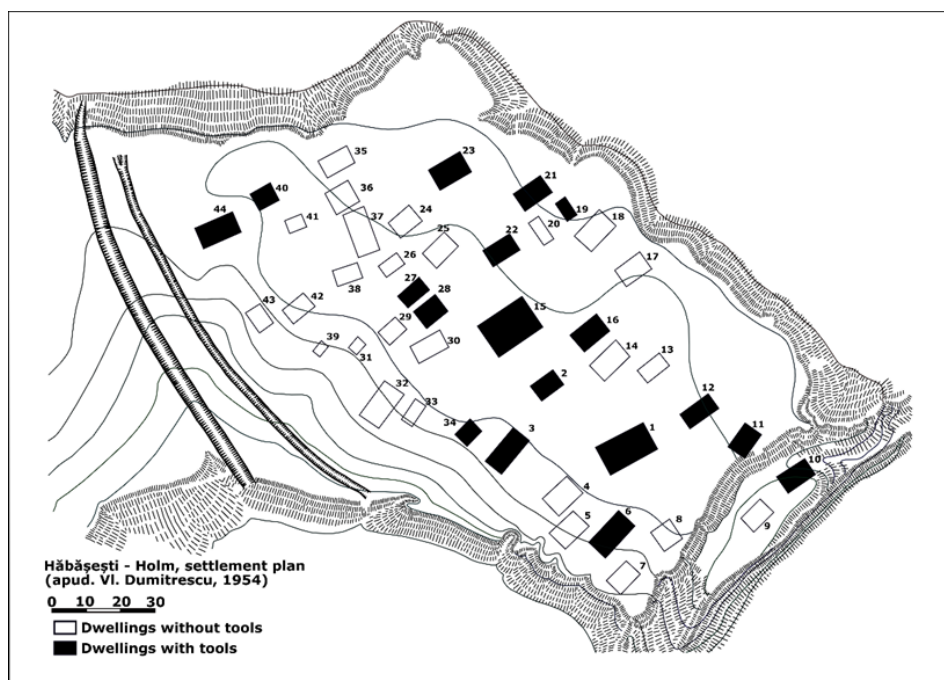
[20] DUMITRESCU *et al.*, 1954, 74–81.

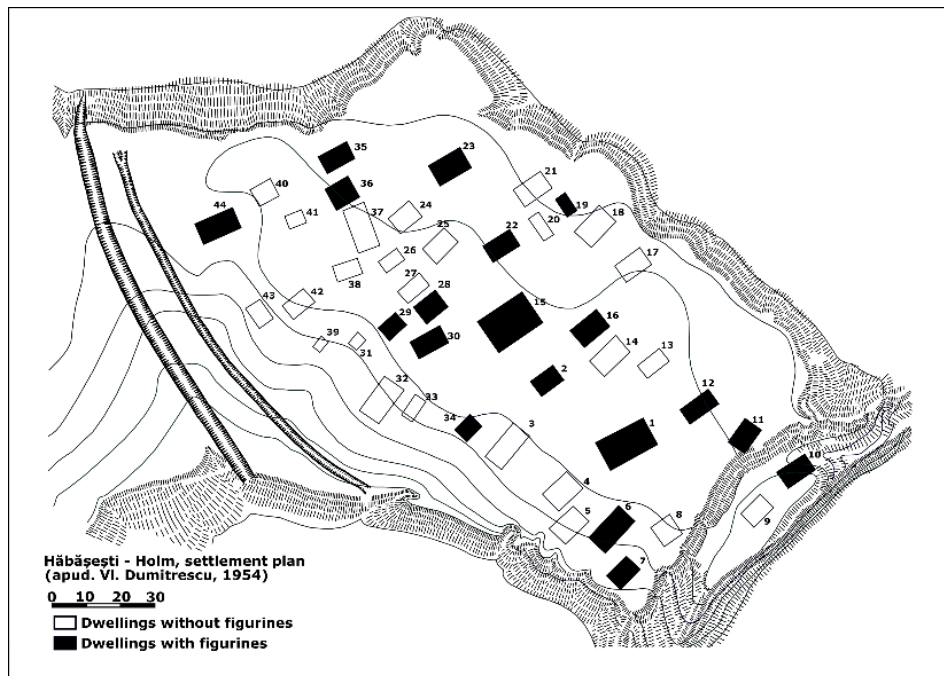Figure 3. Hăbăşeşti–*Holm*, settlement plan, dwellings with tools

Figure 4. Hăbăşeşti–*Holm*, settlement plan, dwellings with figurines
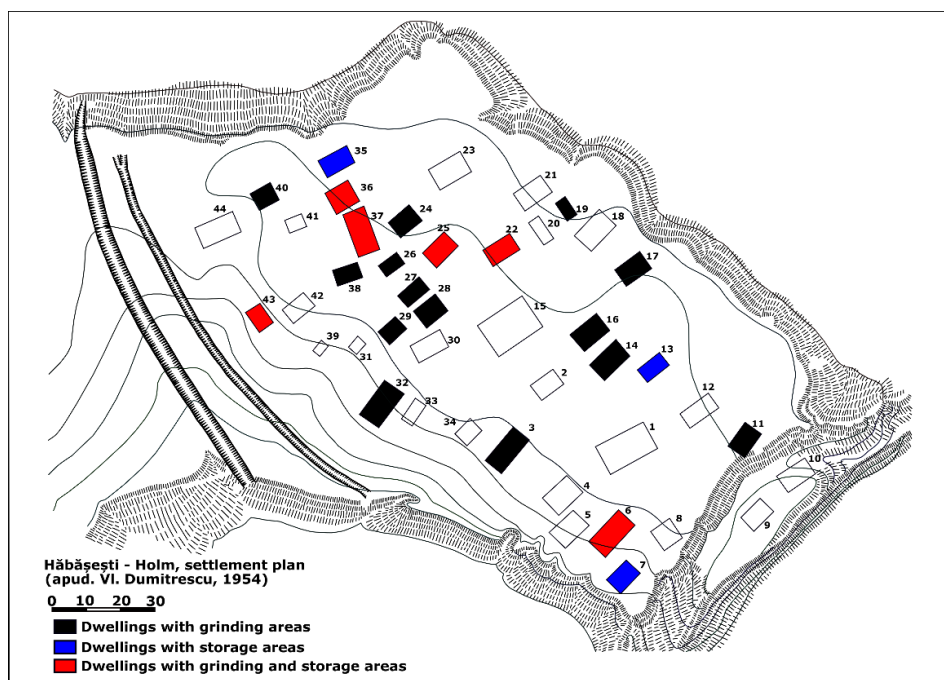
Figure 5. Hăbășești–*Holm*, settlement plan, dwellings with grinding and storage areas
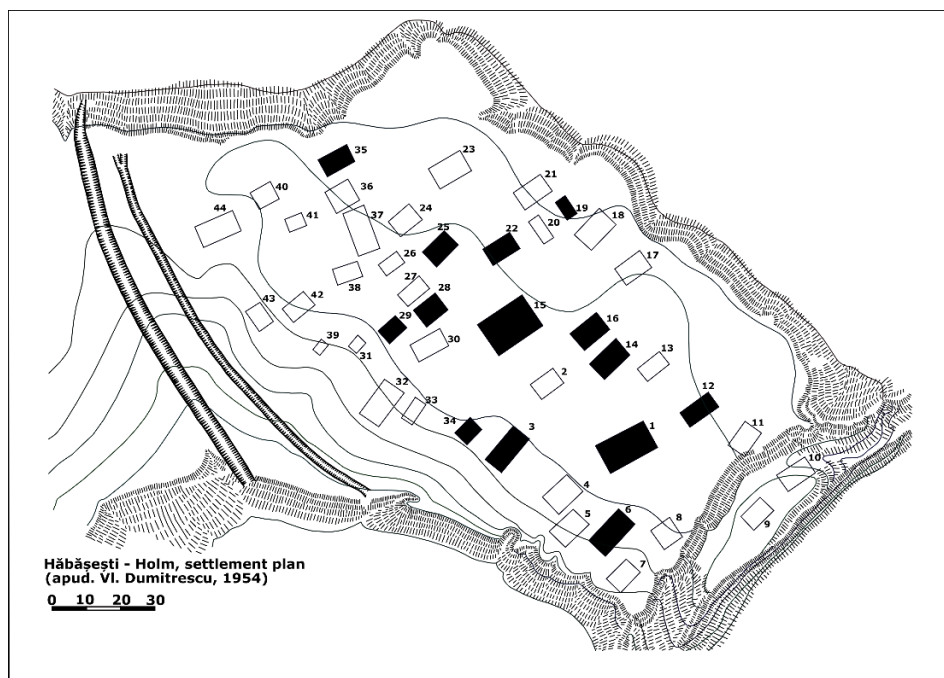

Figure 6. Hăbășești–*Holm*, settlement plan, dwellings with ritual deposits
and/or objects associated with ritual activities

(dwelling 40). In eight structures, clay objects are present (dwellings 2, 4, 12, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25/25'). Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations were found in 19 houses (Figure 4). Dwellings 1, 2, 16, 22, 23, 28, 34 had both types of figurines in inventory, dwellings 7, 15, 29, 35 and 36 had only anthropomorphic figurines, and dwellings 6, 10, 11, 12, 30 only zoomorphic representations. The only structure with a more complex inventory is dwelling 2. In houses 6, 16, 28 and 44 there was an association between flint and stone tools, and in dwellings 12, 21, 22, and 23, an association between flint, stone and clay objects. Following the analysis of the inventory of the houses, a grouped arrangement was found in two, three or four structures, mostly in the eastern half of the settlement, except for dwellings 44, 34, 15 and 6. The possibility that only certain families have been responsible for carrying out these activities is not excluded.

The most common domestic activities attested at Hăbăşeşti are grinding and storage (Figure 5). Grinding activities were identified in about 22 dwellings, and storage areas identified in nine dwellings (Table 1; Figure 5). Regarding the carrying out of the grinding activities, we notice the existence of a compact group in the western half of the settlement (dwellings 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 43), and more scattered in the eastern half (dwellings 1, 3, 6, 16, 14, 17, 19). From the western sector in the case of dwellings 22, 25, 36, 37, and 43 there is an association between grinding and storage areas. The rest of the houses only have grinding facilities. In the eastern sector, such an association is found in dwelling 6, and in the case of dwellings 7 and 13, there is evidence to support the existence of storage areas.

In 14 houses rituals or objects associated with rituals are attested (Figure 6). Possible rituals have been identified for dwellings 1 and 15. In the pit no.1, before the construction of dwelling 1, a small deposit was found consisting of nine blades of flint, some in a fragmentary state. In the dwelling 15, towards the NNE of the oven a broken vessel was discovered, in the mouth of which was a well-worked stone chisel. In two cases, the presence of some idols is attested. In other cases we can talk about the presence of some objects that might be involved in certain rituals. In four structures it is mentioned the presence of flat *en violon* type idols. Thereby, in dwelling 6 a trojan-type *en violon* idol was discovered with strings of dots and holes, in dwelling 19, at the top of the pit a flat *en violon* type idol, in dwelling 28 a plat *en violon* type figurine, discovered in pit 57, in dwelling 34, a plat *en violon* type figurine, discovered in pit 62, and in dwelling 35, another trojan-type *en violon* figurine. In two dwellings (14 and 16) anthropomorphic idols were discovered. Also, in three dwellings (12, 22, 25) small cones of burnt clay were discovered[21].

A more complicated problem is related to the presence of the workshops, the information available being very few. In a pit outside the dwelling 8 a red prismatic pencil was discovered,

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[21] DUMITRESCU *et al.* 1954, 20–91.

most probably, according to the author, being used in the decoration of ceramics. Also in the inventory of the pit 36, associated with the dwelling 14, a series of burned figurines in a rudimentary state, were discovered, which could suggest a possible specialization in the modelling of the figurines by the occupants of this dwelling. An area dedicated to flint processing was documented in the ENE corner of dwelling 22, where a lot of strongly calcined flint flakes were discovered coming from a large bulge shattered by fire. Inside dwelling 27, in the ENE sector, there was a possible sharpening of bone objects, attested by the presence of a broken stone in two, placed on a frame of burnt clay, with slightly raised edges[22].

In the case of 13 dwellings, one can speak of the existence of annexes (Figure 1). Of these, the structures 1, 4, 11, 12, 23, 38 have a single annex, the dwellings 3, 15, 32, 34, 42 each two annexes and the dwellings 21 and 44 each 3 annexes. However, there is little information about the activities carried out within them. A particular case is the situation documented in Annex 15A where the remains of a large oven were discovered, most likely used by the entire community. Also, similar fire installations were discovered in another two annexes, 21 A3 and 44 A3. As for the pits, most dwellings are associated with at least one pit. The only dwellings that do not have such complexes are 5, 18, 24, 25, 30, 31, 33, 41. Dwellings 6, 21, 22, 23, 31, 38 are associated with 2 pits, dwellings 11, 13, 27, 28, 37, 40, 43, 44 with three pits, dwelling 1, 2, 3, 14, 15, 34 , 35, with four pits and dwelling 8 with five pits.

Discussions and conclusions

The sphere of social structures of a community (the management of the common space, the position of each individual and of each family within the group, the degree of solidarity of the group) is marked by the diversity of constructions, both due to objective reasons (raw materials available, quality, quantity), and subjective (the will and the capacity of an individual to allocate a certain amount of resources for the construction of the house, the labour force involved and the quality and experience of the builders)[23].

From a social point of view, the compact stratum was made up of the members of the settlement. As consumers and producers, they were the basis of the settlement economy. Following the analysis of the size of the dwellings, in Hăbășești their average area was about 57 m². Based on the three formulas of population estimation, in Hăbășești we can speak of a number of 228 to 380 individuals. Small houses are assigned to nuclear families, and large ones to extended families [24]. Starting from Chapman's theory, in Hăbășești there were 19

[22] DUMITRESCU *et al.* 1954, 20–176.
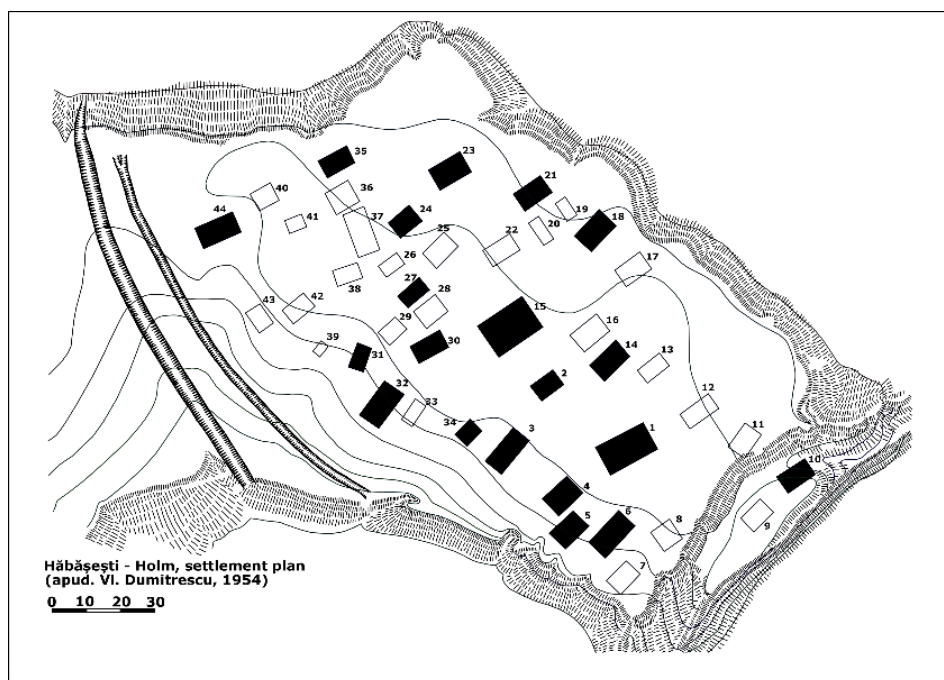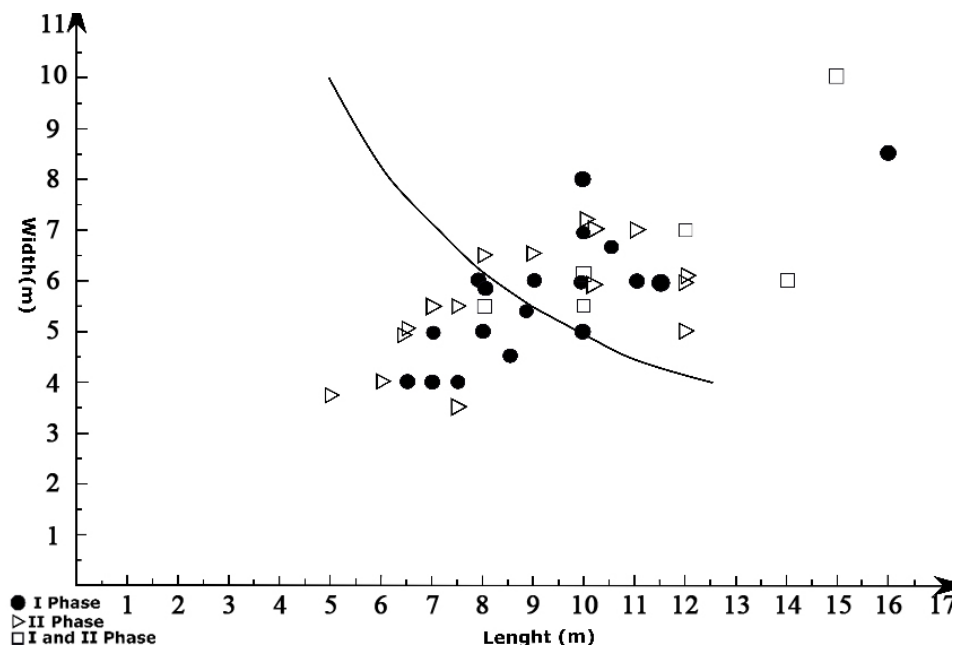[23] URSULESCU 2008, 212.
[24] GIMBUTAS 1991, 330.

Figure 7. top – Dimensions of households (*ap.* CHAPMAN 1981, 61);
bottom – Hăbăşeşti–*Holm*, settlement plan, dwellings with dimensions over 50 m²

dwellings under 50m^2 and 25 dwellings with areas over 50m^2 (Figure 7). The homes considered belonging to both levels are also discussed here. If we accept this hypothesis, in the two levels from Hăbăşeşti a balance is found between nuclear families and extended families.
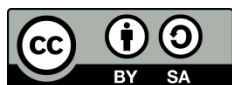
Also, the clearest activities documented in Hăbăşeşti refer to grinding and storage. Based on the inventory we can say that some houses were involved in carrying out heavier activities, and in other cases easier activities (grinding, storage, etc.). The possibility that certain dwellings have been exclusively involved in grinding and storage activities is not excluded, and therefore involved in exchange relations with the other dwellings. Exceptions are dwelling 6, associated with grinding, storage, and stone and flint tools, dwellings 16, 28, and 29, where grinders are encountered, and stone and flint tools, and dwelling 22, associated with grinding activities, stone tools, flint and clay objects, as well as a possible flint processing workshop.

In conclusion, we can talk in Hăbăşeşti about the existence of a closed community, involved, particularly in activities that ensured the survival of individuals, with collaboration between the households. The unitary character of the community is also reinforced by the uniformity in the plan of the dwellings, materials and methods of construction, the existence of works of community character, etc. A collaboration between households and the presence of exterior hearths associated with dwellings 1, 8, 27 and 40, as well as the existence of the large oven in Annex 15A, positioned somewhat centrally, are indications of a common interaction between individuals. If I consider dwellings 8, 14 22 and 27 as workshops, then they were somewhat scattered inside the settlement, probably different families doing different activities.

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Settlement Spatial Distribution from Late Chalcolithic to Early Hallstatt in the Cracău-Bistrița Depression

Casandra BRAȘOVEANU[1]

Abstract. *The various geographical features had a major impact on the behaviour of prehistoric communities, which can be determined by identifying a series of characteristics and preferences regarding the geographical location of the settlement and the resources exploited. In a well-defined space, the population, as well as the development of human groups, is determined by the micro- and macro-regional geographical characteristics. The use of this type of analysis in the study of Cracău-Bistrița Depression, between the late Chalcolithic and the early Hallstatt, will contribute to a better knowledge of this segment of archaeological research in Romania. The present approach, combined with a high number of thorough field researches, can generate predictive models, thus contributing to a more complex overview of the archaeological characteristics, but also of geographical, geological conditions, etc. preferred by prehistoric communities in this area and beyond.*

Rezumat. *Diversele particularități geografice au avut un impact major asupra comportamentului comunităților preistorice, care poate fi determinat prin identificarea unei serii de constante și preferințe în ceea ce privește locul amplasării sistemelor de locuire și resursele exploatate. Într-un spațiu bine delimitat, popularea, precum și dezvoltarea grupurilor umane este determinată de caracteristicile geografice micro- și macroregionale. Utilizarea acestui tip de analiză în studiul depresiunii Cracău-Bistrița în intervalul cuprins între Eneoliticul dezvoltat și Hallstattul timpuriu, va contribui la o mai bună cunoaștere a acestui segment al cercetării arheologice din România. Demersul de față, reprezentat de analiza spațială a așezărilor, îmbinat cu un număr ridicat de cercetări de teren amănunțite, poate genera modele predictive, contribuind astfel la obținerea unei imagini de ansamblu cu mult mai complexă asupra caracteristicilor arheologice, dar și asupra condițiilor geografice, geologice etc. preferate de comunitățile preistorice din această zonă, și nu numai.*

Keywords: spatial analysis, landscape archaeology, Chalcolithic, Bronze Age, Early Iron Age.

Introduction

The analysed area runs along the two eponymous rivers, Cracău and Bistrița. The depression (Figure 1), the largest in the Subcarpathian Mountains of Moldavia, forms a well-

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individualized unit, with a slope from north-west to south-east, in the direction of the flow of the main rivers that cross it. Thus, it acquires the appearance of a succession of hills and valleys, representing the fall in steps, from north to south, to the eponymous river meadows.

The depression formed as result of repeated orogenetic movements, then modelled due to the erosion process. The flat surfaces that developed along the courses of Cracău and Bistrița are "the result of the phenomenon of terracing of the present hydrographic network"[2]. From a geological point of view (Figure 2/b), it overlaps the formations of the
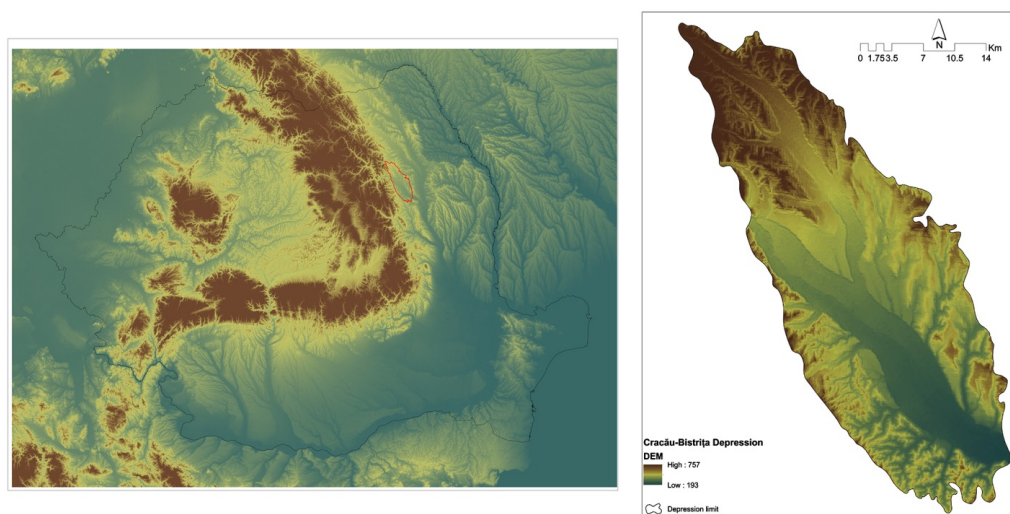

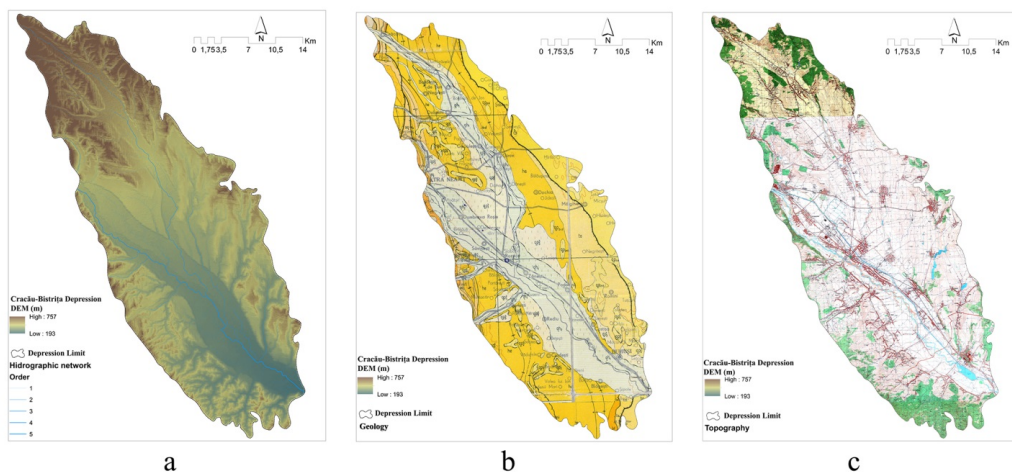Figure 1. Cracău-Bistrița Depression — geographical context

Figure 2. Cracău-Bistrița Depression: a – hydrography; b – geology; c – topography

[2] CONSTANTINESCU-NEAMȚU 1940.

Subcarpathian (Pericarpathian) Unit, with the exception of the western and eastern extremities. Along the water, the geographical unit presents newer, quaternary, formations[3]. From a pedological point of view, Cracău-Bistrița Depression was divided into two regions: one in the north and one in the south, separated by a line that crosses Piatra Neamț, arching to the village of Dochia. All the streams in the study area belong to Bistrița basin, the main hydrographic arteries draining it being those that give it the name, Cracău and Bistrița, whose course is a longitudinal one (Figure 2/a). It is also necessary to specify that the present hydrographic system of the territory has undergone modifications compared to the period under study: the numerous processes of embankment, regularization of the riverbeds, desiccation of the lands, irrigation or construction of dams, situations in which it is not excluded that some prehistoric sites have also been affected. Regarding the climatic characteristics of the studied periods, these were marked by the transition from a warm and humid climate from the Atlantic period, to the more fluctuating arid climate, from the sub-boreal regime[4].

Regarding the research that was conducted in the past, there are three major intervals that we can distinguish. The first one, the interwar period was characterized by small-scale research, focusing in particular on the material component (in very few cases one can speak of an interest in the research of housing systems). We have to mention, for this period, the contributions of Constantin Matasă[5], Ioan Andrieșescu[6] and Radu Vulpe[7]. Constantin Matasă identified, beginning with 1928, a large number of archaeological sites existing in the depression of interest in this study; he also was the first to mention the relation existing between the human, the environment and the occupied territory, suggesting the favourable conditions offered by Neamț County for the establishment of prehistoric settlements. Ioan Andrieșescu identified numerous Chalcolithic settlements and Radu Vulpe was the first archaeologist that conducted excavations in the studied area (he also made some remarks concerning the geographical features of the Cracău-Bistrița Depression). The second interval is represented by the period between the Second World War and 1989. This is marked by the continuation of the existing paradigm and methods, although some initiations in the interdisciplinary field can be observed. Mention should be made of the surface and systematic research, undertaken by archaeologists such as Virgil Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Dan Monah, Mihai Zămoșteanu, Silvia Marinescu-Bîlcu, Vladimir and Hortensia Dumitrescu, Ecaterina Vulpe, etc.[8]. The third and last period, is the current one and it is characterised by the continuation

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[3] LUPAȘCU 1996.

[4] DRĂGAN & AIRINEI 1993.

[5] MATASĂ 1938.

[6] ANDRIEȘESCU 1924.

[7] VULPE 1936.

[8] See DUMITRESCU 1954; VULPE 1957; VULPE 1961; VULPE & ZĂMOȘTEANU 1962; MONAH & CUCOȘ 1985.

of the research on some of the old sites, the opening of new sites and a greater extent of interdisciplinary collaborations. This can be explained by the fact that the classical manner of research, used until now, does not answer all of the archaeologist's questions anymore[9].

The presentation of the research history of the workspace illustrates the need to approach new methods in archaeology, since the foundation of the present work is represented by the interdisciplinary domain.

Methods

The present study emphasizes the research of the interval between the final sub-period of the Chalcolithic and the beginning of Hallstatt period, by applying the pluridisciplinary working methods from archaeology, geography, statistics, environmental archaeology and landscape archaeology, using also elements from geology, pedology or biology. The chronological interval was selected in such a way as to offer a high number of discoveries, in order to highlight the characteristics of each period and the evolution of the cultural manifestations in the region. For the analysis of human behaviour it was necessary to choose a relatively known chronological interval, with as many sites as possible, from successive periods. The number of settlements, quite high, reflects the increased interest of communities for a complex landscape, with different features of the surrounding areas. In the Cracău-Bistriţa Depression, the physical-geographic characteristics and the natural resources determined the appearance of microzones, in which the density of population for certain periods was high. These particularities had a major impact on the behaviour of the prehistoric communities. Through this analysis, a series of constants and preferences can be established regarding the choosing of place for the new settlement, the exploited resources and the relations between the contemporary human groups. Mankind has made changes to the occupied environment since the beginning of its existence. The traces left by past communities are either direct or indirect, and their historical study and interpretation is the main objective of archaeology. Most structures of the archaeological heritage are under the influence of erosion processes, accelerated by intensive agriculture or by the "industrial" transformations of the landscape. The analysis of the characteristics of the natural environment contributes to the identification of a series of features regarding these preferences of the communities, during the studied periods.

For this purpose, morphometric indicators were calculated, such as: altitude, slope degree (Figure 3/b), sun exposure (Figure 3/c), distance to the water source and to the salt source, *Topographic Position Index* (Figure 3/a) and *Nearest Neighbour*. Numerous biological and physical processes that manifest themselves within a region, characterized by a certain type of terrain,

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[9] See NECRASOV *et alii* 1990; POPOVICI 1999; COTOI 2000; COTOI & GRASU 2000; ŢURCANU 2006; ALEXIANU *et alii* 2007a; 2007b; BEM 2007; SOFICARU 2008; LAZĂR & IGNAT 2012; BOLOHAN 2013; BOLOHAN *et alii* 2015.

are closely related with the *Topographic Position Index* (headlands, valleys, troughs, backwaters, plains, etc.). These bio-physical attributes represent predictability criteria for habitat installation within a favourable geographical region and its development, conditioning, at the same time, the distribution and abundance of resources[10]. Another favourite technique, used by archaeologists in analysing the spatial distribution of one group of points refers to the analysis of the distance from the *Nearest Neighbour*. This indicator calculates, also, the aggregation coefficient of the settlements. It must be mentioned that the Slope and Altitude analyses are calculated for a single geographical point, placed according the description, not for an outline that could reflect the boundaries of the settlement.

a   b   c
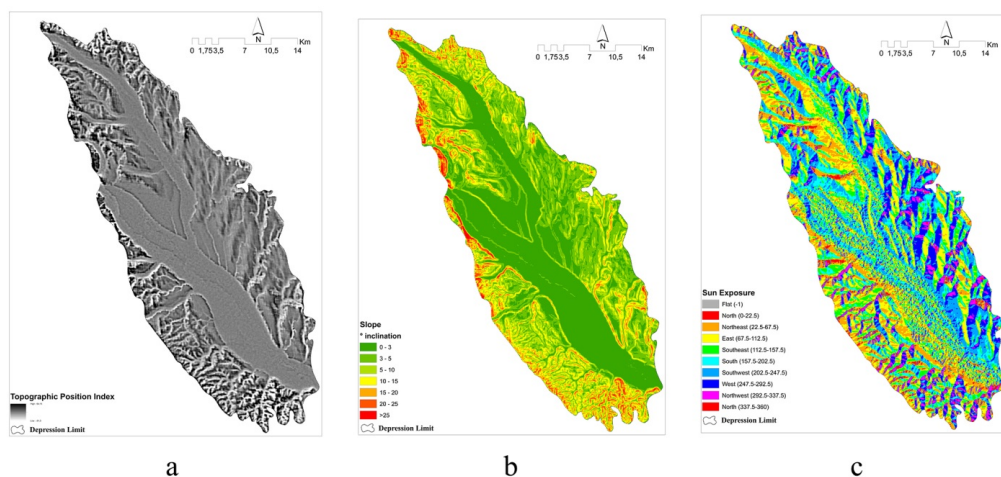
Figure 3. Morphometric indicator maps
(a. Topographic Position Index Map; b. Slope Map; c. Sun Exposure Map)

The realization of such a project for the field of archaeology also presents a series of methodological limitations. For most of the archaeological discoveries reported in the workspace, no absolute location data is offered. Obtaining this information requires financial, human and time resources. There are also a number of sites that either cannot be accessed because they are on private property or have been destroyed. In many cases, determining the exact position, using GPS coordinates, is very difficult, which is why it can lead to the exclusion of some of the elements from the analysis. Also, for better accuracy, hydrographic networks should be determined from the Digital Elevation Model. This method could offer us not only the main rivers, but also the smallest ravines that occurred as a result of the springs, thus giving us an image closer to the one existing in the past.

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[10] See BRIGAND *et alii* 2012; ASĂNDULESEI 2015; GAFINCU 2015; MIHU-PINTILIE & NICU 2019.

Cracău-Bistrița Depression DEM (m)

High : 757

Low : 193

Depression Limit

▲ Settlements: Late Chalcolithic

▲ Settlements: Transition to Bronze Age

▲ Settlements: Early Bronze Age

▲ Settlements: Middle Bronze Age

▲ Settlements: Late Bronze Age

▲ Settlements: Early Hallstatt

● Funerary Discoveries: Transition to Bronze Age

● Funerary Discoveries: Late Bronze Age

■ Isolated Discoveries: Late Chalcolithic

■ Isolated Discoveries: Transition to Bronze Age

■ Isolated Discoveries: Bronze Age

⬠ Uncertain Discoveries: Late Chalcolithic

⬠ Uncertain Discoveries: Bronze Age

★ Deposits

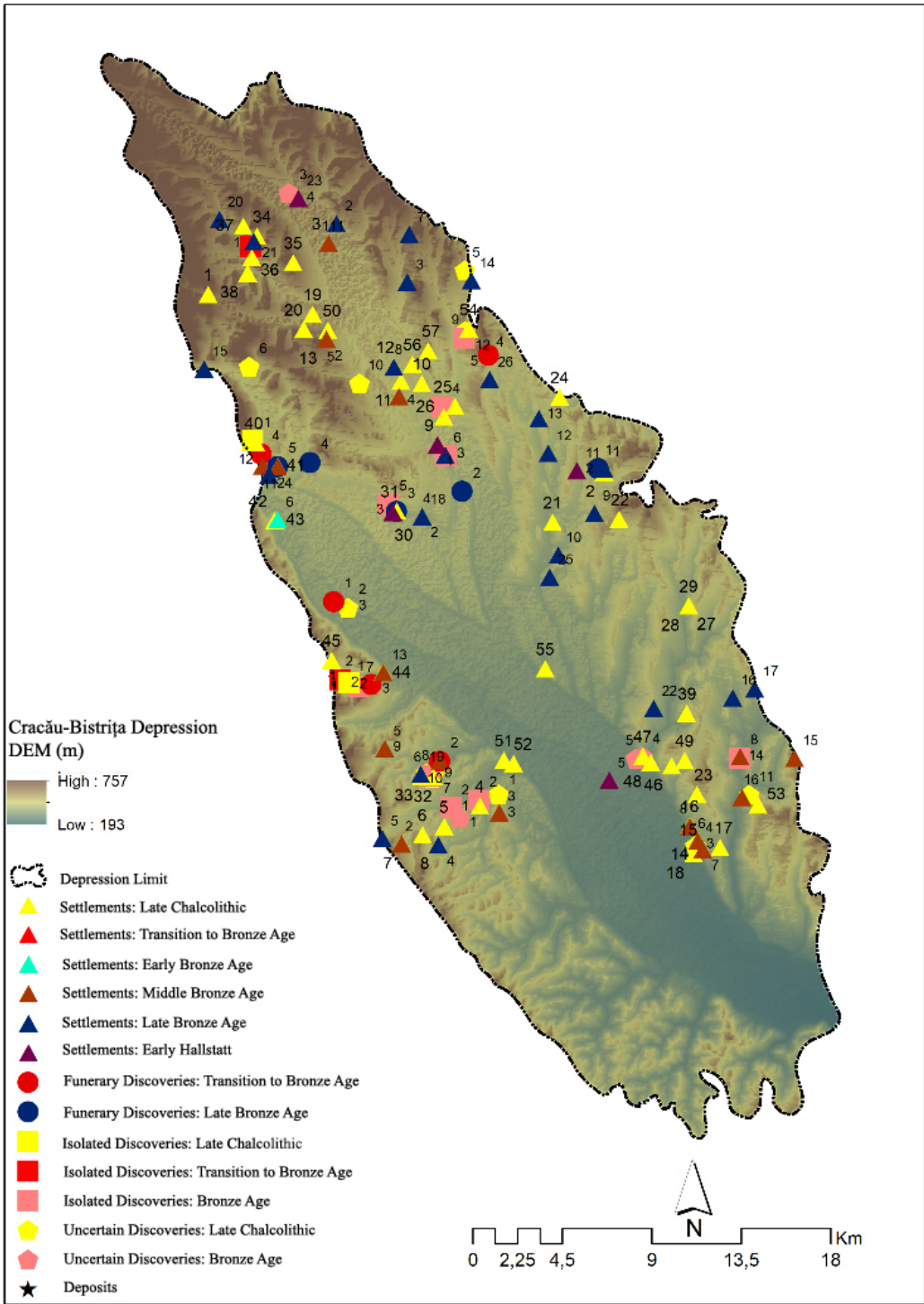Figure 4. Archaeological finds from Cracău-Bistrița Depression

Results and discussion

Following the researches, there were identified 112 settlements (Figure 4), 10 funeral discoveries, 4 deposits, 13 isolated discoveries and 17 uncertain discoveries. Their relatively small amount is not due to the unfavourable conditions in the area, but to the small number and the amplitude of the research undertaken. The transition period to the Bronze Age, as well as the early periods of the Bronze Age and Hallstatt, have a very small number of settlements (between two and six discoveries), which is why a complete analysis that could give certain results could not be carried out. The results obtained for these chronological intervals can be seen in the graphs presented at the end of the paper. In such situations, I believe that the solution could be a field investigation in the areas where uncertain or isolated discoveries specific to these periods have been reported, in the hope of new discoveries, which will contribute to the completion of the existing database. Also, the surface research could be extended to many areas of the studied territory, especially to those with a small number of settlements.

Choosing a location for the future settlement was a very important moment for prehistoric communities. The selected areas had to provide the natural resources needed for the type of economy practiced. At the same time, the place chosen had to minimize the effort made in obtaining food and building shelters. Water supply, for both human and animal consumption, is one of the essential elements in the existence of communities, in prehistory, but even today. The daily activities involved large quantities of water, so that the water supply became an effort for the whole community. In addition to the role of livelihood, water is also a mean of communication for the communities of the past, but also of the present, a cultural factor, and sometimes it can also have a depository purpose. Fertile soils were needed for agriculture, and grasslands for animal husbandry. Last but not least, salt is another key factor in the life of prehistoric communities, most of them taking into account the presence of a salt source when placing the future settlement.

Regarding the first indicator studied (Figure 5), it was noticed that, during the whole chronological interval, human communities opted for relatively high areas (between 300m and 400m absolute altitude), which offered favourable conditions for daily activities, and natural defence. Also, we can say that the most avoided areas are those of very high altitudes, as with the increase of altitudinal value, the fertility of the soil decreases, and thus, the possibility of practicing agriculture and animal husbandry, things necessary for the subsistence of communities. From the obtained report, it is observed that in the workspace there are an approximately equal number of discoveries located at altitudes between 200–300m or 400–500m. Regarding the average of the existing altitudinal values, this was calculated for each period separately (for Cucuteni culture the evolution in the three phases was also tracked).
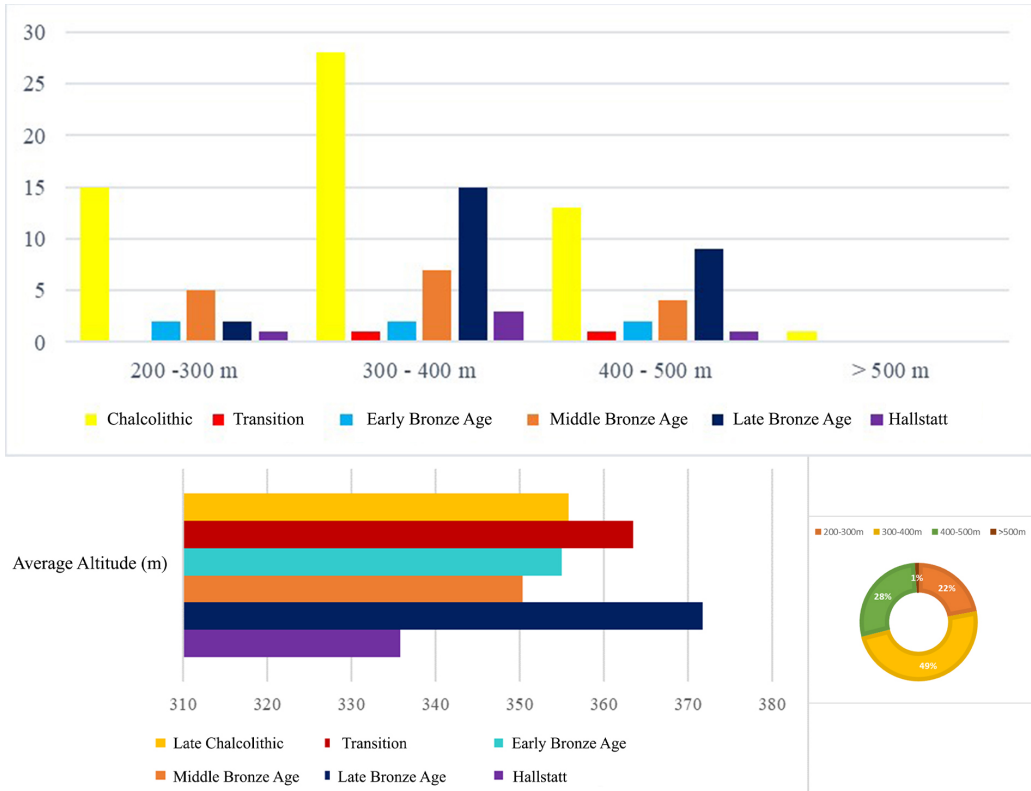
Figure 5. Altitude charts

Figure 6. Topographic Position Index chart

In the case of this community, it is possible to observe an increase of the altitudinal average, directly proportional to the evolution of the manifestation. Overall, the average of this indicator falls in the category 300–400m, but the highest value is found in the late Bronze Age (371,76m), and the lowest in the Early Hallstatt (335,8m).

In connection with this indicator is the Topographic Position Index since, the results obtained from its calculation provides information concerning the form of terrain on which the settlement was located (low, dominant etc.). For each studied period, a positive average was obtained (Figure 6), which indicates a preference for the dominant areas, with visibility over the neighbouring territory. We can see that in the Chalcolithic and the Middle Bronze Age, the highest values of the index average were recorded. This is understandable given that the Cucuteni groups, as well as those belonging to the Costișa culture, preferred the high areas to settle. For the transition period, the Early Bronze Age and Hallstatt, the low number of listed dwelling systems does not allow for conclusive results. Otherwise, in the Late Bronze Age the average Topographic Position Index is lower than in the case of the Chalcolithic sequence, which confirms the analyses carried out previously (the communities of the Noua culture preferred the low areas, near the rivers).

The coefficient of aggregation (Figure 7) of the sites existing in the investigated area can be easily observed, simply by visual analysis of the spatial distribution maps, sufficient for defining the characteristics of their geographical distribution. The values of the concentration degree of the chalcolithic sites (R <1) show a way of organizing the settlements for the communities of Cucuteni, in our area of study. This was made by forming some large groups of concentrated settlements, probably in relationship. Unfortunately, the Chalcolithic period was the only one that provided an aggregation coefficient that demonstrates the organizing of the settlements. This can also be related to the small number of sites existing for the other intervals, when taking into comparison.

Regarding the relationship between the altitude and the pedological specific, it can be observed that: the soils on which the analysed structures of housing were located predominantly belong to the category of molisols (ash soils, cambic and alluvial chernozem), and unevolved soils, truncated or crumbled soils (alluvial protosol and alluvial soil). The explanation for these choices lies in the fact that molisols are among the soils with the best properties, being rich in humus and nutritional elements and thus very good for growing barley and wheat. Also, due to the multitude of nutrients and the possibility of additional water supply for plants, the lands with protosols or alluvial soils are usually very good surfaces for agriculture. Cambisols also have good physical, physico-mechanical, hydrophysical and aeration properties. They are located in humid or very humid areas, being well supplied with water, and are often present on lands with good external drainage, which is why they can be used in agriculture. As for the categories of vertisols and clays, avoided by
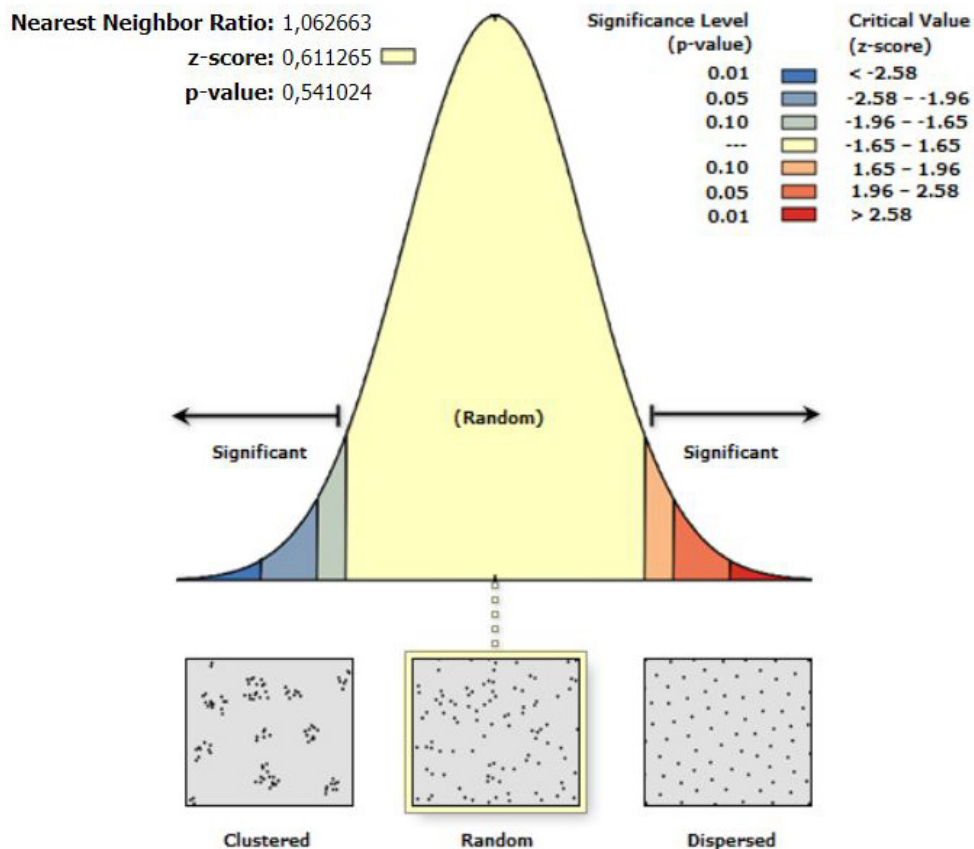
Figure 7. *Nearest Neighbour* analysis for the Chalcolithic settlements

prehistoric communities, they generally have low fertility, due to the unfavourable physical properties, but can be used for wheat crops, poor quality meadows, and sometimes they are occupied with forests.

A very important factor in such an analysis is the geology, because it influenced both the terrain and the soils, determining the presence of hills or depressions, which favoured the settlements. There are also places where this factor led to the fragmentation process, the visible result being that of steep slopes. From a geological point of view, most of the Cracău-Bistrița Depression overlaps with the deposits of gravel and sand, but also with those of clays, sandstone, marlstone, bituminous, stratum of Țicu, Bizușa and Ileanda from Miocene (aquitanian, burdigalian, helvetian, tortonian), Pleistocene and Holocene.

At least for the Chalcolithic period, the problem of raw material sources should be taken into consideration, since the supply of useful rocks was very important in the life of the prehistoric communities. Thus, we can mention menelite, black shale, silicon sandstone with

glauconite, flint, radiolarite, and jasper. The menelite is present in the form of outcrops in the hills of the area of Piatra Neamț (Cernegura, Bâtca Doamnei, Pietricica, Cozla). Black shale is more common in this territory because the Bicaz Valley is crossed by a strip of black clay shale[11]. This type of rock is found, predominantly, in the area of the Hangu stream and its confluence with Bistrița. The existence of flint layers on the Bistrița Valley is attested, in particular, by the affluents of Cuejdiu, Horaița and Cracău. On the Cuejdiu river (near Gârcina), the flint appears as thin strips or lenses up to 20cm thickness, in the layer of limestone known as Pasieczna or Doamna layer and, more rarely, in a layer of sandstone. Radiolarites are found in the conglomerates of the Ceahlău Massif, and the jasper in the aptian conglomerate deposits of Comarnic, Hăghieș, Chicerei Massifs, etc. This fact underlines the direct possibilities of obtaining rocks from Bistrița, where they could have reached by erosion processes[12]. Of course, the presence of these outcrops in the perimeters accessible to the prehistoric communities does not imply a certain knowledge and exploitation.

Regarding the degree of slope inclination (Figure 3/b), it was structured into new categories, which could be applied to each period, namely: 0–5°, 5–10°, 10–15° and >15° (Figure 8). There is an obvious preference for the slopes included in the first interval, as well as a small number of settlements located on steep slopes. The mild slopes, along with the average ones, are the most sought after by the prehistoric communities, which can be seen from the general average of the slopes (3.6°), despite the fact that the steep ones offered a special defensive character. The results obtained in this analysis do not exclude the existence of different types of slopes nearby.
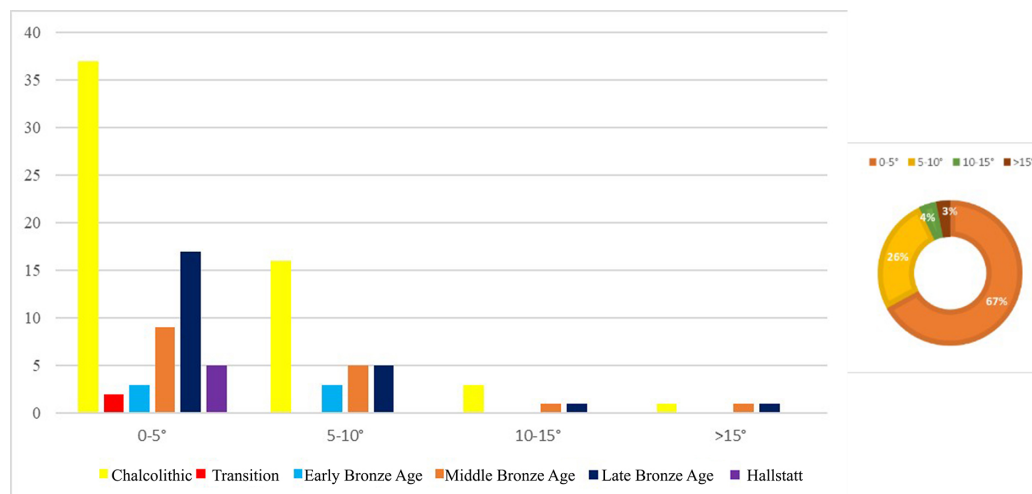

Figure 8. Slope charts

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[11] FILIPESCU *et alii* 1952.

[12] CÂRCIUMARU *et alii* 2007.

In the late Chalcolithic, it is observed that the living areas were established, predominantly, in areas with a low degree of inclination of the slope, the minimum being 0.4°, and most of the points falling in the 0–5° range, being followed by those in the 5–10° range. The average of this indicator for the whole range is 4.4°. For the first category, a group of points is differentiated in the northern half of the depression, and for the second in the southern half. It is noted that the sites belonging to the first phase of Cucuteni culture are, in most cases, on headlands with steep slopes. Also, for the 5–10° interval it can be observed that, again, this choice was made predominantly by the members of the communities of Cucuteni A. For phase B, the lands with mild slopes are chosen with preference, most of these discoveries being within the first intervals. Regarding the stage A-B of the culture, the corresponding points can be found in all the categories presented above.

The Middle Bronze Age is characterized in the workspace by a minimum of 0.9°, as in the previous cases, but by a much higher maximum, namely 22.3° (Piatra Neamț–Pietricica). We differentiate a group of nine sites located in areas with mild slopes, between 0-5°, five in areas with medium slopes, between 5-10°, and one in the last two classes, those of steep slopes, 10–15° and >15°. Regarding certain relations between the chosen slope classes and the occupied regions, no clear conclusions can be drawn. It can be observed, that the points located in the territories with steep slopes are in the western end, close to the contact with the mountain; regarding the other categories, they are characterised by findings from the whole area under study. In this case, the average of the slopes increases, in comparison with the previous ones, thus obtaining 5.9°.

In Late Bronze Age we find the classes of slopes we encountered previously, so that the minimum is 0.3°, the maximum 15.5°, the communities opting again for the mild or medium ones. The first interval, the one between 0–5°, is characterized by the presence of 17 sites, which are predominantly located in the northern half of the territory. Also, it can be observed that the second value segment, 5–10°, has five points, most of which are concentrated in the central-eastern area of the study space. The slopes' average is 3.7°.

The degree of sun exposure (Figure 3/c) reveals two main options preferred by the communities when placing the dwelling system (Figure 9): semi-shaded and semi-sunny slopes (eastern and western exposures). These are followed by sunny slopes (southern exposures), the category for which the rarest one was the shaded slopes (northern exposures). If we put in relation the present indicator with the altitudinal one, we notice that for the Chalcolithic period, the lands with eastern exposure have values between approx. 300m and 400m, except for the sites from Piatra Şoimului–*Pe Gorgan* (452m), Negrești–*Ilişeni* (437m), Negrești–*Piciorul Crucii* (429m) and Traian–*Dealul Fântânilor* (283m). For the western orientation, the values are between 200–400m, except for the settlement from Negrești–*Cetăţuia* (471m) and the one from Negrești–*Dolhești* (518m). In the case of southern exposure,
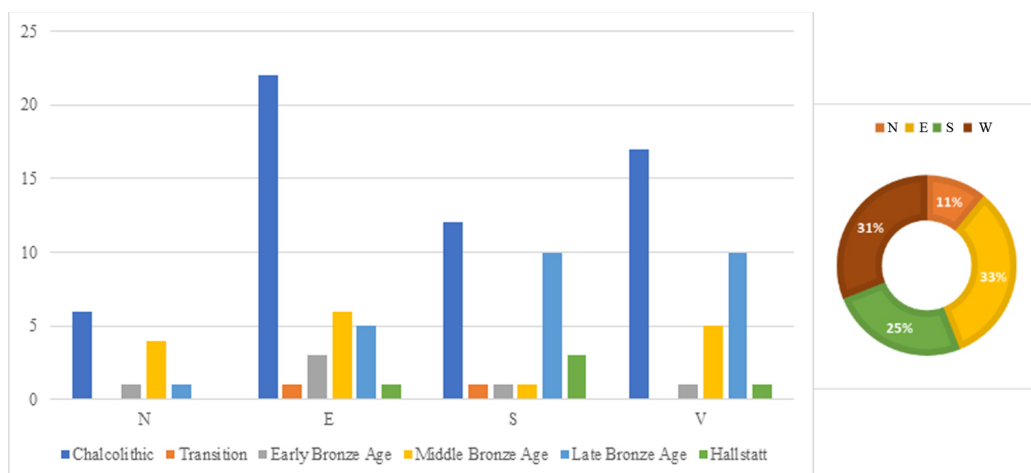
Figure 9. Sun exposure charts

the points are found in all categories of heights. In the last category, of the orientations towards the north, we have a number of six sites, characterised predominantly by altitudes between 300–500m, with one exception: Ruseni–*Vatra satului* (257m).

Regarding the altitude-exposure ratio, from Middle Bronze Age, it is observed that the values of the heights corresponding to the eastern orientations are higher than the western ones. Thus, for the first category, we obtain the range 300–400m, with one exception: the settlement from Români–*Râpi*; at the same time, for the second category, the altitudinal class is the one between 200–300m, also with one exception: Borlești–*Dealul Runcu*. In the case of the northern and southern orientations, the altitudes are predominantly between 400–500m.

The altitudinal values of the discoveries of Late Bronze Age, located in areas with western exposure, are in the range 300–400m, with the exception: Corni–*La Șuri* (473m). In all other situations, the value range is 300–500m, because sites with heights less than 300m, specific to this period, are found in a reduced number in the workspace. The two discoveries that can be classified between 200–300m are those from Goșmani–*Cărbunești* (295m) and Dochia–*La perdele 3* (300m). As they are very close to the value of 301m, from which the points were included in the following altitudinal category, we could consider that all sites of this period, respectively of these categories of exposures, fall within the range of 300–500m.

As a result of calculating the distance to the nearest water source (Figure 10), there was obtained a relatively small number of sites near the river courses or at a great distance from them. On the other hand, it was found a preference for the location of the settlements at distances between 100–500m and 500–1000m, medium distances, easy to travel.

Most settlements were related to rank I water courses, followed by the ones that are rank II. For the following ranks we have fewer and fewer corresponding sites, so that in the end, in the case of Bistrița (rank V) we have only one discovery[13]. It should not be overlooked that this analysis took into account the current courses of the rivers, being possible the existence of a very different situation in prehistory.

The last indicator calculated in this analysis is the distance to the nearest source of salt (Figure 11). It is noted that very few sites are near such a place, most being located more than 3km away, some over 5km, but at easy walking distances.
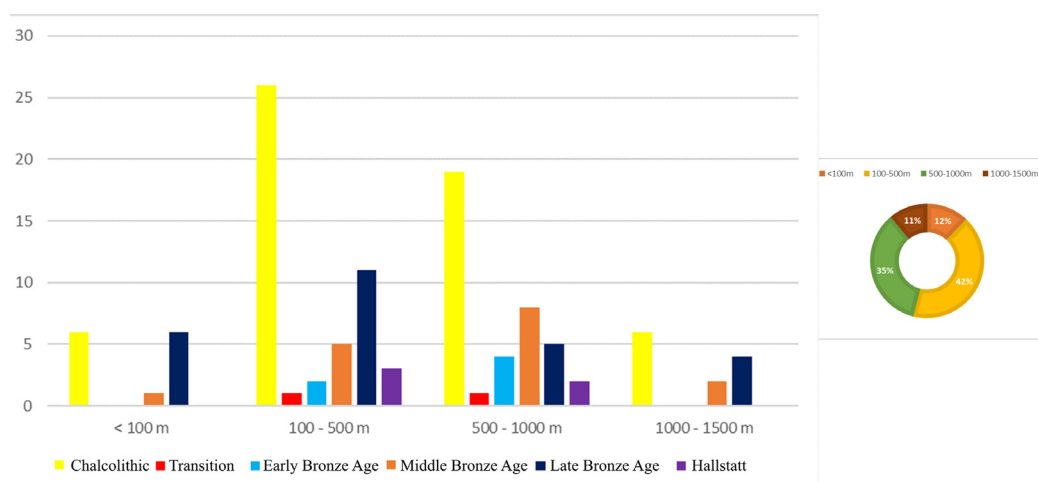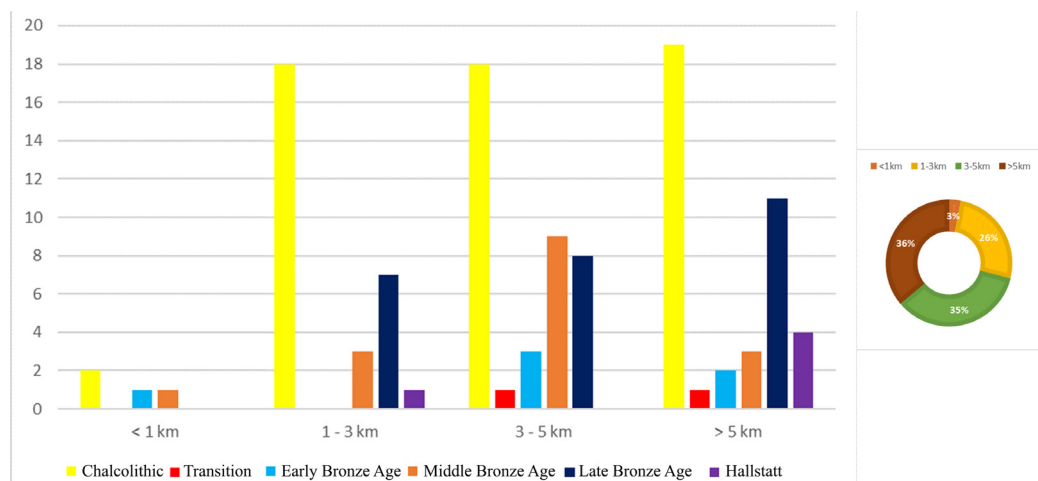

Figure 10. Distance to the source of water charts

Figure 11. Distance to the source of salt charts

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[13] The ranks of the rivers were obtained using the Horton-Strahler number.

Conclusions

The morphometry of the terrain (altitude, slope, orientation and heating) is an important factor in the pedogenetic process. As the main landscape present in the depression is of the fluvial kind, the features of the corresponding soils are: the presence of a lighter colour compared to the surrounding areas, only in certain directions, due to the streams; the high density of some formations (ravines), which will lead to the removal of the soil cover and the appearance of the so-called *bad-lands*; the appearance of the terrain offsets, depending on the number of terraces and meadow steps, etc.[14].

If we structure the conclusions by segments corresponding to the analysed periods, we extract the following information: in the final stage of the Chalcolithic, the communities opted for lands situated at 300–400m altitude, with mild slopes (0–5°) and eastern exposures, at relatively small distances from the water sources (100–500m). The Middle Bronze Age is similar, in terms of preferences, with that of the Chalcolithic, as the altitudinal values sought after are the same (300–400m), also the slope classes (0–5°), and the chosen sun exposures are again, predominantly eastern. As far as the distances are concerned, the one up to the water source is between 500m and 1000m, and to the salt source between 3km and 5km.

The Late Bronze Age period undergoes minor changes regarding the sun exposure, this time being western and southern, and the distances to the water source are between 100 and 500m or less than 100m. As for the distance to the salt source, the communities had to cover, for the most part, distances greater than 5km. The altitudes and slopes remain those preferred by the previous communities, namely: 300–400m and 0–5°.

During the Early Hallstatt, the first two indicators are unchanged, the exposures are predominantly southern, and the distances 100–500m, respectively greater than 5km.

Finally, as a whole, the prehistoric communities in the studied range, located their dwelling systems on lands with altitudes between 300–400m, with mild slopes (0–5°), eastern or western exposures, with distances to the water source in the range of 100–500m, and even greater than 3km or even 5km, when talking about salt sources.

As we mentioned before, in the Cracău-Bistrița Depression there are numerous funerary discoveries, deposits, isolated and uncertain discoveries. For these, the same type of analysis was performed, and the results showed that they are located in territories similar to those in which the living areas were located previously. I paid particular attention to the funeral discoveries specific to the Late Bronze Age. The distance from these to the contemporary settlements was calculated in order to see if it is possible for some to represent necropolis outside the inhabited area. In two of the five cases distances of less than 1km were obtained, namely: the flat graves from Bălușești are located approx. 280m from the Bălușești–*La Școală*

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[14] SECU 2011.

site, and the potential funeral complex from Piatra Neamț–*Lutărie* at approx. 620m from the settlement of Piatra Neamț–*Steagul Roșu*. However, we cannot issue a verdict, the information being placed, to some extent, in the area of speculation.

It has been observed that the northern area is rarely frequented by human communities, a fact due either to the geomorphological characteristics of the Cracău-Bistrița Depression (high altitude, corresponding to the alpine area) or to the low number of researches undertaken in the region. The situation is also encountered when talking about the western frame of the depression, which is marked by the contact with the mountain and the existence of paths and passers-by. The eastern area is faded by the contact with the hilly terrain of the Depression of Moldova, and the southern one follows the interfluvial hills that separate Bistrița from Trotuș, leading to a strong frequentation of these areas by the human communities. All the factors considered in the present study (physico-geographical, geological, pedological, petrographic, hydrographic, climatic, etc.) illustrate an area favourable to human development, both in the past and in the present.

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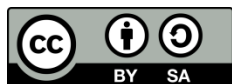
Prehistoric *Gorgoneia*: a Critical Reassessment

Anna LAZAROU[1]

Abstract. *The purpose of this research is to investigate, re-evaluate and synthesize earliest images depicting the Gorgoneion (gorgon's head) and Gorgon (whole-body). These figures refer to prehistory covering a wide chronological frame in the Aegean World. Ten artefacts in total comprising of pottery, masks, seals are examined simultaneously for the first time. A detailed, critical evaluation of their dating, and the trade connections between mainland Greece and the Aegean are discussed. The issue is about making a symbol of the deceased introduced much earlier than the Archaic and later antiquity, showing the evolution of this form and the associated mythology has deep roots in the remote past. The forms of the Gorgon of the Archaic period depict a monster demon-like bellows, with feathers, snakes or spiral tentacles in the head, tongue protruding from the mouth and tusks. Snakes are the predominant element of this gorgon, which composes the gargoyle's hairstyle. This figure is identified and appropriately assessed from a dozen of images in pottery and semiprecious stones, in the wider prehistoric Aegean, making the related myths on Gorgon-Medusa interwoven with myths that have had a wide reflection throughout the later ancient times.*

Rezumat. *Cercetarea de față își propune să investigheze, să re-evalueze și să sintetizeze cele mai timpurii imagini reprezentând Gorgoneion (capul Gorgonei) și Gorgona (întregul corp). Aceste figuri din preistorie acoperă un spațiu cronologic extins în lumea egeeană. Zece artefacte de pe ceramică, măști și sigilii sunt examinate concomitent pentru prima dată. Sunt discutate, în afară de evaluarea critică a datării exemplarelor, relațiile comerciale dintre Grecia continentală și insulele din Marea Egee. Formele de Gorgona din perioada arhaică reprezintă un monstru de tip demon, cu pene, șerpi sau tentacule spiralate în cap, cu limba proeminentă și cu colți. Șerpii sunt elementele predominante, care definesc și coafura personajului. Această figură este identificată pe douăsprezece imagini de pe diverse exemplare ceramice și pietre prețioase în îndepărtata preistorie egeeană, ceea ce face ca miturile referitoare la Gorgona-Medusa să aibă o reflectare în timpuri mai vechi.*

Keywords: Gorgoneion, Gorgon, apotropaic, goblin, symbol, Aegean, Sesklo, Minoan, Phylakopi, Crete, prismatic seals.

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Introduction

The diachronic study of the *gorgoneion* (averting head without body) and Gorgon-Medusa triggered our interest and forms the base of this critical evaluation, listing elements of prehistoric eras which evolve later in the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic period and then in Roman times and later antiquity.

However, for the emergence of early findings that could be considered as archetypal templates, which impart typological characteristics to later (archaic) gorgoneion, the methodology chosen concerns the following elements: a) the geographical location, b) the context, c) their exact dating, d) the typological characteristics of early gorgoneia, as depicted in embossed or painted figures; and e) the interpretation.

In order to examine forms that have been described as "gorgoneia" (plural of gorgoneion) in the prehistoric period, we should first define the meaning of the gorgoneion in relation to other demonic forms, such as the mixed, winged (griffins, sphinxes, sirens), etc.

Gorgoneion is the bodiless head with particular and specific trait-causing features.[2] These features are bulging eyes, visible dentures that may include tusks, protruding tongue, snakes around the head and neck. The gorgoneion is decorated with feathers, but, in many cases, it has no wings. Under no circumstances will the winged gorgoneion be included in the large category of mixed winged birds such as Sirens with bird body and woman's head.

The gorgoneion has been identified as a definite demonic form, as demon, by foreign and Greek archaeologists.[3]

Various archaeologists call it "goblin," and Greek archaeologists call it a "demon" or "demonic form". Homer uses the term as the synonym of "god," either to describe the divine power, or in summary and vaguely with this term refers to the supernatural power (Homer in *Iliad,* H 291, 377, C 420, F 94). In Hesiod (*Theogony* 991) the "demon" is placed between god and mortal being, and in this form will prevail until the later times. In Empedocles only the term "demons" is found, with content related to the secular power attributed to Potnia. The "demons" of Empedocles are Neikos and Filotis, the two great cosmogenic powers (fragment B59) where in the grandiose image of their reunion, the conflict of the cosmic powers is deciphered, which Hesiod had depicted with a series of mythic imaginaries.

It was Marinatos (1927) who has described the demon as "gorgoneion" as a proof of his view with the definitions of "wicked faced" (βλοσυροπις) and "terribly aborted" (δεινόν δερκομένης) Gorgon (*Iliad* L 36–37). This view could be reinforced by the individual gorgonian Homeric head mentioned separately in other passages of the Iliad and the Odyssey.

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[2] LAZAROU 2019.

[3] PETTAZZONI 1921, 506–7; MARINATOS 1927-8, 28, 35; GEROYIANNIS 1928, 128; EVANS 1921, 274, 703.

The earliest artefacts

In order to examine forms that have been proposed or characterized by archaeologists as gorgoneia, we will investigate the following findings from the Neolithic period and the Bronze Age, and more specifically from the sites of Sesklo (Thessaly, central Greece), Phylakopi (in Melos Island, Aegean) and Minoan Crete.

In the ceramic mask from the Middle Neolithic period and Sesklo of Thessaly, a type of simple geometric motifs of clay with coating (5800–5300 BC or according to recent studies 6000–5500 BC) briefly has been referred to Gimbutas (2001). Specifically:

For the Gorgoneia of Phylakopi, excavation material from Atkinson (1904) for Phylakopi is initially summed up, a material that is redefined in light of newer views as to dating and the context. The gorgon-engraved stones from Minoan Crete have been identified by Evans (1921) in Knossos and collector Giamalakis in Malia.[4] They are compared with stamps from Kato Zakros and Mochlos.

Table 1 summarizes the findings of Sesklo, Phylakopi, Knossos, Malia and Petras in chronological order with respective references. Our data consists of portraits of gorgoneia in a ceramic mask, in ceramic pottery and seals of semiprecious stones (carnelian, white sardonyx and onyx).

The following is a critical description of their characteristics, as well as the discussion of each of the findings, by including them in the five typological categories of analysis according to the mentioned characteristic features.

Table 1. The nine prehistoric objects or broken pieces identified as gorgoneion/gorgon in the Greek World (EM=Early Minoan, MM=Middle Minoan, LM=Late Minoan, MC=Middle Cycladic, LC=Late Cycladic)

Code	Site /period/ Museum code	Date	Material/ Type	Reference	Image
SES1	Thessaly, Sesklo, Larisa Museum, coordinates: X: 22 20′ 32″, Y: 39 27′ 59″ Found in a distance about 0.5 km, north of Saint George 3 village of Larisa. The western part intersectioned by country road of Saint	~6000–5500 BC/ 5800–5300 BC	Ceramic mask, part of a pottery	Gimbutas 2001; Reingruber *et al.* 2017	1/A, B

_____

[4] XENAKIS, 1949a,b.

Code	Site /period/ Museum code	Date	Material/ Type	Reference	Image
	George – Saint Anargyroi. The settlement has following phases: Earlier Neolithic (Protosesklo phase), Middle Neolithic (phases Sesklo I, II and III).				
PHY1	Phylakopi, Cycladic, AMA, 6A (NAM5777)	~2000–1675/1600 BC, MC–LC I	Ceramic sherd	Atkinson *et al.*, 1904	2/A
PHY1-1	Phylakopi, Cycladic, AMA 6B (NAM5777)	~2000–1675/1600 BC	Ceramic sherd, detail of PHY1	Atkinson *et al.*, 1904	2/B
PHY3	Phylakopi, Cycladic, AMA 6C (NAM5777)	~2000–1675/1600 BC	Ceramic sherd	Atkinson *et al.*, 1904	2/C
PHY4	Phylakopi, Cycladic, AMA 9	~2000–1675/1600 BC	Ceramic sherd	Atkinson *et al.*, 1904	2/D
KNO-S	Minoan, Crete, Knossos, Heraklion Museum	1800–1750 BCE, MM II	Seal from Carnelian	Evans, 1921	5
MAL1-S	Minoan, Crete, Malia, Heraklion Museum 3337	~2300–1750 BC, EM III– MM II	Seal from onyx	Xenakis, 1949a,b	7
MAL2-S	Minoan, Crete, Malia, Heraklion Museum, 3328	~2300–1750 BC, EM III – MM II	Seal from sardonyx	Xenaki, 1949a,b	8
PET1-S	Minoan Crete, Petras Cemetery Siteia, P.TSK05/322 House Tomb 2, Room 3, ca.3:1	1800–1750 BCE, MM II	Seal from carnelian, 4-sided prism	Krzyszkowska (2012)	9/A
PET2-S	Minoan Crete, Petras Cemetery Siteia P.TSK05/261, House Tomb 2, Room 3, ca.3:1 (not clear description from the author)	1800–1750 BCE, MM II	Seal(?) from agate, rectangular bar	Krzyszkowska (2012)	9/B

2. Sesklo

In our search for types of gorgon head, collections from various archaeological museums were researched and through bibliographic research interesting "ceramic facades" were found at the Archaeological Museum of Larissa, which are part of a vase. Their exact location of origin (Figure 1) is the Neolithic settlement Aghios Georgios 3 (Magoula Dragatsi) and are surface finds. One of them represents a head with gorgoneion features, such as bulging eyes, wide-open nostrils, and the semi-open toothed mouth of the prominent tongue, as well as red spots on the forehead.

This particular ceramic mask SES1 (Figure 1 and Table 1) of the Middle Neolithic period of Sesklo dates back to ~5800 to ~5300 BC. With a newer assessment and taking into account the Carbon-14 ages from Cyclops Youra cave, Theopetra cave, Argissa Magoula, dating goes to a higher range of 6000–5500 BC.[5] It can be described as an "early" gorgoneion and is presented in the same showcase as other small animal-sized jigsaws (Figure 1C). An earlier report by Marija Gimbutas[6] mentions this among other neolithic masks, particularly anthropomorphic ceramic pots and clay-coated ceramic masks. This view takes us to the final stage of the Early Neolithic ~6000 BC, which is very important for Greece. Thus, it seems that gorgoneion is a European symbol that is presented in Southeastern Europe in the Neolithic period as well as in the Bronze Age. All its elements are recognized in most of the gorgoneia, such as the elongated wide mouth, the pronounced prominent language, which characterize the dead goddess which later is identified with Gorgon.[7]

3. Phylakopi

3.1. Excavation, finds and Context

The description of the ceramic vessels of Milos is an essential element in dating, typology and connotations, but also for the later revision, so we give somewhat greater analysis than just a reference to the original bibliographic / excavation report, in order to perceive the revised interpretation. The three phases or cities at Phylakopi are: I (2300–2000 BC or end of EC beginning of MC), II (2000–1550 BC, towards the end starts the minoanisation or MC), III (1550–1100 BC or LC).

The ceramic sherds of dark decoration with the gorgoneion forms in light-coloured depth were found in a standard house floor of phase II.[8]

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[5] TSOUNTAS 1908; ANDREOU *et al.*, 2001; DEMOULE, 1994; REINGRUBER *et al.*, 2017.

[6] GIMBUTAS, 2001, 25, fig. 15.

[7] GIMBUTAS, 2001, 25, fig. 15.

[8] ATKINSON *et al.*, 1904, 41, Fig. 27.

Figure 1. A–B) Ceramic red-figure on a white depth of a small-size façade of early Neolithic period of Sesklo, around 6000–5800 BC, 5×4cm (Photo courtesy of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Larissa). Ephorate Topographic Archives Number 65, registered at the Museum as "gorgoneion" under registration number ML.THE.710, C) other beasts of the same group from Larissa, and D) Neolithic clay figurines of the Early-Middle Neolithic period (6800–5300 BC) from Thessaly from the excavations of late Chr. Tsountas (National Museum of Athens)

The Figures 2, 3, and individual pieces numbered in original publication as 6A, 6B, 6C and 9 (Figures 2 and 3), and, as PHY1-4 in our Table 1, are reported in fig. XIV of the excavation report of Phylakopi. In fact, the PHY1-3 (6A, 6B and 6C) have been synthesized along with other pieces in a jug exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Athens (Figures 2/A, B, C, D). In each of these pieces there is a painted gorgoneion.

The house, which was studied by Mackenzie, is the 2nd City that belongs to the MC period and is located in the northern part of the H1: 1-13 and room 6, a large central room of the house. In the same room other ceramic utensils have been found, which are very characteristic examples of Cretan polychromy, with light-coloured patterns on a dark background. They are illustrated in Edgar's image XI and Figure XIV of the study of ceramic material[9] (see Figures 2 and 3).

3.2. Typological elements

In gorgoneion PHY1 (6A in original publication, Figure 2/A) there are many sections that are erased. The facial features are not distinguishable but only the circular contour of the head. There is also a single feather that grows from the head. The feather is triangular in shape with black stripe lines.

In Figure 2/B the gorgoneion PHY1-1 (6B) is best preserved: the head is composed of a circular contour. The outline of one eye is saved, about a moment in the middle. The mouth extends as much as the diameter of the circular head, and open, with vertical lines depicting the teeth. One ear is painted outside the circular contour, at the same height as the eye. The head also sprawls a large feather in a triangular shape filled with seven parallel lines, and two legs on the surviving surface of the fragment, each ending in three nails.

Gorgoneion PHY3 (6C, Figure 2/C, Table 1) is similar to PHY1-1 (6B, Figure 2/B) except that over his eyes are painted mixed eyebrows. The shape of the head is ellipsoid and its left extension ends in a larger leg. There still seems to be a right ear at the top of the head. His left triangular wing is filled with eight parallel lines. It has three curved ends / legs, where one foot is almost three times the other, each ending in three nails. The empty space between the legs is decorated with a pattern that refers to a four-sided or a cross. Gorgoneion PHY3 (Number 9, Figure 2/D, Table 1) does not seem to belong to the same vase, since it is decorated differently from the jug's pattern. It is remarkable that one of the coils decorating the vase has been placed on the top of the head as a headdress. The eyes resemble the eye of 6B (Figure 2/B PHY1-1) while the mouth is slightly smaller than 6B and 6C (Figure 2/B, C), open, with lines depicting the teeth and a large tongue, is much thicker than the rest of it and protrudes from the mouth.

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[9] ATKINSON *et al.*, 1904, 41.
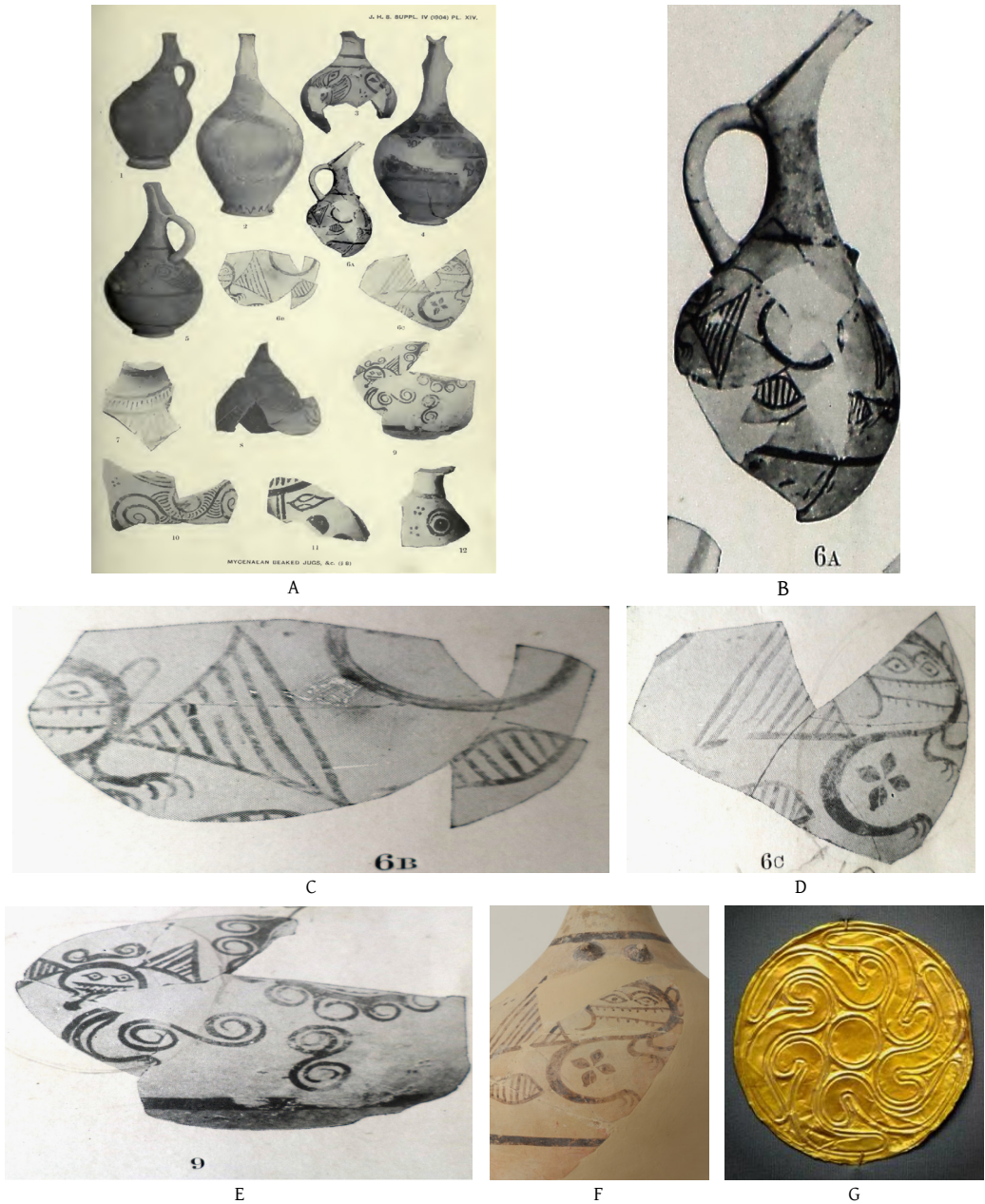
Figure 2. A) Pieces of jug. They were found in a MC period house. The sherds bearing painted gorgoneia are numbered 6A, 6B, 6C and 9 (EDGAR, in ATKINSON *et al.* 1904, 41), (B) Detail of a broken ceramic piece of the jug with gorgoneion 6A, (C) Detail of sherd 6B, (D) Detail of sherd 6C, (E) Detail from the gorgoneion of sherd 9, (F) Part of the jug. Credit line: National Archaeological Museum, Athens.
© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Archaeological Receipts Fund,
(G) Gold disk with helices of shaft grave III, Mycenae (Schliemann, 1878)

Three curved lines spring from the bottom of the head. At the end of a curved line three nails are distinguished. There are no ears, but in the place of the ears there are triangular wings that are also filled with parallel lines, but much smaller than the wings of the rest of the gorgoneia described. Apparently, the gorgoneion 9 (Figure 2/D) belongs to a different vase and is painted by another artist. Noteworthy that 6C and 9 (Figure 2/C, D) have three leg-like ends, all of which result in three lines. The three legs, the three nails and the three gorgoneia A, B and C in the same vase (Figure 3), refer to the three gorgons of the famous myth, which were born of two marine monsters. Once again, their marine origin is indicated.

In fig. XIV of Atkinson *et al.* (Figure 2)[10] that include gorgoneia, it is observed that generally a free decoration system appears. Odd creatures ("goblin creatures" according to Edgar, in Atkinson *et al.*)[11] are of particular interest. No. 6 (Figure 2/A, B) is a bizarre version of this type. No. 9 (Figure 2/D) contains a similar demon model with an additional common spiral pattern over the head indicating hair. The eyes as a shape have been found in other sherds in the excavation of this period. Other characteristic features include hatched triangles denoting wings and spiral shapes resembling ionic spirals. The practice of filling the gaps of the spirals with short parallel curves recalls the golden discs from the shaft Mycenaean tombs[12] (Figure 2/Z).

One of the coils that decorate the vase bearing gorgoneion PHY3 has been placed on the top of the head as a headdress. Perhaps this is a snake design, although the spiral is usually attributed to sea waves.

Illustrative themes exist in other MC vessels and the same applies to goblin subjects in the other ceramic vases in Phylakopi. Such issues also appear in other Middle Cycladic (2000–1600 BC) cups from the area, although this issue appears limited to the Melian vessels.[13]

Finally, we believe that the relationship between the winged marine creatures and the winged gorgoneia of Milos but and the "winged demons" from the double axe of Crete (labrys) is worth mentioning. There is also an interesting mural painting with winged fish in the LC I Phylakopi (1600–1100 BC) (Figure 4).

Although we do not attribute the winged demons exclusively to winged fish or double axe, it is interesting to see the visual representation that could either be given as a "loan" by the earliest Aegean artists or be regarded as an intimate recruiting image. Also, it is worth noting the great design similarity of the feathers of the fish with the feathers of the gorgoneia PHY1, 2, 3.

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[10] ATKINSON *et al.*, 1904, fragments 3 and 5 to 10.

[11] ATKINSON *et al.* 1904, 109.

[12] EDGAR 1904, 109.

[13] BARBER 1984, 179; GOODISON 2008, 421, Figure 39.3.g; MARTHARI 1987, 366; NIKOLAKOPOULOU *et al.* 2008.

Figure 3. A) Ceramic jug no. 5777 from Phylakopi containing gorgoneia 6A, 6B and 6C.
National Archaeological Museum; (B) Ceramic jug from Phylakopi no. 5777.
Credit line: Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο/National Archaeological Museum, Athens,
© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

Figure 4. Milos, Phylakopi II wall painting by Phylakopi. Designed representation of a section of
frescoed wall painting. Late Cycladic I period. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5844.
Ministry of Culture / TAP. Papathanassopoulos, G., National Archaeological Museum.
Neolithic-Cycladic, Melissa Publishing House, Athens 1981, 179, fig. 101

3.3. Chronology and context — new studies / assessments

A crucial point is the dating of these "demonic" forms that we attribute to early gorgoneia. It is for that reason the chronological context of the finds and context is at most importance. The first reports [14] have been reassessed, [15] while Tyler (2012) considers disturbed the deposition of the floor in the Mycenaean palace—as it is characterized—and rather wrong the description of the context. The alleged as gorgoneia in Phylakopi are based mainly on the original excavation research and subsequent re-evaluation.

(Briefly, the cultural periods: EC: ~3300–2000 BC; MC: 2000 ± 50 BC to 1600–1675 BC, LM IA: 1600–1675 to ~1500 BC, LH I–II: 1500–1400 BC, LH III A–B: 1400–1200 BC, LH III C: 1000–1200 BC).

We generally observed that the dating of this period in Phylakopi is complex and has been revised.

The presence of Gray Minyan, the imported MH gloss pottery and MM ceramics, as well as local imitations, show the opening of Phylakopi to external influences and, at the same time, recognizes the variety of these influences. There is a recent revision of Brodie (2009) on the interpretation of Mackenzie[16] for the stratigraphy of Phylakopi, which was presented in 1904 in the last chapter of the relevant excavation report.

The dark-coloured vases approach the technique of Cycladic White pottery, from which they are probably influenced. They are utilitarian vases, piths, pitchers, cups, jugs, with linear themes, painted with dark matt black, but much of the vase remains uncovered. According to Papagiannopoulou *et al.*,[17] it is clear that during the Middle Bronze Age various exchanges in the ceramics production are taking place between the geographical areas we are looking at and the interaction between different styles is created. The house, which was studied by Mackenzie, with these peculiar images in the ceramic decoration belongs to the 2nd City, i.e. the MC period.

Our above-mentioned view of describing and re-evaluating gorgonian forms, their geographical location, typological characteristics, the chronological evaluation of excavators and scholars, the material, all is based on the following data about Phylakopi:

a) the disturbed stratigraphy of Phylakopi concerning the collection of ceramic parts which carries the so-called demonic illustrations;

b) the complex dating of the findings of Atkinson, Edgar, MacKenzie, in cities I, II, II;

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[14] ATKINSON *et al.* 1904, 15; EDGAR 1904, 98, 108.

[15] RENFREW *et al.* 2007, Chapter 3.

[16] MACKENZIE, in ATKINSON 1904, 10–11.

[17] PAPAGIANNOPOULOU *et al.* 1999, 67.

c) the lack of similar demonic — abhorrent forms in Mycenaean decoration from mainland Greece;

d) the crushed condition of the ceramic and poorly preserved decoration due to its erosion both from the sea's proximity (for Phylakopi) as much as the corrosiveness of salt;

e) the dark painting on white substrate and spiral decoration present in MC II (~1850–1700 BC).

Concerning the MC-LC ceramic typology in the Aegean in relation to Phylakopi and Crete, one should start with the Cycladic White. The Cycladic White (the characteristic faint white background of the vases on which curvy black and white motifs are drawn) is preceding —as mentioned above—and influences the evolutionary development of dark-coloured vases. The Cycladic White as terminology was introduced by Barber in 1978 and replaced the old term "Early Mycenaean with a matt dark dye", used by the original excavators.[18] Such a dark-coloured, black matt paint that leaves much of the vase uncovered has since been found after the excavation of Atkinson after 1980, at the Santorini Ftellos and Kea, Tenos, Amorgos.[19]

In the present case and taking into account all of the above, our view of the dating of the Melian Vases places them in the Middle Minoan or Middle Cycladic period (~2000–1675/1600 BC), associated with the date of the 2nd City of Phylakopi, which is MC II–III, i.e. before 1600 BC. As a result, we can now appreciate the different times of the particular manufacturing phases and the originality of the production of the Melian pottery despite the tradition of Cretan trend.

The chemical analysis of Mycenaean and Late Minoan I–II ceramics (e.g., in Chapter 8 of Renfrew 2007) facilitates the comparative study to include general pottery typologies from previous excavations at Phylakopi.

Thus, in addition to providing information on interactions and ceramic development, the chemical analysis of ceramic LC IIA/ LC IB, for example, shows that most of the pottery was produced in mainland Greece (according to Saint Irene's ceramics), thus providing a balanced solution (between continental and Minoan influences) in the long-term debate on the 'Minoanization' of the Aegean. After all, hybridisation of a mixture of local, Minoan, and Mycenaean traits has been reported for Karpathos.[20]

It is noted that several issues are identified by Renfrew and his associates: a) a reassessment of the early Cycladic period in terms of local typological ceramic sequences and their regional change; b) the trade interaction of the Aegean islands is evidenced by petrographic analysis. That is relationships of specific contact areas between Cyclades centres and communities in the MBA and LBA from Crete and the Mycenaean hinterland[21].

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[18] ATKINSON, EDGAR *et al.* 1904.

[19] PAPAGIANNOPOULOU 1987, 79; ZERVOS 1957; BARBER 1978, 367–9.

[20] MINA and STEFANAKIS 2018.

[21] See BETANCOURT 2003.

Despite the great length of time between the relief mask vase from Sesklo and the Melian "gorgoneia", it is useful to summarize elements of the tradition of Melian and Cretan pottery. The Melian pottery that we are looking at are dark coloured vases (pithoi, cups, pitches, jugs) with linear motifs, painted with a matt black paint that leaves much of the vase uncovered. Another variation of the dark-coloured pots, the Helladic colourful pottery, imitates the corresponding "Cycladic two-colour" technique, and uses black and red colour in the decoration. It is clear from this retrospective that during the Middle Bronze Age there are various exchanges in the pottery field between the geographical areas we are examining and thus an interaction between the different styles made. In Neolithic Thessaly the ceramic tradition was red-figured on a white background. The two traditions share the background and differ in decoration techniques.

5. Crete — seals

Many seals from semiprecious stones have been discovered in Minoan Crete.[22] Moreover, from the so far reported excavated finds and investigations the hundreds of seals are forms that evolved in Middle Minoan (MM) IA and persisted to MM III/Late Minoan IA early, with its main floruit being MM II,[23] and recent finds sway opinion of a local Cretan manufacturing process.[24]

5.1. Palace of Knossos — typological elements

The four-sided prismatic seals, made of semiprecious stones, were found in the excavation that took place at the palace of Knossos, in the layer of hieroglyphic objects of the MM II period[25] (Figure 5).

In the decoration of these stamps with demonic / monstrous forms only an averted significance could be attributed to these forms.[26] The coexistence of gorgoneia in the seals with the double axe looks like an evolutionary artistic process of the "winged demons" from the double axe (labrys) of Crete, based on the images of the winged gorgons of Milos and of Knossos, as Evans[27] (Figure 6).

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[22] ZOUZOULA 2007; ANASTASIADOU 2011.

[23] ANASTASIADOU 2011.

[24] KRZYSZKOWSKA 2012.

[25] EVANS 1921, 277.

[26] MARINATOS 1927-28, 18.

[27] EVANS 1921, 704, fig. 527.

In Figure 5 in KNO-S we generally observe the gorgoneion on the side 2 of the quadrilateral seal. The head is round, with bulging eyes and mouth open, where the teeth are visible. The ears are apparent in normal position and size. The hair is different in size in the different parts of the head: at the top of the head there are five small lines reminiscent of pins, while from the sides of the head begins rich long hairstyle that ends in a helix.

In particular, we note with caution: (a) on side 1 a composition that refers to a exotic stylized facete composed of wings and a series of 7 teeth, star-shaped eyes and a flattened nose and almost similar size of the gorgon-like head of side 2; b) on side 2 a gorgoneion with a mouth open and a prominent line of prominent teeth, round face, extended ears, swollen eyes, human nose, top of the head spindle reminding the Malia stamp of the Giamalakis collection of MM II period.[28]

From the sides of the head, two beams of rich headdress are emerging, ending in a cornice: the whole of the headdress refers to serpentine tentacles. The movement of the hairs reminds once again the seal of Malia (Figure 7). Hieroglyphic symbols are visible on either side of the head; c) On the 3rd and 4th sides are depicted more hieroglyphic symbols, such as a palm, one leg, and others.

Since Minoan hieroglyphics has not been deciphered yet, no interpretation of these symbols can be given (Dr Papadatos I, personal communication September 2018).

Evans[29] (Figure 6) dares to make a parallel comparison that is worth mentioning because it relates a purely Minoan symbol, the "double axe", with the two Melian Gorgoneia, intending to show a sequence in the shapes and obviously a correlation between Phylakopi and Crete. According to Evans, there is an evolution of the "winged demons" coming from the double axe of Crete and then the comparison of the shape of the double axe with the winged gorgons-like of Phylakopi (Figure 6/C, D and Figure 2/C, D).

As far as the dating of the seal with the gorgoneion found in the Palace of Knossos has been characterized by Evans as MM II (Evans 1921). Evans, of course, was unaware of the two seals from Malia (undiagnosed deposition) found later and classified as Minoan Period, namely MMII–MMIII.[30]

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[28] XENAKIS 1949a.

[29] EVANS 1921, 704, fig. 527.

[30] XENAKIS 1949b, 60.

Figure 5. A four-sided prismatic seal from Knossos MM II.
One face is an image of an awesome early gorgoneion (EVANS 1921, 277, fig. 207)
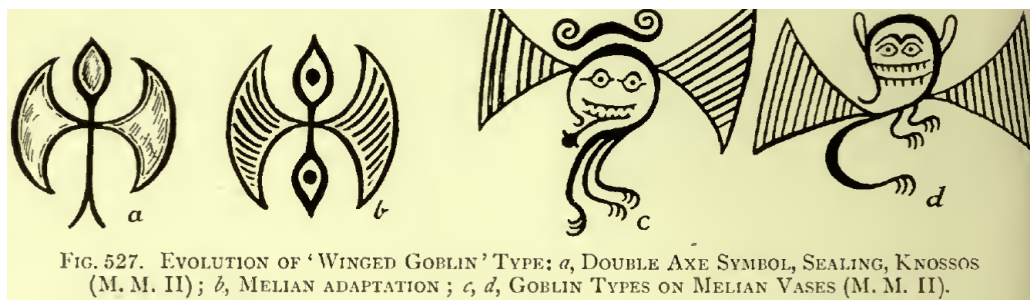

FIG. 527. EVOLUTION OF 'WINGED GOBLIN' TYPE: *a*, DOUBLE AXE SYMBOL, SEALING, KNOSSOS (M. M. II); *b*, MELIAN ADAPTATION; *c*, *d*, GOBLIN TYPES ON MELIAN VASES (M. M. II).

Figure 6. The evolution of the "winged demons" by the double axe of Crete (EVANS 1921, 704, fig. 527)
and the comparison of the shape of the double axe with the winged gorgoneion of Phylakopi (*c, d*)

5.2. Seals from Malia

Two other Minoan seals (MAL1-S and MAL2-S, Table 1) with similar representation are mentioned in the Giamalakis Collection.[31] They come from Malia and are undiagnosed as the collector Giamalakis bought them from villagers from Crete who found them scattered in fields (Figure 7, Figure 8).

The two masks are not unknown to the Minoan representations and based on their typological comparison these are dated by Evans in the MM II,[32] while they have been classified as works of the Minoan Period and specifically of MMII–MMIII.[33]

Observing those three seals we conclude that there have features of gorgon-heads such as snake headdress, prominent teeth, and swollen eyes. Compared to the gorgoneion-like MAL1-S no. 3337 of Giamalakis collection, it is noted that the gorgoneion-like MAL2-S no. 3328 differs in relation to the components that develop on both sides as snakes rather than as fins. The two masks of the type of gorgoneion in those seals (Table 1), i.e. 1β (3337) (Figure 7) and 2a (3328) (Figure 8) are not unknown from Minoan representations.

5.3. Petras, at Siteia Crete

In the cemetery of Petras in Crete two seals bear engraved images recalling the gorgoneion and whole-body gorgon-medusa (Figure 9/A, B, C) of high quality and aesthetic sense. Few comparanda exist from secure contexts in Crete (Malia, Knossos). These are not crude attempts instead mature products of well-established institutions. They well fit within the Minoan glyptic repertoire. Their association with cemetery and house with hieroglyphics is a reminiscent of averting symbol to protect the deceased or a holy place (contrast with the analogy of finds in the Archaic and Classical periods; most were found in burials but also Temples).[34]

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[31] XENAKIS 1949a, 60–84.

[32] EVANS 1921, 277.

[33] XENAKIS 1949a, 60.

[34] KARAGIORGA 1970; VERNANT 1985.

A

B

Figure 7. MAL1-S: (A) Prismatic stamp from Giamalakis collection with number 3337
(XENAKIS 1949a, 64, Table A, picture 1); (B) A more detailed description of the Giamalakis collection
prismatic seal 3337 from CMS II, 237 with corresponding design performance made of onyx.
Dim. 0.047×0.007 and 0.005 cm

A

B

Figure 8. MAL2-S: (A) Prismatic stamp from Giamalakis collection no. 3328 (XENAKIS 1949a, 64, Table A, Figure 2); (B) Detail of prism seal No. 3328 Giamalakis Collection (CMS II, 1998, No. 238) with corresponding design performance. Made from sardonyx. Dim. 0.02×0.007cm

Seal PET1-S

In Figure 9/A the four sides exhibit spirals amply displayed on all sides of the prism of carnelian from The motifs include: (a) two animals with beaks and two legs each probably birds. The attribution to lions with outward curling hindquarters by Krzyszkowska,[35] is not convincing, b) a pair of creatures in profile with spiral "tails"; (c) a pair of similar heads in with spiral locks, (d) an unidentified creature (?) depicted frontally, with elongated spiral "appendages".

The motifs on faces (b) and (c) are arranged symmetrical and upside down, while (a) and (d) are simply symmetrical.

This carnelian example does not bear hieroglyphic inscriptions and has one face which makes it a unique (so far) example.

Emphasis it is given here to (c): it has gurgled eyes, open mouth, protruding tongue, two hazy teeth in upper mandible, ears, and above head emerge two rings and two tentacles in spiral style similar to that of Malia (Figure 9/C).

Seal PET2-S

The Figure 9/B shape is rare, but not unparalleled. It is not a prism, but rather a rectangular bar, with engraving on only two faces, i.e., the narrow sides are unengraved. On the reverse is an attractive lattice pattern. On the front is engraved one of the most extraordinary images to survive from the Aegean Bronze Age. This is a frontal figure with outsized head, pendulous breasts, hairy legs, and a tail possibly dangling in between. The arms/hands seem to be rendered in an abbreviated fashion, but may be holding something. The figure wears a strange skirt or cuirass. The head is especially striking: round eyes and ears, bulging cheeks, hairy facial outline. Above the forehead are spiked hair-dress and begins rich long hairstyle that ends in a helix, recalling Knossos Palace of Minos seal (Figure 9/C). This figure is not apparently feathers as Krzyszkowska (2012) suggests. It has four protruding teeth. Taken together the grotesque appearance this creature has α disgusting look, scary and repulsive.
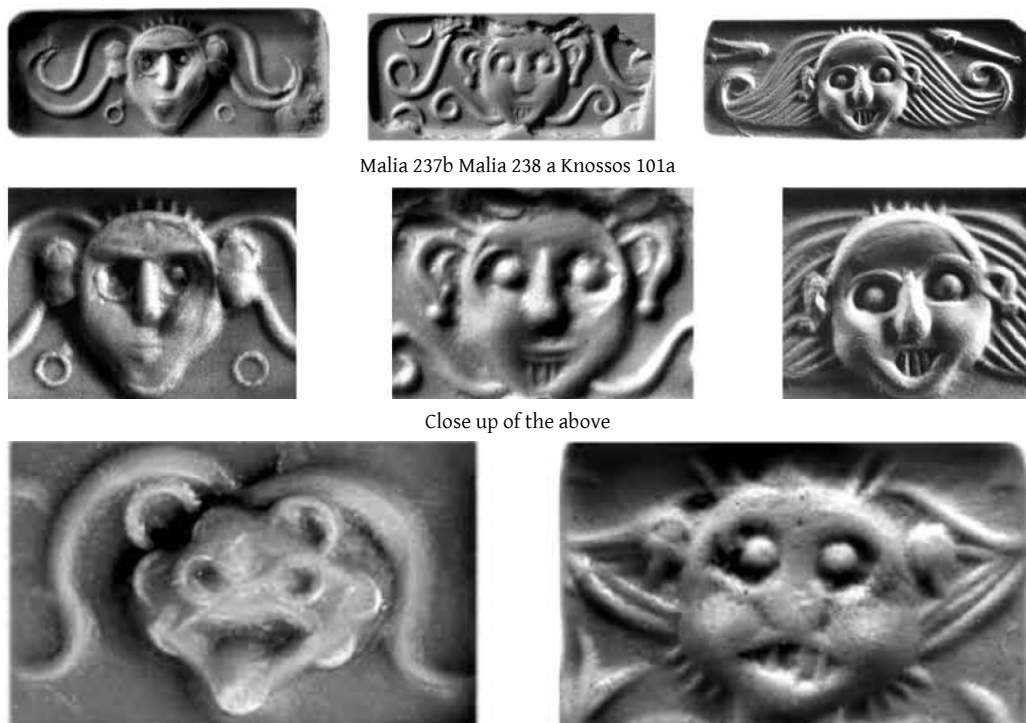
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[35] KRZYSZKOWSKA 2012.
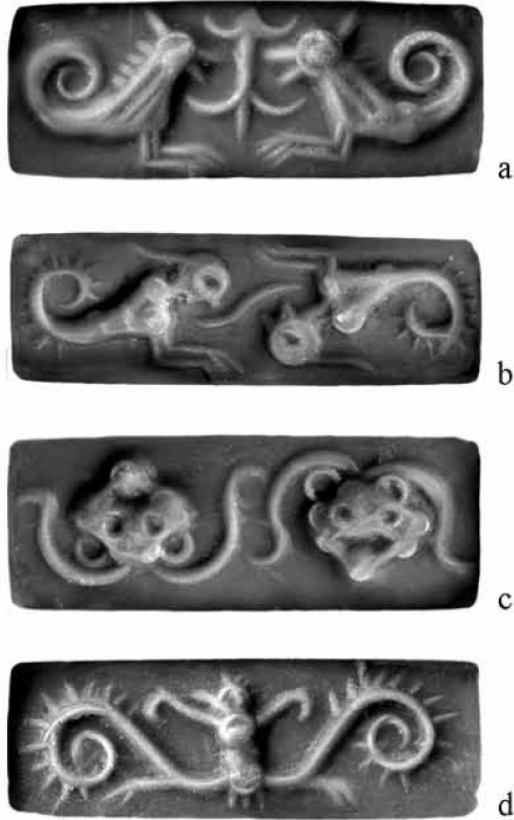
P.TSK05/322

Figure 9/A. PET1-S. Impressions of seal prisms from Petras cemetery, Crete. The four sided seal, where the (c) side the image of a mask-like fiery head (from KRZYSZKOWSKA 2012, 151, fig. 6)

Figure 9/B. PET2-S. Rectangular bar from Petras, Crete, representing a creature, scale 3:1

Malia 237b Malia 238 a Knossos 101a

Close up of the above

P.TSK05/322c P.TSK05/261a

Figure 9/C. Selected prismatic seals from MM II contexts from Malia, Knossos
compared with those at Petras in Crete (KRZYSZKOWSKA 2012, 155, fig. 9)

5.4. Seals from Mochlos, Phaistos, Kato Zakros

Evans has highlighted the relationship of the seals from Knossos with Ishtar's masks and
other masks respectively of the eastern Sumerian circle. But Marinatos[36] more correctly
recognized the relationship of these stamps with Greek gorgoneia, having collected other
examples of seals and with other images from Minoan Crete such as Mochlos (Figure 10/A)
Marinatos 1927-8, fig. 27, AE T.66–67), Zakros (Figure 10/C),[37] and Phaistos[38] (Figure 10/B),[39] as
well as, Melian early Mycenaean vase of LC 1A, with common typological features, such as
shape of face, spiked hair dressing, ears, bulging eyes, cheeks, oblate / toned mouth,
abhorrent expression, meandering lines like tentacles, and the manner of running, adopted
by subsequent whole body gorgonian forms.

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[36] MARINATOS 1927-8, Fig. 27.

[37] PLATON 1998, seals 1199m & 1199w, No 117 & 118 respectively.

[38] CMS II 5, seals no 722 & 723 respectively.

[39] INGO PINI 1970.

In the Mochlos button shape, the imagery figure, with protruding facial features such as a wide mouth, gurgled eyes, hair dressing as two snakes with an additional vertical segment emerging from the top, and hands with three fingers, could be described as a demonic form (goblin). An early repulsive form that causes terror and fear. Marinatos[40] considers this to be a true gorgoneion, which shows that the Creto-Mycenaean people were familiar with the idea of the hateful and dissuasive. He claims that the round wild eyes, the characteristic of all gorgoneia wide mouth with furiousness grimace, and the snake pruning from the root of the ear and the centre of the head. The button-like bearing also a hole attached to for hanging, possibly have been used at the same time aa pendant, which to date is used by people today as "talisman".

Below it follows the seals from Phaistos and Kato Zakros that contain typological elements similar to those of the gorgoneia. (Figure 10/B, C).

Specifically for Phaistos (Figure 10/B):

• The 722 seal (stamp) according to Ingo Pini (1970) contains a possible octopus with four tentacles. The two left tentacles end up in helices, while the two right ones are joined at the edges (one right tentacle is toothed on the outside). However, the snake-like tentacles of this image recalls rather early gorgoneia of seals from Crete (Malia, Petras) already discussed above.

• The 723 seal is very similar to 722. It shows a stylized octopus(?) without a head, an egg-shaped body and four altogether tentacles that open slightly at the end. The two outer tentacles derive from same root. The tentacles of the octopus remind us of the snake hair dress of the prismatic seals gorgoneia that we discussed above.

For the seals from Kato Zakros (Figure 10/C), baked seal nodules from clay were found in Mycenaean House A, area VII (1490–1300 BC), in Kato Zakros. They were made of finely ground clay rather intentionally and not by fire, in a variety of shades of red.[41] They portray rather male figures in a run motion with open wings in place of hands, with a ram or bird head, or without a retained head, with pairs of rings on both thighs and a belt in the middle running either left or right. Specifically:

• Seals 1199m and 1199w are a combination of imagery, consisting of a human head, the frontal spreading wings and a bird's chest and the feet of a lion in the left or right profile with the tendons passing diagonally. Detailed design of the frontal-attributed head with turbulent lines for the contour of the hair and a varied wings structure.

• Stamps — forms in a "running" movement (Figure 11/A, B)

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[40] MARINATOS 1927-28, 17.

[41] HOGARTH 1902; TULLY and CROOKS 2015.
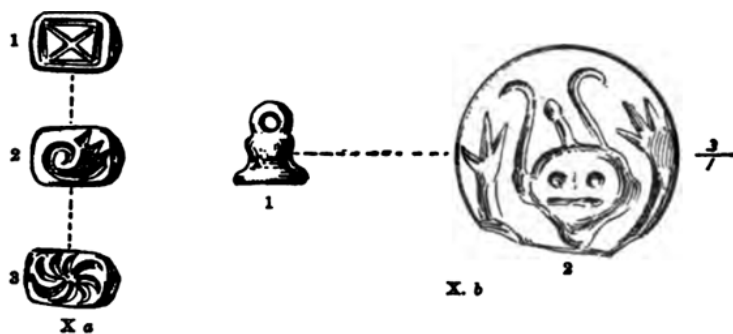
FIGURE 27. SCALE 1:1 AND 3:1

Figure 10/A. Seal from Mochlos (MARINATOS 1927-8), MM II period (SEAGER 1912, 58, fig. 27).

Figure 10/B. Phaistos, Inv. No. 722 (top) and 723 (bottom)
(INGO PINI 1970, 260–262, CMS, II 5, 301, 302, Inv. No. 722, 723)

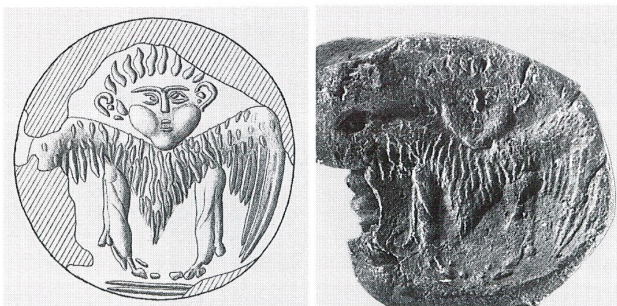OAM AE 1199m

OAM AE 1199w

Figure 10/C. Kato Zakros (PLATON 1998, 132–133, CMS II 7,117, 118, OAM AE 1199m, 1199w)

The shape of the bent knee, also called the running movement, combined with the shape of the hands / feathers, does not appear to be an invention of archaic art, but occurs in earlier Aegean times (Mycenaean seals from Zakros). It is a fact that the Minoan type of the early gorgoneion is found in archaic art and is an evolutionary follow up in the wider Mediterranean region. Hence, one observes that the winged form in the running movement and the terrifying head are a combination that derives from Greek prehistoric art. It could be argued that it is a precursor to the winged Gorgon on the running style.[42]

5.5. Discussion of the runner's style movement in the seal stones from Zakros

The "runner" movement resembles the depictions of the Archaic Gorgon (e.g, a dinos mixing bowl or cauldron in the Louvre Museum, Figure 12/D) that runs pursued either by Perseus or by her sisters Stheno and Euryale. The latter, according to Hesiod, persecute Perseus after the beheading of their sister Medusa (see Chapter of ancient sources).

Figure 11/A. Seal type as disc from Kato Zakros (CMS, 1998. Numbered by CMS 139 A, p. 160, pieces of seals HMs 3/1, 3, 7–9, 13, 14 OAM AE 199β, AE 1199j. HOGARTH 1902). Dim. 1.65×1.50cm

Figure 11/B. Seal type from Kato Zakros (CMS, 1998. Numbered by CMS 140, p. 162, pieces of seals HMs 31/1–3. Dim. 2.00×2.10cm. HOGARTH 1902, Taf. VII, 81)

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[42] GEROYIANNIS 1928, 165.

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ii

Figure 12/D. i) The two sisters of Medusa who persecute Perseus. All three forms are winged, a sample of speed and flight; ii) The Gorgons and Perseus are portrayed in a runner posture that is widely found in the Archaic period. Hermes and Athena support the Medusa's killing. She collapses headless and her sisters persecute Perseus. From the Unknown Painter of the Gorgon, Louvre (F874). Black-figured Dino from Athens ~580 BC

These seals from Zakros are older than the eastern monuments that contain the running style movement. This figure, whose origin is Mycenaean-Minoan, seems to have originally functioned as a "loan," since it seems to have given its typological characteristics to eastern art of the 10th and 9th centuries. (e.g. Sendjirli of Asia Minor), and then returned as an "antiloan" to Greece with the typology of Archaic Gorgon who runs or has a bent knee. However, since the form of this gorgon derives from a combination of the characteristic shape of the running movement and the Gorgonian abominable fear, it seems to be related to the pure notion of terror (Figure 13).

Figure 13. Stone pedestal from Sendjirli, northern Syria earliest excavations 1888–1902 by Luschan, *et al.* A bearded male form with a short sleeve holds two lions as *potnia theron* ("mistress of the animals"). Originally found in the borders of modern Gaziantep, nearing Carchemish. Now resting in İstanbul Archaeology Museum. F. von Luschan, R. Koldewey and K. Humann. 1904. İstanbul Archaeology Museum. Catalogue No. 1519 (Zincirli-Sam'al Excavations, 1888–1902)

The runner's seals may therefore, according to Geroyiannis (1928), be considered as standards for conceptions similar to the Arps and Gorgons of historical times without including gorgonian fear, since the aforementioned seals do not have an apostrophe / averted or fearful element. Geroyiannis (1928) also argues that running movement is based on the flying gallop described by Evans[43] and is more likely to be Mycenaean and Cycladic art. However, the shape of flying gallop, inspired by felines and generally galloping animals, is not an exclusive style of origin of the running movement.

In conclusion, the wings, spiked hair dress, bulging features of the face (cheeks, eyes, ears) and the runner's movement style, also, remind the typological features of the Minoan seals later transferred to the Archaic Gorgon.

6.1. Identification and typological characteristics of prehistoric Gorgoneia

Based on the outline of the characteristics of a gorgoneion regarding the above-mentioned prehistoric gorgoneian forms, we note the following: a) the eyes are bulging; b) open mouth with openly exposed teeth and protruding tongue; (c) the hair-dress resembles scales seen in Sesklo, while in the Melian vessels it is spiked and refers to the Minoan seals from Malia, d) the first indication of addition of body and feathers to the gorgonian head (e) the first signs of snakes emerging from the headdress derive from the tentacles of the gorgoneia from Malia;

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[43] EVANS 1921, 711, fig. 534.

(f) the ears have the gorgoneia of Malia and the pots of Phylakopi. In the gorgoneion of Malia, eartags are observed for the first time, h) the apotropaic element is emphasized by the swollen eyes, the snakes' tentacles, the visible teeth, and the prominent tongue.

In general, the identified as Gorgon heads are mask-like frontal humane-like faces, circular or triangular, with monstrous facial expressions and characteristics. Encountered mostly in glyptic, their eyes are as a rule round and are thus conceived as bulging. They occasionally have prominent teeth and incorporate imported elements in the resemblance of wings flanking the face, and/or snake-like spiral lines flowing out of the neck. Their "ears" are not always naturally attached to the head and it is in consequence difficult to determine whether they are meant to be read as ears or ear-rings.

Xenakis (1949b) reviewed the apotropaic motifs of the Gorgon heads from seals and established the main characteristics of the type.

At any rate, admittedly the general difficulty on recognizing demons, is a fact, yet the perceived figures as real by the peoples of the Aegean or as beings created by the "eccentric" inventiveness of the artists, with the purpose of establishing variety and uniqueness in their products, makes hard to distinguish between apotropaic gorgon heads, bull-men and genii, *cynocephaloi* and bird-headed demons. However, those fantastic creatures and particular features they share comparable distinct elements with the archaic typical gorgon / gorgon's heads.

Was the inspiration for Minoan seal creatures an indigenous or whether it might incorporate foreign influences, is a rational question. At any rate, it is a well-known phenomenon in the Minoan Protopalatial period the arrival of exotic imagery on the island (sphinx, griffin, dragon, and Taweret, and the Egyptian hippopotamus goddess swiftly transformed into the Minoan genius). There were contacts between the peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean during at Bronze Age, in addition to the variants of myth of medousa. But the Taweret, or Bes, another friendly dwarf demi-god in the Egyptian pantheon (patron of child-birth with his grotesque appearance meant to drive away pain and sorrow with large head, goggle eyes, bowlegs, bushy tail, and usually a crown of feathers), are not similar to the Aegean creatures, despite other opinion and a plea for caution.[44] The plethora of Minoan seals with gorgon-like heads are a local invention as they present unique features which most closely continue to the archaic images of gorgoneion.[45] Bronze-age Greeks are known for their sole characteristic concepts or hybridisation in art and architecture.[46]

Moreover, the earliest Sesklo mask also, supports the view of a pre-existing background of similar grotesque images in the Greek mainland.

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[44] KRZYSZKOWSKA 2012, 154–155; OGDEN 2008; KARAGIORGA 1970; MARINATOS 1928.

[45] GEROYIANNIS 1928.

[46] MINA and STEFANAKIS 2018; *cf.* Archaeology Newsroom 2018; Keros Project.

6.2. The importance of the material in the prismatic seals from Crete

The two prismatic seals from Malia and the one stamped from Knossos are considered to belong to MM III – MM II, i.e. they cover a possible period of 2300–1750 BC.

For the existence of MM seals from Knossos and Malia (and elsewhere, Zakros, Mochlos etc), which carry abominable forms, Marinatos[47] claims that a seal from chalcedony from Mochlos (Figure 10) is a type of gorgoneion, according to Seager (1912) who probably dates it in MM III (1750–1600 BC).

It is worth mentioning that the prismatic stamp from Knossos (Figure 5) bearing gorgoneion in the same deposit with the hieroglyphics is made of carnelian.[48]

Carnelian has a warm dark orange colour that is thought to soothe the senses and enhance the positive feelings. Its name comes from the Latin word "carnis", meaning "flesh", because of the similar colour. This particular gem has a long past and was once considered strictly an expensive gem used only by the aristocratic class.

In ancient Egypt they wore it in their hand to protect them from anger, as well as jealousy, envy and hatred.

Information gathered by the geologist G.F. Kunz[49] report views on the carnelian from Egypt and Babylonia. Written references to the *Book of the Dead* in ancient Egypt present the carnelian as a protective stone, which confirms the findings of Egyptian art (The chapter of A Tet of Carnelian, Papyrus of Ani Egyptian Book of the Dead 240 BC the papyrus of Ani (the Egyptian book of the dead).[50]

In general, carnelian was the most widespread and used semi-precious stone in ancient Egypt (Figure 14), and Egyptian sources and works of art were made of cornelian with the usual burial decoration.[51]

Carnelian is still used today to promote peace and harmony. People with high social standing were often buried with this semi-precious stone and believed they would ensure a good journey to the soul to life after death. Carnelian beads were made of pendants to prevent evil. In Figure 15 an amulet of 2150 BC is depicted. The manufacturing of the carnelian was widespread in Egypt as it appears in similar frescoes in tombs of the 18th Dynasty (~1570–1292 BC) (Figure 16).

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[47] AE, 1927-1928, 17.

[48] EVANS, 1921.

[49] KUNZ 1971, 290.

[50] Translated by EA Wallis Budge (URL: *holybooks-lichtenbergpress.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/Egyptian-Book-of-the-Dead.pdf*).

[51] HARRELL 2012, 12.

Figure 14. Chalcedony in two varieties: common white and orange-red carnelian. Probably Later Period in Egypt ∼700–500 BC (HARRELL 2012, 12)

Figure 15. Amulet from a series of curved lozenges and beads and a central "leg" of carnelian with a non-homogeneous pigment. Egypt, Dynasty 6 (HARRELL 2012, fig. 14)

Figure 16. Mural representation of carnelian bead construction from the tomb of Sobehotep in Thebes, 18th Dynasty (HARREL 2012, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 17, fig. 27)

Figure 17. Necklaces of rhomboid agate beads (black / dark grey and white wavy tape), onyx (black / dark grey and white flat strip), sardonyx (reddish brown and white flat strip) and carnelian (orange-red). Tell Dafana Egypt, Roman period (HARRELL 2012, 12, fig. 15)

The two Giamalakis seals with gorgoneia are made of onyx and sardonyx. In the example of Figure 16, we observe a necklace made up alternately of onyx, sardonyx, carnelian and agate from Egypt, which indicates the relations between Crete and Egypt. According to Harrell (2012), these materials, although present in some areas in the Nile and Nubia desert, may have entered from areas outside Egypt, possibly from Afghanistan, from where they supplied mainly lapis lazuli. Traditionally, Greece has not been regarded as a source country for gemstones, yet some quantities have been located in some places north of Greece and islands.[52]

Conclusion

It has been argued the prehistoric origin and wider Aegean origin of gorgon–medousa–gorgon's head (gorgoneion) repulsive image. Though well-established from early archaic times, and since then has taken the evolution of different shapes, the archetypal face and whole-body characteristics, are rooted deeply in the remote past.

With artist's free expression and differentiation, yet preserving certain elements and symbols, the apotropaic, repulsive figure, is re-evaluated coherently here and claim that it originates in the prehistoric Greek mainland and the Aegean.

The earliest gorgoneion features apparently comes from Middle Neolithic Sesklo (central Greece), as a ceramic mask with bulging eyes, wide-open nostrils, semi-open toothed and elongated wide mouth of the prominent tongue. The prismatic seals, made of semiprecious stones, found in the excavation that took place at the palace of Knossos, Malia, Mochlos, and Petras (so far from Crete) of MM II, as well as, the ceramic jars in Melos island in Phylakopi of MC, all have distinct characteristics of archaic gorgoneion features. The importance of the material from Crete made by semiprecious stones symbolizes social status for averting the evil spirit. Issues of the Middle Bronze dating of the Aegean objects and archaeological reports pertain to at least a MC origin.

Common typological characteristics of prehistoric Gorgoneia follow up later in Archaic times as the characteristics of a gorgoneion regarding head's and face features (eyes, hair dress, feathers to the gorgonian head, snakes emerging from the hair dressing).

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[52] VOUDOURIS *et al.* 2019.

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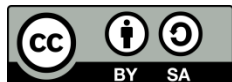
La perception du sceptre en Grèce de l'époque d'Homère et de Mycènes à la lumière des parallèles de l'Orient Antique

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Abstract. *The symbols of royal power look like being similar to each other in various cultures of the Ancient World, but this resemblance may hide the regional specifics from the researchers. Early Greek sceptre and Hittite kalmus are considered to be equivalents of mace and of shepherd's crook. However, this theory is not very convincing. Analysing the textual attestations of the Ancient Greek sceptre and Hittite kalmus, we have found out that these objects were considered as close to throwing weapon and therefore associated with a bolt of lightning, the symbol of the storm god. Archaeological evidences make clear that the symbols of power like sceptre have their origin in a weapon similar to spear.*

Résumé. *Les symboles du pouvoir royal semblent avoir la même fonction dans certaines cultures de l'antiquité. Cette ressemblance déguise souvent ce qui est propre à une telle ou telle région. Le sceptre grec et le sceptre recourbé des hittites (kalmus) semblent avoir leur origine dans le gourdin ou bien le bâton de berger, mais en fait, il n'y a pas de preuves bien solides pour l'affirmer. Dans cet article-là on va analyser l'usage des mots qui déterminent les symboles du pouvoir. En résultat, on voit que ces mots sont liés à l'idée de «lancer» et qu'on peut les rapprocher à la foudre, le symbole du dieu de l'orage. L'archéologie nous permet de conclure que les symboles du pouvoir royal remontent à une arme à l'instar de lance.*

Rezumat. *Simbolurile puterii regale par asemănătoare în unele culturi vechi. Această asemănare ascunde adesea ceea ce este specific unei regiuni. Sceptrul grec și sceptrul curbat al hitiților (kalmus) pare să-și fi avut originea în buzdugan și în ciomagul ciobanului. Totuși, această teorie nu este convingătoare. Analizând folosirea cuvintelor care determină simbolurile puterii, autorii au descoperit că aceste obiecte erau mai apropiate ca funcționalitate de armele de aruncat și de aceea pot fi asociate cu fulgerul, simbolul zeului furtunii. Descoperirile arheologice demonstrează că simboluri ale puterii precum sceptrul își au originea într-o armă asemănătoare lăncii.*

Keywords: Hittites, Homer, *kalmus*, Mycenae, Minoans, sceptre, symbols of power, Hittites.

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1. Introduction

Le sceptre est un des symboles du pouvoir les plus répandus et dont la nomination vient de la langue grecque. Cet objet est issu d'un bâton de berger et y ressemble beaucoup. Le roi était souvent perçu comme berger par rapport à ses sujets (on en voit les traces dans la société du temps du roi d'Uruk Lugalzagesi). Mais d'autres interprétations du sceptre sont aussi à noter, surtout si l'on veut rechercher sur les origines du sceptre grec et mycénien.

Selon R. Mondi, le sceptre dans la Grèce archaïque symbolise la foudre, c'est-à-dire, la colère des dieux. R. Mondi croyait que le sceptre s'utilisait comme symbole du pouvoir puisque les rois étaient capables de punir autant que les dieux[3]. Mondi se fonde exclusivement sur l'analyse du mot σκῆπτρον et ceux qui ont le même radical dans les sources littéraires. La théorie de Mondi entre en contradiction avec celle de Benveniste. D'après Benveniste, le sceptre n'était qu'un bâton ordinaire, devenu peu à peu l'attribut des hérauts et des rois[4]. Mondi et Benveniste se basent sur les faits littéraires et linguistiques, ignorant les données de l'archéologie.

Il existe encore deux réponses possibles sur la question de l'origine du sceptre. Waele croyait que les Grecs considéraient les sceptres comme baguettes magiques[5]. Pourtant, Waele se fonde presque exclusivement sur des analogies ethnographiques. Waele ne distingue point σκῆπτρον du ῥάβδος. Ῥάβδος signifiait auparavant «baguette magique»[6], mais cela ne nous permet pas de voir le même sens en σκῆπτρον[7]. Waele n'a pas pris en considération les trouvailles de l'époque d'Homère et de Mycènes. Comme θέμιστες s'emploie dans «l'Iliade» dans le même contexte que σκῆπτρον, et que θέμιστες peut être lié à l'idée de la prophétie[8], Gernet a remarqué, malheureusement en passant[9], que le bâton d'oracle aurait pû être à l'origine du sceptre.

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[3] MONDI 1980, 210–211.

[4] BENVENISTE 1969, 30.

[5] WAELE 1927, 119.

[6] O`SILLIVAN 2006, 2.

[7] Selon Dergatchev, σκῆπτρον dénotait le symbole du pouvoir royal et ῥάβδος du pouvoir divin (DERGACHEV 2007, 164–165). D'après l'usage même de ces mots chez Homère dans les contextes cités par Dergatchev, on peut conclure que ῥάβδος se rapporte exclusivement à Hermès, Circé et Athènes (DERGACHEV 2007, 164). Dergatschev considère le trident de Poséidon comme ῥάβδος bien qu'il soit nommé τρίαινα (DERGACHEV 2007, 169–170). Chez Homère ῥάβδος des dieux doit être considéré pas comme symbole du pouvoir, mais comme baguette magique (O`SILLIVAN 2006, 2), avec laquelle les dieux ensorcèlent les gens, ce que dit Dergatchev lui-même (DERGACHEV 2007, 170)).

[8] GERNET 1981, 98–99.

[9] Le mot θέμιστες se rencontre dans le même contexte avec la nomination du sceptre (voir, par exemple, Il.2.99–108). Gernet en se référant à Hirzel, dit que θέμιστες était initialement des oracles. Mais la supposition de Hirzel n'est pas prouvée par des textes plus anciens (HIRZEL 1907, 7–9). L'opinion de Schmidt, qui s'opposait à ce que Hirzel avait dit, nous paraît plus juste. Schmidt a dit que θέμις avait la signification principale «norme, ordre» (SCHMIDT 1955, 991). Voir aussi la signification du mot te-mi/ti-mi, qui n'a pas de valeur religieuse et qui correspond au θέμις et les dérivés dans les textes en linéaire B: AURA JORRO, ADRADOS 1993, 327–329, 348.

Plusieurs chercheurs ont porté de l'intérêt à la forme des sceptres de l'époque d'Homère et de Mycènes. Pourtant, la question suivante se pose toujours: quelle était la perception du sceptre au niveau de la mythologie.

Quelques chercheurs supposent que le sceptre mycénien était ni une masse d'armes, ni un bâton à crochet, mais plutôt un bâton sans poignée ou bien une lance. Telle est l'opinion de Buchholz, qui pourtant ne prend pas en considération les résultats des fouilles[10]. Palaima a supposé que les sceptres mycéniens auraient pu être des bâtons ou des lances[11], mais il n'a allégué que les images des sceptres minoens. Finalement, Hallager mettait en valeur la ressemblance entre le sceptre et le lance de l'iconographie minoenne[12]. Hallager et Palaima ont analysé l'iconographie minoenne sans prêter attention à l'archéologie de la Grèce mycénienne.

La question des liaisons entre le sceptre grec et *kalmus* des hittites reste pourtant irrésolue. On n'a trouvé aucune recherche à ce sujet.

On peut dire qu'il n'y a encore eu aucune tentative de rechercher sur les sceptres mycéniens et des temps d'Homère prenant en considération les faits linguistiques aussi que littéraires et archéologiques. Premièrement, on va analyser les principaux points de vue sur l'origine du sceptre grec, deuxièmement, les sources archéologiques et littéraires, troisièmement – des extraits des textes hittites dans lesquels le sceptre (*kalmus*) est mentionné.

2. L'origine du mot σκῆπτρον

Ni Gernet, ni Waele n'ont examiné l'étymologie du mot σκῆπτρον. Nous allons donc voir de plus près ce qu'ont écrit à ce propos Benveniste et Mondi.

2.1. La théorie de Benveniste

Benveniste a supposé que le mot σκῆπτρον provenait du mot σκήπτω («s'appuyer sur»)[13]. Mais si l'on juge d'après la définition dans le dictionnaire de Liddell et Scott, il est bien claire que le sens du mot σκήπτω ne peut pas se borner à la définition de Benveniste[14]. Benveniste prouve sa théorie en examinant l'usage du mot σκήπτω qui n'a pas la significaation «voler, s'élancer»[15] dans "Agamemnon" d'Eschyle et «Oedipe roi» de Sophocle[16].

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[10] BUCHHOLZ 1980, 336.

[11] PALAIMA 1995, 136.

[12] HALLAGER 1985, 22–23.

[13] BENVENISTE 1969, 31.

[14] LIDDELL, SCOTT 1996, 1609.

[15] BENVENISTE 1969, 31.

[16] BENVENISTE 1969, 31.

Voyons de plus près ll'usage du verbe σκήπτω dans "Agamemnon" d'Eschyle. On y voie la nouvelle de la prise de Troie atteindre Mycènes (Ag. 300–311)[17].

Dans le premier cas le verbe σκήπτω (ἔσκηψεν) désigne la lumière du grand feu qui tombe derrière le lac Γοργῶπις à la montagne Αἰγίπλαγκτον[18]. Benveniste traduit la phrase de la manière suivante: «La flamme part d'n sommet et vient s'appuyer sur les différents sommets qu'elle doit exalter»[19]

L'explication de Fraenkel dans le commentaire sur «Agamemnon» nous paraît plus vraisemblable. Selon lui, ἔσκηψεν et ἐξικνούμενον ὤτρυνε (lignes 302–303) désignent la descendance du feu jusqu'à Αἰγίπλαγκτον ὄρος[20] et, par conséquent, on ne peut pas conclure de ce contexte que le verbe σκήπτω a la valeur «s'appuyer sur».

La phrase [φάος] †εἶτ'† **ἔσκηψεν** †εἶτ'† ἀφίκετο Ἀραχναῖον αἶπος (lignes 308–309)[21] détermine, selon Fraenkel, une seule action[22]. Il est peu probable que σκήπτει ait la signification de "s'appuyer" dans les lignes 310–311 (Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τόδε **σκήπτει** στέγος φάος – La lumière tombe sur la maison d'Atrides).

Ainsi on peut conclure que les contextes cités par Benveniste ne peuvent pas servir de preuve pour sa théorie.

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[17] Ag. 300–311: φάος δὲ τηλέπομπον οὐκ ἠναίνετο
φρουρά, πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων
λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ γοργῶπιν **ἔσκηψεν** φάος
ὄρος τ' ἐπ' αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον
ὤτρυνε θεσμὸν †μὴ χρονίζεσθαι πυρός.
πέμπουσι δ' ἀνδαίοντες ἀφθόνωι μένει
φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ
πορθμοῦ κάτοπτον πρῶν' ὑπερβάλλει πρόσω
φλέγουσα· †εἶτ'† **ἔσκηψεν** †εἶτ'† ἀφίκετο
Ἀραχναῖον αἶπος, ἀστυγείτονας σκοπάς,
κἄπειτ' Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τόδε **σκήπτει** στέγος
φάος τόδ' οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός (Cité d'après: FRAENKEL 1962)
«La garde de ce mont n'a point manqué d'allumer un fanal plus grand encore que les autres, dont la lueur, perçant comme un éclair jusqu'au mont Égiplancte, au delà des marais de Gorgopis, a excité ceux que j'y avais placés, à servir mes désirs. D'un vaste bûcher, ils ont fait sortir des tourbillons de flamme, qui ont éclairé l'horizon jusqu'au delà du promontoire élevé du golfe Saronique, et ont été aperçus du mont Arachné. Là, veillait le poste le plus voisin, qui, par une succession non interrompue depuis l'Ida, a fait luire enfin sur le palais des Atrides ce feu désiré» (La traduction est tirée de : *mercure.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Hodoi/concordances/*).
[18] Λίμνη Γοργῶπις et ὄρος Αἰγίπλαγκτον ne sont pas des toponymes réels, mais des nominations poétiques (FRAENKEL 1962, 160–161).
[19] BENVENISTE 1969, 31.
[20] FRAENKEL 1962, 161.
[21] Cette ligne se reconstruit différemment (FRAENKEL 1962, 162–163).
[22] FRAENKEL 1962, 163.

Benveniste cite aussi la description de la peste de Thèbes dans «Oedipe-Roi» de Sophocle (27–29)[23].

Voici comment Benveniste traduit la ligne 28: «Le dieu fond, s'abat (σκήψας) sur la ville»[24]. Mais on peut comprendre cette phrase (ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς σκήψας ἐλαύνει, λοιμὸς ἔχθιστος, πόλιν) autrement. L'auteur du comméntaire sur «Oedipe-Roi» Finglass traduit ce fragment de la manière suivante: «In the midst of this the firebearing god, a most hateful plague, falls on the city and drives it headlong»[25]. Il croit que σκήψας «suggests the suddenness of the plague's onset»[26]. Ainsi, selon Finglass, σκήψας contient l'idée de «tomber».

Benveniste cite l'inscription IG II² 1629.746–747 à laquelle R. Mondi n'a pas accordé son attention: «Enfin, dans une inscription, IG II², 1629, il est question des trières sur lesquelles la tempête s'est abbatue»[27]. Voici le fragment: αἵδε τῶν τριήρων καὶ τετρή τῶν σκηφθεισῶν κατὰ χειμῶνα ἔδοξαν ἐν τῶι δικαστηρίωι κατὰ χειμῶνα διαφθαρῆναι — «Le cour a jugé que c'était l'orage qui a fait perdre les trières et la quadrirème endommagées»[28]. L' interprétation de Benveniste paraît bien logique, mais on peut aussi comprendre cette ligne d'une manière différente: les vaisseaux sont perdus à cause du «coup» de foudre. Surtout si le mot du même radical (σκηπτός) signifie le coup de foudre.

2.2. La théorie de Mondi

Résumons comment Mondi prouve que le sceptre symbolise la foudre qui est à son tour liée à l'idée de punition divine[29]. Mondi compare le mot σκῆπτρον («sceptre, bâton») au mot σκηπτός («coup de foudre») qui y est étymologiquement lié[30]. Il faut y ajouter que dans le traité «Du monde» attribué à Aristote on peut voir la signification plus concrète du mot σκηπτός: «Chaque coup de foudre qui s'abat sur terre est nommé σκηπτός»[31]. Cela veut dire que σκηπτός est la foudre qui frappe la terre[32].

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[23] Oed.Rex.27–29: ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς

σκήψας ἐλαύνει, λοιμὸς ἔχθιστος, πόλιν,

ὑφ' οὗ κενοῦται δῶμα Καδμεῖον... (Cité d'après: FINGLASS 2018)

«Brandissant sa torche la plus odieuse des Déesses, la Peste s'est ruée sur la Ville et a dévasté la demeure de Cadmos» (La traduction est tirée de : *mercure.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Hodoi/concordances/*).

[24] BENVENISTE 1969, 31.

[25] FINGLASS 2018, 176.

[26] *Ibidem.*

[27] BENVENISTE 1969, 31–32.

[28] Traduit par les auteurs de l' article.

[29] MONDI 1980, 210–211.

[30] LIDDELL, SCOTT 1996, 1609.

[31] Traduit par les auteurs de l' article.

[32] Sur le σκηπτός voir aussi «Antigone» de Sophocle (417–421) et «Anabase» de Xénophon (3.1.11).

Si l'on juge d'après le exemples cités par R. Mondi, les mots σκηπτός et σκήπτω sont liés non seulement à l'idée de la foudre, mais aussi à la punition divine. Cette liaison se fait voir dans «Perses» d'Eschyles. L'ombre de Darius demande à sa femme ce qui c'est passé aux Perses: «Qu'est-ce qu'il y a? Une émeute ou une maladie a fait perdre l'État? (715)»[33]. L'auteur du commentaire sur «Perses» Garvie a traduit λοιμοῦ σκηπτός comme «coup de foudre ou la peste»[34]. Il est bien évident que λοιμοῦ σκηπτὸς peut vouloir dire une épidémie, y compris causée par un dieu en colère (comme, par exemple, dans l'Iliade chant I ligne 47 et suivantes).

Mondi a aussi cité un contexte avec le verbe σκήπτω d'«Agamemnon» d'Eschyle[35]. Il est dit que Zeus a puni Pâris par sa flèche (βέλος σκήψειεν).

Aux exemples cités par R. Mondi on peut ajouter des dérivés du verbe σκήπτω. Dans «Perses» (513–514) nous pouvons voir le verbe ἐγκατέσκηψεν[36]. Dans son commentaire, Garvie traduit ἐγκατέσκηψεν comme «a frappé par dessous, une métaphore courante pour la lumière ou un coup de foudre»[37]. Il est à noter que ἐγκατέσκηψεν désigne non seulement les tempêtes ou les foudres, mais plus généralement les maux causés par dieux.

Les paroles de Darius sur la guerre perdue par Xerxès: 739–740[38]. La phrase Ζεὺς ἀπέσκηψε doit être traduite comme Zeus a frappé. C'est-à-dire que les dérivés préfixés du verbe σκήπτω sont aussi liés à l'idée de la vengeance divine.

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[33] τίνι τρόπῳ; λοιμοῦ τις ἦλθε σκηπτὸς ἢ στάσις πόλῃ; (Cité d'après: GARVIE 2009).

[34] GARVIE 2009, 285.

[35] Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι
τὸν τάδε πράξαντ᾽, ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρωι
τείνοντα πάλαι τόξον, ὅπως ἂν
μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἄστρων
βέλος ἠλίθιον **σκήψειεν** (362–366).
J'adorerai le Dieu tout-puissant de l'hospitalité.
C'est lui qui punit ainsi Pâris. Depuis longtemps son
arc était tendu ; mais le trait n'est point parti avant le
temps, et ne s'est point égaré dans les airs
(La traduction est tirée de : *mercure.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Hodoi/concordances/*).

[36] Pers. 513–514: ταῦτ᾽ ἔστ᾽ ἀληθῆ· πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐκλείπω λέγων
κακῶν ἃ Πέρσαις ἐγκατέσκηψεν θεός
«Voilà la vérité. Mais je passe sous silence la foule des incidents malheureux du désastre dont le ciel a accablé les Perses» (La traduction est tirée de : *mercure.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Hodoi/concordances/*).

[37] GARVIE 2009, 226.

[38] φεῦ· ταχεῖά γ᾽ ἦλθε χρησμῶν πρᾶξις, εἰς δὲ παῖδ᾽ ἐμόν
Ζεὺς ἀπέσκηψεν τελευτὴν θεσφάτων... (739–740)
Oh, que les prophéties se sont vite justifiées! Zeus a puni le fils par le destin prophétisé (La traduction des auteurs).

Pour résumer ce qu'on peut conclure de l'usage des mots σκηπτός, σκήπτω et les dérivés, on peut dire que σκήπτω, aussi bien que d'autres verbes du même radical, sert à déterminer une épidémie (Soph. Oed. 27–29), désastres de la guerre (e.g. Aesch. Pers. 513–514, 739–740, probablement Aesch. Ag. 362–366). Ces mots sont parfois liés à l'idée de la punition divine. Le mot σκηπτός qui détermine habituellement la foudre, est parfois lié à la peste envoyée par dieux (Pers. 715). Dans «Agamemnon» il y a une expression βέλος σκήψειεν (a lancé une flèche) qui dénote la vengeance à Pâris (Ag. 366). Par conséquent, on peut dire que σκηπτός et σκήπτω peuvent déterminer la vengeance divine symbolisée probablement par la foudre. Cela peut servir de preuve à la théorie de Mondi qui croyait que σκῆπτρον était lié à l'idée de la vengeance divine.

Selon R. Mondi, le sceptre symbolisait la capabilité du roi de punir. R. Mondi s'adresse à l'usage du mot σκῆπτρον dans «Iliade». Il croit que quand celui qui parle tient le sceptre dans sa main, cela signifie une ménace explicite ou implicite[39]. Mondi porte attention au moment où le roi brandit du sceptre en signe de ménace. Cela se voit aussi dans le fragment où Ulisses cherche à persuader les Troyans de rendre Hélène (Il.3.210 et suivantes). Les Troyans sont surpris que Ulysses ne brandit pas de sceptre en avant et en arrière (σκῆπτρον δ' οὔτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηνὲς ἐνώμα: Il.3.318), mais le tient immobile (ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκεν) ce qui veut dire qu'il parle comme celui qui est dépourvu de pouvoir (ἀΐδρεϊ φωτὶ ἐοικώς).

Mondi cite aussi le fragment célèbre de l'Iliade où Ulisse frappe les épaules de Tersite de sorte que ce dernier se plie (ἰδνώθη), laisse tomber une larme (ἔκπεσε δάκρυ) et un bleu sanguin se gonfle sur son dos (σμῶδιξ δ' αἱματόεσσα μεταφρένου ἐξυπανέστη) (Il. 2.265–267).

Mondi invoque aussi des exemples avec le nom σκηπάνιον qui a le même radical que σκῆπτρον. Selon «Lexikon der fruegrichischen Epos» σκηπάνιον s'utilise comme synonyme du σκῆπτρον[40]. Zeus a frappé (πλῆσεν) du σκηπάνιον les Ajax pour arrêter l'assaut des Troyans sur le camp des Achéens. Dans Il. 24.247–248 Priam chasse ses fils avec σκηπάνιον.

Le fait que les rois d'Homère jettent le sceptre par terre (Achilles Il. 1.245–246, Télémaque Od. 2.80) témoigne, d'après R. Mondi, du parallélisme entre le sceptre et la foudre. Il est remarquable que le roi chez Homère est nommé σκηπτοῦχος, c'est-à-dire celui qui tient σκηπτός et pas σκῆπτρον.

Les contextes cités prouvent la thése de Mondi que le sceptre était perçu comme instrument de punition divine, symbole de la capabilité du roi de punir. On peut aussi tomber d'accord avec Mondi qu'à l'époque d'Homère et archaïque le mot σκῆπτρον se désacralise peu à peu: l'objet même, jadis symbole du pouvoir, commence à être porté par les messagers et puis les vagabonds.

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[39] MONDI 1980, 208.

[40] SCHMIDT 2006, 142.

3. Les sceptres minoens

Palaima a supposé que le sceptre minoen peut ressembler au sceptre mycénien[41]. Il n'y en a rien de surprenant compte tenu du fait que la culture minoenne a beaucoup influencé celle des Mycènes.

Passons aux images des sceptres dans l'art des Mycènes.

3.1. Le sceau de Cnossos[42]

Sur e sceau de Cnossos on peut voir une déesse sur un mont, entourée de lions[43]. Elle tend une lance ou un sceptre au roi[44]. L'emprunt est daté de la période minoenne tardive III A[45]. Y. Andreev compare cette image à la description du sceptre d'Agamemnon, don de Zeus, dans Il.2.100–108[46].

3.2. L'anneau d'électrum provenant des Mycènes[47]

Sur l'anneau d'électrum provenant des Mycènes mais créé par des artisans minoens[48], on peut voir deux divinités ou probablement une déesse et un roi au sceptre ou à la lance. Y. Andreev suppose que c'est un dialogue entre une divinité et un homme qui est représenté[49]. J. Forsdyke[50] il a comparé cette scène au sujet courant du dialogue entre Minos et Zeus[51].

3.3. Le sceau de la Canée[52]

Sur le sceau de la Canée (daté de la période minoénne tardive I B) on peut voir un dieu ou un roi qui tient un sceptre ou une lance[53]. Selon Hallager, c'est un homme qui tient une lance renversée[54]. Krattenmaker croyait que le sceau représente une divinité et pas un homme[55].

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[41] PALAIMA 1995, 136–137.

[42] Voir l'image du sceau dans: KRATTENMAKER 1995, Pl. XXI a.

[43] ANDREEV 2002, 230–231.

[44] Cette image peut être comparée à l'emprunt du sceau de Cnossos de la période minoenne moyenne sur lequel on peut voir probablement une déesse à la lance et au lion (ANDREEV 2002, 305).

[45] ANDREEV 2002, 232.

[46] Pelon prove que le motif de la donation des lois au roi, qu'on peut reconstruire d'après les images minoennes, remonte à la tradition du Proche-Orient: PELON 1995, 311–312.

[47] Voir l'image dans: Hallager 1985, Fig. 28 g.

[48] ANDREEV 2002, 231.

[49] ANDREEV 2002, 231.

[50] FORSDYKE 1952, 19.

[51] ANDREEV 2002, 231.

[52] Le Dessin: ANDREEV 2002, 234 dessin 50.

3.4. La coupe du prince d' Aghia Triada[56]

Un personnage sur la coupe du prince d'Aghia Triada (datée de 1650–1500 av. J.-C.[57] ou la période minoenne moyenne III / minoenne tardive I[58]) tient dans sa main une lance ou un sceptre. Il est difficile de dire bien précisément qu'est-ce qui y est vraiment représenté. Evans a supposé que c'était un prince qui donne l'ordre à l'officier de son armée[59]. R.B. Koehl croyait que c'était la partie finale de l'initiation et qu'ici un homme donne à son élève des boeufs et des armes pour immolation à Zeus (on peut y voir des peaux à l'autre côté)[60]. Y. Andreev croyait qu'il y sont des symboles du pouvoir qu'on donne au futur roi[61].

3.5. D'autres sceaux[62]

Hallager croyait que les sceptres sont représentés sur les sceaux d'Aghia Triada de Canée, de Zakros, de Vathée et Cnossos[63]. Ces sceptres n'ont pas de poignée comme ceux qui sont représentés sur les sceaux des Mycènes et Cnossos dont on a déjà parlé ci-dessus.

Si l'on juge d'après les images minoennes, c'était un sceptre sans poignée proéminante ou bien une lance qui étaient les symboles du pouvoir[64]. On n'a aucune image de sceptre à la poignée ou un crochet.

3.6. Des objets dits sceptres

Le cylindre de bronze de la Gournie[65], daté de la période minoenne tardive, faisait probablement partie d'un sceptre. Il y a encore deux cylindres semblables à celui-ci[66].

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[53] ANDREEV 2002, 233.

[54] HALLAGER 1985, 22–23.

[55] KRATTENMAKER 1995, 57.

[56] Une photo de la coupe: KOEHL 1986, Pl. VII a.

[57] ANDREEV 2002, 223.

[58] KOEHL 1986, 99.

[59] EVANS 1928, 790.

[60] KOEHL 1986, 106.

[61] ANDREEV 2002, 230.

[62] Voir les images sur les sceaux dans: HALLAGER 1985, Fig. 28, f, h, e, j, k.

[63] HALLAGER 1985, 23–24.

[64] La hache au pommeau en forme de la tête de léopard de Malia en Crète datée de 1800–1700 av. J.-C. est interprétée par Dimoupoulou-Retémiodaki et Vlakhopoulos comme sceptre: ΔΗΜΟΡΟΥΛΟΥ-ΡΕΘΕΜΙΩΤΑΚΗ 2005, 116; ΒΛΑΧΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 2010, 107.18. Pourtant, ce sceptre ne ressemble pas aux objets que tiennent les «rois» dans les scènes de conversations avec les divinités (des scènes pareilles se rencontrent dans la mythologie et littérature (ANDREEV 2002, 231). On ne peut que supposer à quelle tradition se rapporte le sceptre de Malia, surtout que ce sceptre est assez ancien et qu'il n'a pas d'équivalents dans l'art de Ctète et de Mycènes. On ne peut pas non plus être sûr que ce sceptre fût le symbole du pouvoir royal.

Les preuves archéologiques manquent, mais pourtant on peut supposer que le sceptre minoen n'avait pas de poignée massive.

4. Les sceptres mycéniens

Il y a plusieurs trouvailles mycéniennes qu'on peut considérer comme sceptres[67]. On va voir chaque exemple de plus près en commençant par les sceptres retrouvés en Mycènes.

4.1. Les tombes du cercle B en Mycènes

Dans le cercle B de Mycènes des objets qui ressemblent aux sceptres ont été retrouvés. G. Graziadio traite des sceptres les objets d'or de la tombe N du cercle B[68]. Selon G. Mylonas, les objets d'ivoire retrouvés dans la tombe I du cercle B peuvent être des poignées des sceptres[69]. Malheureusement, G. Mylonas n'a pas muni son livre d'illustrations. Peut-être ce sont ces objets-là que J. Bouzek compare aux sceptres britanniques de cette époque[70].

4.2. Les tombes du cerles A

Dans les tombes du cercle A aux Mycènes on a retrouvé des objets qui ressemblent beaucoup aux sceptres. H. Schliemann croyait qu'il avait retrouvé des sceptres (Dessin 1) dans la tombe II du cercle A des Mycènes[71]. Plus tard Karo a qualifié ces objets d'aiguilles (Nadeln)[72] ce qui paraît plus vraisemblable. Pourtant Dickinson a pris ces objets pour sceptres[73]

Dessin 1. Tiré de:
SCHLIEMANN 1878, 201

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[65] RICHTER 1915, Pl. 1811; KOUROU 1994, 205.

[66] HAWES, WILLIAMS, SEAGER, HALL 1908, 34 pl. IV.

[67] La présennce du sceptre ne témoigne pas de soi de l'influence du Proche-Orient. Les sceptre sont attestés déjà depuis le Paléolitique supérieur (DERGACHEV 2007, 151–152). De nombreux sceptres se rapportent au Néolithique et Chalcolithique des forêts européens et des steppes du Sud de l'Europe de l'Est, surtout des fosses de la culture Yamna (DERGACHEV 2007, 156). Mais ces sceptres ont des pommeaux qui les distinguent des sceptres minoens et mycéniens.

[68] GRAZIADIO 1991, 406 n. 27. Voir les photos de ces objets dans: ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ 1973, 175 (N 398–399); 1972, pl. 153γ.

[69] ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ 1973, 121.

[70] BOUZEK 1985, 80–81.

[71] SCHLIEMAN 1878, 201.

[72] KARO 1930a, 55, 57; KARO 1930b, Pl. 31.

[73] DICKINSON 1977, 121 n. 16.

Un véritable sceptre aurait été retrouvé dans la tombe IV du cercle A des Mycènes. Cht. Tsountas, J. Manatt croyaient que les deux cylindres d'or faisaient partie du même sceptre[74] (Dessin 2)[75].

Selon Karo, il s'agit de couverture dorée d'une barre de bois[76]. Papazoglou-Manioudaki[77] partage cette idée avec Karo. Il paraît que ce sceptre-là a été mentionné par K. Kilian[78] et G.T. Palaima[79]. Chr. Tsountas et J. Manatt ont relévé la ressemblance entre cet objet et le sceptre tel que le décrit Homère[80]. Semblable cylindre de bronze a été mis au jour à Vaphio[81].

Deux objets d'ivoire «dont la fonction est inconnue»[82], retrouvés dans la tombe V du cercle A à Mycènes peuvent être traités comme poignées de sceptres[83]. Pourtant ces poignées-là ne sont pas trop saillantes.

Dans la tombe IV du cercle A de Mycènes on a retrouvé une boucle à deux têtes ressemblant des griffons, des aigles ou des dragons (Dessin 3). Chr Tsountas et J.Manatt aussi que H.Schliemann le traitaient comme boucle d'un sceptre[84] mais pourtant, il nous paraît plus probable que c'était une partie d'une épée comme le disait Karo[85].

Dessin 2.
Tiré de: TSOUNTAS,
MANATT 1897, fig. 64

Dessin 3. Tiré de:
SCHLIEMANN 1878,
No 451–452

4.3. Les tombes du tholos de Mycènes

L. Papazouglou-Manioudaki prend pour sceptre un cylindre en ivoire doré qui a été retrouvé dans le tholos cyclopique de Mycènes daté de Hélladique récent II[86]. A.J. Wace et W.A. Heurtle ont comparé ce cylindre avec celui retrouvé dans une tombe de Mycènes[87].

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[74] TSOUNTAS, MANATT 1897, 168–169.

[75] Voir la photo dans: KARO 1930a, 84.

[76] KARO 1930a, 84; KARO 1930b, Pl. 18.

[77] PAPAZOGLOU-MANIOUDAKI 2012, 449.

[78] KILIAN 2007, 294.

[79] PALAIMA 1995, 137.

[80] TSOUNTAS, MANATT 1897, 169.

[81] TSOUNTAS, MANATT 1897, 168.

[82] KARO 1930a, 145.

[83] KARO 1930b, Pl. CXXXVI. Il. 823.

[84] TSOUNTAS, MANATT 1897, 168.

[85] KARO 1930a, 82; KARO 1930b, Pl. 87, 88.

[86] PAPAZOGLOU-MANIOUDAKI 2012,449.

[87] WACE, HEURTLEY 1925, 291; Wace 1932, 105. n. 32.

4.4. Les boucliers en forme de "8" en ivoire

Les objets en ivoire qui ont la forme de deux boucliers rejoints, retrouvés pendant les fouilles de 1952 hors de l'acropole de Mycènes[88], sont interprétés comme parties du sceptre caduceus[89]. Un de ces sceptres, selon L. Papazouglou-Manioudaki, peut être comparé à caduceus κηρύκειον avec lequel on voit traditionnellement Hermès[90]. Les objets retrouvés à Mycènes étaient auparavant dorés[91]. L. Papazouglou-Manioudaki prouve d'une manière assez convanquante que ces objets-là faisaient partie d'une boîte ou d'un cercueil[92].

4.5. D'autres tombes en Grèce

Il y en a encore d'autres objets qui ressemblent aux sceptres. Mais l'information sur ces objets manque. Keramopoulou croyait que les deux objets (Dessin 4) de l'époque mycénienne de Kolonaki près de Thèbes sont les deux parties d'un sceptre, inférieure et supérieure[93]. A Thèbes on a retrouvé un sceptre en ivoire à la pommette en forme de tête de griffon, dont Demakopoulou supposait l'origine orientale[94]. L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki mentionne des sceptres d'ivoire, retrouvés à Nauplie et à Thèbes[95]. Un fragment d'un sceptre avec une barre au dessus a été retrouvé en Asiné (Argolide). Froedin et Persson ont écrit que ce sceptre était couvert d'écailles[96]. Dickenson a mentionné des sceptres retrouvés dans une tombe d'Argolide[97], qui proviennent probablement de Nauplie ou d'Asiné.

Dessin 4. Tiré de: ΚΕΡΑΜΟΡΟΥΛΟΥ 1917, 197 (Εικ. 142. 6,7)

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[88] PAPAZOGLOU-MANIOUDAKI 2012, 448.

[89] WACE, HOLLAND, HOOD, WOODHEAD, COOK 1980, 8. Pl. 4.

[90] PAPAZOGLOU-MANIOUDAKI 2012, 449.

[91] *Ibidem.*

[92] PAPAZOGLOU-MANIOUDAKI 2012, 451.

[93] ΚΕΡΑΜΟΡΟΥΛΟΥ 1917, 197 (Εικ. 142. 6,7).

[94] DEMAKOΠΟΥΛΟΥ 1988, 252.

[95] PAPAZOGLOU-MANIOUDAKI 2012, 449.

[96] FRODIN, PERSSON 1938, 388–389.

[97] DICKINSON 1977, 84.

4.6. L'image du sceptre mycénien

Si l'on tombe d'accord avec O. Höckmann qui a supposé qu'une figure sur un vase de Mycènes tient un sceptre[98], on peut admettre que le sceptre mycénien ressemble beaucoup au sceptre minoen et celui du cercle A et du tholos cyclopique de Mycènes. Il est à noter que le sceptre n'a pas de pommeau trop saillant. Höckmann pense que de cette manière-ci on ne pouvait pas tenir une lance ou une flèche, et, par conséquent, la figure dessinée sur ce vase tient dans sa main quelque chose d'autre.

4.7. Des trouvailles de Chypres

Kourou a recherché sur les trouvailles de Chypres d'une manière très détaillée, se limitant malheureusement au XII–XI siècles av. J.-C[99]. Comme Chypres était habité par plusieurs nations, les objets retrouvés là-bas ne peuvent pas être appelés proprement grecs.

On ne peut pas dire avec assurance que les objets de Chypres sont des symboles de pouvoir, comme dans le cas des tombes de Mycènes, par exemple. Quand même, on peut énumérer les principaux types de sceptres à Chypres de XII–XI siècles av. J.-C.: 1) un bâton d'ivoire avec un pommeau en forme de grenade 2) un bâton de bois avec un cylindre de bronze et or, avec des figurines des animaux au-dessus.

4.8. Conclusions préliminaires

Ainsi, si l'on essaie de faire un résumé sur le matériel archéologique, on peut distinguer deux types de scèptre: 1) un batôn en bois doré, comme par exemple, les restes du sceptre de la tombe N du cercle B ou bien une dorure du sceptre de la tombe IV du cercle A à Mycènes ; 2) une barre en ivoire doré (par exemple un sceptre de tholos de Mycènes) ; 3) une barre avec le dessous et le dessus en bronze (les trouvailles de Thèbes) ; 4) une barre en bois au pommeau en forme de cylindre et des planches en ivoire raccrochées l'une sur l'autre (e.g. le sceptre en bois d'une riche tombe du tholos d'Asiné ou de la tombe V du cercle A à Mycènes).

Il n'y a que les tombes du cercle A, B du tholos de Mycènes et celles du tholos d'Asiné dont on peut dire avec certitude qu'elles appartiennent aux rois. Les sceptres retrouvés là-bas ressemblent beaucoup aux images du sceptre minoen et, en même temps, le sceptre mycénien représenté sur le vase de Mycènes. Ces sceptres ont l'air d'un bâton et sont dépourvus de pommeau saillant. Cela peut témoigner qu'un sceptre semblable à une lance pouvait servir de symbole du pouvoir royal.

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[98] HÖCKMANN 1980, 293. Voir la photo dans: WACE, HOLLAND, HOOD, WOODHEAD, COOK 1980, pl. 1 b.

[99] KOUROU 1994, 203–227.

5. Sources littéraires et mythologiques sur le sceptre mycénien

Avant de passer aux contextes des poèmes d'Homère, il faut mettre en question la possibilité même de les utiliser comme source. Selon T.G. Palaima, les mots ἀνάσσειν et ἄναξ remontent à l'époque mycénienne et sont liés au mot σκῆπτρον[100]. Selon Andréev, la description du sceptre dans les poèmes d'Homère est imprégnée de la tradition poétique antérieure[101]. C'est-à-dire que le sceptre doit être perçu comme symbole du pouvoir royal. Les personnages de l'art minoen et mycénien tiennent un symbole du pouvoir qui ressemble beaucoup au σκῆπτρον.

Si l'on passe à l'examen des fragments des poèmes d'Homère, on doit mettre en valeur quelques contextes dans lesquels on voit le rapprochement typologique entre σκῆπτρον et δόρυ. Ce parallélisme entre σκῆπτρον et δόρυ s'accorde avec les sources archéologiques.

La tournure σκήπτρῳ δὲ μετάφρενον ἠδὲ καὶ ὤμω πλῆξεν[102] «a frappé sur les épaules et sur le dos» (Il.2.265–266) s'emploie dans la scène de la querelle de Thersite et Ulysse. Une expression pareille sert dans l'Iliade à désigner l'action de frapper avec une lance δόρυ (Il. 5. 40–41, Il. 8. 258–259, Il. 11. 447, Il. 5. 56, Il. 16. 806).

Dans l'Odyssée le mot δόρυ a sa définition initiale[103] – bâton ou hampe. Il est dit qu'en entendant Démodocus chanter Ulysse a pleuré comme une femme qu'on emmène en esclavage (Od. 8. 526–529). Dans cette comparaison prolongée il est dit qu'on bât la femme sur le dos et les épaules et on utilise la même expression que dans la scène avec Thersite et Ulysse (μετάφρενον ἠδὲ καὶ ὤμω) sauf qu'ici on emploie δόρυ au lieu de σκῆπτρον[104].

Dans les deux fragments quelqu'un est frappé sur le dos et sur les épaules et cela est décrit dans des expressions semblables, sauf que dans le premier cas l'objet dont on frappe est nommé σκῆπτρον et dans l'autre – δόρυ. On peut supposer que les deux objets sont équivalents, puisque les deux dénotent un long bâton. Quand bien même Ulysse bât Thersite avec un sceptre d'or, il est fort probable que ce sceptre ressemble au sceptre retrouvé dans

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[100] PALAIMA 1995, 135.

[101] ANDREEV 2004, 297–302.

[102] Cité d'après: THIEL 2010.

[103] D'après les dictionnaires (AUTENRIETH 1999, 68; LIDDELL, SCOTT 1996, 445) ce mot au fur et à mésure commence à dénoter la hampe et la lance. En plus, δόρυ a des mots apparentés dans d'autres langes indo-européennes qui dénotent le bois (FRISK 1960, 411–412; BEEKES 2010, 349).

[104] Od. 8. 526–529: ἣ μὲν τὸν θνήσκοντα καὶ ἀσπαίροντα ἰδοῦσα
ἀμφ' αὐτῷ χυμένη λίγα κωκύει· οἳ δέ τ' ὄπισθε
κόπτοντες **δούρεσσι μετάφρενον ἠδὲ καὶ ὤμους**
εἴρερον εἰσανάγουσι, πόνον τ' ἐχέμεν καὶ ὀιζύν (Cité d'après: THIEL 1991).
«le voyant mourant et palpitant encore, elle se jette sur lui en poussant des gémissements aigus; et, derrière elle, les ennemis, lui frappant de leurs lances le dos et les épaules, l'emmènent en esclavage, pour souffrir peines et misères» (La traduction est tirée de : *mercure.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Hodoi/concordances/*)

une tombe du cercle IV A de Mycènes. Selon Chr. Tsountas et J. Manatt, ce sceptre de Mycènes est identique à ce que décrit Homère[105].

Dans les poèmes d'Homère on peut trouver d'autres témoignages que le sceptre et la lance se ressemblaient. F. Combellack[106] a souligné que dans l'Iliade (Il.8.489 et suivantes) Hector prononce un discours devant les troupes tenant une lance dans sa main (ἐν δ᾽ ἄρα χειρὶ ἔγχος ἔχ᾽: Il.8.493–494), mais pas pendant le combat, tandis que les personnages d'Homère qui s'adressent à une communauté tiennent un sceptre dans les mains[107]. Combellack[108] et l'auteur du commentaire sur les poèmes d'Homère Kirk[109] ont noté des parallèles dans la description de la lance dans cette scène et celle du sceptre d'Agamemnon dans Il.2.100–109.

Un parallèle de plus entre les scènes avec Agamemnon et Hector, jusque-là inaperçu, c'est que Hector et Agamemnon prononcent un discours en s'appuyant (ἐρεισάμενος) sur le sceptre ou une lance. C'est presque la même expression qui s'emploie dans les deux contextes: sur Agamemnon on dit que «le rois parlait aux achéens en s'appuyant sur ce sceptre»[110] – τῷ ὅ γ᾽ ἐρεισάμενος ἔπε᾽ Ἀργείοισι μετηύδα (Il.2.109), sur Hector – «il leur a adressé sa parole ailée en s'appuyant sur le sceptre» – τῷ ὅ γ᾽ ἐρεισάμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (Il.8.496).

Dans la tradition littéraire plus tardive on a aussi une indication à ce que le sceptre et la lance sont également perçus comme symboles du pouvoir royal. Priam dans «Hécube» d'Euripide envoie son fils Polydor au roi de Thrace Pollymnestor qui «sème sur la meilleure plaine de Thrace, reignant sur le peuple apte aux chevaux»[111] (ὃς τήνδ᾽ ἀρίστην Χερσονησίαν πλάκα // σπείρει, φίλιππον λαὸν εὐθύνων δορί[112]). J. Gregory souligne que Polymnestor est décrit comme «roi juste d'un riche pays»[113]. Mais il nous paraît peu probable que εὐθύνων δορί chez Euripide veuille dire que les thraces sont belliqueux comme le prétend Gregory[114].

Les notions σκῆπτρον et δόρυ pouvaient s'employer comme synonymes. «Ces temps-là les rois portaient des lances au lieu des diadèmes (hastas pro diademate habebant), que les grecs nomment sceptres (hastas pro diademate habebant). Aux temps anciens on vénérait les lances au lieu des dieux immortels, et maintenant on représente les dieux qui tiennent des lances pour commémorer cette tradition (43.3)»[115], dit Justin en parlant du temps des rois d'Albe la

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[105] TSOUNTAS, MANATT 1897, 169.

[106] COMBELLACK 1948, 214.

[107] UNRUH 2011, 280–281.

[108] COMBELLACK 2011, 214.

[109] KIRK 2000, 336.

[110] Traduit par les auteurs de l' article.

[111] Traduit par les auteurs de l' article.

[112] Cité d' après: MURRAY 1902.

[113] GREGORY 1999, 42–43.

[114] GREGORY 1999, 43.

[115] Traduit par les auteurs de l'article.

Longue. Pausanias parle du sceptre vénéré par les habitants de Chéronée. Selon la légende, le sceptre avait été fait par Héphaïstos pour Zeus et ce dernier l'a donné aux Pélopides. Les habitants de Chéronée nommaient ce sceptre δόρυ (lance): «Ils vénèrent le sceptre en le nommant lance»[116] – τὸ σκῆπτρον σέβουσι, Δόρυ ὀνομάζοντες (9.40.11).

Les images d'Agamemnon dans l'art grec tardif prouvent aussi notre idée selon laquelle la lance et le sceptre se ressemblaient. O. Touchefeu et I. Krauskopf portent attention à ce qu'on représentait Agamemnon tantôt avec une lance, tantôt avec un sceptre, mais assez souvent on ne peut pas discerner entre ces deux objets. Les savants citent Pausanias selon qui les habitants de la Chéronée vénéraient le sceptre d'Agamemnon en le nommant δόρυ. C'est-à-dire que ce contexte témoigne de la liaison entre le sceptre et la lance[117]. Selon K. Fittschen, on ne peut pas discerner entre le sceptre et la lance si l'image en question ne représente pas une scène de bataille[118].

Il faut maintenant prêter l'attention à la tombe centrale et la plus riche du Hérôon d'd'Erythrée des temps d'Homère. Dans cette tombe on a retrouvé une lance de bronze qui se distingue beaucoup des lances de fer[119]. Berard a supposé que cette lance avait la même signification que dans les poèmes d'Homère et était perçue comme symbole de pouvoir[120], s'employant en fonction de sceptre[121].

6. Les résultats de l'étude des sceptres mycéniens

Les sources mythologiques et littéraires témoignent que σκῆπτρον et δόρυ étaient indissolublement liés et s'utilisaient parfois comme équivalents. Cela veut peut-être dire que ces deux objets se ressemblaient. Le mot δόρυ déterminant au début un bâton, un sceptre devait le ressembler, surtout si l'on prend en considération les images minoennes et peut-être mycéniennes du sceptre, aussi que les trouvailles du temps mycénien qui sont interpétées comme sceptres.

Le sceptre (σκῆπτρον) sert de métaphore à la foudre et doit être semblable à une lance. Cette liaison peut être prouvée par les sources citées ci-dessus.

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[116] Traduit par les auteurs de l'article.

[117] KRAUSKOPF, TOUCHEFEU 1999, 273.

[118] FITTSCHEN 1969, 186 (N. 879).

[119] BERARD 1972, 222.

[120] Selon Vernan, la lance était un symbole du pouvoir à l'époque guerre, et le sceptre – à l'époque de paix (VERNANT 1988, 34–35). Mais cette théorie ne se laisse pas prouver par des des sources littéraires ou iconographiques. Par contre, on peut voir Agamemnon tenir une lance dans des scènes pacifiques (LIMC 1.2. P. 192–202), et Polymnestor regner son pays avec δόρυ.

[121] BERARD 1972, 222–224.

7. La lance et le sceptre chez les Hittites

Le motif de l'origine divine du pouvoir royal et des symboles du pouvoir qu'on reçoit d'un dieu se rencontre bien souvent à l'antiquité. On va essayer de trouver des parallèles à la perception du sceptre dans la culture grecque et du Proche-Orient. Le culte du Dieu de l'Orage était bien caractéristique pour la culture des hittites. C'est pourquoi il est bien logique de rechercher dans les sources des hittites cette idée d'une lance semblable à la foudre.

7.1 Les nominations de lance dans les textes Hittites

Les termes $^{GI\check{S}}$ŠUKUR, ^{URUDU}NÍG.GÍD.DA (= *ARIKTU*), *IMITTU*, *MEŠEDI*, *mari-, turi-, dupiyali-* [122] s'emploient dans les textes hittites pour désigner une lance. Malheureusement, il manque de sources iconografiques ou archéologiques [123] pour les confronter avec les textes. Les correspondances entre les termes hittites, les accadogrammes et les sumérogrammes qui peuvent déterminer les mêmes types de lance, ne sont pas établies bien exactement [124].

Le mot *turi-* peut être comparé à δόρυ. On peut rencontrer le mot *turi-* dans le "Texte d'Anitta" avec le déterminatif $^{GI\check{S}}$ (CTH 1: KBo 3.22 Vo 53) et aussi dans les textes sacrés avec le déterminatif ^{URUDU}. Il est parfois dit sur cet objet qu'il est fabriqué de bronze (y compris les cas où ce mot s'emploie avec $^{GI\check{S}}$: *nu-wa-az* $^{GI\check{S}}$*tu-u-ri-in ku-wa-an-na-na-aš da-an-du nu-wa-kán kal-la-ar ut-tar pa-ra-a šu-u-wa-an-du* «qu'ils prennent une lance (*turi-*) de bronze, et bannissent l'être maléfique» (CTH 398: KBo 4.2 I 69–70 [125]), ou de fer, ou d'argent [126].

Le sème *turi-* peut vouloir dire la lance non seulement d'un roi mais aussi d'un berger ^{LÚ}SIPA-*aš* $^{GI\check{S}}$*tu-u-ri-ia* (CTH 457: KUB 17.8 IV 22). Dans le texte «Le mythe et l'incantation» on se plaint à Kamrušepa sur la disparition de la chaleur (*lappiyas*). On suit le conseil de Kamrušepa et fait quelque chose avec le courant (ÍD) avec une lance de berger, et le courant se réchauffe. Ce mot s'emploie aussi dans le contexte de fabrication du vitre [127]. Dans les rites de Maštigga *turi-* est mentionné comme objet du même ordre que la houe et la pelle (CTH 404: KBo 44.17 I 8–9) ce qui veut dire que cet objet n'est pas toujours perçu comme symbole du pouvoir royal.

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[122] SCHRAKAMP 2011, 631. Il n'est pas bien clair si le terme $^{GI\check{S}}$*zau-*, qui aurait pu signifier quelque chose pareille à une pelle de boulanger et povait vouloir dire une lance (TISCHLER 2016, 679; BOZGUN 2019, 704–719).

[123] GENZ 2017, 91.

[124] CAMMAROSANO 2018, 303.

[125] Si l'on juge d'après l'usage du verbe *parā šuwai-*, ce type de lance s'utilisait aussi pour pousser. GÜTERBOCK, HOFFNER 1989, 184.

[126] BEAL 1986, 609. D'après notre recherche dans l'Archive d'hittitologie de l'Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur de Mayence, les textes hittites mentionnant les *turi-* de fer (CTH 591: KBo 9.136 I 6; CTH 670: KBo 25.28 III[?] 4; CTH 678: KUB 58.33 III 32) et d'argent (CTH 698: Bo 5164 Ro[?] II 13).

[127] On connaît deux listes d'objets utilisés pour fabriquer la glace. Dans une des listes on mesure pour tous les objets, y compris *turi-* (sans déterminatif) avec une poignée (*tarnas*); dans l' autre – *hulubas* (RIEMSCHNEIDER 1974, 267).

Le mot *mari*- (une lance) s'emploie dans la description de l'idole du dieu protecteur LAMMA qui tient *mari*- dans sa main droite et le bouclier dans sa main gauche[128]. Pourtant, dans l'art des Hittites il est beaucoup plus courant de représenter un dieu qui n'a qu'une lance dans sa main droite. Dans les cérémonies *mari*- se rencontre avec *kalmus*. Comme ᴳᴵˢˇŠUKUR est traité comme quelque chose à part dans les mêmes contextes, et, selon Puhvel, *mari* ne veut pas dire «lance» mais une arme de combat rapproché[129].

L'arme *dupiyali*- peut signifier «flèche» ou «marteau»[130]. Le mot est attesté dans trois fragments hittites, mais dans aucun de ces fragments il n'est lié au roi. On peut admettre que ce mot est lié au verbe louvite *dūpi*- / *dūpai*- dont on suppose une nuance de punition. Dans ce cas-là cette arme ne peut pas être considérée comme une sorte de javelot, mais plutôt doit avoir l'air d'une masse d'armes ou bien une hache[131]. Le verbe *dūpi*- / *dūpai*- détermine parfois les actions des rois hittites (*a-wa/i ni-pi+ra/i*(REGIO) OMNIS₂-*sa₅ tu-pi a-wa/i-tà* DELERE «Et j'ai battu et dévasté tout le pays de Nipira», YALBURT Fr. 1:7 §5–6), ce qui isolément ne nous permet pas de considérer *dupiyali*- comme symbole du pouvoir royal.

7.2. Kalmus — une masse d'armes ou un bâton des rois hittites?

Dans la plupart des anciennes civilisations du Proche-Orient c'est une masse d'armes (et pas une lance) qui est perçue comme symbole du pouvoir royal. C'est une arme à poignée courte et un pommeau saillant qu'on voit sur les images des rois et des dieux de l'ancienne Egypte et de Mésopotamie[132]. Une masse d'armes a d'habitude une hampe trop courte pour qu'on puisse s'y appuyer (pourtant les sceptres retrouvés à Tello sont assez longs pour cela).

On va voir de plus près le mot *kalmus* qui détermine un bâton recourbé. Selon J.Puhvel, le mot *kalmus est emprunté* de l'accadien *gamlum*[133]. En Mésopotamie *gamlum* (sumérien *zubi*) était l'attribut du dieu Amurru, dont le culte est attesté depuis le III siècle av. J.-C. et prend son essor dans la période paléo-babylonienne[134]. Il est probable que *kalmus* était d'origine un bâton du berger et puis sous la dynastie amorrite il commence à s'associer parmi les prêtres amoréens avec Amurru comme patron des bergers-amorrites[135]. Le point de vue selon lequel

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[128] GÜTERBOCK, HOFFNER 1989, 184.

[129] PUHVEL 2007, 68.

[130] TISCHLER 1994, 452.

[131] BUSSE, SIMON 2017.

[132] GORELIK 2003, 50.

[133] PUHVEL 1997, 29–30. Certains savants s'y opposent pour des raisons phonologiques: HOFFNER 2000, 71; SCHWEMER 2006, 225, Anm. 48. Dans la langue hittite le groupe -*lm*- est plus préférable que -*lm*- dans l'alternance des emprunts (MELCHERT 1994, 158–159).

[134] COLBOW 2008.

[135] BEAULIEU 2005, 36.

gamlum était dès le début une arme, nous paraît moins vraisemblable[136]. Sous Ammi-ditana (1683–1647 av. J.-C.) *gamlum* est mentionné pour la première fois dans une formule de datation de la huitième année de son règne. Cette formule contient une description de la statue du sanctuaire de l'Ébabbar érigée pour honorer son règne. La statue représente le roi qui tient un bâton d'or (MCS 2 46, VAT 6091, YOS 13 402). La formule de datation est l'unique contexte dans lequel le roi tenant un sceptre est mentionné. Dans le premier siècle av. J.-C. On fabrique des figurines des rois tenant le *gamlum*, et le roi de Babylon est investi de *gamlum* à la veille de Nouvel An[137].

La glyptique syriaque nous a livré des exemples des représentations des rois qui tiennent un bâton recourbé. Les images de la sorte se rapportent à la période paléo-syrienne (entre 1850–1620 av. J.-C.) et elles sont plus caractéristiques pour la tradition de la Syrie du Nord (dans la classification de Collon), dont le centre nous reste encore inconnu[138], mais ni Byblos, ni Alep ne peuvent l'avoir été. En Anatolie de la période paléo-assyrienne le bâton recourbé apparaît sur les sceaux dans les mains des dieux et des humains (probablement des prêtres et des prêtresses)[139].

Les représentations des rois commencent à apparaître dans la glyptique hittite et des reliefs sous Muwatalli II (1306–1282 av. J.-C.)[140]. Dans la plupart des cas, le roi est représenté avec un bâton (*kalmus*): Dessin 5. Parfois on peut voir un roi embrassé par un dieu, avec d'autres objets dans la main (par exemple, sur une des images le dieu de l'orage tient un bâton et le roi – un arc. On peut distinguer parmi les scènes représentant les rois celles de vénération, de l'oraison et de l'immolation. Parfois dans les scènes de ce type-là le *kalmus* est transmis au rois par sa suite. Ce bâton-là se remplaçait parfois par celui qui était plus court et qu'on utilisait à la fauconnerie. L'iconographie de ce sceptre remonte au II siècle av. J.-C.[141] et se laisse interpréter de deux manières différentes. Les uns croient que ce sceptre raccourci était lié au gourdin du berger (pourtant on n'a pas de sources littéraires qui puissent prouver que cette perception du roi comme berger subsistait vraiment)[142]. Les autres supposent que le sceptre de ce type remonte au gourdin du Dieu de l'Orage, sensé dans les mains du roi comme

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[136] SEIDL, STOL 2015, 617. Quelques-uns supposent qu'il s'agit du yatagan, du boomerang ou de la masse d'armes: FEIGIN 1955, 157 (n. 72).

[137] AMBOS, KRAUSKOPF 2010, 128–130.

[138] LUMSDEN 1990, 109–110.

[139] AMBOS, KRAUSKOPF 2010, 131.

[140] HERBORDT, BAWANYPECK, HAWKINS 2011, 53. Güterbock et Kendall (GÜTERBOCK, KENDALL 1995, 56–57) datant le vase d'argent en forme de poing qui représente le rois Tuthaliya du début de XIV siècle av. J.-C. pour des raisons stylistiques (c'est- à-dire qu'ils croient que c'est Tuthaliya III et pas Tuthaliya IV qui est représenté).

[141] AMBOS, KRAUSKOPF 2010, 132–134.

[142] Un parallèle assez intéressant dans BECKMAN 1988, 42.

Dessin 5. *Kalmus* dans la main droite du roi. Relief d'Alacahöyük. Photo par V. Shelestin

symbole phallique, en quelque sorte semblable à *vajra* (gourdin-foudre) du dieu Indra[143]. Il faut noter que *vajra* est beaucoup plus proche à une masse d'armes[144].

Si en Mésopotamie sceptre-masse d'armes (*ḫaṭṭu* = ^{GIŠ}GIDRU) servait de symbole du pouvoir royal, dans la société hittite c'étaient avant tout les courtisans qui l'utilisaient. Pourtant, on peut voir les deux objets (*kalmus* et ^{GIŠ}GIDRU) dans les mains des dieux[145]. Dans les textes hittites les *kalmus* sont décrits comme des objets en matériau plus précieux que les ^{GIŠ}GIDRU, ce qui souligne leur rôle plus priviligié[146].

7.3. Des données étymologiques

Les textes hittites ne peuvent nous livrer autre origine du *kalmus* que pratiques rituelles. Le Dieu de l'Orage tient dans sa main l'objet nommé *kalmis*(*a*)*na*. Cet objet-là est mentionné dans la chronique de la guerre d'Arzawa. Le roi Uhhaziti peut frapper avec l'objet qu'on nomme par un mot avec le même radical que *kalmis*(*a*)*na-*. Il faut voir de plus près les contextes dans lesquels ce mot-là se rencontre.

Les chroniques de Mursili II contiennent un épisode de guerre avec le roi d'Arzawa Uhhaziti. Ce dernier a décidé d'abdiquer quand le jeune Mursili II a accédé au pouvoir. Dans les Annales décennales il est dit: «Et le puissant Dieu de l'Orage, mon maître, a fait signe. Il a jeté *kalmis*(*a*)*na-* et mes troupes ont vu *kalmis*(*a*)*na-* et tout le pays d'Arzawa l'a vu. Et *kalmis*(*a*)*na-* est venu frapper le pays d'Arzawa, et Apasa, la ville d'Uhhaziti, et il s'est placé

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[143] ARDZINBA 1982, 101–103; IVANOV, AJHENVALD, BAYUN 2008, 234–235.

[144] Le *vajra* peut avoir été influencé par son équivalent grec de l'époque hellénistique. Pourtant, l'iconographie ancienne de *vajra* est riche de controverses (MILLER 2016, 141–151). Il n'est pas clair si c'était une masse d'armes ou un marteau qui lui servait de prototype (KLEJN 2013, 49–50). La foudre de l'iconographie de Zeus n'est pas liée au sceptre, c'est pourquoi on peut mettre de côté la comparaison de *vajra* et la foudre dans la main de Zeus. La foudre est souvent représentée sur les vases en tant qu'attribut de Zeus. Parfois Zeus tient dans sa main un sceptre semblable à un sceptre grec des rois. Par exemple, sur le vase de la Musée de Vienne sur lequel on voit la naissance de Venus (202586 dans Corpus vasorum antiquorum, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 728). On peut comparer ce sceptre à celui qu'on voit dans la main de Crésus sur un vase de Louvre (202176, Musee du Louvre, G197). Dans certains cas on peut voir Zeus tenir la foudre et le sceptre en même temps comme sur un autre vase de Louvre CVA 10877 (Musee du Louvre AM341) ou vase 6996 de CVA, vendu à Bâle.

[145] AMBOS, KRAUSKOPF 2010, 133.

[146] Alp a remarqué que les sceptres (^{GIŠ}GIDRU), moins importants par rapport au *kalmus*, se faisaient surtout en argent, selon les textes hittites (ALP 1947, 175). D'après notre recherche dans l'Archive d'hittitologie de l'Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur de Mayence, les textes hittites mentionnent les *kalmus* de fer (CTH 670: KBo 43.131 Vo 4–5, KBo 45.158: 3, KBo 56.107: 3), d'or (CTH 669: KUB 10.21 I 3; CTH 683: Bo 5572 Ro? 7) et d'argent (CTH 670: Bo 3769 col. Gauche 7), pourtant les ^{GIŠ}GIDRU se fabriquaient d'or (CTH 650: IBoT 1.8 VI 10; CTH 670: KBo 61.186 OC III 5), d'argent (CTH 474: KUB 32.103 col. gauche 16, KUB 32.129 I 15; CTH 500: Bo 4911 Vo? 15; CTH 502: KUB 38.3 IV 2; CTH 628: KUB 25.49 II 17; CTH 668: HHT 73 Vo 6; CTH 669: KUB 30.41 I 30; CTH 670: KUB 55.46 col. droite 5), d'étain (CTH 510: KUB 38.10 III 11) et de bronze (CTH 501: KUB 38.1 IV 6; CTH 739: KUB 12.8 I 12).

dans les genoux d' Uhhaziti, et ce dernier est tombé malade»[147] (CTH 61: KBo 3.4 II 16–20). Dans les Annales développées: «Et le puissant Dieu de l'Orage] a fait signe. Il a jeté [*kalmis(a)na-*], et le pays Hatti derrière lui l'a vu, et avant lui le pays Arzawa l'a vu. Et *kalmis(a)na-* est venu frapper [A]pasa, la ville de Uhhaziti, et a frappé Uhhaziti. Et une maladie sévère l'a frappé et il s'est affaibli des genoux (CTH 61: KUB 14.15 II 2–6)».

Cet objet est aussi mentionné dans le rite du dieu protecteur de toison et sept divinités: «La blanche laine accroché en honneur du dieu protecteur de la toison et la graine lié au dieu – tout cela est délié par la vieille au dieu. Et la laine accrochée au cou des augures et la laine accrochée à *kalmis(a)na-* tout cela délie la vieille et prend en *hulta* (CTH 433: KBo 17.105 Vo III 17–21)».

Kalmis(a)na- joue aussi un rôle important dans les jeux décrits par le rite du mont Hazzi: «Ils laissent les fromages aigres par-ci, par là. Les porteurs des torches et les gens apiri jettent leur feu avec *kalmis*(*a*)*na-* et eux *kalmis*(*a*)*na-* (plr.) [...] jettent leur feu. Puis ils prennent les fromages et les jettent entre eux. Et ils mangent les fromages qui sont propres, et ne mangent pas ceux qui ne le sont pas – il est interdit» (CTH 785: KUB 45.49 IV 1–10 et la copie KBo 39.190 II 1–11).

Des mythes de la disparition de Telepinu on peut conclure que *kalmis(a)na-* peut être remplacé par *kalmi-*. «Telepinu est rentré dans sa maison et a pris soin de son pays. Les ténèbres ont quitté la fenêtre, la fumée a quitté la maison. Les dieux sont en ordre à l'autel, *kalmi-* est rentré au foyer. Les brebis sont rentrées dans l'enclos, les vaches sont rentrées dans la grange. La mère a reconnu son fils, la brebis a reconnu son agneau, la vache a reconnu son veau, Telepinu – le roi et la reine, et leur a investi de la vie, du pouvoir et du futur» (CTH 324.1: KUB 17.10 IV 20–25) vs. «[Telepinu ...] est rentré [...] la fumée [a laissé] la maison, *kalmis(a)na-* (plr.) sont rentrés au foyer. [Les vaches] sont rentrées dans la grange, [les brebis sont rentrées] dans l'enclos, les vaches [ont reconnu leurs] veaux, et les brebis [ont reconnu leurs] agneaux» (CTH 324.3: KUB 33.12 IV 1–8)[148].

Dans la première version du mythe le mot *kalmi-* est utilisé dans la description du monde qui revient à son cours habituel et le mot *kalmis(a)na-* dans la description du chaos: «Les ténèbres sont tombés sur la fenêtre, la fumée est tombée sur la maison. Au foyer *kalmis(a)na-* sont tombés. De même avec les brebis dans l'enclos, et avec les vaches dans la grange. La brebis renonce à son agneau, et la vache renonce à son veau» (CTH 324.1: KUB 17.10 I 5–9 + KBo 55.8 16). Il faut noter que le contexte fait le foyer et l'autel équivalent

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[147] Traduit par les auteurs de l'article.
[148] On peut trouver le même motif dans le mythe du Dieu d'Orage de la reine Harapšili: «Les ténèbres ont laissé la fenêtre, la fumée a laissé la maison. L'autel s'est mis en ordre, *kalmi-* s'est mis en ordre là-dedans. brebis sont rentrées dans l'enclos, les vaches sont rentrées dans la grange» (CTH 327: KUB 33.19 III 2–7, KUB 33.20 III 3–5, KBo 8.69 13–16).

l'un à l'autre, ce qui marque l'origine divine de *kalmis(a)na-*, qui est lié avec foyer de la même manière que les dieux à l'autel[149].

Cela veut dire que *kalmi(s(a)na)-* dénote un objet qui peut être utilisé comme une sorte de dard et une sorte de torche pour entretenir le feu dans le foyer. Il est probable que dans l'imaginaire le dieu Uhhaziti frappait avec la foudre. Malgré le fait que la bataille aux torches décrite dans le rite du mont Hazzi n'est qu'un jeu, cet emploi de torche est lié à l'image du Dieu de l'Orage. Le mot qui dénote cette torche sacrée ne s'emploie que rarement dans les textes hittites, se différencie de la torche ordinaire *zuppari-* et peut vouloir dire «météore». Les mots *kalmi(s(a)na)-* et *kalmus-* ont le même radical que *kalmar(a)-*, «rayon du soleil». La liaison entre le symbole du pouvoir et la torche sacrée nous est bien évidente, mais l'emploi du mot *kalmar(a)-* ne nous aidera à éclaircir rien sur le *kalmus.*

8. Conclusion

Les paires *kalmi(s(a)na)-* en tant que l'arme du dieu de la foudre et *kalmus-* en tant que symbole du pouvoir correspondent en grec à σκηπτός «foudre» et σκῆπτρον «sceptre». Il est possible que les Grecs et les Hittites percevaient le sceptre, symbole du pouvoir royal, comme arme du dieu de foudre. C'est pourquoi ce symbole du pouvoir ressemble beaucoup plus à une sorte de lance qu'à une masse d'armes. Le bâton de berger ou la masse d'armes ne pouvait pas donc servir de prototype au sceptre hittite et mycénien. Il est difficile de juger si le parallélisme entre kalmus, *kalmi(s(a)na)-* et σκῆπτρον, σκηπτός reflète vraiment la perception du sceptre des indo-européens. On peut objecter à cette théorie que le sceptre mycénien ressemble beaucoup au sceptre minoen. Il s'agit peut-être de l'influence réciproque.

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149 Sur le foyer qui est semblable à l'autel dans sa fonction sacrée ARDZINBA 1982, 214–215.

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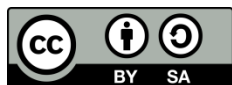
Die Hypomeiones in Sparta

Larisa PECHATNOVA[1]

Abstract. *The article is devoted to the analysis of the structural changes in the civic community of Sparta at the end of the 5ᵗʰ–beginning of the 4ᵗʰ century BC. The analysis of the sources shows that the civic community began to disintegrate and the new social group of Hypomeiones appeared just in this period. The author considers in detail questions connected with the reasons, time of appearance and status of this category of the Spartan citizenry. Particular attention is paid to the mechanism by which full citizens have lost some of their rights and have fallen down the social ladder, becoming Hypomeiones. The author examines all the sources related to this issue and shows as much as possible the extent to which this topic has been dealt with in Russian and Western historiography.*

Zusammenfassung. *Die antike Historiographie ließ uns nicht so viele Angaben über die Geschichte und Entwicklungswege der spartanischen Polis. Desto leichter könnten wir wohl auf die Schwerpunkte dieser Geschichte verweisen. Die Jahrhundertwende 5.–4. Jh. wäre also als ein Schwerpunkt für die postklassische Periode zu deuten. Die innere Instabilität der spartanischen Gesellschaft gab zu dieser Zeit ihren verborgenen Charakter auf und mündete in eine tiefe sozial-ökonomische und politische Krise. Die Autorin analysiert alle Quellen im Zusammenhang mit dem Thema, sowie die verbundene russische und west-europäische Historiographie.*

Rezumat. *Articolul este dedicat analizei schimbărilor structurale în comunitatea civică din Sparta la sfârșitul secolului al V-lea și începutul secolului al IV-lea a.Chr. Investigarea surselor arată că această comunitate a început să se dezintegreze și noi grupări sociale de Hypomeiones au apărut chiar în această perioadă. Autoarea examinează în detaliu probleme legate de motivele, perioada de apariție și statutul acestei noi categorii de cetățeni spartani. O atenție specială este acordată mecanismului prin care cetățenii cu drepturi depline și-au pierdut câteva din ele și au căzut în ierarhia socială, devenind Hypomeiones. Autoarea analizează toate sursele referitoare la acest subiect și arată cât de mult a fost tratată această temă în istoriografia rusească și cea occidentală.*

Keywords: Hypomeiones, Helots, Civil Rights, Spartan Citizen, Sparta, Xenophon.

Die antike Historiographie ließ uns nicht so viele Angaben über die Geschichte und Entwicklungswege der spartanischen Polis. Desto leichter könnten wir wohl auf die Schwerpunkte dieser Geschichte verweisen. Die Jahrhundertwende 5.–4. Jh. wäre also als ein

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Schwerpunkt für die postklassische Periode zu deuten. Die innere Instabilität der spartanischen Gesellschaft gab zu dieser Zeit ihren verborgenen Charakter auf und mündete in eine tiefe sozial-ökonomische und politische Krise. Eines der Hauptmerkmale dieser Krise war die Veränderung der Sozialstruktur des Bürgerkollektivs von Sparta. Zur selben Zeit gerade gingen die Begriffe "Spartiaten" und "Homoioi" (ὅμοιοι – gleiche) auseinander[2]. Solange das spartanische Bürgerkollektiv größtenteils einheitlich war, wurden diese Begriffe wahrscheinlich als Synonyme angesehen und waren demgemäß der spartanischen Bürgerschaft *in corpore* gleichwertig[3]. Der für den Jahrhundertwandel 5.–4 Jh. festgelegte Zerfall des Bürgerkollektivs in ein paar rechtsungleiche Gruppen könnte jedoch zur Bedeutungsdivergenz der bis zuvor adäquate Begriffe führen. In dieser Periode eben, V. Ehrenberg nachzusprechen, "aus der engen Oligarchie der Spartiaten wurde eine noch engere der Homoioi"[4]. Um 4.–3. Jh. waren bereits nicht alle Spartiaten die Homoioi, aber nur der "beste" d. h. vermögende Teil derselben.

Wie die Spartaner schrittweise an ihrer Korpseinheit einbüßten, wird in unseren Quellen genau festgelegt und richtig erläutert. Isokrates' Aussage nach wäre die Aufbewahrung der Korpseinheit gerade der Hauptzweck der Gesetzgebung von Lykurg: « ...sie selbst handelten in keiner Weise so, sondern hätten untereinander Gleichberechtigung und Demokratie eingeführt, wie sie ein Volk, das für alle Zeit einträchtig leben wolle, haben müsse ...» (Isokr. Panath. 178 / übersetzt v. Peter Roth). An diese Aussage von Isokrates klingt Aristoteles an, dem die Ergebnisse von Lykurgs Gesetzen gut bekannt waren; diese Ergebnisse widersprachen aber ganz der Grundidee der Gesetze. In seinem kritischen Überblick von spartanischer Gesellschaftsordnung betont Aristoteles mit Recht, dass die Verbindlichkeit der gleichen Einzahlung in die Syssitien bei ihrem scheinbaren Demokratismus eigentlich eine undemokratische Maßnahme gewesen sei, denn sie sei eine schwere Last für die Armen, für die Reichen aber nicht so bedrückend gewesen. "Bei den Lakonen aber muß jeder beitragen, obgleich einige sehr arm sind und diesen Aufwand nicht bestreiten können; so dass das Gegenteil von der Absicht des Gesetzgebers die Folge ist. Nach seiner Absicht nämlich soll die Einrichtung der Syssitien eine demokratische sein. In ihrer gegenwärtigen Form aber ist sie nichts weniger als demokratisch; denn für die sehr Armen ist es nicht leicht, daran Teil zu nehmen..." (Arist. Pol. II. 6. 21. 1271 a 27–36 / übersetzt v. A. Stahr). Diese Bemerkung Aristoteles' zeugt, daß er ein tiefes Verständnis für das soziale Wesen des spartanischen Staates hatte: dort, wo die Rechtgleichheit von der ökonomischen Gleichheit abhängt, wird mit der Verletzung des letztgenannten auch das ganze Sozialsystem verletzt.

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[2] Eine Analyse des Begriffen "gleiche" in Sparta siehe: SCHULTHESS 1913, 2254–2259; BIRGALIAS 2014, 13–21.

[3] So meinten zum Beispiel G. Busolt und K. Chrimes, die die Homoioi und die Spartiaten gleichsetzten (BUSOLT, SWOBODA 1926, 659; CHRIMES 1952, 353).

[4] EHRENBERG 1929, 1402.

Aristoteles' Bemerkung gehört allerdings der späteren Zeit. Die chronologische Grenze zwischen dem von Isokrates gezeichneten Idealbild und

der von Aristoteles festgelegten traurigen Wirklichkeit bildet anscheinend die Jahrhundertwende 5.–4., die Zeit der Verabschiedung der Rethra des Epitadeus[5]. Epitadeus' Gesetz gab das dem Recht der Spartiaten auf Bodenenteignung vorschriftsmäßige Form (Plut. Agis 5). Nach Lykurgs Gesetzen die Rethra des Epitadeus wurde die wichtigste Etappe in der Entwicklung des spartanischen Zivilrechts. Die Tendenzen, die sich schon lange mit Umgehung des Gesetzes nach und in der spartanischen Gesellschaft entwickelt hatten, wurden endlich im juristischen Akt verankert. Epitadeus' Gesetz hat das wahre Bild der sozial-wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen innerhalb der Klasse der Spartiaten gezeigt. Die durch ihre Einheitlichkeit und Unveränderlichkeit berühmte Gemeinde der "gleichen" erwies sich als eine Fiktion. Der größte Teil ihrer Glieder verlor Grund und Boden, das führte zu nicht umkehrbaren Folgen und zerstörte die soziale Einheit des herrschenden Standes für immer. Nicht von ungefähr hätte gleich nach dem Erlaß des Gesetzes von Epitadeus die soziale Gespanntheit beinahe in soziale Revolution ausgemündet. Die wertvolle Erzählung Xenophons von diesem Ereignis zeigt uns schon eine von den anfänglichen Idealen der Gleichheit und Einmütigkeit weit abstehende Gesellschaft.

Forschungswert der Erzählung Xenophons von der Verschwörung Kinadon besteht auch darin, daß in dieser Erzählung zum ersten und letzten Mal in der griechischen Historiographie neue Begriffe "Hypomeiones" und "kleine Ekklesia" auftauchen. So nennt Xenophon unter den Gruppen der nicht vollberechtigten Bevölkerung, die bereit waren, an der Verschwörung Kinadons teilzunehmen, neben den gut bekannten Kategorien auch die Hypomeiones. Führen wir diese Stelle aus Xenophon an: αὐτοὶ [οἱ συνειδόται - L.P.] μέντοι πᾶσιν ἔφασαν συνειδέναι καὶ εἵλωσι καὶ νεοδαμώδεσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπομείοσι καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις..." (Xen. Hell. III. 3. 6). Das wäre die einzige unbestreitbare Stelle, wo sich der Terminus "Hypomeiones" (ὑπομείονες – "jüngere", "kleinere", "verkommen") fixieren lässt. Diese Bevölkerungsgruppe hätten vielleicht Xenophon in "Lakedämonische Politeia" (X. 7) und Aristoteles in "Politik" (II. 6. 21. 1271 a 26–37) gemeint, als sie die verarmten Spartiaten beschrieben, die ihre Zivilrechte verloren hatten. Xenophon spricht in dieser Angelegenheit folgendes aus: "καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπελογίσατο [Lykurg – L.P.] οὔτε σωμάτων οὔτε χρημάτων ἀσθένειαν·εἰ δέ τις ἀποδειλάσειε τοῦ τὰ νόμιμα διαπονεῖσθαι, τοῦτον ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδειξε μηδὲ νομίζεσθαι ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων εἶναι" (Lac. pol. 10. 7).

Es läßt sich aus dieser Stelle Xenophon schließen, die Hypomeiones (sie wären wahrscheinlich von Xenophon gemeint) seien zunächst spartanische Bürger gewesen, die aus

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[5] Die Rethra des Epitadeus wird in der Wissenschaft unterschiedlich datiert. Die meisten Forscher aber führen sie einhellig auf die Jahrhundertwende 5.–4. Zurück. Siehe z. B.: OLIVA 1971, 189 f.; THÜR 1997, 527; AVRAMOVIĆ 2005, 177 f.

der Gemeinde der "gleichen" ausgeschlossen worden seien entweder ihrer Körperlichen Fehler wegen, die für sie den Militärdienst unmöglich machten, oder ihrer Zahlungsunfähigkeit wegen, die ihnen die für Bürger obligatorische Teilnahme an Syssitien entzog.

Mit dem von Xenophon gezeichneten Bilde fällt im Großen und Ganzen die konkretere Bemerkung von Aristoteles zusammen: «Unrichtig sind auch die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen über die Tischgenossenschaften, die sogenannten Phiditia, von dem festgestellt, der sie zuerst eingeführt hat. Es müßten nämlich diese Zusammenkünfte lieber auf öffentliche Kosten stattfinden, wie in Kreta... Denn für die gar Armen ist es nicht leicht, sich daran zu betheiligen, während die herkömmliche Grenze des Bürgerrechts bei ihnen diese ist, daß wer jene Beisteuer nicht zu entrichten vermag, kein Bürgerrecht ausüben kann» (Arist. Pol. II. 6. 21. 1271 a 26–37 / übersetzt v. J. Bernays). Aus diesen Worten von Aristoteles wäre zu ersehen, dass Bürger, die die Grundstücke, Kleroi, nicht mehr besäßen, auch an gemeinschaftlichen Mahlen, den Syssitien nicht teilnehmen dürften. Es last sich dennoch anhand dieses Textes nicht schlussfolgern, es seien den verarmten Spartiaten die bürgerlichen Rechte ganz entzogen worden. Es wäre möglich, diesen Text von Aristoteles anders zu deuten als es in seiner Russische Übersetzung S. A. Shebelew macht. So übersetzt er den Satz τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος φέρειν μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῆς [τῆς πολιτίας – *L.P.*]: «...ибо тот, кто не в состоянии делать эти взносы, не пользуется правами гражданства» ("...denn der diese Beiträge nicht entrichten kann, macht von den Bürgerrechten auch nicht Gebrauch"). Μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῆς lässt sich auch als "nimmt an der Staatsverwaltung nicht teil" verstehen. Mit so einer Deutung des Textes wäre der Widerspruch zwischen Aristoteles und Xenophon aufgenommen, da könnte man auch annehmen, die Hypomeiones dürften spartanische Bürger bleiben, zwar mit geminderten, eingeschränkten Rechten.

Der geringe Umfang der Quellen und Streitigkeit ihrer Deutung führte dazu, dass es in der modernen Historiographie eine einheitliche Meinung von dem Status der Hypomeiones fehlt. Man streitet vor allem darüber, ob sich Hypomeiones als Bürger ansehen lassen oder sie ganz aus dem Bürgerkollektiv ausgeschlossen worden waren. U. Kahrstedt und P. Oliva bestehen auf den nicht bürgerlichen Status von den Hypomeiones. U. Kahrstedt glaubt, die Hypomeiones hätten außerhalb des Begriffs der Bürgerschaff gestanden, denn des Kleros enteignet hätten sie die Möglichkeit verloren an Syssitien teilzunehmen und in der bürgerlichen Landwehr zu dienen. Ein Hypomeion aber könnte doch wieder, wie U. Kahrstedt ausführt, Bürger werden, wäre sein Vermögen wiederhergestellt worden[6]. Die Stellungnahme von P. Oliva ist ähnlich. Die Hypomeiones rechnet er zu den Spartabürgern, die persönliche Freiheit genossen, keine Zivilrechte aber hatten.[7] Diese Schlussfolgerung baut auf einer

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[6] KAHRSTEDT 1922, 46 ff. Da steht U. Kahrstedt mit sich selbst in Widerspruch. Hätte ein Hypomeion das Recht behalten in Sparta Grund und Boden so erwerben, so wäre er ein Bürger geblieben.

[7] OLIVA 1971, 177 f.; 192.

bekannten Stelle aus Aristoteles' "Politik" auf, wo es um die verarmten Spartiaten geht, die aus den Syssitien ausgeschlossen waren (II. 6. 21. 1271a 26–37). Der Text von Aristoteles lässt aber, wie wir oben gezeigt haben, unterschiedliche Deutungen zu. Es läßt sich jedenfalls implizit schließen, daß die Hypomeiones völlig ihrer Zivilrechte enteignet wurden, wie es U. Kahrstedt und P. Oliva behaupten.

Mehr akzeptabel wäre der Standpunkt der Wissenschaftler, die Hypomeiones als Spartabürger ansehen, die i.d.R. der Armut wegen des größten Teils seiner politischen Rechte enteignet waren, vielleicht außer dem Recht, an der Volksversammlung teilzunehmen[8]. G. Schömann charakterisiert die Hypomeiones als "eine Mittelklasse…, die weder alle Rechte des spartiatischen Bürgertums besaß, noch ganz in demselben Untertänigkeit Verhältnisse stand, wie Heloten oder Neodamoden oder Periöken"[9]. M. Finley nennt die Hypomeiones Spartiaten, die ihren Status verloren hatten, blieben aber innerhalb der Gemeinde als "Bürger von zweiter Wahl"[10].

Die Entstehungszeit der Institution der Hypomeiones wäre auch eine Streitfrage. Xenophon führt jedoch den neuen Begriff "Hypomeiones" eben in der Erzählung von der Verschwörung Kinadons ein, die in der Regel 398[11] datiert wird, so bekommen wir einen Terminus *post quem*. In der Zeit der Verschwörung Kinadons gäbe es schon die Hypomeiones. Die eigentliche Ausbildung und Konsolidierung dieses Standes in eine abgesonderte Sozialgruppe geschah wahrscheinlich nicht eher als in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jh.[12] Wie G. Schömann ausspricht, die Hypomeiones "sehr wohl schon zu Xenophons Zeit als seine beachtenswerte Partei neben Heloten, Neodamoden und Periöken ins Gewicht fallen konnten"[13].

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[8] SCHULTHESS 1913, 2256; CHRIMES 1952, 353 f.; BENGTSON 1960, 116; CARTLEDGE 1979, 314; BERGGOLD 2011, 24–26.

[9] SCHÖMANN 1897, 226.

[10] FINLEY 1975, 170.

[11] Von der Verschwörung Kinadons siehe: VATTUONE 1982, 19–52; JEHNE 1995, 166–174; LAZENBY 1997, 437–447; FORNIS 2007, 103–115; GISH 2009, 339–369.

[12] Die Zeit des Aufkommens der Hypomeiones und ihrer gesetzlichen Regelung als seiner spezifischen sozialen Kategorie läßt sich unterschiedlich bestimmen, in jedem Falle aber im Rahmen des 5.Jahrhunderts. Beim Nichtvorhandensein der antiken Zeugnisse würden unsere Mutmaßungen hypothetisch bleiben, es dünkt uns aber, dass diese Kategorie bereits in der Periode des Peloponnesischen Krieges entstand. Die indirekte Bestätigung dazu wäre die Entstehung am Anfang des Peloponnesischen Krieges der Neodamoden. Die erste Erwähnung der Neodamoden führt man auf das Jahr 421 zurück (Thuc. V. 34. 1). Aus dem Thukydides' Zusammenhang wäre ersichtlich, dass die Neodamoden zu dieser Zeit zu einer besonderen, von den Heloten abstechender Kategorie geworden sind (vgl. auch: Thuc. V. 67. 1). Die Befreiung der Heloten und ihre Umwandlung in Neodamoden hatte fast ausschließlich den Zweckcharakter: Die Neodamoden dienten beim Militär und ersetzten Spartiaten, die der Armut wegen aus der Bürgerlichen Landwehr ausgetreten waren. So würden ohne Hypomeiones auch die Neodamoden ausbleiben. Diese zwei sozialen Gruppen wären in ihrer Entstehung auf engste miteinander verbunden. So wären die Neodamoden bereits im Jahre 421 gewesen, hätte es Hypomeiones auch gegeben.

[13] SCHÖMANN 1897, 226.

Die Ursachen, die zur Herausbildung dieser neuen Gruppe innerhalb der spartanischen Gesellschaft führten, wären unserer Ansicht nach rein ökonomischer Natur und mit dem System des spartanischen Grundbesitzes verbunden. Anfänglich gründete sich die politische Gleichheit der Spartiaten ohne Zweifel auf ihrer ökonomischen Gleichheit, d.h. auf der Verteilung der gleichen Kleroi unter allen spartanischen Familien. Die Ursachen der spartanischen ὀλιγανθρωπία forschend, führt Ed. Will richtig aus, die soziale Mobilität der spartanischen Gesellschaft wäre "mit einem Bodeneigentumsregime, das nur bei seiner Entstehung alle Bürger gleichsetzte"[14], verbunden. Unsere Quellen haben wirklich die Tatsache des fortlaufenden Rückganges der Spartiaten-Zahl schon für das 5. Jh. sicher festgelegt (Her. VII. 234. 2; Thuc. V. 68; Xen. Hell. IV. 2. 16)[15]. Die etwa 50-jährige Periode scheint eine normale Frist zu sein, im Laufe derer sich die Zahl der Spartiaten um das Zweifache verringert hat... Also lässt uns die Beständigkeit und Richtigkeit der Erscheinung auch eine beständige und richtige Ursache voraussetzen.

Diese Ursache hätte anscheinend in der Sozialpolitik des Staates selbst gesteckt. In Sparta, wo die Zugehörigkeit zu dem Bürgerkollektiv durch das obligatorische Vorhandensein des Grundstückes, Kleros, sichergestellt war, bedeutete der Verlust des letzteren eine automatische Ausschließung aus der Zahl der Vollbürger. Da das System des spartanischen Bodeneigentums augenscheinlich früh entstellt wurde, nahm infolgedessen die Zahl der Spartiaten während der anderthalb Jahrhunderte (vom Angang des 5. bis zur Mitte des 4. Jh.) von 10 bis 1 Tausend ab (Her. VII. 234. 2; Arist. Pol. II. 6. 11–12. 1270a 30–33; 38). Aristoteles hob in seiner "Politik" nicht nur die Erscheinung der Oliganthropia hervor, er interpretierte diese Tatsache auch richtig, indem er sie als Resultat des spartanischen Systems des Bodeneigentums und der Erbfolge betrachtete (II. 6. 10–12. 1270a 15–34).

Wie der Prozess des Verlustes von Grund und Boden vor sich ging, das wissen wir gewiss nicht. Einige Familien in Sparta scheinen im Laufe des 5. Jahrhunderts bereits mehr Boden erhalten zu haben als es berechtigt war. So wurde ihren Belangen vor den Interessen der Polis Vorzug gegeben, die letztere war aber an der Aufrechterhaltung der bestimmten Zahl der "gleichen" interessiert[16]. Besonders intensiv müsste dieser Vorgang am Ende des Peloponnesischen Krieges vor sich gehen, als der Zufluss der Geldmittel nach Sparta unvermeidlich zur Polarisierung führte. Das gerade in jener Zeit verabschiedete Gesetz von Epitadeus, der den Kauf und Verkauf von Kleroi gestattete, legitimierte sich voraussichtlich die Praxis, die auch früher stattgefunden hatte. Wie P. Cartledge und später auch die anderen Gelehrten bemerkten, Geld und Boden haben sich in denselben Händen konzentriert[17]. Die Spartiaten, die sich während des Krieges bereichern konnten, begannen aktiv, ihr Geld in

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[14] WILL 1972, 442 (Ce phénomène semble lié au régime foncier, qui n' etait égalitaire qu' en apparence).

[15] FIGUEIRA 1986, 165–213.

[16] WILL 1972, 443 f.

[17] CARTLEDGE 1979, 316 f.

Boden anzulegen, ihre Immobilien nach und nach dadurch zu vergrößern. Nach anderthalb Jahrhunderten führte dieser Prozess dazu, dass es in Sparta nicht mehr als 100 Familien geblieben waren, die Grundeigentume hatten (Plut. Agis 5. 7; vgl.: Arist. Pol. V. 6. 7. 1307a 36). "In short, if I were to single out any group of Spartans as chiefly responsible for Sparta's downfall, that group would consist of the few rich Spartiates, personified precisely by those like Agesilaos for whom Xenophon and Plutarch evinced such warm admiration", – zieht P. Cartledge die Bilanz[18].

Auf diese Art ging schnell unter dem Deckmantel der deklarativen Gleichheit der Prozess der Spaltung des Bürgerkollektives in zwei neue Formationen vor sich: die Agraroligarchie, deren Mitglieder sich auch weiter "gleiche" nannten, und die des Bodens und somit der Grundlage ihrer bürgerlichen Gleichheit bare Masse der einfachen Gemeindeglieder[19]. Die letzteren wurden von der herrschenden Korporation ganz Folgerichtig die Hypomeiones genannt.

Die Gelehrten sind größtenteils damit einverstanden, die Hauptsache des Auftretens von den Hypomeiones liege im Gebiet der Ökonomik[20]. In den Kreis der Hypomeiones gerieten aber nicht nur „ökonomische Pechvögel". Missglück auf irgendeiner Etappe der Bildung könnte z.B. auch Grundlage für die Herabsetzung des Status werden. Auf die Aussage von Xenophon stützend könnte im Großen und Ganzen eine beliebige physische und moralische Schwäche des Spartaners zur Ausschließung aus der Zahl der „gleichen" führen (Lac. pol. 10. 7). Auf diese außerökonomische Quelle der Auffüllung der Reihen der Hypomeiones verweisen G. Schömann, G. Busolt, M. Finley, P. Cartledge[21]. Von Bedeutung wäre die Bemerkung von P. Cartledge, es seien die Menschen, die in der Periode der Ausbildung scheiterten, oder in Syssitien nicht gewählt werden, zum hoplitischen Dienst automatisch nicht tauglich gewesen. Sie seien allein deswegen in die Reihen der Hypomeiones hingeraten[22].

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[18] CARTLEDGE 1979, 317.

[19] Diese Schlussfolgerung stimmt ganz und gar mit der kritischen Analyse des spartanischen Staatsaufbaus überein, die Aristoteles in "Politik" anführt. Wie wir oben gesagt haben, es gäbe in unseren Quellen konkrete Angaben über die spartanische Oliganthropia, nur Aristoteles gelang es aber diesen Vorgang richtig zu interpretieren. Da schreibt er folgendes: «Es ist nämlich bei ihnen dahin gekommen, daß Einige ein gar großes, Andere ein überaus kleines Vermögen haben; weshalb dann auch der ganze Grundbesitz in Hände weniger Personen übergegangen ist... So kam es denn auch daß, obgleich das Land im Stande ist fünfzehnhundert Reiter und dreißig tausend Schwerbewaffnete zu ernähren, die Zahl der Spartiaten nicht einmal tausend betrug» (Pol. II. 6. 1270a 17–19; 30–32 / übersetzt v. J. Bernays). Aristoteles hat auch den Mißerfolg der Außenpolitik von Sparta mit den Mängeln seines inneren Systems verbunden: «Eine einzige Niederlage konnte der Staat nicht überdauern, sondern ging zu Grunde an Menschenmangel» (Pol. II. 6. 12. 1270a 34– 35 / übersetzt v. J. Bernays). „Der einzige Schlag", von dem da Aristoteles spricht, wäre die Niederlage bei Leuktra in 371. Seiner Ansicht nach, die Ursache der Niederlage bei Leuktra in 371 sei das Defizit der spartanischen Bürger und es seinerseits sei Ergebnis des spartanischen Systems des Grundbesitzes.

[20] MEYER 1902, 29; KAHRSTEDT 1922, 50; CHRIMES 1952, 354; BENGTSON 1960, 116; WILL 1972, 442 ff.

[21] SCHÖMANN 1897, 226; BUSOLT, SWOBODA 1926, 659, Anm. 4; FINLEY 1975, 170 f.; CARTLEDGE 1979, 313 f.

[22] CARTLEDGE 1979, 314.

In der Tat, um den Platz der Hypomeiones in der spartanischen Polis richtig zu bestimmen, müsste man sich den Kreis ihrer Rechte und Pflichten in Bezug auf den Staat vorstellen. Es versteht sich, dass die des Kleros bare Menschen, die die ökonomische Basis ihrer Bürgerschaft verloren hatten, aus den Syssitien und aus der Landwehr ausgeschlossen wurden. Es wäre nicht so schwer, sich das Modell ihres weiteren Schicksals vorzustellen. Als Berufsmilitärs konnten und wollten sie nicht etwas anderes tun. Kaum der mindeste Teil von ihnen ginge zum Handwerk über. Sie wären sowieso nicht konkurrenzfähig in Bezug auf die, die das Handwerk als ihre ererbte Sache betrieben. Andererseits stand beliebige Berufstätigkeit außer dem Militärdienst im öffentlichen Bewusstsein nicht besonders hoch und war das Monopol von den Periöken und   Ausländern[23]. Deshalb wäre das Handwerk für die Hypomeiones in der ersten Generation jedenfalls eine unannehmbare Beschäftigung[24]. Eher könnten wir annehmen, es sei ein Teil derselben Söldner geworden und ein anderer Teil sei für den militärpolizeilichen Dienst innerhalb des Staates benutzt worden.

N. Golubzowa verbindet die Blütezeit der Söldnerschaft gerade mit dem Verlust von Grund und Boden, denn der größte Teil der Spartabürger erlitten hat. Ihrer Meinung nach gehöre «das Aufblühen der Söldnerschaft... dem Anfang des 4. Jh. v. u. Z., als viele Menschen aus Sparta in die Armen der anderen Staaten gingen. Diese Bewandtnis zeugt von der Anwesenheit der großen Zahl der Spartiaten, die ihre Bodenparzellen verloren haben und notgedrungen waren ihre Existenzmittel außer Sparta zu erwerben»[25]. So wird Sparta dank dem Vorhandensein der Hypomeiones schon Anfang des 4. Jh. zum größten Söldnerexporteur für die ganze griechische Welt[26].

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[23] Viele der Handwerkerfamilien wären anscheinend alter genug, obgleich nicht spartanischer, Herkunft. So gehörten Herolde z.B. zur alten Achaean Geschlecht der Talthybiadai (Her. VII. 134), Propheten – zur bekannten Seherfamilie aus Elis auch (Her. IX. 33; 35; Paus. III. 11. 5–8). Im Ganzen aber stand sogar das Oberpriestertum in der spartanischen Größenordnung tiefer, als die Spartiaten – Homoioi (vgl.: Her. IX. 33). Es genügt den Propheten Tisamenos zu erwähnen, einen der tätigsten Teilnehmer an der Verschwörung von Kinadon (Xen. Hell. III. 3. 11). Sein Name wurde von Xenophon genannt, und das zeugt von der Bedeutsamkeit dieser Figur; seine Teilnahme an der Verschwörung zeuge aber davon, dass er in der Gemeinde der „gleichen" kaum ihm gebührende Stelle einnahm. Nach U. Kahrstedts Worten, sogar «ein μάντις ist eben für den Spartaner ein Mensch zweiten Ranges» (KAHRSTEDT 1922, 52, Anm. 1).

[24] Es scheint uns die Stellungnahme von P. Oliva zweifelhaft zu sein, als er behauptet, daß «many of them [the *hypomeiones* – *L.P.*] were undoubtedly engaged in the various crafts, which had earlier been restricted to the *perioikoi* and foreigners» (OLIVA 1971, 178). Es versteht sich, für die nicht vollberechtigten Spartiaten wäre das Handel – und Handwerksverbot schon nicht gültig gewesen (vgl.: Plut. Ages. 26; Aelian. V. h. VI. 6), aber die Unvollwertigkeit dieser Beschäftigungen für die Spartiaten aller Stände wäre ersichtlich.

[25] ГОЛУБЦОВА 1958, 248.

[26] Sparta begann selbst ab Ende des 5. Jh. aktiv Söldner zu benutzen, unter denen gewiss auch die ehemaligen Spartiaten waren. So machten im 12-tausendfachen Spartaheer auf der ersten Etappe des Krieges mit Persien mindestens eine Hälfte Söldner aus.

Die Hypomeiones, die in Sparta geblieben waren, werden von dem Staat vermutlich im administrativ-polizeilichen Apparate benutzt. So führte Kinadon[27], Xenophons Worten nach Aufträgen der Ephoren aus und nahm dabei Dienste „des Reiterkorps" in Anspruch (Xen. Hell. III. 3. 9). Seine geheime polizeiliche Tätigkeit wird als eine regelmäßige dargestellt. Er nahm augenscheinlich am Durchkämmen des Spartageländes immer teil, das Strafkommandos von Zeit zu Zeit unternahmen. Wie es sich herausstellt, es waren unter den Verschwörern auch solche, die eigene Waffen hatten (Xen. Hell. III. 3. 7)[28]. In Friedenszeiten Waffe zu tragen, waren wie bekannt nur Glieder des Bürgerkollektivs berechtigt. Dieses Zeugnis von Xenophon wäre ein wichtiger Beleg dafür, dass die aus der Zahl der „gleichen" ausgeschiedenen Hypomeiones auch weiter Spartiaten blieben und solche von ihnen, die dazu befähigt waren, sogar gehobene Posten bekleideten. W. Newmens Meinung nach, Aristoteles habe auf Kinadon und seine Gefährten angespielt, als er den Aristokraten riet, zur Staatsverwaltung die begabten Männer heranzuziehen, die gleichberechtigte Bürger nicht waren. Die Verschwörung von Kinadon illustriert gerade, wie gefährlich es sein wäre, wenn mutige und tatkräftige Leute von der Verwaltung beseitigt und in einen niederen Stand herabgesetzt würden, und in den Staaten besonders, wo die herrschende Klasse nicht groß ist und die aus ihr ausgeschlossenen Leute Waffen besitzen[29].

Auf die Erzählung von Xenophon zurückkommend, ist darauf hinzuweisen, es wären nicht so viele Verschwörer gewesen, die Waffen hatten und den leitenden Kern der Verschwörung ausmachten. Den auf eine richtige Weise bewaffneten Verschwörern (οἱ συντεταγμένοι) sei die waffenlose Volksmasse (ὁ ὄχλος) gegenübergestellt worden, die, wie Xenophon auslegt, im Moment des Auftretens alles Xenophon, was unter die Hände kommt, beliebige Handwerkzeuge, als Waffe ausnutzen könnte (Xen. Hell. III. 3. 7). Mit dem „Volk" werden bei Xenophon alle Kategorien der Spartabevölkerung gemeint, die in die Gemeinde der „gleichen" nicht eingeordnet waren, unter ihnen auch Hypomeiones.

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[27] Xenophon nennt Kinadon den Hypomeion nicht, er spielt daran jedoch zweimal. Erstens, wie Xenophon betont, Kinadon habe nicht dem Stande der „gleichen" gehört (Hell. III. 3. 5), zweitens, die Ziele der Verschwörung bestimmend, gibt Xenophon Kinadons Worte wieder, dieser habe die Verschwörung organisiert, „μηδενὸς ἥττων εἶναι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι" (III. 3. 11). P. Cartledge meint, das zeuge davon, dass Kinadon nicht einer der Hypomeiones sein wollte und voraussichtlich den Stand selbst zu vernichten im Begriffe war (CARTLEDGE 1979, 313).

[28] Dieser Satz von Xenophon – οἱ μὲν... κεκτήμεθα – bedeutet gar nicht, wie es P. Cartledge glaubt, die Verschwörer seien Militärangehörige gewesen und haben hoplitischen Waffen gehabt (CARTLEDGE 1979, 313 f.). Die Hypomeiones waren ja nicht im strengen Sinne des Wortes wehrdienstpflichtig. Sie waren aber von dem Pflichte nicht frei den Anordnungen der Obrigkeit zu folgen und Sonderaufträge auszuführen. Ein Beispiel dafür wäre Kinadon, der im Polizeidienst stand und selbstverständlich Waffe hatte.

[29] NEWMEN 1902, 368 f.

So waren anscheinend unter den Leitern der Verschwörung die Hypomeiones, die in den Staatsdienst wegen ihrer großen Verdienste an Spartanische Polis genommen wurden[30]. Offensichtlich waren sie nicht vom Volke, mochten sie sich auch dem Volke näherbringen. Die Menge der Hypomeiones wäre aber von Xenophon in den Begriff „Volk", „Demos" eingeordnet. Diese Bevölkerungsgruppe bildet sich in Sparta nach und nach aus verfallenen Spartiaten heraus. Ihre Zahl scheint bereits Anfang des 4. Jh. bedeutend zu sein, nicht umsonst nennt Xenophon sie in einer Reihe mit Heloten, Periöken und Neodamoden (Hell. III. 3. 6). Im Weiteren aber je eher in Sparta eine Disproportion zwischen arm und reich wuchs (Arist. Pol. II. 6. 10. 1270a 15), desto mehr traten die sogenannten „verfallenen" Spartiaten auf. Plutarch, der das Ende des Prozesses beobachtete, betont, es gäbe in Sparta zur Zeit der Reformen von Agis und Kleomenes nicht mehr als hundert Grundbesitzer, die übrige Bürgerbevölkerung sei entarte und zur kläglichen bettelarmen Menge geworden (Plut. Agis 5. 7). Wie sich Plutarch ausdrückt, diese Menge war «ἀεὶ δέ τινα καιρὸν ἐπιτηρῶν μεταβολῆς καὶ μεταστάσεως τῶν παρόντων» (5. 7). Plutarchs „ὁ ὄχλος ἄπορος καὶ ἄτιμος", den er als Σπαρτιᾶται bezeichnet, lässt uns an die Hypomeiones von Xenophon erinnern. Zum Unterschied von Xenophon[31] konnte Plutarch gewiss nicht den spartanischen technischen Terminus kennen, der für die Bezeichnung der deklassierten Spartiaten ausgenutzt wurde, er beschrieb jedoch diese Klasse genau.

Der Kreis der Rechte und Pflichten der Hypomeiones, wie wir uns ihn vorstellen könnten, wäre beschränkt genug. Sie nahmen an der Syssitien nicht teil, waren Glieder der hoplitischen Phalanx nicht. Die Aberkennung der staatsbürgerlichen Rechte breitete sich voraussichtlich auch auf andere Sphären des gesellschaftlich-politischen Lebens aus. Die Hypomeiones konnten auch kaum Wahlämter bekleiden. Ein Recht hatten sie dennoch, wie es scheint, – das Recht, an den Volksversammlungen teilzunehmen. Die Frage nach der Teilnahme der Hypomeiones an der spartanischen Apella wäre mit dem Problem der sogenannten kleinen Versammlung verbunden.

Die einzige Quelle, wo sich ἡ μικρὰ ἐκκλησία fixieren lässt, wäre Xenophons Erzählung von der Verschwörung Kinadons. Die Ephoren, wie Xenophon auslegt, wären so sehr durch die Nachricht von der Verschwörung erschrocken und wollten so schnell die

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[30] J.W. Andreew, möge er auch das Typische des Aufrückens der Hypomeiones auf die höhere Posten stark übertreiben, betont ganz richtig die Anwesenheit so einer Praxis: „Das Ausnutzen der zu dem herrschenden Stand nicht gehörigen Personen auf den höheren Posten sowohl in der Armee, als auch im administrativ-polizeilichen Apparate wäre für Sparta überhaupt in der Periode des beginnenden Verfallens typisch" (АНДРЕЕВ 1969, 27).

[31] Xenophon waren die spartanischen Realien sehr gut bekannt. Sein besonderes Interesse für die Geschichte der spartanischen Polis und für die Besonderheiten seiner Struktur drückte sich zum Beispiel in seinem Schreiben an „Lakedämonischer Politeia". Als Agesilaos' Freund und Verehrer hatte Xenophon zum Unterschied von den anderen Geschichtsschreibern eine einzigartige Möglichkeit, die spartanische Polis von innen kennenzulernen. Daher kommt die Genauigkeit von Details und Termini, daher vortreffliches Kennen der „inneren" Geschichte von Sparta, sogar solcher dunklen Seiten derselben, welche Kinadons Verschwörung oder der Plan des Staatsstreiches von Lysandros waren. Über Xenophon und sein Verhältnis zu Sparta insbesondere siehe: LIPKA 2002, 3–35; DILLERY 2009, 181–370.

Meuterei im Keim niederwerfen, dass „nicht einmal die engere Volksversammlung mochten sie zu berufen" (Xen. Hell. III. 3. 8 – τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν). Mehr wird die Engere Ekklesia nirgends erwähnt.   Xenophons Text wäre aber ein genügender Beweis dafür, dass dieses Institut wirklich bestanden habe[32]. Eine indirekte Bestätigung dieser Tatsache stellt die Inschrift aus Gythion von etwa 70. Jahren des 1. Jh. v.u.Z. dar. Es geht in ihr um eine große Apella (IG. V. 1. 1144. l. 20: δι᾽ ἃ ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις ἀπελλαῖς). K. Chrimes schreibt eine solche Benennung dem bekannten Einfluss von Sparta zu[33]. Es kommt darauf an, dass Gythion so viel wir wissen, unter anderen Städten von Periöken eine Vorzugsstellung als Marinebasis Spartas genoss (Xen. Hell. VI. 5. 32) und darum gegen den spartanischen Einfluss offen war[34].

Es fällt uns schwer, die Entstehungszeit einer kleinen Versammlung genau zu bestimmen. Der Meinung K.F. Hermanns nach entstand die ἐκκλησία μικρά, als unter den Spartiaten selbst schon die Gleichheit nicht existiert hatte[35]. Es wäre möglich, daß die Entstehung dieser für Sparta neuen Institution mit dem Wuchs der Hypomeiones – und Neodamoden – zahl am Ende des 5. Jh. auf engste verbunden war; der Bürgerstatus von den Hypomeiones und Neodamoden setzte ihre Teilnahme an der Volksversammlung voraus[36]. Einen Beleg für diese These findet man bei Plutarch in der Biographie von Agis, wo berichtet er über den quantitativen und qualitativen Bestand der spartanischen Bürgerschaft. Es stellt sich heraus, dass zur Zeit der Reformen von Agis und Kleomenes die Polarisierung der Gesellschaft ihren Höhepunkt erreichte. Auf dem einen Pol befanden sich 700 Spartiaten, von denen nur 100 eigene Kleroi hatten, auf dem anderen – die übrigen Bürger, die Plutarch „Menge", „Pöbel" nennt (Agis 5, 7). Trotzdem nimmt dieser „ὄχλος ἄπορος καὶ ἄτιμος" an den Volksversammlungen teil, die der König Agis einberief (Plut. Agis 9).

Wer waren aber diese Bürger, die jedoch Zivilrechte nicht ganz genossen? Wir glauben, es handle sich um die Hypomeiones. Der Gegensatz zwischen den Spartiaten und einfachen Bürgern oder der „Menge" Plutarchs wäre derselbe, der bei anderen Autoren mit den Namen einerseits „gleichen", andererseits – „kleineren", „schlechteren" (ὑπομείονες) bezeichnet wird, d.h. der Gegensatz zwischen den gleichberechtigten Bürgern, der Aristokratie, und den nicht vollberechtigten Bürgern, die nur dem Namen nach Bürger waren. Die letzteren

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[32] A. Andrewes sieht in der Einzigartigkeit dieser Bemerkung von Xenophon ein Zeugnis davon, dass die Engere Ekklesia unter gewöhnlichen Umständen keine besondere Rolle spielte und nur in außerordentlichen Fällen berufen wurde (ANDREWES 1966, 4 f., n.7).

[33] CHRIMES 1952, 154 f.; 284.

[34] Von der Bedeutung, die Sparta dieser periökeschen Stadt verliehen hat, zeugt der anhaltende Kampf für sie zwischen dem Tyrannen von Sparta Nabis und Philopoimen (Liv. XXXV. 12; 13, 1–3; 25, 2). Anscheinend hat Gythion den Status einer unabhängigen Polis erst unter Augustus bekommen (Paus. III. 21. 4).

[35] HERMANN 1892, 169 f.

[36] Solcher Meinung ist K. Chrimes (354 f.).   Ein entgegengesetzter Standpunkt wäre von K. Hermann und F. Hampl vertreten. Ihrer Meinung nach könnten nur Bodeneigentümer Mitglieder der spartanischen Apella sein (HERMANN 1892, 170; HAMPL 1937, 16, Anm. 2).

könnten nur an der großen Versammlung teilnehmen und seien in die Kleine nicht zugelassen worden.

In Sparta, wo die Bürger in einige Kategorien unterteilt worden waren, teilten sich anscheinend auch sie Volksversammlungen wenigstens in zwei Arten: ordinäre, oder große Volksversammlungen, und kleine, elitäre. Könnte an den ersteren die ganze Zivilbevölkerung teilnehmen, Neodamoden und Hypomeiones einschließlich, so an der letzteren – nur jede, die der Gemeinschaft der „gleichen" angehörten[37] und auch von diesen, vielleicht, nicht alle. Als Prinzip der Auslese könnte zum Beispiel das Alter dienen. Es wäre nicht ausgeschlossen, die kleine Ekklesia habe die Macht der „großen" Apella usurpiert und die letztere zur Fiktion der Volksherrschaft gemacht (vgl.: Arist. Pol. III. 1. 7. 1275b 6–8)[38]. Wäre dem so, so bedeute die Tatsache der Entstehung der kleine Ekklesia eines der zahlreichen Symptome des inneren Verfalls der Spartagesellschaft, in der «derrière la façade d′ égalité ou de "similitude" politique, on discerne la formation d'une oligarchie foncière»[39].

Zum Schluß möchten wir hervorheben, es sei der außenpolitischen Kriese Spartas, die sich am Verlust der Hegemonie im Griechenland und an der Einbuße von Messenia zeigte, die innere Kriese der Gesellschaft vorangegangen, die sich in der Verschwörung Kinadons äußerte. Die Zeichen der Kreise der Polis traten vor allem in der Veränderung der Gesamtstruktur der spartanischen Gesellschaft zutage. Das frühere dreieinheitliche System als Komponente dessen einerseits Spartiaten, andererseits Heloten und Periöken waren, verlor seinen einfachen und einstimmigen Charakter. Die Sozialbeziehungen zwischen allen Gesellschaftsgliedern werden verwickelter, und das führte zum Auftreten der neuen Mittelglieder zwischen den Klassen von Herren und Sklaven.

Ende 5. – Anfang 4. Jh. führte das Prinzip der absoluten Einheitlichkeit, zu dem sich Spartaner bekannten, und das gleiche Syssitien-Zahlungen von den schon vermögensungleichen Menschen forderte, zu schwerwiegenden Folgen, indem es die Kollektivinteressen der Gesellschaft gesprengt hatte. Eine krasse Schichtung der Bürgerkollektivs förderte die Herausbildung von der ganzen Menge der früher gleichberechtigten einer besonderen Gruppe vom herabgesetzten sozialen Status. Es waren

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[37] Es wäre leicht möglich, dass der Terminus ἔκκλητοι, den Xenophon dreimal genannt hat (Hell. II. 4. 38; V. 2. 33; VI. 3. 3), die Mitglieder der kleinen Apella bezeichnet. An allen drei Stellen, wo ekkletoi (ἔκκλητοι) erwähnt sind, geht es, wie auch im Falle Kinadons, um die dringenden Angelegenheiten. Im ersten Falle – über das Ordnungsschaffen in Athen, worunter die Abberufung und Verabschiedung Lysandros' gemeint war. Es wäre gewiss schnell zu machen, ohne große Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zu ziehen. Der zweite Fall wäre mit der verbrecherischen Tätigkeit von Phoibidas verbunden, im dritten Falle ging es um den Frieden von 371. Eine Reihe von Gelehrten halte die ekkletoi *gerade* für die Mitglieder der kleinen Ekklesia. Jene Forscher aber hätten auch das Recht, die meinen, es wäre unmöglich, beim heutigen Stand unserer Kenntnisse diese Frage endgültig zu lösen.

[38] Aristoteles hatte eine hohe Meinung von der realen Bedeutsamkeit der spartanischen Apella nicht. Er glaubte, die Volksversammlung habe in Sparta nur die „oben" gefassten Beschlüsse „gestempelt" (vgl.: Arist. Pol. II. 7. 4. 1272a 11).

[39] WILL 1972, 444.

die sogenannten Hypomeiones. Das Vorhandensein von dieser Gruppe zeugt von einem tiefen, bis zurzeit verborgenen Vorgang der sozialökonomischen Ausartung der Gesellschaft. Der Prozess des Auseinanderfallens des Bürgerkollektivs, der zur dramatischen Verringerung der gleichberechtigten Bürger, Homoioi, und zur Verminderung der Bürgerlandwehr führte, hat Sparta gezwungen, nach einem Ausweg aus der entstandenen Situation zu suchen. Allein das für Sparta gewöhnliche Suchen nach Palliativmitteln in einer Situation, die der radikalen Einmischung in den Verlauf der Dinge bedurfte, bedeutete einen neuen künstlichen Versuch, diese Situation zu überwinden: der Staat, dem ein Teil seiner Bürgerschaft entzogen wurde, versuchte, diesen Verlust durch das Kooptieren aus der Zahl der Heloten neue Bürger, Neodamoden, aufzufüllen. Solch eine primitive Lösung eines schwierigen sozialen Problems konnte nicht zu erwarteten Resultaten führen.

Das Neodamodenexperiment, das ein halbes Jahrhundert gedauert hatte, scheiterte. In der Person von den Neodamoden bekam Sparta einen schlechter Ersatz für die bürgerliche Landwehr.

Diese Maß nahmen des spartanischen Staates, die auf die Aufbewahrung seiner Bürgerschaft zielten, waren ganz künstlicher, unbestimmter Natur und darum von geringer Wirkung. Es mussten noch anderthalb Jahrhunderte verfließen, Sparta musste fast alle seine Bürger einbüßen, bevor der Staat schließlich jene archaische Zensussystem bei der Bestimmung der Zivilrechte abschaffte, das in Athen zum Beispiel bereits an der Grenze zwischen Archaik und Klassik aufgehoben worden war.

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Kalokagathia: to a Question on Formation of an Image of the Ideal Person in Antiquity and During Modern Time

Elena NIKITYUK [1]

Abstract. *This paper is devoted to the analysis of the phenomenon of kalokagathia, developed by the Greek writers and philosophers in 5th–4th centuries BC The term kalokagathia combines two adjectives, with kalos designating outward, and agathos — inward perfection. The resulting neologism—a word-combination—denotes a predicate of perfection, with no existing synonyms to express the notion of virtue in the Greek lexicon at that time. For the upbringing of the ideal person, leisure (schole) was necessary, which in this slaveholding society was available to all free citizens. The author of the paper emphasises that during the Archaic period kalos kagathos was the self-determination of aristocracy, while during the Classical period the term acquired more generalized semantic value and was applied to worthy citizens of all strata of society. The specificity of the term kalokagathia was most fully developed in the writings of Thucydides and Xenophon. Thus, in Sparta kalos kagathos designated the ideal soldier, whereas in Athens — the ideal person and the citizen. The author of paper considers it difficult to give an adequate translation of the terms kalokagathia and kalos kagathos; therefore, it would be more rational to transliterate both of them. In the modern-day society, the concept of the ideal person appears to be in demand again, mainly within the framework for developing therapeutic sports and education system for the younger generations.*

Rezumat. *Această lucrare este dedicată analizei fenomenului kalokagathiei, dezvoltat de scriitorii și filozofii greci în secolele V–IV a.Chr. Termenul kalokagathia combină două adjective, kalos desemnând perfecțiune exterioară, și agathos – perfecțiune interioară. Pentru creșterea persoanei ideale, a fost necesar un timp liber (forță), care în această societate a sclavilor era disponibil pentru toți cetățenii liberi. Autoarea lucrării subliniază că, în perioada arhaică, kalos kagathos a reprezentat autodeterminarea aristocrației, în timp ce în perioada clasică termenul a dobândit o valoare semantică mai generalizată și a fost aplicat cetățenilor tuturor straturilor societății. Specificitatea termenului kalokagathia a fost dezvoltată cel mai mult în scrierile lui Tucidide și Xenofon. Astfel, în Sparta, kalos kagathos a desemnat soldatul ideal, în timp ce în Atena – persoana ideală și cetățeanul. Autoarea lucrării consideră că este dificil să se dea o traducere adecvată a termenilor kalokagathia și kalos kagathos; prin urmare, ar fi mai adecvat să le transliterăm pe amândouă.*

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Sometimes it seems to us, the people of the 21st century—a century of super-power computers and nanotechnologies—, that antiquity has completely sunk into oblivion. Yet, at times, we are amazed to realize that many questions that were of great importance for the ancient Greeks more than two millennia back, are still relevant in the modern-day society. These questions include a problem of the individual as a full-fledged member of society. For this reason, the phenomenon of ancient *kalokagathia* continues to evoke the interest of researchers in different fields — history, philosophy, sociology, psychology, ethics, aesthetics, and medicine. At each stage of the development of any human society, not only the corresponding system of values is developed, but also social, ethical and aesthetic assessment criteria are defined. The structure of moral values of the ancient Greeks differed considerably from ours and in many important aspects[2]. Thus, for example, modern societies lack conscious aspiration for the development of a universal ideal; and there is only perception of necessity of a set of moral and physical qualities that distinguish a person, essential for the maintaining viability of human community as a whole. And yet, despite some cardinal distinctions between ancient and modern societies, it is the development of the notion of an ideal type of a human being by the Greeks that we may rightly consider the greatest contribution of the ancient civilization to the development of the European humanist culture of the modern period.

During classical antiquity 'the ideal person' should have possessed, above all, political valour, which was usually designated by the term *arete*. It was such a person who was regarded as a worthy citizen of the city-state. The economy based on slave-owning provided plenty of free time (*schole*) to the wealthy members of the civil society. Besides, in the democratic states there was a system of considerable financial and social support to the middle and lower strata, who were also provided with leisure (*schole*). Thus, leisure time free from physical work (*schole*) was a basis and a prerequisite for acquiring the qualities of the ideal person and citizen. The meaning of the *arete* changed in accordance with the stages of development of the Greek society: heroic *arete* was characteristic of the Homeric period followed by aristocratic *arete* — featured in the archaic period, while the notion of political *arete* appeared as late as in the classical period. However, despite its different characteristics, in essence, *arete* denoted development of a more or less elevated aristocratic ethical ideal. Even in the democratic states *arete* had aristocratic characteristics as it reflected the elitism of the civil collective as opposed to other members of society — slaves, metics, foreigners. Remarkably, a particular aesthetic ideal was developed not only in literature, but also in fine arts. Thus, in sculpture of the high classical period a type of the ideal human body portraying gods and heroes was prevalent, with even Olympic winners' portraits often complying to the ideal. In architecture, the golden ratio rule, which was to form the basis of classical

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[2] CREED 1973, 213.

architecture, was developed. In town planning, the grid of parallel and perpendicular streets of the Huppodamian Plan gained currency.

In the 5th century BC, in addition to the concept of *arete* associated with human perfection, another term—*kalos kai agathos* (καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός) and its compound form *kalos kagathos* (καλὸς κἀγαθός)—gradually obtained the currency[3]. When exactly the fixed combination of the adjectives *kalos* and *agathos* to express the idea of the ideal person became a set expression it is difficult to say. According to some researchers, it was unlikely to happen until after 500 BC[4]. In the works of the ancient authors we may find more than ten different variants of these two adjectives in various combinations, both in singular and in plural[5]. Additionally, a compound noun — kalokagathia *(καλοκάγαθία)*[6] was formed, first found in the text of 'The History' by Herodotus (I, 30)[7]. As it stands, it was possible to reach *kalokagathia* only by means of good education, this idea was expressed by the term *paideia*, while having *schole* was a key prerequisite.

The adjectives combined in this term are very different. Thus, the adjective *agathos* has a complex, polysemantic content; yet, it had already acquired then political, social, ethical connotations. The other adjective—*kalos*—is a household word used not only to describe an attractive person's appearance, but also to talk about the beauty of various objects and natural phenomena. In combining these two adjectives a new word combination was created, designating a predicate of perfection, with no existing synonyms to encompass the notion of virtue in the Greek vocabulary. Such a neologism intended for expression of human value is unique. It could only appear as a result of realisation of the need to express new or, at least, very differed from existed prior concepts employed for the purposes of understanding of the human being[8]. The concept of *kaloi kagathoi*, by analogy with similar ancient terms, such as *aristoi, beltistoi*, etc., very soon came to mean not just the ideal or perfect individuals, but aristocrats, representatives of social elite. Interestingly, this complex concept proved to be predisposed to further semantic shifts and enrichment in accordance with the development of political literature and political language of the ancient Greeks. Initially it was a fixed phrase used by representatives of aristocratic families to refer to itself, but soon its semantic content widened, acquired generalized meaning and began to be applied to worthy citizens of any class. The assumption that *kalos kagathos* remained a narrow-social aristocratic term for a long time is not confirmed by ancient sources[9].

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[3] DONLAN 1973, 365–374; LOSEV 1960, 411–475.

[4] DONLAN 1973, 368.

[5] WANKEL 1961, 148–156.

[6] BERLAGE 1932, 20; BOURRIOT 1995, *passim*.

[7] DONLAN 1973, 374; GOMME 1953, 66; BERLAGE 1932, 22–23.

[8] DONLAN 1973, 366.

[9] DONLAN 1973, 373–374.

Nonetheless, *kalos kagathos* was the favourite self-denomination of the upper classes during the 5th century BC, which most likely implied rather than designated personal qualities with the unconditional priority of birth and education. This epithet was not an honorific, applied to name people individually, it was not hereditary, although mere belonging to the upper classes could have guaranteed the necessary education, therefore granting *kalokagathia*. It was used by the Athenians to convey the meaning of perfection in almost every respect — the beauty of a human body combined with valour of spirit, insight with wit, nobleness with generosity. For the Spartans, *kalokagathia* had a narrower semantic value, with prevailing qualities being military valour, bravery, courage and patriotism[10]. Yet, by default, the outward was important for the Spartans too; it was not about physical beauty per se though, it was fitness that was emphasized, as it was impossible for the unfit to excel in combat. On the other hand, intellectual sphere must have been also appreciated, even if not prioritized; otherwise, there would not have been so much evidence of the Spartan wit bursting with humour and understanding of human psychology. In the 4th Century BC, the semantic content of this term shifted — there was a lesser degree of sociopolitical connotation in it as it gradually acquired the meaning of ethical perfection.

In the modern research literature there are different points of view on the word combination *kalos kagathos* including indication of its vague meaning and explanations of the usage of the two adjectives separately. Thus, in translation, either a literal translation of both adjectives 'noble and good' is used, or a noun 'gentleman' as English equivalents, there can even be found a variant 'gentleman farmer'. The latter emphasises the notion of a lifestyle — it is a nobly born man who skilfully manages his big landed property, which highlights his aristocratism, as well as intellectual and moral excellence. In fact, such definition of *kalos kagathos* conforms to the image of the nobility of the Archaic period. Members of aristocratic families then owned land and horses, they were warriors-horsemen, they cultivated the beauty and strength of their bodies, participated sport competitions and indulged in feasts where poets glorified the feats and *arete* of Homeric heroes[11]. More often, however, *kalos kagathos* is translated into English as 'perfect gentleman'. In the Francophone sources we typically find the literal translation of the two adjectives — 'beaux et bons' (beautiful and good), as well as 'honnête homme', 'comme il faut', or 'gentilhomme' (a nobly born, well-bred person, whose wealth supports his elegant lifestyle)[12]. In German translations we find either a word combination 'schön und gut' (beautiful and good) or a noun 'Landjunker' (with the meaning similar to the English coinage 'gentleman farmer'). In German sources, there are also two common transliterations — *kalokagathia* or *kalokagathie*[13]. In Russian, the term is

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[10] BOURRIOT 1996, 129–140.

[11] ADKINS 1960, 337 ff.

[12] BOURRIOT 1996, 129; See also fuller selection of possible variants: DONLAN 1980, 3 ff.

[13] WANKEL 1974, 250 ff.

translated by means of various adjectives describing best human qualities: 'fine in every respect', 'noble', 'the person of the high moral principles', 'kind and honest', 'good', 'beautiful and kind', 'the perfect person'. Nevertheless, all these translations into English, French, German and Russian should be considered provisional as they fail to convey the meaning of the Greek *kalokagathia* adequately, being rather a rendering / liberal interpretation of a particular passage from the text of an ancient author. Therefore, as there has not been found adequate equivalents for these specific Greek terms so far, I believe, it would be advisable that we use transliterations (*kalokagathia, kalos kagathos*) for that purpose. Moreover, the fact that we use plenty of other transliterated terms of Greek origin in our speech, often without giving it a single thought (e.g. philosophy, rhetoric, etc.), also counts in favour of this suggestion.

The main reason why it is impossible to offer a unified translation of the term *kalokagathia* lies in its complex semantic connotations that we find in works of the Greek authors of the Archaic and Classical periods. To begin with, it should be noted that Homer used neither the compound *kalokagathia*, nor the set expression *kalos kai agathos.* To express the notion of personal excellence of an individual and his valour *arete* was used, which formed the basis for military feats[14]. As for the adjective *kalos*, Homer does use it in his writings, but referring to the appearance only — mainly, physical beauty[15]. The adjective *agathos* is typically used by Homer to describe a deity or a hero[16]. Theognis of Megara, one of the best representatives of the Archaic period, vividly depicted in his poems the aristocratic ideal of a person who follows the code of honour based on the Homeric *arete.* In Theognis the adjective *agathos* (translated as 'kind, noble') had already acquired the clear sematic connotation of ethical quality typical of a certain social group. Additionally, although Theognis never uses *agathos* and *kalos* together, separately they are frequent enough. During the Archaic period, physical beauty is more and more often linked to the aristocratic *arete.* It is quite natural for aristocrats with their life free from hard labour, devoted mainly to sports, feasts, and self-care. Yet, even for the nobility, physical beauty and *arete* do not always go hand in hand. It is given only to the elite, best of the best, as Theognis puts it 'happy is the man who has both of them' (933–934).

Another author of the 6th century BC, Solon of Athens, advised his fellow-citizens: 'Keep your moral *kalokagathia* stronger than your oath' (Diels[4], 73 a 3). Despite the lack of indicative context for this phrase, most likely, there is no antithesis of internal and external qualities and *kalokagathia* conveys only moral and ethical values. Bias of Priene recommended: 'You should look into a mirror: if you look fine, do fine things; if you look ugly, correct by means of *kalokagathia* the defect of your nature' (Diels[4], 45 d 5). In this fragment, outward and

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[14] ADKINS 1960, *passim*; ADKINS 1971, 1–14; LONG 1970, 123, cf. 137.

[15] DONLAN 1973, 370.

[16] BERLAGE 1932, 22.

inner perfection demand achieving harmony by means of proper behaviour. In case of outward, i.e. physical, defects, it is necessary to counteract the nature and compensate for the external deficiencies by inward virtues. Thus, reflections on harmony and disharmony of external and internal, physical and ethical, were characteristic of the Greek mentality since the early times. Initially, the identification of a person as *kalos kai agathos* was used as self-designation only by some representatives of the aristocracy. Later on, however, with the diminishing importance of aristocracy in the public and political life of the Greek cities this term began to acquire a more generalized meaning, soon to be applied to worthy citizens of any class.

The ancient poetry—Homer and lyrical poets—became main sources for the writers of the Classical period, where they draw inspiration, ideas and images. Thus, Thucydides in his 'History' uses *kaloi kagathoi* twice. The situations described by Thucydides are different, but in both cases this term has a political connotation[17]. In the first fragment this definition is used to refer to the Spartans (IV, 40). Existence of the concept of *kalokagathia* in Sparta is testified by other authors as well. For instance, Xenophon writes that the Spartans ascribed the imposing of *kalokagathia* to Lycurgus (Xen. Lac. Pol., 10, 4). According to Aristotle, in Sparta, it is from *kaloi kagathoi* that the supreme state city councillors (*gerontes* and *ephors*), as well as tutors of the youth (*paidonomes*) were elected (Pol., 1270 b 24, cf. 1306 a 18–19; Plut. Lyc., 17, 2)[18]. As it is known, Sparta had a specific form of government; therefore, *kalokagathia* was acquired by the Spartans only in battle and denoted, above all, military skills[19]. In Sparta—in all periods of its history—*kalokagathia* had sociopolitical connotation and was considered the main characteristic of the Spartan aristocracy[20]. In the second fragment Thucydides uses *kaloi kagathoi* to describe the supporters of the Athenian coup of 411 BC Not only does Thucydides define them as people influential, the oligarchs, but also as the 'so-called fine and noble' (VIII, 48, 6). The connection of this concept with the nobly born and wealthy elite, i.e. with the aristocracy, is obvious here. By the 5th century BC, the term *kalokagathia* had already become a fixed expression with clear sociopolitical connotations. The use of the expression 'so-called' by Thucydides demonstrates his negative attitude towards the leaders of oligarchic revolution of 411 BC on account of their foul ambition and egoism. Therefore, he could not have referred to them as *kaloi kagathoi* without necessary excuses to the reader implying that the Athenian oligarchs arrogated the right to use this epithet as it describes the high moral qualities that they lacked.

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[17] GOMME 1953, 66.

[18] RAHE 1980, 386–387.

[19] BOURRIOT 1996, 135.

[20] GOMME 1953, 65–68.

Some essential corrections in the usage and semantic value of the term *kalokagathia* were brought in the 4th century BC. Thus, Aristophanes, the author of the Attic comedies, uses *kalos kagathos* repeatedly in a wider sense —'excellent', 'worthy' (Equ., 735; Nub., 101, 794, etc.), 'beautiful' (Nub., 102–105), 'the honest man' (Equ., 180–185, 227–230). But more importantly, in one of his late comedies—'Frogs' (405 BC)—Aristophanes uses this expression to name a particular social category — people of a noble birth and high moral qualities, citizens of the old school, as opposed to the new foul political upstarts like Cleon (718–732). Hence, it appears obvious from this fragment that the term *kalos kagathos* gradually acquires qualities of a set expression, a kind of a social cliché.

In the 4th century BC, amid the deepening social and political crisis, philosophy played extremely important role in the development of the concept *kalokagathia*. Many ancient authors include a theme of the ideal person in the system of more general reasonings — in the doctrine of the perfect society and state, which, in their opinion, ought to cultivate and reproduce the ideal citizen by means of adequate upbringing and education system. Socrates and his followers—Xenophon, Plato, Isocrates, and later Aristotle—developed the theory of the perfect society cantered around a perfect person—both the citizen, and the governor—based on the existing system of *polis*.[21] In their doctrine about such a desirable society, everything appeared interconnected in one unbreakable circuit: the ideal state, the ideal person, the ideal system of upbringing and education. The perfect state was built upon the community of perfect people carefully selected for this purpose, while these people were creations of a well-planned and meticulously developed education and upbringing system, which was thereafter implemented across the entire state. Indeed, the first link in this closed chain of ideas was of utmost importance — without its specification the whole system would lose its sense and become a utopia. However, each philosophical school and each thinker defined this first link in a different way, some—by proceeding from their understanding of the fundamental role of the state (Platon, Aristotle), the others—by reducing the decision of the problem to the formation of the perfect person (Socrates and his followers).

Let's consider in more detail works of Xenophon, an outstanding writer and the follower of Socrates, who played a significant role in specification of the concept of *kalokagathia*[22]. In his works, Xenophon depicts the ideal person from different perspective: firstly, as an abstract individual whose main characteristic is *kalokagathia*[23]; secondly, he gives a series of concrete examples of historical or pseudo-historical figures who were portrayed as the embodiment of his ideal. In his small treatise 'Oeconomicus,' Xenophon shows an abstract ideal person[24]. The content of this dialogue is derived from a conversation of Socrates with

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[21] The literature on these authors is huge, see, for example: KENNY 2002, 9–13.

[22] WEIL 1902, 118–121; DELEBECQUE 1957; WOOD 1964, 33–66; ROSCALLA 2004, 115– 124; DE SOUSA 2013, 231–245.

[23] DANZIG 2016, 132–151.

[24] HOBDEN 2016, 152–173.

one of his listeners, Critobulus, about a most preferable vocation for a nobleman. Xenophon, however, does not provide a land management manual, but a sort of lifestyle management guide for aristocrats[25]. The story line of one of the characters—Ischomachus—gives Xenophon the opportunity to explore the concept of *kalos kagathos* repeatedly and from different perspectives (6, 12). Xenophon formulates four main principles of behaviour of the ideal owner and person: 1) shy away from false decorum, acting to please to crowd; 2) learn to supervise other members of the household; 3) have *schole*; 4) be obedient and tidy. In these reasonings the availability of leisure (*schole*) is associated with mental, physical and psychological traits of a person. In another Xenophon's writing—'Cyropaedia'—we read about the ideal education system developed by the Persians, which was *de jure* opened to all children, but *de facto* it is accessible only to those whose fathers could allow their offspring not to work (I, 2.15). Thus, leisure (*schole*) is not a time for idleness or even for literary studies, but the time for self-improvement and service for the good of the state[26].

Relating the story of Ischomachus Xenophon meticulously explores the concept of *kalos kagathos*: he is a nobleman of independent means, a large land owner and an active, influential citizen of the state, i.e. *aner politikos*, as opposed to a person who only demonstrates personal excellence of body and spirit. Indeed, *kalos kagathos* is not a honorific, nor is it an inherent characteristic of a social stratum, it rather ascertains the fact of awareness of the merits and achievements of a particular person, regardless of his social status and background. The ideal owner Ischomachus displays the corresponding moral values, including diligence, honesty, decency, trustworthiness, moderation, and generosity (2, 5, 7). Not only is Ischomachus an excellent athlete and, certainly, a soldier, but he is also a person possessing a highly-developed intellect and moral values, as well as a brilliant manager, capable of maintaining the perfect order both in his family and the household. Elitism of the term *kalos kagathos*, revealed in 'Oeconomicus', was stressed by Xenophon in his other works; for example, in 'Hiero' (10), where the powerful ruler is recommended to show concern for the interests of the nobly born (*kaloi kagathoi*) — large land owners and slaveholders. In 'The Greek history' (II, 3), the Athenian elite who fell victim to the terrorist government of the Thirty, is also referred to as the noble (*kaloi kagathoi*). Nonetheless, from the reasonings in 'Oeconomicus' we see how deeply Xenophon perceived the social nature of *kalokagathia*. When he explores the conceptual terms in depth, or when he at times notes that 'good' (*agathos*) characterises the perfection of the spirit, while 'fine' (*kalos*) — the perfection of the body (see, for example, Xen. Mem., II, 6, 30), he may remember that the double perfection is based on the prerequisites of gentility and wealth. Thus, according to Xenophon, the concept of personal perfection—*kalokagathia*—designates a synthesis of physical and moral perfection.

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[25] JOHNSTONE 1994, 229.

[26] JOHNSTONE 1994, 240.

Xenophon employs characters of governors in his works 'Hiero' and 'Cyropaedia' as examples of pseudo-historical ideal figures. In 'Hiero,' in a story narrated by the poet Simonides of Ceos portrayed there as a character, we find an image of the ideal ruler as opposed to the usual tyrant. Here high value is placed on the mutual agreement between the monarch and his aristocratic environment. According to Xenophon, the monarch's mission is to protect the interests of the noble and wealthy, who are figuratively named *kaloi kagathoi.* In return, they are to support and protect such an exemplary governor. In 'Cyropaedia,' the protagonist is Cyrus the Great, the founder of the first Persian Empire[27]. The title— 'Cyropaedia'—is rightly translated as 'The Instruction of Cyrus' since this work tells in great detail about the ideal education system required for the creation—by means of careful step-by-step selection—of the aristocratic elite, with the first place saved for the ruler-conqueror and the founder of the new state. Cyrus the Great, as well as other noble Persians, is presented as a brilliant, physically flawless and highly-skilled soldier. Thus, in 'Cyropaedia' we find the synthesis of the most significant ideas that inspired the Greek elite in the 4th century BC, with Xenophon himself being their spokesman. Here we can also detect a theme of the ideal state, called to serve the interests of the aforementioned elite, a theme of the ideal politician — the ruler capable of creating and preserving such a state, and, lastly, a theme of the proper upbringing, necessary to raise the ideal person — both the governor and the citizen.

It is also necessary that we note the originality of Xenophon's interpretation of the concept of the ideal person *kalos kagathos* in his writings is a bizarre synthesis of the time-honoured aristocratic values with moral and intellectual requirements to the human being introduced in the philosophy of Socrates, as well as Xenophon's orientation towards vigorous sociopolitical activity. Xenophon's position, indeed, has something in common with the sophists' orientation of a strong personality towards success. Yet, the sophists' promoted success mostly for the sake of success, with its rationale being purely technical (knowledge of politics and rhetoric), without support of any high idea. Whereas Socrates, above all, promoted spiritual perfection without any practical application of success. Only in Xenophon's works we observe an apposite combination of the technical practicality of the sophists, the refinement of Socrates' philosophy and the main sociopolitical concepts introduced by the elite of the Greek city state in the 4th century BC Hence typical for Xenophon merge of the traditional aristocratic values and super modern political ideas including *kalokagathia.*

Many ideas of the Greek authors were later on borrowed and developed by the thinkers of the Renaissance, thus contributing to the formation of the humanistic ideal in the European culture. In our difficult times, when the modern civilization has hit a dead-end with regard to

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[27] TAMIOLAKI 2016, 174–194.

many ethical and moral dilemmas, there appears to be a need to return to its sources and, above all, to the Greek culture[28]. Under conditions of ubiquitous globalisation the relationship between public and personal interests and, consequently, the qualities of an individual gain in importance. It is exactly for this reason that culture in general and education in particular play significant role at each stage of historical development with regard to establishing a system of individual and collective values. The culture has ampler opportunities and can express values and ideas which are not necessarily compatible to the establishment — this phenomenon is often observed in the works of modern literature, fine arts and theatre. The prevailing social paradigm, unlike culture, at least in its key parameters, should be compatible to the existing establishment. Any discoordination in this respect may lead to social instability[29]. Development of such a social paradigm represents a big problem, which the East and the West attempt to solve differently by establishing the national education systems. However, developing the right education system when the young people are preoccupied with the Internet and social networks appears to be extremely difficult. It is when *paideia* in its classical, i.e. ancient understanding—as a combination of upbringing and education—may prove to be invaluable.

Attempts to apply the principles of upbringing and education, developed by the ancient Greeks have been regularly made, though not always successfully[30]. Sometimes a paradoxical situation may occur when the term *kalokagathia* is used just as a beautiful word regardless of its internal value. Consequently, a certain modern myth has been created[31] followed by the emergence of personal blogs in the Internet[32], collections of apparel and clothing[33], cosmetic and relaxation programs by the name of Kalokagathia[34]. Unfortunately, even with a more serious attitude to the phenomenon of the Greek *kalokagathia* its basis — a harmonious combination of inward and outward perfection is not infrequently overlooked. In different times and in different social strata, only one of the two constituents of the concept of *kalokagathia* tend to prevail. For example, in the Russian culture of the 18th–19th centuries, the achievement of personal kalokagathia was regarded as a prerequisite of the correct spiritual development and self-improvement. Poet Vasiliy Zhukovskiy in his ballads formulates the notion of an ideal person, the embodiment of good and moral perfection, and thence 'spiritual knighthood' becomes a constant theme of the Russian literature and philosophy for

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[28] BARROTTA 2015, passim; LIMONE 2018, 7–67.

[29] FOTOPOULOS 2012, 82.

[30] Some time in Croatia even the specialized magazine on pedagogics with the heading «Kalokagathia — Journal for Social and Education Issues» (URL: *hrcak.srce.hr/kalokagathia*) was published.

[31] KYSUČAN 2008, 30.

[32] E.g., *http://fermicomeniusbilaterale.blogspot.com/2008/12/our-own-kalokagathia-rules-by-sara.html*.

[33] E.g., *http://www.schick-in.de/Schick_und_In/Angela_Toennies_Exposee_Design_Concept_screen*.

[34] E.g., *https://www.hotelgolfi.cz/en/weekend-packages/kalokagathia-weekend*.

many decades to follow[35]. There were also other adherents of the Greek *kalokagathia* who understood it exclusively as the achievement of the outward perfection. Most vividly such attitude can be observed in sports. For example, the modern Czech philosopher of sport Irena Martínková defines the term in such a way that its dichotomy is completely absent. Martínková defines *kalokagathia* merely as 'beautiful and good movement' or even uses little a rather strange word combination 'movement of the truth'[36].

Much deeper understanding of the concept of the ancient *kalokagathia* and its significance for human development was demonstrated in the 19th century by Pierre de Coubertin, who formulated the principles of the modern Olympic movement (1894)[37]. Moreover, the idea of the revival of the notion of human perfection in the context of a new, 'spiritual' orientation of recreational sports appears to be gaining currency in some circles of the modern society. Hence, not only ideas and reasonings of the ancient Greeks, but also the term *kalokagathia* prove to be in demand[38]. Scientific discoveries and advancements of the late 20th century, particularly, in fundamental physics and biology bear evidence of the utmost importance of both physical and moral education for the modern-day individual. This formed the basis for an initiative of the international group of scientists who decided to revive the idea of the ancient *kalokagathia*. In Russia the supporters of this movement selected St. Petersburg as a venue for their actions[39]. In 1997, a special Greek delegation led by the mayor of Akharne, Anastasis Mystakatos, visited St. Petersburg to discuss this particular question[40]. The delegation included representatives of the main political parties of Greece, mayors of important Greek cities, including the mayor of the legendary Marathon. In 2000, in Athens, the Council of the governors of East Attica, the International Club of scientists and the International Federation of Shaping reached the final agreement; thus, officially launching the revival of *kalokagathia* and the start-up of joint Russian-Greek events promoting the initiative. St. Petersburg—where the restoration initiative began—was chosen as the capital of the revived *kalokagathia*.

In accordance with the reached agreements, annual *Kalokagathia*-marathons were held since 1997 for more than 10 years. The symbols of *Kalokagathia*-marathons include: wheat grains — they symbolise thoughts implanted in human minds by the thinkers-humanists of the past; green branches — symbolising the younger generations, since it is for the good young people that this marathon is held. Thirdly, the young men run dressed in Greek national costume to convey the idea that the seeds planted by the ancient Greeks have

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[35] YANUSHKEVICH 2015, 189.

[36] MARTÍNKOVÁ 2008, 53–62.

[37] LOLAND 1995, 49–78; LENK 2007, 39–47.

[38] DOMBROWSKI 2009.

[39] See *http://www.shaping.ru/kalokagathia*, *http://www.kalokagathia.ru*.

[40] Akharne is an area of Athenes where during ancient times the well-known Platon's Academy was situated.

produced new growth. Participants in the marathon start from the square in front of the Alexandro-Nevskaya Lavra and finish in the stadium 'Petrovsky'. By the moment of their arrival at the stadium the festivities celebrating beauty and health will have begun. Hymns to shaping, bodybuilding, Tae Kwon Do, acrobatic rock-and-roll are performed. The audience could see demonstrations of aerobics, Tae Kwon Do and shaping. The main idea of a marathon is to produce, so to speak, 'good fruits' — i.e. to make a healthy lifestyle the ideology of youth. The main goal of the marathon is to find a way for improvement of physical and spiritual health of the young people. The urgency of taking actions in this direction is based on the fact that youth health issues have reached critical levels, beyond which birth defects in the following generations are more than probable.

Apart from *Kalokagathia*-marathon, there are other events organised. Thus, since 1999 a special contest 'Miss *Kalokagathia*' has been held as a part of the beauty pageant 'Miss St. Petersburg'. In October 2000, the first 'Modern kalokagathia week' was held in St. Petersburg, with its motto being 'The New millennium — the new physics — new technologies — healthy and beautiful person — a happy society.' The same year within the framework of the 'Modern kalokagathia weeks' an Internet forum 'Moral values. Modern perceptions' took place. At this forum, representatives of various confessions, scholars and researchers answered the questions of the Internet users about a healthy lifestyle. In April 2003, in the Greek Olympia, the special Russian-Greek commission made a decision to organise an International Kalokagathia Committee under the patronage of the Ministry of culture and sports of Greece with the participation of representatives of Russia. According to a Committee member, 'this decision summarised the discussions about a possible role the ancient Greek *kalokagathia* can play in the modern civilization — the idea that the perfect person is the one who unites both beauty and goodness.'

As it stands, in spite of the enormous interest demonstrated by the modern science and society in the phenomenon of the ancient *kalokagathia*, there is no denying that torn from its roots *kalokagathia* cannot be fully realised. At the same time, the concept of education of a perfect person developed by the ancient Greeks has a huge potential, and even if implemented only partially, it will be extremely advantageous to the future generations.

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On the Representation and Self-representation of the Argead Rulers (before Alexander the Great): the Title *Basileus*

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Abstract. *In this article, the author considers the use of the title basileus in relation to the Macedonian monarchs before Alexander the Great. He shows that the evidence we have does not prove the point that the Argeads ruling prior to the reign of Philip II bore the formal title basileus. As to Philip, it is not ruled out that some epigraphic documents attest the employment of the title basileus under him. Nevertheless, none of them can be regarded as irrefutable proof in the relation, and therefore it has to be recognized that at the present the question of Philip's use of the official title basileus remains open.*

Rezumat. *Autorul consideră că termenul de basileus a fost folosit pentru monarhii macedoneni înainte de Alexandru cel Mare. El demonstrează că evidența pe care o avem la dispoziție nu arată că Argeazii care au domnit înainte de Filip al II-lea au împrumutat titlul formal de basileus. În ceea ce-l privește pe Filip, nu este exclus ca anumite documente epigrafice să ateste folosirea titlului de basileus. Cu toate acestea, utilizarea acestui titlu sub Filip al II-lea rămâne încă o chestiune deschisă.*

Keywords: Macedonia, kingship, title *basileus*, Argeads, Philip II**.**

Introduction

One of the principal issues that modern historians addressing to the title *basileus* in connection with the Argead Macedonian monarchs[2] have tried to clear up is when these monarchs began for the first time to use it with a fully official value. While the use of the formal title *basileus* by Alexander the Great (and his immediate successors) is not in doubt in

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[2] See e.g. AYMARD 1948, 232–263; 1950, 61–97; ERRINGTON 1974, 20–37; GOUKOWSKY 1978, 182; GRIFFITH 1979, 387–389; LE ROY 1980, 57–61; HAMMOND 1988, 382–391; 1990, 167–175; 1994, 385–387; BADIAN 1989, 64–70; 1993, 131–139; 1994, 388–390; 1996, 11–12; BOSWORTH 1993, 420; HATZOPOULOS 1995, 171–176; CARNEY 1995, 370–371; BORZA 1999, 12–15; ARENA 1999, 77–98; 2003, 49–82; 2004–2005, 211–226; 2007, 293–326; 2011, 135–170; 2013, 48–79; ANSON 2009, 279–280; 2013, 20; KING 2010, 375; LANE FOX 2011, 359–360; MUCCIOLI 2013, 38–39; GREENWALT 2015, 338; MÜLLER 2016, 26–27, 326.

scholarship[3], its employment in Macedonia in the earlier period remains the subject of controversy. In the present article, I intend to turn to this issue once more and hence to ascertain—as far as the extant evidence permits—whether the Argeads ruling before Alexander bore the formal title *basileus*, or its use was just his radical innovation. In addition, I believe that both my conclusions and the overview of evidence I give below (which is most complete for the time being, to my knowledge) can be useful to those who will subsequently try to contribute to our knowledge of the issue under consideration here in general or of one of its aspects in particular.

Evidence and its interpretation

Before Philip II

Epigraphic evidence

Among those few inscriptions that refer to the Argead rulers before Philip II, there is not a single stone where one of them is recorded with the title *basileus*. In these inscriptions, they are referred to by name alone, in some cases with patronymic: a series of Athenian decrees concerning Methone, where Perdiccas II is mentioned, 430/29–424/3[4] (IG I[3] 61. ll. 18, 27, 47–48, 50 = Syll.[3] 75; Tod 61; ML 65)[5]; alliance between Perdiccas II and Athens, *ca.* 435–*ca.* 413 (IG I[3] 89. ll. 9, 15–16, 25, [26], 35, 38, [40–42], 43, [55], 56, [57], 60)[6]; Athenian decree in honour of Archelaus, 407/6 (RO II 188. ll. [25], [33] = IG I[3] 117; Tod 91; ML 91); alliance between Amyntas III and the Chalcidians, 390s–380s (RO I 12. ll. 1–2, 5–6, 8, 13, 20, 25, [26] = Syll.[3] 135; Tod 111; Hatz. 1)[7]; alliance between Amyntas III and Athens, 375–373 (Tod 129. ll. 2, [5–6], 14, [20], 21 = IG II[2] 102; Syll.[3] 157); list of *theorodokoi* from Epidaurus, where Perdiccas III is recorded, 360–359 (IG IV 1[2] 94b. l. 9 = PERLMAN 2000, 177–179 [E.1])[8].

At the same time, one of the listed inscriptions (heavily damaged) can attract attention, namely an alliance between Perdiccas II and the Athenians. It is noteworthy that the word

[3] On the use of the title *basileus* by Alexander the Great, see in detail KHOLOD 2020, forthcoming.

[4] All dates are BC/BCE.

[5] For the dating of these decrees, apart from the commentaries on them in the indicated editions, see HAMMOND 1979a, 124–125; ROISMAN 2010, 148–149.

[6] This alliance has been dated variously in scholarship. A useful summary of the relevant views, accompanying the arguments in favour of *ca.* 423: BORZA 1992, 153. n. 56; his arguments: 153–155, 295. Likewise, now see particularly MÜLLER 2017, 192–196 (with further literature).

[7] Tod and Hatzopoulos (in their commentaries on the inscription) as well as a number of other scholars relate this alliance to *ca.* 393. I follow Rhodes and Osborne (commentary) who are more cautious in its dating. Thus too: ROISMAN 2010, 159. Cf. BORZA 1992, 182–183.

[8] For the date of this inscription, now see PERLMAN 2000, 69–70.

basileus occurs in it, however, is employed to describe a group of local kinglets from Upper Macedonia, being formally at this time—albeit not all of them actually—dependent on Perdiccas as his vassals (IG I³ 89. l. 35: τὸς βασιλέας τὸς [μ]ετὰ Περδ[ίκκο]; l. 69: [... Δέ]ρδας, βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος, Δε[... βασ]ιλεύ[ς]). Of course it cannot be ruled out that in some lost portion of the inscription Perdiccas was referred to as *basileus* too. Nevertheless, more probably, the word *basileus* is used here not as these kinglets' formal title (it is hardly possible that they officially bore it) but merely as a synonym for "ruler". Perhaps the appearance of such a description of them in the treaty was partly caused by the Athenian wish to flatter the kinglets—Perdiccas' persistent headaches—a bit. But most likely, this happened first of all for a purely practical reason: to make it clear to every reader of the text that these obscure persons—in contrast to Perdiccas barely known to the overwhelming majority in Athens—are also rulers of certain lands[9]. (It appears that one can find an analogue to this case in an Athenian decree in honour of Hebryzelmis, an obscure Odrysian ruler, 386/5[10]: in the document, he is also called *basileus*[11], contrary to the usual practice in Athens to describe the Thracian rulers in epigraphic documents by name only, sometimes with patronymic and/or ethnic[12].)

Numismatic evidence

The title *basileus* does not appear on the coins issued under Philip's predecessors on the Macedonian throne. All that their legends contain is the names of monarchs, in full or abbreviated form[13].

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[9] On the reign of Perdiccas II in general and his relationship both with Athens and the kinglets of Upper Macedonia in particular, see e.g. HAMMOND 1979a, 115–136; BORZA 1992, 132–160; ROISMAN 2010, 146–154; and recently MÜLLER 2016, 141–163; 2017.

[10] Tod 117 = IG II² 31. For the relatively new interpretation of this decree, including some ideas concerning Hebryzelmis' reign, see KELLOGG 2007 (2004–2005), 58–71. In addition, on him, see ARCHIBALD 1998, 219; ZAHRNT 2015, 44.

[11] Tod 117. ll. 5–6, 22–23.

[12] See, in particular, alliance between Athens and Berisades, Amadocus, and Cersebleptes, Odrysian rulers, 357 (RO I 47. ll. 5–6, 8–10, 14–15, 18, 20 = IG II² 126; Syll.³ 195; Tod 151); alliance between Athens and Cetriporis, Odrysian ruler, Lyppeus, Paeonian ruler, and Grabus, Grabaeanian/Illyrian ruler, 356/5 (RO I 53. ll. 2, 9, 11, 15, [27], [29], 39–41, [43], [45], 46 = IG II² 127; Syll.³ 196; Tod 157); Athenian decree in honour of the Odrysian Rhebulas, in which his father Seuthes and his brother Cotys (perhaps II and I respectively) are referred to by name only, 330 (IG II/III³ 1,2 351. l. 1; Tod 193). On Rhebulas, see recently DELEV 2015, 53. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the title *basileus* is absent both in another inscription mentioning, in all probability, the same Hebryzelmis, found in Adrianopolis/Edirne (LAMPUSIADIS 1897, 154; see also MDAI(A) 1897, 475), and in the legends of his coins (HEAD 1911, 284; YURUKOVA 1992, 56–60, 231–234 [nos. 44–48]).

[13] On the Macedonian royal coinage in this period, see HEAD 1911, 218–222; GAEBLER 1935, 148–162; RAYMOND 1953; PRICE 1974, 9–10, 18–21.

Literary evidence

The situation is different for our literary tradition. The word *basileus* for describing the status of these Macedonian rulers is used by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, i.e. by our main historians of the period before Philip. Isocrates also employs the word *basileus* in relation to one of the Macedonian monarchs in those speeches that were composed prior to Philip's accession to the throne.

In connection with the Argeads the term *basileus* occurs in Herodotus only one time: he uses it (together with the word στρατηγός) to describe Alexander I, when the latter came to the Greeks on the eve of the battle of Plataea (IX. 44. 1: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων). In other cases Herodotus, when he speaks about the Macedonian rulers, shows some diversity. In his account on the visit of the Persian embassy to Macedonia, Alexander claims that his father Amyntas is Μακεδόνων ὕπαρχος (V. 20. 3), while in the story about the coming of Alexander to Athens, dispatched by Mardonius there, the Spartan envoys state that Alexander is τύραννος (VIII. 142. 5). In turn, the power that Perdiccas I established in Macedonia, Herodotus calls τυραννίς (VIII. 137. 1) and a little further — ἀρχή (VIII. 139). In addition, he describes as *basileus* a ruler from Upper Macedonia who initially hired this Perdiccas and his two brothers to herd livestock (VIII. 137. 2–3, 5–138. 1). In contrast to the "Father of history", Thucydides is consistent. In order to describe the Macedonian monarchs, he employs only the term *basileus*[14]. Furthermore, their power in Macedonia Thucydides calls βασιλεία (II. 95. 2) and then writes that Alexander, father of Perdiccas II, and his ancestors, the Temenidae, "were kings" (ἐβασίλευσαν) there (II. 99. 3). Besides, it should be pointed out that he refers to the kinglets of Upper Macedonia, considered formally the Argead house's vassals, as *basileis* too[15]. As to Xenophon, in his *Greek History* he speaks about the representatives of the ruling dynasty of Macedonia only in connection with Amyntas III. In one passage, Xenophon calls Amyntas *basileus* (V. 2. 12: Ἀμύντας ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς) and slightly later describes his power as ἀρχή (V. 2. 38). Likewise, he refers to the kinglet Derdas of Elimeia as ἄρχων (Ibid.). Lastly, when Isocrates twice mentions Amyntas III, he also uses the word *basileus* (Paneg. 126; Archid. 46: Ἀμύντας ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς), adding in the last case that after the restoration of his authority over Macedonia Amyntas "being king" (βασιλεύων) died at an advanced age[16].

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[14] Perdiccas II: Thuc. I. 57. 2; II. 29. 7 (Περδίκκας ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς); II. 95. 1 (Μακεδονίας βασιλεύς); cf. II. 99. 6. Archelaus: II. 100. 2 (Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδίκκου υἱὸς βασιλεύς). Rulers before Archelaus: Ibid. (βασιλῆς).

[15] Such kinglets in general: Thuc. II. 99. 2. Antiochus of Orestis: II. 80. 6. Arrhabaeus of Lyncus: IV. 79. 2; 83. 1.

[16] In addition, it is relevant to note in the context that Plato, in contrast to the above-indicated ancient authors, does not use the word *basileus* in connection with the Macedonian rulers. Plato describes Archelaus one time as τύραννος (Alc. II. 141d) and twice as ἄρχων (Theag. 124d; Gorg. 470d), while this ruler's power in Macedonia he calls ἀρχή (Gorg. 471a–d). Likewise, when Plato speaks about Perdiccas III's power, he employs the term μοναρχία (Epist. 5. 322a).

The Reign of Philip II

Epigraphic evidence

In the inscriptions uncontroversially dated to Philip's reign, he does not appear with the title *basileus* but is referred to by name alone: alliance between Philip and the Chalcidians, 357/6 (RO I 50. ll. 3, [9], 11–12 = Tod 158; Hatz. 2); alliance between Athens and Thracian, Paeonian, and Illyrian rulers, 356/5 (RO I 53. ll. 41, 43–44 = Syll.[3] 196; Tod 157); Athenian decree concerning Acanthus and Dium, *ca.* 350 (IG II/III[3] 1,2 388. l. 13); arrow points and sling bullets from Olynthus, 348 (ROBINSON 1941, 383 [nos. 1907–1911], 431–433 [nos. 2228–2241])[17]; Athenian decree concerning the Olynthian refugees, 348/7 (Tod 166. ll. [5], [15] = IG II/III[3] 1,2 503); Delphian lists of the Amphictionic *hieromnemones* and *tamiai* (CID II 36. col. I. l. 23 [343/2]; col. II. ll. 13, 35 [342/1] = FD III 5 14; CID II 43. ll. 16, 41 [340/39] = FD III 5 22; CID II 44. l. 5 [339/8] = FD III 5 21; CID II 74. col. I. ll. 31, 43; col. II. l. 22 [337/6] = FD III 5 47); Athenian variant of the oath sworn by the Greek states participating in the Corinthian League, 338/7[18] (IG II/III[3] 1,2 318. ll. [5], 11 = Syll.[3] 260; Tod 177; RO I 76)[19]; Athenian decree in honour of a certain friend at Philip's court, 337/6 (IG II/III[3] 1,2 322. ll. 13, 15 = Syll.[3] 262; Tod 181).

Philip is attested without such a title also in a number of epigraphic documents belonging to a slightly later date: Alexander's settlement concerning Philippi, 335–330 (VATIN 1984, A. l. [9], B. l. 10 = MISSITZIS 1985; Hatz. 6)[20]; list of sales from Philippi, second half of the fourth century (Hatz. 83. ll. 1, 6 = SEG 38 658); land grant of Cassander to Perdiccas son of Coenus, *ca.* 306–297 (Hatz. 20. ll. 9–10 = Syll.[3] 332).

On the date of the so called inscription from Oleveni, where the title *basileus* is used along with Philip's name (IG X 2,2 1: ll. 14–15 = Hatz. 5), there is no consensus among modern

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[17] A number of sling bullets bearing the name of Philip (without the title *basileus*) have been found in other places as well. For them, see AVRAM, CHIRIAC, MATEI 2013, 235.

[18] The idea of WORTHINGTON (2008a, 213–223) that the first fragment of this inscription refers to the bilateral treaty between Philip and Athens which concluded their war right after the battle of Chaeronea in 338, is interesting, but, in my view, unconvincing. On this peace (the so called Demades' Peace), see now in detail KHOLOD 2013, 495–507 (with further bibliography).

[19] Although the word βασιλεία is preserved in line 11 ([τ]ὴν βασιλείαν [τ]ὴν Φ[ιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἐκγόν]ων), this proves nothing, since Philip himself is mentioned here without the title *basileus*. In all likelihood, as Borza believes (1999, 12), the word βασιλεία in this line "means ... the «rule» or «authority» of Philip over his land". On that, see also BOSWORTH 1993, 420. n. 5; BADIAN 1996, 12; RO I 76 (commentary).

[20] Because this inscription is poorly preserved, scholars propose divergent interpretations of the document (as well as various restorations of its damaged parts). Detailed bibliography: Hatz. 6 (commentary). Also, there is no unified position on the exact date of the inscription. See e.g. VATIN 1984, 262 ("late 335"); MISSITZIS 1985, 13–14 ("before the Persian campaign"); HAMMOND 1988, 383 ("the winter of 335/4"); 1990, 173 ("May or so of 335") (cf. 1994, 386–387); BADIAN 1989, 67–68; 1993, 137–138; 1994, 389. n. 1 ("not earlier than *ca.* 330"); HATZOPOULOS 1997, 50–51 ("between January and May of 330"); cf. Hatz. 6 ("330").

scholars: part of them are inclined to consider this *basileus* to be Philip V[21]. Again, there is no certainty about the restoration of the name of Philip in the text of Amphissa's dedication in Delphi (IG IX 1 775. ll. [1–2] = DAUX 1949, 258–260: Ἀμ]φισσεῖς Φ[ίλιππον Ἀμύντα] | βασ[ιλέα])[22] and, consequently, about the attribution of the document to the respective period. The same can be said also on an inscription from Mygdonia concerning the demarcation of borders between various cities, at the beginning of which the word βασιλεία has survived (Hatz. 4. ll. [1–2]: Ἐπὶ τῆς Φιλίππο]υ βασιλήας τοῦ Ἀ[μύντου] = SEG 40 542)[23]. Besides, 338/7 as the date for an Athenian decree moved by Archedicus, where the phrase "the friends of the *basileus* and of Antipater" occurs (IG II/III³ 1,2 484. ll. 3–4: τῶν τ[ο]ῦ βασ[ιλέως φίλ]ων καὶ Ἀντιπάτ[ρ]ου = SEG 42 91)[24], seems to me doubtful. More likely, this decree is related to a later time, perhaps to 322, shortly after the battle of Crannon, and if so, the mentioned *basileus* is Philip III Arrhidaeus (it is possible that until that point either Alexander IV was not also proclaimed *basileus* or such news was not still known in Athens)[25]. In turn, there is no unanimity in scholarship on the identification of "the *basileus*" recorded in a very fragmentary Athenian decree proposed by Demades in 337/6 (IG II/III³ 1,2 326. l. 20: τὸμ βασιλέα): while some modern historians hold that this is Philip[26], others argue that the inscription refers either to the Persian king[27] or to the Athenian official[28]. In any case, it is evident that this question cannot be solved definitively because of the document's very bad condition.

On the other hand, we have two copies of an inscription (now lost) from Lebadea, recording the prescriptions for consulting the oracle of Trophonius, supplemented by a list of names of visitors, where, if its text is restored correctly, Amyntas son of Perdiccas III (and nephew of Philip)[29] is called *basileus* (IG VII 3055. ll. 7–8: Ἀ[μ]ύντα[ς] Π[ερ]δί[κ]κα

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[21] More recently PAPAZOGLOU 1998, 89–100; ARENA 2003, 49–82 (both articles contain detailed bibliography). The arguments of these scholars seem persuasive to me. Cf. IG X 2,2 1 (commentary). That this is Philip II, is most actively argued by Hatzopoulos. See e.g. HATZOPOULOS 1982, 21–42, and especially 1995, 163–185. See recently also LANE FOX 2011, 359.

[22] On this inscription, see also ARENA 2004–2005, 211–226; 2007, 293–326.

[23] Furthermore, the word order in the proposed restoration of these lines makes me somewhat doubtful. Though cf. I.Mylasa 5: ll. 1–2 (353/2).

[24] For such a date, see TRACY 1993, 249–251.

[25] BOSWORTH 1993, 420–427. Cf. HABICHT 1993, 255. n. 12; BADIAN 1994, 389–390; ARENA 1999, 85–87; IG II/III³ 1,2 484 (commentary).

[26] See e.g. SCHWEIGERT 1940, 326; SCHWENK 1985, 32; CARGILL 1995, 15, 43. n. 1.

[27] ARENA 2002, 309–325. I admit that Arena's identification is possibly correct, but I do not agree with him that this decree was relevant (at least directly) to the military operations waged by the Macedonian advance-guard in Asia Minor from the spring of 336. On these operations, see now in detail KHOLOD 2018, 407–446. If Arena is right about the identification, it is more likely that the Persian king was mentioned in the decree in some other connection.

[28] HUMPHREYS 2004, 82. n. 12, 123. n. 41.

[29] Another opinion identifies this Amyntas as Amyntas II (the Little) who ruled in Macedonia over a brief time in the late 390s and whose patronymic is unknown (perhaps his father was a certain Perdiccas): ERRINGTON 1974, 26;

[Μα]κεδόνων βασιλεύ[ς] = SEG 44 414; 48 571)[30]. Despite disagreement among scholars on the exact date of this document[31], it appears that it was engraved either in the period of Philip's reign or soon after his assassination (but prior to the spring of 335, as by that time Amyntas had been already executed[32]): even if one admits that Amyntas after the death of his father in 360/59 was ruler of Macedonia over a short period and Philip acted then as regent (Just. VII. 5. 9)[33], his pilgrimage to the oracle of Trophonius as a boy, and possibly a small boy[34], seems highly unlikely[35] (at least it is quite unclear for me what answers Amyntas at this age could seek from the oracle). However, the difficulty with such a dating[36] is that Amyntas, irrespective of whether or not he occupied the Macedonian throne once, could not officially bear the title *basileus*, when Philip and Alexander were ruling in Macedonia. Therefore it is credible that the Lebadeans inscribed the word *basileus* in the document not as a formal title but simply as a descriptive definition in order to emphasize to later visitors—to whom this Amyntas might have been unknown—his high status as one of the main representatives of the Argead house[37]. In turn, several roof-tiles with the words βασιλέως Φιλίππου were discovered during a series of excavations of a Hellenistic city on the Hill of St. Panteleimon above Florina[38], which were dated to the reign of Philip II, like some finds (walling and pottery) that

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similarly ANSON 2009, 276–277. Nevertheless, see ERRINGTON 1990, 28, 269. n. 6, where he has changed his earlier position, this time believing that the father of Amyntas II was Archelaus. I am inclined to hold that Amyntas II was a son of Menelaus. Thus, in particular, HAMMOND 1979a, 168–169; BORZA 1992, 178; MARCH 1995, 279. It is hence most probable that the Lebadean inscription is irrelevant to his reign.

[30] On the history of the inscription and its restoration, see ELLIS 1971, 16–17.

[31] See e.g. LANE FOX 2011, 340 ("360/59"); HAMMOND 1979b, 651; 1989, 137. n. 1 ("359–357"); GRIFFITH 1979, 703–704 ("346–339"); ELLIS 1971, 18–21 ("336–335").

[32] Arr. Anab. I. 5. 4 implies that Cynnane, Amyntas' wife, already was a widow by this spring, because Alexander offered her then as bride to Langarus, ruler of the Agrianes (HECKEL 2006, 23 [no. 1]).

[33] In addition, see Satyr. *FGrH* 161 F5 ap. Athen. XIII. 557b. The reign of Amyntas son of Perdiccas III is controversial. Most scholars now reject his reign, arguing that Philip ascended the throne immediately and never acted as regent (see e.g. ELLIS 1971, 15–16, 21–22; GRIFFITH 1979, 208–209, 702–704; BORZA 1992, 200–201; 1999, 52–53; WORTHINGTON 2008b, 21–22; ANSON 2009, 276–286; LANE FOX 2011, 339–340; cf. HATZOPOULOS 1986, 280–281). However, for a contrary view, see HAMMOND 1979b, 651; 1989, 137; TRONSON 1984, 120–121. Cf. ERRINGTON 1990, 37, 271. n. 9.

[34] On his age then, see ELLIS 1971, 18.

[35] GRIFFITH 1979, 703. Nevertheless, see LANE FOX 2011, 340, who dates this visit of Amyntas to 360/59, to the moment of Perdiccas' death (hence, in his view, the Lebedeans wrongly anticipating the outcome of events in Macedonia described Amyntas as *basileus*). Cf. ERRINGTON 1974, 26.

[36] I place the inscription in the period between *ca.* 346 and the winter of 336/5. Indeed, while the first half of the 350s was, I think, barely suitable for Amyntas' pilgrimage because of his young age, in the years 355–346 (i.e. during the Third Sacred War) northern Boeotia, as Griffith rightly noticed, was a dangerous region for visitors. See GRIFFITH 1979, 703.

[37] ERRINGTON 1974, 28. Cf. GRIFFITH 1979, 703.

[38] Eight roof-tiles with the name of Philip were found there in the early 1930s and three in 1982.

imply the existence of this city already at his time[39]. Nevertheless, the published material of the excavations leaves me unconvinced[40] that these roof-tiles belong to Philip's age and not to a later time, e.g. to the reign of Philip V. Lastly, we possess an inscription from Thasos with the text [β]ασιλέως Φιλί[ππου] σωτῆρος (HAMON 2015–2016, 117)[41], engraved probably on an altar, which some scholars, judging from its letter forms, relate to the second half of the fourth century and thereby connect with Philip II, perhaps with his local cult[42]. But the following circumstance is a matter of concern in the case: we have no piece of evidence for the existence of Philip's official cult in his lifetime, which does not give rise to doubts in scholarship[43]. Taking this into account, it seems that the inscription needs further consideration. At any rate, even if the inscription was indeed engraved during the reign of Philip II and related to his unofficial local private cult, the word *basileus* here does not necessarily reflect Philip's formal title but perhaps was used simply as a synonym for "ruler"; absolute accuracy was not demanded at the private level.

Numismatic evidence

As in the case of the Macedonian rulers before Philip, the title *basileus* is absent on all types of his coins. Most of their legends contain only his name (ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ), sometimes in abbreviated form[44].

Literary evidence

We have a number of mentions of Philip and other Argead rulers as *basileis*, made by his contemporaries. In those speeches of Demosthenes that are considered authentic, Philip is referred to as *basileus* one time (VI. 20), and three times he is presented in such capacity

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[39] The earlier publication of such roof-tiles: BAKALAKIS 1934 (1935), 104–113; see also GUARDUCCI 1970, 500. Besides, for the later excavations at the site, see LILIBAKI-AKAMATI, AKAMATIS 1990 (1993), 68–73.

[40] In contrast to LANE FOX 2011, 343, 359.

[41] On this inscription, see also HOLTZMANN 1975, 292; 1976, 792; HATZOPOULOS, LOUKOPOULOU 1989, 47. n. 5; BÉ 2002 284 (Hatzopoulos).

[42] HAMON 2015–2016, 118 (with indication of those scholars who are of such an opinion). Suk Fong Jim is also inclined to relate this inscription to the period of Philip II. At the same time, she argues—in my view convincingly—that a number of other known dedications similarly addressed to a "*basileus* Philip" should be connected not with Philip II, as Hatzopoulos and some historians believe, but with Philip V. See SUK FONG JIM 2017, 429–443 (with references to Hatzopoulos' relevant works and further literature). So too: KUZ'MIN 2016b, 369–372.

[43] On the question of Philip's deification, see, in particular, HABICHT 1970, 12–16, 245; BAYNHAM 1994, 35–43; BADIAN 1996, 13–17; WORTHINGTON 2008b, 228–233; MARI 2008, 232–242; KUZ'MIN 2016a, 125–132; in addition, see KHOLOD 2016, 497–498. n. 7.

[44] For Philip's coinage, see HEAD 1911, 222–224; GAEBLER 1935, 162–168; PRICE 1974, 21–23; and now in more detail LE RIDER 1977; 1996; in addition, see FLAMENT 2010, 77–123.

together with his ancestors (to whom the orator compares him) (I. 9: οὐδείς πω βασιλεὺς γέγονεν Μακεδονίας; II. 15: μηδεὶς πώποτ' ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς; VI. 20: πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς; cf. [VII]. 11; [XI]. 11). Additionally, Demosthenes speaks about Perdiccas II (confusing him with Alexander I) as "being king" (βασιλεύων) in Macedonia at the time of the Persian invasion (XXIII. 200; cf. [XI]. 16; [XIII]. 24). In turn, Aristotle in the *Politics*—a large part of which was written most probably in Philip's lifetime[45]—refers to the Macedonian rulers in general as *basileis* (V. 8. 5. 1310b: βασιλεῖς <...> Μακεδόνων). Besides, in the story about the death of Archelaus, he describes a kinglet of Elimeia as *basileus* too (V. 8. 10. 1311b). Isocrates in his letters to Philip does not designate Philip as *basileus* at all (in contrast to Amyntas in his earlier works; see above) but refers to him by name alone. At the same time, when Isocrates speaks about Philip's and his ancestors' power in Macedonia, he makes use of a group of cognates: βασιλεία (Phil. 1. 19, 105, 107–108; 2. 24; 3. 5), βασιλεύω (Phil. 1. 67, 154), βασιλικῶς (Phil. 1. 154), βασιλικός (Phil. 2. 3). Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that in one passage, where Isocrates records the activities of Perdiccas I, the word βασιλεία is employed as a synonym to the words ἀρχή, μοναρχία, and δυναστεία used by him there as well (Phil. 1. 105–108.)[46].

Conclusion

Thus, as can be seen from the given overview of sources, there is no reliable evidence that the Argead rulers before Philip II bore the formal title *basileus.* Unfortunately, the epigraphic material from Macedonia itself is absent. But the extant inscriptions, whose provenance is external to the country, and coins (the best available evidence in the connection) do not confirm this absolutely; they describe the Macedonian monarchs by name alone. In turn, reliance on our literary evidence in the case, it seems, cannot be considered strong: it is obvious that the above-named Greek authors are mainly inconsistent when describing the authority and position of the Argead rulers, and it appears that all of them use the term *basileus* not as a formal title of the Macedonian monarchs but merely as a synonym for "ruler" (at least it is significant that they also describe those rulers who officially never bore or normally did not bear the title *basileus*, for example the Thracian ones[47], in the same way).

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[45] On the date, see, in particular, DOVATUR 1965, 87–91; SCHÜTRUMPF 1991a, 128–134; 1991b, 95–108, 117–118; 1996, 178–185; 2005, 155–170 (with further literature).

[46] This has been justly noticed by BORZA 1999, 13. n. 14.

[47] One of the illustrations in this connection is as follows: Xenophon refers to the Paphlagonian Otys as *basileus* (Hell. IV. 1. 2; cf. IV. 1. 4), although there is no doubt that this petty ruler never bore, at least officially, the respective title. As to the Thracian rulers, they, judging from the extant epigraphic and numismatic evidence, usually did not describe themselves as *basileis.* The only exception known to me is Getas, a very obscure Edonian ruler (*ca.* 480s–460s): the title *basileus* is struck on his coins (HEAD 1911, 201; GAEBLER 1935, 144; PRICE 1974, 8; YURUKOVA 1992, 23–25, 217 [no. 19]; cf. ARCHIBALD 1998, 106; VASSILEVA 2015, 325). For the case of Hebryzelmis, see above.

The situation with Philip may, however, be different. Although it seems impossible to regard, like in the case of the earlier Argeads, the literary sources as reliable evidence of the use of the formal title *basileus* in Macedonia during his reign, we have a number of inscriptions that might support this. Nevertheless, none of them can be considered irrefutable proof in the relation. Therefore at the present the question of Philip's use of the official title *basileus* remains open.

We can only speculate on why the Macedonian monarchs ignored such a title (it seems evident that its omission in those known documents which were composed with the monarchs' participation, was at least approved by the rulers themselves, if not occurred, as in the coin legends, due to them.) In this connection, the following words of Badian perhaps deserve attention: "But they were not legitimate Greek kings, like those at Sparta, and so they may have preferred to avoid a title that would seem invidious to Greeks <...> and would set them apart from Greek aristocrats, among whom they wanted Greeks to count them"[48]. Indeed, it is plausible that the principal reason was the Macedonian rulers' concern for the creation and maintenance of a right image of themselves in the Greek world: since the overwhelming majority of Greek society, except a group of intellectuals in the fourth century,[49] were prejudiced against any king and even regarded kingship as a mark of the uncivilized and barbarian,[50] it appears to have been natural for the Macedonian monarchs to avoid the title *basileus* at the official level in order not to be alien in the eyes of the Greeks.[51] And if the formal title *basileus* indeed began to be occasionally used by Philip, one may suppose that it was because he already did not need, at least in some matters, to adapt to the Greeks' tastes as much as his ancestors; his deeds forced the Greeks to take him seriously and very often treat him even respectfully.

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[48] BADIAN 1996, 12; cf. GRIFFITH 1979, 388–389.

[49] For them, see, in particular, FROLOV 1974, 401–434; and more recently BARCELÓ 1993, 246–284.

[50] The classical expression of such a view: Isoc. Phil. 1. 107–108. Isocrates' statement that monarchy is the typical sort of rule for barbarians, is essential in this passage. And although the orator praises the Greek Perdiccas (I), Philip's ancestor, for establishing his royal power over the Macedonians, the very fact that the Argeads were monarchs, i.e. exercised so a sort of rule that was considered unacceptable for the Greek world, could not but tarnish them to some degree. Additionally, one should remember that many Greeks, unlike Isocrates, doubted the Greek origin of the Argead house (on this, see e.g. BORZA 1992, 80–84).

[51] Though it does not follow from this that one or another Macedonian monarch would not answer, if someone called him *basileus*. It appears that unofficially, in daily life, the Macedonian rulers could well be called not only by mere names but also—at least sometimes—*basileis*.

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Stoneworkers' Hercules. A Comment on an Upper Moesian Inscription

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Abstract. *The paper aims to provide comments on the worship of Hercules as a protector of Roman stoneworkers, focusing on an inscription from Upper Moesia — a tabula from the Iron Gates gorge dedicated to Hercules by the lapidarii of the legions VII Claudia and IV Flavia.*

Rezumat. *Autoarea comentează adorarea lui Hercules în calitate de protector al lucrătorilor romani în piatră, concentrându-și analiza pe o inscripție din Moesia Superior – o tabula de la Porțile de Fier dedicată lui Hercules de către lapidarii legiunii a VII-a Claudia. și legiunii a IV-a Flavia.*

Keywords: Upper Moesia, Iron Gates, quarrying, Hercules, Roman legions, vexillations.

The following article aims to provide comments on the cultic aspects of an important yet overlooked epigraphic monument from Upper Moesia. It is a *tabula* dedicated to Hercules by the *lapidarii*[2] from two Upper Moesian legions, *IIII Fl*(*avia*) and *VII Cl*(*audia*). The inscription (Figure 1) runs as follows:

> *Herculi sacrum | lapidari(i) qui exieru|nt ancones*
> *facien|dos legionis IIII Fl(aviae) | et legionis VII*
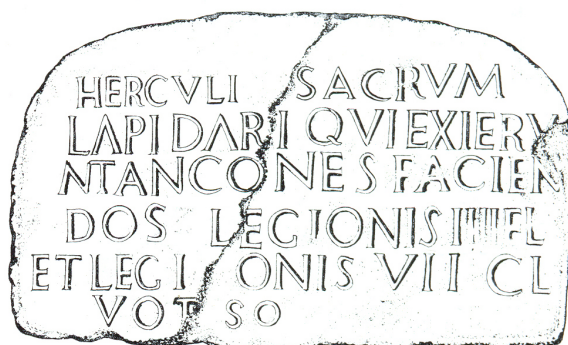> *Cl(audiae) | vot(um) so[lverunt]*

Figure 1. The inscription of the *lapidarii*.
Drawing (*ap.* PETROVIĆ 1986)

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[2] GABRIČEVIĆ 1972, 408–416 (*AE* 1973, 473); PETROVIĆ 1986, 48–49; fig. 12–13 (*AE* 1993; MIRKOVIĆ 2003; *AE* 2003, 1533).

It was discovered in 1971, at Hajdučka Vodenica, near the site of the more famous inscription, *Tabula Traiana* known from XVI century (*CIL* III 1699 = 8267 = *ILS* 5863 = *ILJug* 63). The inscription belongs to a group of monumental inscriptions (often referred to as *tabulae*) that shed important light on the large-scale Roman building projects in the region of the Danube gorge of the Iron Gates that begun immediately with the Roman conquest (Figure 2).[3] In the sector of the Danube gorge, natural characteristics rendered both land and river communications extremely difficult. The massive steep cliffs are divided by the rapid and forceful river where the navigation was extremely difficult because of the dangerous cataracts.[4]

The Roman road-building projects in this region are epigraphically attested by the mentioned monumental inscriptions, which are the earliest epigraphic evidence in the Iron Gates gorge and in the province. The construction phase is attested by two *tabulae* from
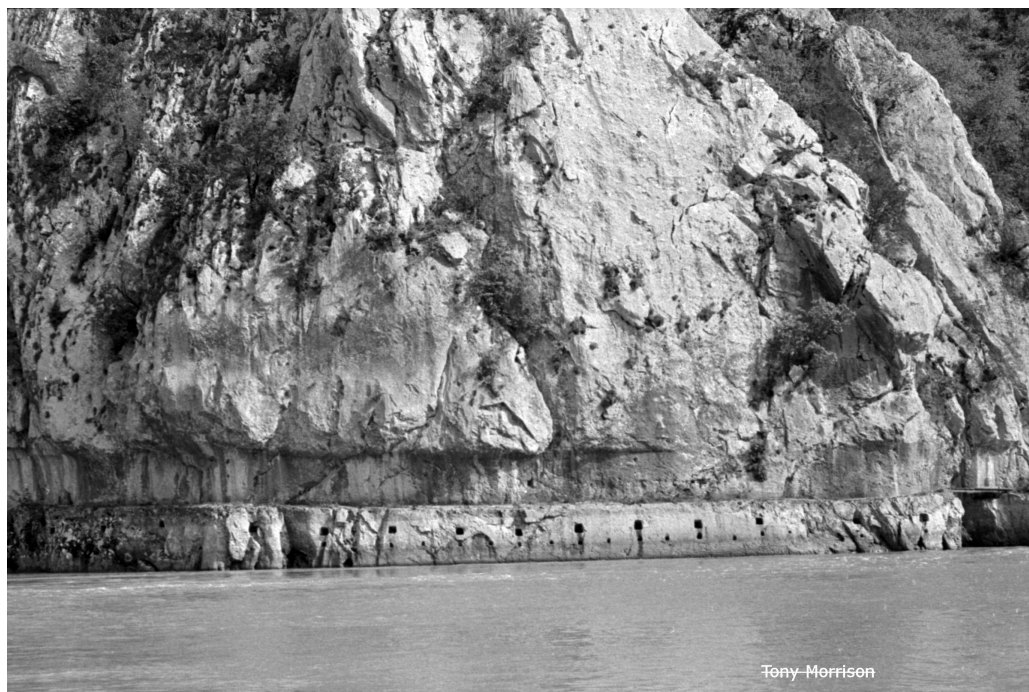

Figure 2. The photograph of the remains of the Roman road cut through the cliffs of the Iron Gates gorge, showing also the holes for the consoles. The photo is a courtesy of its author,
Mr. Tony Morrison who took it in 1966

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[3] After the opening of the hydroelectric power plant "Đerdap I/Porţile de Fier I" in 1972, the water level was significantly raised and all inscriptions were submerged except for the *Tabula Traiana* that can still be seen as it was cut out and raised above the new water level. The specialists from the National Museum in Belgrade made squeezes of the inscriptions (cf. PETROVIĆ 1986, 46, note 24).

[4] Cf. Strab. VII 3.13; XVII 1.2.

AD 33–34 dedicated to the emperor Tiberius by the legions *IIII Scythica*[5] and *V Macedonica* (*CIL* III 1698 = *ILJug* 57, Gospođin Vir, at the beginning of the "Upper Gorge" and *CIL* III 1698 = *ILJug* 60, Lepenska stena)[6] and a *tabula* dedicated to the emperor Claudius, dated in AD 44, (*CIL* III 1698 = *ILJug* 56). A phase of the renovation of the roads as a part of Domitian's preparations for the wars against the Dacians is attested in the years between AD 92 and AD 94 by two Domitianic *tabulae* (*CIL* III 13813d = *ILS* 9373 = *ILJug* 55, Gospođin Vir and *CIL* III 1698 =13813c = *ILJug* 58). The inscription from Gospođin vir mentions the renovation of the *iter Scorfularum* that was ruined by its age as well as by an incursion of the Danube: *i[t]er Scor|fularum vetu[s]tate [e]t | inscursu Danuvi c[or]|ruptum operibu[s am]|pliatis [restituit?---].*[7] The largest campaign of building projects in the Iron Gates was carried out under the emperor Trajan, in the course of his preparations for the Dacian wars. The text of the *Tabula Traiana* explains in greater detail the works commemorated in the tabula of the *lapidarii* that probably dates from the same period: *montibus excisis anconibus sublatis viam refecit.* Except for the road construction, renovation and expansion, the works also involved great accomplishments such as the canal at Sip by which the most difficult stretch of the river was bypassed[8] and Trajan's bridge over the Danube, an architectural masterpiece of Apollodorus of Damascus.[9]

Previous editors were mainly concerned with the aspects important for the inscription's context — namely the construction of the road, techniques, etc. while, as it appears, the cultic aspects of the inscription have not received equal attention although it is interesting.[10] Taking into consideration all elements of the inscription, it would be reasonable to connect the vow of the *lapidarii* with the inscriptions dedicated to Hercules as a protector of stoneworkers,[11] frequently attested with the epithet *Saxanus*.[12] As a symbol of physical

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[5] On other building projects of *IIII Scythica* cf. HIRT 2010, 176–177.

[6] Texts of both inscriptions run: *Ti. Caesare Aug(usti) f(ilio) | Augusto imperatore | pont(ifice) max(imo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XXXV | Leg(io) IIII Scyt(hica), Leg(io) V Maced(onica).* Cf. MIRKOVIĆ 1968, 32–33.

[7] MOCSY 1974, 45–47.

[8] *Tabula* from Karataš (*Diana*) near Kladovo: PETROVIĆ 1970, 31 = *ILJug* 468 dated in AD 101: *Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) | Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) | pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) V p(ater) p(atriae) co(n)s(ul) IIII | ob periculum cataractarum | derivato flumine tutam Da|nuvi navigationem fecit.*
The traces of the Trajan's canal were visible until the opening of the damn Đerdap 1. MÓCSY 1974, 109–110.

[9] Dio Cass. LXVIII 13, 1–6; Procop. *Aed.* IV 6. 13.

[10] Surprisingly, the monograph dedicated to the cult of Hercules in Upper Moesia (GAVRILOVIĆ 2014) does not include this important monument in the catalogue and heavily overlooks its significance: there is only one vague reference to the inscription on page 59, containing furthermore some material errors in reading and interpretation. The inscription *AE* 1989, 631 dedicated to *Hercules Augusus* is also not included in the catalogue although it should be important for the discussion on the cult in the province (see text below).

[11] MATIJEVIĆ (2016) provides a detailed survey and examination of relevant bibliography, and convincingly demonstrates that the cult should be considered Roman, against some older opinions ascribing the cult of *Hercules Saxanus* to Germanic or Celtic cultural sphere and that it is not limited to military context.

[12] From Lat. *saxanus*, *saxum*. In Gaul and Germania the epithet is often spelled *Sax{s}anus*.

strength and endurance, Hercules was exceedingly popular with quarryman, stoneworkers, miners especially among the members of the Roman army that was commonly employed for quarry work and similar tasks such as those in the Iron Gates gorge. His place in Roman miners' pantheon has been well recognised by the scholars.[13]

There are very indicative epigraphic analogies from Italy,[14] Gallia[15] and Germania, Noricum,[16] Dalmatia, Lower Moesia, Dacia, etc., that can be useful for the interpretation of the Iron Gates *tabula*. Great number of dedications *Hercules Saxanus* was set up by Roman soldiers at the quarry in the valley of the Brohl, a tributary of the Rhine (Lower Germania).[17] The setting and the atmosphere are to some extent comparable to the Upper Moesian case, as well: soldiers commemorated their hard work on quarrying stone by setting altars for the *Hercules Saxanus,* "Hercules of the Rocks". In Flavian epoch, the Rhine limes received new fortifications after Batavian revolt and the vexillations from legions, auxiliary units and fleet[18] were dispatched there on the quarrying missions.[19] The temporary character of these quarrying missions is well illustrated by the inscription *CIL* XIII 8036 that indicates that in the times of Trajan, the vexillations extracted stone in the Brohl quarries for the building of *colonia Ulpia* at Xanten. At the quarry of Karistos (Euboea, Ahaia), a centurion of the legion *XV Apoll(inaris)*, *T. Sergius Longus* dedicated inscription *CIL* III 12286 to Hercules.[20] The same person is attested as a *centurio* of the *legio XXII Primigenia* stationed at *Mogontiacum.* A.M. Hirt reasonably presumes that he was "dispatched to the Karystean quarries based on his expertise in quarrying organization".[21]

Suggestive epigraphic and iconographic evidence from the quarries of the island of Brač (*Brattia, Brac(h)ia*) shed light on the function of Hercules as a patron of the quarrying and stonemasonry. At the entrance in the Roman quarry at Rasohe, there is a relief of Hercules carved on the rockface.[22] From another Roman quarry on the same island the altar set up for *Hercules Augustus* (*CIL* III 3092, Stražišće, Brač): *H(erculi) A(ugusto) s(acrum)* | [S?]*al<v>ius*

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[13] DUŠANIĆ 1999, 133; cf. MATIJEVIĆ 2016, 56 and note 127.

[14] *CIL* XIV 3543 (Tibur); *CIL* V 5013 = *ILS* 3457 (Tridentum, Regio X): *Herculi Saxan(o)* | *Lubiamus Endrubi* | *Quintalli* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)* [*m(erito)*].

[15] *CIL* XIII 3475, 4623–4625 (Belgica).

[16] As *Saxanus*: ILLPRON 375 *Saxano Aug(usto)* | *sac(rum) Messor* | *C(ai) H(erenni) Ruf(ini) s(ervus)* | *ex vis{s}u po(suit)*; ILLPRON 376; *CIL* III 5093 = ILLPRON 206: *S(ilvano?) Saxano* | *Aug(usto) sac(rum)* | *Adiutor* | *et Secundinus*; ILLPRON 1892.

[17] Brohl: *CIL* XIII 7697–7714, 7715–7719, *AE* 1923, 33, *AE* 1926, 21 = K. MATIJEVIĆ, *Römische und frühchristliche Zeugnisse im Norden Obergermaniens. Epigraphische Studien zu unterer Mosel und östlicher Eifel* (Rahden (Westf.) 2010 (*non vidi*).

[18] The flotilla was used for transporting quarried stone.

[19] HIRT 2010, 175.

[20] *T(itus) Sergius Longus* ((*centurio*)) *leg(ionis) XV* | *Apoll(inaris) Herculi sacrum.* HIRT 2010, 170–171; RUSSEL, 2014, 44.

[21] Cf. HIRT 2010, 170–171.

[22] CAMBI 2013.

Obul|tronius | De[x]ter).[23] Third important evidence from Brač is provided by another epigraphic monument *CIL* III 10107 = *ILS* 3458 discovered the quarry of Plate, Škrip. It is a well-known inscription that was set up by a soldier appointed to imperial quarries on a mission of obtaining of capitals and columns for the ongoing erection of imperial baths in *Sirmium* — the *thermae Licinianae:*[24] *Herculi Aug(usto) | sac(rum) Val(erius) Vale|rianus mil(es) | cum insist|erem ad cap|itella colu|mnarum ad t(h)e|rmas Licin(i)an(a)|s q(u)as(!) (f)iunt S|irmi v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit).*

It is interesting to notice that many dedications to Hercules in the mining context have a collective character. The Brohltal inscriptions mention vexillations, *vexillarii, commilitones vexilli,* et sim. (cf. *CIL* XIII 3475, 4623–4265, *AE* 1920, 118; *AE* 2004, 954). In the case of civilian dedicators, those are often associations of stoneworkers, united by the profession and, often, by shared ethnic and geographic origin.[25] For example, the inscription from Abbaye de Saint-Pons in the province of Alpes Maritimae, *CIL* V 7869 = *ILS* 3459 = *ILAM* 156: *Herculi | lapidari(i) | Alman⌐t⌐i|censes p(osuerunt).* The dedication is made by a group of *lapidarii,* who came there to work on a building project.[26] They are also attested in an inscription from the vicinity of Arles (*Gallia Narbonensis*).[27] An altar from *Nicopolis ad Istrum* in Lower Moesia was set up for Heracles by a guild of Nikomedian sculptors / stonemasons (*IGBulg* II 674): ἀγαθῆι τύχη[ι] | θεῷ Ἡρακλεῖ | Μάξιμος [...]|σίου κὲ Νεί[κων][5] Θεοδώρο[υ ὑ]πὲ[ρ] | τῆς συνόδου Νει|κομηδέων λιθο|ξόων τὸν βωμὸν | χαρι[σ]στήριον.[28] A collegium of *Hercliani* is recorded at the Dacian mining centre *Ampelum.*[29] In Upper Moesia, the cult is attested in mining context, by the inscription *IMS* I 103 that has official character, testifying of the erection of the temple of Jupiter and Hercules in the mining district of Mt. Kosmaj.[30] A possible instance may be the inscription *AE* 1989, 631, found in the south-western periphery of Belgrade, near Železnik ("town of iron"), where quarries and iron mines operated from antiquity until modern times.[31] It is an altar dedicated to *Hercules Augustus* for the salvation of the emperor, by a *collegium* from a *vicus Bube* — a toponym known from another long-lost epigraphic text

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[23] CAMBI (2013) offers a different reading of the line 4: *deter(minavit)* instead of *De[x]ter.*

[24] MIRKOVIĆ 1971, 37, note 219a.

[25] Cf. GRBIĆ 2014 with bibliography.

[26] MORABITO 2010, 262–263, n. 156; WIERSCHOWSKI 2001, 120–121, and n. 94.

[27] *CIL* XII 732: *D(is) M(anibus) || Sex(ti) Iul(i) Valen|tini lapida|ri(i) Almanti|censes(?) ex fu|nere eius et |Pomp(eiae) Gra|tiniae co(n)iugi | inconpara|bili (!) posuer(unt)*

[28] See a very exhaustive article of WARD PERKINS about the marble trade from Nicomedia.

[29] *IDR* III /3, 319. Cf. DUŠANIĆ 1999, 133.

[30] *Iovi et Herculi | templum fecit | Vecilia Tyranni Aug(usti) | lib(erti) proc(uratoris) locus datus | ab Appaeo Hermete et Fabi(i)s | tribus.*

[31] Cf. above, note 10.

(*IMS* I 32) that reinforces the case for the mining context.[32] Maybe not by accident, a *lapidarius* from Ratiaria is called *Herculanus*.[33]

To conclude briefly. The *lapidarii* that were employed in the Danube gorge were most probably organized in a *vexillation* drafted from the Upper Moesian legions *IIII Fl*(*avia*) and *VII Cl*(*audia*) and employed in the Iron Gates section of the *limes* on a temporary mission. As we learn from the Iron Gates inscriptions, the special tasks entailed cutting rocks, lifting and setting the consoles (*exierunt ancones*) to expand the road in the narrowest sections of the gorge, where the Roman road was cut through the cliffs. This was most probably the organizational model for capital building projects in earlier construction phases in the region as well. As regards the character of the vow to Hercules, it is doubtlessly connected with their difficult professional assignment in the gorge.

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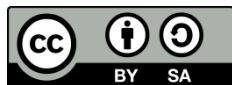
Remarks on the so-called Plotinus' Sarcophagus
('Vatican Museums', inv. 9504)

José María ZAMORA CALVO[1]

Abstract. *In this article, we offer some philosophical notes on the so-called Plotinus sarcophagus, currently exhibited in the 'Vatican Museums' (inv. 9504), which has been dated to the end of the third quarter of the 3rd century. Since the sarcophagus in question has been the subject of discussion among experts since the 1920s, our aim is to contribute to the scientific debate with a number of philosophical remarks to assist in the interpretation of the iconographic representation of the teacher teaching, accompanied by two Muses, but also to make particular reference to certain passages taken from the On the Life of Plotinus, written by his disciple, Porphyry, three decades after the death of his teacher.*

Rezumat. *În acest articol propunem câteva opinii filosofice asupra așa-numitului sarcofag al lui Plotin, expus de curând la Musei Vaticani (inv. 9504), sarcofag care a fost datat la sfârșitul celui de-al treilea sfert al secolului al III-lea. Întrucât exponatul a fost subiectul discuțiilor încă din anii 1920, scopul acestei lucrări îl constituie o contribuție la această dezbatere științifică prin remarci filosofice privind interpretarea reprezentării iconografice a predării de către profesor, însoțit de două Muze. De asemenea, dorim să facem o referire specială la anumite pasaje preluate din lucrarea Despre viața lui Plotin, scrisă de discipolul său Porfir la trei decenii după moartea profesorului său.*

Keywords: Roman sarcophagus; Plotinus; Muses; Neoplatonic iconography; Roman eschatology.

State of the art

The Roman funerary portrait acquires a particular moral significance. The images are intended to convey a certain *uirtus* to the spectators who view them. In their artistic representation, memory and philosophical teaching unite in an inseparable way in the sculpture. As Pliny the Elder noted when referring to portraits that ornament libraries, the effigies speak to us of "immortal souls" (*immortales animi*).[2] Many aspects of Roman iconography, however, are almost always much more difficult to interpret than those of

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[2] Plin. *HN* 35.9.

Greek art, particularly with regard to the portraits of philosophers. Symbolism, or allegory, confers life to the images, assigning them an ethical meaning in a certain social and intellectual context.

After the golden age of the Antonine era, Roman art, when it broke away from the Hellenistic style, became truly "Roman". From this moment, as is particularly evident in the relief, it manages to communicate not only a state of mind, but also a vital rhythm that runs parallel to the action it depicts. The spectator is compelled to relive an action in the course of its execution.

The collection of images attributed to Plotinus is not extensive. In addition to five portraits,[3] the Vatican Museums (ex Lateranense) hold a sarcophagus, considered to be the tomb of Plotinus, from an urban *officina* (Rome or peripheral workshops), which provides us with a valuable insight into the school, the teaching of philosophy and the culture of the ruling class in the decades between 260 and 280.

On the sarcophagus of the school of this philosopher, considered the founder of Neoplatonism, time is condensed into a single scene, a single moment, where the dramatic action captured culminates. It is, therefore, a Romanised and updated Greek archetype, marked by a hierarchical order in the representation. The school context influences the programme of the sculptor and, specifically, the style and composition that characterises the scene depicted. Could it perhaps be inspired by a scene from the school of Plotinus carried out in the house of Gemina? Moreover, the sculptural group is heir to the variations and mutations that Roman *pietas* experienced throughout the first three centuries. In the times of Gallienus, influencing the sculptural period immediately following, the static physiognomy of the philosopher teaching his disciples was exalted.

Comparison of the so-called Plotinus sarcophagus with philosophical texts, particularly those taken from the *On the Life of Plotinus*,[4] written by Porphyry in 301, three decades after the death of his teacher, could shed some light on certain questions posed by the iconographic testimony of the sarcophagus. Practising philosophy in the school of Plotinus entailed adopting a way of life inseparable from theoretical reflection. The always vigilant

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[3] From the excavations of Ostia come three portraits that L'ORANGE (1951, 1957, 1961) considers as replicas of an image of Plotinus (Ostia Museum, Inv. 68, Inv. 436, Inv. 1386). To these should be added a copy of unknown origin kept in the Vatican Museums (Braccio Nuovo, Inv. 2203), and a head, recently incorporated into the collection (Santa Barbara Museum of Art. Inv. 1995.26.21). On the portrait of Plotinus and the problems of iconographic identification, see CALZA 1953; SAPELLI 2001; DANGUILLIER 2001, 53–57 and 224–226; FISCHER-BOSSERT 2001 (which excludes the portrait of the Ostia Museum, Inv. 436); ROMEO 2009; LANG 2012; SCHOTT 2013; ZEVI 2016.

[4] Porphyry's *On the Life of Plotinus* plays, according to Michalewski, a dual role: on the one hand, it serves to present Plotinus' exemplary mode of being and, on the other, it offers an introduction to the publication of the treatises. MICHALEWSKI 2017, 535–537.

disposition of his soul, orientated towards the principle from which it derived, meant that, after his death, Plotinus' soul could be reunited with that of Plato and Pythagoras, accompanying the entourage of divine beings.[5]

Descriptive and typological analysis

In Rome, the sepulchre served to enable the dead to instruct the living, as in this sarcophagus explicitly, by means of the representation of a scene of *paideia*. Through the tomb, the *monumentum* (from *moneo*), makes us "remember" and gives the living "advice"[6] on how to continue on the path of life. The *imago* of the deceased embodies the inherent virtues of a member related to the aristocracy or the bourgeoisie who cultivates philosophy and science.

Sarcophagus of a learned family (so-called Plotinus sarcophagus, *ca.* 275/280 CE)
Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano (ex Lateranense), Città del Vaticano, Inv. 9504
Provenience: Appartamenti Borgia
Photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI); FA – Scan. Filmnummer: 4459
Measurements: H 147 cm; W 220 cm. Material: Marmor

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[5] Porph. *Plot.* 23.26.

[6] Ulp. *Dig.* 11.7.2.6: *Monumentum est quod memoriae seruandae gratia existit.* See Varro, *Ling.* VI.49.

The relief was conveniently categorised at the end of the third quarter of the third century CE,[7] created in a metropolitan workshop, which inherited the stylistic forms and techniques characteristic of the post-Gallienic period. The frieze is organised internally in three compositional planes: in the first, which dominates the visual field, the philosopher is situated in the centre seated on a podium teaching, and he is escorted by two Muses; in the second, there are three male characters of philosophical/intellectual nature; and in the last, the *parapetasma* can be found.

The sarcophagus, which depicts a man teaching, identified by Rodenwaldt[8] as Plotinus (204/5–270 CE), is fragmentarily held in the Vatican's Gregorian Profane Museum, inv. 9504.[9] The memorial belongs to a relatively advanced phase of Roman sculptural evolution, shortly before the Tetrarchy, around 280.[10] The figures almost completely occupy the full width of the relief, and its theme reflects the practice of *paideia* in the Rome of the second half of the 3rd century.

The main character is seated in the centre of the composition, inside a tent or in front of curtains (*parapetasma*), with the remains of a Corinthian column on the right[11]. He is depicted as a man of letters, dressed in a robe and toga, which he wears like a cloak (*himation*), and, on his feet, he conspicuously wears shoes that illustrate his rank as a Roman gentleman.[12]

The owner of the sarcophagus stands out for being placed on a podium, with a *scrinium* and a *capsa* of scrolls at his feet, holding an open *uolumen* in his hands, from which he has been reading. The deceased is teaching a class to his disciples, which does not necessarily mean that all of the men represented are professionally dedicated to philosophy.

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[7] WEGNER 1966, nº 116, fig. 64b.

[8] RODENWALDT 1922, 120, fig. 6, 122.

[9] MASSI 1792, 19, nº 10; BENNDORF and SCHÖNE 1867, 10, nº 16, fig. 17, 1; RODENWALDT 1922, 120, fig. 6, 122; MARROU 1938, 47–50, nº 17; HIMMELMANN 1962, 122–123, fig. 39, 2; 1980, 144, fig. 498; 152, fig. 539; WEGNER 1966, 47, nº 116, fig. 64b; 70.71; FITTSCHEN 1969, 301 ff.; 1972, 491–492; 1979, 585 ff.; 1992, 267, plat. 189; BERGMANN 1977, 130; ZANKER 1995, 277–278, fig. 150; WREDE 1981, 290–291, nº 252; FAEDO 1981, 90 ff., plat. 8; KOCH and SICHTERMANN 1982, 204, fig. 23; GOETTE 1990, 97, 168, nº S 111; SCHEFOLD 1997, 438, 546, fig. 324 and 325; EWALD 1998, 41 ff., fig. 18.19, 1.3–4; 1999, 167–169, nº D 3, fig. 42, 1 and 2; 43,1–4; ZANKER & EWALD 2004, 253–255, fig. 226; BORG 2009, 237–238, fig. 15; 2013, 195–196, fig. 123; BARATTE 2011, 206–207.

[10] From the hairstyle of the two women, the tomb has been dated to the end of the third quarter of the 3rd century (WEGNER 1966, 98; FAEDO 1994b, 1030). RODENWALDT (1922, 122) dated it to between 263 and 270 even though this dating coincided with Plotinus' life, which makes it difficult to identify the owner of the sarcophagus as the founder of Neoplatonism, as the German classical archaeologist asserted for the first time in 1922. On sarcophagus production in the Tetrarchy period, see KOCH and SICHTERMANN 1982, 200–201.

[11] In this text "right" and "left" are always used in relation to the monuments themselves or the figures portrayed in them, and not the right or left of the spectator looking at the piece.

[12] EWALD (1999, 38–42) observes that the figure of the gentleman in the centre is not taken from the iconography of the actual philosopher, but is characteristic of imperial and magisterial representations.

For the seriousness of his demeanour, it is not so much the *recitatio* of an orator, but rather a philosopher commenting on a passage of the text that he is holding in his hands.[13]

Two female figures with their heads covered by a cloak, depicted as Muses,[14] are situated on either side of him, showing a submissive and attentive demeanour. The woman on the left, leaning in like Polyhymnia, is helping the teacher hold the scroll with her left hand; the other, on the right, posing as Calliope, is holding a *uolumen*.

For the typological/iconographic crafting of these two Muses, the artisan resorted to the usual archetypal cartoons used in this type of Roman sarcophagus during the post-Gallienic period. In the sarcophagi of the 3rd century, Calliope occupied a prominent position in the *choros* of the muses.[15] The figure is depicted with the typical dress of the main muse: her left hand is holding a rolled up *uolumen*, while her right hand shows the *flexio digitorum*, recurrent immediately afterwards in the compositions of the Tetrarchy period.[16] The image of Polyhymnia, with her characteristic demeanour, wrapped entirely in a tight-fitting cloak that only exposes the neckline of the *chiton* and part of her forearms, is turning slightly to her right, leaning in with the weight of her body on her right leg. Bending her left arm at a right angle, with her hand holding one side of the *uolumen* unrolled by the teacher, while her other arm is flexed with her elbow supported, and her hand positioned under her chin.[17]

In the second plane of the relief, on the right and in profile, a male figure with a beard, wearing a *himation*, is situated between the deceased and the woman. On either side, two other male characters, also bearded, holding a *uolumen* in the left hand, direct their gaze to the outside, perhaps towards other companions located beyond the scene.

The image of the man on the far right, whose face is in three quarter view and who is of advanced age, has a bushy beard, bald head and reveals a bare shoulder from under his *pallium*, seems to be inspired by the portraits of Socrates, indicating that he clearly represents a philosopher.[18] For his part, the man in profile on the far left, who is of mature age and has a neat hairstyle and a thick and curly beard, is wearing a *himation*, just like the one located closest to the teacher. This marked contrast in the characterisation of these two men compared to the balder one on the left could reflect that they are engaged in other

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[13] MARROU 1938, 48.

[14] BIE 1887; MARROU 1938, 231–257; WEGNER 1963; 1966; PANELLA 1967; FAEDO 1981, especially 129–132; 1992; 1994a; 1994b; WREDE 1981, 144–149; RUDOLF 1981, KOCH and SICHTERMANN 1982, 197–203; QUEYREL 1992; TURCAN 1999, 60–70; NOGUERA CELDRÁN 2001.

[15] WEGNER 1966, 98; FAEDO 1994a, 1030.

[16] WEGNER 1966, 98–99; PANELLA 1967, 31–32; FAEDO 1994a, 1057. This oratory gesture, formed with the thumbs, index and middle fingers raised, was adapted by the iconography of the first Christianity, assigning it a new symbolism (NOGUERA CELDRÁN 2001, 196 and 204–205) that has lasted to the present.

[17] PANELLA, 1967, 18; FAEDO 1981, 136; NOGUERA CELDRÁN 2001, 203.

[18] BERNOULLI 1901, I, 184–205; ZANKER 1995, esp. 12–13; 32–39, 57–62, 173–224, 310–322.

professions[19] not necessarily related to philosophy, or that they are philosophers who belong to other schools.[20]

The scene captures the precise moment that the teacher interrupts his reading of the scroll, possibly to comment on a passage of the text or to listen to a question asked by one of the attendees, perhaps by the man who is closest on his right, with his hand near his cloak.

At the back of the sarcophagus, a lion hunt, characteristic of the end of the Gallienic period, is depicted in low relief. The depiction of the hunt highlights the *uirtus* of the hunter, by referring to the *romana militia*,[21] emphasising the traditional practice of Roman courage. During the 3rd century, hunting became a popular pursuit as a way of demonstrating heroism, permeating all Roman social classes. Lion hunts, as well as those for wild boar, deer or wolves, are represented on demystified sepulchres, where footmen with rustic capes replaced the Dioscuri and robed riders.[22]

The execution of the scene is classicist. Both the beards and the hair are in chiaroscuro, with intersections of lines in the drapery. The folds in the wide curtains (*parapetasma*) in the background emphasise the loss of volume of the figures.

The main character, characterised as a "philosopher", is surrounded by his disciples, men and women. The geometrised shape of his head, with marked wrinkles, reflects the characteristics of late 3rd century portraits. Although classicist, the image seeks to capture the personality of the deceased as accurately as possible, highlighting visual forms and avoiding rigid exposition, showing certain "oriental characteristics", in keeping with the Egyptian origin of the deceased: Plotinus was born in Lycopolis in 204 or 205. His face also stands out for its concentration, inward gaze and abstraction, but in connection to cultured senatorial circles, as they are shown in the Porphyry's notice *On the Life of Plotinus and the Arrangement of his Works.*[23] Unlike most stereotyped representations of jurists or men of letters, the scene as a whole is both intimate and solemn[24], with aerial figures, where the moral figure of the teacher stands out in the centre.

Symbolism: shaping the soul

For there to be "funerary symbolism", as Turcan maintains, it is necessary "not only for the container (i.e. the image) to exactly hold the content (i.e. the meaning) or for the signifier to materially coincide with the signified, but also for the signification to be appropriate to the

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[19] According to BORG (2009, 238), these two men are experts in other fields not necessarily philosophical.

[20] ZANKER 1995, 278; EWALD 1999, 94.

[21] Hor. *Sat.* II.2.10.

[22] TURCAN 1999, 66. On representations of hunting on Roman sarcophagi, see ZANKER & EWALD 2004, 225–227, fig. 203 and fig. 204; 348–351, fig. 38.

[23] See *infra*, n. 47 and n. 54.

[24] BARATTE 2011, 207.

deceased as such".[25] For this, it is also necessary not to interpret that symbolism in isolation, but in connection with the funerary iconology as a whole, which in the case of this tomb attributed to the philosopher Plotinus rests on a doctrinal system based on the Neoplatonic ethics of virtues. At this point, it is somewhat close to symbolism and Christian imagery, which, for the most part, is of pagan origin. This hermeneutical connection allows us to note a certain chronologically defined homogeneity over the course of the 2nd and 2nd centuries CE.[26]

In his treatise *De pallio,* Tertullian contrasted the toga of the Roman citizen with the *pallium* of the philosopher.[27] The sarcophagus shows that the deceased sets aside the obligations of a Roman senator (*togatus*) to devote himself to the practice of philosophy (*palliatus*). Thus, we can think that the owner of the sarcophagus meditates, dedicated to the teaching of philosophy, comments on texts by Plato, Aristotle or the Stoics, but without abandoning the obligations to the State that his social status requires him to perform.

For Seneca, nothing but virtue can give us immortality.[28] The four cardinal virtues of a good Roman citizen are courage, mercy, piety, concord and conjugal fidelity. For his part, in his treatise *On Virtue* (*Enn.* I, 2 [19]), Plotinus distinguishes four levels corresponding to four types of virtue: civic, purifying, contemplative and paradigmatic virtues.[29] These virtues are inherent to the soul, since, in Intelligence, there are no virtues, but only models of virtue. But *uirtus* is inseparable from *sapientia*, and both come from nutrition (*trophe*) and education (*paideia*), everything that, according to Plato in *Phaedo*, the soul carries with it when it reaches Hades.[30] According to the narrative thread of the relief, it is about giving form to the soul, ordering it, thanks to the Muses, as if in a certain way the philosopher is making an effort to sculpt his own statue.[31]

In the funerary context of the 3rd and 4th centuries, the *uolumen* in the hand of both the Muses and men can refer to a book, either concerning a specific branch of human knowledge or a more generic order, expressing universal knowledge.[32] Through the cultivation of the sciences, the Muses allow the exercise of virtue and come to resemble the divine. In *Timaeus*, Plato considered effort in the love of knowledge as a virtue conducive to elevating thought to

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[25] TURCAN 1978, 1733 (= TURCAN 2003, 203).

[26] WOOD 1986, 24–25.

[27] Tert. *De pallio*, 5.1: *a toga ad pallium*; see 6.1–2.

[28] Sen. *Ep.* 73.15.

[29] On the four kinds or degrees of virtue in Plotinus, see ZAMORA CALVO 2013, 276–290.

[30] Pl. *Phd.* 107d.

[31] Plot. *Enn.* I.6 [1] 9.

[32] MARROU 1938, 190–196.

the spheres of the divine.[33] For Plutarch, Polyhymnia embodied the disposition of souls to the love of wisdom.[34]

Throughout the 3rd century CE, the theme of the Muses was disseminated in the field of funerary art from the philosophical schools permeating practically all social classes, contributing decisively to the shaping of Roman eschatology.[35] The depiction of the two Muses—Polyhymnia and Calliope—signifies that the deceased possessed, through them, all culture (πάσης μουσικῆς μετέχουσα), that is to say, the totality of the manifestations of intellectual activity, capturing the expression that Marrou applies to the inscription of the tombstone of Claudia Itala (Paris, Louvre, Depot: H.I).[36] But the "Muses" not only relate to themselves, but to all fields of knowledge. Indeed, the "Muses" (*Mousai*) are so named because they are "initiators" (*muousai*) of men into the sciences, that is, they teach them beautiful and useful things that are beyond the reach of the ignorant.[37]

The sarcophagus, as a *monumentum*, seeks to address the concern to endure in the memory of men. The deceased and his companions are depicted exchanging Greek and Roman elements, from philosophy and oratory.

According to the Roman conception, *felicitas* comes and derives from *pietas.*[38] With respect to *concordia*, during the 3rd century, its scope was related to public life, particularly to senatorial dignity. In the Magistrate's sarcophagus (so-called "Brother sarcophagus", *ca.* 260/270 CE; Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 6603),[39] the physiognomy of the two male figures suggests that it is the same man in two places at once: depicted with a senatorial toga on the left and with a Greek *himation* characteristic of the philosopher, with a bare torso pointing to a roll of papyrus, on the right.[40] The theme of the main scene shows the importance of education for a high Roman official, who is surrounded by lictors and other companions, which illustrates his high position as a senatorial official. Thus, the sarcophagus would reveal the dual vocation of its owner: a Roman senator who devoted himself to philosophical practice. This Neapolitan memorial, however, is unique among its kind in that it does not include the image of the Muses, and seems to have been a personal commission.

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[33] Pl. *Ti.* 90b.

[34] Plu. *Quaestiones conuiuales*, IX.14.7.746e. For Horace, the Muse gave him happy residence in heaven. HORACE, *Od.* IV.8.28–29: *dignum laude uirum Musa uetat mori / caelo Musa beat.*

[35] NOGUERA CELDRÁN 2001, 185–186; who follows at this point to MARROU 1938; CUMONT 1942, 253–350; and TURCAN 1999.

[36] MARROU 1938, 76–77, nº 71, fig. 3. See TURCAN 1999, 75; see also EWALD 1999, 59; BORG 2009, 229, n. 41.

[37] D.S. *Bibliotheca historica*, IV.7; cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 279.530b–531a (VIII.173.40 Henry). On muses in the "philosopher sarcophagi", see CUMONT 1942, ch. 4; EWALD 1999, 29–53; HANSEN 2008, 276–277.

[38] TURCAN 1988, 5.

[39] EWALD 1999, 54–56; 200–201, G9, fig. 88, 1; WREDE 2001, 70–71, fig. 17, 1; ZANKER & EWALD 2004, 169; BORG 2009, 228, fig. 14; BORG 2010, 242–243, fig. 5; 2013, 190, fig. 119.

[40] BORG 2009, 235.

In the so-called Plotinus sarcophagus, the arrangement of the figures is hierarchical. The portrait of the deceased is similar to the "face" of the apostle Paul, with the same characteristic physiognomic features, conveyed in the same way throughout the centuries of Christian art. From the style of his shoes (*calcei*), he can be specifically identified as a member of an equestrian order. In general terms, the portrait does not inherently correspond to that of a philosopher, but to that of a well-to-do and learned Roman citizen seated on a podium, reminiscent of a magistrate presiding over a trial, accompanied by his female relatives with their hairstyles like Roman matrons.[41]

An encyclopaedic education is a prerequisite for philosophical practice. Although, ultimately, the most important thing is adherence to a moral standard that can only be achieved through *askesis,* spiritual training, and the help of a role model whose own life supports the exercise of purification and the return to itself.

Plotinus invited each soul to purify itself of everything that had been added to it in consortium with the body. Only "when it returns to itself (ὅταν ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἀνέλθῃ)",[42] purifying itself of the body, will it live a "good and wise life"[43] and believe that it is immortal, situating itself in the intelligible region and in the pure region: "For he will see an intellect which sees nothing perceived by the senses (ὄψεται γὰρ νοῦν ὁρῶντα οὐκ αἰσθητόν τι), none of these mortal things (τι οὐδὲ τῶν θνητῶν τούτων), but apprehends the eternal by its eternity, and all the things in the intelligible world (πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ)".[44] The deceased "philosopher" addresses his listeners, each soul that shares his search, to, distancing itself from the corporeal, discover and persuade itself that it is part of divine nature.[45]

Plotinus' aristocratic circle in Rome

Plotinus arrived in Rome in 244, at the age of 40. He was soon welcomed by social and cultural elites, such as Gemina, a rich aristocratic widow,[46] in whose house he lived and established his school.[47] Thus, he adopted the social model of the philosopher, guest of an important family, who exercised the function of teacher, counsellor and spiritual guide. This same model had

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[41] On the formal nature of the faces and hairstyles of the Muses, as well as the figures of the philosophers in the sarcophagi of this period, see FITTSCHEN 1972, 494; FAEDO 1981, 93.

[42] Plot. *Enn.* IV.7 [2] 10.14.

[43] Plot. *Enn.* IV.7 [2] 10.5–6. See Pl. *R.* 521a4.

[44] Plot. *Enn.* IV.7 [2] 10.32–35. Trans. ARMSTRONG 1984, 383. Cf. *Enn.* IV.8 [6] 1.1–10; see O'MEARA 2013, 38–46.

[45] WOOD 1986, 24.

[46] SAFFREY (1992, 4) suggests that she was the wife (later widow) of Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, Decius' successor (years 251–253).

[47] GOULET-CAZÉ 1982, 231–257. O'MEARA (2003, 14) describes the house of Gemina in which Plotinus lived as an "unofficial circle or philosophical school".

been reproduced in Rome since the Republican era.[48] The house of Gemina must have been very spacious because it was also home to slaves, numerous pupils to whose tutelage he was entrusted, the widow Chione, with her children, who entrusted him with the administration of her fortune.[49]

In the biography that he dedicated to his teacher, Porphyry did not explicitly mention a "school"[50] of Plotinus, although he makes reference to the teacher, disciples and the classes he taught. Plotinus' circle enjoyed official recognition in the 3rd century. Thus, Longinus, despite not agreeing with him on many doctrinal points, gave him a privileged position in the philosophical context of his time.[51] His disciple Porphyry presented Plotinus as a teacher (*didaskalos*)[52] and, with great frequency, alluded to classes and meetings in which he had discussions with his disciples. The students took notes, which Amelius later collected together in the form of books,[53] and, as in all academic years, there were holidays.[54]

Plotinus had an excellent relationship with the Roman aristocracy, counting, as he did, among his disciples and listeners, a number of senators[55] and his personal friends Emperor

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[48] The civic elites shared with the Greek intellectual elites the same basic, rhetorical and philosophical culture. To model the figure of power in Rome, the influence of the Stoics was decisive. After a power crisis, the emperors needed to re-establish a consensus with the Senate, people and army.

The question of the position occupied by philosophers in Rome began in the High Empire, where the Stoic doctrine constituted a kind of substratum in the culture of the elites, as in the case of the "Stoic senators" of the 1st century. But this phenomenon continued into the age of the Antonines, where imperial power and philosophy were mutually reconciled; in the 3rd century, the senator Rogatianus, friend and disciple of Plotinus, renounced the quality of life and privileges of his rank. See Porph. *Plot.* 7.31–46. On this topic, see GANGLOFF 2018, 457–458.

[49] Porph. *Plot.* 9.5–10; 11.15.

[50] August. *Ep.* 118.5.33: *tunc Plotini schola Romae floruit habuitque condiscipulos multos acutissimos et sollertissimos viros.* See GOULET-CAZÉ 1982, 31.

[51] Porph. *Plot.* 19.36–37.

[52] Porph. *Plot.* 18.21.

[53] Porph. *Plot.* 3.46–47; 4.5.

[54] Porph. *Plot.* 5.3–5; see GOULET-CAZÉ 1982, 229–327.

[55] Porph. *Plot.* 7.29–30. The disciples (*zelotai*), close friends faithful to the group who gathered around the teacher for the love of philosophy, sought to imitate Plotinus intellectually and in their way of life. They were also characterised by their mature age and high social status. Porphyry provided a list of its members: Amelius from Tuscany, whose family name was Gentilianus (*Plot.* 7.1–4); Paulinus, whom Amelius nicknamed "Mikkalos", "because he was so prone to misunderstanding" (*Plot.* 7.5–7); the doctor , the Alexandrian Eustochius, whom Plotinus cared for until his death; Zoticus, critic and poet, author of a number of amendments to the text of Antimachus, and who put the Plato's myth of Atlantis into verse; the doctor Zethus from Arabia, married to a daughter of Theodosius, Ammonius' former companion; Castricius, surnamed Firmus, to whom Porphyry dedicated his treatise *De abstinentia*; the members of the Senate: Marcellus Orontius, Sabinillus and Rogatianus; and Porphyry himself. A total of eleven people were therefore included on the list of "disciples".

Rogatianus renounced all of his possessions, dismissed all of his slaves and even resigned his position as senator. When he became a praetor, and was to be taken to the court, with the lictors already at his door, he refused to come out or to have anything to do with the office. This senator, who abandoned political life, was whom Plotinus loved.

Gallienus and Empress Salonina.[56] At that time, however, Rome was not a dynamic philosophical centre like Athens or Alexandria. His school was not part of the official chairs of the empire,[57] nor was it a private institution: the courses were public and free, disciples and listeners discussed and shared a way of life, and women, who were "philosophers in their own right", also attended.[58] Plotinus imparted an education that was open to all, but without directing an official institution that would have received a salary from Rome or from the emperor. Although the word *demosieuontes*, used by Longinus to refer to Plotinus and Amelius,[59] suggests that we should not rule out the possibility that Plotinus received a state pension or grant, at least during the reign of Gallienus (253–268).

If Plato's great project consisted of founding a city whose philosophers would be kings, Plotinus, who is considered to have purified Platonism of every political component, longed for a city governed by the *Laws* of Plato, and gave it the name of "Platonopolis".[60] This political project, which could not be carried out due to the intrigues of certain people close to the emperor, revealed the presence of Plotinus in the midst of the Roman aristocracy. On the one hand, the teaching of the philosopher was aimed at listeners and disciples belonging to the senatorial political class in order to dissuade them of some of their political proposals[61] and, on the other, his teaching exercised an arbitratory function with such diplomacy that he would not make a single enemy during his 26 years of Roman life.[62]

In the house of Gemina, Plotinus did not teach in the manner of a salon philosopher, but rather led a community organised and inspired by Pythagorean precepts: vegetarianism,[63]

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made him welcome and, heaping the highest praise upon him, constantly held him up as an example to those who engaged in philosophy" (*Plot.* 7.44–46; trans. EDWARDS 2000, 16).

We cannot be sure though if this is a comprehensive list or whether Porphyry, in this passage of the biography, named only people who occupied an important social position in Rome. BRISSON 1982, 55–114; 1992, 235; SCHRAMM 2013, 110, n. 115.

[56] Porph. *Plot.* 12.1.

[57] Through Porphyry, we know that during Plotinus' period of teaching in Rome (245–270), Platonic *diadochi* in Athens continued at the head of the Academy and, as SAFFREY and WESTERINK (1968, xxxvii) point out, were holders of the chairs of Platonic philosophy in the School. We do, however, have to differentiate between the title of "Platonic diadochus" from that of "scholarch" from the Academy. In the imperial era, the title of "diadochus" was reserved exclusively for the holders of the official chairs of philosophy.

[58] GOULET-CAZÉ 1982, 239; SAFFREY 1992, 32; MÄNNLEIN-ROBERT 2005, 249; MICHALEWSKI 2017, 541–542.

[59] Porph. *Plot.* 20.32.

[60] O'MEARA 2003; SCHRAMM 2013, 1–2; 55–56, and 110; ZAMORA CALVO 2015.

[61] Porph. *Plot.* 7.20–21.

[62] Porph. *Plot.* 9.20–22: "Therefore, though he stayed in Rome for twenty-six whole years, and played the arbiter for many in their disputes with one another, he did not once make a foe of anyone in the political class". Trans. EDWARD 2000, 18. As Igal points out, it was probably 25 complete years: from the spring of 244 until the end of 269 or the beginning of 270. See IGAL 1982, 145–146, n. 50.

[63] Porph. *Plot.* 2.3–5.

sobriety,[64] reduced sleep,[65] refusal to go to public baths,[66] and celibacy. All these practices were based on the feeling of shame that Plotinus felt to be in a body, which led him to refuse to have his portrait made[67] or to celebrate his birthday.[68] Plotinus' disciples left their possessions at his disposal, which we can associate with Pythagorean principles of community of property and the firm friendship that united the members of a school. The teacher's affection towards his disciples manifested itself in his custom of greeting them with a kiss.[69] For their part, the disciples showed him a quasi-religious admiration.

Thus, in his Roman school, traditions inherited from the Academy and Pythagoreanism converged, creating a dynamic form of Platonism. Plotinus' aim was not so much to educate young people in a traditional way, but to extend to a circle of disciples his new interpretation of Platonism.

The "image of an image"

Porphyry recounted that Plotinus refused to pose for a portrait, considering that this would only be the "image of an image".[70] This story can help us to interpret the following key point: for Plotinus, that which was essential lay in the inner life of the intellective soul, and not in the anecdotes of incarnate life, since the body is only an image of the soul. Plotinus was opposed to the making of his portrait, the "image of an image", the "reflection of a reflection" (εἰδώλου εἴδωλον);[71] however, his fundamental concern was conveying a philosophical education, whose purpose was to show the need for the soul to turn to the intelligible principles from which it came. The soul, starting from a return to itself, indulges, becomes aware of its power and dignity.[72]

A portrait, whether sculpted or painted, takes as a model the human body, that is, it is the reflection of a body that, in turn, is a reflection of another reality. For Plotinus, each level of reality is an image of the level immediately above, and, in turn, constitutes a model of the level immediately below. What is generated is the image of the generator:[73] Intelligence is the image of the Good-One,[74] the Soul is the image of Intelligence;[75] and the sensible world is the

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[64] Porph. *Plot.* 8.21–22.

[65] Porph. *Plot.* 8.22.

[66] Porph. *Plot.* 2.5–6.

[67] Porph. *Plot.* 1.4–9.

[68] Porph. *Plot.* 2.37–40.

[69] Porph. *Plot.* 2.17.

[70] Porph. *Plot.* 1.2. At the beginning of his first chapter, Porphyry reflected on the episode of the portrait, which Amelius, his disciple and assistant, wanted but the teacher refused.

[71] Porph. *Plot.* 1.8.

[72] Plot. *Enn.* V.1 [10] 1.27–28.

[73] Plot. *Enn.* V.1 [10] 7.39–41.

[74] Plot. *Enn.* V.4 [7] 2.26; V.1 [10] 7.1; VI.8 [39] 18.36.

image of the intelligible world.[76] According to this processional scheme, the body can be considered the *eidolon* of the soul;[77] and the portrait, as an "image of an image", is a replica of the body.

In Plotinian anthropology, there is a descending hierarchy that started from the true man (the soul, independent of the body), his image (the body) and the image of the image (the portrait).[78] A copy always occupies a lower, gradually degraded level with respect to the model: the intelligible world is a model of the sensible world, which, in turn, is a model of the painting.[79] For Plotinus, the image (the portrait, which lacks life) is inferior in the 3rd degree[80] to the first archetype (the true man), since it took as a model the body (the visible man).

The sculptor sculpts the body, and not the soul, just as the sensible world reflects the intelligible, but not Intelligence. The sculptor, or the painter, reproduces only the component of lower dignity, since he takes as a model the body and not the soul.[81]

Conclusions

In fact, at the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century, "the altars of Plotinus were still being kindled and his books were in the hands of cultivated people, more than the dialogues of Plato!".[82] Through the biography and edition of the *Enneads*, Porphyry wanted to convey the message that philosophy was the true means that enabled the soul to be elevated to the divine.[83]

Both the archaeologist and historian of philosophy tried to correctly identify the representations, in the first case, remains, and, in the second, texts. The exegesis of the sarcophagus of the philosopher teaching, preserved in the Vatican Museums, is of great interest to those who wish to explore the aesthetic and moral environment of the ruling classes of the Empire in a period that Dodds refers to as the "Age of Anxiety".[84]

The relief is in a sepulchre style characterised by the introduction in the first compositional plane of the symbolic image of the deceased as a philosopher teaching, flanked

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[75] Plot. *Enn.* V.1 [10] 3.6–7; 6.46–47; V.3 [49] 8.9–13.

[76] Plot. *Enn.* V.8 [31] 7.14–15; 8.20; II.9 [33] 4.25–26; 8.15–29.

[77] Porph. *Plot.*1.6–8.

[78] Plot. *Enn.* VI.7 [38] 5.11–16.

[79] Plot. *Enn.* VI.2 [43] 22.33–46.

[80] Plotinus took Plato's comments as a reference, that art is a 3rd-degree imitation of the true being, see Pl. *R.* VI.597e; 598b; 599a–d; 600e; 602c.

[81] Plot. *Enn.* VI.2 [43] 22.33–46; see the analysis of PÉPIN 1992, 306–307.

[82] SAFFREY and SEGONDS 2012, xxv.

[83] On the last words pronounced by Plotinus to his doctor and disciple Eustochius, collected in Porphyry's biography (*Plot.* 2.25–27), see ZAMORA CALVO 2018.

[84] DODDS 1965.

by two Muses, who are an expression of heroism and immortality, through the cultivation during their earthly existence of philosophy and science. On the second plane of the composition stand three bearded male characters of philosophical/intellectual nature, with the one located on the far right depicted with Socratic features. On the third plane, a wide curtain (*parapestama*) spans the compositional background in its entire width.

Rodenwaldt was the first to identify the teacher seated squarely in the centre, unfolding a scroll in his hands, as Plotinus teaching in front of his disciples.[85] This central character, however, is not wearing the usual philosopher's *pallium*, but a toga and the *calcei* characteristic of Roman gentlemen, meaning that this is not the sarcophagus of the founder of Neoplatonism, but that of a Roman citizen belonging to the senatorial aristocracy or equestrian bourgeoisie, who, given the iconographic details in the composition, shows a clear interest in the teaching of philosophy and the cultivation of science.[86] Moreover, in the Roman sarcophagi of this period, it was common practice to include the teacher and characterise him as a thinker or philosopher, together with the Muses who appear to be listening attentively to his teachings.[87]

The scene of the portrait, together with this requirement of communicating the desire to live differently, indicates that Plotinus himself would have been surprised that someone would create a tomb for his body, since it would signify an attraction to the inferior powers of the soul to endure in physical memory by means of a superfluous iconographic erudition instead of by the conveying of his philosophical teaching. For Plotinus, "each of us is an intelligible universe (ἐσμὲν ἕκαστος κόσμος νοητός)".[88] As a result, each human being, by updating the intellective dimension of his soul, can be in contact and unite with the cosmos of intelligible forms. The desire to be portrayed by someone connects us with the sensible, chaining us to the lower parts of the universe, the one of external appearances; conversely, curiosity to learn about the principles raises us to the upper parts of the intelligible universe.[89]

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[85] RODENWALDT 1922, 120, fig. 6, 122.

[86] EDWALD 1999, 169; LANG 2012, 1070.

[87] FAEDO 1994b, 1043–1045; nº 158–171.

[88] Plot. *Enn.* III,4 [15] 3.22. Plotinus said that "we are an intelligible universe", and not "the intelligible universe". See Procl. *in Prm.* 948.15–18. "Intelligible", with the meaning of transcendent, as opposed to "sensible". As each individual is his soul, each individual is, like the soul, an ordered system of transcendent powers, some superior and others superior. See IGAL 1985, 107–108, n. 26; and 112, n. 46.

[89] Plot. *Enn.* III.4 [15] 3.23–25; see MICHALEWSKI 2017, 544.

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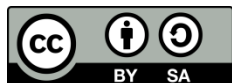
Some Considerations on the *Praefectus ripae legionis primae Ioviae cohortis et secundae Herculiae musculorum Scythicorum et classis in plateypegiis*

Cornel BALLA[1]

Abstract. *This article examines the passage XXXIX, 35 from Notitia Dignitatum, the only literary source referring to the fleet commander in the Roman province of Scythia. The document mentions the praefectus of the fleet and two types of naval units under his control. Several questions can be raised about the status of the commander, the place where he or she resided, the nature and attributions of the fleet. Although the text has been studied by many historians, several reading proposals being advanced, the issue of the military fleet on the Scythian border remains open.*

Rezumat. *Acest articol analizează pasajul XXXIX, 35 din Notitia Dignitatum, singura sursă literară ce face referire la comandantul flotei din provincia romană Scythia. În document este menționat comandantul flotei și două tipuri de unități navale aflate în subordinea sa. Se pot ridica mai multe întrebări cu privire la statutul comandantului, locul în care își avea reședința, caracterul și atribuțiile flotei. Deși textul a fost studiat de mai mulți istorici, fiind avansate diverse propuneri de lectură, problema flotei militare de pe frontiera scitică rămâne în continuare deschisă.*

Keywords: Roman fleet commander, *Notitia Dignitatum*, Scythia.

Roman fleet in the province of Scythia according to *Notitia Dignitatum*

A passage of *Notitia Dignitatum* mentions the commander of the province's fleet, under the authority of the duke of Scythia: *Praefectus ripae legionis primae Ioviae cohortis..... et secundae Herculiae musculorum Scythicorum et classis Inplateypegiis[2].* He is listed among legion commanders, having the same status as their prefects.

The passage, hard to interpret, has generated many controversies. Several reading options have been proposed:

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[2] *N. D. Or.* XXXIX, 35.

• C. Chiriac: *Praefectus ripae legionis primae Ioviae cohortis [quintae pedaturae superioris] et secundae Herculiae musculorum Scythicorum et classis in plateypegiis*[3].

• M. Zahariade: *Praefectus ripae legionis primae Ioviae et secundae Herculiae [et] musculorum Scythicorum et classis in [loco] Plateypegiis*[4].

• E. F. Scurtu: *Praefectus ripae legionis primae Ioviae cohortis … et secundae Herculiae musculorum Scythicorum et classis Histricae, Inplateypegiis*[5].

Musculi Scythici are the first naval unit present in the text. Another unit named *milites musculariorum* under the command of a *praefectus* is located at Massilia, in southern Gaul[6]. The soldiers may have been recruited locally, as the ethnic appellation seems to show[7] or the unit received the name of the province in which it stood. A mistake was noted in the above-mentioned fragment. Whether there is a loophole after *cohortis* ….., either this word was written in addition, following the repeated copying of the manuscript, we do not know for sure.

A. Aricescu proposes the reconstitution of the unit name as *cohors musculorum Scythicorum*[8]. His hypothesis was contradicted by O. Bounegru, who emphasized that the term *cohortis* had nothing to do with *musculi Scythici*[9]. The same author excludes the possibility that the text is referring to cohorts of the Scythian fleet. Naval cohorts are epigraphically certified (a *cohors maritima* at Cordoba and a supposed *cohors naut* [*arum*] mentioned by three inscriptions at Cemenelum and Riviera), but the term has a general meaning, not referring to the type of ships from which the units were composed[10]. M. Zahariade argued that the term *cohortis* should be eliminated, being probably a copy error of the manuscript[11].

C. Chiriac believes that the prefect recalled in this passage is the same as the prefect of *pedatura superioris* of the I Iovia legion of Noviodunum. In support of the hypothesis, C. Chiriac recalls the fragments of bricks discovered in Noviodunum, with the stamp PCRΣ[12], dated to the 3rd–4th centuries, after the establishment of the Scythia province, well as the fact that Noviodunum was the headquarters of *Classis Flavia Moesica* during the Principate. He chose *pedatura superioris* because, if the text would refer to *pedatura inferioris* of Aegyssos, his attributions would have been noted in the continuation of the previous sentence.

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[3] CHIRIAC 1984, 304: "The prefect of the shore, commander of the five cohorts of the first Iovia legion from the *pedatura superioris* (is) also (prefect) of the *musculi Scythici* of the second Herculia legion and the fleet of *plateypegii*".

[4] ZAHARIADE 1988, 90: "… the *musculi Scythici* and the fleet in [the place] (called) *Plateypegiis*".

[5] SCURTU 2016, 82.

[6] *N. D. Occ.*, XLII, 16.

[7] ARICESCU 1977, 120; BOUNEGRU 1983, 273.

[8] ARICESCU 1977, 120.

[9] BOUNEGRU 1983, 275.

[10] BOUNEGRU 1983, 275, note 16.

[11] ZAHARIADE 1988, 90.

[12] ISM V, 285: *P(raefectura) C(lassis) R(ipae) Σ(chythicae)*.

The conjunction *et*, immediately present after the gaps in the text, suggests the cumulus of prefect's functions, like the other *et*, used before the *classis in plateypegiis*. According to the author, the prefect of the five cohorts of *pedatura superioris* of the I Iovia legion of Noviodunum could also be the commander of the Scythian *musculi* of the II Herculia and of the *plateypegii* fleet. The latter would have acted on the *limes* section attributed to the I Iovia legion, while *musculi* on that of the II Herculia legion[13]. The interpretation does not seem convincing. It would have made more sense as the prefect of the ships that served the II Herculia to be one of the prefects of her legion. We tend to believe, however, that in the passage of the *Notitia Dignitum* there is a prefect other than that of *pedatura superioris* of the I Iovia legion of Noviodunum.

The name of the unit could be *legionis primae Ioviae et secundae Herculiae musculorum Scythicorum* (the Scythian *musculi* of the I Iovia și II Herculia legions)[14] or *secundae Herculiae musculorum Scythicorum* (the Scythian *musculi* of the II Herculia legion)[15]. The passage refers to the prefect who had authority over the two naval formations in the province. The names of the legions have no place in this passage, unless they are related to the boats. Thus, the Scythian *musculi* were either vessels used only by the II Herculia legion, or more likely by both Scythian legions, for transporting supplies on the Danube.

Musculi were, as the Althiburos mosaic in Tunisia shows, asymmetric crafts without a mast, with a raised snout and a curved bow, the movement of which was made with the help of the frames. The name of the vessels translates into „mice" and probably is related to the characteristics of the craft type: small, lightweight and fast[16]. These types of ships were generally maritime, such as those attested in Massilia or in the Histria figurative representations, but they could also navigate in the larger rivers or lagoon areas. *Musculi* seem to have been used for transportation and trade in the low waters around Histria, but also in other areas of the Roman Empire. According to some opinions, the *musculi* could also be battle ships, being part of the *naves longae* category[17]. In Scythia, the *musculi* could be boats carrying smaller amounts of supplies to groups of legionaries, dispatched at various fortified points on the *limes*, but also used for transportation of troops or in military actions.

Classis Inplateypegiis/in plateypegiis was another naval formation under the command of the same *praefectus ripae legionis*. The term *Inplateypegiis/in plateypegiis* has generated some controversy. One possibility would be that the text should not refer to a particular place, but to the type of craft that made up the fleet. Several arguments have been put forward in

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[13] CHIRIAC 1984, 305–306.

[14] According to BOUNEGRU and ZAHARIADE's observations regarding the wrong copying of the term *cohortis*.

[15] According to CHIRIAC's observations.

[16] DUVAL 1949, 136; BOUNEGRU 1983, 274.

[17] BOUNEGRU 1983, 274–275; BOUNEGRU, ZAHARIADE, 1996, 63–64.

support of this theory. A. Aricescu[18] underlined that *Notitia Dignitatum* always indicates the types of boats that formed the main naval units: the *musculi Scythici* in Scythia or the *naves amnicae* from Moesia Secunda[19]. Also, in the case of Moesia Secunda, there is no localized headquarters of the fleet that was under the command of a *praefectus*. This could mean that the fleet was operating across the entire Danube border of the province. Another argument is grammatical in nature: the preposition *in* is used before the term *plateipegiis*, which do not apply in the case of other toponyms in the Danubian provinces recorded in *Notitia Dignitatum*[20].

Other historians have considered that the text refers to a fleet base called *Plateypegia*, located somewhere in the delta area[21]. The toponym *Inplateypegiis* originates, according to M. Zahariade, from the Latin preposition *in* + πλάτη + πηγή. He translates the term as „flat bottom/surface (boats) on the river"[22]. The existence of the toponym may be explained by the name of a type of flat-bottomed boats encountered in Egypt, in the Nile Delta, which are also useful in the Danube Delta. The appearance in the text of a location with such a name may be due to the long presence of such ships in that place[23]. *Plateypegia* were light flat-bottomed boats, vertical curbs, with a stern higher than the bow, a mast with a Latin cloth and a rear cabin specially designed to navigate deep water. They were medium-sized vessels used to transport commercial goods, especially cereals. As evidenced by Egyptian papers, the Roman army used local *platypegia* fleets to carry *annona*[24]. Zosimos describes how the army of the Lower Danube was being supplied during Valens's war with the Goths: „He (Valens) conveyed the soldiers' provisions on a large fleet of transports through the Black Sea to the mouths of the Danube, and thence by means of river boats stored them in the towns along the river to facilitate the supply of the army"[25].

It seems unlikely that they were brought from Egypt, as part of the Theodosius I troop's exchange between this province and Scythia, certified by Zosimos, due to the long distance that had to be covered and the fact that these ships were not designed for sailing at sea.

In support of the toponymy theory, a comparison was made with Belgica Secunda province: *praefectus classis Sambricae, in loco Quartensi sive Hornensi*[26]. Just as in this case, our

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[18] ARICESCU 1977, 120.

[19] *N. D. Or*. XL, 36.

[20] ARICESCU 1977, 121.

[21] PÂRVAN 1906, 41; 1913, 507, note 1; VULPE 1938, 400; BARNEA 1968, 372 and 374; ZAHARIADE 1988, 90; 2006, 175–176; 2008, 352–353; 2009, 352; 2015, 164; BOUNEGRU, ZAHARIADE 1996, 27.

[22] ZAHARIADE 2015, 164.

[23] ZAHARIADE 1988, 90; BOUNEGRU, ZAHARIADE 1996, 27.

[24] BOUNEGRU, ZAHARIADE 1996, 69; BOUNEGRU 2011, 21–22; KHALIL 2012, 75.

[25] ZOSIMOS, IV, 10.

[26] *N. D. Oc.* XXXVIII, 8; ZAHARIADE 1988, 90. Under the command of the duke of Belgica Secunda are mentioned *Equites Dalmatae* at Marcis, *praefectus classis Sambricae, in loco Quartensi sive Hornensi* and *tribunus militum Nerviorum* in Portus Aepatiacus. *Classis Sambricae* seems to be a war fleet.

text could show where the fleet commander was headquartered: *in [loco] Plateypegiis*, a fortification that fulfilled its main core role. The toponym could indicate the long presence of flat bottom boats in this place, on St. George's arm of the Danube, somewhere close to the sea. R. Vulpe expressed the opinion that *Plateypegia* could not have been born until the third century, when the barbarians in the north, using boats to cross the Danube's arms and channels, intensified their attacks on the empire[27].

E. F. Scurtu considers the term either to be a toponym of a settlement in the delta area, either to refer to the entire delta of the Danube. In his view, Histria could have been a naval base for *classis Histrica* who operated in the provinces of Pannonia Prima, Valeria, Pannonia Secunda, Moesia Prima and Dacia Ripensis and which was the main fleet headquarters of Scythia. Another possible site of the prefect of the fleet proposed by the author is Halmyris, where there would have been a shipbuilding site that would have functioned until the sixth century[28]. We emphasize that *classis Histrica* is not mentioned in Moesia Secunda either, which shows that this is not an omission in the text. Units of this fleet were attached only to those ducats, which contradicts the author's hypothesis.

Another problem can be raised with regard to the toponym *Inplateypegiis.* If we really have to deal with the name of a military base of the fleet in the province where its commander was headquartered, then *Inplateypegiis* should be one of the main ports of Scythia, equipped with the port facilities needed to host a large fleet. However, the supposed toponym is not certified by any other historical source. It seems more logical that the headquarters of the prefect would have been in one of the main ports, probably at Noviodunum, where *Classis Flavia Moesica* also had its headquarters.

By the term *ripa legionis* we understand specific sectors of the border allocated to each legion for surveillance and defence. Like the commanders of the two Scythian legions, the fleet commander bears the title of *praefectus* and is recorded among the commanders of *riparienses* legions. Under his authority were the *musculi Scythici* and *classis in plateypegiis*, which were more likely to be the naval units responsible for transporting food and supplies to the troops on the border. The military fleet of Scythia was probably made up of the other two units mentioned in *Notitia Dignitatum*: *milites nauclarii*[29] and *milites superventores*[30], to which other unidentified units could be added. They probably used types of craft such as those *naves longae* used by Promotus in the year 386 in the battle on the Danube with the Goths[31] or *naves lusoriae*[32].

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[27] VULPE 1938, 300.

[28] SCURTU 2016, 81–84.

[29] *N. D. Or.*, XXXIX, 20.

[30] *N. D. Or.*, XXXIX, 21.

[31] ZOSIMOS IV, 39.

[32] *Codex Theodosianus* 7, 17, 1.

Without excluding the other possibilities presented, we suggest another possible reading of the passage from *Notitia Dignitatum*: *praefectura*[33] *ripae legionis primae Ioviae et secundae Herculiae musculorum Scythicorum and classis in plateypegiis* („prefecture of the Scythian *musculi* of the I Iovia and II Herculia shore legions and of the fleet of *plateypegia*").

It is difficult to tell whether the *musculi Scythici* would have acted on the *limes* portions attributed to the II Herculia legion and *pedatura superioris* of the I Iovia legion (that is to say the river section from the Moesia Secunda border to Aegyssus, to the point where the delta begins) and on St. George's arm acted that *classis in plateypegiis*. There is also the possibility that these two types of craft have fulfilled different tasks, depending on the characteristics of each, throughout the Dobrogea's section of the Danube. One of their main task could have been the distribution of the *annona*. Maybe *classis in plateypegiis* took in the supplies for military units from the seagoing ships in the region of the Danube mouths, as Zosimos reports, which were to be transported to the river ports and the *musculi* picked up smaller cargoes to distribute to the various garrisons. Perhaps these vessels, especially the *musculi*, also acted as battle ships when the situation required.

The fleet commander in Scythia

It was considered that the *praefectus* of the fleet was subordinate to the commanders of the two legions on the Scythian *limes*[34]. Two arguments were brought: his presence at the end of the list of the Scythian military units in *Notitia Dignitatum* and the fact that he was the commander of the Scythian *musculi* assigned to the two legions. We consider this *praefectus* to have the same status as the prefects of Legio I Iovia and Legio II Herculia. Returning to the text of *Notitia Dignitatum*, we note that it lists, in a specific order (*sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Scythiae*), the military units of cavalry (*cunei equitum*), infantry (*auxiliares*), the frontier legions (*item legiones riparienses*) and members of the duke's offices (*officium autem habet ita*)[35]. We believe that the order in which the troop categories are listed is not accidental, but reflects the importance and the role each of them had in the military organization of the province. Just as there was a well-defined differentiation between the status of the *scholae – palatini/comitatenses/pseudocomitatenses – limitanei/ripensis/riparienses* at imperial scale, probably the same was in the case of troops in the border provinces. Taking as an example the case of Scythia, the seven *cunei* could have represented the elite cavalry units under the command of the duke, stationed at key points, but who could quickly intervene in every

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[33] In the oldest preserved manuscripts of *Notitia Dignitatum* from 1436 and 1542, passage XXXIX, 35, the term *praefectura* is used, abbreviated as *praef.* in the first document (see Figures 1 and 2). In O. Seek's edition of the text from 1876, the term *praefectus* is used (p. 88).

[34] ZAHARIADE 1988, 89; BOUNEGRU, ZAHARIADE 1996, 24.

[35] *N. D. Or.*, XXXIX, 11–43.

corner of the province, locally having a role similar to that of *comitatenses* at the level of the global imperial strategy. *Auxiliares* included eight units of *milites* (both infantry and naval combat units[36]) and were the second group of troops, which probably had the role of supporting the actions of the *cunei.*

In the third category are included the frontier legions. We note that there was a main *praefectus legionis secundae Heculiae/primae Ioviae* at Troesmis and Noviodunum, which held authority over the other two *praefecti ripae legionis secundae Heculiae/primae Ioviae cohortis quintae pedaturae superioris/inferioris.* The fleet commander held the title *praefectus ripae legionis primae Ioviae et secundae Herculiae musculorum Scythicorum et classis in plateypegiis*, which could suggest its subordination to the prefects of the two legions or only to that of legion I Iovia from Noviodunum, the last mentioned in the list. However, we consider that the expression *ripae legionis primae Ioviae et secundae Herculiae* must be connected with *musculi Scythici.* Thus, the aforementioned prefect would not necessarily be subordinate to the commanders of the legions of Troesmis and/or Noviodunum, but he would be the commander of the *musculi Scythici* and the *classis in plateypegiis* which ensured the supply of the military units on the Danube line, especially with grains. Most likely, he was under the direct authority of the duke of Scythia. An imperial decree of January 28, year 412, issued by Theodosius II and addressed to Constans, who held the post of *magister militum per Thracias*, assigns the tasks of rebuilding the river fleet of Scythia to the duke of the province[37]. This information could support the theory that the fleet commander subordinated directly to the duke, not to the prefects of the legions.

The PCRΣ stamp from Noviodunum seem to indicate the presence of the prefect of the Scythian fleet on this particularly important naval basis. The prefect's headquarters could be established here for strategic reasons. It is likely that at least until the rebellion of the Goths in the Balkans and the Hadrianopolis disaster from 378, the prefect's seat remained at Noviodunum.

The image of *Notitia Dignitatum* on the province's military fleet is incomplete. The text mentions only the Danubian fleet, without providing any information on the province's maritime fleet. The literary sources of the fourth century speak only of naval military activities on the Danube. Also, the fifth century imperial decrees kept in the *Codex Theodosianus* refer only to the river fleet. Perhaps the efforts of the imperial administration of this period were concentrated on the river fleet, as the Gothic confederation in the northern Black Sea, which had organized strong sea attacks on the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor in the third century was no longer a threat. No epigraphic findings have been made at this time to testify the existence of other naval units and to fill the image of the military fleet distribution in this part of the empire.

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[36] We can distinguish the names of two naval combat units in the text: *milites nauclarii* and *milites superventores*.

[37] *Codex Theodosianus* 7, 17,1.

Figure 1. The *Notitia Dignitatum* page on the military organization of the Scythia province. A copy of the manuscript made in 1436 for Pietro Donato, the Bishop of Padua (*ap.* https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk)
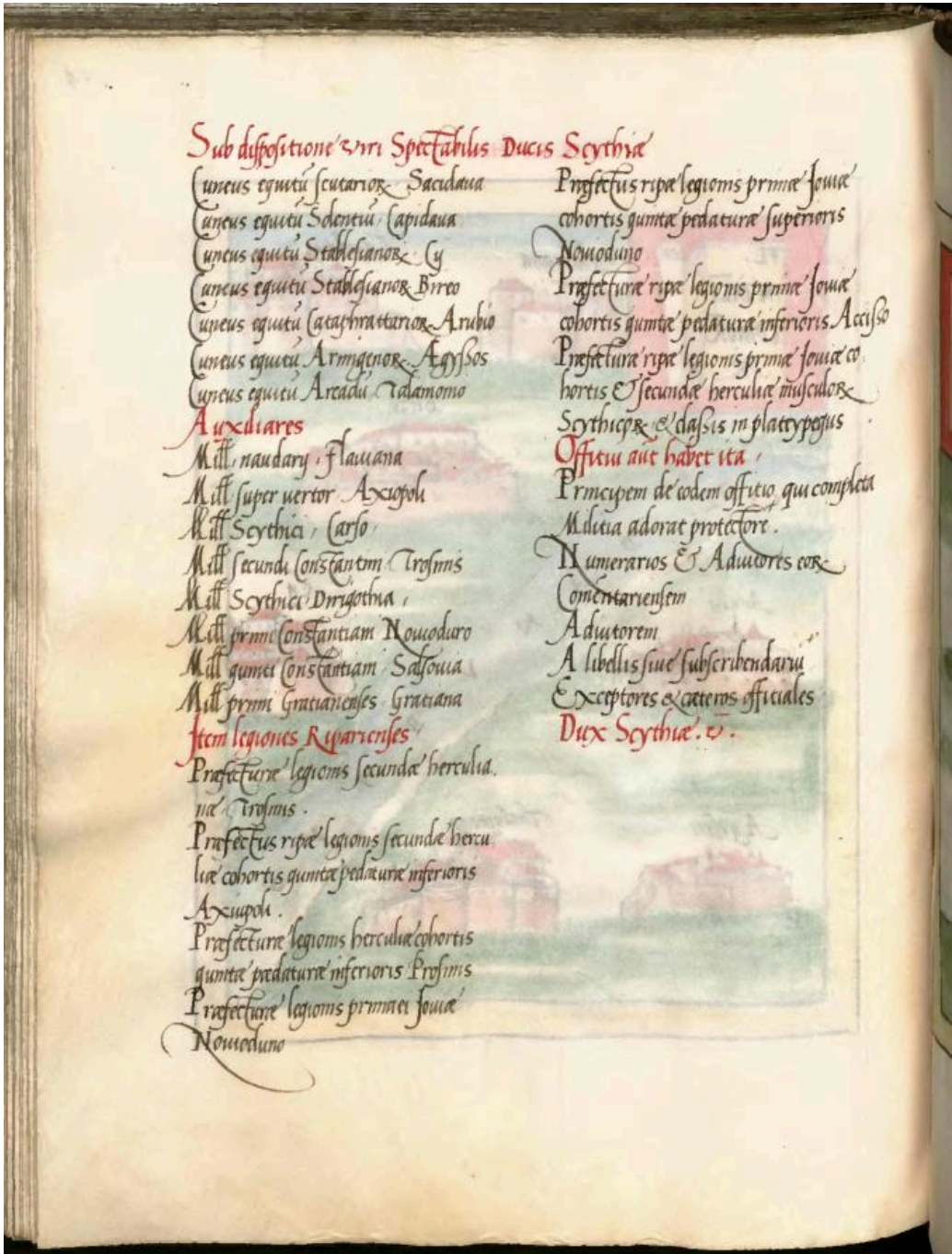
Sub dispositione viri Spectabilis Ducis Scythiæ

cuneus equitum scutarior. Sacidaua
cuneus equitu Solentis Capidaua
cuneus equitu Stablesianor. Cy
cuneus equitu Stablesianor. Birco
cuneus equitu Cataphractarior. Arubio
cuneus equitu Armigeror. Agyssos
cuneus equitu Arcadu Talamomo

Auxiliares

Mill. naudary. Flauiana
Mill super uertor Axiopoli
Mill Scythiæ Carso
Mill secundi Constantim Trosinis
Mill Scythici Dirigothia
Mill primi Constantiam Nouioduro
Mill quinti Constantiam Salsouia
Mill primi Gratianenses Gratiana

Item legiones Riparienses

Præfectura legionis secundæ herculia.
na Trosinis
Præfectus ripæ legionis secundæ hercu
liæ cohortis quintæ pedaturæ inferioris
Axiopoli
Præfectura legionis herculiæ cohortis
quintæ pedaturæ inferioris Prosinis
Præfectura legionis primæ Iouiæ
Nouioduno

Præfectus ripæ legionis primæ Iouiæ
cohortis quintæ pedaturæ superioris
Nouioduno
Præfectura ripæ legionis primæ Iouiæ
cohortis quintæ pedaturæ inferioris Accisso
Præfectura ripæ legionis primæ Iouiæ co
hortis & secundæ herculiæ musculor.
Scythicor. & classis in platypegiis

Officiū aut habet ita

Principem de eodem officio qui completa
Militia adorat protectore
Numerarios & Adiutores eor.
Comentariensem
Adiutorem
A libellis siue subscribendariu
Exceptores & cæteros officiales

Dux Scythiæ. v.

Figure 2. The *Notitia Dignitatum* page on the military organization of the Scythia province. A copy of the manuscript made in 1542 for the Palatinate Count Ottheinrich de Neuburg (*ap.* https://dl.wdl.org)

Conclusion

Corroborating the information from *Notitia Dignitatum* with those from other historical sources, we have tried to better understand the role of the military fleet commander and that of the naval units of Scythia in the Roman military strategy at the Lower Danube. We believe that the *praefectus* mentioned in this document was directly subordinated to the duke of the province and had under his authority two types of ships: *musculi Scythici* and *classis in plateypegiis*, who were operating on the *limes*. Their main task was, apparently, the distribution of grain supplies to the various garrisons. The headquarters of the fleet prefect were located, probably at least until the year 378, in the town of Noviodunum.

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'Rock Salt Around the Clock'. Ethnoarchaeological Research Concerning Traditional Extraction of Salt for Animal Consumption

Felix-Adrian TENCARIU[1], Andrei ASĂNDULESEI[1]

Abstract. *In Romania, an EU Member State since 2007, there are several mountainous areas with enduring ancient practices of animal husbandry and exploitation of salt resources. Here, shepherds quarry rock salt from outcrops two to three times per year as nutrients for their sheep flocks, for which they travel up to 20-30 km. Salt thus becomes an essential element for increasing the spatial parameters of pastoral mobility. Complex ethnological models emerged within a broader research project (cf. ethnosalro.uaic.ro), opening new windows to understanding the prehistorical or historical pre-mining phase of rock salt exploitation.*

Rezumat. *În România, stat membru al Uniunii Europene din 2007, există numeroase zone (în special montane) în care se păstrează practici străvechi de creștere a animalelor și de exploatare a resurselor de sare. Aici, păstorii înșiși sau persoane specializate extrag bolovani de sare din zăcăminte de două sau de trei ori pe an, ca nutrienți pentru animale, acțiune pentru care se deplasează până la 20–30 de km sau chiar mai mult. Sarea devine așadar un element esențial în augmentarea parametrilor spațiali ai mobilității pastorale. Astfel, în contextul unor proiecte extensive de cercetare, au rezultat modele etnologice complexe, care deschid perspective noi spre înțelegerea etapelor pre-miniere, preistorice sau istorice, ale exploatării sării geme.*

Keywords: Ethnoarchaeology, rock salt, pastoral mobility, Subcarpathian area.

1. Introduction

Both the Subcarpathian area and the Inner-Carpathian area of Romania (aka the Transylvanian depression) are characterized by a high density of salt water springs and salt mountains. Obviously, this situation led, over time, to an intense human reaction to salt, visible through the relatively numerous archaeological sites within the saliferous areas, manifold historical sources and the practice even today in some resilient areas of traditional behaviours of exploiting salt springs and salt outcrops. Hence, these realities gave Romania one of the highest potentials in Europe for ethnoarchaeological research on the preindustrial

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civilization of salt. During the last three-four decades, particularly after 2000, this research direction witnessed a very energetic development, to culminate in the systematic approach undertook by the continuously increasing interdisciplinary international team under the institutional framing of three research grants supported by the Romanian government (see http://ethnosalro.uaic.ro/). The main research directions were: the identification and geo-referential localization of the salt springs and salt outcrops through GPS (Figure 1); complex ethnographic inquiries related to them, performed at the salt springs and salt outcrops, at the seasonal animal breeding settlements, and at exploiting localities; spatial analysis method applied to the distribution area of the salt coming from a salt spring or a salt outcrops — habitat implementation relationship, etc.

Pastoralism and salt extraction

One particular item of the Ethnosal research was the relation between the exploitation of the salt rock and ovine pastoralism within the areas where this mineral is still available, outside industrial mining[2]. Both empirically and scientifically it is known that salt (sodium chloride)
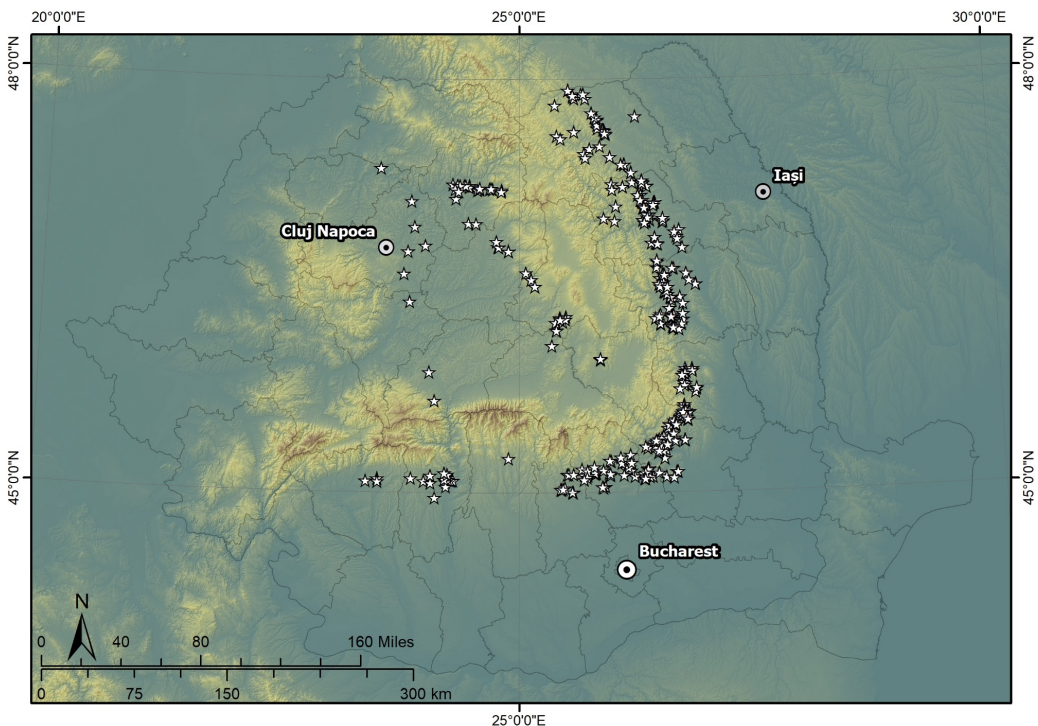

Figure 1. Map of the salt springs and salt outcrops identified within the Ethnosal research (2007–2019)

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[2] ALEXIANU *et al.*, 2015; BRIGAND *et al.*, 2018.

is an essential nutrient, absolutely necessary, as it performs an important regulatory function for the health and normal development of the body (both human and animal). Its insufficient intake finally leads towards a loss of appetite and weight, decrease of lactation, or, in the case of severe deprivation, to central nervous system damage and even to death[3]. Usually, a sheep will consume around 9–10 g of salt per day as salt lick[4]. A simple calculation shows around a ton of salt is needed per year that for a herd of 200–300 sheep. Normally, the farmers and shepherds buy salt blocks from various sources (stores, traveling salesmen and even online). More rarely, they acquire salt first-hand, by exploiting the naturally occurring salt rock.

The extensive ethnoarchaeological investigation (from 2007 till present), conducted around the salt springs and salt mountains from the extra-Carpathian areas of Romania, identified several genuine practices, undisturbed for centuries. In this case, it is about the relation between salt harvesting (modes of exploitation, persons involved, ways of transportation, etc.) and ovine pastoralism, observed specially in the areas surrounding the salt outcrops of Vrâncioaia, Andreiaşu de Jos, Jitia-Cerbu (Vrancea county), Mânzăleşti, Luncile, Fundata, and Negoşina (Buzău county) (Figure 2). Also, valuable information was provided by inhabitants of areas were rock salt is no longer available or just no longer exploited traditionally (Bistriţa Năsăud county). Around 50 informers (villagers and shepherds) were interviewed, following specific questionnaires, according to the situation (at the salt source, at the sheepfolds, and at the consumer household).

According to our informants, acquiring rock salt for animals is usually done twice a year, in early spring (for consuming over the warm season) and in late autumn (for wintering). The quantities of salt needed vary depending on the size of the flock and on the subjective assessments of the informants: ~1000 kg / over 500 sheep / half a year (Ion Prună, shepherd from Negoşina, Buzău county); ~400 kg / 200–300 sheep / half a year (Constantin Bâscenel from Luncile, Buzău county); ~300 kg / 100 sheep / half a year (Gheorghe Hristea, shepherd from Andreiaşu de Sus, Vrancea county); ~1000 kg / 150 sheep / year (Fănică Aniţoiu, shepherd from Bodeşti, Vrancea county); ~250kg / 300 sheep / year (Fane Danţiş, shepherd from Bodeşti, Vrancea county); ~30 kg / 15 sheep / year (Ion Ochean from Vrâncioaia, Vrancea county), > 1500 kg / 400 sheep / year (Emil Banu, shepherd from Cerbu, Vrancea county) etc. One can see that, generally, the amount of salt is close to the scientifically determined average, provided above.

In most cases, the shepherds gather the salt themselves, using common tools (spades, pickaxes, hammers, chocks — Figure 3) and transporting it to the sheepfold in wains

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[3] BERGER 1993, 5, 23; SUTTLE 2010, 183–184; MCDONALD *et al.*, 2011, 117.

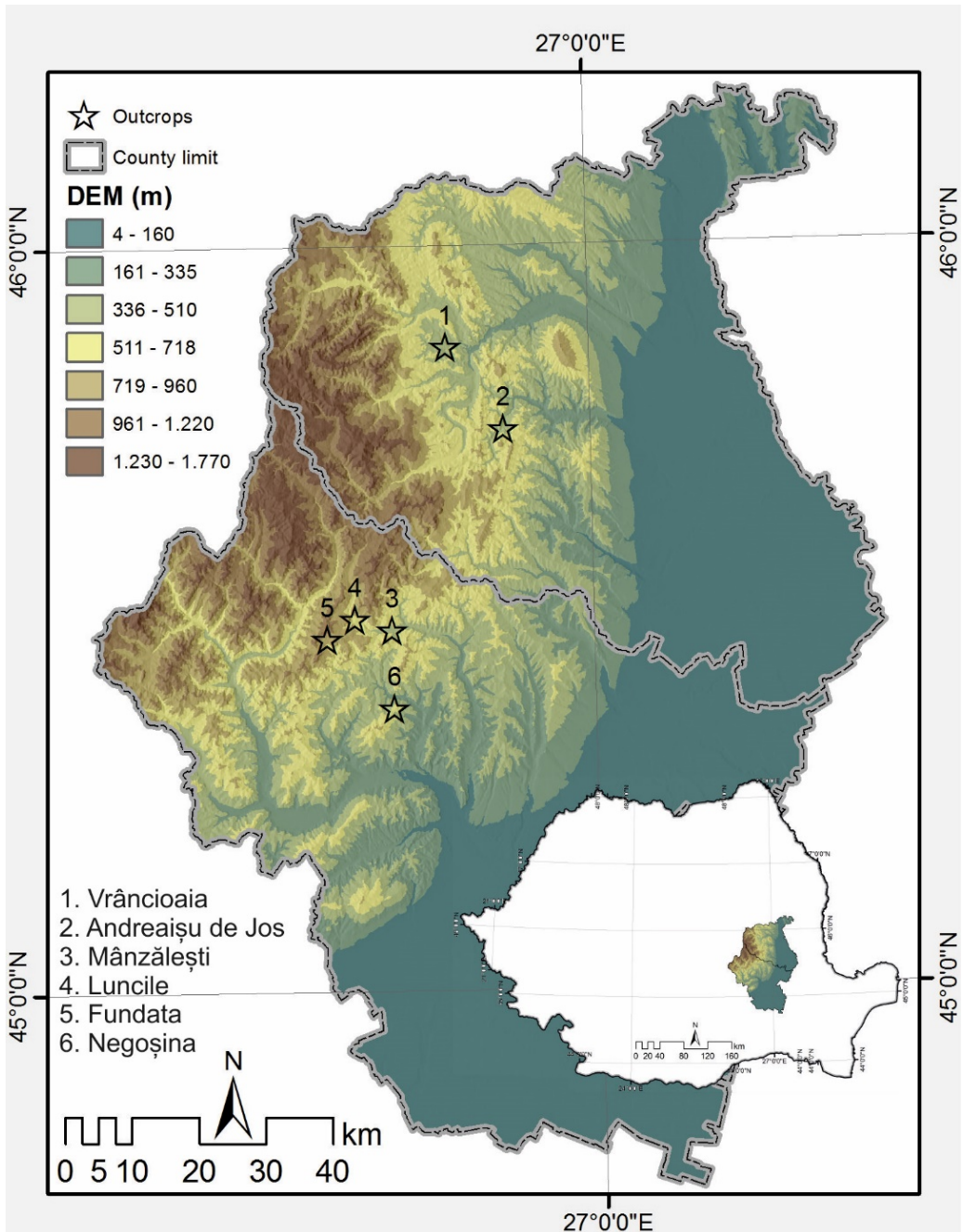[4] NUTRIENT REQUIREMENTS OF SHEEP 1985, 11; PUGH 2014.

Figure 2. Map of the salt outcrops exploited for sheepfolds supplying (Buzău and Vrancea counties)

Figure 3. Tools used for quarrying and processing the salt rock. 1–2: Luncile, Buzău county, household of C. Bâscenel; 3: Fundata, Buzău county, household of I. Ciobanu. Images by F.A. Tencariu, A. Asăndulesei

Figure 4. 'Specialists' in salt excavation. From left to right: Constantin Bâscenel (Luncile, Buzău county); Ion Ciobanu (Fundata, Buzău county); Jenică Bucăluță (Paltin, Vrancea county). Images by F.A. Tencariu & A. Asăndulesei

Figure 5. Storage of salt within the sheepfolds. 1: Negoşina, Buzău county, sheepfold of Ion Prună;
2: Andreiaşu de Sus, Vrancea county, sheepfold of Gheorghe Hristea.
Images by F.A. Tencariu, A. Asăndulesei.

Figure 6. Salt lick blocks placed in the holding pens. 1–2: Bodeşti, Vrancea county, sheepfold of Fănică
Aniţoiu; 3: Bodeşti, Vrancea county, sheepfold of Fane Danţiş; 4: Negoşina, Buzău county, sheepfold of
Ion Prună; 5–6: Recea, Buzău county, sheepfold of Stan Băieţelu. Images by F.A. Tencariu, A. Asăndulesei

(Rmn. *căruță*) — 500–600 kg at once, or with horses — large sacks placed on the saddle (*tarniță* — wooden saddle, with up to 200 kg per horse — Ştefan Silai, Nimigea Ungurească, Bistrița-Năsăud county). The salt is transported the same way towards the mountain pastures, when the flocks leave the village, in the case of pendulatory pastoralism; sometimes, during the summer, if the initial amount of salt is finished, the shepherds make an additional trip to the outcrop (up to 50 km).

Besides the auto supply with salt, accomplished by the shepherds, we had the unique opportunity to meet a form of unofficial specialization in salt excavation. Constantin Bâscenel (70 years old, from Luncile, Buzău county), Ion Ciobanu (70 years old, from Fundata, Buzău county), Vasile Dobrotă (60 years old, from Lopătari, Buzău county) and Jenică Bucăluță (49 years old, from Paltin, Vrancea county) are denizens known within the community as salt diggers (Figure 4). These villagers, besides daily agricultural occupations, used to excavate salt from the outcrops, when solicited by shepherds or other people. They used to work alone (unlike the shepherds or other users, who usually work in teams of 2–3 people), extracting 5–6 salt blocks (~50 kg) in three hours (V. Dobrotă), ~300 kg in 10 hours (C. Bâscenel), 300–400 kg a day (I. Ciobanu) or 300–400 kg in 7–8 hours (J. Bucăluță). They own tool kits (Figure 3) used exclusively for salt digging, composed of spades, chisels, sledge hammers, adzes, pick axes, etc. Only one of them (V. Dobrotă) was travelling with the salt, taking as payment especially agricultural products (barleycorn, wheat, corn, sunflower seeds, etc.), around 20 kg of salt for a *dublă* (old Romanian volume unit, ~20 litres). The other three were working only locally, negotiating products or money as payment. Extracting salt for the local shepherds was a common thing, the payment being usually in cash. C. Bâscenel used to ask 1 RON (~¼ EUR) per 1 kg of salt, or rarely, accepted 10–15 kg of cheese / curd per 300 kg of salt. I. Ciobanu used to demand 50 RON (~12 EUR) for a wain with 400–500 kg of salt. In these cases, we are dealing with half-time specialists, a category of individuals much more numerous and active in the recent and probably the distant past. Nowadays, salt being very cheap and easy to procure from elsewhere, the hard work of manually extracting it from the outcrops is just no longer profitable.

Once brought to the sheepfolds, the salt is kept away from humidity in small storage sheds, on shelves, wood boxes or simply in the shepherd's hut, under the bed (Figure 5).

The salt for lick is placed in the holding pen, on trifurcated wooden sticks, on improvised containers or simply on the ground (Figure 6).

In the Romanian literature the distinction between sedentary, local, pendulating pastoralism and long-distance transhumance was emphasised[5]. In the area of the salt outcrops are practiced nowadays only the first three types of pastoralism, closely related to this natural resource.

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[5] VUIA R. 1964; BUTURĂ V. 1978, 229; BRIGAND *et al.*, 2018.

Figure 7. The sheepfold from Cerbu/Jitia. The salt outcrop is located ~300 m on the left.
Image by F.A. Tencariu, A. Asăndulesei

In the case of sedentary and local pastoralism, the sheep owners or shepherds procure the necessary salt themselves, going to the closest outcrop as many times a year as they run out of salt for lick or for making cheese (up to 5–6 times, taking 200–300 kg of salt at once). Examples: the sheepfolds from Cerbu-Jitia (Figure 7), Negoşina, Andreiaşu de Sus, Bodeşti etc.

As for the pendulatory pastoralism, there are only a few cases encountered, this practice being slowly abandoned. However, we were able to document several cases in which the salt deposits are also used for this type of shepherding.

During the spring, the shepherd is going with the horse wain from the village Poiana to Alghianu salt outcrop[6]. In the same day the shepherd returns in the village with the aprox. 200–300 kg of salt extracted from Alghianu outcrop. When the flock of sheep is moving from the village to the sheepfold from Harboca mountain, it is accompanied by horses transporting salt boulders brought from Alghianu salt outcrop. In the event that the quantity of salt from the sheepfold was exhausted, the shepherds are going directly with horses to the Alghianu salt outcrop to bring some more salt in order to satisfy the needs of salt for the sheep.

In April/early May (depending on the weather), before the movement of the flocks from the Lopătari area towards the mountain sheepfolds (Gura Teghii, Penteleu, Zănoaga, Muşa, Bălescu), the shepherds came to the outcrops of Luncile (Figure 8) or Fundata with the wains
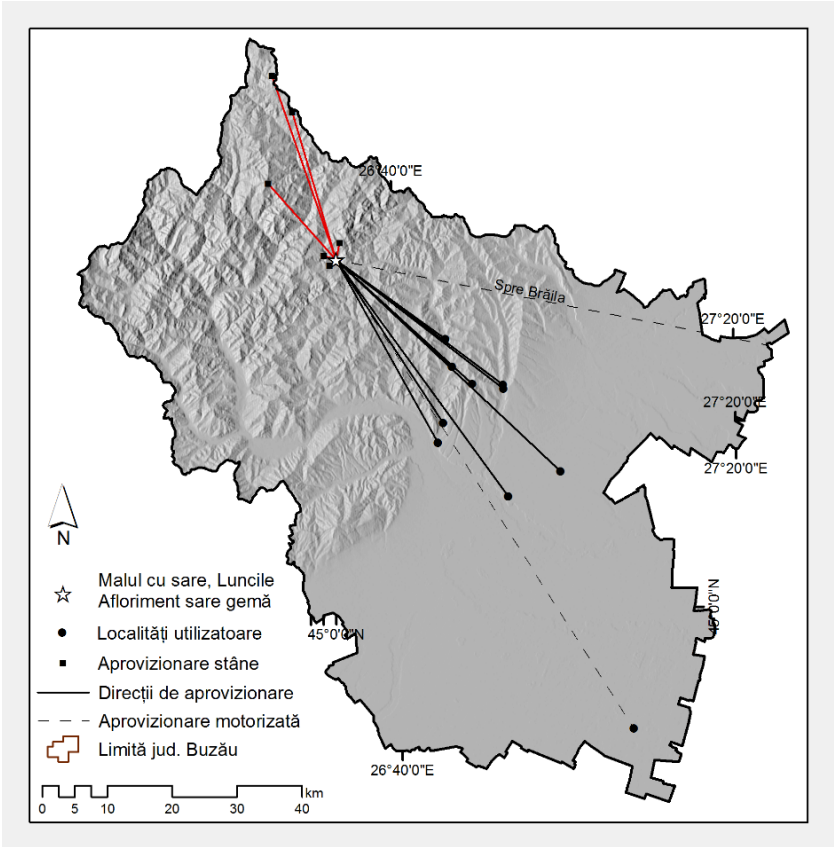
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[6] ALEXIANU *et al.*, 2015.

Figure 8. Salt supplying from the Luncile outcrop: mountain sheepfolds (red lines) and other villages from Buzău county
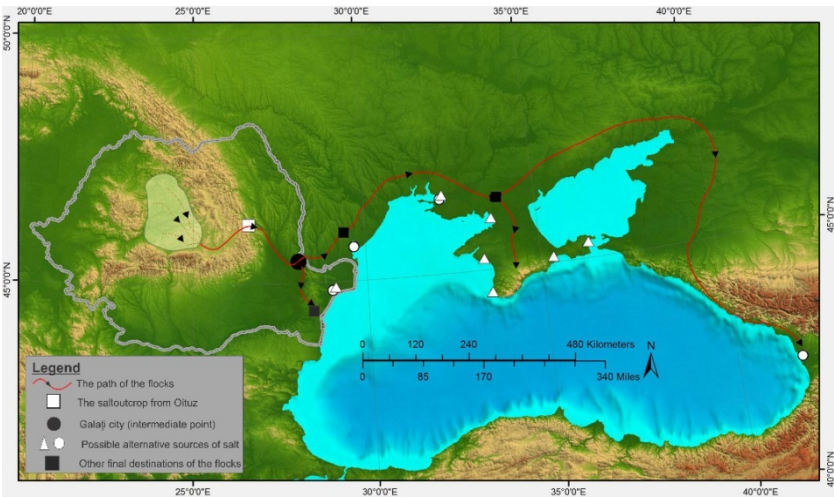

Figure 9. Path of the transhumance with possible resources of salt for animal consuming

to gather themselves (or, rarely, pay someone from the nearest village to do it) the necessary salt (around 400–500 kg per wain) and transport it to the sheepfolds, in the mountains. They do the same in autumn, when they return home, to ensure the salt for wintering.

On what concerns the transhumance, we do not have much information on supplying with salt for animal consumption, since it is an extinct phenomenon (at least in its traditional form). However, in the past (up to the beginning of the 20th century) shepherds from Transylvania were travelling with the flocks for over 1500 kilometres, reaching even Crimea and Caucasus in search of better grazing lands and warmer winters[7]. The collective memory of Moldavian Oituz states that when the shepherds crossed the mountains (Eastern Carpathians) through the Oituz pass, they procured the necessary salt for the road from near the village, where it was an important salt mountain (Figure 9).

Conclusion

Tracing and recording these nearly extinct practices are invaluable, as they identify models of the traditional ways of salt exploitation by village communities, particularly by pastoral communities engaged in over summering in semi-mountainous areas in the Carpathian hinterland. The pastoral calendar here is often associated with specific movements linked to the procurement of rock salt, both at the time of the summer ascent and prior to overwintering in the village. Also, the modes of exploitations, quantities, toolkits, ways of transportation, trade and barter, etc. are elements, preserved almost unaltered for centuries, which could provide hints in understanding the human mobility determined by the need for salt from the historical and even the prehistoric past.

With respect to the exploitation of salt from several outcrops above mentioned, it should obviously be ascribed to a phase preceding the actual mining exploitation, respectively the quarrying of rock salt[8]. Even if it constitutes quarrying, this type of exploitation of the rock salt during prehistoric times required, as evinced from our investigations, particularly hard tools (at least axes, chisels and hammers fashioned from stone or metal). From another point of view, this type of exploitation of rock salt involves a number of activities (extracting, transporting and crushing the salt) much more labour-intensive than those of the exploitation of the salt springs.

The existence in the area of the outcrops of rural communities with quasi-autarchic economies centred on animal husbandry (cattle, ovicaprids, swine) allowed us to highlight the role held by salt in animal feeding. In this context, it was possible to elaborate new models of salt supplying of the settlements and sheepfolds from the area witnessing intensive animal husbandry.

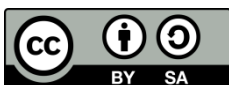[7] METEŞ 1977, 153–154.

[8] HARDING 2013, 61

Annex — the list of informants mentioned in text:

Ion Prună, 69 y.o., Negoşina, com. Căneşti, Buzău county

Vasile Dobrotă, 60 y.o., Lopătari, com. Lopătari, Buzău county

Constantin Bâscenel, 70 y.o., Luncile, com, Lopătari, Buzău county

Ion Ciobanu, 70 y.o., Fundata, com. Lopătari, Buzău county

Gheorghe Hristea, 52 y.o., Andreiaşu de Sus, com. Andreiaşu de Jos, Vrancea county

Fănică Aniţoiu, 54 y.o., Bodeşti, com. Vrâncioaia, Vrancea county

Fane Danţiş, 36 y.o., Bodeşti, com. Vrâncioaia, Vrancea county

Ion Ochean, 82 y.o., Vrâncioaia, com. Vrâncioaia, Vrancea county

Emil Banu, 61 y.o., Cerbu, com. Jitia, Vrancea county

Ştefan Silai, 52 y.o., Nimigea Ungurească, com. Nimigea de Jos, Bistriţa-Năsăud county

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