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Dedicated to Professor Attila László on his 80th birthday

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The Underlying Emotional Background of Quaternary Palaeontology: Nostalgia and *Ubi Sunt* in a Postdictive Science

Policarp HORTOLÀ[1]

Abstract. *This short essay aims to provide insight into the emotional background underlying Quaternary palaeontology and encourage scholars to thoroughly discuss the psychological determining factors behind its practice. The nostalgia for past times and the feeling of loss of a world that will never return are the emotional landmark of Quaternary palaeontology. Due to its taste for perished things and nostalgic turn into the past, Quaternary palaeontology participates in the bias of the pagan version of the* Ubi sunt *elegiac motif. While this work specifically concerns Quaternary palaeontology, it can probably serve as a guide to reveal the perceptions and motivations behind other sciences.*

Rezumat. *Acest scurt material își propune să ofere o perspectivă asupra fundalului emoțional care caracterizează paleontologia cuaternară și să încurajeze cercetătorii să abordeze în detaliu factorii psihologici determinanți asociați metodelor sale. Nostalgia pentru vremurile trecute și sentimentul pierderii unei lumi care nu se va mai întoarce niciodată reprezintă reperul emoțional al paleontologiei cuaternare. Datorită înclinației său pentru lucrurile dispărute și apelului său la nostalgia trecutului, paleontologia cuaternară contribuie la preferința pentru versiunea păgână a motivului elegiac* Ubi sunt*. Deși această lucrare se referă îndeosebi la paleontologia cuaternară, ea poate servi probabil ca model pentru dezvăluirea percepțiilor și motivațiilor prezente și în alte domenii științifice.*

Keywords: Psychology of science; sociology of science; history and philosophy of science; historical biology; fossil record; Pleistocene; Holocene.

> *"Nothing seems to us changed. Out of the unreal shadows of the night comes back the real life that we had known. We have to resume it where we had left off, and there steals over us a terrible sense of the necessity for the continuance of energy in the same wearisome round of stereotyped habits, or a wild longing, it may be, that our eyelids might open some morning upon a world that had been refashioned anew*

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in the darkness for our pleasure, a world in which things would have fresh shapes and colours, and be changed, or have other secrets, a world in which the past would have little or no place, or survive, at any rate, in no conscious form of obligation or regret, the remembrance even of joy having its bitterness and the memories of pleasure their pain."

— Oscar Wilde (*The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Lippincott's Monthly Magazine, July 1890)

Introduction

The sciences can be more or less strictly divided into nomothetic and idiographic[2]. These two terms were coined at the end of the 19th century by Windelband[3]. While nomothetic sciences (whose accompanying adjective derives from Greek νόμος, *nomos*, law; θέσις, *thesis*, a proposition) seek ahistorical, general laws, idiographic sciences (the accompanying adjective coming from Greek ἴδιος, *idios*, one's own; γράφος, *graphos*, a writing) focus on historical, particular events. As a result, nomothetic sciences (physics, chemistry, molecular biology, etc.) are predictive, whereas idiographic sciences (astronomy, historical geology, prehistory, etc.) are postdictive. Although palaeontology can be considered an idiographic science rooted in taxonomic nomenclature and description[4], different positions regarding its real (idiographic or nomothetic) epistemic status can be found in the literature[5]. Beyond this dichotomy, according to Salvatore & Valsiner[6] "*all science is idiographic* as it strives towards generalization about its phenomena through time — yet the *outcomes* of such efforts can become nomothetic in the sense of generalization based on evidence that 'once was' and 'another time was as well'". Because of their historical nature, postdictive sciences tend to accumulate evidence in support of a hypothesis, rather than trying to disprove hypotheses. This does not imply that historical sciences are inferior methodologically to the experimental ones[7]. In-depth discussions on epistemic issues such as overdetermination *vs.* underdetermination in the historical sciences are available elsewhere[8].

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[2] E.g. NAGEL 1952; GHISELIN 1997, 297–299, 308; KLUGE 2003; TURNER 2014.

[3] WINDELBAND 1894.

[4] GRANTHAM 2009; HUSS 2009.

[5] MORTHEKAI 2019, and references therein.

[6] SALVATORE & VALSINER 2010.

[7] MOHARIR 1993; CLELAND 2001.

[8] E.g. TURNER 2005; TUCKER 2011.

With regard to the temporality in sciences, an assessment of their different approaches easily allows one to conclude that, in fact, there is indeed no science that looks at the present, a point of view that was already insinuated at the beginnings of the 20th century by Poincaré[9]. Any scientific approach looks either to the future or to the past. To 'predict' something implies anticipating the future, because only that which has not yet happened can be predicted. Conversely, to 'explain' or 'describe' something implies going back to the past, because only what has already happened can be explained and only what has already been can be described.

According to Ebbinghausen & Korn[10], the scientific reasoning of palaeontology encompasses the following steps: (1) observation and/or description and/or measurement; (2) classification; (3) establishment of laws, rules and interpretations; and (4) establishment of principles. However, palaeontology attempts to reconstruct a type of event that is not recurrent but unrepeatable due to entropy, evolution, and ultimately the laws of thermodynamics of irreversible processes[11].

From the perspective of the history of palaeontology, it can be mentioned that Georges Cuvier treated the fossil record as representations of ancient coins or monuments of remote time that needed to be decrypted[12]. The focus on the fossil record is possibly the key difference between neontology and palaeontology[13]. In turn, the framework of biological evolution is supported by two pillars. While neontology can explain the mechanisms of evolution, palaeontology provides the facts of evolution. The mechanisms are an ahistorical continuum (scientific laws), whereas the facts are historical discrete items (the fossil record). As such, the facts of evolution are perished things from the deep past that mark a given moment in the unremitting history of Earth and life.

Quaternary palaeontology is a peculiar field within palaeontological science because it appeals to the nature of ourselves as it is associated with the emergence, spread and evolution of the genus *Homo*. It is also noteworthy because it encompasses not only the Pleistocene megafaunal extinction event[14], but also striking examples of Holocene insular extinctions such as those of the last, Wrangel woolly mammoths[15], the West Indies sloths[16],

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[9] POINCARÉ 1918 (1905), 254.

[10] EBBIGHAUSEN & KORN 2013.

[11] E.g. PRIGOGINE & WIAME 1946, and PRIGOGINE & NICOLIS 1971, on the connection between life and thermodynamics of irreversible processes; MICHAELIAN 2011, and references therein, on the connection between the origin and evolution of life and thermodynamic dissipation.

[12] TAMBORINI 2017, and references therein.

[13] CURRIE 2019.

[14] E.g. KOCH & BARNOSKY 2006; ELIAS & SCHREVE 2013.

[15] VARTANYAN, GARUTT & SHER 1993.

[16] MACPHEE, ITURRALDE-VINENT & JIMÉNEZ VÁZQUEZ 2007.

the Madagascar elephant birds[17], and the New Zealand moas[18]. Having these characteristics in mind, the aim of this short essay is to provide insight into the emotional background underlying Quaternary palaeontology and encourage scholars to thoroughly discuss the psychological determining factors behind its practice.

Quaternary palaeontology and the nostalgia for perished things

Nostalgia (from Greek νόστος, *nostos*, returning home; ἄλγος, *algos*, pain) can be defined as "a manifestation of the suffering generated by loss"[19]. This emotion represents the attempt to force two images (home and abroad, past and present, dream and everyday life) into a single one[20]. The neurobiological bases and psychological implications of nostalgia have been treated extensively elsewhere[21]. Based on a previous essay by Foucault, Bann[22] suggested that the discipline of history can be considered the result of a feeling of loss. By the same token, the nostalgia for lost worlds in the context of palaeontology has been slightly mentioned before by Mayor[23].

In postdictive sciences as a whole, there is also an evident nostalgic feeling of loss. They revolve around decay, perished things, around 'that which was but that will not be again'. The idea of perished things and decay is, in some ways, comparable to that of ruins and ruining. According to Hetzler[24], a 'ruin' is the disjunctive product of the intrusion of nature upon the human-made without loss of the unity produced by humans, and 'ruining' — started by either human or natural causes — is the maturation process done by nature in ruin time. In line with Ginsberg[25], "[n]ostalgia is a taste for ruins. It takes its reflective pleasure in the recovery of fragments from the past for which significant continuity to the present is lacking. The past for which we are nostalgic has no place in the present. The objects of our nostalgia are anachronistic and incongruous. (...) The nostalgic is a sentiment of saving". By his part, Currie[26] has asserted that "[o]ur primary window into the past is through traces:

[17] HANSFORD *et al.* 2018.

[18] HOLDAWAY & JACOMB 2000.

[19] ASLANOV 2009.

[20] BOYM 2001, xiii–xiv.

[21] E.g. SEDIKIDES *et al.* 2008; SPEER, BHANJI & DELGADO 2014; OBA *et al.* 2016; SEDIKIDES & WILDSCHUT 2016; 2018; KIKUCHI & NORIUCHI 2017.

[22] FOUCAULT 1966; BANN 1995, 10.

[23] MAYOR 2000, 246–248.

[24] HETZLER 1988.

[25] GINSBERG 2004, 362–363.

[26] CURRIE 2018, 63.

the rock, bone, and ruin that remain after time's destructive work. This destruction is lamentable, but even these fragments reveal worlds that are both alien and disquietingly familiar (...)".

In Romanticism — which represented a strong empathy with nature[27] —, the ruined site was a representation of the lost self in the lost past[28]. Furthermore, it has been suggested the existence of romanticist parallels and analogies between the (natural) fossil and the (cultural) totem, in the measure that one can do the function of the other[29].

It is worth pointing out that the thought of perishing and decaying would link with the Hispanic Baroque worldview. This worldview was constructed upon the premises of 'the wheel of fortune': the impossibility of permanence, of unstoppable growth, and of the final abandonment of the hope that something new might interrupt the chain of destruction[30].

A modern issue associated with Quaternary palaeontology is the rewilding and restoration of ecological proxies of Pleistocene environments[31]. A connection between this subject and nostalgia has been suggested by Higgs[32], as follows: "[w]e have affection for natural places and things, for the noncontrived flow of existence. Thus, nostalgia can have an emotional appeal, but also an ecological basis". In a similar sense, in the opinion of Donlan *et al.*[33] "humans have emotional relationships with large vertebrates that reflect our own Pleistocene heritage".

Quaternary palaeontology and the *Ubi sunt* elegiac motif

Due to its taste for perished things and nostalgic turn to the past, Quaternary palaeontology participates in the bias of the *Ubi sunt* elegiac motif. These Latin words are short for the rhetorical question *Ubi sunt qui ante nos fuerunt?* ('where are those who were before us?'), taken from the translation of one of the lines of verses concluding the *Sayings of St Bernard*, a 13th-century poem written in Middle English[34]. This topos is in reality much older, since it can be found in Biblical texts such as Psalms, Job, Ecclesiastes, and Lamentations[35]. The *Ubi sunt* motif is conceptually linked to the 'dances of death' (aka *danses macabres*). These dances were a typically medieval literary, pictorial, sculptural, and even popular-theatre genre that spread throughout Europe as an allegory to the universality of death. In this genre,

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[27] RUSE 1996, 26.

[28] ENJUTO RANGEL 2010, 9.

[29] MITCHELL 2001.

[30] FLOR 2005.

[31] E.g. DONLAN *et al.* 2006; CARO 2007; JØRGENSEN 2019; TOIT 2019.

[32] HIGGS 2003, 145.

[33] DONLAN *et al.* 2005.

[34] CROSS 1958.

[35] FULLER 2010.

either explicitly or implicitly Death leads his victims to the grave in a sort of dance or procession. Descriptions of the 'dances of death' and their development can be found elsewhere[36].

As a literary topic with different traditions, the pagan version of the *Ubi sunt* is characterised by its melancholic tone, which longs for the 'good old days' that will never come again, evoking a sense of loss, longing, and nostalgia at the passing of life's beauty and joys[37].

If an exercise of parallel between the *Ubi sunt* motif and fossils is carried out, the latter can be regarded as a special category of *memento mori*, a topic of remembrance of the inevitability of death whose commonest object is the skull. As a result, the fossil assemblages of vertebrates would qualify as a metaphor for contemporary cemeteries.

Concluding remarks

Analysing the psychological determining factors behind Quaternary palaeontology practice contributes to better understand the 'how and why' of this science.

Nostalgia for past times and the feeling of loss of a world that will never return are the emotional landmark of Quaternary palaeontology. Additionally, Quaternary palaeontology can be regarded as emotionally 'decadentistic'. The reason is that the intellectual hallmark of such a 19th-century literary movement — which in turn can be related to the literary pagan version of the *Ubi sunt* tradition — was precisely the nostalgic turn on the past.

While this work specifically concerns Quaternary palaeontology, it can probably serve as a guide to reveal the perceptions and motivations behind other sciences.

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[36] E.g. CLARK 1950; SPIVACK 1988; GERTSMAN 2010, 3–13; MACKENBACH & DREIER 2012.

[37] SCIACCA 2006; ATCHLEY & SAUER 2008.

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Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica 26(2): 149–168

Mining Data on the Spread of Early Metallurgy: Revisiting the Carpathian Hypothesis with Ancient Genomes

Astrid VICAS[1]

Abstract. *This study presents results relevant to understanding the spread of early metallurgy obtained by extracting patterns from a dataset of ancient genomes. It finds that, conservatively, the spread of metallurgy into Italy Remedello Chalcolithic culture can be linked to a probably Bulgaria Chalcolithic-shifted population represented by the genome of an individual associated with Bodrogkeresztúr pottery in Romania. Also conservatively, either a population related to this sample or to populations sampled from the Chalcolithic era Great Hungarian Plain can be associated with Italy North Bell Beakers and some Bell Beakers in France. Traces the samples examined have left give a sense of the geographical spread of the populations they represent. This paper illustrates the use of a data mining technique to support archaeological and humanistic inquiries on cultural developments.*

Rezumat. *Acest studiu prezintă rezultate relevante pentru înțelegerea răspândirii metalurgiei timpurii obținute prin extragerea tiparelor dintr-un set de date de genomuri antice. Se constată că, în ansamblu, răspândirea metalurgiei în cultura chalcolitică Remedello din Italia poate fi probabil corelată cu populația chalcolitică din Bulgaria reprezentată de genomul unei persoane aflată în legătură cu ceramica Bodrogkeresztúr în România. De asemenea, în ansamblu, fie o populație asociată acestui eșantion, fie cu populațiile din perioada chalcolitică din Marea Câmpie Maghiară pot fi asociate cu paharele de tip clopot din nordul Italiei și cu unele pahare de tip clopot din Franța. Urmele pe care probele examinate le-au lăsat ne indică răspândirea geografică a populațiilor pe care le reprezintă. Această lucrare explică modul de utilizare a tehnicii de extragere a datelor, venind în sprijinul cercetărilor arheologice și umaniste privind evoluțiile culturale.*

Keywords: Ancient Autosomal DNA Dataset; Spread of Metallurgy; Chalcolithic Carpatho-Danubian Area; Bodrogkeresztúr.

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Introduction

What can be said about the way of life of the earliest communities that spread metallurgical knowledge in Europe? This is an issue of interest to a general understanding of cultural transformations, and it is from that perspective that this preliminary study was first initiated. Metallurgical activity in Europe attains a high level of development in the fifth millennium BCE. Until now only archaeology could adduce evidence relevant to the transmission of metallurgical know-how and the communities that were implicated. Open-access archaeogenetic tools for unpacking relations among ancient populations can provide additional information in support of an examination of prehistoric cultural processes.

This paper presents the results of examining patterns among recently available ancient genomes of individuals from cultures or populations that the archaeological literature has deemed relevant to the spread of early metallurgy. That the transmission of metallurgical know-how throughout Europe received at least some if not most of its impetus from the Carpatho-Danubian region is a claim that has been broadly accepted. It appears to be generally believed that the transmission of know-how was primarily, if not exclusively, cultural. This study will present evidence that suggests that the transmission had a demic component.

The paper will also suggest there is evidence that some of the populations involved did not disappear at the end of the Chalcolithic. Thus, it will also include results about traces of their presence in post-Chalcolithic periods in some areas of Europe. The data used are samples of ancient and modern autosomal DNA in a curated dataset, which is current as of March 2020. Some geographical zones and eras of European prehistory are unevenly sampled, which might give the impression that populations implicated in the development and spread of metallurgy in Europe disappeared without leaving a trace. For this reason, data on more recent populations are also included.

This paper presents a first look at populations involved in the spread of early metallurgy in Europe obtained through open-access archaeogenetic data and tools.

Methodology

Genomic data from ancient and modern individuals are from the 240K+HO, Version v42.4 dataset at David Reich Lab[2]. The program *qpAdm* (version 810) in the *AdmixTools* package

[2] *David Reich Lab, Harvard University*, March 1, 2020. Online: *https://reich.hms.harvard.edu/downloadable-genotypes-present-day-and-ancient-dna-data-compiled-published-papers*.

distributed by David Reich Lab[3] was used to support inferences about relations among individuals and populations that have not been discussed in publications.

qpAdm models admixture in a target individual or population, given a choice of source and reference individuals or populations[4]. Henceforth, the term "population" will be used to denote either individuals or groups of individuals. Reference populations are populations from which no recent admixture — or more recent than stemming from source populations — into the target has occurred. The choice of reference populations in the analyses performed for this paper closely tracks the extended set used in Mittnik, et al., (2019). This set includes the following populations: Mbuti.DG, Ust_Ishim_HG_published.DG, Ethiopia_4500BP.SG, Russia_MA1_HG.SG, Italy_Villabruna, Papuan.DG, Indian_GreatAndaman_100BP.SG,[5] Han.DG, Karitiana.DG, Iberia_EN, and Germany_LBK_EN.

qpAdm is a means of assessing admixture based on allele frequency correlations between populations. *qpAdm* computes allele correlations for all four-way combinations of proposed populations for analysis —target, sources, and references, one of the latter being chosen as a base— as f_4 statistics. f_4 statistics provide the input to a least squares fitting algorithm, which calculates admixture proportions and standard errors for the proposed sources. A target population can thus be modeled as the result of admixture between source populations. This can be done if the source populations are differently related to at least some of the reference populations. A likelihood ratio test assesses whether the computed admixture proportions are rejected or not. This assessment is the *p*-value ascribed to the admixture proportions. The paper follows a common practice of placing the cut-off point of non-rejection or plausibility at $p \geq 0.05$.

The information included in the Appendix of this paper includes admixture proportions, standard errors, and *p*-values for each target, given proposed sources of admixture and the assumption about relevant reference populations. The Results section is a verbal summary based on the data contained in the Appendix. Because the focus of this study is on the plausibility of admixture of Bodrogkeresztúr from Romania, Bodrogkeresztúr, Tiszapolgár, Late Chalcolithic Baden, as well as Late Neolithic Tisza and Lengyel from Hungary into various target populations, little attention is given to admixture proportions, although they are reported where more than one source population is required. The only condition is that the admixture proportions be biologically feasible. Likewise, because of the focus of the study, the simplest models are entertained. None feature more than two source populations.

To model input from the Pontic-Caspian steppe of the fourth millennium, the currently best available population is Yamnaya Samara, even though it has been found to harbor

[3] *David Reich Lab, Harvard University*, n.d. Online: https://reich.hms.harvard.edu/software.

[4] PATTERSON *et al.* 2012; HAAK *et al.* 2015, Supplementary Information, 94 *ff.*

[5] Out of caution, a nineteenth-century Andamanese replaces modern Onge to stand in for a Southeast Asian population reference. Some of the modern Onge may have recent Western European admixture.

around 13% Early European Farmer admixture[6]. For steppe input from the third millennium into more westerly parts of Europe, an Estonia Corded Ware Culture population was used, since it is less admixed with Early European Farmers than other Corded Ware Culture populations.

As the focus of this study is evidence of admixture from presumed early metallurgists, not steppe admixture, preference is given to models that pass without the latter. If a plausible model reported in the Appendix includes a steppe source, usually Yamnaya Samara, it can be assumed that it is required.

The “allsnps: YES” option was applied in all *qpAdm* runs. Some of the models for low coverage targets were spot-checked using the “allsnps: NO” option, which might allow non-optimal models to be identified as plausible[7]. No material difference in results concerning which models were found to be plausible was noted.

While mixing modern and ancient populations may produce biased results for admixture proportions and rule potentially optimal models out as implausible, in simulations, combining modern and ancient populations as target and sources has not been found to cause implausible models to be assessed as plausible.[8] For this reason, some models that incorporate modern populations as targets will also be included. If they are not rejected, that is information worth noting.

The list of all samples used, their dates and location, is in the Supplement. Sample dates provided in the body of the paper are from this list.

Results

The populations of interest are Early European Farmers of the Chalcolithic. They refer to Urziceni48 — a label used in this paper to name sample I4089 — who is a representative of Bodrogkeresztúr from a necropolis in Vama Urziceni in Romania (4300-4000 cal BCE);[9] Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar (4500-4000 BCE); Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar_Bodrogkeresztur_published (4444-4257 cal BCE); and Hungary_LateC_Baden (various dates; cal BCE dates range between 3359-2929). Steppe admixture is modeled with Russia_EBA_Yamnaya_Samara (various dates; cal BCE ranging between 3335-2622) and, for Bell Beaker populations, Estonia_Corded_Ware (dates ranging between 2871-2340 cal BCE).

Populations from the Late Neolithic were added. They are Hungary_LN_Tisza (samples dated 5000-4500 BCE) and Hungary_LN_Lengyel (samples dated 4800-4500 BCE).

[6] WANG *et al.* 2019.

[7] HARNEY *et al.* 2020.

[8] HARNEY *et al.* 2020, Supplementary Information.

[9] SZÜCS-CSILLIK and VIRAG 2016. For information on Urziceni48, the contact person is Cristian Virag.

The Chalcolithic populations of interest are genetically very close. By-and-large, their genetic origin is in areas occupying the eastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain, but also extending northward into the Bükk Mountains (Appendix, Table 1.) If there is one factor that introduces a difference between them, it is that Urziceni48 may harbor admixture from some Bulgaria Chalcolithic populations. This admixture source is apparent if one restricts the Bulgaria Chalcolithic samples to Varna (various cal BCE dates, ranging between 4711-4374), Smyadovo (various, between 4520-4260 cal BCE), Sushina (various, between 4679-4335 cal BCE), and Dzhulyunitsa (various, between 4452-4246 cal BCE).

Urziceni48 can model admixture in various populations from the Chalcolithic later than it, except Late Chalcolithic Baden. The populations that Urziceni48 can model successfully include Croatia Vucedol, Italy Iceman, and Italy North Remedello Chalcolithic. Croatia Vucedol can also be modeled by some of the other populations of interest from the Chalcolithic or Late Neolithic (Appendix, Table 2.) Nevertheless, of all the source populations of interest from the Chalcolithic and Late Neolithic, only Urziceni48 can successfully model Italy Iceman (3484-3104 cal BCE) and Italy North Remedello Chalcolithic (dates ranging from 3483 to 2578 cal BCE).

For the Bell Beaker period, almost all of our source populations of interest from the Chalcolithic can successfully model low steppe France Bell Beakers from Haute-Savoie and Haut-Rhin (dates ranging between 2832-2135 cal BCE), Switzerland Bell Beakers from Sion-Petit-Chasseur (between 2470-1985 cal BCE), Italy North Bell Beakers from Emilia Romagna (between 2195-1930 cal BCE), and some Lech Valley Bell Beakers from Germany (between 2470-2210 cal BCE). Late Neolithic populations of interest, Lengyel and Tisza Late Neolithic, are not plausible sources of admixture in low steppe France Bell Beakers and Italy North Bell Beakers. Early Chalcolithic Tiszapolgár is also not a plausible source for low steppe France Bell Beakers (Appendix, Table 3.)

For the Bronze Age, among the populations of interest discussed in this paper, only Urziceni48 serves as a source of admixture in Maros Early Bronze Age (also referred to as Periam-Pecica; various dates from 2034 to 1696 cal BCE). Croatia Middle Bronze Age, Hungary Early Bronze Age Protonagyrev, and Italy Remedello of the Early Bronze Age can be modeled not only with Urziceni48 but also with Chalcolithic Bodrogkeresztúr or Late Chalcolithic Baden from Hungary. Lengyel LN and Tisza LN from Hungary are also acceptable sources (Appendix, Table 4.)

A variety of individuals and populations from the Iron Age to the Early Middle Ages from Croatia, northern Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Republic of Moldova have also been examined (Appendix, Table 5.) Most of them can still be modeled as having Early European Farmer admixture derived from Lengyel or Tisza LN, with some exceptions. The following can be plausibly modeled only with Urziceni48 rather than other Early European Farmer sources from the Chalcolithic or Late Neolithic: Italy Iron Age Republic (various dates and locations in northern Italy, between 900-200 BCE), Italy North Early Medieval Langobards, all from Collegno (580-630 CE), and Moldova Scythian 311 (389-204 cal BCE).

Finally, Urziceni48 can model Early European Farmer admixture in the following modern populations: Croatian, Italian North, Moldavian, Romanian, Sardinian, and Tuscan (Appendix, Table 6.)

All the ancient populations examined of all periods that are later than Urziceni48 can be plausibly modeled with Urziceni48 as a source, except for Late Chalcolithic Baden. Remedello Chalcolithic, Iceman, Maros (Periam-Pecica), Republic-era northern Italians, Collegno Langobards, and one of the Moldovan Scythians are modeled preferentially with Urziceni48 over the other ancient populations of interest from the Chalcolithic and Late Neolithic surveyed in this paper. The locations of modern populations that can be modeled with Urziceni48, Croatia, Italy North, Moldavia, Romania, Sardinia, and Tuscany, are consistent geographically with the pattern of admixture of this sample in ancient populations, even in the face of a current lack of ancient samples from significant areas.

Discussion

The choice of populations of interest from the Chalcolithic and Late Neolithic reflects discussions of the early spread of metallurgy in the archaeological literature. Archaeological studies[10] and network-oriented analyses[11] of the early spread of metallurgy in Europe have tended to manifest a preference for cultural transmission.

If we take differential plausibility of admixture from our populations of interest of the Chalcolithic era as an indicator of migration, then there is, at the very minimum, support for small-scale population migration of groups bringing metallurgical knowledge to Italy (Trentino, Lombardy, and Emilia Romagna) and France (Haute-Savoie, Haut-Rhin).

Dolfini (2013) has argued that the earliest spread of metallurgy in Italy progressed very rapidly from the northern Alps to Sardinia[12]. It spread both north and south of the Alps at the same time and came from a region encompassing the north-central Balkans or the Carpathian region[13]. This paper identifies a population represented by Urziceni48 as the likely source of the earliest spread of metallurgical know-how into northern Italy.

Strahm (2005, 2007) has argued that a Carpathian stream is responsible for bringing metallurgical know-how from the north to south Germany and Austria. Metal objects from the latter areas diffused into parts of Switzerland and France. Textual and tabular

[10] DOLFINI 2013; MERKL, SEININGER and STRAHM 2011; STRAHM 2005; 2007.

[11] RADIVOIEVIĆ and GRUCIĆ 2018; ROSENSTOCK, SCHARL and SCHIER 2016.

[12] DOLFINI 2013, 43.

[13] DOLFINI 2013, 41, 49.

information identify, going from east to west, Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo, Tiszapolgár-Bodrogkeresztúr, and Lengyel cultures as relays in the chain of transmission. Merkl, Steiniger, and Strahm (2011) suggest populations originating in Late Neolithic central Europe as a preponderant source of this influence[14]. Strahm (2005) believes that Chalcolithic Italy provided the source of metallurgical know-how in France[15]. Merkl, Steiniger, and Strahm (2011) continue to believe that metallurgy in Italy came from north of the Alps[16].

The results of this study allow that most of the Chalcolithic era populations of interest examined, Urziceni48-related, Tiszapolgár Bodrogkeresztúr, or even Late Chalcolithic Baden could have played the role of seeding some early metallurgy in Bell Beaker era France, Switzerland, or Germany. One can exclude Lengyel LN, Tisza LN, and Early Chalcolithic Tiszapolgár as sources in the case of low steppe Bell Beakers in France. Neither Lengyel LN nor Tisza LN looks to be plausible as a source of admixture in Chalcolithic or Bell Beaker era Italy.

Network based or oriented analyses plot correlations between metal artifacts and archaeological cultures. The social network approach in Rosenstock, Scharl, and Schier (2016) associates the spread of copper artifacts with Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr cultures,[17] in continuity with earlier cultures of the Great Hungarian Plain, Tisza LN and Lengyel LN, with Tisza playing a greater role than Lengyel.[18] The results reported for this paper are more convincing for Bodrogkeresztúr than Tiszapolgár, although the latter cannot be ruled out except for low steppe Bell Beakers in France. Genetic input from Tisza LN also cannot be ruled out for samples from the Lech Valley and Sion-Petit-Chasseur, but the results in this paper find that a role for Tisza LN is no more compelling than Lengyel LN. Both may represent an earlier population spread not associated with metallurgical know-how. It should also be noted that the Lech Valley and Sion-Petit-Chasseur individuals are among the lowest coverage samples used in this study.

Network analyses, whether in Rosenstock, Scharl, and Schier (2016) or Radivoiević and Grucić (2018), see the metallurgical center of gravity shifting westward from the Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo network to the Krivodol-Sălcuța-Bubanj complex, both in present-day Bulgaria, Serbia, and southern Romania. Radivoiević and Grucić (2018) date the shift to around 4100–3700 BC. The authors place Bodrogkeresztúr culture in this period, and view it as occupying a northwestern expanse in relation to the Krivodol-Sălcuța-Bubanj

[14] STRAHM 2005, 30; 2007, 51 and 53–54; MERKL, STEINIGER, and STRAHM 2011, 176–177, and 182–183.

[15] STRAHM 2005, 29–31.

[16] MERKL, STEINIGER and STRAHM 2011, 185–189.

[17] ROSENSTOCK, SCHARL, and SCHIER 2016, 86–88.

[18] ROSENSTOCK, SCHARL, and SCHIER 2016, 101.

complex. They identify Serbian mines in the Krivodol-Sălcuța-Bubanj complex as the source of copper in Bodrogkeresztúr[19].

Siklósi and Szilágyi (2019) note that recently obtained AMS dating shows that the copper supply network linked to metal use in Bodrogkeresztúr culture was contemporary with the end of the earlier Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo network and the duration of the Krivodol-Sălcuța-Bubanj complex. The authors see a strong association between Bodrogkeresztúr pottery and metal artifacts but believe that there is currently no evidence that the Great Hungarian Plain was a source of metallurgical technology. Instead, Siklósi and Szilágyi (2019) believe the source of this technology was in neighboring mountainous areas. Furthermore, they suggest that Bodrogkeresztúr communities, because of their mobility, could have been the agents that facilitated the spread of copper artifacts[20].

This paper supports some of the observations concerning the role of communities associated with Bodrogkeresztúr pottery outlined in Radivoiević and Grucić (2018) and Siklósi and Szilágyi (2019) in finding that there might be a difference between Bodrogkeresztúr from the Tisa River area and a culture identified as Bodrogkeresztúr based on its pottery, but located further east and represented by Urziceni48. The latter shows possible admixture with populations from Chalcolithic Bulgaria, which implies close contact with some of the agents at stake in the core metallurgical production area, the networks comprising the Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo and Krivodol-Sălcuța-Bubanj complexes.

The samples available from Chalcolithic Bulgaria — Dzhulyunitsa, Smyadovo, Sushina, and Varna —might not be optimal, but they intimate that perhaps not all groups identified as Bodrogkeresztúr based on pottery were the same. The ones represented by Urziceni48 might have played a more significant role in the spread of metal artifacts not only as intermediaries but also through their metallurgical proficiency. The approximately 750 km path from Vama Urziceni to the area encompassing Dzhulyunitsa, Smyadovo, Sushina, and Varna passes through the Arieș River area. A cave in the Cheile Turzii identified as harboring a metallurgical workshop belonging to the late Bodrogkeresztúr period is situated a short distance from this area. The workshop is dated 4100-3900 cal BCE[21]. Evidence from ancient genomes adds weight to perhaps otherwise still incidental evidence that a Bodrogkeresztúr-related population was more than an intermediary for the westward spread of metal artifacts.

There is likely to have been significant interaction between a more eastern situated Bodrogkeresztúr population and Sălcuța, as has been suggested by Roman (1971)[22].

[19] RADIVOIEVIĆ and GRUCIĆ 2018, 114, 119 and Fig. 7.E, 117.

[20] SIKLÓSI and SZILÁGYI 2019, 5281 and 5283.

[21] LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI and CONSTANTINESCU 2015, 340.

[22] ROMAN 1971, 130–131.

The interaction with Sălcuța culture, at the minimum, invites closer scrutiny. As of this writing, there is no published sample available for exploring this matter further.

Conclusion

Based on a method of modeling admixture in ancient populations, one can infer that the transfer of metallurgical technology in Europe was not only cultural but probably also involved a small-scale movement of populations. This paper identifies a likely Balkan Chalcolithic-shifted population associated with Bodrogkeresztúr pottery and represented by Urziceni48 as having played role that calls for further elucidation. It suggests, conservatively, that the population this sample represents is currently the best candidate to account for the spread of metallurgy in northern Italy Remedello Chalcolithic culture.

The paper compared similar populations and found that, also conservatively, some Chalcolithic populations including Tiszapolgár Bodrogkeresztúr and Late Chalcolithic Baden are also possible candidates for demic diffusion in Bell Beaker era communities in northern Italy and France. The lingering traces populations of interest examined in this paper left in later populations give a sense of the geographic expanse of their movements.

A greater variety of samples from Chalcolithic-era populations, notably Sălcuța, could bring more clarity to the early transmission of metallurgical know-how and its evolution. Such information should be beneficial to outlining a fuller picture of the social interactions among the populations at stake.

Appendix

Table 1. Possible sources for relevant Chalcolithic-era samples of interest. Populations later used as sources: Urzi48: Urziceni 48; TsPolg: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar; Bodrog: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar_ Bodrogkeresztur_published; Baden: Hungary_LateC_Baden. Green: $p \geq 0.05$

Urziceni48: possible sources	p-value
Bulgaria_C	5.8660E-02
Bulgaria_Chalc**	1.7909E-01
Hung_EarlyC_Tiszapolg_Bodrogker_pub	1.7936E-03
Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar	4.2779E-03
Hungary_LN_Lengyel	5.5053E-02
Hungary_LN_Sopot	4.1235E-03
Hungary_LN_Tisza	6.4551E-01
Hungary_MN_ALBK_Szakalhat	3.9273E-02
Hungary_MN_ALPc	1.9890E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Bukk	6.9516E-01

Hungary_MN_ALPc_I	2.7101E-02
Hungary_MN_ALPc_III	7.0629E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Szakalhat	3.1114E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Szatmar	3.9517E-03
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Tiszadob	1.1332E-01
Hungary_MN_LBK	2.8223E-03
Hungary_MN_Vinca	3.9861E-03

Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar	p-value
Bulgaria_C	4.7834E-02
Bulgaria_Chalc**	2.8759E-02
Hungary_LN_Lengyel	6.8254E-02
Hungary_LN_Sopot	2.5149E-02
Hungary_LN_Tisza	6.3640E-02
Hungary_MN_ALBK_Szakalhat	4.3104E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc	1.5716E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Bukk	2.7266E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_I	6.5660E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_III	7.7582E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Szakalhat	9.7655E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Szatmar	2.9841E-02
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Tiszadob	1.9904E-02
Hungary_MN_LBK	7.9855E-04
Hungary_MN_Vinca	4.3105E-04

Hung_EarlyC_Tiszapolg_Bodrogker_pub	p-value
Bulgaria_C	2.2203E-04
Bulgaria_Chalc**	4.5455E-04
Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar	4.2182E-02
Hungary_LN_Lengyel	2.6627E-02
Hungary_LN_Sopot	4.7560E-03
Hungary_LN_Tisza	1.1736E-01
Hungary_MN_ALBK_Szakalhat	1.3003E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc	1.4132E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Bukk	1.6573E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_I	2.8949E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_III	4.5670E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Szakalhat	6.5922E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Szatmar	3.9161E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Tiszadob	3.6649E-01
Hungary_MN_LBK	2.9824E-06
Hungary_MN_Vinca	2.3717E-06

Hungary_LateC_Baden	p-value
Bulgaria_C	1.5555E-09
Bulgaria_Chalc**	6.7816E-08
Hung_EarlyC_Tiszapolg_Bodrogker_pub	3.3064E-01
Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar	1.0398E-02
Hungary_Hunyadihalom_MCHA	7.6621E-01
Hungary_LN_Lengyel	4.5266E-02
Hungary_LN_Sopot	2.8511E-05
Hungary_LN_Tisza	3.2903E-02
Hungary_MN_ALBK_Szakalhat	1.2823E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc	7.2976E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Bukk	6.8783E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_I	4.7971E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_III	6.4648E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Szakalhat	5.7571E-01
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Szatmar	1.3303E-02
Hungary_MN_ALPc_Tiszadob	3.5626E-01
Hungary_MN_LBK	4.2088E-15
Hungary_MN_Vinca	2.0530E-13
Urziceni48	3.4061E-02

** Restricted to Varna (4 samples), Smyadovo (3), Sushina (2), Dhzulyunitsa (2). See Supplement for sample ID numbers and dates.

Table 2. Admixture of populations of interest in the Chalcolithic. Sources: Urzi48: Urziceni 48; TsPolg: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar; Bodrog: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar_ Bodrogkeresztur_published; Baden: Hungary_LateC_Baden; Lengyel: Hungary_LN_Lengyel; TsLN: Hungary_LN_Tisza; YamSam: Russia_EBA_Yamnaya_Samara. Green: $p \geq 0.05$. SE= standard error

Other Ancient	p-value	Urzi48	YamSam	SE	SE
Croatia_LateC_EBA_Vucedol	3.7729E-01	0.726	0.274	0.040	0.040
Croatia_Vucedol	1.4919E-01	1.000			
Hungary_LateC_Baden	3.4061E-02	1.000			
Hungary_LC_EBA_Baden_Yamnaya	6.1265E-01	1.000			
Italy_Iceman_MN	7.0462E-01	1.000			
Italy_North_Remedello_C	3.1628E-01	1.000			

Other Ancient	p-value	TsPolg	YamSam	SE	SE
Croatia_LateC_EBA_Vucedol	2.5495E-01	0.702	0.298	0.034	0.034
Croatia_Vucedol	3.0145E-02	1.000			
Hungary_LateC_Baden	1.0398E-02	1.000			

Hungary_LC_EBA_Baden_Yamnaya	2.8270E-04	1.000			
Italy_Iceman_MN	1.0887E-03	1.000			
Italy_North_Remedello_C	5.0072E-05	1.000			

Other Ancient	p-value	Bodrog	YamSam	SE	SE
Croatia_LateC_EBA_Vucedol	2.0235E-03	0.665	0.335	0.039	0.039
Croatia_Vucedol	8.1247E-02	1.000			
Hungary_LateC_Baden	3.3064E-01	1.000			
Hungary_LC_EBA_Baden_Yamnaya	2.2081E-01	1.000			
Italy_Iceman_MN	3.3799E-05	1.000			
Italy_North_Remedello_C	4.1520E-03	1.000			

Other Ancient	p-value	Baden	YamSam	SE	SE
Croatia_LateC_EBA_Vucedol	2.4563E-01	0.665	0.335	0.033	0.033
Croatia_Vucedol	2.0586E-02	1.000			
Italy_North_Remedello_C	2.1970E-03	1.000			

Other Ancient	p-value	Lengyel	YSam	SE	SE
Croatia_LateC_EBA_Vucedol	3.1839E-01	0.636	0.364	0.033	0.033
Croatia_Vucedol	1.4298E-01	1.000			
Hungary_LateC_Baden	4.90405E-02	0.976	0.024	0.019	0.019
Hungary_LC_EBA_Baden_Yamnaya	1.71651E-02	0.953	0.047	0.023	0.023
Italy_Iceman_MN	3.1700E-04	1.000			
Italy_North_Remedello_C	2.40658E-04	0.934	0.066	0.031	0.031

Other Ancient	p-value	TsLN	YSam	SE	SE
Croatia_LateC_EBA_Vucedol	1.6569E-01	0.677	0.323	0.037	0.037
Croatia_Vucedol	1.8720E-01	1.000			
Hungary_LateC_Baden	3.2903E-02	1.000			
Hungary_LC_EBA_Baden_Yamnaya	2.1784E-01	1.000			
Italy_Iceman_MN	2.7597E-02	1.000			
Italy_North_Remedello_C	5.9709E-04	1.000			

Table 3. Admixture of populations of interest in Bell Beakers.
Sources: Urzi48: Urziceni48; TsPolg: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar; Bodrog: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar_Bodrogkeresztur_published; Baden: Hungary_LateC_Baden; Lengyel: Hungary_LN_Lengyel; TsLN: Hungary_LN_Tisza; EstCW: Estonia_CordedWare.SG. Green: $p \geq 0.05$. SE= standard error

Bell Beaker	p-value	Urzi48	EstCW	SE	SE
France_Bell_Beaker_lowSteppe	1.4235E-01	1.000			
Germany_Lech_BellBeaker	6.6357E-01	0.526	0.474	0.043	0.043
Italy_North_BellBeaker	1.4646E-01	1.000			
Switzerland_Bell_Beakerulyu	9.8666E-01	0.422	0.578	0.051	0.051
Bell Beaker	p-value	TsPolg	EstCW	SE	SE
France_Bell_Beaker_lowSteppe	2.2590E-04	0.891	0.109	0.037	0.037
Germany_Lech_BellBeaker	6.6973E-02	0.493	0.507	0.040	0.040
Italy_North_BellBeaker	6.1361E-02	0.830	0.170	0.030	0.030
Switzerland_BellBeaker	8.4197E-01	0.416	0.584	0.048	0.048

Bell Beaker	p-value	Bodrog	EstCW	SE	SE
France_Bell_Beaker_lowSteppe	2.5559E-01	0.864	0.136	0.042	0.042
Germany_Lech_BellBeaker	2.1960E-01	0.465	0.535	0.039	0.039
Italy_North_BellBeaker	2.2749E-01	0.807	0.193	0.037	0.037
Switzerland_BellBeaker	9.4854E-01	0.383	0.617	0.048	0.048

Bell Beaker	p-value	Baden	EstCW	SE	SE
France_BellBeaker_lowSteppe	1.3990E-01	0.890	0.110	0.035	0.035
Germany_Lech_BellBeaker	2.9899E-01	0.465	0.535	0.036	0.036
Italy_North_BellBeaker	3.3140E-01	0.824	0.176	0.028	0.028
Switzerland_BellBeaker	9.9985E-01	0.381	0.619	0.044	0.044

Bell Beaker	p-value	Lengyel	EstCW	SE	SE
France_Bell_Beaker_lowSteppe	5.7582E-03	0.839	0.161	0.036	0.036
Germany_Lech_BellBeaker	2.6816E-01	0.440	0.560	0.330	0.330
Italy_North_BellBeaker	2.9047E-02	0.775	0.225	0.028	0.028
Switzerland_BellBeaker	9.9757E-01	0.361	0.639	0.042	0.042

Bell Beaker	p-value	TsLN	EstCW	SE	SE
France_Bell_Beaker_lowSteppe	1.5358E-02	0.909	0.091	0.042	0.042
Germany_Lech_BellBeaker	3.2000E-01	0.480	0.520	0.040	0.040
Italy_North_BellBeaker	2.6839E-02	0.841	0.159	0.035	0.035
Switzerland_BellBeaker	9.9998E-01	0.380	0.620	0.044	0.044

Table 4. Admixture of populations of interest in the Bronze Age.
Sources: Urzi48: Urziceni48; TsPolg: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar;
Bodrog: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar_ Bodrogkeresztur_published; Baden: Hungary_LateC_Baden;
Lengyel: Hungary_LN_Lengyel; TsLN: Hungary_LN_Tisza; YamSam: Russia_EBA_Yamnaya_Samara;
EstCW: Estonia_CordedWare.SG. Green: $p \geq 0.05$. SE= standard error

Bronze Age	p-value	Urzi48	EstCW	YamSam	SE	SE	SE
Bulgaria_EBA	6.7426E-01	0.866		0.134	0.029		0.029
Croatia_MBA	6.1695E-01	0.764		0.236	0.033		0.033
Hungary_EBA_Protonagyrev	3.7296E-01	0.646	0.354		0.044	0.044	
Hungary_Maros	7.5294E-02	0.540	0.460		0.046	0.046	
Italy_North_Remedello_EBA	9.5380E-01	1.000					

Bronze Age	p-value	TsPolg	EstCW	YamSam	SE	SE	SE
Bulgaria_EBA	4.1500E-04	0.832		0.168	0.021		0.021
Croatia_MBA	1.9337E-01	0.740		0.260	0.025		0.025
Hungary_EBA_Protonagyrev	8.4370E-01	0.624	0.376		0.038	0.038	
Hungary_Maros_EBA	2.3266E-03	0.535	0.465		0.042	0.042	
Italy_North_Remedello_EBA	2.0313E-01	1.000					
Bronze Age	p-value	Bodrog	EstCW	YamSam	SE	SE	SE
Bulgaria_EBA	1.6969E-01	0.800		0.200	0.025		0.025
Croatia_MBA	1.4168E-01	0.711		0.289	0.030		0.030
Hungary_EBA_Protonagyrev	3.6456E-01	0.598	0.402		0.042		0.042
Hungary_Maros_EBA	8.6894E-04	0.499	0.501		0.048	0.048	
Italy_North_Remedello_EBA	3.5493E-01	1.000					

Bronze Age	p-value	Baden	EstCW	YamSam	SE	SE	SE
Bulgaria_EBA	3.5939E-01	0.806		0.194	0.018		0.018
Croatia_MBA	1.7668E-01	0.697		0.303	0.025		0.025
Hungary_EBA_Protonagyrev	7.7858E-01	0.591	0.409		0.036	0.036	
Hungary_Maros_EBA	6.4445E-04	0.443	0.557		0.037	0.037	
Italy_North_Remedello_EBA	2.6610E-01	1.000					

Bronze Age	p-value	Lengyel	EstCW	YamSam	SE	SE	SE
Bulgaria_EBA	5.9001E-04	0.786		0.214	0.019		0.019
Croatia_MBA	3.2315E-01	0.675		0.325	0.025		0.025
Hungary_EBA_Protonagyrev	7.5463E-01	0.561	0.439		0.035	0.035	
Hungary_Maros.SG	3.7797E-02	0.468	0.532		0.038	0.038	
Italy_North_Remedello_EBA.SG	2.2326E-01	1.000					

Bronze Age	p-value	TsLN	EstCW	YamSam	SE	SE	SE
Bulgaria_EBA	5.0329E-02	0.836		0.164	0.025		0.025
Croatia_MBA	9.1065E-01	0.727		0.273	0.028		0.028
Hungary_EBA_Protonagyrev	2.5948E-01	0.707	0.293		0.031	0.031	
Hungary_Maros.SG	1.2214E-02	0.484	0.516		0.042	0.042	
Italy_North_Remedello_EBA.SG	3.0312E-01	1.000					

Table 5. Admixture of populations of interest in the Iron Age and Early Medieval periods. Sources: Urzi48: Urziceni48; TsPolg: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar; Bodrog: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar_Bodrogkeresztur_published; Baden: Hungary_LateC_Baden; Lengyel: Hungary_LN_Lengyel; TsLN: Hungary_LN_Tisza; YamSam: Russia_EBA_Yamnaya_Samara. Green: $p \geq 0.05$. SE= standard error

Iron Age & Medieval	p-value	Urzi48	YamSam	SE	SE
Bulgaria IA	1.1434E-01	1.000			
Croatia_EIA	6.9926E-01	0.734	0.266	0.036	0.036
Hungary_ScythianDA195	3.1376E-01	0.628	0.372	0.043	0.043
Hungary_ScythianDA198	9.4863E-02	0.702	0.298	0.040	0.040
Italy_IA_Republic	3.1439E-01	0.697	0.303	0.023	0.023
Italy_North_EarlyMedieval_Langobards	7.4849E-01	0.652	0.348	0.021	0.021
Moldova_Scythian300	8.6676E-01	0.725	0.275	0.043	0.043
Moldova_Scythian192	7.5784E-01	0.638	0.362	0.039	0.039
Moldova_Scythian197	3.4183E-01	0.667	0.333	0.047	0.047
Moldova_Scythian305	5.1543E-01	0.581	0.419	0.050	0.050
Moldova_Scythian311	7.4192E-02	0.432	0.568	0.047	0.047
RISE569 Czech_Early_Slav	1.6962E-01	0.474	0.526	0.038	0.038
Slovakia Poprad DA119	1.6015E-01	0.511	0.489	0.042	0.042

Iron Age & Medieval	p-value	TsPolg	YamSam	SE	SE
Bulgaria IA	1.1857E-03	0.884	0.116	0.033	0.033
Croatia_EIA	1.2115E-01	0.720	0.280	0.031	0.031
Hungary_ScythianDA195	3.2607E-02	0.619	0.381	0.038	0.038
Hungary_ScythianDA198	2.9082E-01	0.716	0.284	0.035	0.035
Italy_IA_Republic	2.4039E-05	0.684	0.316	0.018	0.018
Italy_North_EarlyMedieval_Langobards	1.2862E-06	0.646	0.354	0.015	0.015
Moldova_Scythian300	6.7672E-03	0.711	0.289	0.039	0.039
Moldova_Scythian192	1.9859E-02	0.638	0.362	0.035	0.035
Moldova_Scythian197	5.4661E-02	0.647	0.353	0.040	0.040
Moldova_Scythian305	9.5749E-02	0.608	0.392	0.049	0.049
Moldova_Scythian311	4.7404E-04	0.431	0.569	0.051	0.051
RISE569 Czech_Early_Slav	4.3939E-02	0.502	0.498	0.037	0.037

Slovakia Poprad DA119	2.2942E-01	0.500	0.500	0.038	0.038

Iron Age & Medieval	p-value	Bodrog	YamSam	SE	SE
Bulgaria IA	5.4015E-05	0.858	0.142	0.038	0.038
Croatia_EIA	3.2666E-01	0.672	0.328	0.034	0.034
Hungary_ScythianDA195	2.5979E-01	0.536	0.464	0.036	0.036
Hungary_ScythianDA198	3.2410E-01	0.656	0.344	0.037	0.037
Italy_IA_Republic	5.4429E-03	0.653	0.347	0.022	0.022
Italy_North_EarlyMedieval_Langobards	1.5056E-04	0.610	0.390	0.020	0.020
Moldova_Scythian300	5.7179E-02	0.682	0.318	0.042	0.042
Moldova_Scythian192	5.8835E-02	0.588	0.412	0.037	0.037
Moldova_Scythian197	1.1793E-01	0.608	0.392	0.043	0.043
Moldova_Scythian305	3.6804E-01	0.571	0.429	0.051	0.051
Moldova_Scythian311	4.1430E-03	0.383	0.617	0.047	0.047
RISE569 Czech_Early_Slav	3.6539E-02	0.439	0.561	0.034	0.034
Slovakia Poprad DA119	6.4718E-01	0.452	0.548	0.036	0.036

Iron Age & Medieval	p-value	Baden	YamSam	SE	SE
Bulgaria IA	5.9633E-05	0.857	0.143	0.032	0.032
Croatia_EIA	7.0623E-01	0.678	0.322	0.029	0.029
Hungary_ScythianDA195	1.7045E-01	0.521	0.479	0.034	0.034
Hungary_ScythianDA198	7.9830E-03	0.660	0.340	0.033	0.033
Italy_IA_Republic	1.1939E-04	0.629	0.371	0.014	0.014
Italy_North_EarlyMedieval_Langobards	1.1886E-04	0.598	0.402	0.012	0.012
Moldova_Scythian300	1.9872E-02	0.628	0.372	0.035	0.035
Moldova_Scythian192	4.9366E-02	0.559	0.441	0.032	0.032
Moldova_Scythian197	3.2455E-03	0.585	0.415	0.037	0.037
Moldova_Scythian305	8.2921E-02	0.480	0.520	0.043	0.043
Moldova_Scythian311	1.9725E-03	0.352	0.648	0.043	0.043
RISE569 Czech_Early_Slav	2.1601E-01	0.418	0.582	0.032	0.032
Slovakia Poprad DA119	4.0783E-01	0.426	0.574	0.033	0.033

Iron Age & Medieval	p-value	Lengyel	YamSam	SE	SE
Bulgaria IA	2.9099E-02	0.826	0.174	0.032	0.032
Croatia_EIA	2.5785E-01	0.653	0.347	0.029	0.029
Hungary_ScythianDA195	2.2200E-01	0.522	0.478	0.035	0.035
Hungary_ScythianDA198	1.2079E-01	0.638	0.362	0.035	0.035
Italy_IA_Republic all	3.5106E-03	0.623	0.377	0.017	0.017
Italy_North_EarlyMedieval_Langobards	1.3500E-04	0.586	0.414	0.014	0.014
Moldova_Scythian300	2.1655E-01	0.661	0.339	0.038	0.038
Moldova_Scythian192	1.2886E-01	0.563	0.437	0.033	0.033

Moldova_Scythian197	5.4240E-02	0.040	0.040	0.571	0.429
Moldova_Scythian305	2.4577E-01	0.523	0.477	0.046	0.046
Moldova_Scythian311	1.3729E-02	0.362	0.638	0.042	0.042
RISE569 Czech_Early_Slav	1.9866E-01	0.409	0.591	0.031	0.031
Slovakia Poprad DA119	1.7836E-01	0.425	0.575	0.035	0.035

Iron Age & Medieval	p-value	TsLN	YamSam	SE	SE
Bulgaria IA	7.7696E-02	0.858	0.142	0.034	0.034
Croatia_EIA	5.0105E-01	0.702	0.298	0.033	0.033
Hungary_ScythianDA195	1.4259E-01	0.538	0.462	0.036	0.036
Hungary_ScythianDA198	1.4586E-01	0.662	0.662	0.037	0.037
Italy_IA_Republic	3.6605E-02	0.66	0.34	0.02	0.020
Italy_North_EarlyMedieval_Langobards	4.1714E-03	0.618	0.382	0.017	0.017
Moldova_Scythian300	2.9287E-01	0.665	0.335	0.041	0.041
Moldova_Scythian192	4.9980E-01	0.583	0.417	0.035	0.035
Moldova_Scythian197	4.0367E-01	0.610	0.390	0.043	0.043
Moldova_Scythian305	3.3893E-01	0.502	0.498	0.045	0.045
Moldova_Scythian311	2.8007E-02	0.384	0.616	0.045	0.045
RISE569 Czech_Early_Slav	2.2519E-01	0.443	0.557	0.035	0.035
Slovakia Poprad DA119	2.0668E-01	0.441	0.559	0.037	0.037

Table 6. Admixture of Chalcolithic populations of interest in modern populations. Sources: Urzi48: Urziceni48; Bodrog: Hungary_EarlyC_Tiszapolgar_ Bodrogkeresztur_published; Baden: Hungary_LateC_Baden; YamSam: Russia_EBA_Yamnaya_Samara. Green: $p \geq 0.05$. SE= standard error

Modern	p-value	Urzi48	YamSam	SE	SE
Albanian	7.5248E-03	0.639	0.361	0.022	0.022
Bulgarian	3.6836E-02	0.578	0.422	0.019	0.019
Croatian	3.0943E-01	0.527	0.473	0.020	0.020
Czech	2.1406E-06	0.482	0.518	0.020	0.020
French	4.4085E-03	0.562	0.438	0.018	0.018
Greek	3.7528E-04	0.634	0.366	0.020	0.020
Hungarian	4.9372E-05	0.495	0.505	0.018	0.018
IBS (Iberian)	5.2494E-03	0.647	0.353	0.020	0.020
Italian_N	3.9145E-01	0.667	0.333	0.020	0.020
Moldavian	5.1869E-02	0.575	0.425	0.020	0.020
Romanian	3.0352E-01	0.546	0.454	0.019	0.019
Sardinian	5.2500E-01	0.874	0.126	0.025	0.025
TSI (Tuscan)	9.4428E-02	0.664	0.336	0.020	0.020
Ukrainian	3.3461E-08	0.431	0.569	0.019	0.019

Modern	p-value	Bodrog	YamSam	SE	SE
Albanian	3.9027E-14	0.592	0.408	0.021	0.021
Bulgarian	2.2182E-12	0.535	0.465	0.019	0.019
Croatian	5.6826E-06	0.489	0.511	0.017	0.017
Czech	1.7586E-07	0.456	0.544	0.019	0.019
French	1.9568E-06	0.522	0.478	0.017	0.017
Greek	6.6511E-20	0.585	0.415	0.019	0.019
Hungarian	1.9013E-08	0.455	0.545	0.017	0.017
IBS (Iberian)	1.9914E-12	0.602	0.398	0.019	0.019
Italian_N	1.8217E-10	0.617	0.383	0.020	0.020
Moldavian	9.2742E-12	0.543	0.457	0.019	0.019
Romanian	7.7738E-09	0.509	0.491	0.018	0.018
Sardinian	3.2338E-06	0.819	0.181	0.023	0.023
TSI (Tuscan)	4.8224E-14	0.618	0.382	0.019	0.019
Ukrainian	3.5990E-09	0.400	0.600	0.017	0.017

Modern	p-value	Baden	YamSam	SE	SE
Albanian	1.2643E-24	0.566	0.434	0.015	0.015
Bulgarian	8.0316E-18	0.513	0.487	0.013	0.013
Croatian	5.2189E-07	0.461	0.539	0.013	0.013
Czech	4.7506E-10	0.418	0.582	0.014	0.014
French	9.6456E-10	0.492	0.508	0.010	0.010
Greek	2.1132E-44	0.547	0.453	0.012	0.012
Hungarian	4.7865E-15	0.423	0.577	0.012	0.012
IBS (Iberian)	4.2282E-24	0.569	0.431	0.010	0.010
Italian_N	3.3345E-22	0.598	0.402	0.012	0.012
Moldavian	6.5068E-19	0.513	0.487	0.013	0.013
Romanian	5.3771E-13	0.482	0.518	0.012	0.012
Sardinian	3.0849E-16	0.809	0.191	0.012	0.012
TSI (Tuscan)	2.6548E-35	0.594	0.406	0.011	0.011
Ukrainian	6.4080E-15	0.360	0.640	0.013	0.013

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The Cucuteni A-B Settlement of Băiceni–*Dâmbul Morii*. History of Research

Radu-Ștefan BALAUR[1]

Abstract. *The research of the settlement from Băiceni–Dâmbul Morii (known in the archaeological literature as Cucuteni–Dâmbul Morii) is closely related to the excavations carried out in the eponymous site of Cucuteni-Cetățuia. The first mention, under the name of "Settlement in the valley", was made by the German scientist Hubert Schmidt, the author of the first monograph dedicated to the Cucuteni culture. The research carried out during several campaigns, in three sectors called A, B, and C, made important contributions in establishing the periodization of the Cucuteni A-B phase. Eight dwellings and a defensive ditch were investigated. The already known information regarding the settlement from Dâmbul Morii was completed by applying modern research techniques (geophysical surveys).*

Rezumat. *Cercetările întreprinse în așezarea de la Dâmbul Morii sunt strâns legate de cercetările din stațiunea de la Cucuteni–Cetățuia. Prima mențiune, sub denumirea de „Așezarea din vale ” a fost făcută de savantul german Hubert Schmidt, autorul primei monografii dedicate culturii Cucuteni. Cercetările desfășurate pe parcursul mai multor campanii, în trei sectoare, denumite A. B și C, au adus contribuții importante în stabilirea periodizării fazei Cucuteni A-B. Au fost cercetate opt locuințe și un șanț de apărare. Informațiile deja cunoscute cu privire la așezarea de la Dâmbul Morii au fost completate prin aplicarea unor tehnici moderne de cercetare (prospecțiuni geofizice).*

Keywords: Cucuteni culture, Hubert Schmidt, the settlement in the Valley, phase A-B.

Introduction

The research of the settlement from Băiceni–Dâmbul Morii (known in the specialized literature as Cucuteni–Dâmbul Morii) is closely related to the excavations carried out in the eponymous site of Cucuteni–Cetățuia. The excavations at *Dâmbul Morii* stands out, compared to those on “Cetățuie”, by the contribution brought to the establishment of the periodization of the Cucuteni A-B phase, considered until that moment a unique and short-lived phase[2]. The site is mentioned for the first time, under the name of “Talsiedlung” (“The settlement in the valley”) in the monograph of the German archaeologist Hubert Schmidt dedicated to

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[2] DINU 2006, 31; 2009, 106.

the Cucuteni culture[3]. In carrying out the excavations in the two sites, *Cetățuia* and *Dâmbul Morii*, the German researcher collaborated, on behalf of the Romanian state, with Ion Andrieșescu and Constantin Dascălu[4].

Although the discoveries from Cucuteni had an important echo, nationally and internationally, the results being presented in the monograph of the German scientist (1932), until 1961, no archeological excavations took place in the region. The archaeological campaigns carried out starting with 1961 in the commune of Cucuteni led to the creation in this area of a practice base for the students of the Faculty of History of Iași[5].

Geographical background

The settlement from *Dâmbul Morii* is located on the territory of Cucuteni commune, Iași county, on the east side of the village of Băiceni (GPS coordinates: X = 646363.716, Y = 646029.858 - STEREO 70; 47 ° 17′52″ N, 26 ° 56′5 .9″ E - WGS84), between the Recea and Morii streams to the west and east, presenting a steeper slope to the southeast, and more gentle slopes on the other sides. Most likely, once, as nowadays, around the promontory was a marshy area, increasing the possibilities of natural defence (Figure 1)[6].

History of field research

As mentioned above, the first information on the settlement of *Dâmbul Morii* is made by H. Schmidt, in the monograph dedicated to the resort of Cucuteni, under the name "The settlement in the valley-*Talsiedlung*". According to the information published by H. Schmidt, the German researcher dug, in the western part of this site, a ditch of about 31×2 m, in which ceramic remains were discovered, as well as parts of a dwelling. He also unveiled two surfaces of about 3×6 m, without making significant discoveries[7]. Unfortunately, he left no plan for the excavations. In the study dedicated to his main discoveries from *Dâmbul Morii*, Marin Dinu mentions that he identified a 5-6×2 m section of Schmidt's excavations[8].

Although the discoveries from Cucuteni, recorded in H. Schmidt's monograph from 1932, resonated nationally and internationally, still, until 1961, no large-scale excavations were carried out in the eponymous site[9]. Starting with the year 1961, under the leadership of professor Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița, the researches from Cucuteni-*Cetățuia,* as well as in the

[3] SCHMIDT 1932, 3, 12-13; DINU 2006, 31; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA, VĂLEANU 2004, 22.
[4] DASCĂLU 1910; 1911; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1966, 5 și urm; BOGHIAN 2004, 40.
[5] DINU 2006, 33; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA, VĂLEANU 2006, 31.
[6] DINU 2006, 31; 2009, 106; NICU 2013, 113.
[7] SCHMIDT 1932, 12-13.
[8] DINU 2006, 31.
[9] PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1966, 14; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA, VĂLEANU 2006, 31.

surroundings, were resumed. The research team also included Professor Marin Dinu, second in charge, as well as Adrian C. Florescu, Attila László and Eugenia Popuşoi. These excavations were also attended by practicing students from the Faculty of History of the University „Al. I. Cuza" of Iași, among them the future professors Nicolae Ursulescu, Victor Spinei, Dumitru Boghian and the late Octavian Bounegru[10].

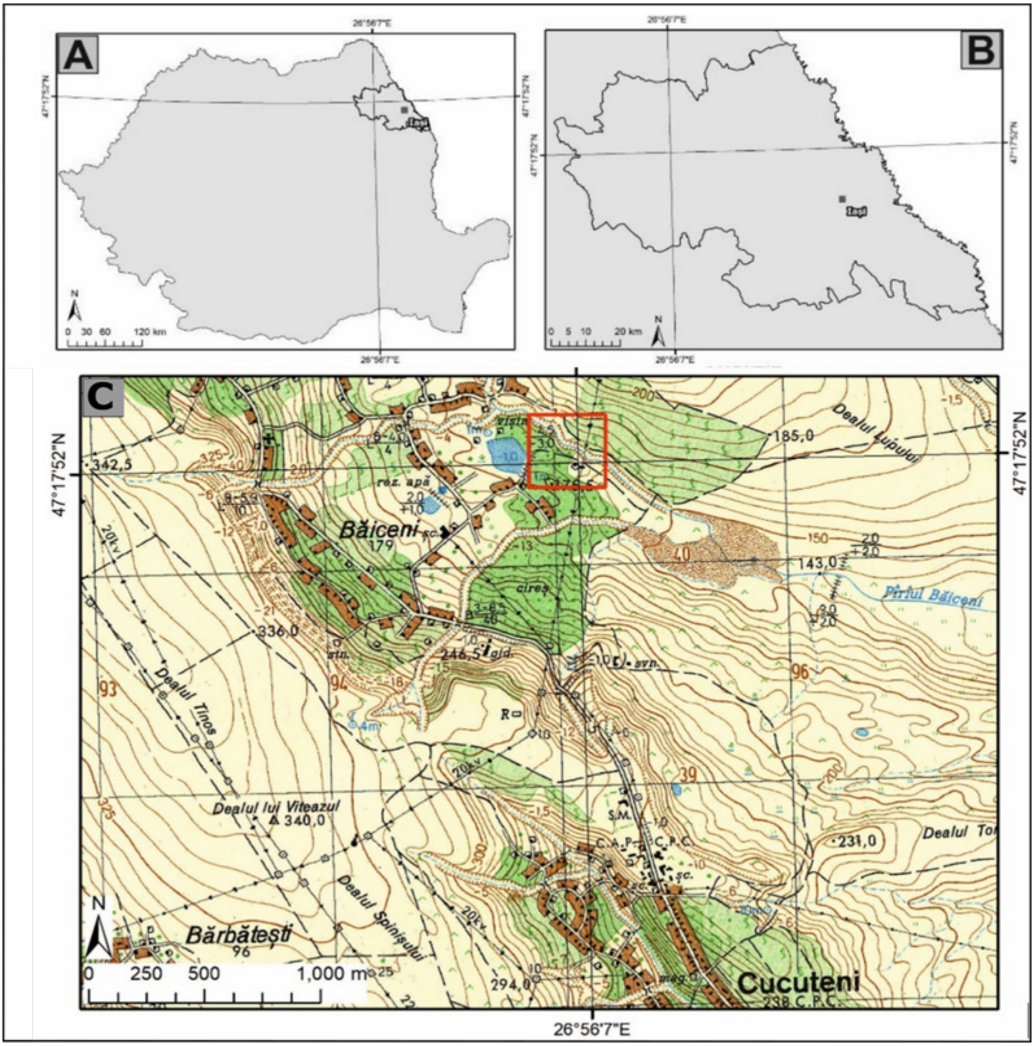

Figure 1. The location of Cucuteni–*Dâmbul Morii* in Romania (A), Iași county (B) and on the topographic map (C) (scale 1:25000).

[10] PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA, VĂLEANU 2006, 31; BOUNEGRU 2015, 373-374.

On this occasion, attention was also paid to the "settlement in the valley", the person in charge of the excavations being Professor Marin Dinu. Under his leadership, the excavation campaigns of 1961-1966, 1977-1978 and 1989 were carried out here. From the existing information[11], the research was carried out in three sectors, established according to the particularities of the plateau, as follows:

– Sector A: in the S-SE part of the promontory;

– Sector B: about 150 m NV from the south-eastern edge of the promontory, where the defensive ditch was identified;

– Sector C: in the N-NV part of the promontory, outside the defensive ditch of the settlement[12].

The excavation campaigns took place over shorter or longer periods, especially depending on financial resources, with more emphasis on the eponymous site. Excavations were also hampered by the fact that the surface of the site was largely affected by peasant households, agricultural works or, disturbances from the Second World War.

The **1961 excavation campaign** took place between September 8 and 26. The research began by drawing a longitudinal ditch (S.L. I) with dimensions of about 84×2 m, approximately on the long axis of the plateau, with the numbering starting from the southern end of the terrace inwards (Figure 2). Archaeological remains were detected at depths between 0.10 / 0.20 m up to a maximum of 0.40 / 0.60 m. On this occasion, between meters 59 and 71, the remains of dwelling 1 were identified, completely uncovered by making two sections to the west (no. 1) and to the east (no. 2). After uncovering the house, the axis of the house was drawn, establishing at the same time a fixed point (P.F.1). The research continued by drawing two control ditches, the first on the axis of the house, and the second at about 1 m from the first, both 0.5 m wide. Also, in this campaign, the remains of a second dwelling (no. 2) were identified[13].

The **1962 excavation campaign** begins on July 2, without specifying the day it ended (the last notation in the excavation notebook is on July 30). The main objectives of this campaign were the research of dwelling 2, discovered to the west of dwelling 1, as well as the research of the defensive system identified by making a longitudinal ditch (S.L. II). In order to be able to fully unveil dwelling no 2, several sections were made, which also allowed the capture of the trench made by H. Schmidt (Figure 2). At the same time, in this campaign, it was desired

[11] The information regarding the excavations was obtained following the consultation of the site notebooks, found in the collection of the Archeology Seminar of the Faculty of History within the „Al. I. Cuza " University of Iași. Acknowledgments to prof. univ. dr. Nicolae Ursulescu for access to these notebooks.

[12] DINU 2006, 33-35, 43 (fig. 3).

[13] Băiceni-*Dâmbul Morii* – Nootebook no. 1, The 1961 Excavation Campaign.

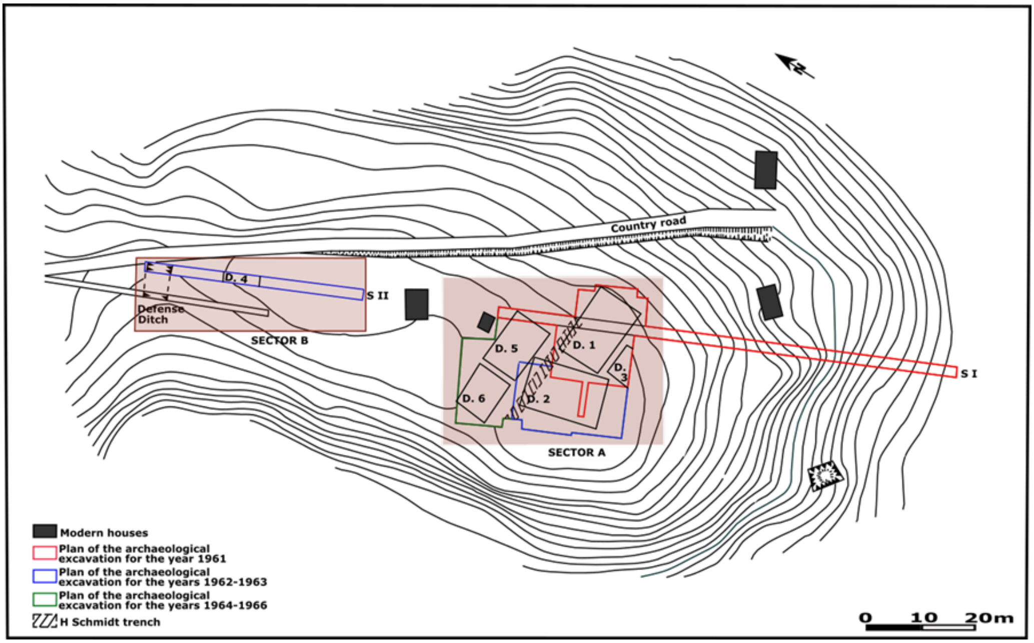

Figure 2. Cucuteni – Băiceni – *Dâmbul Morii.* Excavations plan. Archaeological excavations for the years 1961-1966 (adapted after Dinu 2006, p. 43).

to establish the chronological position of the site within the Cucuteni A-B phase, based on the discovered materials. Between meters 19 and 25.70 of the longitudinal trench II (S.L.II), the remains of a medieval dwelling were identified and researched (dwelling no. 4)[14].

The 1963 excavation campaign took place over a shorter period, between September 23 and 28, continuing the search for dwelling no. 2 (Figure 2). To identify an alleged older level, three control trenches with dimensions of about 10×1 m were made in the perimeter of the dwelling[15].

In **the 1964 excavation Campaign** (13. VII -14. VIII) the research was carried out in all three sectors. In sector B, the research of the defense ditch continued (Figure 2). In sector C, a longitudinal trench was made (S. L. III, Figure 3), on the route of which the remains of dwelling no II were identified. On the same longitudinal trench, between meters 17 and 22, the remains of house no. I was discovered. Between meters 26 and 31, to better distinguish this house, the ditch was widened by a section. Also in sector C, to the northeast of dwelling no. II, the dwelling no. III was investigated (Figure 3). From sector A, towards the end of the longitudinal trench I (S.L.1), the remains of dwelling no. 5 were investigated (Figure 2)[16].

[14] Băiceni-*Dâmbul Morii* – Nootebook no. 1, The 1962 Excavation Campaign.

[15] Băiceni-*Dâmbul Morii* – Nootebook no. 1, The 1963 Excavation Campaign.

[16] Băiceni-*Dâmbul Morii* – Nootebook no. 1, The 1964 Excavation Campaign.

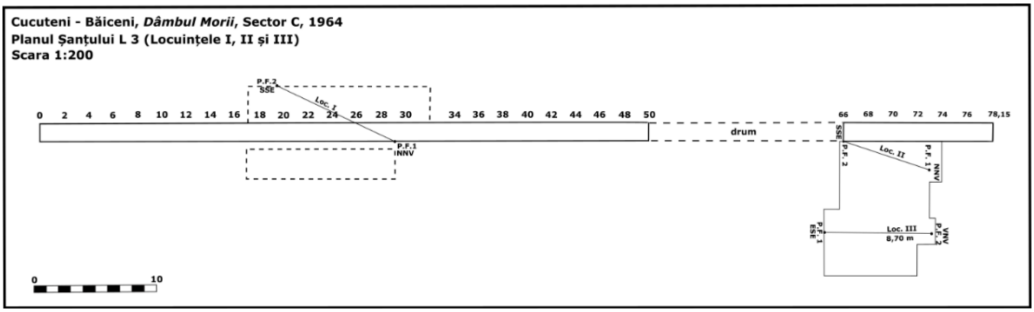

Figure 3. Băiceni – *Dâmbul Morii*. Excavations plan of S.L.III, Sector C (with dwellings I, II and III).

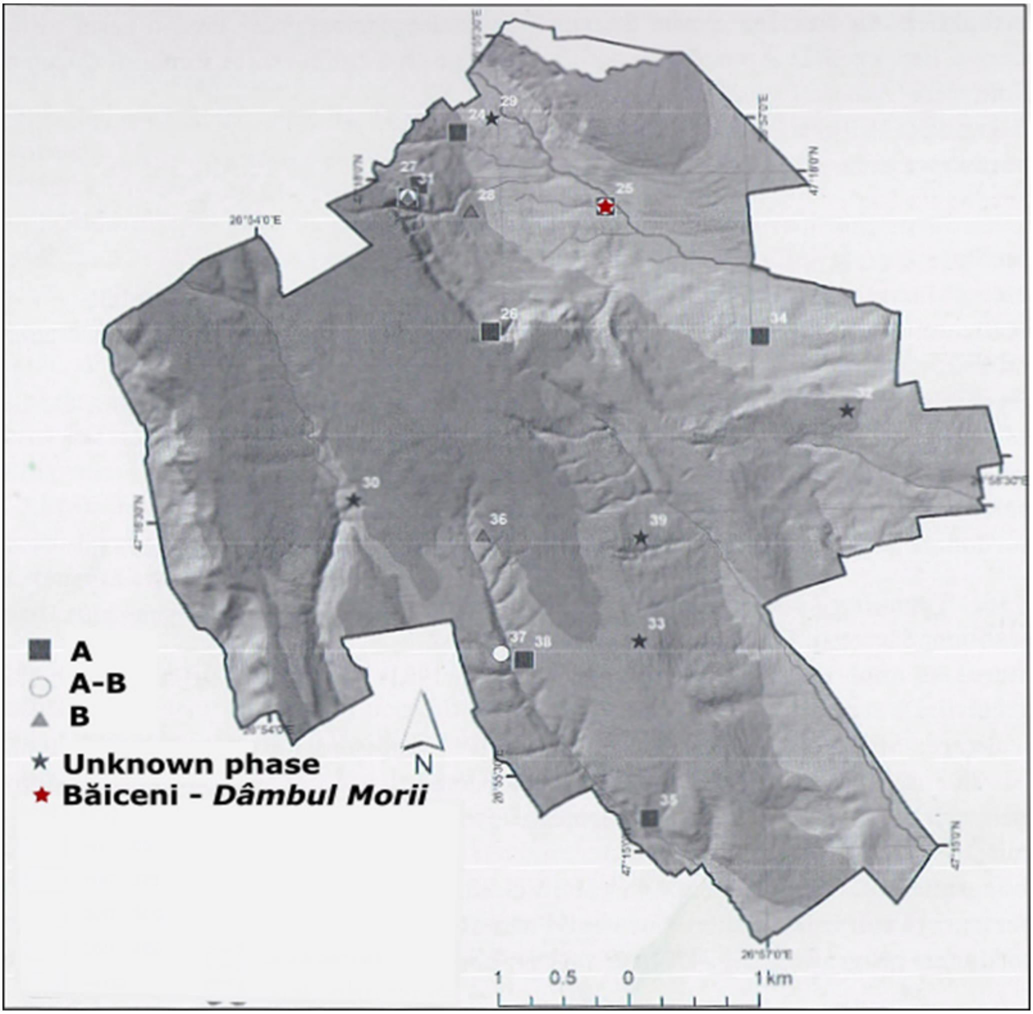

Figure 4. Settlements belonging to the Cucuteni culture within the
commune of Cucuteni (after ASĂNDULESEI 2015, 60)

The 1966 excavation campaign, which took place from 6 to 27 of July, continues the excavations interrupted in 1964. After the identification of the previous excavations, a series of control trenches were drawn, which eventually led to the identification and research of dwelling no. 6 in sector A (Figure 2)[17].

For **the 1977-1978 excavation campaigns**, the information is provided only by the excavation plans, because we have not been able to find the location of the site notebook so far. According to a situation plan, a number of seven sections (marked A-G) were made. Two dwellings, no. I and no. II were also researched. Other information is provided by Prof. Octavian Bounegru. As a practicing student, under the guidance of professors Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița and Marin Dinu, was given the task of conducting a survey over a trench measuring 36×1 m, oriented NNV-SSE[18].

The 1989 excavation campaign continued the research in sector A, more precisely near the court and the former household of Vasile Apostol and Gh. Burduhosu. A median longitudinal trench, with a width of 2 m, was drawn, as well as control trenches open on both sides, to the west with dimensions of 7-9×1 m and to the east 7-17×1 m. The main objective of this campaign was to clarify the problem of contemporaneity or evolution over time of the styles α, β, γ, δ, characteristic of phase A-B[19].

An important moment in the research history is also offered by the elaboration of the archeological repertoire of Iași county[20]. Another important work that deserves to be mentioned is the repertoire of Cucuteni settlements in Romania[21]. Starting from these works, the archeological researches focused, later, on certain areas, such as the Bahlui basin[22] , the Bahluieț basin[23] or Valea Oii basin[24]. According to these studies, within the commune of Cucuteni, 15 sites belonging to the Cucuteni culture were identified (Figure 4)[25].

Recently, the team of the Archeoinvest Center from the „Al. I. Cuza" University of Iasi carried out a series of geophysical investigations in the sites of *Cetățuia* and *Dâmbul Morii*, with remarkable results (Figure 5). The geophysical investigations identified in the south-eastern sector an agglomeration of archaeological structures . Also, the defense ditch, already investigated by excavations, was caught, as well as two other ditches located at distances of 12 and 27 m respectively from the first ditch. Beyond the anomalies related to these ditches,

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[17] Băiceni-*Dâmbul Morii* - Practice notebooks for students, The 1966 Excavation Campaign.

[18] BOUNEGRU 2015, 373-374.

[19] Băiceni-*Dâmbul Morii* – Nootebook no. 1, The 1989 Excavation Campaign.

[20] CHIRICA, TANASACHI 1984; 1985.

[21] MONAH, CUCOȘ 1985.

[22] BOGHIAN 2004.

[23] ASĂNDULESEI 2015.

[24] NICU 2013.

[25] BOGHIAN 2004; ASĂNDULESEI 2015, 56-61.

there are others that can possibly be considered pits and houses, up to a verification by excavations[26].

The stratigraphy of the site and the periodization of Cucuteni A-B phase

Regarding the stratigraphy of the settlement, from the information obtained from the site notebooks, it seems that the materials appear from a depth of about 0.10 / 0.20 m to 0.40 / 0.60 m, in the humus layer[27]. The research of dwelling no. 2 in the 1963 excavation raised the problem of the existence of a second habitation level, based on the discovery of ceramic fragments with shapes specific to phase A-B, but also with traditional painting specific to Cucuteni A phase (trichrome of a special shade). To clarify this problem, three control ditches (marked 1, 2 and 3) were drawn, with dimensions of about 10×1 m[28].

The excavations carried out in the two sites, Cucuteni - *Cetățuia* and *Dâmbul Morii*, made an important contribution to establishing the stratigraphy and completing the periodization

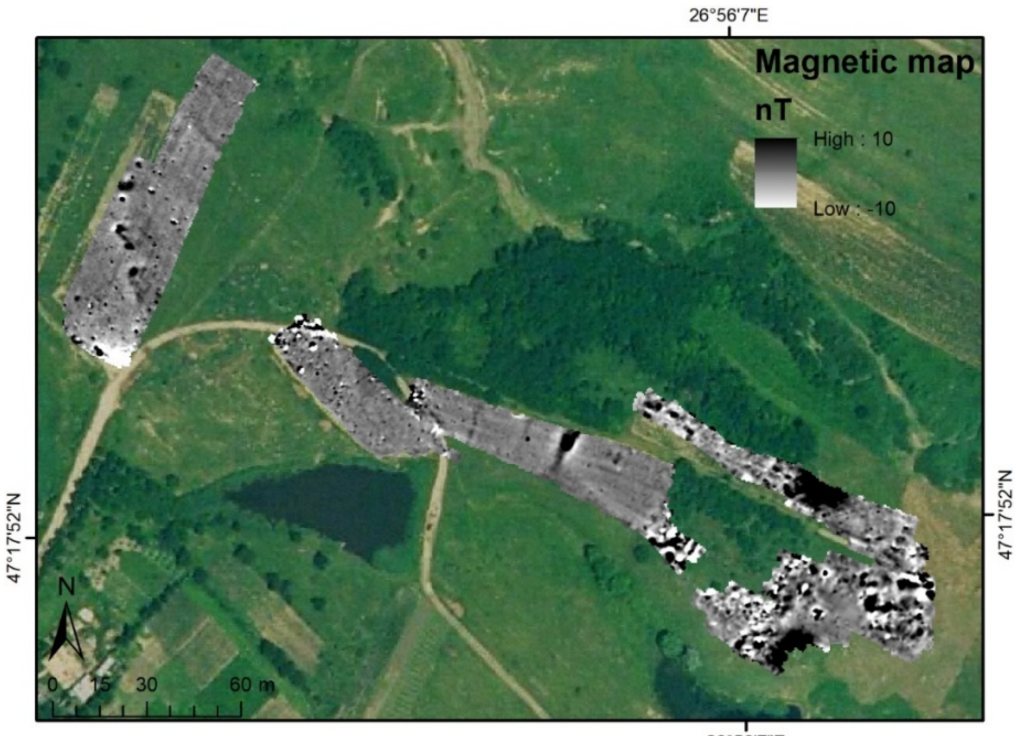

Figure 5. Magnetometric map for the settlement of Băiceni – *Dâmbul Morii*

[26] ASĂNDULESEI et alii. 2020, 328-330.

[27] Băiceni-*Dâmbul Morii* – Nootebook no. 1, The Excavation Campaigns of 1961, 1962, 1963.

[28] Băiceni-*Dâmbul Morii* – Nootebook no. 1, The 1963 Excavation Campaign.

of the Cucuteni culture. Based on the discoveries from these two sites, the German scientist mentions in 1924 an intermediate level A-B, stating that the styles α, β, and γ belong to the Cucuteni phase A-B, and the styles δ, ε, and ζ belonged to the B phase[29]. As Silvia Marinescu-Bîlcu mentions, the introduction of the Cucuteni A-B phase term belongs to Vladimir Dumitrescu[30], because H. Schmidt spoke only of transient pictorial styles (α, β and γ) between "culture A" and "culture B ", the mentioned styles being included in" culture B "[31].

The researches carried out in 1936, 1938 and 1940 in the settlement of Traian - *Dealul Fântânilor* (com. Zănești, Neamț county) allowed Vladimir Dumitrescu to make a significant contribution to the establishment of the Cucuteni A-B phase. By carefully analyzing the shapes and decoration of the vessels, he defines new subgroups for the three styles α, β, and γ and includes in this phase the style δ, with all its subgroups (δ1a, δ2 δ2a δ3, and δ4). In the author's opinion, these four stylistic groups are contemporary[32].

Based on the stratigraphy from *Dâmbul Mor*ii, for the first time was discussed the problem of the existence of two sub-phases for Cucuteni A-B. The first sub-phase, called Cucuteni A-B1 is associated with the habitation on the plateau, up to the defense ditch (sector A), and the second sub-phase, called Cucuteni A-B2, is attested to the north of the defense ditch (Sector C). The two sub-phases are also supported by the presence in the two sections of different ceramic shapes, painted in different styles (α1, α2, β1, and β2 in sector A, for sub-phase AB1, and β, γ and δ, in sector C for sub-phase A-B2)[33]. The excavation campaigns of 1977-1978 and 1989 contributed to the confirmation of the previous findings, in particular, the exact specification of the two stages of evolution of the settlement from *Dâmbul Morii*[34].

Considering the discoveries from *Dâmbul Morii* (since the first results of the excavations), as well as the fact that at Traian-*Dealul Fântânilor* two defense ditches had been discovered (probably associated with two stages of habitation), Vl. Dumitrescu abandoned his previous hypothesis (about the contemporaneity of the four decorative styles), proposing the division of phase A-B into two sub-phases[35].

The issue of the periodization of phase A-B has caught the attention of several researchers. In the following, we will make brief references on this issue. Based on the discoveries from the Cucuteni A-B settlement of Huși (1964), Attila László establishes an intermediate period between the Cucuteni A-B1 and Cucuteni A-B2 sub-phases[36].

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[29] DINU 2006, 32; SCHMIDT 1924, 137; 1932, 3, 13, 32-33, 49, 51-53, 75.

[30] DUMITRSCU 1926-1927.

[31] MARINESCU-BÎLCU 1996, 28-29.

[32] DUMITRSCU 1945, 109-110; DINU 2006, 32.

[33] DINU 2006, 35.

[34] BOGHIAN 2004, 43.

[35] DUMITRSCU 1963, 290 si urm.; 1972.

[36] LASZLO 1966, 19-20; DINU 2006, 36.

The division proposed by Attila László is also accepted by Ion Nestor and Eugenia Zaharia, but the latter propose other names: Corlăteni sub-phase, associated with the Cucuteni A-B1 level from *Dâmbul Morii* (the two settlements being contemporary); Huşi sub-phase and Traian sub-phase (equal to subphase A-B2, present both at *Dâmbul Morii* and on the Cucuteni–*Cetătuia*[37].

Anton Nițu, based on the analysis of ceramic styles, also talks about a division of the Cucuteni A-B phase into two subphases, Cucuteni A-B1 and Cucuteni A-B2, each with two stages (A-B1a, A-B1b and A-B2a and A-B2b). According to this division, the dwellings inside the ditch identified at *Dâmbul Morii* are included in stage A-B1b, associated with the settlement from Traian–*Dealul Fântânilor*, and the dwellings north of the same ditch included in sub-phase A-B2a, associated with the settlement from Husi[38].

Although she accepts the division of the Cucuteni A-B phase into three sub-phases, Silvia Marinescu-Bîlcu proposes new names for them: Scutari-Mileanca, for the Cucuteni A-B1 sub-phase; Corlateni for the Cucuteni A-B2 sub-phase; and Cucuteni A-B3, associated with the settlements of Traian–*Dealul Fântânilor*, Bodești–*Cetățuia* Frumușica etc.[39]. The same researcher, together with Cătălin Bem, were also concerned about the area and the reasons that led to the appearance of the Cucuteni A-B phase[40].

Accepting the division proposed by Anton Nițu (A-B1a and A-B1b, A-B2a and A-B2b), Dumitru Boghian considers that the Cucuteni A-B phase can be divided in five or even more sub-phases:

– the first stage Cucuteni A-B, associated with the settlements from Chetrești, Scutari, com Mileanca; Vorniceni, etc.

– the second stage, with the settlements from Băiceni–*Dâmbul Morii* (first habitation phase), Corlăteni, Lozna, etc .;

– the third stage, with the sites from Băiceni–*Dâmbul Morii* (second habitation phase), Huși, Traian–*Dealul Fântânilor* (first habitation phase), etc .;

– the fourth stage, with the settlements from Traian–*Dealul Fântânilor* (second habitation phase);

– the fifth step, associated with the settlements from Bodești–*Cetățuia*, Frumușica, Cucuteni–*Cetățuia*, Poduri–*Dealul Ghindaru*, etc.[41]

Cătălin Bem, in the monograph regarding the settlement of Traian–*Dealul Fântânilor*, proposes the periodization of phase Cucuteni A-B in four sub-phases (A-B1, A-B2, A-B3, A-B4, based on the "minority / majority" ratio between the decoration styles), which includes the

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[37] NESTOR, ZAHARIA 1968, 20-21; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1966; DINU 2006, 36.

[38] NIȚU 1979, 97 si urm.; 1980, 67.

[39] MARINESCU-BÎLCU 1989, 231-232; DINU M., 2006, 36.

[40] MARINESCU-BÎLCU, BEM 2005, 295 si urm.; BEM 2007.

[41] BOGHIAN 2004, 171-173; 2006, 171.

settlement from *Dâmbul Morii* in the Cucuteni A-B2 sub-phase, next to the sites from Corlăteni, Huşi, Gura Cainarului, Orheiul Vechi and others from the Tripolie / Trypillia area[42].

Different from the views mentioned above is the opinion of Victor Spinei. He considers that it is not possible to speak of a separation of the Cucuteni A-B phase in two or more stages, based on the fact that in the investigated Cucuteni A-B settlements there are no stratigraphic overlaps of the alleged level A-B2 (with the predominance of styles γ and δ) above a level A-B1 (with styles A α and β). In his opinion, the two sub-phases, Cucuteni A-B1 and Cucuteni A-B2, do not reflect chronological segments but rather stylistic variants with a local character, and proposes to abandon the names of A-B1 and A-B2 and replace them with the terms "Traian-Huși aspect" and "Corlăteni aspect"[43].

Three radiocarbon dates are known for this site, for the sub-phase Cucuteni A-B1: 4221–3995, 4037–3978 and 3939–3702 CAL BC (Heidelberg Laboratory)[44].

The documentary basis of the research

A large part of the original documentation (plans, site notebooks) with regard to the site of *Dâmbul Morii* was kept at the Archeology Seminar of the Faculty of History within the „Al. I. Cuza" University of Iasi. We currently have a number of about 54 site plans for all three researched sectors (Sector A: about 27 plans; Sector B: about 6 plans; Sector C: about 10 plans). The excavation campaigns were probably recorded in three site notebooks, of which only two reached us. The first site notebook documents the 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1989 campaigns. The second notebook contains the description of some pieces discovered in the 1963 campaign as well as the information regarding the 1964 campaign. The information regarding the 1964 campaign is completed by the notes from the practice notebook of the student Nicolae Ursulescu. For the 1966 campaign, the documentation is provided by the students practice notebooks[45]. Upon careful reading, they are written after dictation, probably by the coordinator of the excavations at *Dâmbul Morii*. The students' contribution is limited to the description of some archaeological pieces discovered during the excavations, with concrete references to the context of the discoveries, but not in all cases.

Regarding the archaeological materials discovered at *Dâmbul Morii*, most of them are in the archaeological collection of the Archeology Seminar of the Faculty of History from Iași. Some pieces are exhibited at the Museum of Cucuteni Civilization of the University of Iași, as well as in the collections of the Museum of the History of Moldova within the Moldova

[42] BEM 2007, 241.

[43] SPINEI 2015, 311-312.

[44] MANTU 1998, 248; LAZAROVICI 2010, 91, 93, 102; BOGHIAN 2004, 177.

[45] Student practice notebooks of Boboc Mitică, Cernei Eugen, Ciucă Nicoleta, Dumitra Alexandru, Olteanu Vasile Ioan, Calotă Lucreția, Rață Tudor, Panaitescu Adrian,

Museum Complex at the Palace of Culture in Iasi. Materials from the *Dâmbul Morii* site are also in the Museum of Pre-and Protohistory at the Neue-Museum[46] in Berlin[47]. According to C. Iconomu, C-tin. Dascalu[48], appointed by the Romanian state to supervise the works of the German scientist, drafted an inventory of the objects sent to Berlin. The archaeological objects were briefly described, with an account of the context of the discovery, as well as brief illustrations. Among these pieces, it is mentioned, as coming from the settlement of Dâmbul Morii, an idol en violon[49].

Researches from Băiceni–*Dâmbul Morii* in the archaeological literature

Although several excavation campaigns have been carried out in time, unfortunately, little information has been published. Thus, Hubert Schmidt, in the monograph of the site of *Cetătuia*, also refers to the "Settlement in the valley" identified with *Dâmbu Morii*, mentioning the sections made and presenting a series of pieces discovered here[50].

In 1966, in a micromonograph about Cucuteni, Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița summarizes the results of the excavations in the two sites, respectively *Cetățuia* and *Dâmbul Morii*, together with those in *Mlada, Siliștea and Laiu*. At the same time, he also states that at *Dâmbul Morii*, "*under some houses were discovered ceramic remains of Trușești aspect, from the Cucuteni A (Cucuteni A2)*"[51]. The researches from *Dâmbul Morii* are also mentioned in the archeological monograph regarding Cucuteni–*Cetățuia*[52].

Subsequently, several other articles dedicated to this settlement were published. Of these, the most extensive is the study signed by Marin Dinu in the volume of the national symposium *Cucuteni - 120. Valori universale*, with emphasis on sector A. The discussions regarding the evolution of the Cucuteni A-B phase are analyzed, as well as some information on the dwellings and their inventory, but without referring to the context of the discoveries[53]. Later it returns with a series of additions and changes regarding the researched sectors (sector B is now included in sector A and sector C becomes sector B) as well as a new numbering of dwellings (1–3, 5–6, 10–11 in sector A, 7–9 in sector C)[54]. In the same volume of

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[46] Until 2010, the Museum operated in the Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin, but returned to its original headquarters, after the restoration of this building (information N. Ursulescu)

[47] PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA et alii 2004, 29: some ceramic fragments, coming from Talsiedlung, section 7, are recorded in the Inventory Register no. 77 (no. 838) of the Berlin Museum, preserved in the Central Archives of Berlin.

[48] VĂLEANU, VĂCARU 2013, 275-301.

[49] ICONOMU 1996, 169-170.

[50] SCHMIDT 1932, 12-13, 49, 51, 53, 75.

[51] PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1966, 33. Subsequently, M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița placed the settlement from Trușești in Cucuteni A3: PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA et alii 1999.

[52] PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 2004, 26.

[53] DINU 2006, 31-56.

[54] DINU 2009, 106-108.

the national symposium *Cucuteni – 120. Valori universale*, another study analyses Cucuteni A-B archaeological materials to capture an image of the characteristics of this phase, with some references to the settlement at *Dâmbul Morii*[55].

In a study on the Cucuteni culture in the Bahlui Basin we have a series of information regarding the settlement from *Dâmbul Morii*, but without specifying the context of the discoveries (houses, inventory, ceramic decoration, etc.)[56]. In the volume dedicated to the memory of Professor Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița there is some information, more concrete, related to the campaign from 1977–1978, which describes two complexes associated with cult complexes[57], and in another study, are presented five pieces of flint from dwelling 2[58] and some general assessments are made in connection with the periodization of phase AB[59].

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[55] BOGHIAN 2006, 163 si urm.

[56] BOGHIAN 2004; 2006.

[57] BOUNEGRU 2015, 373-374.

[58] SPINEI 2015, 287.

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Camel, Blockade and a Historical Memory Perspective: a Theme of Historical Memory Portrayed at Qatar National Museum

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Abstract. *Camels from ancient times as early as 1200 BC were used as military vehicle and have been associated with the Near East and the Arabian Peninsula. In modern times they remain an important element of Bedouin life and culture (animal protein, dairy products and raw materials, an effective desert vehicle of transport and an indication of wealth). As such, camels are an integral component of heritage and society, essential to the development of Bedouin economies in many regions in the Middle East, North Africa, and Asian regions. Here it is investigated the viability of addressing the topic of the impact on camels by the blockade that has affected Qatar since 5th June 2017 as a theme of historical memory in the Qatari heritage in the National Museum of Qatar (NMoQ). The topic addresses the value and significance of camels in the Qatar peninsula up until the 21st century, and the tragic impact of the blockade on camels and their owners and herders, particularly these which were herding camels across Qatar-Saudi borders. It provides another dimension of history, and archaeology, linked to heritage and society and discusses the way camels have been typically represented in museums in the region due to their cultural significance. Society interviews and media reports are used to support the discussion, which argues for the importance of documenting the historical and culture memory of camels in the new NMoQ.*

Rezumat. *Cămilele au fost folosite încă din 1200 î.Hr. pentru transportul militar și au fost asociate cu Orientul Apropiat și Peninsula Arabică. În timpurile moderne, ele rămân un element important al vieții și culturii beduinilor. Ca atare, cămilele sunt o componentă integrantă a patrimoniului și a societății, esențiale pentru dezvoltarea economiilor beduine în multe regiuni din Orientul Mijlociu, Africa de Nord și regiunile asiatice. Aici este investigată viabilitatea abordării subiectului legat de impactul asupra cămilelor, cauzat de blocada ce a afectat Qatarul în 5 iunie 2017, ca temă a memoriei istorice a patrimoniului qatarez din Muzeul Național al Qatarului (NMoQ). Subiectul abordează valoarea și semnificația cămilelor din Peninsula Qatar până în secolul 21 și impactul tragic al blocadei asupra cămilelor și a proprietarilor și păstorilor acestora, în special a celor care păstoreau cămile peste granițele Qatarului și ale Arabiei Saudite. Acesta oferă o altă dimensiune a istoriei și arheologiei, legată de patrimoniu și societate și discută modul în care cămilele au fost reprezentate în mod obișnuit în muzeele din regiune datorită semnificației lor culturale. Interviurile sociale și rapoartele mass-media sunt folosite în sprijinul dezbaterii, care argumentează importanța documentării memoriei istorice și culturale a cămilelor în noul NMoQ.*

Keywords: heritage, society, Arabia, human, ancient, animals.

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1. Introduction

The occurrence of conflicts between neighboring countries, moreover and on a larger scale, modifies drastically the cultural heritage remains (tangible and intangible) and induces a traumatic impact on local societies. Heritage can be harnessed to both personal and political agendas. Sites and living entities of tradition and cultural heritage have been deliberately targeted as a means of inflicting pain and societal trauma. Re-construction of identities after conflict has even been a priority funded programme by European Union[4], and post-conflict strategies embrace history, archaeology, museology, social sciences[5].

The importance of dromedary camels in the middle east has a long history as inseparable belonging to the people of the region. The domestication of camels happened at the onset of the 3rd millennium BC in their natural habitats, for the dromedary in SE–Arabia and for the Bactrian camel in SW–Central Asia. Three steps of camel domestication and use are distinguished: for harvesting its body products, as transport animal (drafted, loaded, and ridden), as military animal[6]. Evidences of an early domestication in Egypt around the same time are debatable because based on findings possibly endowed of ritual meaning: a pottery camel's head and a terracotta tablet with men riding and leading camels, both from Predynastic Egypt, i.e. before 3150 BC; 3 clay camel heads and a limestone vessel in the form of a lying camel carrying an ointment pot, dated to the First Dynasty (3050–2890 BC); and several models of camels from the Fourth Dynasty (2613–2498 BC)[7].

The dromedary did not have appreciable military impact until the Late Bronze age, when the introduction of the S-Arabian saddle (1200 BC) increased its maneuverability and promoted its military use. After then, camels have been extensively used in wars throughout Africa and the Middle East, as witnessed by historical accounts and archaeological objects.

We provide a brief historical overview of ancient history of camel and present contemporary connection to an instant event: the blockade of camels imposed by Saudi Arabia in 2017. The aim is to show up the traditional way associated to the camel from an ancient historical, societal and archaeological view. Triggered by the recent inappropriate treatment of the camel we present the continuous historical memory of camel in Qatari history — a correlation between ancient and live history, society, historical memory and heritage, culminated in the new Qatari museum.

[4] https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/217411.
[5] NEWSON and YOUNG 2018.
[6] SALA 2017.
[7] FREE 1944; SABER 1998.

2. The use of camels in the ancient history of Arabia

For thousands of years camels have played a significant part in Arabian livelihoods, and by extension have become central to culture and traditions. For hundreds of years the domestication of the camel has been significant in the advancement of numerous economies and societies in the Middle East, North Africa, and some Asian regions[8]. Early evidence for domesticating the dromedary originates from south-eastern Arabia. The first domestication region of the dromedary (*Camelus dromedaries)*, is the Southeast Arabian Peninsula; this is supported by a scientific research from the University of Veterinary Medicine, Research Institute of Wildlife Ecology at Vetmeduni Vienna team who analysed DNA samples of dromedary bones dated to 7000 years and compared it with other early samples from around the world. For over than 3000 years, it was used as transport animal for people and goods in North Africa and Asia[9].

The appearance of the dromedary represented a turning point in the Arabian Peninsula, the Levant, northern Africa, and beyond. They can perfectly adapt with hot and dry environment. They can tolerate nearly one week with no water, also their hump can store approximately thirty five percent of fat. For this reason, they were ideal means of transportation in the desert of the Arabian Peninsula[10]. From the 7th century BC till the 2nd century AD dromedaries carried luxury goods as myrrh and frankincense through the incense trade route from South Arabia throughout the Arabian Peninsula[11].

The camel was additionally used to transport soldiers to battle and to allow the soldiers to make a fast escape in the case of defeat. These two perspectives appear on the reliefs from Ashurbanipal's royal residence at Nineveh in Iraq where the Arabs are portrayed with their camels, dating to 7th century BC (Figure 1)[12].

In Ancient Egypt in the Predynastic period, around 3600–4000 BC a drawing of a dromedary was found at El-Amra in Upper Egypt[13]. Another piece of evidence dates back to the First Dynasty (3200–2990 BC), an ointment pot in the shape of a sitting camel which was found in 1906 at Abusir-el Melek[14]. Other individual evidence comes from Abydos, where the British archaeologist William Matthew Flinders Petrie excavated a pottery camel head[15].

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8 RALPH 1993; JABBUR 1995.

9 ALMATHEN *et al.* 2016.

10 SCHMIDT-NIELSEN 1959.

11 FRANCIS 2015; ORLANDO 2016; KHOSROWZADEH *et al.* 2017.

12 See BIENKOWSKI and MILLARD 2000, 64.

13 CHILDE 1952.

14 MOLLER 1908.

15 PETRIE 1903.

Figure 1. Stone panel from the North palace of Ashurbanipal: Assyrian troops pursuing Arabs trying to escape on camels 645 BC (after Bienkowski and Millard, 2000)

There is a gap until the 19th Dynasty 1170–1090 BC where a pottery statuette showing dromedary carrying two jars was found in a tomb at Deir Rifeh, near Assuit. In addition, a dromedary figure was painted on water jars probably dating to the Ramesside age found at Benha[16].

Therefore, it seems that although the dromedary camel was attested as early as Predynastic Period, it was not regularly used until much later. The first historical references to domesticated camel in Egypt are in connection with the Assyrian and Persian invasion of Egypt around 700–600 BC[17]. By the beginning of the Roman period, the dromedary was regularly used for desert transport[18].

The camel species known in the Arabian Gulf is *Camelus dromedarius*, the dromedary, a camel with one hump, the same as occurred in ancient Egypt. Early evidence for camels in the Arabian Gulf comes from rock carvings (Figure 2/a,b). Dromedary camels are shown hunted by men in standing position holding spears in rock carvings in Oman[19], which have been dated to 1st–millennium BC to the 2nd millennium AD.

16 LEFEBURE 1906.

17 CHILDE 1952.

18 BOESSNECK 1988; KUHRT 1999.

19 FOSSATI 2017, Fig. 16; BEDNARIK 2017, Fig. 6; GLANZMAN 2017.

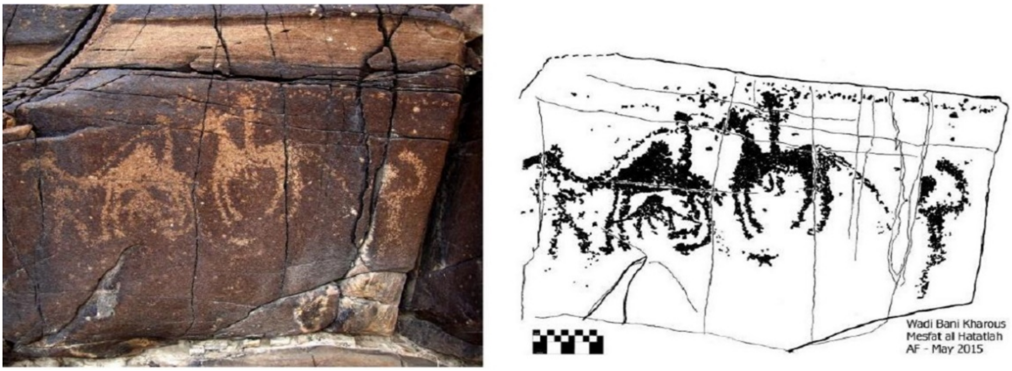

Figure 2/a–b. Photo (left) and tracing (right) of riders on horse and camels, Wadi Bani Kharous (after FOSSATI 2017, permit from MAA journal, www.maajournal.com by the Editor-in-Chief)

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, a Danish archaeological mission were working in Qatar[20], and in 1961, at the site of Al-Mazroaa, 23 kilometers south-west of Doha in Qatar, they discovered in grave 158.N remains of camel skeleton, in a good state of preservation, as well as human skeletons, pot sherds and fragments of bronze, iron and glass. The camel's position is as if he was resting on his knee, in a sitting position. It's neck is facing the northwestern part of the tomb wall, and the head lay with the bottom jaw up and the forehead laying on the left of the tomb[21]. Urepmann and Urepmann (2012) stated that its bones combined the strength of two-humped camel and the speediness of one-humped camel. Skeletons of camels were found in graves in the Arabian Peninsula at for example Mleihe, Sharjah, UAE dating between 1st century BC and the 1st century AD[22]. The camel was believed to have been led alive to the tomb to be buried next to his owner. The camel was placed alive in a seated position and its neck was pulled back until it died[23].

In more recent times, the camel was an essential element in the way of life of Bedouin. For the Arabs, they represented a strategic stock and provided self-sufficiency, as they drank its milk and produced butter; as an annual supplement. They consumed its meat and saved any remainder by drying it in the sun. They made clothing from its hair and manufactured tents, textiles and furnishings. It was also used as the main means of transportation and represented a source of wealth[24].

20 DE CARDI 1978.

21 DE CARDI 1978; AL-KHOLAIFI 2000; HØJLUND 2017.

22 JASIM 1999; HØJLUND 2017.

23 SARAUI 2011.

24 ROBINSON 1936; SARAUI 2011.

Due to the centrality of camels to people's lives, they also became a source of entertainment, satisfaction and happiness for Bedouin Arabs societies who would enjoy accompanying them[25]. Poetry celebrating the camel is well-known, with poets describing the different types of camels[26] and camel racing, as in antiquity[27], is an extremely popular sport in the Arabian Gulf today. There are even camel beauty contests, where attributes of the animal are celebrated and expensive prizes are on offer.

3. The 2017 Camel Blockade

On 5th June 2017, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt cut diplomatic relations with Qatar. The event occurred in Ramadan. Saudi Arabia gave 14 days' notice to Qatari nationals who were in Saudi Arabia to leave the country and return to Qatar. Approximately 20,000 camels and 10,000 sheep and their Qatari herders, who were fasting, were stranded between Saudi Arabia and Qatar[28]. The Saudi government claimed that Qataris were misusing the Saudi Arabian lands. Qataris traditionally kept their camels in Saudi Arabia near Al Ahsaa fertile area, which is 200 kilometers from the Qatari border. Members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) are generally allowed to graze their camels in any area in the Gulf provided that land, water, food and workers are available, which is what Qataris provides to Saudi Arabia. In June 2017 the camels and their herders were expelled out of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in temperatures reaching 48 degrees centigrade with no water supplies and a journey of 200 km to the border[29].

To keep them moving, the herders followed the camels with vehicles and beat them with sticks, resulting in distress and injury. Others died from thirst and starvation, while calves who required their mothers' milk lost their way and many died[30] (Figure 1).

Approximately, 10,000 camels arrived in Qatar on the 20th of June 2017. On the Qatari borders, Qatari government supplied water tanks and trucks carrying grass to feed the camels. Qatar's Ministry of Municipality and Environment (MME) had apportioned temporary shelter in South Kasarat Al Nakhash for approximately 8000 camels and 5000 goats and sheep.

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[25] BRAUER 1993.

[26] SARAUI 2011.

[27] ORLANDO 2016.

[28] *http://www.newsweek.com/saudi-arabia-hump-qatar-bans-15000-its-camels-627797*; *https://www.aljazeera.com/video/news/2017/06/gulf-crisis-camels-casualties-qatar-blockade-170621045411066.html*; *http://www.newsweek.com/saudi-arabia-hump-qatar-bans-15000-its-camels-627797*.

[29] *http://www.newsweek.com/saudi-arabia-hump-qatar-bans-15000-its-camels-627797*; *http://www.gulf-times.com/story/553941/Cruelty-to-camels; https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-40346329*.

[30] *http://www.gulf-times.com/story/553957/Camels-reunited-with-their-owners*.

Figure 1. Top: baby camels shown dead (top) (after *Al-sharq*);
Bottom: another dead camel (after *Daily mail Online*)

In celebrating the 7th Hamad Bin Khalifa symposium on Islamic Art titled: "Past, Present, and Future of Islamic Art", Her Highness Mrs Sheikha Al Mayassa's presentation (Figure 2) referred to the following[31]:

> "*This is another example of a like today's topic, past, present, future will embrace our country's history present and future ambition. In one visit those entering the museum will be able to understand our history, our present and our future goals through a multidisciplinary approach. It is a living museum and its narratives will be constantly updated depending on the events that take place around us. Now, one can't ignore what is happening in our region today, so for example the political blockade imposed on us by our neighbours will now be included in this narrative, it is important part of our present life and with time it will be part of our history*".

4. The blockade and the social impact on the Qatari camels

Along with the above problem, measures to rectify this mishappening were taken. The authorities allotted groups of specialists and veterinarians to help the agriculturists[32] (see also elsewhere[33]).

In the short course of time, a second batch of around 6000 camels was deported via Kuwait, from where they were placed on ships back to Qatar where the Emir of Qatar, HH Sheikh Tamim guaranteed to pay for the herders' transportation[34]. Camels transported via the UAE were transported to Sohar, Oman from where they were transported to Qatar on ferries that can carry up to 50 head of camels. The trip was between 30 to 50 hours and camels were forced to sit down with their legs tied which resulted in their feet swelling so they could not walk[35]. It is of interest to quote the reactions of people involved. Commentaries from camel herders are well documented[36].

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31 He's known for startling pieces, including rotting cows, sharks and sheep preserved in formaldehyde, and medicine cabinets full of different kinds of drugs (*http://www.theartstory.org/artist-hirst-damien.htm*).

32 Al-Rayya Newspaper, 12/06/2017; *https://thepeninsulaqatar.com/article/20/06/2017/Ministry-allocates-temporary-shelter-for-thousands-of-camels-and-sheep-returning-from-Saudi-Arabia*.

33 *https://thepeninsulaqatar.com/article/06/07/2017/Camel-sheep-owners-praise-Ministry-for-help*; *http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2017/8/20/*).

34 *http://gulfbusiness.com/qataris-ship-home-thousands-camels-stranded-saudi-via-kuwait/*.

35 *http://www.newsweek.com/saudi-arabia-hump-qatar-bans-15000-its-camels-627797*.

36 *https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/07/10/hundreds-abandoned-camels-die-saudi-arabias-diplomatic-row-qatar/*. Interview with Mr. Mohammed Salem Qatari camel herder. *http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4682076/Qatari-camels-die-kicked-farms-Saudi.html*. *https://www.albawaba.com/editorchoice/qatari-camels-bear-tragic-brunt-saudi-diplomatic-crisis-988930*. *https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2017/July/143046/hundreds_of_camels_die_of_thirst_in_the_desert_qataris_kicked_off_farms_in_saudi_arabia_amid_rift_between_gulf_nations_are_unable_to_save_their_animals.aspx*.

5. The recording of camels in regional museums

Due to the historical and cultural heritage significance of camels in the Arabian Gulf and its society, the early museums in the region including exhibits dedicated to them. The Kuwait National Museum, which opened in 1983, included displays on Bedouin life in the desert, as reported by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) on behalf of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for the Kuwait National Museum. The report recommended that the attributes of the environment would appear in typical relationship as they might appear in ordinary life, incorporating a tent, furniture, dress, horse, camel, dress for man, lady and, utensils utilized for cooking and so on[37].

Similarly, Bahrain National Museum, which opened in 1988, includes dioramas of traditional Bedouin life, as does the Al Ain National Museum in the United Arab Emirates. In Dubai, Al Shindagha historical district, hosts the camel museum, the galleries display models of camels, and information and tools connected to camels' history highlighting their characteristics and qualities. The museum also displays their species, types, anatomy, methods for treating and caring for them, as well as their benefits such as meat, milk and wool[38]. In Qatar, the Sheikh Faisal bin Qassim Al Thani Museum, a private museum located 40 minutes-drive from downtown Doha, displays a number of full-size wooden camel models with traditional saddles and harnesses, along with as display of an original Bedouin tent. The first Qatar National Museum, which opened in 1975, and closed in 2005 to allow for the development of the new National Museum designed by architect Pritzker Prize-winning Jean Nouvel, which opened in 2019, also included displays dedicated to Bedouin life. The museum was housed in the old Emiri palace, or Palace of Sheikh Abdullah bin Jassim, and consisted of the restored original nine palace buildings, a new 'Museum of the State' building, the Marine Museum and Aquarium and the Lagoon. The 'Museum of the State' building displayed a chronological narrative of Qatar's development, with displays of geology and archaeology, natural history, Islamic history, the pearling industry and the role of the ruling Al Thani family. In upper floor there were two rooms devoted to the oil industry and contemporary Qatar and its current projects. Between archaeology, cultural heritage and natural history was a substantial Bedouin display which included a large tent, simulated models of camels in traditional saddles, harnesses and camel bags (*mekla*), and, significantly, a display of camel "wusm" (brands that indicated which tribe owned the camel).

[37] Assessment of Technical Assistance and Plan of Action Report (1981), UNESCO, Paris.
[38] *http://www.dubaicity.com/camel-museum*.

The museum's aim to show the interaction between Bedouins' life and heritage through camel, their value, as well as, esteemed items considered an important part of their lives (e.g. the simplicity of life in the desert and the lack of transported materials due to the nature of Bedouin lives). Such life was highly dependent on movement and travel, so camels were a symbol of the tribe's moral and social standing, as well as a reflection of the tribe's identity. The display of camel 'wusm' that symbolizes each social tribe, was a sign of the clan's entity, prestige and pride.

The museum includes photos and videos about camels showing how Bedouins in the past relied on the camel in their daily lives and highlighting its importance in Qatari society. The displays included information sheet where it mentioned how people benefited from camels, the characteristics of camels and their age, and the history and importance of camels in the Arab society. The prevailing belief that the camel is a mean animal is false and untrue, the camel has a tempering mood in general'[39]. In fact, camels were given as a bride's dowry amongst the Bedouin tribes, the used in their weddings to carry the Hodge[40] to transport the bride, and have also been used to transport sick patients[41].

6. Tradition, historical memories and expectations of camels in the national museum in Qatar

In order to explore how significant Qatari nationals thought the displays relating to camels in the old National Museum were, and how they expected camels to be presented in the new National Museum, two of the authors worked with students at Qatar University to implement a focussed survey with Qatari nationals who had visited the first National Museum. 89 Qatari nationals were interviewed, 43 males aged between 30 and 75, and 46 females aged between 30 and 67. In terms of levels of education, 35 were pre-university, 40 were at university level and 14 were post-university level. The survey asked two questions:

1. *How was the representation of camel /camel models in the old National Museum of Qatar?*
2. *Do you want to include the theme of the camel and blockade to be portrayed at the new National Museum of Qatar?*

In relation to the first question, the majority of the interviewees mentioned the displays of the camel models and Bait Al Shar (Bedouin tent). In the second question 92% (82 people) answered YES, whereas 8% (7 people) answered NO. Some interviews also gave reasons not to represent the camel and blockade in the new National Museum.

[39] AL-HAZMI 1991; AL-HAZMI and BRAIN 1993.
[40] It is a loader placed on the back of animals such as camels. It is like a small compartment with shaded seat that is usually completely closed.
[41] SILLITOE 2017.

7. The value of the camel in the blockade gallery museum exhibit

The gallery "Ramadan Blockade" was opened in November 2019, it displayed social, economic and political consequences of the blockade over the people and government of Qatar. The display highlighted every aspect of the blockade, from its beginning to its effects on the Qatari political and social life. The gallery emphasised more in presenting the social impact. Interestingly, for the first time in a political conflict, animals are included to picture how animals were treated by the sieged countries. The museum narrates how camels mistreated and left to death deliberately as stated, 'Camels in Saudi Arabia die after being cut off from Qatari owners'[42]. Furthermore, refers to how and why this death happened when 'they did not let them cross the boundaries in the morning as usual, as they passed away in the afternoon, when the heat was unbearable for them' (digital presentation at the NMoQ, November 2019, figure 6). The foreign conflicts that Qatar faces with its neighbours have become central to showcase the social value of cultural display.

Within this exhibition, Qatar addressed specific political statement showing the integration of social life into political practices. Thus, animal rights have become an ideology that is essential to the dialogue at the national museum. Apparently, this is in respond to the recent political conflict that touched every aspect of the Qatari life[43] dealing with the camels, the identity and contemporary significance, an inevitable interaction of heritage and society issues. At any rate, concerning the exhibit manner, there are various ways that this narrative could be presented in the museum to communicate the dynamic reality of the situation, and in contrast to the traditional static displays of the old Qatar National Museum. One idea is to use a technique like Culturama (3D or CAVEcam)[44], a 180 degree panoramic showcase that encompasses the audience and can be modified to different shapes, and offers a digital immersive showcase[45]. Moreover, the Museum exhibit enhances cultural tourism in Qatar and such presentations of heritage culture includes tangible and intangible aspects and archaeological visits inhere historical and touristic motivation[46]. Last, but not least the development of Museum exhibits of cultural heritage contains not only social but also sustainability aspects[47].

[42] Camels are called Al Halal, the term is probably connected with requesting Halal earning.
[43] MESSAGE 2015.
[44] CHAMPION 2016; LIRITZIS *et al.*, 2016.
[45] *http://www.cultnat.org/Culturama*; *http://www.v-must.net/virtual-museums/vm/culturama*.
[46] EL-MENSHAWY 2017.
[47] LIRITZIS *et al.*, 2020; LIRITZIS and KORKA 2018.

8. Conclusion

Arabs have always been proud of the distinctive quality and numbers of camels they possess; camels were and still are central to Arab heritage and traditions, from ancient history to modern times, a trusted element of daily life and central to their economy. The impact of the 2017 blockade on the camels was significant for the Qatari community. Both, the exhibition regarding issues, stories, narratives that value the camel throughout Arabic history, and the interviews taken place and discussed are essential parts of Qataris heritage and society. Both support the idea of including narratives from members of Qatari society, regarding the new National Museum of Qatar, including the inappropriate treatment of camels, this domestic valuable animal with long historical memory and a heritage symbol.

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On the Ionian League in the Fourth Century BC

Maxim M. KHOLOD[1]

Abstract. *The author argues that the revival of the Ionian League, most likely dissolved by the Persians right after 494, happened ca. 373 BC. The sLeague seems to have been refounded then as a purely religious association. Its life was very long this time: the League most probably did not cease to exist not only during the rest of the 4th century BC but it was the same one which functioned almost interruptedly throughout further several centuries and disappeared only at a moment after the mid-3rd century AD.*

Rezumat. *Autorul susține că renașterea Ligii Ionice, cel mai probabil dizolvată de perși imediat după 494, s-a produs aprocimativ în 373 î.H. Liga pare să fi fost reîntemeiată atunci ca o asociație pur religioasă. Existența sa a fost foarte îndelungată: Liga nu numai că nu a încetat cel mai probabil să existe pe parcursul secolului al IV-lea î.Hr., ci a funcționat aproape neîntrerupt în secolele care au urmat și a dispărut imediat după mijlocul secolului al III-lea d.Hr.*

Keywords: Ionian League, Panionion, Panionia, Persian Empire, Alexander the Great.

The evidence for the Ionian League (also named the Panionian League) in the Classical period, after the suppression of the Ionian revolt by the Persians in 494[2], is scarce. It is absolutely absent for the rest of the 5th century, a fact speaking, in all likelihood, that the League did not exist at this time[3]. Furthermore, it is significant that Herodotus describing the Panionion, a sacred place of the Ionians at Mycale in the territory of Priene, writes about a festival of the Ionian League in honour of Heliconian Poseidon held at this place, the Panionia, as if it is no longer celebrated in his time (I, 148)[4]. A situation is different for the 4th century. In this case we have some pieces of evidence of which the account of Diodorus (XV, 49, 1–3) about the prerequisites of the terrible earthquake in the Peloponnese in the winter of 373/2[5],

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[2] All dates are BC/BCE unless otherwise noted.

[3] Such an opinion was expressed already by WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF 1906, 12.

[4] … συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὁρτὴν τῇ ἔθέντο οὔνομα Πανιώνια.

[5] The date of Diodorus is supported by other sources: Arist. Meteor., I, 6, 343b; VII, 344b; Strab., VIII, 7, 2, 384; Paus., VII, 25, 4; cf. Polyb., II, 41, 7.

when two cities, Helice and Bura, in Achaea were destroyed[6], is especially important. Relying in this passage on the writing of Ephorus[7], Diodorus gives the following story as one of the existing explanations of this disaster:

> "In Ionia nine cities were in the habit of holding sacrifices of great antiquity on a large scale to Poseidon in a lonely region near the place called Mycale. Later, however, as a result of the outbreak of wars in this neighborhood, since they were unable to hold the Panionia there, they shifted the festival gathering to a safe place near Ephesus. Having sent an embassy to Delphi, they received an oracle telling them to take copies of the ancient ancestral altars at Helice, which was situated in what was then known as Ionia, but is now known as Achaea. So the Ionians in obedience to the oracle sent men to Achaea to make the copies, and they spoke before the council of the Achaeans and persuaded them to give them what they asked. The inhabitants of Helice, however, who had an ancient saying that they would suffer danger when Ionians should sacrifice at the altar of Poseidon, taking account of the oracle, opposed the Ionians in the matter of the copies, saying that the sanctuary was not the common property of the Achaeans, but their own particular possession. The inhabitants of Bura also took part with them in this. But since the Achaeans by common decree had concurred, the Ionians sacrificed at the altar of Poseidon as the oracle directed, but the people of Helice scattered the sacred possessions of the Ionians and seized the persons of their representatives[8], thus committing sacrilege"
> (transl. C.L. Sherman, Loeb).

Strabo also indicates such a reason of Helice's submergence by the sea, naming Heracleides Ponticus his source in this case (VIII, 7, 2, 385):

"And Heracleides says that the submersion took place by night in his time, and, although the city was twelve stadia distant from the sea, this whole district together with the city was hidden from sight; and two thousand men who had been sent by the Achaeans were unable to recover the dead bodies; and they divided the territory of Helice among the neighbours; and the submersion was the result of the anger of Poseidon, for the Ionians who had been driven out of Helice sent men to ask the inhabitants of Helice particularly for the statue of Poseidon, or, if not that, for the model of the temple (τοῦ γε ἱεροῦ τὴν ἀφίδρυσιν); and when the inhabitants refused to give either, the Ionians sent word to the general council of the

[6] According to Diodorus, both cities were submerged by the sea. But this is not correct. Only Helice was submerged, Bura was demolished by the earthquake and consequently rebuilt. On this, see in detail: STYLIANOU 1998, 377.

[7] There is reason to suggest that Ephorus, in his turn, used in the account of the earthquake of 373/2 Callisthenes' *Hellenica*, combining it with Heracleides Ponticus' περὶ εὐσεβείας. At the same time, insofar as one is able to judge, in the passage on the embassy of the Ionians to Achaea he relied more on the latter author's writing (see below). See STYLIANOU 1998, 377–378.

[8] Perhaps the Heliceans even killed them: Paus., VII, 24, 6; Ael. *De nat. anim.*, 11, 19.

Achaeans; but although the assembly voted favorably, yet even so the inhabitants of Helice refused to obey; and the submersion resulted the following winter; but the Achaeans later gave the model of the temple (ἀφίδρυσιν) to the Ionians." (transl. H.L. Jones, Loeb).

Strabo's account is more brief and, in general, agrees with that of Diodorus, although it contains some differences: the Ionians ask Helice to give them either the statue of Poseidon or his temple's *aphidrysis*[9]; they meet a refusal; then the Ionian embassy obtains permission of the Achaean League; the Heliceans again express their dissent; disaster befalls the city in the winter following the refusal.

It is usually accepted (see below) that these accounts, and above all the passage of Diodorus, testify about the existence of the Ionian League at the time of the described events. Indeed, in this case the cities of Ionia (nine of the traditional twelve) act jointly and in concert, a fact that, it seems, clearly shows their unity, at least when solving the religious issues. Besides, the very goal of the cities' action (to repair their common cult of Heliconian Poseidon, being, as is well known, central for the previous Ionian League) appears to speak in favour of this view too: such an action is better suited for that of the Ionian communities forming an association than for that of the separated ones. The dating of these events is, however, quite another matter: there is no unanimity on it in scholarship.

In the opinion of Judeich, the move of the Panionia to a site in the territory of Ephesus may have been caused either by the military operations that Mausolus waged against the Greek cities of Asia Minor in the first half of the 350s or by the wars the reason of which one can see in the old dispute between Samos and Priene[10]. In turn, Caspari has noted that there is no need to relate the Ionian embassy to Achaea to a time immediately before 373. According to him, Diodorus' mention of certain wars which forced the Ionians to transfer the Panionia to Ephesus points to an earlier date, probably to 392 when the Persian satrap Struthas defeated the Spartan Thibron near Priene (Xen. *Hell.*, IV, 8, 17–19; Diod., XIV, 99). At the same time, Caspari supposes that the revival of the Ionian League happened *ca*. 400. He admits that its restoration may have been due to Agesilaus but the scholar also does not rule out that it was the result of the Ionians' independent action taken several years earlier. At any rate, the duration of the refounded League was not long; the Persians should have dissolved it right after the King's Peace (387/6)[11].

[9] On this, see HERDA 2009, 56–58.

[10] JUDEICH 1892, 214, n. 1.

[11] CASPARI 1915, 182–183. *Cf.* LAPTEVA 2009, 113–114. In this connection also see FOGAZZA 1973, 166–167, who suggests that the Ionian League continued to exist in the 5th century, but with exclusively religious functions, and its activities were stopped only by the Persians in the 4th century, during the new period of their domination over the Greeks of Asia Minor. I do not agree with such a view, because there is no evidence of the existence of the Ionian League in the 5th and early 4th centuries (prior to 373). Even if the Panionia were transferred to Epesus in the 5th century, as Fogazza supposes, it does not follow from this that the festival was celebrated by the cities still forming the Ionian League. For the equating of the Panionia and the Ephesia, see below.

Other scholars considered the cited account of Diodorus in connection with the debate on the Ephesia, a festival of the Ionians, mentioned by Thucydides (III, 104, 3). Hornblower has supported and refined the idea[12] that Thucydides meant by the Ephesia none other but the Panionia relocated, according to Diodorus, owing to wars from Mycale to a safe place near Ephesus. The scholar believes that Diodorus speaking about this relocation had in mind an event of earlier date than 373, probably that of 440/39 when Samos and Miletus quarreled for Priene (Thuc., I, 115, 2)[13]. Stylianou did not agree with the opinion of Hornblower. He argues that the idea of equating the Ephesia and the Panionia is not convincing. As to the Ionian embassy to Achaea, it, in the scholar's view, has to be dated either to 373 or to a moment shortly before this year. It is most likely that the dispatch of the embassy was connected (contrary to Diodurus' indication who in this case probably incompetently abbreviated the account of Ephorus) not with the transfer of the festival to Ephesus but with its move back to Mycale. According to Stylianou, the first relocation of the Panionia (to Ephesus) may have happened *ca*. 400 when, as Caspari has suggested, the Ionian League was refounded due to the Spartans, and the second one (back to Mycale) may have done at the late 370s when the new revival of the League presumably took place[14].

There are thus divergent views of scholars on the dating of the events described by Diodorus. Taken this into account, it is appropriate now to consider the issue once more.

First of all, I agree with Stylianou that Diodorus confused in the passage (as a result of his incompetent abbreviation of the text of Ephorus) two events which in reality happened at different times: the original move of the Panionia to a safe place in the territory of Ephesus because of certain wars and the subsequent move of the festival from Ephesus back to Mycale, i.e. to its original site. Also, it is worth believing that the whole further narrative in Diodorus' passage (the receipt of Apollo's oracle in Delphi by the Ionians and their unfortunate embassy to Achaea) was connected just with the latter event. At the same time, in my view, it is obvious that the activities of this embassy cannot be related to an earlier (and especially to a later) date than that of the earthquake in Peloponnese (373/2), as those scholars who try to identify the wars mentioned by Diodorus with one or another military conflict in the region, do (such a position of them results from the fact that the years *ca*. 373 were peaceful in western Asia Minor). Indeed, while Diodorus' account itself gives rather clear impression of closeness in time of the Ionian embassy to the destruction of Helice (with Bura)[15], this is

[12] It has been expressed, for instance, by MAGIE 1950, II 867, n. 49; BEAN 1966, 216–217; KLEINER, HOMMEL, MÜLLER-WIENER 1967, 13–14; KNIBBE 1970, 278.

[13] HORNBLOWER 1982, 241–245. Cf. HORNBLOWER 1991, 527–529, who admits here, among other things, the possible correctness of Stylianou's suggestion (see below) that Diodorus incompetently abbreviated the text of Ephorus and hence confused the transfer of the Panionia to a place near Ephesus with the festival's subsequent remove to the original site.

[14] STYLIANOU 1983, 245–249; 1998, 379 (briefly).

[15] So too Paus., VII, 24, 6; Ael. *De nat. anim.*, 11, 19.

explicitly shown by Strabo (here probably continuing, in contrast to Diodorus, to use the narrative of Heracleides) who writes: "the disaster happened in the following winter" (τῷ δ' ἑξῆς χειμῶνι συμβῆναι τὸ πάθος), which means that the events relating to this embassy have to be dated to 373. Correspondingly, one can conclude that the revival of the Ionian League should also have happened at a time shortly before these events and that its first, and entirely natural, action (or one of the first) became the decision on the move of the Panionia back to its original place at Mycale, to the earlier neglected Panionion. Besides, it is possible that an indirect support to the idea of the Ionian League's restoration at this time (after the King's Peace) contains in the very account of Diodorus who mentions not twelve but only nine cities of Ionia: such a figure is quite explainable for the situation of this period when, according to the stipulations of the King's Peace, Samos and Chios, in contrast to the other Ionian communities, were left outside the Persian Empire and therefore could be enrolled in no association of the Ionians of Asia Minor itself, while Priene as a city, in all likelihood, was not yet rebuilt on the new (or on the old) site[16].

Hence the considered account of Diodorus supported by the corresponding passage of Strabo, in my view, allows us to believe that the refoundation of the Ionian League took place *ca*. 373. It is unknown whether or not the League managed immediately, despite the failure of the Ionian embassy in Helice, to transfer the Panionia from a place near Ephesus to Mycale. However, given the statement of Strabo (VIII, 7, 2, 385) that the Achaeans later, after Helice's submergence by the sea, gave to the Ionians what they had asked for (according to the ancient geographer, the *aphidrysis*[17]), it seems the move of the festival back to have happened at a moment shortly after 373/2 (at least I see no reason why the Ionians had to postpone such an action, so important for them, for years). At any rate, judging from the archaeological evidence which appears to fix clearly the construction activities at the site of the Panionion

[16] For the similar explanation, see LENSCHAU 1940, 220–221. It has been supported by STYLIANOU 1983, 247, n. 13; 1998, 379. *Cf.* FOGAZZA 1973, 167. The date of the refoundation of new Priene is much debated in scholarship. A survey of opinions on the issue: COHEN 1995, 187–188. Without going into details of such a discussion, I shall limit myself to one remark: in my opinion, the idea that Priene began its new history in around the mid-4th century and therefore already existed at the new site before Alexander's Asian expedition (if the city changed its site at all) is most convincing. Incidentally, this alone (i.e. the earliest of the proposed dates of the city's refoundation) appears to cast doubt on the idea of Debord that namely Priene played a key role in dispatching the Ionian embassy to Helice in 373 (DEBORD 1999, 177).

[17] See above.

in around the mid-4th century[18], the festival with the participation of the delegates from the Ionian cities was held here already by this time[19].

But how could the refoundation of the Ionian League happen in the late 370s, at the time when Achaemenid power in western Asia Minor was rather strong? It appears that such an initiative of the Ionians did not encounter obstacles from the Persians due to a purely religious nature of the revived association: such a nature of this Ionian League is proved not only by the lack of references to it in the context of the political events of the 4th century but also by the fact that all our evidence on the League, at least for this period, relates to the matters connected exceptionally with religion. Taken this into account, it seems obvious that the Persians did not regard the restoration of such an association as a threat against them. Moreover, perhaps they even could take a certain political advantage of the Ionian League's reanimation: it was easier for them to exercise control over the cities united in an association (which, in addition, represented no danger to Persian power) than over the separated communities of Ionia. As to the Ionians, for them the situation when supreme authority did not prohibit (and maybe even somehow encouraged) the refoundation of their old League gave a great chance to put such an idea in action and at the same time revive their common sacred centre in the Panionion.

It is worth believing that the life of this, refounded in *ca.* 373, Ionian League was very long: this League most probably did not cease to exist not only during the rest of the 4th century but it was the same one which, as is well known, functioned almost interruptedly throughout further several centuries and disappeared only at a moment after the mid-3rd century AD[20]. Indeed, there is no ground to suggest that some time after its revival in the late 370s it was dissolved and then, as it is often stated in scholarship, refounded again either during the reign of Alexander the Great or later, under Antigonus the One-Eyed[21]. (In my

[18] KLEINER, HOMMEL, MÜLLER-WIENER 1967, 15. In addition, see HANSEN, FISCHER-HANSEN 1994, 68–69; MÜLLER 1997, 660. Lohmann's recent attempts to question the widely-recognized location of the Panionion on Otomatik Tepe (in his view, the Archaic Panionion was situated on Çatallar Tepe) do not seem convincing to me. See, in particular, LOHMANN 2005, 57–91; 2007, 81–82, 106–107, 129–167; 2012, 32–50; 2013, 109–122. For a critique of his hypothesis, see especially HERDA 2006, 43–102; also see HERDA 2009, 37–43; 2013, 427.

[19] Nevertheless, this is not to say that the revival of the Ionian League should have happened at the same time (not earlier). Those who date its refoundation to around the mid-4th century (see, in particular, KLEINER, HOMMEL, MÜLLER-WIENER 1967, 14–15; MAREK 2010, 207) undeservedly depreciate a reliability of the accounts of Diodorus and Strabo to suit the archaeological evidence. It is clear that the representatives of the member cities of the Ionian League could well meet together not only in one of them (especially initially) but also in the Panionion even before the beginning of construction works there, including the construction of the so called *bouleuterion*. For this "*bouleuterion*", see KLEINER, HOMMEL, MÜLLER-WIENER 1967, 28–37; HANSEN, FISCHER-HANSEN 1994, 67–69; HERDA 2006, 50–52; cf. LOHMANN 2005, 73–74; 2012, 37–38.

[20] On the Ionian League in the epoch of Roman domination, mainly in the Imperial period, see, in particular, VUJČIĆ 2009, 139–151; and especially HERRMANN 2002, 223–240.

[21] A survey of scholarship on the relationship between the Ionian League and Alexander, including the issue of its supposed refoundation by the Macedonian king: SEIBERT 1972, 90–92, 268. Among studies that were published after

view, the main reason why some scholars attribute the Ionian League's reanimation either to Alexander or to Antigonus, considering its earlier existence impossible, is that they hold the League to be not a purely religious association – as, I believe, it in reality was – but above all an association with certain political functions and therefore do not find a place for it in the structures of the Persian Empire[22].) At any rate, it appears that a number of inscriptions of the second half of the 4th century exclude any attribution of the refoundation of the Ionian League to Antigonus, fixing its earlier existence: the first is a fragment of the decision of the *boulē* of the Ionian League to allow the Lebedians to set up a stele at the Panionion (I.Priene^2 398); the second is the very beginning of a decree of the Ionians and Aeolians (I.Erythrai 16, ll. 6–11); the third is a fragment of regulations concerning the Panionia (I.Priene^2 399)[23]. It is impossible to date these inscriptions exactly. However, given that Ionic forms which occur in each of them become very rear in epigraphic documents from the cities of Ionia by the late 320s[24], one can conclude that the mentioned inscriptions were engraved, in all likelihood, before this time, i.e. under Alexander at the latest. (Of course it is not ruled out that one or another of them could appear later, even when the Ionian cities were under Antigonus' control, but the possibility of engraving all the three inscriptions in this period seems – because of the indicated dialectical specificity of their texts – ver small.) On the other hand, it is quite unnecessary to restrict the date of these epigraphic documents only to the years of Alexander's reign; it is more likely that at least one of the inscriptions was engraved before his Asian expedition.

Although Alexander, insofar as we are able to judge, had nothing to do with the refoundation of the Ionian League, his rule affected it.

First, it is most probable that under him, after the final destruction of the political system of the King's Peace[25], the number of the Ionian League's member-cities reached eleven. While

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Seibert's survey or were left out of his account, see, in particular, the following: WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF 1906, 13; MAGIE 1950, I 65–67; II 868–869, n. 51; BEAN 1966, 217; HABICHT 1970, 17; VERKINDEREN 1987, 263–268; DREYER 2009, 223; VUJČIĆ 2009, 142 (these historians attribute the refoundation of the Ionian League to Alexander); CASPARI 1915, 183–185; BILLOWS 1990, 217–218 (these scholars attribute it to Antigonus). *Cf.* FOGAZZA 1973, 167; DEBORD 1999, 177–178, 475.

[22] *Cf.* DEBORD 1999, 177.

[23] Here I deliberately set aside one more inscription that mentions the Panionion (I.Priene^2 19, l. 36), as its dating is controversial: while Hiller von Gaertringen (in his commentary on I.Priene 4) has dated the corresponding part of the document to *ca.* 332/1, in Crowther's opinion, the decree should be dated to 294/3 (CROWTHER 1996, 216–219). Cf. I.Priene^2 19 ("*ca.* 330–300").

[24] For instance, in Priene: while in I.Priene^2 15 (334/3) Ionic forms are present, in I.Priene^2 5 (shortly before 326/5) they are absent. Similarly in Ephesus: see respectively I.Ephesos 1419 (probably 336–334/3) and I.Ephesos 1435 (322/1). In inscriptions from Erythrae Ionic forms become also scarce by the late 320s and almost completely disappear by *ca.* 300 (GARBRAH 1978, 145–152).

[25] On the *de jure* destruction of this political system by Philip II of Macedon in 338/7, see BUCKLER 1994, 99, 117–118. At the same time, there is no doubt that it ceased to exist *de facto* only after Alexander's conquests in Asia.

Priene's enrollment in it during Alexander's reign is not clear, as it is possible that the city already was one of the members of the association by this time[26], it is obvious that now there remained no obstacles to Chios' rejoining the Ionian League[27].

Second, it is known – due to the extant inscriptions dated from *ca.* the second third of the 3rd century – about the existence of Alexander's cult in the Ionian League[28]. It is attested by the fact of regular celebration of the Alexandreia, a pan-Ionian festival in honour of the Macedonian king. The Alexandreia – becoming together with the Panionia the most important festival of the Ionian League – most likely were celebrated on Alexander's birthday and included, among other things, in all likelihood, a procession and offering of sacrifices (I.Erythrai 504, ll. 5–6[29] = KOTSIDU 2000, KNr. 198, E 1 [268–262]) as well as undoubtedly contests (I.Erythrai 30, ll. 22–23 [270–260]; 87, l. 6 [3rd–2nd centuries][30]; SEG 46. 422, ll. 8–10 [2nd–1st centuries][31]; I.Erythrai 89a, ll. 6–7 [after 31]). At the time of Strabo the festival was always held in a grove consecrated to Alexander, between Erythrae and Teos (Strab., XIV, 31, 644 = KOTSIDU 2000, KNr. 198, L 1). But initially (and for rather a long period) it was celebrated in various cities of the Ionian League – either alternately[32] or already from the

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[26] See above, n. 15. It is appropriate here to make one more remark on Priene's refoundation: perhaps it was provoked namely by the reanimation of the neighbouring Panionion, and not the reverse, as some scholars suppose (see recently e.g. LOHMANN 2005, 75–76; 2012, 37–38).

[27] The enrollment of Samos in the Ionian League (the twelfth traditional member) happened at a later point, after the Samians had managed to recover their island following the Lamian War. Later still, Smyrna (refounded by efforts of Antigonus and Lysimachus) joined the Ionian League, and hence the number of its member cities reached thirteen (an earliest epigraphic evidence for this figure: I.Smyrna 577, ll. 1–2 [*ca.* 289/8]). On the refoundation of new Smyrna, see, in particular, COHEN 1995, 180–183, 422–423 (with literature).

[28] On the issue, see KHOLOD 2016, 513–516 (the relevant section of this publication is reflected further).

[29] A decree of the Ionian League, from Clazomenae, in honour of Antiochus I and his son. [πομπὴν(?) καὶ θυσ]ίαν is the restoration of L. and J. Robert of l. 6 that appears to me rather grounded; at least the restoration [ἡμέραν τὴν γενεθλ]ίαν given in OGIS 222 is impossible, for in such a case γενέθλιον would be needed. See ROBERT 1959, 228. But it seems highly probable that this festival was celebrated indeed on Alexander's birthday. See MAGIE 1950, I 66; HABICHT 1970, 17; DREYER 2009, 223; besides, see below.

[30] L. Robert, in my view, is right (although he provides no argumentation in such a connection), believing that the Alexandreia mentioned here is a festival of the Ionian League and not a local festival held at Erythrae (ROBERT 1929, 148; cf. I.Erythrai 87, commentary). Indeed, as Erythrae was a member of the Ionian League and hence could take part in the common Alexandreia each time, I see no reason for the establishment by the Erythraeans also their own analogous festival in honour of Alexander. Therefore Habicht's doubts on that (as well as Dreyer's who follows him) seem strange. See HABICHT 1970, 19; DREYER 2009, 224; cf. MAGIE 1950, II 868, n. 51.

[31] An inscription from Messene recording, among other things, the victory of an athlete in the Alexandreia celebrated by the Ionian League in Smyrna. On this inscription, see HABICHT 2000, 126; GAUTHIER 2000, 634–635; HERRMANN 2002, 231–232.

[32] If the restoration of ll. 24–26 of the same inscription from Clazomenae (see above) occurring in OGIS 222 ([ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐπανέλθ]ωσιν αἱ πρεσβεῖαι, τὴμ πόλιν, [ἐν ἧι ἄν συντελέσωμεν τὴν θυ]σίαν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων, [παρακαλεῖν πάντας δήμ]ους κτλ.) is correct. The idea that the Alexandreia were held at first in the cities of the Ionian League alternately is admitted by MAGIE 1950, I 66; HABICHT 1970, 17; 2000, 126; DREYER 2009, 223; but see GAUTHIER 2000, 634–635; cf. HERRMANN 2002, 232. At the same time, see the commentary on I.Erythrai 504, where it is noted that

very beginning in one or another city on more or less long-term basis: at least at a moment in the 2nd–1st centuries, before the age of Strabo, Smyrna is evidenced as a place of, it seems, regular celebrations of the Alexandreia by the Ionians (SEG 46. 422, ll. 8–10)[33].

The issue as to when Alexander's cult, with the festival in his honour, was established in the Ionian League – whether still in the Macedonian king's lifetime or posthumously and in such a case either under Antigonus or Lysimachus – remains debatable. Habicht has believed that the Alexandreia of the Ionian League had to be instituted, like the festival established in honour of Antiochus I[34], on Alexander's birthday, consequently during his reign. And these Alexandreia, once introduced, naturally continued to be held on the same day after the Macedonian king's death as well[35]. Another argument presented by some scholars in favour of the Alexandreia's establishment in Alexander's lifetime is the name of the festival: according to the scholars, if this festival were introduced not under Alexander but under Antigonus, it would have been called the Antigoneia[36]. In my opinion, both these arguments, however, cannot be regarded as sufficiently forceful. As to the first of them, I agree that the festivals in honour of deified Hellenistic monarchs were mostly held indeed on their birthdays and therefore it is quite possible to believe that the Alexandreia of the Ionians were celebrated on such a day too. But this is not to say that the Alexandreia had to be necessarily instituted during the Macedonian king's lifetime: it is known that sometimes the celebrations in honour of a deified ruler could take place on his birthday even if his cult was set up posthumously[37]. As to the second argument, one can object to it in the following way: it is not improbable that Antigonus himself requested the Ionians to honour not him but Alexander in their festival; on the other hand, it is not ruled out that initially the pan-Ionian festival was indeed called the Antigoneia but then, after the Ionian League had fallen under the control of Lysimachus, this ruler ordered it to be renamed the Alexandreia, like he renamed Antigonia Troas as

such an idea contradicts with Strabo's indication of the place of the Alexandreia's celebration. However, this contradiction, it seems, can be easily removed by the suggestion that here we are dealing with some changes happening with time.

[33] The word συντελούμενα (praes.) in l. 9 of this inscription appears to indicate that the Alexandreia were held in Smyrna regularly (GAUTHIER 2000, 635). It is unclear how long it celebrated in this city. Nevertheless, if the idea that the Alexandreia were held at first in the cities of the Ionian League alternately is correct, one can suggest that later, from a date, the festival began to celebrate only in a certain city (immediately at Smyrna?) and then, by the time of Strabo, already in a grove consecrated to Alexander.

[34] See above, n. 28.

[35] HABICHT 1970, 17; cf. DREYER 2009, 223.

[36] See e. g. MAGIE 1950, II 868–869, n. 51.

[37] See HABICHT 1998, 35–41 (in connection with a decree of Miletus concerning the celebration of birthday of Eumenes II: I.Didyma 488).

Alexandria[38]. Yet, despite the indicated defects in both arguments (though it does not follow from this that they must be regarded as entirely invalid), I believe that it is better to date the establishment of Alexander's cult in the Ionian League, with the festival in his honour, to the period of his reign. Even if we set aside the considered arguments (although they taken together acquire a certain force), the introduction of Alexander's cults in a number of individual cities of Asia Minor, including Ionian[39], happening, insofar as we able to judge, in his lifetime, most likely in 324–323[40], speaks, in my view, just for this date: there seems to be no reason to separate the institution of the cults of the Macedonian king in these cities from the analogous event connected with the Ionian League; on the contrary, it is logical to believe that they were interconnected. Moreover, if so, it is not excluded that the fact that the civic cults of Alexander are evidenced (or supposed) only in several Ionian cities implies that they were set up a little earlier than the pan-Ionian cult: the institution of the latter may have been not only provoked by the establishment of the cults of Alexander in a number of cities of Ionia but stopped the further spreading of the Macedonian king's civic cult from one Ionian community to another, because at that stage the continuation of such a process became already superfluous.

Finally, let us return to the events of the beginning of the 4th century and focus on the idea – advanced by Caspari and supported by Stylianou – that the Ionian League was first revived in *ca.* 400. I would remind that, in the opinion of Caspari, this Ionian League was dissolved right after the King's Peace and was reanimated only in the age of the Successors, under Antigonus[41], while, according to Stylianou, the League was refounded in the late 370s and since then did not cease to exist. Caspari finds the argument in favour of *ca.* 400 as the date of the Ionian League's revival in the concluding verses of *The Persians* by Timotheus of Miletus. The scholar sees in them the possible reference to this association being in existence. I believe that such an argument is not persuasive. Even if it is correct that λαός in l. 239 of the nome is the same as λαὸς δυωδεκατείχης in ll. 235–236[42], it does not follow from this that

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[38] Cf. BILLOWS 1990, 217–218. For the special role which the figure of Alexander played in Lysimachus' politics (and propaganda), now see PLISCHKE 2011, 61–69 (with literature). On the founding of Antigonia Troas by Antigonus and its renaming as Alexandria by Lysimachus, see COHEN 1995, 145, 421.

[39] Erythrae: I.Erythrai 201, l. a78 = KOTSIDU 2000, KNr. 235, E 1; I.Erythrai 207, l. 90 = KOTSIDU 2000, KNr. 198, E 2; I.Erythrai 64, l. 7 = KOTSIDU 2000, KNr. 235, E 2. Ephesus: Strab., XIV, 1, 22, 641; I.Ephesos 719, ll. 8–9 = KOTSIDU 2000, KNr. 245, E. Priene: I.Priene[2] = KOTSIDU 2000, KNr. 256, E.

[40] According to Habicht, in 334 (HABICHT 1970, 22–25, 245–246). For a critique of his opinion with arguments in favour of the last years of Alexander's reign (most probably 324–323) as the date of the introduction of the Macedonian king's cults in these cities, see BADIAN 1981, 60–63; WALBANK 1984, 90; STEWART 1993, 98–102, 419–420; and now especially KHOLOD 2016, 503–513.

[41] Similarly: VUJČIĆ 2009, 141–142, where, however, the subsequent restoration of the League has been connected with rather Alexander than Antigonus.

[42] As to the line numeration, I follow Hordern's edition of *The Persians* (HORDERN 2002). Caspari has followed Wilamowitz's one (WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF 1903), and in it the relative lines are 251 and 247–248 respectively.

Timotheus requested of Apollo to benefit namely the Ionian League and not merely the Asian Ionians as a whole[43]. In addition, it seems that an accurate reflection of historical details in Timotheus' poetic (very vague) language should not be expected at all. Also, in my view, it is hardly possible to regard another piece of evidence as an argument in favour of the Ionian League's restoration in *ca.* 400, namely an inscription recording the settlement of a territorial dispute between Miletus and Myus by a court of arbitration composed from the Ionians by request of the Persian Struses (Struthas), presumably the satrap of Lydia, in 391–388 (Tod 113 = RO 16). Indeed, the fact that all the Ionian communities (both the representatives from the two disputant cities and the ones chosen from each of the other cities as jurors) took part in this trial, does not necessarily speak about such activities of them in the framework of the League[44]. Furthermore, I do not see any clear reference to the Ionian League itself in the text of the document. It is more likely that this case has to be considered a manifestation of ethno-territorial, not institutionalized, unity of the Ionians. Moreover, it is not ruled out that we are dealing here with the restoration (perhaps somewhat modified) of the practice of settling disputes between the Ionian cities which, as we know from Herodotus (VI, 42), was established for them by Artaphernes as far back as 493[45].

Thus, in my opinion, there is nothing that can testify about the refoundation of the Ionian League earlier than the late 370s. As to the time of the move of the Panionia from Mycale to a site near Ephesus, attested by Diodorus (I would remind that, according to Stylianou, it happened in connection with the supposed revival of the Ionian League in *ca.* 400), I believe that it is better to relate this event, regardless of whether or (more likely) not such a festival was the same as the Ephesia (see above), to a certain moment in the 5th century, at least before a point when Herodotus wrote about the Panionia.

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[43] Cf. WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF 1906, 12–13; and now HORDERN 2002, 245–246.

[44] As, for example, Tod states in his commentary on the inscription (Tod 113). For the analogous opinion, see HANSEN, FISCHER-HANSEN 1994, 69; DEBORD 1999, 177; SCOTT 2005, 537–538, n. 17; RUNG 2008, 428, n. 14; cf. BRIANT 2002, 495. However, see CASPARI 1915, 183.

[45] Cf. BRIANT 1982, 499; 2002, 495; SCOTT 2005, 537–538, n. 17.

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Cicero on *Odium*

Arina BRAGOVA[1]

Abstract. *The article analyses Cicero's use of the concept of odium. The author has concluded that Cicero uses odium in different writings for more than 200 times, most often in his orations. The concept has a rather wide palette of meanings: from hate to enmity and anger. The notion of odium has such epithets as personal or public, open or secret, fair or unfair, big or small, sudden or long-term. Odium acts as a homogeneous member of a sentence with words denoting positive or negative emotions, or moral categories, and they are often connected by conjunctions, prepositions, particles (et / et ... et, atque, aut / aut ... aut, cum, sine, -que, vel, neque / neque ... neque) or with a comma. Cicero employs the concept of odium together with invidia, ira, iracundia, which often form synonymous series. Cicero speaks of hatred (odium) when discussing crimes (scelera) and wars (bella). Odium is often combined with words denoting vices (libido, crudelitas, etc.) and negative emotions (cupiditas, metus, etc.). Odium as a negative emotion is opposed to positive moral categories (dignitas, misericordia, benevolentia, virtus, etc.) and positive emotions (spes, fides, etc.), especially in orations in order to persuade listeners. In his writings on rhetoric Cicero includes odium in the list of emotions that a speaker should exercise; with odium he also indicates the ability of the orator to change emotions of the audience depending on the situation, turning hatred into friendship or vice versa.*

Rezumat. *Articolul analizează utilizarea de către Cicero a conceptului de odium. Autoarea observă că oratorul folosește odium în diferite scrieri de peste 200 de ori, cel mai adesea în Orationes. Conceptul are o paletă destul de largă de semnificații: de la ură la dușmănie și furie. Noțiunea de odium este asociată epitete precum personal sau public, deschis sau secret, corect sau nedrept, mare sau mic, spontan sau pe termen lung. Odium acționează ca un membru omogen al unei propoziții cu cuvinte care denotă emoții pozitive sau negative sau categorii morale și sunt adesea conectate prin conjuncții, prepoziții, particule (et / et ... et, atque, aut / aut ... aut , cum, sine, -que, vel, neque / neque ... neque) sau cu virgulă. Cicero folosește conceptul de odium împreună cu invidia, ira, iracundia, care formează adesea serii sinonime. În scrierile sale despre retorică, Cicero include odium în lista emoțiilor pe care un vorbitor ar trebui să le exercite; cu odium indică și capacitatea oratorului de a schimba emoțiile publicului în funcție de situație, transformând ura în prietenie sau invers.*

Keywords: Cicero, Ancient Rome, *odium*, hatred, emotion, *invidia, ira, iracundia.*

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The article analyses the use of the concept of *odium*, namely, the question of its compatibility with positive and negative emotions, ethical, philosophical, political or juridical categories of the conceptual apparatus of Cicero's writings. Although we have not found any special research devoted to *odium* in Cicero's assessment, there are some more general publications that mention the Ciceronian notion of *odium* and make an attempt to analyse it. Thus, M. Fox[2] writes about the opposition of Cicero's desire to have his own library and his hatred (*odium*) in relation to the state of public affairs in the Roman Republic. R.A. Kaster[3] names hate (*odium*) among emotions (along with *crudelitas*, *metus*, etc.), which Cicero's speech "*Pro Roscio Amerino*" causes in the audience. D. Konstan[4] appeals to Cicero's opinion that it is important for the speaker to awaken in the listener such emotions as *amor, odium, iracundia, invidia, misericordia, spes, laetitia, timor, molestia, etc.*; besides, the researcher mentions the fact that Cicero also added emotions, including hatred, to the four Stoic virtues. D. Konstan[5] also refers to "*Tusculanae Disputationes*" (4.21), in which Cicero dwells upon the interrelation between *ira* and *odium*, about hatred as "an inveterate anger". Basing on Cicero's reasoning, G.J. Leon[6] concludes that in order to win the listeners' benevolence, the speaker should use the following methods: first of all, he should talk about himself or his client, then about the client's opponents, about the listeners and about the case itself; when the orator talks about the opponents, he should make the audience feel hate (*odium*), envy (*invidia*), contempt (*contemptio*). G.J. Leon refers to Cicero's speech "*Pro Sestio*", in which Cicero evokes hatred, calling Sestius's opponent cruel, immoral, arrogant people.[7] L. Marinella[8] analyses Cicero's speech "*Post Reditum ad Quirites*" (9.23), in which Cicero talks about hatred (*odium*). Finally, K.A. Raaflaub[9] calls the emotions (*amor, cupiditas, odium, ira, invidia*), mentioned in the speech "*Pro Marcello*", "partisan and self-serving sentiments", for Cicero undeservedly praises Caesar for having pardoned Marcellus. As we can see, the study of Cicero's concept of *odium* in the scientific literature is rather fragmented, so the concept needs to be considered in a more detailed way.

Cicero uses *odium* 266 times, most often in his speeches (138 times), especially in his invectives (51), less often — in the correspondence (54), the oratorical (40), ethical, philosophical, political and juridical writings (34). Most often, the concept means hatred, less often — hostility, enmity, indignation, disgust, condemnation, rage, or anger.

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[2] FOX 2007, 31.

[3] KASTER 2005, 324.

[4] KONSTAN 2007, 275.

[5] KONSTAN 2007, 339.

[6] LEON 1935, 35.

[7] Cic. *Pro Sest.* 6-8, 13. Cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 1.2, 2.1.6-9; *Pro Mil.* 3.

[8] MARINELLA 1999, 164.

[9] RAAFLAUB 2008, 258.

In Cicero's treatises the concept of *odium* is combined with such adjectives and participles as *acerbum*[10] / *acerbius*[11] / *acerbissimum*,[12] *acre*[13] / *acerrimum*,[14] *apertissimum et levissimum*,[15] *civile*,[16] *commune*,[17] *compressum et tacitum*,[18] *diuturnum*,[19] *inclusum*,[20] *incredibile*,[21] *infestum*,[22] *infinitum*,[23] *injustum*,[24] *insigne*,[25] *insidum*,[26] *justum*,[27] *gravius*,[28] *hostile*,[29] *luxuriosum*,[30] *magnum*[31] / *majus*[32] / *maximum*,[33] *mediocre*,[34] *mirificum*,[35] *nefarium*,[36] *obscurum*,[37] *omne*,[38] *privatum*,[39] *proprium*,[40] *publicum*,[41] *repens*,[42] *sempiternum*,[43] *simile*,[44] *singulare*,[45] *summum*,[46] *tantum*,[47]

[10] Cic. *De orat*. 2.208; *Pro Cael*. 2.

[11] Cic. *De leg*. 2.56.

[12] Cic. *Ad Att*. 10.8.6; *Phil*. 12.21; *Pro Mil*. 51.

[13] Cic. *De inv*. 2.108.

[14] Cic. *Pro Rosc. Amer*. 52.

[15] Cic. *Ad fam*. 3.10.8.

[16] Cic. *Pro Mil*. 35.

[17] Cic. *De leg. agr*. 1.2; *In Vat*. 25; *Pro Mil*. 78.

[18] Cic. *De dom*. 63.

[19] Cic. *In Vat*. 6.

[20] Cic. *Ad fam*. 1.9.20.

[21] Cic. *Ad fam*. 10.5.3.

[22] Cic. *In Verr*. 2.3.157.

[23] Cic. *Pro Balb*. 62; *Tusc. disp*. 4.50.

[24] Cic. *Pro Cael*. 29.

[25] Cic. *Ad Att*. 14.13b.3; *Phil*. 14.8.

[26] Cic. *De leg. agr*. 2.14.

[27] Cic. *De fin*. 1.33; *De prov. cons*. 6; *In Cat*. 1.17; *In Pis*. XIV; *Phil*. 13.6.

[28] Cic. *Phil*. 12.8.

[29] Cic. *In Verr*. 2.4.116; *Pro Lig*. 19.

[30] Cic. *De inv*. 1.22.

[31] Cic. *Ad Att*. 6.1.25; *De inv*. 1.100.

[32] Cic. *In Verr*. 2.4.73; *Pro Sull*. 3.

[33] Cic. *In Verr*. 2.5.94.

[34] Cic. *Phil*. 12.27; *Pro Planc*. 71.

[35] Cic. *Ad Att*. 11.15.2.

[36] Cic. *Pro Flacc*. 95.

[37] Cic. *Ad fam*. 1.9.5, 3.10.6; *De har. resp*. 55.

[38] Cic. *In Pis*. VII; *Pro Sest*. 127.

[39] Cic. *Post red. in sen*. 25.

[40] Cic. *De orat*. 2.200.

[41] Cic. *In Vat*. 39.

[42] Cic. *Ad Att*. 2.21.1.

[43] Cic. *De amic*. 35.

[44] Cic. *In Verr*. 2.5.94.

[45] Cic. *Pro Sull*. 1.

[46] Cic. *Ad Att*. 2.22.6; *Ad fam*. 5.15.4.

[47] Cic. Ad fam. 12.23.2; *In Pis*. XXXII.

universum,[48] *vetus.*[49] As we can see, hatred can be personal or public, open or secret, fair or unfair, large or small, sudden or long-term. Regarding hatred for tyrants, Cicero uses such epithets as *acerbissimum*,[50] *incredibile*,[51] *infinitum,*[52] *insigne*,[53] *justum*,[54] *gravius*,[55] *majus*,[56] *repens.*[57] Cicero employs the adjectives *justum*,[58] *majus*,[59] *maximum*[60] to describe hatred for bad people. On the contrary, bad people's hatred for *viri boni* is described with the help of the words *commune*,[61] *diuturnum*,[62] *nefarium*;[63] while for Cicero himself — *acerbissimum*,[64] *compressum et tacitum*,[65] *inclusum*,[66] *obscurum.*[67] Hatred for enemies in war can be *acerbius*,[68] *hostile*;[69]
in relation to the Roman people as an aggressor — *commune*,[70] *justum*;[71] in court between opponents — *acerbum*,[72] *acerbissimum*,[73] *civile*,[74] *commune*;[75] between political enemies — *magnum*,[76] *obscurum*,[77] *singulare.*[78]

[48] Cic. *Ad Q.fr.* 3.1.24.
[49] Cic. *De part. orat.* 112.
[50] Cic. *Ad Att.* 10.8.6.
[51] Cic. *Ad fam.* 10.5.3.
[52] Cic. *Tusc. disp.* 4.50.
[53] Cic. *Phil.* 14.8.
[54] Cic. *Phil.* 13.6.
[55] Cic. *Phil.* 12.8.
[56] Cic. *Pro Sull.* 3.
[57] Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.21.1.
[58] Cic. *De fin.* 1.33.
[59] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.4.73.
[60] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.5.94.
[61] Cic. *In Vat.* 25.
[62] Cic. *In Vat.* 6.
[63] Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 95.
[64] Cic. *Phil.* 12.21.
[65] Cic. *De dom.* 63.
[66] Cic. *Ad fam.* 1.9.20.
[67] Cic. *Ad fam.* 1.9.5, 3.10.6.
[68] Cic. *De leg.* 2.56.
[69] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.4.116; *Pro Lig.* 19.
[70] Cic. *De leg. agr.* 1.2.
[71] Cic. *De prov. cons.* 6.
[72] Cic. *De orat.* 2.208; *Pro Cael.* 2.
[73] Cic. *Pro Mil.* 51.
[74] Cic. *Pro Mil.* 35.
[75] Cic. *Pro Mil.* 78.
[76] Cic. *Ad Att.* 6.1.25.
[77] Cic. *De har. resp.* 55.
[78] Cic. *Pro Sull.* 1.

Odium is used synonymously with such negatively "charged" words as *acerbitas*,[79] *furor*,[80] *inimicitiae*,[81] *infirmitas* and *iniquitas*,[82] *desiderium*,[83] *dolor*,[84] *dolor* and *metus*,[85] *discordia*,[86] *bellum*,[87] *discidium*,[88] *discordia*, *seditio* and *bellum*,[89] *crudelitas*,[90] *poena*,[91] *invidia*,[92] *invidia* and *despicatio*,[93] *invidia* and *contemptio*,[94] *invidia* and *misericordia*,[95] *invidia*, *infamia* and *turpitudo*,[96] *studium*,[97] *offensio*,[98] *spes*,[99] *misericordia*,[100] *religio*,[101] *fama* and *conscientia*,[102] *infamia*,[103] *ira*,[104] *inrisio*,[105]

[79] Cic. *Pro Deiot*. 30: *acerbitas et odii magnitudo.*

[80] Cic. *Pro Flacc*. 2: *odio et furori*.

[81] Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.15.1: *odia atque inimicitias*; *Pro Mil.* 78*: odio inimiciarum*; *Pro Mur.* 56: *odio inimiciarum*.

[82] Cic. *Ad Att*. 1.19.8: *propter infirmitatem bonorum, iniquitatem malevolorum, odium in me improborum*.

[83] Cic. *Ad fam*. 11.8.2: *desiderio libertatis odioque diuturnae servitutis.*

[84] Cic. *Ad fam*. 12.1.1: *odium illud hominis impuri et servitutis dolor; Phil. 8.19: sine odio omnia, nihil sine dolore.*

[85] Cic. *In Verr*. 2.5.163: *dolore et odio et communis periculi metu*.

[86] Cic. *Phil*. 7.25: *plena odiorum, plena discordiarum*.

[87] Cic. *Phil*. 11.2: *inter ipsos odium bellumque meministis*.

[88] Cic. *Pro Balb*. 30: *odio quodam atque discidio; pro Cael. 31: magnum rursus odium video cum crudelissimo discidio exstitisse.*

[89] Cic. *De amic*. 23: *odiis et discidiis; de fin. 1.44: ex cupiditatibus odia, discidia, discordiae, seditiones, bella nascuntur*; *De leg. agr*. 2.14: *non enim natura neque discidio neque odio penitus insito bellum nescio*; *De nat. deor*. 1.42: *odia, praeterea discidia, discordias, ortus, interitus, querellas, lamentations*; *Pro Lig*. 19: *non bellum, nec hostile odium sed civile discidium*.

[90] Cic. *De dom.* 62: *odio et crudelitate*; *De inv*. 2.106: *deinde ostendere non odio neque crudelitate*; *In Vat*. 6: *crudelitatem vestram odiumque diuturnum; Pro Cluent.* 12*: in hunc hostili odio et crudelitate.*

[91] Cic. *De fin*. 1.51: *poena legum odioque civium*.

[92] Cic. *De fin*. 2.84: *odium autem et invidiam facile vitabis*; *De inv*. 1.4: *odii atque invidiae*; *De off*. 1.86: *Nec vero criminibus falsis in odium aut invidiam quemquam vocabit*; *De orat.* 1.228: *et invidia et odio populi*; *In Verr*. 2.5.181: *in invidia quantoque in odio.*

[93] Cic. *De fin*. 1.67: *odia, invidiae, despicationes.*

[94] Cic. *De inv*. 1.22: *aut in odium aut in invidiam aut in contemptionem adducemus.*

[95] Cic. *De orat*. 2.203: *Ut tu illa omnia odio, invidia, misericordia miscuisti!*

[96] Cic. *In Verr*. 1.43: *ut odio, invidia, infamia, turpitudine, totum ordinem liberetis.*

[97] Cic. *De imp. Pomp*. 21: *studio atque odio inflammata; Tusc. disp*. 4.48*: Usque adeo studio atque odio illius ecferor ira.*

[98] Cic. *De inv.* 1.100*: in aliquem hominem magnum odium aut in rem gravis offensio concitetur; De part. orat.* 28*: si in nos aliquod odium offensiove collocata sit; In Verr.* 1.35*: in odium offensionemque populi Romani; Pro Flacc.* 54*: Hinc totum odium, hinc omnis offensio.*

[99] Cic. *Ad fam*. 15.15.1*: spe pacis et odio civilis sanguinis.*

[100] Cic. *Brut*. 200: *misericordia odio motu animi aliquo; de orat.* 2.238*: neque odio magno neque misericordia maxima; de part. orat.* 128*: vel ad odium vel misericordiam vel omnino ad animos judicum.*

[101] Cic. *Pro Font*. 3: *non aut induci odio ut dicat aut cogi religione.*

[102] Cic. *Pro Cluent*. 187: *timuit mulier amens non suam conscientiam, non odium municipum, non famam omnium.*

[103] Cic. *De off*. 3.88: *odium et infamia.*

[104] Cic. *De orat*. 1.53: *vel ad iram aut ad odium aut ad dolorem incitandis*; *Tusc. disp*. 4.21: *odium ira inveterata*.

[105] Cic. *De orat*. 2.205: *ne aut inrisione aut odio digni putemur.*

cupiditas and *injuria*,[106] *supplicium*,[107] *aequitas*, *industria* and *temperantia*,[108] *libido*,[109] with various movements of the soul, namely emotions in general.[110]

As we can see, the concepts are often homogeneous members of a sentence and are connected by conjunctions, prepositions, particles (et / et ... et, atque, aut / aut ... aut, cum, sine, -que, vel, neque / neque ... neque) or with a comma. Less commonly, *odium* makes up a phrase with another word in the genitive case.[111]

In Cicero's writings we have found the following concepts, which denote negative emotions, or ethical, philosophical, political or juridical categories (and their derivatives) and occur in the same sections as the notion of *odium* (not necessarily paired with *odium*): *acerbitas*,[112] *adulterium*,[113] *ambitio*,[114] *angor*,[115] *arrogantia*,[116] *audacia*,[117] *avaritia*,[118] *bellum (civile)*,[119] *caedes*,[120] *calliditas*,[121] *contemptio*,[122] *contumelia*,[123] *corruptela*,[124] *crimen*,[125] *crudelitas*,[126] *cupiditas*,[127]

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106 Cic. *De part. orat.* 96: *aut ad explendas cupiditates aut ad odium satiandum aut ad ulciscendas injurias.*

107 Cic. *In Cat.* 3.22: *odio supplicioque.*

108 Cic. *In Verr.* 2.4.81: *aequitate, industria, temperantia, defensione miserorum, odio improborum.*

109 Cic. *Pro Cael.* 2: *intolerabili libidine et nimis acerbo odio.*

110 Cic. *De orat.* 2.178*: odio aut amore aut cupiditate aut iracundia aut dolore aut laetitia aut spe aut timore aut errore aut aliqua permotione mentis; De orat.* 2.189: *dolorem aut misericordiam aut invidiam aut odium; De orat.* 2.206*: amor odium iracundia, invidia misericordia, spes laetitia, timor molestia; De part. orat.* 112: *motus animorum, si ira recens, si odium vetus, si ulciscendi studium, si injuriae dolor, si honoris, si gloriae, si imperii, si pecuniae cupiditas, si periculi timor; Pro Cluent.* 159*: libidinem autem, odium, invidiam, metum cupiditatesque omnes amovere maximique aestimare conscientiam mentis suae; Pro Lig.* 17*: spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; Pro Marcell.* 29*: Nam et sine amore et sine cupiditate et rursus sine odio et sine invidia judicabunt; Top.* 99*: et misericordia et iracundia et odium et invidia et ceterae animi affectiones perturbantur; Tusc. disp.* 4.16*: lubidini ira, excandescentia, odium, inimicitia, discordia, indigentia, desiderium et cetera ejus modi.*

111 Cic. *Pro Mil.* 78: *odio inimiciarum*; *Pro Mur.* 56: *odio inimiciarum.*

112 Cic. *De dom.* 61*; De orat.* 2.208*; De part. orat.* 137*; De prov. cons.* 6*; In Verr.* 2.1.81, 2.4.68*; Phil.* 12.19, 21*; Pro Cael.* 2*; Pro Cluent.* 151*; Pro Deiot.* 30*; Pro Flacc.* 19*; Pro Mil.* 51*; Pro Mur.* 56*; Pro Rosc. Amer.* 52, 68*; Tusc. disp.* 4.21.

113 Cic. *De nat. deor.* 1.42; *Pro Cael.* 29.

114 Cic. *Pro Sull.* 1.

115 Cic. *Tusc. disp.* 4.16.

116 Cic. *De inv.* 1.42, 105; *Pro Cluent.* 109.

117 Cic. *De har. resp.* 4*; De part. orat.* 112*; In Cat.* 3.22; *In Verr.* 2.4.73*; Phil.* 5.42, 8.21, 12.19; *Pro Flacc.* 95*; Pro Rosc. Amer.* 68.

118 Cic. *De dom.* 60; *In Verr.* 1.42, 2.4.68.

119 Cic. *Ad fam.* 12.10.3, 15.15.1; *De dom.* 60, 61; *De fin.* 1.44*; De har. resp.* 4*; De leg. agr.* 2.14; *De nat. deor.* 1.42*; De off.* 1.86*; De prov. cons.* 24*; Phil.* 7.25, 11.2, 12.8, 13.7, 14.8*; Pro Deiot.* 30*; Pro Lig.* 19*; Pro Marcell.* 29, 31*; Pro Mil.* 63.

120 Cic. *De prov. cons.* 6; *Pro Flacc.* 88; *Pro Sest.* 46.

121 Cic. *De part. orat.* 137; *Pro Deiot.* 18.

122 Cic. *De inv.* 1.22.

123 Cic. *Ad fam.* 1.9.20; *De inv.* 1.105; *In Cat.* 1.16.

124 Cic. *Pro Cael.* 29.

125 Cic. *De off.* 1.86; *In Verr.* 2.1.35, 2.2.165, 2.3.157, 2.4.15; *Pro Cael.* 29, 31; *Pro Deiot.* 30; *Pro Flacc.* 19; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 42; *Pro Sull.* 74.

126 Cic. *Ad Att.* 9.7c.1; *Ad fam.* 15.19.2; *De dom.* 60-62; *De inv.* 2.106; *De part. orat.* 112; *In Vat.* 6; *In Verr.* 2.4.73; *Phil.* 5.42, 12.19, 14.8; *Pro Balb.* 62; *Pro Cael.* 31; *Pro Cluent.* 12, 181; *Pro Planc.* 71.

damnatio,[128] *dedecus,*[129] *desidia,*[130] *despicatio,*[131] *dictator,*[132] *dictatura,*[133] *diritas,*[134] *discidium,*[135] *discordia,*[136] *dissensio,*[137] *dolor,*[138] *dominatio,*[139] *error,*[140] *facinus,*[141] *fama,*[142] *flagitium,*[143] *fraus,*[144] *furor,*[145] *furtum,*[146] *humilitas,*[147] *ignominia,*[148] *ignorantia,*[149] *immanitas,*[150] *imperitus,*[151] *impietas,*[152] *importunitas / inportunitas,*[153] *impotentia / inpotentia,*[154] *improbitas,*[155] *imprudentia,*[156] *impudentia,*[157] *impunitas / inpunitas,*[158] *impuritas,*[159] *incautus,*[160] *indecorus,*[161] *indignatio,*[162]

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[127] Cic. *De dom.* 60, 62; *De fin.* 1.33, 44; *De inv.* 2.164; *De orat.* 2.178; *De part. orat.* 96, 112; *In Verr.* 1.35, 2.1.35, 2.4.68; *Phil.* 12.7; *Pro Cluent.* 159; *Pro Lig.* 17; *Pro Marcell.* 29; *Tusc. disp.* 4.25.

[128] Cic. *De part. orat.* 112; *Pro Flacc.* 95.

[129] Cic. *In Pis.* XXXII; *Post redit. in sen.* 25; *Pro Cluent.* 12; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 68; *Pro Sull.* 88.

[130] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.2.7.

[131] Cic. *De fin.* 1.67.

[132] Cic. *Ad Q.fr.* 3.9.3; *Phil.* 1.32, 2.91.

[133] Cic. *Phil.* 2.91.

[134] Cic. *In Vat.* 9.

[135] Cic. *De amic.* 23; *De fin.* 1.44; *De leg. agr.* 2.14; *De nat. deor.* 1.42; *Pro Balb.* 30; *Pro Cael.* 31; *Pro Lig.* 19.

[136] Cic. *De amic.* 23; *De dom.* 63; *De fin.* 1.44; *De har. resp.* 46; *De nat. deor.* 1.42; *Phil.* 7.25; *Pro Mur.* 47; *Pro Sest.* 46; *Tusc. disp.* 4.16, 21.

[137] Cic. *Pro Marcell.* 29.

[138] Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.21.1, 11.22.1; *Ad fam.* 12.1.1; *De fin.* 1.33; *De har. resp.* 4; *De orat.* 1.53, 2.178, 189, 190; *De part. orat.* 112; *In Pis.* XXXII; *In Verr.* 2.1.81, 2.5.163; *Phil.* 8.19, 21, 12.21; *Pro Sest.* 46; *Pro Sull.* 3; *Tusc. disp.* 4.16.

[139] Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.21.1; *De inv.* 2.164; *In Verr.* 1.35.

[140] Cic. *De orat.* 2.178.

[141] Cic. *De orat.* 2.238; *De part. orat.* 112; *Orat.* 88; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 68.

[142] Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 187.

[143] Cic. *Post redit. in sen.* 25; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 68.

[144] Cic. *De off.* 1.41; *De orat.* 1.202; *In Pis.* XVIII.

[145] Cic. *In Pis.* VII; *In Vat.* 6; *Pro Flacc.* 2; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 40; *Pro Sest.* 111.

[146] Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 181.

[147] Cic. *Ad Att.* 14.13b.3.

[148] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.1.23; *Phil.* 1.32.

[149] Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 109.

[150] Cic. *In Vat.* 9; *Pro Cluent.* 12; *Pro Planc.* 71; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 68.

[151] Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 2.

[152] Cic. *De dom.* 92; *In Pis.* VII; *Phil.* 12.21; *Pro Deiot.* 30.

[153] Cic. *De har. resp.* 4; *De rep.* 1.62; *Pro Cluent.* 12.

[154] Cic. *De part. orat.* 112; *Phil.* 5.42.

[155] Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.19.8, 9.1.3, 11.22.1; *De dom.* 44, 63; *De fin.* 1.51; *De off.* 1.150; *In Vat.* 39; *In Verr.* 2.1.23, 2.3.157, 2.4.81, 2.5.94; *Orat.* 88; *Phil.* 11.2; *Pro Caec.* 30; *Pro Mil.* 35; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 68.

[156] Cic. *De part. orat.* 137.

[157] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.1.35.

[158] Cic. *Pro Deiot.* 18, 30; *Pro Mil.* 39.

[159] Cic. *Ad fam.* 12.1.1.

[160] Cic. *De part. orat.* 112.

[161] Cic. *Orat.* 88.

[162] Cic. *De inv.* 2.109.

indignitas,[163] *infamia*,[164] *infirmitas*,[165] *inhospitalitas,*[166] *inhumanitas,*[167] *inimicitia,*[168] *iniquitas,*[169] *injuria,*[170] *injustitia,*[171] *insania,*[172] *inscitia,*[173] *insidiae,*[174] *insipiens*,[175] *insolentia*,[176] *intemperantia*,[177] *intolerantia*,[178] *invidentia,*[179] *invidia,*[180] *ira*,[181] *iracundia*,[182] *largitio*,[183] *levitas*,[184] *libido / lubido,*[185] *licentia,*[186] *luxuria / luxuries,*[187] *maestitia,*[188] *maledictum,*[189] *maleficium,*[190] *malevolentia*,[191] *malitia*,[192] *metus*,[193] *molestia*,[194] *nefarium*,[195] *neglegentia*,[196] *offensio*,[197] *parricidium*,[198] *pecunia* (as a cause of a

[163] Cic. *De fin.* 5.47.
[164] Cic. *Ad Att*. 1.16.2; *De off.* 3.88; *In Pis.* XXXII; *In Verr*. 1.35, 43; *Pro Cael.* 29; *Pro Flacc*. 95.
[165] Cic. *Ad Att*. 1.19.8.
[166] Cic. *Tusc. disp*. 4.25, 27.
[167] Cic. *Orat*. 88.
[168] Cic. *Ad Att*. 1.15.1, 2.12.2; *Ad fam*. 3.10.6, 8; *Ad Q.fr*. 3.5.4; *De har. resp*. 7; *De prov. cons*. 24; *In Verr*. 2.5.181; *Phil.* 8.19; *Post redit. in sen*. 25; *Pro Deiot*. 30; *Pro Flacc*. 2; *Pro Mil*. 35, 63, 78; *Pro Mur*. 56; *Pro Planc*. 71; *Pro Sest*. 111; *Tusc. disp*. 4.16, 21.
[169] Cic. *Pro Balb.* 62.
[170] Cic. *Ad Att*. 10.12a.1; *Ad fam.* 1.9.20; *De inv*. 1.105; *De off.* 1.29, 41; *De part. orat.* 96, 112; *In Cat*. 1.17; *In Verr.* 2.1.81, 2.4.15, 68; *Pro Flacc.* 2; *Pro Mil*. 35; *Pro Mur*. 56, 87; *Tusc. disp*. 4.21.
[171] Cic. *De off.* 1.29, 41; *Pro Cael.* 29; *Pro Mil*. 35; *Pro Mur*. 87.
[172] Cic. *Pro Rosc. Amer*. 68.
[173] Cic. *Pro Mil.* 56.
[174] Cic. *Ad fam*. 5.6.2; *In Verr*. 2.5.181; *Pro Planc*. 71.
[175] Cic. *De part. orat*. 112.
[176] Cic. *De inv*. 1.42; *De rep*. 1.62; *Phil*. 8.21; *Pro Cluent*. 109.
[177] Cic. *Ad Att*. 2.21.1; *De nat. deor*. 1.42.
[178] Cic. *Pro Cael.* 2.
[179] Cic. *Tusc. disp*. 4.16.
[180] Cic. *De dom.* 44; *De fin.* 1.67, 2.84; *De inv.* 1.4, 22; *De off.* 1.86; *De orat.* 1.228, 2.189, 203, 206, 208, 216; *De part. orat.* 128, 137; *In Verr.* 1.43, 2.5.181; *Pro Cael.* 29; *Pro Cluent.* 158-159; *Pro Flacc.* 2; *Pro Marcell.* 29; *Pro Mur.* 87; *Pro Sest.* 46; *Pro Sull.* 1; *Top.* 99; *Tusc. disp.* 4.16.
[181] Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.13.2; *De inv*. 1.21; *De orat.* 1.53, 2.190; *De part. orat.* 112; *In Verr*. 2.3.157; *Phil.* 8.19; *Pro Flacc.* 54; *Pro Marcell.* 31; *Pro Mil.* 35, 63; *Tusc. disp*. 4.16, 21, 48, 50.
[182] Cic. *Ad Att*. 2.21.1; *Ad fam*. 1.9.20; *De orat*. 2.178, 203, 206, 208; *Phil*. 8.19; *Pro Flacc*. 88; *Top*. 99; *Tusc. disp*. 4.50.
[183] Cic. *De off.* 2.54.
[184] Cic. *De part. orat*. 112; *Pro Flacc*. 71; *Pro Mur*. 87; *Pro Rosc. Amer*. 42; *Tusc. disp*. 4.50.
[185] Cic. *Ad Att*. 1.18.2; *De inv*. 2.164; *De nat. deor*. 1.42; *De prov. cons*. 6, 24; *In Verr*. 1.35, 2.1.81; *Pro Cael*. 2; *Pro Cluent*. 12, 159; *Tusc. disp*. 4.16, 21.
[186] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.4.116.
[187] Cic. *De inv*. 1.22; *In Verr*. 2.2.7; *Pro Cael*. 29; *Pro Flacc*. 71.
[188] Cic. *Phil*. 5.38.
[189] Cic. *Pro Sest*. 117.
[190] Cic. *De inv*. 2.108-109; *Pro Rosc. Amer*. 68.
[191] Cic. *Tusc. disp*. 4.16.
[192] Cic. *De inv*. 1.22, 2.109.
[193] Cic. *In Cat.* 1.17; *In Pis*. XXXII, XXXVIII; *In Vat.* 39; *In Verr.* 2.1.81, 2.5.163; *Phil*. 1.33; *Pro Cluent*. 159, 187; *Pro Planc*. 71; *Tusc. disp*. 4.16, 25.
[194] Cic. *Ad Att*. 2.25.2; *De fin.* 1.33, 51; *De orat*. 2.206; *Post redit. in sen*. 25; *Pro Scaur*. 1; *Pro Sull*. 1; *Tusc. disp*. 4.16.

crime),[199] *perditus*,[200] *perfidia*,[201] *perjurium*,[202] *pernicies*,[203] *pertinacia*,[204] *perturbatio*,[205] *petulantia*,[206] *poena*,[207] *probrum*,[208]*protervitas*,[209] *scelus*,[210] *seditio*,[211] *servitus*,[212] *stultitia*,[213] *stuprum*,[214] *superbia*,[215] *supplicium*,[216] *temeritas*,[217] *terror*,[218] *timor*,[219] *turpitudo*,[220] *tyrannus*,[221] *vehemens*,[222] *violentia*,[223] *violatio*,[224] *vis*,[225] *vitium*,[226] *voluntas*,[227] *voluptas*.[228]

From the list of the words combined with *odium* it becomes clear that most often Cicero uses the word *invidia* (25 times) next to the notion of *odium* as its synonym. Also important words are *scelus* (21), *inimicitia* (20), *bellum civile* (20), *dolor* (19), *improbitas* (17), *acerbitas* (16),

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195 Cic. *Ad fam*. 1.9.5; *De dom*. 60, 92; *In Cat*. 3.22; *In Pis*. VII; *Phil*. 5.42; *Pro Cluent*. 12; *Pro Deiot*. 30; *Pro Flacc*. 95; *Pro Mil*. 63; *Pro Sull*. 88.

196 Cic. *In Verr*. 2.5.181.

197 Cic. *In Verr*. 1.35; *Pro Flacc*. 54; *Pro Scaur*. 1.

198 Cic. *In Cat*. 1.17; *Phil*. 12.19; *Pro Rosc. Amer*. 68; *Pro Sest*. 111.

199 Cic. *De part. orat*. 112; *In Verr*. 2.2.165; *Phil*. 12.7; *Pro Flacc*. 54; *Pro Font*. 3; *Tusc. disp*. 4.21.

200 Cic. *In Pis*. XXXII; *Phil*. 2.91.

201 Cic. *Ad fam*. 3.10.6, 8*; De dom*. 44.

202 Cic. *In Verr*. 1.42.

203 Cic. *Ad Att*. 2.21.1; *De prov. cons*. 24; *Phil*. 4.4.

204 Cic. *Ad fam*. 15.15.1; *Pro Balb*. 62; *Pro Lig*. 17; *Pro Marcell*. 31.

205 Cic. *Ad fam*. 12.1.1; *De orat*. 2.178.

206 Cic. *Orat*. 88.

207 Cic. *De fin*. 1.51; *De inv*. 2.108; *In Pis*. XVIII; *Pro Flacc*. 95.

208 Cic. *Pro Rosc. Amer*. 68.

209 Cic. *Pro Cael*. 29.

210 Cic. *De dom*. 44; *De har. resp*. 4; *De orat*. 1.202; *De prov. cons*. 24; *In Vat*. 1, 6; *In Verr*. 1.42, 2.1.81; *Phil*. 1.32, 5.42, 8.21, 11.2; *Pro Cluent*. 12, 187; *Pro Flacc*. 2; *Pro Lig*. 17, 19; *Pro Mil*. 39, 78; *Pro Sull*. 74, 88.

211 Cic. *De fin*. 1.44; *De off*. 1.86; *De orat*. 2.124; *Pro Flacc*. 54; *Pro Mur*. 87; *Pro Sest*. 46.

212 Cic. *Ad fam*. 11.8.2, 12.1.1; *Pro Deiot*. 30.

213 Cic. *Ad fam*. 3.10.6; *De inv*. 2.106; *Pro Caec*. 30.

214 Cic. *De har. resp*. 4.

215 Cic. *De inv*. 1.22, 105*; De rep*. 1.62; *Phil*. 8.21; *Pro Cluent*. 109.

216 Cic. *De orat*. 1.202; *In Cat*. 3.22; *In Pis*. XVIII; *Pro Cluent*. 181; *Pro Sest*. 127; *Pro Sull*. 1.

217 Cic. *Pro Flacc*. 19; *Pro Lig*. 17; *Pro Rosc. Amer*. 68.

218 Cic. *Tusc. disp*. 4.16.

219 Cic. *De orat*. 2.178, 206; *De part. orat*. 112; *In Verr*. 2.1.23; *Phil*. 12.8, 27; *Pro Lig*. 17; *Tusc. disp*. 4.16.

220 Cic. *Ad Q.fr*. 3.1.24; *De fin*. 5.62; *De prov. cons*. 6, 24; *In Pis*. XXXII; *In Verr*. 1.43, 2.1.23; *Phil*. 11.2; *Pro Rosc. Amer*. 68; *Pro Sull*. 88.

221 Cic. *Ad Att*. 10.8.6, 10.12a.1; *De off*. 2.23; *Pro Mil*. 35; *Tusc. disp*. 4.50.

222 Cic. *De leg*. 2.56.

223 Cic. *De part. orat*. 112.

224 Cic. *In Verr*. 2.4.68, 116.

225 Cic. *De dom*. 63; *In Verr*. 2.1.81, 2.2.165, 2.4.116.

226 Cic. *De orat*. 2.238; *Pro Cael*. 29.

227 Cic. *Ad Att*. 9.7c.1; *Ad fam*. 5.2.10, 15.19.2; *De prov. cons*. 6; *In Cat*. 3.22; *In Verr*. 2.1.35, 81, 2.2.165; Phil. 5.38; *Post redit. in sen*. 25; *Pro Cluent*. 158; *Pro Mil*. 39; *Pro Mur*. 47, 87; *Pro Sest*. 127; *Top*. 99.

228 Cic. *De fin*. 1.33, 67; *De part. orat*. 112; *In Pis*. XVIII; *Tusc. disp*. 4.16.

cupiditas (16), *injuria* (16), *voluntas* (16), *crudelitas* (15), *ira* (15), *libido / lubido* (12), *metus* (12), *nefarium* (11), *discordia* (10), *iracundia* (10), *turpitudo* (10). Cicero places *odium* and *invidia* in the following synonymous series: *odia – invidiae – despicationes,*[229] *odium – invidiam,*[230] *odii – invidiae,*[231] *odium – invidiam – contemptionem,*[232] *odium – invidiam,*[233] *invidia – odio,*[234] *odio – invidia – misericordia,*[235] *amor – odium – iracundia – invidia – misericordia – spes – laetitia – timor – molestia,*[236] *invidiae – odi,*[237] *odio – invidia – infamia – turpitudine,*[238] *invidia – odio,*[239] *libidinem – odium – invidiam – metum – cupiditates,*[240] *odio – invidia,*[241] *misericordia – iracundia – odium – invidia.*[242] Similar words are *ira* and *iracundia* as well. In the instructions of the orator Cicero states, "Who indeed does not know that the orator's virtue is pre-eminently manifested either in rousing men's hearts to anger, hatred, or indignation, or in recalling them from these same passions to mildness and mercy?"[243] One more citation: "Hatred is a settled anger".[244] In relation to *ira* it should be noted that the word *ira* itself is less often encountered than its derivatives, for example, *iratus*[245] or *irasci.*[246] As for *iracundia*, in a letter to Lentulus Cicero explicitly calls anger a hidden hatred.[247]

Let us say a few words about *libido*. In the speech "*De provinciis consularibus*" Cicero remarks, "What reason had I for hating Publius Clodius, except that I thought him likely to prove a mischievous citizen to my country, inasmuch as, inflamed by the most infamous lust, he trampled under foot by one crime two most holy considerations, religion and chastity?"[248]

With regard to the joint use of *odium* and *crudelitas* we have found an interesting example in Cicero's oration "*De domo sua*": "... the villa itself was utterly destroyed ... out of hatred and

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[229] Cic. *De fin.* 1.67.
[230] Cic. *De fin.* 2.84.
[231] Cic. *De inv.* 1.4.
[232] Cic. *De inv.* 1.22.
[233] Cic. *De off.* 1.86.
[234] Cic. *De orat.* 1.228.
[235] Cic. *De orat.* 2.203.
[236] Cic. *De orat.* 2.206.
[237] Cic. *De orat.* 2.208.
[238] Cic. *In Verr.* 1.43.
[239] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.5.181.
[240] Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 159.
[241] Cic. *Pro Marcell.* 29.
[242] Cic. *Top.* 99.
[243] Translated by E.W. Sutton. Cic. *De orat.* 1.53: *Quis enim nescit maximam vim exsistere oratoris in hominum mentibus vel ad* ***iram*** *aut ad* ***odium*** *aut ad dolorem incitandis vel ab hisce eisdem permotionibus ad lenitatem misericordiamque revocandis?*
[244] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Tusc. disp.* 4.21: *odium ira inveterata.*
[245] Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.13.2; *De inv.* 1.21; *In Verr.* 2.3.157; *Phil.* 8.19; *Pro Flacc.* 54; *Pro Marcell.* 31; *Pro Mil.* 35, 63; *Tusc. disp.* 4.48, 50.
[246] Cic. *De orat.* 2.190; *Phil.* 8.19.
[247] Cic. *Ad fam.* 1.9.20: *credo,* ***iracundia*** *... inclusum illud* ***odium*** *multarum ejus in me injuriarum.*
[248] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *De prov. cons.* 24: *Quod mihi* ***odium*** *cum P. Clodio fuit, nisi quod perniciosum patriae civem fore putabam, qui turpissima* ***libidine*** *incensus duas res sanctissimas, religionem et pudicitiam, uno scelere violasset?*

cruelty”.[249] Or in his other oration: “For Sassia, the mother of this Habitus ... although she behaves towards him with the hatred and cruelty of an enemy, — she shall, I say, be called his mother”.[250]

The concept of *scelus* is often adjacent to *odium*, for example, in the passage about Verres: “On which account, he ought, if possible, to be still more hated by you than he is by the Roman people, because he considers you like himself in avarice and wickedness and perjury”.[251] Cicero speaks of the criminal Clodius in the same vein: “... my own hatred only bore about its fair proportion to the general detestation with which he was regarded. It cannot be expressed, it cannot even be imagined, how much wickedness, how much mischief there was in that man”.[252]

Odium is found in Cicero’s discourse on war, especially on civil war. In the oration “*De domo sua*” Cicero says, “... you have waged a horrible and nefarious war, dyed with every description of hatred against my walls, my roofs, my pillars and door-posts”.[253] However, in the same speech, he acknowledges hatred of an external enemy, if it is fair: “But as ... still out of hatred we are accustomed to destroy the cities of enemies; — not of all enemies indeed, but of those with whom we have waged any bitter and intestine war; because when our minds have been inflamed against any people by reason of their cruelty, there always appears to be some war still lingering in their abodes and habitations“.[254] In the speech “*Pro Ligario*” Cicero equates war to hatred between enemies.[255] Cicero also believes that hatred and discord lead to civil wars.[256]

The concept of *odium* is also combined with words denoting negative emotions, for example, with the word *cupiditas* in the meaning temptation, passion, desire. So, in the treatise ”*De finibus bonorum et malorum*” Cicero states, “It is they [= desires] that are the source

[249] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *De dom.* 62: ***odio*** *et* ***crudelitate*** *funditus everteretur.*

[250] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 12: *Sassia, mater hujus Habiti ... tametsi in hunc hostili* ***odio*** *et* ***crudelitate*** *est, mater.*

[251] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *In Verr.* 1.42: *Quo majore etiam (si fieri potest) apud vos* ***odio*** *esse debet, quam est apud populum Romanum, cum in avaritia,* ***scelere****, perjurio, vos sui similis esse arbitretur.*

[252] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Pro Mil.* 78: *... in communi* ***odio*** *paene aequaliter versaretur odium meum. Non potest dici satis, ne cogitari quidem, quantum in illo* ***sceleris****, quantum exiti fuerit.*

[253] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *De dom.* 60: *... parietibus, qui tectis, qui columnis ac postibus meis hostificum quoddam et nefarium omni imbutum* ***odio bellum*** *intulistis?*

[254] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *De dom.* 61: *ut hostium urbes, nec omnium hostium, verum eorum quibuscum acerbum* ***bellum*** *internecivumque suscepimus, non praeda adducti sed* ***odio*** *solemus exscindere.*

[255] Cic. *Pro Lig.* 19: *Secessionem tu illam existimauisti, Caesar, initio, non* ***bellum****, nec* ***hostile odium*** *sed ciuile discidium, utrisque cupientibus rem publicam saluam, sed partim consiliis partim studiis a communi utilitate aberrantibus.*

[256] Cic. *Phil.* 7.25: *Omnia videbitis, patres conscripti, nisi prospicitis, plena* ***odiorum****, plena discordiarum, ex quibus oriuntur* ***bella civilia.***

of hatred, quarelling and strife, of sedition and of war".[257] In the speech "*Pro Cluentio*" he lists passions (*cupiditates*), placing *odium* among them.[258]

Odium often goes together with *metus*, for instance: "... they never would have advanced to such a pitch as to be more influenced by hatred of your lust — than by fear of your office as lieutenant".[259] One more interesting idea about the interrelation of *odium* and *metus* can be found in Cicero's first "Philippics": in it hatred and fear are considered by Cicero signs of weakness and self-doubt.[260] In the last example we are not dealing with the noun *metus*, but with the single-root verb *metui* in the form of a passive infinitive. However, the above reservation was made that we consider not only the concepts expressed by nouns, but also their derivatives expressed by other parts of the same root.

To sum up, Cicero often employs the concept of *odium* together with *invidia*, *ira*, and *iracundia*, which often form synonymous series. Cicero speaks of hatred (*odium*) when discussing crimes (*scelera*) and wars (*bella*). *Odium* is often combined with words denoting vices (*libido, crudelitas, etc*.) and negative emotions (*cupiditas, metus, etc*.).

The next important question is devoted to the compatibility of the concept *odium* with words, denoting positive emotions or ethical, philosophical, political and juridical categories (and their derivatives), for example: *admiratio*,[261] *aequitas*,[262] *amicitia*,[263] *amor*,[264] *auctoritas*,[265] *benefactum*,[266] beneficium,[267] *benevolentia / benivolentia*,[268] *bonitas*,[269] *caritas*,[270] *clementia*,[271] *comprobatio*,[272] *concordia*,[273] *conscientia*,[274] *consilium*,[275] *constantia*,[276] *continentia*,[277] *cultura*,[278]

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[257] Translated by H. Rackham. Cic. *De fin*. 1.44: *Ex **cupiditatibus odia**, discidia, discordiae, seditiones, bella nascuntur.*

[258] Cic. *Pro Cluent*. 159: *libidinem autem, **odium**, invidiam, metum **cupiditates**que omnes.*

[259] Cic. *In Verr*. 2.1.81: ***odio** libidinis tuae quam legationis **metu** moverentur. Cf.* Cic. *In Verr.* 2.5.163.

[260] Cic. *Phil.* 1.33: ***metui** vero et in **odio** esse invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum. Cf.* Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 159.

[261] Cic. *Ad Att*. 2.20.4.

[262] Cic. *De part. orat*. 137; *In Verr*. 2.4.81; *Phil.* 12.27; *Pro Cluent*. 159.

[263] Cic. *Ad Att*. 1.19.8; *De amic*. 23, 35, 89; *De fin*. 1.67, 2.79, 84; *De orat*. 2.189; *In Verr*. 2.4.81; *Pro Deiot*. 10.

[264] Cic. *De orat*. 2.178; *De part. orat*. 112; *Pro Flacc*. 2; *Pro Marcell*. 29.

[265] Cic. *De har. resp.* 46*; De part. orat.* 96; *In Cat.* 1.17; *In Pis*. XXXII; *Phil.* 12.8, 27, 13.7; *Post redit. in sen.* 25; *Pro Deiot*. 30; *Pro Mur*. 47.

[266] Cic. *De orat*. 2.208.

[267] Cic. *De inv.* 2.106, 108; *Phil.* 13.7; *Pro Flacc*. 2.

[268] Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.20.4, 2.25.2; *Ad fam*. 5.2.10; *De fin*. 2.84*; De inv*. 1.21, 2.108; *De off.* 2.23, 54, 3.88; *De orat*. 2.72, 216; *De part. orat*. 28; *Pro Balb*. 30; *Pro Rosc. Amer*. 44; *Pro Sest*. 117.

[269] Cic. *Ad Att.* 9.1.3; *Ad Q.fr*. 1.2.16; *De dom*. 60; *In Pis*. XVIII; *In Vat*. 9; *In Verr*. 1.42; *Post redit. in sen*. 25; *Pro Marcell*. 31.

[270] Cic. *De part. orat*. 56.

[271] Cic. *Ad fam*. 15.19.2; *De inv.* 2.164; *Pro Lig*. 19.

[272] Cic. *De fin*. 5.62.

[273] Cic. *De amic*. 23; *Pro Cluent*. 12.

[274] Cic. *Pro Cluent*. 187.

[275] Cic. *De inv*. 2.164; *De orat*. 2.178; *In Cat.* 3.22; *In Verr*. 2.4.15; *Phil.* 12.8, 13.6, 14.8; *Post redit. in sen*. 25; *Pro Cluent*. 159; *Pro Lig*. 17, 19; *Pro Sull*. 3.

[276] Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.19.8; *De fin.* 5.62; *Pro Marcell*. 31.

dignitas,[279] *diligentia,*[280] *eloquentia,*[281] *fama,*[282] *felicitas,*[283] *fides,*[284] *fortitudo,*[285] *frugalitas,*[286] *gloria,*[287] *gratia,*[288] *gratulatio,*[289] *gravitas,*[290] *honestas,*[291] *honor,*[292] *humanitas,*[293] *imperium,*[294] *industria,*[295] *innocentia,*[296] *judicium,*[297] *jus,*[298] *justitia,*[299] *labor,*[300] *laetitia,*[301] *laus,*[302] *lenitas,*[303] *lex,*[304] *liberalitas,*[305] *libertas,*[306] *mansuetudo,*[307] *misericordia,*[308] *moderatio,*[309] *modestia,*[310] *officium,*[311] *otium,*[312]

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[277] Cic. *De inv.* 2.164.

[278] Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 71.

[279] Cic. *Ad fam.* 1.9.5, 12.16.3; *De fin.* 5.47; *De har. resp.* 5; *De leg. agr.* 1.2; *De off.* 1.86; *De orat.* 2.238; *De part. orat.* 28, 128; *De rep.* 1.62; *In Cat.* 3.22; *In Pis.* XVIII, XXXII; *In Vat.* 25; *In Verr.* 1.35, 2.4.68, 2.5.94; *Phil.* 13.7; *Post redit. in sen.* 25; *Pro Cluent.* 12; *Pro Flacc.* 2; *Pro Lig.* 19; *Pro Mur.* 47, 87; *Pro Scaur.* 1; *Pro Sull.* 1, 88.

[280] Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.19.8, 10.12a.3; *In Verr.* 2.4.73; *Pro Cael.* 2; *Pro Flacc.* 71.

[281] Cic. *De inv.* 1.4.

[282] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.1.22, 2.4.68; *Pro Font.* 3; *Pro Planc.* 71.

[283] Cic. *De amic.* 35.

[284] Cic. *De part. orat.* 28; *In Verr.* 2.1.22-23; *Phil.* 8.19, 12.27; *Pro Balb.* 30; *Pro Cluent.* 159, 181; *Pro Deiot.* 18; *Pro Flacc.* 71; *Pro Mil.* 39, 56; *Pro Planc.* 71; *Pro Rab. Post.* 13.

[285] Cic. *De off.* 1.86; *Phil.* 1.32, 13.6; *Pro Mil.* 39; *Tusc. disp.* 4.50.

[286] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.2.7; *Pro Flacc.* 71.

[287] Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.20.4; *Ad fam.* 12.23.2; *De off.* 3.88; *De orat.* 2.208; *De part. orat.* 112; *Phil.* 1.33; *Pro Mil.* 63; *Tusc. disp.* 4.25.

[288] Cic. *De part. orat.* 28; *Pro Mur.* 47.

[289] Cic. *Ad fam.* 5.6.2.

[290] Cic. *De off.* 1.86; *Phil.* 8.19, 12.8; *Post redit. in sen.* 25; *Pro Cael.* 29.

[291] Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.21.1; *De fin.* 5.62; *De inv.* 2.106; *De part. orat.* 56, 96; *Phil.* 14.8; *Pro Cluent.* 109, 159; *Pro Mur.* 87.

[292] Cic. *Ad Att.* 11.9.2; *De part. orat.* 112; *In Vat.* 1; *In Verr.* 2.4.81, 2.5.181; *Phil.* 4.4, 5.38; *Pro Mur.* 56; *Pro Sull.* 88; *Tusc. disp.* 4.21.

[293] Cic. *Pro Balb.* 62; *Pro Deiot.* 30.

[294] Cic. *De imp. Pomp.* 65; *De leg. agr.* 1.2; *De part. orat.* 112.

[295] Cic. *In Verr.* 1.35, 2.4.81, 2.5.181.

[296] Cic. *Pro Rab. Post.* 13.

[297] Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.16.2, 1.18.2, 2.22.1; *Ad Q.fr.* 3.3.3, 3.9.3; *Brut.* 200; *De har. resp.* 7; *De orat.* 2.178, 199; *De part. orat.* 112; *De prov. cons.* 24; *In Cat.* 1.16, 17; *In Verr.* 1.35, 42, 43, 2.1.23; *Phil.* 5.38; *Pro Flacc.* 2, 88; *Pro Rab. Post.* 13; *Pro Sest.* 111; *Pro Sull.* 88.

[298] Cic. *De orat.* 2.178.

[299] Cic. *De fin.* 1.33; *De off.* 1.41; *De part. orat.* 28; *De prov. cons.* 6; *In Cat.* 1.17; *In Pis.* XIV; *Phil.* 13.6; *Pro Flacc.* 2, 95; *Pro Mil.* 35; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 40.

[300] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.5.181.

[301] Cic. *De orat.* 2.178, 206.

[302] Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.15.1; *Ad fam.* 12.23.2; *Phil.* 4.4, 13.7; *Pro Flacc.* 2; *Pro Marcell.* 29.

[303] Cic. *De orat.* 1.53; *Pro Sull.* 1.

[304] Cic. *De fin.* 1.51, 2.84; *De har. resp.* 7; *De orat.* 2.178; *De prov. cons.* 6; *Pro Cluent.* 151, 158, 159; *Pro Deiot.* 30; *Pro Rab. Post.* 13; *Pro Sull.* 74.

[305] Cic. *De fin.* 2.84; *De part. orat.* 28, 56.

[306] Cic. *Ad Att.* 9.7c.1; *Ad fam.* 11.8.2, 12.16.3; *De rep.* 1.62; *In Verr.* 2.5.163; *Phil.* 1.32, 5.42, 12.7, 13.6; *Pro Flacc.* 71.

[307] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.4.73.

[308] Cic. *Ad Att.* 9.7c.1; *Brut.* 200; *De orat.* 1.53, 2.189, 190, 203, 206, 216, 238; *De part. orat.* 128; *In Cat.* 1.16; *Pro Cluent.* 24; *Pro Mur.* 87; *Pro Sest.* 117; *Pro Sull.* 1, 88; *Top.* 99; *Tusc. disp.* 4.16.

[309] Cic. *Ad Att.* 11.17a.2; *De inv.* 2.164; *De orat.* 2.238; *Phil.* 5.38, 8.19.

parsimonia,[313] *patientia*,[314] *pax*,[315] *pietas*,[316] *potestas*,[317] *probitas*,[318] *prudentia*,[319] *pudicitia*,[320] *pudor*,[321] *ratio*,[322] *religio*,[323] *salus*,[324] *sanctitas*,[325] *sapientia*,[326] *severitas*,[327] *spes*,[328] *splendor*,[329] *studium*,[330] *temperantia*,[331] *veritas*,[332] *victoria*,[333] *virtus*.[334]

As we can see, the concept of *odium* is opposed to *dignitas* (27 cases of joint use), *judicium* (23), *misericordia* (18), *benevolentia / benivolentia* (15), *spes* (14), *fides* (13), *studium* (13), *virtus* (13), *consilium* (12), *salus* (12), *justitia* (11), *lex* (11), *amicitia* (10), *auctoritas* (10), *honor* (10), and *libertas* (10).

The *odium* – *dignitas* juxtaposition can be illustrated with a quotation from Cicero's correspondence: "… when, on your mooting the question of the full restoration of my position, I detected the covert hatred of some and the equivocal attachment of others".[335] In such cases *dignitas* is not perceived by Cicero as a personal category; it has a social and political connotation for him: "For he has not done anything against me out of hatred to me,

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[310] Cic. *De inv.* 2.164; *Pro Mur.* 87; *Pro Planc.* 71.

[311] Cic. *De part. orat.* 28; *In Verr.* 2.4.81; *Phil.* 13.7; *Pro Sull.* 3.

[312] Cic. *De leg. agr.* 2.102; *De prov. cons.* 24; *Pro Sest.* 46.

[313] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.2.7.

[314] Cic. *In Verr.* 2.2.7.

[315] Cic. *Ad fam.* 12.10.3, 15.15.1; *De inv.* 1.21; *Phil.* 13.7.

[316] Cic. *Pro Cael.* 2.

[317] Cic. *De orat.* 2.124; *In Verr.* 2.1.22, 2.5.163; *Phil.* 8.21; *Pro Cluent.* 159, 187.

[318] Cic. *Ad Att.* 9.1.3, 11.17a.2; *Ad fam.* 15.19.2.

[319] Cic. *De orat.* 2.189; *Tusc. disp.* 4.48.

[320] Cic. *De prov. cons.* 24.

[321] Cic. *Pro Mur.* 87; *Pro Sull.* 74; *Tusc. disp.* 4.16.

[322] Cic. *De inv.* 1.30, 2.164; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 42.

[323] Cic. *De prov. cons.* 24; *In Vat.* 1; *In Verr.* 1.43, 2.1.22; *Pro Balb.* 30; *Pro Cluent.* 158, 159; *Pro Font.* 3.

[324] Cic. *De har. resp.* 7, 46; *In Cat.* 3.22; *In Pis.* XIV; *In Verr.* 2.1.22; *Phil.* 1.33, 12.7; *Pro Deiot.* 30; *Pro Flacc.* 2; *Pro Marcell.* 29; *Pro Mil.* 39, 63.

[325] Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 71.

[326] Cic. *De amic.* 35; *De leg.* 2.56; *Phil.* 12.27, 13.6; *Pro Cael.* 29; *Pro Cluent.* 159; *Pro Flacc.* 2.

[327] Cic. *De har. resp.* 5; *In Verr.* 1.43; *Pro Cael.* 29.

[328] Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.18.2, 2.25.2; *Ad fam.* 8.6.1, 10.5.3, 15.15.1; *De dom.* 60; *De orat.* 2.178, 206; *De part. orat.* 28; *In Verr.* 1.42, 2.1.23; *Phil.* 12.8; *Pro Cael.* 2; *Pro Lig.* 17.

[329] Cic. *In Vat.* 25; *Pro Sull.* 1.

[330] Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.11.3; *De imp. Pomp.* 21; *De inv.* 1.4, 22; *De off.* 1.29, 2.54; *De part. orat.* 112; *In Verr.* 2.1.35, 2.4.68, 81; *Phil.* 12.7; *Pro Lig.* 19; *Pro Sull.* 74; Tusc. disp. 4.48.

[331] Cic. *De inv.* 2.164; *In Verr.* 2.4.81.

[332] Cic. *De amic.* 89; *De orat.* 2.178; *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 44.

[333] Cic. *Ad fam.* 12.10.3.

[334] Cic. *De part. orat.* 28, 56; *In Pis.* XVIII; *In Verr.* 2.2.7, 2.4.73, 81, 2.5.181; *Phil.* 12.8, 13.7; *Post redit. in sen.* 25; *Pro Balb.* 62; *Pro Flacc.* 2; *Tusc. disp.* 4.48.

[335] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Ad fam.* 1.9.5: *cum te agente de reliqua nostra* ***dignitate*** *aut occulta nonnullorum* ***odia*** *aut obscura in me studia cernebam.*

but out of hatred to strictness, out of hatred to the republic".[336] Cicero's arguments about the dignity of the Roman people in the speech "*De lege agraria*" sound in unison with the previous quote: "… in the preceding chapters the dignity of the Roman people was attacked; the name of our dominion was held up as an object of common hatred to all nations of the earth".[337]

There is also a question of the use of *odium* and *misericordia* together. In the instructions to the orator Cicero mentions various emotions, both positive (*misericordia*, etc.) and negive (*odium*, etc.): "Who indeed does not know that the orator's virtue is pre-eminently manifested either in rousing men's hearts to anger, hatred, or indignation, or in recalling them from these same passions to mildness and mercy?"[338] These concepts are directly contrasted by Cicero in the first part of the speech "*In Catilinam*": "For I will speak to you not so as to seem influenced by the hatred I ought to feel, but by pity, nothing of which is due to you".[339] Thus, the opposition of hatred and compassion helps Cicero as an orator to convince listeners of his rightness.

Odium is also contrasted to *benevolentia / benivolentia*, for example, in this passage of the treatise "*De officiis*": "… when men aim to be kind for the sake of winning good-will, the affection they gain from the objects of their gifts is not so great as the hatred they incur from those whom they despoil".[340] In the discourse on oratory Cicero, like in the case of *misericordia*, teaches us to turn friendship into hate and hate into friendship.[341]

Finally, hatred (*odium*) is opposed to virtue as a whole (*virtus*). A striking example of such an opposition is the following excerpt from Cicero's speech "*Pro Flacco*": "And if it was fated ever to happen that any one should devise mischief to Lucius Flaccus, still I never thought, O judges, that Decimus Laelius, the son of a most virtuous man, himself a man of the fairest expectations and of the highest dignity, would adopt an accusation which is more suitable to the hatred and madness of wicked citizens than to his virtue and to the training of his early years".[342]

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[336] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *De har. resp.* 5: *Nihil enim contra me fecit* ***odio*** *mei, sed* ***odio*** *severitatis,* ***odio dignitatis***, ***odio*** *rei publicae.*

[337] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *De leg. agr.* 1.2: *Nam superioribus capitibus* ***dignitas*** *populi Romani violabatur, nomen imperi in commune* ***odium*** *orbis terrae vocabatur.*

[338] Translated by E.W. Sutton. Cic. *De orat.* 1.53: Quis enim nescit maximam vim exsistere oratoris in hominum mentibus vel ad iram aut ad **odium** aut ad dolorem incitandis vel ab hisce eisdem permotionibus ad lenitatem **misericordiam**que revocandis? Cf. Cic. *De orat.* 2.189, 203, 206, 216, 238.

[339] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *In Cat.* 1.16: *Sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut* ***odio*** *permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut* ***misericordia***, *quae tibi nulla debetur*. Cf. Cic. *Pro Cluent.* 24; *Pro Sull.* 88.

[340] Translated by W. Miller.Cic. *De off.* 2.54: *… cum* ***benivolentiae*** *comparandae causa benefici esse velint, non tanta studia assequuntur eorum, quibus dederunt, quanta* ***odia*** *eorum, quibus ademerunt*. Cf. Cic. *De off.* 3.88.

[341] Cic. *De orat.* 2.72: **benevolentia** ad **odium**, **odium** autem ad **benevolentiam**. Cf. Cic. *De orat.* 2.216.

[342] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 2: *Quod si esset aliquando futurum ut aliquis de L. <Flacci> pernicie cogitaret, numquam tamen existimavi, judices, D. Laelium … eam suscepturum accusationem quae sceleratorum civium potius* ***odio*** *et furori quam ipsius* ***virtuti*** *atque institutae adulescentiae conveniret.*

Odium is combined with the positive emotion of *spes*. In Cicero's letter to Atticus hatred (*odium*) is opposed to the hope (*spes*) of improving the state: "… I exerted myself to the utmost, and lavished all the resources of my intellect and genius, not from dislike to an individual, but from the hope of not merely correcting, but of completely curing the state".[343] Or in this passage: "… from a hope of peace and a loathing for Civil bloodshed".[344] In the following place of the speech "*Pro Caelio*" Cicero, on the contrary, connects hatred with the hope of success: "No one would ever have come down to the court, to prefer this accusation who had the power of doing so or not, just as he pleased; and that, when he had come down, he woud not have had the slightest hope of succeeding if he had not relied on the intolerable licentiousness and exaggerated hatred of some one else".[345]

Other emotions, such as the social emotion of *fides*, are also contrasted with *odium*. Thus, in the speech "*Pro Balbo*" Cicero says, "… there is no nation on the whole face of the earth,—whether at variance with the Roman people through some quarrel and hatred, or, on the other hand, united with us by the closest loyalty and mutual good-will,—as to which we are forbidden to adopt any one of its citizens as our own, or to present any one of them with the freedom of our city".[346]

Thus, it is obvious that *odium* as a negative emotion is opposed to positive moral categories (*dignitas, misericordia, benevolentia, virtus, etc.*) as well as to positive emotions (*spes, fides, etc.*). Most often the opposition serves for oratorical purposes (in the case of its use in speeches). However, in oratorical writings Cicero also lists positive and negative emotions (*odium* among them) as well as teaches to make these emotions interchangeable, for example, to turn hate into friendship and vice versa.

To sum up, it should be noted that the concept of *odium* is actively used by Cicero in writings of different genres (more than 200 cases of use), most often in orations. The concept has a rather wide palette of meanings: from hate to enmity and anger. Hatred (*odium*) has such epithets as personal or public, open or secret, fair or unfair, big or small, sudden or long-term. *Odium* and other positive and negative emotions or moral categories often act as homogeneous members of a sentence and are connected by conjunctions, prepositions, particles or with the help of a comma. Less commonly, *odium* makes up a phrase with another word in the genitive case. Cicero uses the concept of *odium* together with *invidia, ira, iracundia*, which often form synonymous series. Cicero speaks of hatred (*odium*) when discussing crimes

[343] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.18.2: *… vehemens fui et omnes profudi vires animi atque ingenii mei non* ***odio*** *adductus alicuius, sed* ***spe*** *corrigendae et sanandae civitatis.*

[344] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Ad fam.* 15.15.1: ***spe*** *pacis et* ***odio*** *civilis sanguinis.*

[345] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Pro Cael.* 2: *nec descensurum quemquam ad hanc accusationem fuisse, cui, utrum vellet, liceret, nec, cum descendisset, quicquam habiturum* ***spei*** *fuisse, nisi alicuius intolerabili libidine et nimis acerbo* ***odio*** *niteretur.*

[346] Translated by C.D. Yonge. Cic. *Pro Balb.* 30: *nullam esse gentem ex omni regione terrarum, neque tam dissidentem a populo Romano* ***odio*** *quodam atque discidio, neque tam* ***fide*** *benivolentiaque conjunctam, ex qua nobis interdictum sit ne quem adsciscere civem aut civitate donare possimus.*

(*scelera*) and wars (*bella*). *Odium* is often combined with words denoting vices (*libido, crudelitas*, *etc.*) or negative emotions (*cupiditas, metus, etc*.). *Odium* as a negative emotion is opposed to positive moral categories (*dignitas, misericordia, benevolentia, virtus, etc*.) or positive emotions (*spes, fides, etc.*), especially in speeches in order to persuade listeners. In his writings on rhetoric Cicero includes *odium* in the list of emotions that a speaker should exercise; with *odium* he also indicates the ability of the orator to change emotions of the audience depending on the situation, turning hatred into friendship or vice versa.

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The Logistics of Marking in the Baetic Amphoras. The Use of Numerals in the Organizational Systems of Ceramic Productions

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Abstract. *The objective of this study is to identify, by means of the analysis of the* graffiti ante cocturam *on the Roman amphoras, the different processes of production which are registered in the amphorae workshops. The olive oil produced in the Baetica served massively to nourish the western provinces of Roman Empire for more than 300 years. The standardization of the selected amphoric type, which extended over more than one hundred amphora workshops, allows us to observe certain patterns of similarity in the amphoric productions, at either a typological or epigraphic level, that allow us to understand the production organization of these amphoras. We apply here a development of the categorization of* graffiti ante cocturam *on these olive oil amphoras (i.e. Dressel 20) that allows us to analyze the set of the epigraphs which have been published so far from a new point of view. Our work focuses on the analysis of graffiti belonging to thirteen different archaeological surveys conducted on the surface of Monte Testaccio (Rome, years 1989 to 2000 and 2005). Before now the graffiti found in the different excavations of Monte Testaccio have been studied and published independently, and only through a global analysis can we present a joint vision of graffiti for more than a century, appreciating certain patterns or key trends which are important for understanding the different processes of production of the Dressel 20 amphorae in the production areas. The results suggest that the presence of numerals responds to a clear will on the part of the artisan collective who was dedicated to the manufacture of these amphoras to quantify the lots produced in any of the various phases of a production system. The fact that one is a part of a complex system of artisanal ceramic manufacturing at industrial levels necessitated a strict organizational control of all the productive phases. The continuity over time and the dispersion of the marking method in the territory makes us think of possible well-defined standardization processes, with learning processes common to the ceramic artisan communities and their possible mobility through the different workshops that produced the same type of amphora. The same results could be understood as part of the internal control of the contracted productions, as well as constituting a log of the internal logistics of the baking phase or for its control, when storing them in one of the first phases of formation of the amphora.*

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Rezumat. *Obiectivul acestui studiu este de a identifica, prin analiza de* graffiti ante cocturam *de pe amforele romane, diferitele procese de producție care sunt înregistrate în atelierele de amfore. Uleiul de măsline produs în Baetica a avut un rol important în alimentația provinciilor occidentale ale Imperiului Roman vreme de mai bine de 300 de ani. Standardizarea tipului de amforă selectat, care a fost produs de peste o sută ateliere ceramice, ne permite observăm anumite similitudini în producția de amfore, la nivel tipologic sau epigrafic, care ne permit să înțelegem modul de organizare a producerii acestor amfore. Aplicăm aici o evoluție a clasificării privitoare la* graffiti ante cocturam *de pe aceste amfore de ulei de măsline (adică Dressel 20) care ne permite să analizăm setul de epigrafe publicate până acum dintr-o nouă perspectivă. Activitatea noastră se concentrează pe analiza de graffiti întâlnite în treisprezece cercetări arheologice diferite efectuate pe suprafața Monte Testaccio (Roma, anii 1989-2000 și 2005). Până acum graffiti găsite cu ocazia diferitelor săpături de la Monte Testaccio au fost studiate și publicate în mod independent, și numai printr-o analiză globală putem prezenta o perspectivă de ansamblu referitoare la aceste graffiti pentru mai mult de un secol, analizând anumite tipare sau tendințe importante pentru înțelegerea diferitelor procese de fabricare ale amforelor de tip Dressel 20 în zonele de producție. Rezultatele sugerează că prezența cifrelor corespunde intenției clare din partea meșteșugarilor implicați în fabricarea acestor amfore de a ține evidența loturilor realizate în fiecare dintre diferitele faze ale procesului de producție. Apartenența la un sistem complex de fabricare a ceramicii artizanale de nivel industrial necesita un control organizațional strict al tuturor fazelor de producție. Permanența în timp și răspândirea metodei de marcare la nivel teritorial ne face să ne gândim la posibile procese de standardizare bine definite, presupunând forme de învățare comune variatelor comunități de artizani și posibila lor mobilitate în rândul diferitelor ateliere care produceau același tip de amfore. Aceleași rezultate ar putea fi interpretate prin prisma controlului intern al producției contractate, dar și ce privește evidența coordonării interne din faza de ardere sau a controlului acesteia, atunci când amforele erau depozitate într-una dintre primele faze ale procesului de producție.*

Keywords: Baetic amphoras, standardization, Monte Testaccio, Dressel 20 amphoras, production organization.

1. Introduction

The archaeological record is useful for identifying the mechanisms by which humans learn from each other[4]. Thanks to the analysis of archaeological proxies, we can capture traces of social learning dynamics in large-scale standardized productions[5]. The study of graffiti *ante cocturam* on serialized productions for more than three centuries is an ideal record by which to better understand these dynamics.

[4] RICHERSON and BOYD, 2005; EERKENS and LIPO, 2007.

[5] SHENNAN and WILKINSON, 2001; EERKENS and LIPO, 2005, GANDON *et al.*, 2014, SHENNAN *et al.*, 2015, COTO-SARMIENTO *et al.*, 2018.

These marks were made in the ceramic's workshops, like the stamps. While it is true that graffiti has not been preserved in the same proportion as stamps, it is partly because traditionally they have been considered much less valuable, and partly because they tend to have larger dimensions and fragmentation of the pieces that their conservation is partial and does not allow for complete reading[6].

The graffiti, unlike stamps — and this is one of its main characteristics — often allow a remarkable freedom of format and message. In some cases, these are serial messages, but in other cases they give rise to a greater margin of improvisation[7]. It should be clear that, although generally the difference of epigraphic technique used in the *instrumentum* (stamps, graffiti or *tituli picti*) reveals a different function of the inscription, this is not always the case. We often find an indistinct use between stamps and graffiti, as in the case of barrels[8] or in cases where graffiti replaces the stamp in Dressel 20[9].

At first level, there is a division into two types of graffiti: *ante cocturam* and *post cocturam*[10]. Those of the first type have been made during the production process, before the solidification of the ceramic, as a result of which they will form an original part of the finished piece. The *post cocturam* group of ceramics were incised after the firing of the support, so that they would not be related to the production process, but rather to distribution and consumption[11]. The graffiti on Dressel 20 *ante cocturam* are recognizable because, when made on a soft surface, the resulting groove is usually thick and has a 'burr' on its sides. If a stylus has been used, there will be a fine and regular stroke. If it is a cane or branch, the stroke will likely be something wider and irregular. If the finger is used, thick strokes are found. Subsequently, the firing process equals the coloration and texture of the surface of the piece and the groove of the graffiti, something that does not happen in the *post cocturam*. The amphora was made in several phases: on the one hand, the lower bell and the pivot, and on the other hand, the upper bell. Subsequently, both pieces were assembled, and the neck, mouth and handles were added[12]. During this process the different types of graffiti we know were made. The value of these marks was exclusively internal. Nominal graffiti of a

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[6] REMESAL *et al.*, 2003, 363.

[7] BERNI 2008; MOROS 2019.

[8] BARATTA 1994.

[9] GARCÍA and OZCÁRIZ 2007, 549–554.

[10] DRESSEL 1878, 146–147; *CIL* XV 556; RODRÍGUEZ ALMEIDA 1972, 235; CASULLERAS *et al.*, 1999; REMESAL 2007, 1181; OZCÁRIZ 2009 547–549; 555–556.

[11] REMESAL 1986; 1987; MARTIN-KILCHER 1987; EHMIG 2003; 2007; WESS-KÖNIG 2010; BERNI 2017; REMESAL and PÉREZ 2018; GONZÁLEZ and BERNI 2018.

[12] BERNI 2008, Fig. 1; REMESAL 2011, 120.

servile condition appear together with others in genitive, which suggests a work organization that operated in groups and in which there are specialized commissions for a specific process of the preparation of the amphora, which eachdepended on a foreman responsible for his work[13]. The marking of the pieces would be related to the accounting of the remittances or the date of their elaboration, since until the final assembly of the two parts all pieces had to pass a drying time. After assembly, the function of these graffiti ends completely, and those that were made near the pivot will be practically hidden and will be “upside down”[14].

2. Methods and Data Structure

Starting from this premise, the construction of the database section dedicated to the graffiti on the *instrumentum domesticum* has configured a tool which is purposed for the study of graffiti *ante cocturam* by considering the nature of the graphite and its formal characteristics. This information allows for the study of the diachronic development of the different types of graffiti, and the intensity of marking[15]. In the same way, it allows us to make advances in the interpretation of what were the functions of the realization of the graffiti, over time, since we are able to find variants of the different types in a simple way. It also allows us to relate the production changes of the amphoras with changes in the habits of marking (e.g. if it was a matter of difference between the organizations of the *figlinae*, in the organization of the working groups, etc.), and establish more precisely the relationship between stamps, *tituli picti* and graffiti.

In summary, some of the highlighted steps are the following:

1.- Divide first into three groups: 1.- epigraphic (words, letters and numerals), 2.- marks and drawings 3.- *incerti* and unknown.

2.- The epigraphs can be divided into *nomina*, calendar, consular, alias, isolated letters and numerals.

3.- We must bear in mind that this division is established based on the searches that will be carried out, not in terms of its function within the group of amphora. For example, we know that numerals, single letters and marks can respond to the same function, but when establishing searches for practicality, we must compartmentalize them into different sets.

Parallel to this is the interest in the division of graffiti according to their exact location in the amphora and orientation with respect to the piece. The absolute or relative chronology is

[13] RODRÍGUEZ ALMEIDA 1984, 262-264; REMESAL 2011, 120.

[14] REMESAL 1977–1978, 87–120; RODRÍGUEZ ALMEIDA 1989–1990, 35–40; 1993, 95–106, item 96.

[15] *http://ceipac.ub.edu*; *http://www.romanopendata.eu*.

fundamental to observe dynamics in the marking and the possible marking instruments, either with a stylus, branches or fingers[16]. The Structure can be seen in Figure 1[17].

3. Materials

To date the graffiti found in the different excavations of Monte Testaccio have been studied and published independently. This work offers a joint analysis of the epigraphs, allowing us to appreciate certain patterns or key currents to understand the different productive processes of the Dressel 20 amphoras. Once the analysis stage was exceeded from a lower granulation

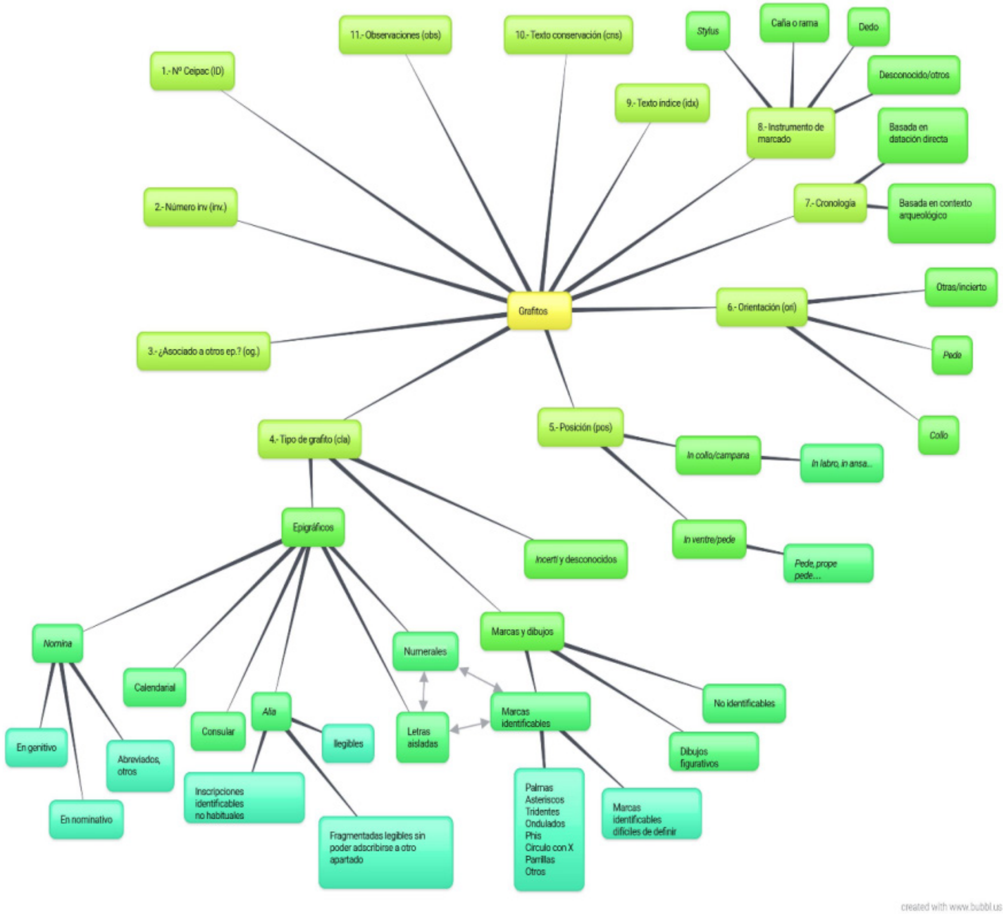

Figure 1. Structure of the graffiti of the CEIPAC database. Developed by Ozcáriz Gil. (Ozcáriz, in press)

[16] BROEKAERT *et al.*, 2015.

[17] For further information on the organization of the CEIPAC database, see the work of REMESAL *et al.*, 215 455–464; MOSCA *et al.*, 2015; CALVANESE *et al.*, 2015; 2016 and **Supplementary Fig. 1**.

level, the opportunity of being able to approach the graffiti from the abundance of data in its entirety, moving from a micro vision to a macro vision, allows us to gain a wider perspective and thereby apprehend our information more clearly. For this, the correct development of visualizations allows us greater effectiveness as scientists[18].

Our study focuses on the analysis of thirteen different surveys conducted on the surface of Mount Testaccio ranging from 1989 to 2000 and 2005 (Monte Testaccio). The total number of graffiti published in the six volumes of the *Instrumenta* collection on the 'Monte Testaccio Studies' amounts to 1343 epigraphs[19], which come from a total of more than one hundred tons of Baetic amphoras controlled (102 841.4 kg) This is approximately equivalent to 3428 amphoras (considering their approximate weight to be 30 kilos per amphora). This would mean that, on average, 2.6 of these amphoras were printed graphite. The marking is not necessary in all the amphoras. As a general rule, most of these graffiti were marked in the lower area of the amphora (when it was face down), *in ventre / in pede*, *ca*. 75% (7/8 out of 10), when this part would still not have joined the upper zone, where this type of marks would be lower, ca. 20% (2 out of 10). The remaining 5% would include marks on the lip, the handles, on the starts of the same and in areas that, due to their state of conservation, have been difficult to identify. The analysis can be seen in **Supplementary Figure 2.**

Thanks to the Testaccio excavations, we are able to contextualize these graffiti over more than a century, highlighting a series of years with a greater presence of these epigraphs. Firstly, there may appear to be a greater number of marked amphoras during certain years, such as the years 177–179, 220–224 or 252–254 AD, but the grouping of these marks in more specific chronological periods shows less variable patterns. These precise chronologies are inferred from the findings of these epigraphs, together with the painted marks known as *delta*, where the consular dating of the fiscal control exercised over the oil packed in these amphoras appears as a rule. Thus, in choosing to classify the graffiti by dynastic groups, we see that the proportions are similar. Moreover, the question whether there is an increase of these marks during the Severan Dynasty could be related to the largest number of published materials of this time or the upward trend of a greater number of stamps and *tituli picti* during the first years of the 3rd century AD. A possible increase of the epigraphs with new surveys of one or another chronology can help us to better understand if the difference between these periods was a historical reality or intended to respond to a random fact.

To the graffiti found in the Testaccio must be added the singular fact of their precise contextualization due to their consumption in Rome, the dating for which is inferred thanks to their being found next to the *tituli picti* consular *delta* type. Although it is true that the prospects in Betica allow us to increase the number of graffiti *ante cocturam*, it is rare to find

[18] See for discussion LANKOW, RITCHI, CROOKS 2012, 12*ff*.

[19] BLÁZQUEZ, REMESAL, RODRÍGUEZ ALMEIDA 1994; BLÁZQUEZ, REMESAL 1999; 2001; 2003; 2007; 2010 and 2014.

them in such a well-defined chronological context, except for the recent excavations in Las Delicias or the Mohino and of some underwater finds. This testifies to the importance of their finding in the Testaccio.

Despite not having (yet) a sample of each of the years in which the Testaccio annonary dump was active, the different surveys conducted allow us to present intermittent chronological evidence every 15/20 years, with some variation between the middle of the second century AD and mid-third century AD. This situation is key to make visible possible changes in the marking processes.

4. Discussion

At this point, our study proposal focuses on the group which is most represented in the set of graffiti *ante cocturam*, namely the numerals, which as a rule have only been presented descriptively, generating perhaps less interest among specialists. The graffiti that we have interpreted as numerals are the most widespread in the marking of the amphoras during this productive phase (ca. 60%), and, for the first time, an approximation allows us to see how the complex system of epigraphic marking could work on this production[20]. The frequency marking of this amphoric type can be seen in **Figure 2**.

A representation of all the numeral graffiti published in the Testaccio surveys in chronological order allows us to see how the tradition of marking these amphorae persisted over time. **Figure 3** shows that the most used and constant numerals in time were the numbers I, II, V, X, XX, XXX, C and CX.

This marking system could have several meanings.

Perhaps it is to be related to the standardization of production processes in the workshops that made Dressel 20 amphorae, or perhaps it is an indicator of learning processes common among the community of craftsmen engaged in the manufacture of these containers. It is also conceivable that it relates to the mobility of the craftsman by the different workshops, who used the same control system for the accounting of their productions, apparently by groups or lots.

At this point we must not forget to mention the existence of Egyptian papyri relating to the contract of rent of figlinae, in which it is found that the workers were in this case contributed by the renter of the figlina and had an itinerant character[21]. However, this is not always and every time the case, as indicated in Revilla 1995. This said, if true, we could

[20] *https://github.com/JordiPerezGonzalez/Numerals-Ceramic-Productions.git.*

[21] *P. Mert* 2, 76; *P.Tebt.* 2, 342; *Oxyrh* 50, 3595–7; *P. Lond* 3, 994; COCKLE 1981, 87–97; REMESAL 1991, 157–176; GARCÍA BROSA *et al.*, 2001, 317.

Figure 2. Chronological distribution of numeral graffiti *ante cocturam* found in the excavations of Monte Testaccio (Rome) and its number of records

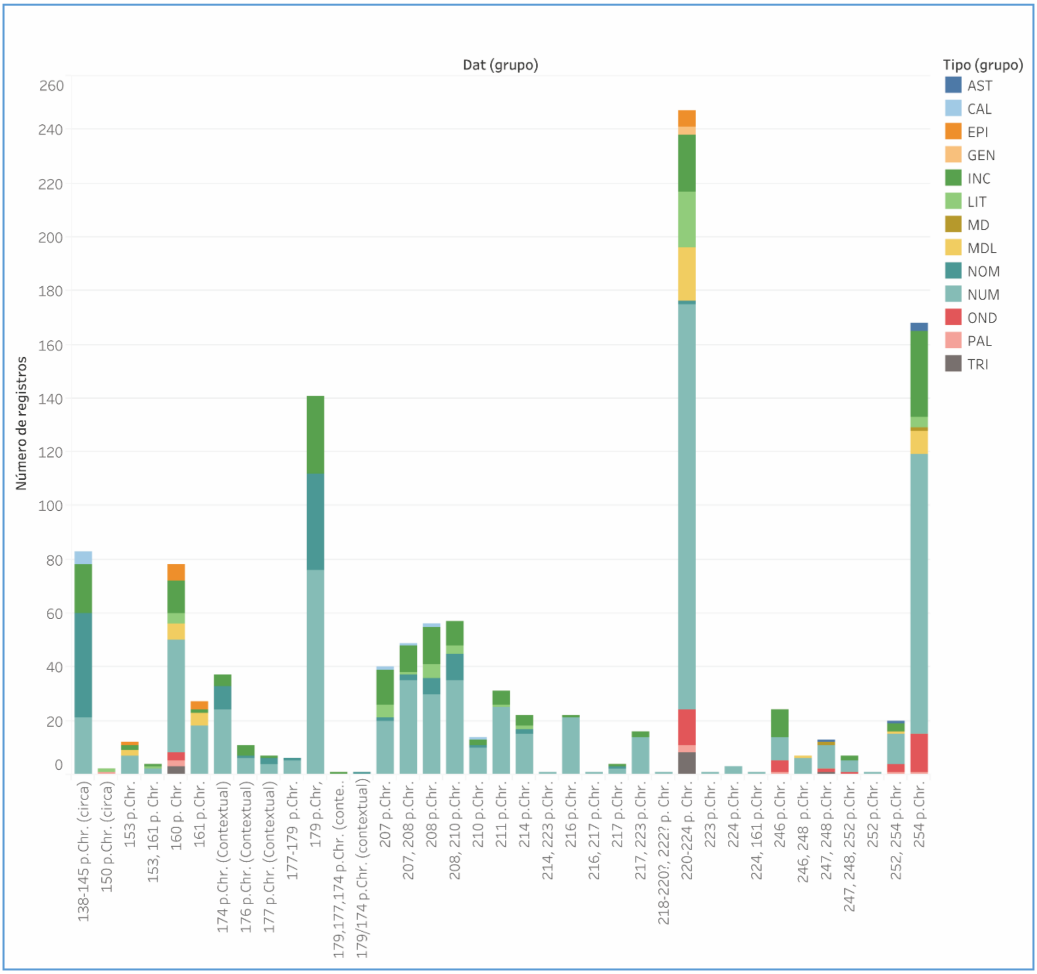

Figure 3. Chronological distribution of graffiti *ante cocturam* found in the excavations of Monte Testaccio (Rome). AST = asterisks, CAL = Calendarials, EPI = Epigraphic, GEN = Genitives, INC = Uncertain, LIT = letters, MD = Marks, Drawings; MDL = Marks, Drawings and Letters, NOM = Nominal, NUM = Numerals, OND = Wavy, PAL = Palms and TRI = Tridents

propose the existence of this mobility of the craftsman by the different *figlinae*, who would make the same type of marks on their productions.

Another dimension of the evidence points to the singularity of Monte Testaccio, as there is no well-defined land or strata, but only amphoras, where you can only excavate creating an artificial system, which has been dividing into 1m packages square. From them 20 materials extracted in 20 cm would allow us to know the possible origin of the epigraph. Recently, a new analysis method has been proposed to derive the correlation between the materials that we cannot physically unite and those from whose union information can be recomposed at a micro-historical level about the identity of the specific places from where the amphora was exported in the *Baetica*, together with the *tituli picti* and the graffiti[22]. The current state of research on the stamps in Dressel 20 allows us to deduce the place of production in the *Baetica* of many of these productions. In this connection, the analysis of the numeral graffiti of the surveys of the years 1991 (220–224 AD) and 1993 (ca. 138–145 AD) shows numerals (eg. X {10}) represented in the three *conventus*, a fact that could demonstrate how the control systems carried out by these graffiti in the initial life-processes of the amphora had spread throughout the workshops of the *Baetica* region. Results can be seen in **Figure 4.**

Other hypotheses suggest that the numeral would indicate the number of pieces that could enter a batch; or the number of amphoras produced by a worker in a given period; or it may indicate a number related to remittances or purchase orders, etc. Remesal defended through experimental practice the possibility that a current worker of a pottery workshop could produce during a day *ca*. 30 amphorae, hence the authors propose that the marked figures indicate the volume of daily production[23]. Now, Remesal in his study of the pottery kiln of La Catria estimated a maximum capacity of the furnace of 79 amphoras, of which the lower ring had to be loaded with 36 amphoras[24]. Regarding the capacity of these kiln, their load would be arranged vertically and with the mouth upwards in concentric circles, of an approximate quantity of four, twelve and twenty from the smallest to the largest[25]. This hypothesis is reinforced thanks to the discovery of a few 'lebrillos' that could be used both for the purposes of production and for the cooking of the amphoras. On the other hand, in the recent excavations of furnace 3 of Las Delicias, an occupation of 191 amphoras disposed in 28 basins has been proposed as support in overlapping rows of 28 and 17 amphoras alternated in three heights. According to this hypothesis, the approximate quantity of each load of amphoras could be corroborated, according to the records of 'lebrillos' found and at the same time making a comparative calculation of the percentage of said supports that have been calculated in each baking process[26]. In parallel, in the excavations of the Mohíno pottery workshop, it has been considered that the kiln batteries could ensure a fortnight of cooking cycles per year, calculating an annual production of about 9700 to 9900 amphoras Dressel 20. This production has been calculated in one of its most productive phases (phase 4B between 100/120 to 140 AD) in a battery of 4 ovens, with an approximate capacity of 250 cubic meters[27].

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[22] PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ *et al.*, 2018, 253*ff.*

[23] REMESAL 1977–1978, 96–97; 2004, 356; CASULLERAS *et al.* 1999, 60, note 60.

[24] REMESAL 1977–1978, 96–97, note 29.

[25] REMESAL 1977–1978, 95-96.

[26] CARRATO *et al.*, 2018; 312–313.

[27] GONZÁLEZ TOBAR *et al.*, 2018, 319–344.

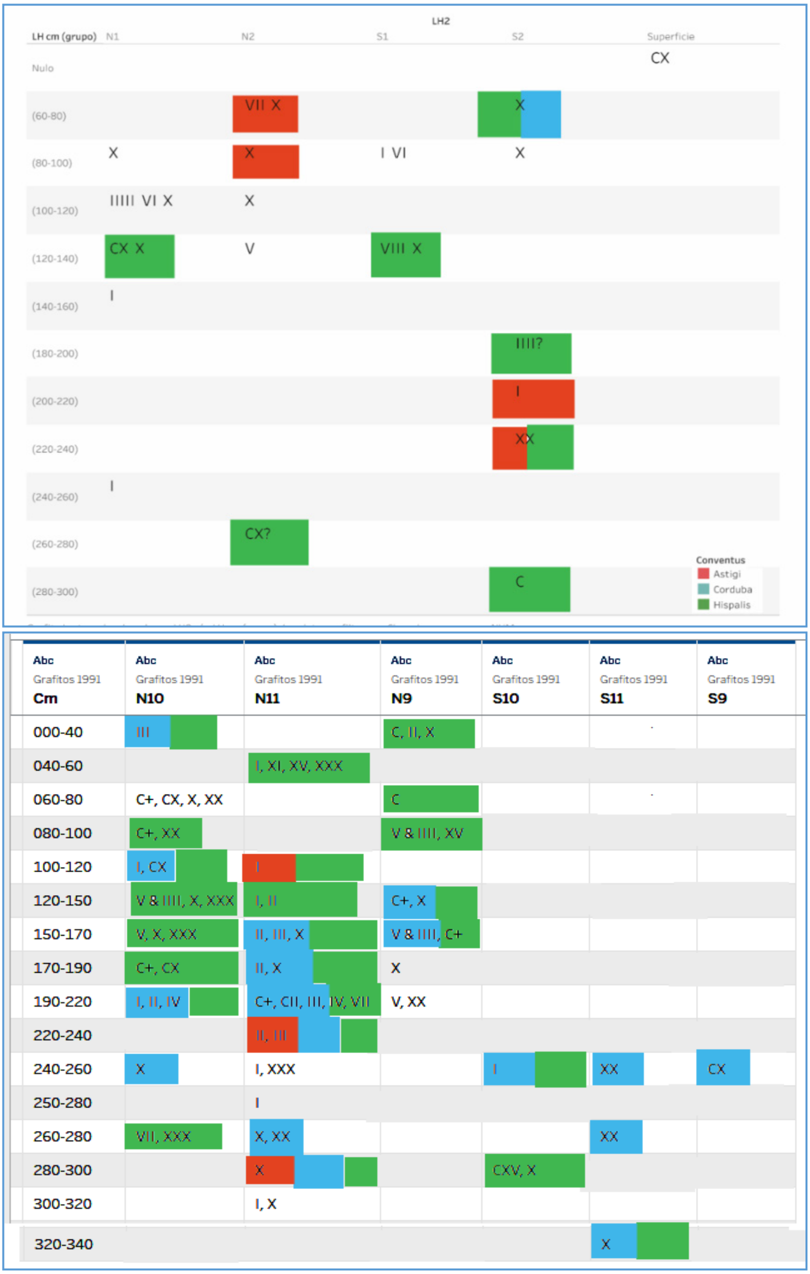

Figure 4. Relation of the numerals graffiti together with the stamps whose origin is known from its *conventus* producer in the *Baetica*. Above: the archaeological excavation in 1993 (ca. 138–145 AD) from the surface to 3 meters divided in square meters N1, S1, N2 and S1. Below: the archaeological excavation in 1991 (220–224 AD) from the surface to 3 meters 40 cm. Observing e.g. the numeral X, we see how in both probes it appears represented in more than one *conventus*, which stands as proof of the extension of the marking formula in the ceramic workshops or of the mobility of a same group of specialists

The logistical quantification of these ceramic productions would help to control the drying processes and to differentiate between the different lots[28]. The notion that the figures exceed the hundreds (if the brands we have associated with this numeral come to mean this) was proposed in previous work which indicated the amphoras produced in the *figlinae* in a working day, considering that human performance and the number of workers are variable[29].

To conclude, what does seem clear from this statistical analysis is that it was not necessary to mark all the production, noting only a certain number of amphoras. Now, what was the need for marking? Taking into account that surely this marking system did not have any meaning beyond the phase of preparation of the container before its firing, could it be related to a control of ceramic production by the craftsman himself for his justification, in front of an inspection of the work of a later phase? or perhaps related to a control of ceramic production for internal control? If there was a salary for the workmen, would it be carried out according to the work done or the work days?

We believe that thanks to the exposed results we are closer to approaching a solution to these types of questions.

It seems that there is no doubt that the presence of figures responds to a willingness to quantify, within the various phases of a complex production system of these artisanal industries[30], phases that involved various artisans and in which it would be necessary to differentiate the work of each of the members who participated in the manufacture of a container produced in a series.

5. Conclusion

The categorization of the graffiti *ante cocturam* on these oval amphorae Dressel 20 allows for the analysis of the set of published epigraphs from a new point of view. The work focused on the analysis of more than 1300 graffiti belonging to thirteen archaeological surveys carried out in Monte Testaccio (Rome, from 1989 to 2000 and 2005) presents a joint study for the first time. The detailed chronology known in the Testaccio allows for homogeneous analysis of materials over a century, something which represents a fundamental fact to determining the existence of patterns or trends in the marking of the Dressel 20 amphorae. This itself is deemed key to understanding the different production processes of the potteries of the *Baetica*.

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[28] GARCÍA BROSA *et al.*, 2001, 310, on the lots: REMESAL, MOROS 2019 and MOROS in press.

[29] GUDEA 1996, 475-482; GARCÍA BROSA *et al.*, 2001, 312.

[30] CASULLERAS *et al.* 1999, 60–61.

The results obtained suggest that the presence of the most notable of these graffiti, the numerals, responds to a clear desire to quantify within the productive logistics of the complex system linked to the ceramic industry of the Baetica. This finding would indicate one of the processes of making the amphora, acting in one of the first phases. The continuity in time and the dispersion of the method of marking by territory allows us to think about the standardization of these processes by the various workshops, perhaps through common learning processes of the ceramic craft communities and the possible mobility, through the various workshops, of producers of the same amphoric type. The same results could be understood as part of the internal control of the contracted productions, as well as constituting a log of the internal logistics of the baking phase or for its control, when storing them in one of the first phases of formation of the amphora.

In the future, we will continue to expand the sample, a fact that should not alter the proportions identified in this hypothesis, which captures a homogeneous and well contextualized situation thanks to the Testaccio dates[31]. We will also study graffiti from phases previous to those known in the Testaccio, among which the studies in the Roman camps in the limes[32] or in underwater deposits[33] can be very useful. And finally, we will compare this documentation with other consolidated craft traditions, such as the world of Gallic potters or with Italic productions[34].

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[31] REMESAL 2018, 215–236, fig. 4; PONS PUJOL, PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ 2018, 285.

[32] REMESAL 1986; 1987; MARTIN KILCHER 1987; EHMIG 2003; 2007; WESS-KÖNIG 2010; BERNI 2017; REMESAL and PÉREZ 2018; GONZÁLEZ and BERNI 2018.

[33] AMAR, LIOU 1984; 1989; BRENTCHALOFF, RIVET, 2003; COLLS *et al.*, 1977; COLLS, LEQUÉMENT 1980; LIOU 1975; MÁRQUEZ VILLORA, MOLINA VIDAL 2005 and NIETO PRIETO *et al.* 1989.

[34] BAKKER, GALSTERER-KRÖLL, 1975; FEUGÈRE 2004; FEUGÈRE, LAMBERT 2004; LAUBENHEIMER 2005; ALONSO RODRÍGUEZ, PÉREZ LÓPEZ, NÚÑEZ RUIZ 1999.

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Les inscriptions concernant les soldats originaires de la Mésie Inférieure dont l'origine rurale est certe: les ailes et les cohortes

Lucrețiu MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA[1]

Abstract. *L'auteur examine les sources épigraphiques concernant les soldats provenant du milieu rural de la Mésie Inférieure, notamment ceux dont l'origine rurale est certe. Les militaires des ailes et des cohortes font l'objet de cet article. On essaye de distinguer les moments de recrutement et les évènements historiques qui sont liés à ces moments.*

Résumé. *The author analyses the epigraphic sources on soldiers originating from the rural milieu of Lower Moesia, more precisely those whose rural origin is certain. The militaries from the alae and cohortes are studied here. The author tries to identify the moments of their enlistment and the historical events connected to these moments.*

Rezumat. *Autorul examinează izvoarele epigrafice referitoare la soldații provenind din mediul rural al provinciei Moesia Inferior, mai precis cei ale căror origini rurale sunt certe. Militarii din alae și cohortes fac obiectul acestui articol. Se încearcă evidențierea momentelor de recrutare și evenimentele istorice legate de aceste momente.*

Keywords: Roman army, Moesia Inferior, rural milieu, enlistment, *auxilia*.

1. Introduction

J'ai abordé le problème des militaires recrutés du milieu rural de Mésie Inférieure à deux autres occasions, une fois lorsque j'ai mentionné quatre militaires originaires des villages situés dans les territoires de Nicopolis ad Istrum et de Novae qui rentraient chez eux après la fin de leur service et l'autre fois lorque j'ai réalisé une étude préliminaire sur ce problème, sans entrer toutefois en détails et sans discuter toutes les sources disponibles.[2] Les soldats sont certainement plus nombreux ; j'ai expliqué qu'une des raison pour laquelle je n'ai discuté ce problème en parlant seulement de vétérans c'est l'incertitude concernant le lieu de provenance des diplômes militaires, les sources principales de cette question. Bien que ces diplômes aient été trouvés, fort probablement, sur le territoire des anciennes provinces de

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Mésie Inférieure et des Thrace, il est encore difficile de faire une distinction nette. Les bénéficiaires sont des Thraces et des Daces. Si, en ce qui concerne les Daces, on peut être plus sûr qu'ils ont habité la Mésie Inférieure (même si, après 102, la Dacie ne peut pas être exclue), pour les Thraces on n'a pas encore de certitude sur leur maison, sauf les cas où ils le mentionnent. Même la dénomination des *Bessi*, qui ont habité surtout la Mésie Inférieure à partir de la fin du I^er^ siècle, ne peut pas constituer un indicateur pour la province, car une partie des *Bessi* a continué d'habiter en Thrace. Pourtant, la liste de soldats d'origine thrace et dace est immense. Les Daces du sud du Danube ont constitué une source importante de recrutement, même après les guerres daciques, comme l'ont montré d. Dana et F. Matei-Popescu[3]. Bien que dans la plupart des diplômes le lieu d'origine n'est pas mentionné, on peut bien supposer qu'il s'agit du territoire rural, car c'est là que sont mentionnés les indigènes. J'examinerai les textes où il est question de soldats certainement originaires du milieu rural de Mésie Inférieure, en discutant seulement les mentions pour les soldats des ailes et des cohortes; les légions, les cohortes prétoriennes et les flottes impériales feront l'objet d'une autre discussions. Je considère comme certaine l'origine villageoise des soldats les cas où les mentions dans les inscriptions sont précises (s'il s'agit d'un *vicus*, d'un *pagus* ou d'une *regio*) et les situations où l'inscription a été trouvée sur le territoire de la Mésie Inférieure.

2. Les ailes

Les villages d'origine des militaires sont mentionnés rarement dans les textes attestant militaires des ailes, mais on dispose de deux inscriptions datant du I^er^ et du II^e^ siècle.

Un premier document a été trouvé dans le territoire de Durostorum : c'est un diplôme militaire de Sarsânlar (Bulgarie, à 45 km sud-ouest de Silistra), datant du 18 juin 54[4]. Il s'agit d'un soldat, Romaesta, fils de Rescens, *eques* de l'*ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana*, qui stationnait en Syrie[5]. Le vétéran est originaire d'un village appelé Spiurus, à l'est de la future cité de Nicopolis ad Istrum[6], mais il est resté dans la zone, où il a probablement eu une propriété. Le soldat a été recruté sous Tibère. Il faut aussi remarquer que quatre témoins sont aussi d'origine thrace (*Bessi*), mais il est difficile de dire s'ils sont originaires de Mésie ou des régions situées au sud de cette province. Il s'agit de Sex. Magius Rufus (*nauarchus*), C. Cassius Longinus, L. Numerius Lupus (tribuns) et L. Valerius Volsenus, vétéran de la flotte. Tous ont été militaires d'une flotte impériale, probablement celle de Misène. Un C. Cassius Longinus

[3] DANA, MATEI-POPESCU 2009, 238.

[4] CIL XVI 3; ISM IV, 1. Voir aussi MATEI-POPESCU 2016, 137-148.

[5] Voir plus récemment MATEI-POPESCU 2016, 144, avec bibliographie.

[6] Voir ISM IV, 1, *sub numero*, avec la bibliographie. Sur la mention de Spiurus en tant que l'*origo* du soldat, voir surtout DANA 2013, 252, MATEI-POPESCU 2016, 142.

apparaît comme témoin dans une *constitutio* de 70, en tant que vétéran[7]. Une identité entre les personnages n'est pas exclue[8], mais il faut pourtant garder une prudence là-dessus.

Un diplôme militaire trouvé probablement en Roumanie ou en Bulgarie atteste Cardentes, fils de Biticenthus, originaire d'une localité nommé Disdiu- ou Disdiv-[9] (**Fig. 1**). Le personnage fait partie de l'*ala ueterana Gallica*, stationnée en Syrie à l'époque de l'émission du diplôme (le 12 mai 91). De la même unité est libéré le même jour Bruzenus, fils de Delsasis, d'ethnie thrace[10]. En ce qui concerne Cardentes, ce nom apparaît dans l'épigraphie de la Mésie Inférieure encore une fois, toujours en milieu thrace. Il s'agit de Zia, fille de Carcenius, fils de Cardentes, évoquée dans une épitaphe à Karaisen (territoire rural de Novae)[11]. Seon le lieu supposé de découverte, Cardentes semble rentrer dans son village d'origine. On ne sait pas si ce village se trouve en Mésie Inférieure ou en Thrace, mais la première variante me semble plus probable.

Une autre copie de la même *constitutio* a été trouvé à Gradište (nord-ouest de Shumen, Bulgarie) et a été accordé à Seuthes, soldat de l'*ala ueterana Gallica*[12].

À Cius, l'ancien *stator* du préfet de l'*ala II Arauacorum*, G. Valerius Herculanus, est originaire d'un *uicus* nomme *Rami[---].* (**Fig. 2**)[13] Il provenait sans doute de la région. Le *castellum* de Cius a constitué le camp de la *cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica*, stationnée en Mésie Inférieure[14]. Une autre hypothèse, fondée toujours sur le témoignage d'une inscription[15], place le camp de la cohorte à Lazu, près de Tomi[16]. Pourtant, à Tomi étaient détachés militaires de plusieurs unités, tandis que la ligne du Danube a été renforcée par des camps. L'habitat civil situé près du camp était composé par des structures rurales. Une inscription mentionne un *vicus*[17], tandis qu'une autre atteste un *vilicus* (plus probablement un intendant d'un domaine rural qu'un fonctionnaire de douane) dont le nom n'est pas conservé[18]. En revenant à l'inscription, l'aile était stationnée à Carsium, par conséquent la présence du vétéran à Cius n'est pas surprenante. Le texte témoigne du lieu de naissance d'Herculanus et de son épouse, *vicus Rami[--].* Je ne reprendrai la discussion sur ce

[7] RMD IV, 203.
[8] FREI-STOLBA 2001, 99.
[9] ECK, PANGERL 2006, 215-218.
[10] ECK, PANGERL 2006, 205-214.
[11] ILB 349.
[12] RMD I, 5. Voir aussi TOMAS 2016, 171.
[13] ISM V, 117. Voir aussi MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2015, 182.
[14] ISM V, 118. Voir aussi MATEI-POPESCU 2010b, 221.
[15] ISM II, 80.
[16] DORUȚIU-BOILĂ 1977, 177-180. Dans le texte qui précède la présentation de Cius (ISM V, p. 136-137), Doruțiu-Boilă admet pourtant le stationnement de la cohorte à Cius.
[17] ISM V, 115. Voir aussi MATEI-POPESCU, FALILEYEV 2007, 323-326.
[18] ISM V, 116.

toponyme[19], mais il est sûr que le village se trouvait en Mésie Inférieure. Au II^e^ siècle, les provinces sont devenues des sources locales de recrutement pour leurs troupes militaires.[20] Les deux époux ont les gentilices identiques, ce qui indique un droit de cité reçu en même temps avec la fin du service d'Herculanus. En tant que vétéran, Herculanus a préféré de rester à Cius (où il avait probablement une propriété), mais non loin de son lieu de naissance.

Un texte trouvé à Sexaginta Prisca représente l'épitaphe d'Aurelius Cotus (ou Cotys), ancien soldat de l'*ala Arauacorum* ; la pierre a été érigée par sa femme et ses affranchis et date du de la première moitié du III^e^ siècle[21] (**Fig. 3**). L'aile a été stationnée à Carsium[22]. Le soldat est originaire de la région ; ila probablement été recruté avant 212 et a obtenu la citoyenneté sous Caracalla. Après la fin de son service, il est rentré chez lui, où il est décédé peu après à 47 ans. Ses affranchis portent des noms grecs (Helpideforus et Papias).

Fig. 1. Diplôme militaire attestant la libération de Cardentes Biticenthi f.
(http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?s_language=en&bild=$AP_Chiron-36-218_1.jpg;$AP_Chiron-36-218_2.jpg)

[19] ISM V, 117, *sub numero*.

[20] MIHAILESCU-BIRLIBA 2016, 71-77.

[21] AE 1940, 34.

[22] MATEI-POPESCU 2010a, 189.

Fig. 2. Stèle funéraire de G. Valerius Herculanus à Cius (http://lupa.at/21046)

Fig. 3. Épitaphe d'Aurelius Cotus, vétéran de l'*ala Arauacorum* (Sexaginta Prista)
(http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$AE_1940_00034.jpg;lu_21976&nr=2)

3. Les cohortes

Comme dans le cas des ailes, les inscriptions qui attestent les noms des villages d'origine des militaires qui ont servi dans les cohortes sont peu nombreuses.

Il y a un texte datant du 14 août 99 pour les troupes de Mésie Inférieure, où le bénéficiaire est M. Antonius Rufus, de la II^e cohorte des Gaulois, *Abrettenus*[23]. Le 14 août 99 Trajan a promulgué deux *constitutiones*, toutes les deux pour les troupes de la Mésie Inférieure[24]. L'une (dont je parle maintenant) était pour trois ailes et six cohortes, l'autre pour trois ailes et sept cohortes. Antonius Rufus peut provenir d'Abrittus qui a eu, comme l'a vu, un statut de *castellum*, même si à la fin du I^er siècle, même ce statut n'est pas certain.

D'autres textes ont été trouvé en Mésie Inférieure et j'ai considéré comme certe une origine locale rurale en tenant compte du lieu de découverte.

Un diplôme militaire trouvé à Kamensko (près d'Abrittus), datant de 80, atteste Durises Bithi, soldat de la *cohors IV Thracum*[25]. La *constitutio* a été accordée pour les troupes de Germanie, où la cohorte était stationnée[26]. La découverte du texte en Mésie Inférieure prouve que le militaire était rentré à la maison. Il a été recruté environ 55, probablement à l'occasion des recrutements réguliers qui ont suivi la période 27-29.

Une diplôme de 88 pour les *auxiliae* de Syrie évoque Gorius Stibi f., *Dacus*, soldat de la *cohors Musulamiorum*[27]. La cohorte a fait partie de l'armée de Syrie, puis de la Lycie et de Pamphilie[28]. Le texte a été trouvé dans le territoire de Nicopolis ad Istrum; c'est pourquoi je pense que le soldat est rentré dans son village d'origine. Le soldat a été recruté environ de 62-63, probablement lors de la campagne de Gn. Domitius Corbulo en Orient.[29]

Un diplôme datant du 13 mai 105, accordé aux troupes de la Mésie Inférieure, atteste le soldat Tarsa, fils de Tarsa, de la *cohors I Tyriorum sagittariorum*[30]. la cohorte a fait partie de l'*exercitus Moesiae* certainement du dernier quart du I^er siècle[31]. Le soldat a été recruté en 80, probablement un recrutement régulier suivant ceux de 52-55. Son cas prouve que les recrutements locaux pour l'armée de la Mésie (puis la Mésie Inférieure) avaient commencé le dernier quart du I^er siècle.

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[23] CIL XVI 44.

[24] L'autre, CIL XVI 45.

[25] CIL XVI 158.

[26] La présence de la cohorte en Germanie, puis en Germanie Inférieure est attestée par plusieurs diplômes militaires: RGZM 4, 9; RMDI, 52; IV, 216 etc.

[27] AE 1939, 126.

[28] CIL XVI 35; RMD III, 151; IV, 214 etc.

[29] WEIß 2006, 257-251, 285.

[30] RGZM 10.

[31] ECK, PANGERL 2009, 506-508; CIL XVI 45; RGZM 1, 9; RMD V, 337 etc.

Une inscription trouvée à Oescus représente l'épitaphe de Mucatralis, fils de Sitta, *Bessus*, militaire dans la *cohors II Flauia Bessorum*[32]. On ne sait pas exactement d'où provient la pierre funéraire, mais Mucatralis est originaire sans doute du milieu rural d'Oescus et non de la cité. En tout cas, le texte date du règne de Trajan ou peu après, car la cohorte a été transférée en Dacie après les guerres daciques de cet empereur.

À côté de Glava Panega (milieu rural de Montana) fut trouvé un diplôme militaire datant du 20 août 127; le bénéficiaire est [---]sa Natusis f., *Dacus*, *eques* dans la IV^e^ cohorte des Thraces[33]. Le diplôme a été accordé pour les troupes de la Germanie Inférieure. La cohorte est mentionnée en Germanie à partir de 80[34]. Elle est attestée dans plusieurs *constitutiones* jusqu'en 158[35], mais elle est restée probablement encore une période dans la province. Avant 80, la cohorte a stationné sur le territoire de la Germanie Supérieure. Les soldats C. Tutius Dansala[36] et Dolanus Esbeni f.[37] sont mentionné dans des épitaphes dans la première moitié du I^er^ siècle. Notre soldat a été recruté en 102, lors de la première guerre dace. Son ethnonyme et le lieu découverte confirme le fait qu'il appartenait à la branche des Daces du sud du Danube.

Un diplôme militaire trouvé à Lesiceri (entre Novae et Nicopolis ad Istrum) mentionne Clagissa, fils de Clagissa, *Bessus*[38]. Il s'agit d'une *constitutio* d'Hadrien (en 138) pour les troupes de la Mésie Inférieure. Le soldat faisait partie de la *cohors II Mattiacorum*. Ses enfants portent également des noms thraces: Sporus, Derzizenus, Eptacentus, Zina, Eptaperis. La cohorte a stationné en Mésie (puis Mésie Inférieure) de Vespasien jusqu'à Marc Aurèle[39]. Le soldat a été recruté environ 113, ce qui signifie que les recrutements locaux avaient commencé à cette époque pour les unités auxiliaires.

Damanaeus, soldat de la *cohors V Delmatarum c. R*, stationnée en Maurétanie Tingitane, est libéré le 22 dècembre 144[40]. Le diplôme a été trouvé à Iskăr (probablement dans le territoire d'Oescus). Le soldat est rentré chez lui après la *honesta missio*. Son recrutement a eu lieu en 119. Par conséquent, même si la Dacie était dévenue une province romaine, les recrutements des Daces du sud du Danube ont continué.

À Sacidava, Aurelius Ditusanus, *strator* du tribun de la I^ère^ cohorte des Ciliciens, est commémoré par sa femme Claudia Cocceia[41] (**Fig. 4**). Son surnom thrace, le gentilice d'Aurelius et le manque du prénom date cette inscription après l'édit de Caracalla.

[32] ILB 64.

[33] RMD IV 239.

[34] RGZM 4; CIL XVI 158.

[35] RMDI, 52; IV, 216; RGZM 9 etc.

[36] CIL XIII 7050.

[37] CIL XIII 7585.

[38] CIL XVI 83. Vois aussi TOMAS 2016, 176.

[39] MATEI-POPESCU 2010a, 222-224.

[40] RMD V, 398.

[41] ISM V, 187.

E. Popescu, en interprétant sa cause de décès (*disperitus est in Barbarico)*, pense qu'il est mort probablement dans une expédition des Romains au nord de la Mer Noire et il propose une telle expédition comme étant celle de Caracalla en 214[42]. Si l'emplacement géographique me semble correct, je suis enclin à dater le texte plus tard, non deux ans après que Ditusanus a eu sa citoyenneté et est devenu *strator* (qui avait en charge les chevaux du tribun de la cohorte). Ditusanus était alors un indigène qui a eu son droit de cité et a été promu *strator* de la cohorte stationnée probablement dans la proximité de son domicile.

Fig. 4. Épitaphe d'Aurelius Ditusanus, mort en Barbaricum (Sacidava) (http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=15317)

4. Conclusions

On constate d'abord que les recrutements dans ce milieu ont commencé tôt et ont continué jusqu'à la fin du Principat. Les recrutements ont commencé sous Tibère, juste après la victoire romaine sur les tribus Thraces en 26. Romaesta, fils de Rescens, a été recruté à cette époque dans l'*ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana*. Si on calcule les 25 ans de service, il résulte qu'il a été recruté en 29, même si F. Matei-Popescu pense que le recrutement s'est produit en 26-27[43]. En fait, il est tout possible, car le service pourrait durer parfois plus de 25 ans. Les sources nous ont fourni des recrutements à l'époque flavienne (environ 73-74, puis sous Domitien) et vers la fin du son règne de Trajan (113-115). À la première vue, il semble qu'il s'agit de recrutements régulières.

[42] ISM IV, 187, *sub numero*.

[43] Matei-Popescu 2016, 142-143.

Sous Domitien, le *constitutiones* promulguées de 88 à 91 renvoyent aux recrutements faits pour l'armée de Syrie dans le contexte de l'expédition en Arménie et du conflit avec les Parthes de 62-66[44]. L'analyse des autres sources nous dira si on peut parler d'autres raisons.

L'époque des Sévères fournit seulement quelques sources, mais il est bien connu que les changements d'effectifs dans les composantes des cohortes prétoriennes, des flottes et du corps d'*equites singulares Augusti* ont comme résultat des recrutements massifs dans les provinces balkano-danubiennes, et la Mésie Inférieure n'en fait pas exception. C'est pourquoi que les soldats des unités auxiliaires sont plus rarement mentionnés, mais cela ne signifie pas que les recrutements dans ces unités n'a pas eu lieu.

En ce qui concerne les lieux d'origine de ces soldats, on se rend compte que les soldats provenaient des milieux ruraux de Durostorum, d'Abrittus, Sexaginta Prisca, Novae, Cius, Sacidava, Callatis, Montana, ou des villages dont on ne connaît pas l'appartenance à un milieu rural certe.

Par conséquent, les recrutements du milieu rural de la Mésie Inférieure, comme on l'observe d'après ce premier échantillon de documents, ont commencé assez tôt, mais elle ont progressé graduellement. Dans la première et la seconde moitié du I^{er} siècle, l'État romain a recruté des personnes surtout dans le sud de la province, puis dans les siècles suivants, les recrutements ont eu lieu dans toute la province. Pourtant, la partie méridionale (l'actuel nord de la Bulgarie) nous fournit les plus nombreux exemples.

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The Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* in Tanagra (Boeotia): an Anthropological Interpretation

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Abstract. *The subject to be considered is the festival of Hermes* Kriophoros *in Tanagra. A brief Pausanias' reference (9.22.1) contains very few but remarkable details of the celebration as it was held in Late Antiquity. All indications concerning the procedure and the content of the festival inferred from Pausanias's description are analyzed in combination with the attested characteristics and attributes of Hermes, as well as with the religious symbolism universally attached to the ram, the divine shepherd, and ritual circular movement. The ethnographic evidence for similar rituals is also adduced. It is concluded that the Tanagran festival originated in an ancestral communal ceremony of annual territorial lustration. That ceremony was linked to the increase of solar activity in mid-spring and therefore also included the parallel magical stimulation of the sun's course. Gradually, that primitive magic ritual would have been elaborated in a more complex seasonal ceremony of stimulation of the generative solar power of the Great Mother-Goddess with the help of a young male ram-god and was eventually transformed into a celebration of the sacred marriage between the Great Mother-Goddess and a young beautiful divine shepherd. In the process of the formation of polis, the festival became a more social celebration, which served to secure the city-state's secure existence under the protection of Hermes* Kriophoros.

Rezumat. *Subiectul luat în discuție face referire la festivalul lui Hermes* Kriophoros *din Tanagra. O scurtă indicație a lui Pausanias (9.22.1) conține foarte puține, dar remarcabile detalii ale sărbătorii așa cum a avut loc în Antichitatea târzie. Toate indicațiile privind procedura și conținutul festivalului deduse din descrierea lui Pausanias sunt analizate în combinație cu caracteristicile și atributele atestate ale lui Hermes, precum și cu simbolismul religios universal al Berbecului, păstorului divin și mișcării circulare rituale. Dovezile etnografice pentru ritualuri similare sunt, de asemenea, aduse în discuție. Se apreciază că Festivalul de la Tanagra își are originea într-o ceremonie comunală ancestrală privitoare la lustrația teritorială anuală. Această ceremonie a fost legată de creșterea activității solare la mijlocul primăverii și, prin urmare, a inclus și stimularea magică paralelă a cursului soarelui. Treptat, acel ritual magic primitiv ar fi fost elaborat într-o ceremonie sezonieră mai complexă de stimulare a puterii solare generative a Marii Zeițe-Mamă cu ajutorul unui tânăr zeu-berbec și a fost transformat în cele din urmă într-o sărbătoare a căsătoriei sacre dintre marea zeiță-mamă și un tânăr frumos păstor divin. În procesul de formare a polisului, festivalul a devenit o sărbătoare mai socială, care avea rolul de a asigura existența sigură a orașului-stat sub protecția lui Hermes* Kriophoros.

Keywords: Hermes, Hermes Kriophoros, Tanagra, divine shepherd, divine ram, ritual circular movement.

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Introduction

Ancient Greek religion of the historic period was the product of a durable process of adaptation, combination, and evolution of diverse religious traditions, originally associated with quite different cultures – non-Indo-European Minoan, Mycenaean Greek, which had Indo-European roots, but was heavily affected by the Minoan culture, and Indo-European, to which the Greeks belonged genetically. Ancient Greek religion also comprised some common religious ideas and practices determined by the universal patterns of religious perception and not specifically connected with certain cultures. Ancient Greek religious festivals offer remarkable examples of such a combination of specific and universal religious traditions. The subject of this paper is the Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* held at Tanagra, a city in Ancient Boeotia, which seems to present a noteworthy case of evolution of universal primitive archetypal rites combined with certain Bronze Age religious concepts into a complex celebration.

The Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* in Tanagra: the evidence

The Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* in Tanagra, although it was not overlooked in studies on Hermes[2], was not properly considered yet, mostly because of insufficient information relating to it. Only a few attempts were made to interpret its meaning. Thus, L.R. Farnell in his fundamental work on the Greek cults identified this festival as a seasonal magic ceremony intended to exercise "a magical prophylactic effect"[3]. A. Schachter in the survey of the Boeotian cults presumed that the Tanagran *Kriophoria* "was an initiation rite meant to symbolize the *ephebes*' readiness to defend their homeland"[4].

The Tanagran Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* is mainly known due to Pausanias who mentioned that in Tanagra there were two sanctuaries of this god: one was dedicated to Hermes *Kriophoros* — "Ram-bearer", and the other — to Hermes *Promachos* — "Champion" (Pausanias, 9.22.1). Commenting on Hermes' epithet *Kriophoros*, Pausanias referred to a local legend about how the god once averted a pestilence from the city *by carrying a ram upon his shoulders round its walls* ("περὶ τὸ τεῖχος κριὸν περιενεγκών... ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων"). The Festival is securely attested from the beginning of the fifth century BC, when it seems to have obtained a remarkable significance, and the Archaic sculptor Kalamis from Aegina made for the Tanagraeans a statue of Hermes *Kriophoros*: "Κάλαμις ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ φέροντα κριὸν

[2] As, for example, in the most recent study by ALLEN 2018, 61–62.

[3] FARNELL 1909, 10–11.

[4] SCHACHTER 1986, 48–49.

ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων" (Pausanias, 9.22.1)[5]. As Pausanias wrote, "whichever of the youths *is judged* to be *the most handsome* goes round the walls at the feast of Hermes, carrying a lamb on his shoulders" / "ὃς δ' ἂν εἶναι τῶν ἐφήβων *προκριθῇ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστος*, οὗτος ἐν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τῇ ἑορτῇ περίεισιν ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ τεῖχος ἔχων ἄρνα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων" (Pausanias, 9.22.1).

Perhaps, the most accurate replica of the statue of Tanagran Hermes *Kriophoros* by Kalamis is a bronze figurine – the so-called '*Criophore Sabouroff*', dated to c. 480 BC, presumably from Aegina [Figure 1][6]; the main features of that statue may also be recognized in a terracotta figurine of Hermes *Kriophoros* from Gela, now in the British Museum [Figure 2][7], and in a Hellenistic ivory figurine (height 7 cm) found in Amphipolis (Central Macedonia), representing a young *Kriophoros* — "*kouros criophore*"[8]. The statue of Hermes by Kalamis was reproduced on Roman Imperial bronze coins of Tanagra [Figure 3], on Roman Imperial coins of Aegina, as well as, with some modifications, in Roman sculpture which copied Greek originals [Figure 4][9]. Overall, it appears that Kalamis represented Tanagran Hermes as a young man, beardless, nude, and hatless, possibly with a simple ribbon on his head; the god had short hair; he carried a ram, still alive, on his shoulders, making a step with his left leg[10].

Figure 1. Bronze figurine — the so-called '*Criophore Sabouroff*', c. 480 BC. Source: FURTWÄNGLER 1883–1887, v. 2, Pl. 146.

Figure 2. Terracotta figurine from Gela, possibly representing Hermes *Kriophoros* by Kalamis, Late Classical. Source: KEKULÉ 1884, 59, Pl. 3, no. 3.

Figure 3. Imperial Roman bronze coin from Tanagra with the image of Hermes *Kriophoros* by Kalamis. Source: *https://procrastes.svbtle.com/hermes-kriophoros*

[5] HEAD 1881, 274; BEULÉ 1862, 362.

[6] FURTWÄNGLER 1883-1887, v. 2, Pl. 146.

[7] KEKULÉ 1884, 59, Pl. 3, no. 3.

[8] TOUCHAIS 1980, 649–650, Fig. 144.

[9] TAYLOR 2002, 48, Fig. 2.1.

[10] HEAD 1881, 274, Pl. 13, no. 14; HEAD 1884, 64, no. 51, Pl. 10, no. 12; HIGGINS 1986, 35, Fig. 15-up; LACROIX 1949, 69–70, pl. 3, nos. 4–5; FREL 1974, 55–57.

Two Tanagran terracotta statuettes dated to the early fifth century BC and showing idealized youths with ram may also be associated with the Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros*: both the represented boys have long hair and wear a pointed cap or helmet on the head, but one wears simple rider's cloak and holds a small ram under his arm [Figure 5][11], while the other wears what seems to be a double *chiton* and stands in front of the ram, resting his hand on the ram's head [Figure 6][12]. L.R. Farnell suggested to identify the represented youths with Hermes[13], based on that the type employed in the second of the figurines was used from the fourth century BC to represent youthful Hermes with a ram standing behind or beside the god[14], as, for example, in a terracotta figurine found in Tanagra [Figure 7]. However, it may also be assumed that the particular Tanagran statuettes reproduce certain phases of the *Kriophoria* ceremony, as the choice of the animal and/or offering it to the deity.

The details of the celebration can be summarized as follows:

- the Tanagran Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* appears to have been a whole-city (or communal) celebration,
- an event, officially associated with the establishment of the festival, was the healing of the city from a disease by Hermes,
- the festival was most probably held in spring, when the lambs used in the ritual are born, but its exact time is not indicated in the sources,
- the festival was obviously supposed to guarantee the safety of the whole city (or of the collective of its population) for a certain period, perhaps for a year, within its boundaries, that is, the city walls,
- the central deity of the festival, Hermes *Kriophoros*, was imagined as a beautiful youth directly connected with shepherding,
- the festival must have included the young men's beauty contest in order to choose the "most handsome" – "*κάλλιστος*" *ephebe* who had to play the role of Hermes; however, it is not known whether the "most beautiful" young man chosen in the previous year could participate in the contest another time,
- a young man representing Hermes walked around the city with a lamb on his shoulders, perhaps half- or completely naked,
- it seems likely that the lamb while carried by a youth was alive and was possibly sacrificed to the god after the ceremony of walking around the city-walls. It may be assumed that the ram used in the ceremony was considered a kind of "sacred lamb" and that a special ceremony for choosing it was held before the main ritual of the festival was performed.

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[11] ROSCHER 1886–1891, 2395.

[12] ROSCHER 1886–1891, 2431.

[13] FARNELL 1909, 46–47.

[14] DESPINIS 1981; LEBESSI 2002, 257, Fig. 168.

Figure 4. Roman copy of the statue of Hermes *Kriophoros* by Kalamis, Museo Barracco, Rome. Source: *https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hermes_crioforo.jpg*

Figure 5. Sketch of a terracotta figurine from Tanagra, representing a youth holding a lamb, fifth century BC. Source: ROSCHER 1886–1891, 2395.

Figure 6. Sketch of a terracotta figurine from Tanagra, representing a youth with a ram, fifth century BC. Source: ROSCHER 1886–1891, 2431.

Figure 7. Terracotta figurine from Tanagra, representing youthful Hermes with a ram, fourth century BC. Source: *https://www.rulit.me/books/v-sadu-vremen-read-26907-3.html*

The Festival details: consideration and cross-interpretation

First of all, the topography of the festival should be established. The site of Ancient Tanagra is located on the north-eastern slope of a ridge of Mt. Kerykion, now called Mt. Tanagra. The existence of the ancient city is traced from the Late Geometric–Early Archaic periods, around 700 BC[15]. The city walls of Ancient Tanagra seen by Pausanias and directly engaged in the Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* are still visible: they form a circuit of approximately 3 km, with towers at regular intervals. These walls are dated to shortly after 386 BC; they were constructed to replace the Archaic walls destroyed in 457 BC by the Athenians. Within the city walls, the remains of the temple of Hermes *Kriophoros* tend to be identified with the foundations of a rectangular building 6 x 15 m, discovered on a ridge approximately at the middle of the city[16]. The temple of Hermes *Promachos* presumably stood in the southern part of the city, in the area between the Theatre and the *Agora*[17]. Unfortunately, Pausanias in his description of the Festival did not indicate the exact rout and direction of the procession of the *Kriophoria*, but it may be supposed that the procession began and finished at the temple of Hermes *Kriophoros*. Undoubtedly, crowds of people gathered near the walls outside the city to observe the boy's procession, while multitudes watched it from the towers. As for the young man's mission to walk about 3 km around the city walls on a sloping ground carrying a lamb on his shoulders, it certainly was magnificent, and also not easy.

The boy's *walking with a lamb around the city walls* certainly formed the central part of the festival; formally, it seems to resemble magic ceremonies aimed at exercising a certain effect. A ritual circular movement or movement *around* something is usually supposed either to create a protective line — the "sacred / magic circle" around a certain object (in our case, it is the city within the city walls) or to be a stimulating action intended to impart something with certain powers. Rituals of this kind are widely attested to occur in magical ceremonies intended for purification, protection, and/or stimulation. In order to understand correctly the precise meaning of the Tanagran ritual, all the elements, of which it was composed, must be considered: the use in the ritual circular movement of a lamb or ram, the performance of the ritual by a nice-looking boy, perhaps half- or completely naked, and the ceremony time, which was most probably early or mid spring.

The direct connection of the main deity of the festival with the ram and the imaginary appearance of that deity as a young and handsome ram-bearer reveal the perception of Tanagran Hermes *Kriophoros* as a youthful and beautiful shepherd-god. These features also imply the origins of the festival in the religious traditions of people occupied with shepherding.

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[15] BINTLIFF 2001, 36.

[16] ROLLER 1974, 152–154, 153, Temple A on the Plan.

[17] ROLLER 1974, 155–156; corrections to Roller's reconstruction of the city plan see in BINTLIFF 2000, 116, Fig. 18.

Absolute beauty as a necessary condition in the choice of a youth intended to represent Hermes *Kriophoros* deserves special attention: it obliged the Tanagraeans to choose neither the strongest nor the fastest, but the most handsome young man for the *Kriophoria* ceremony. This detail seems to imply the presence of a female deity in the religious concept of the celebration. In relation to this, it has to be noted that in Ancient Greek tradition, the men's beauty contests — *kallisteia*, as well as non-athletic men's competitions of other kinds (for example, musical and poetic), were as a rule connected with honoring the female deities[18]. Among the cases that may be mentioned in this regard are: beauty contest between the old men in Athens for choosing the garland-bearers for Athena (Xenophon, *Symposium*, 4.17)[19], musical (*μουσικός*) and hymn singing (*γυμνικός*) competitions of men in honor of Artemis *Leucophryene* in Magnesia-on-Maeandrus (*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, v. 2, no. 559.34–35), and a beauty contest for men in Elis for choosing the three most beautiful men to serve a goddess (Hera (?), Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 13.20: "... at Elis there is a contest as to beauty, and the conqueror has the vessels of the goddess given to him to carry; and the next handsomest has the ox to lead, and the third places the sacrificial cakes on the head of the victim."). It is also noteworthy that in Rome, in the late third century BC, the arrival of the sacred symbol of the Idaean Mother, the goddess Cybela, was celebrated in a solemn ceremony performed on behalf of the city by the "best man" — "*vir optimus*", accompanied by all the Roman matrons – "*cum omnibus matronis*". The "best man" was chosen by the Roman Senate after a difficult examination of candidates; the choice was not based on the public merit of a person, and the winner was a young man — "*adulescens*" from a noble family (Livy, 29.11.8; 29.14.6, 11). These observations permit the assumption that the Tanagran Festival *Kriophoria* in its initial form comprised the worship of some female deity and that Hermes *Kriophoros* represented by the most beautiful youth was originally regarded as her servant and/or partner. It also appears that the duty supposed to be performed by a young man for a female deity during the *Kriophoria* celebration contained an erotic element, which had a kind of mysterious character and either should have been untold (as was usual in such cases) or was not more clearly understood by the time of Pausanias.

To support the presumption about a connection of Tanagran Hermes *Kriophoros* with a female deity, it should be mentioned that the city's Imperial coins, which bear on the reverse the representation of Hermes *Kriophoros* carrying a ram across his shoulders, have on the obverse the image of youthful Hermes or of a *kouros* who played his role in the Festival, supplemented with ear of corn[20]. This tends to suggest that in Tanagra Hermes was paired with Demeter, the mistress-goddess of agriculture, harvest, and grain, and that she was revered at the *Kriophoria* Festival together with Hermes.

[18] CROWTHER 1985, 285–286.

[19] NEILS 1992, 13.

[20] HEAD 1881, 274; HEAD 1884, 64, no. 51, Pl. 10.12.

Furthermore, it should be emphasized the role of Tanagran Hermes as an averter of pestilence from the city. This action of the god, officially commemorated on his Festival, may be interpreted in a more general sense as symbolic of his victory over the dark powers embodied in decease and death and destroying the ordered existence of human society.

Thus, the Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* in Tanagra appears to have been a periodical celebration, probably held in early or mid spring. It comprised some primitive magical elements of purifying or stimulating character and was purposed to ensure the safe existence of the city for a certain period of time, perhaps for a year. The main deity of the festival, Hermes *Kriophoros*, was imagined as a young and beautiful shepherd mysteriously associated with a female deity, possibly Demeter. He also appeared able to cope with the destructive antisocial powers. The whole celebration likely had enough early origins traced back to the religious customs of primitive shepherd community.

For the concept of Hermes in Tanagra, it is important that the god was also worshiped there as *Promachos* (Champion), owing that epithet to his role as a leader of Tanagran youths in their legendary victory over the Eretrians (Pausanias, 9.22.2). It may be noticed a sort of functional correspondence between the ability of Hermes *Kriophoros* to overcome a common disease and that of Hermes the Champion to overthrow a common enemy. In both cases, the god appeared as a protector of the city and, more generally, as a victor over the forces that could disorder the existence of the city.

The religious concept that underlay the worship of Hermes in Tanagra can be better understood with the help of the local traditions concerning the past of the city and the evidence contained in other available sources.

Pausanias mentioned the local belief that Hermes was born and nourished in the area of Tanagra, on Mount Kerykion (Pausanias, 9.20.3, 9.22.2). Such beliefs usually emerge in cases when a deity is worshipped in a given territory from the remote past so that the subsequent population considers it to be indigenous.

Two other traditions are worth of attention: the legend about the foundation of Tanagra by *Poimandros*, literally “shepherd-man”, tragically ended by the death (most probably — sacrifice in the earlier form of the myth) of his son *Leukippos*, literally “white horse” (Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 37), and the story of two children sacrificed by the Tanagraeans to Hermes *Leukos* “White Hermes” (Tzetzes, *Scholia in Lykophronis Alexandram*, 679). These legends seem to imply that Hermes from the very beginning was the main tribal god of the herdsmen who occupied the territory of Tanagra and founded there a settlement, which eventually became a city. Consequently, Hermes was considered a protector of the settlement / city boundaries, and could even receive in the most critical cases human sacrifices as a heavy tribute, a feature that points to rather primitive backgrounds in the concept of Tanagran Hermes. Furthermore, the god’s epithet *Leukos* “White” and the allegory of sacrifice to him of a boy under the name, which actually means “white horse”, may indicate original links of Tanagran Hermes with the notions of whiteness and radiance with an allusion to sunlight and sky[21].

Tanagra or one of the settlements, which flourished on its territory during Mycenaean time, is accepted to have been mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad* under the name *Graia / Γραῖα* (Homer, *Iliad*, 2.498)[22]. According to a local legend, the name *Graia / Γραῖα*, which actually means "old woman" and metaphorically "senior goddess" (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 270–274), was given to the city because of its founder's wife who reached a very old age (Pausanias, 9.20.1–2). Later literary sources preserved the form of the city's name as *Tanagraia / Ταναγραῖα* (Pausanias, 9.20.1), which might actually be a derivative through extension from the name *Graia / Γραῖα*. In relation to this, it is significant that the Linear B (Mycenaean) tablet Fq 169 from Thebes mentions a female name *ΓραFία*, which may be a female divine name *Γραῖα* implying the goddess Demeter, a form of the Earth-Mother goddess: "Δημήτηρ / Δωμάτηρ Γραῦς / *Γραῖα*" (*Der Kleine Pauly* 4, *s.v.* Persephone, 648)[23]. All this information gives grounds for the conclusion that some senior goddess representing the Earth-Mother was associated with the city or with the territory, where the historic city was founded, from very early times, as was Hermes. It should be emphasized that the local tradition viewed the main old goddess of the territory in pair with a shepherd.

In relation to the origins of the local mythic tradition, it should be mentioned that the area of the ancient city of Tanagra and the adjacent territories were involved in the uninterrupted settlement and farming activity from Neolithic time until the beginning of the Mycenaean period: "it appears that the first settlement at the city site is a small Neolithic (early farmers) village, following by similar small settlements in all phases of the subsequent Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age"[24]. As suggested by pottery finds, from Neolithic time to Late Bronze Age, the populated territory of Tanagra consisted of a core village situated on the place of the ancient city, surrounded by a zone of shifting prehistoric farms, which extends well into the countryside beyond the circuit walls[25]. During the Mycenaean period, the territory of Tanagra must have belonged to the prehistoric Theban kingdom — legendary *Kadmeia*[26]. According to the archaeological evidence, the major Mycenaean, Late Helladic III B, settlement of the Tanagra region was not on the ancient city site, but several kilometers to the west of it, near the modern village called Tanagra, where the famous large and rich Late Mycenaean cemeteries were discovered[27]. The representations on the *sarcophagi* from those

[21] For white horse as a universal solar symbol, see ANDREWS 1998, 93.

[22] For the identification of Homeric *Graia / Γραῖα* with the archaeological sites discovered on the territory of Tanagra, see SCHACHTER 2003a, 46–49.

[23] ARAVANTINOS, GODART and SACCONI 2001, 200–201; BERNABÉ 2012, 194.

[24] BINTLIFF 2001, 36; BINTLIFF 2003, 38–39.

[25] BINTLIFF 2000, 94–95.

[26] SCHACHTER 2003a, 46.

[27] BINTLIFF 2001, 36.

cemeteries indicate that the late prehistoric population of the Tanagra area worshiped a powerful goddess with chthonic qualities or a number of such goddesses and practiced a *sacred pillar* cult[28]. It seems possible to presume that the main prehistoric goddess of the area was that occurring as *Graia* / *Γραῖα* in mythic tradition and possibly in the Theban Linear B tablet Fq 169; that goddess would have been connected with the concepts of earth, fertility, growth, and motherhood. It should also be emphasized that, despite the obvious importance of the cults of Hermes in historic Tanagra, the female divine concept seems to have been dominating in the area during historic time, as it may be inferred from the overwhelming majority of the female terracotta figurines found in the Tanagra region and dated from the Archaic period onwards; it is worth noting that the earliest of them were made in the technique directly derived from the Mycenaean one[29].

The worship of Hermes in Boeotia during Mycenaean time is definitely confirmed by the presence of his name in the Linear B tablet Of 31.3 from Thebes[30]. Moreover, the Tanagran cult of Hermes *Promachos*, the war god who was worshipped in Tanagra in historic time, finds direct correspondence in the prehistoric cult of Hermes *Areias*, Warlike Hermes, attested in Mycenaean time in Pylos (PY Tn 316.7), in association with the cult of the old Greek goddess *Diwija*[31]. An obvious parallel seems to connect these two separate cases, which may be explained by their common origin in the prehistoric Greek perception of Hermes.

All the above give enough grounds for tracing the worship of Hermes practiced in Tanagra during historic time back to the prehistoric period and to the prehistoric Greek religious traditions. It also seems possible to connect the Tanagran cult (or cults) of Hermes in its (or their) initial form with the worship of a female deity of fertility and motherhood.

The Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* in Tanagra: analogies and parallels

For a more precise definition of the Tanagran Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* and its underlying concept, it would be useful to find its possible analogies in the available religious and ethnographical material. In search of similar ceremonies, the following must be taken into account: the figure of Hermes and especially that of Hermes *Kriophoros* in Greek religion and mythology, the religious and mythological concepts of a divine shepherd, the religious symbolism universally attached to the ram, and the traditional meanings of the ritual circular movement.

[28] MICHAUD 1972, 700, Figs. 265–266; SPYROPOULOS 1974, 15, 17, πιν. 10$^{\alpha}$; RUTKOWSKI 1979; TOUCHAIS 1980, 631, 633, Fig. 111; HAMPE and SIMON 1981, 38, 43, pictures 57–61.

[29] HIGGINS 1986, 76–78; KLEINER 1984.

[30] SPYROPOULOS and CHADWICK 1975, 91, 105; BERNABÉ 2012, 183–184.

[31] PALMER 1963, 264; VENTRIS and CHADWICK 1973, 286–289; PROBONAS 1980, 95; GULIZIO 2001; for other attested cults of warlike Hermes, see *RE* 8, 1913, 738–792, *s.v.* Hermes.

Hermes as Kriophoros and Divine Shepherd

In religion and mythology of historic time, the figure of Hermes was quite complex, and its prehistoric elements still need to be studied more thoroughly. However, the traditional designation of Hermes by his mother's name as "the son of Maia" / "Μαιάδος ὑιός" (*Homeric Hymn 4, To Hermes,* 73, 408, 424, and oth.) indicates the emergence of his religious concept at that stage when religion was determined by the maternal figure, that is, in the conditions of mother-focused society. The name of his mother *Maia* / *Μαῖα*, which is a shortened form of *μήτηρ* "mother" and could also be applied to the Earth-Goddess (note Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers*, 43: "γαῖα μαῖα" / "Earth-Mother"), combined with the belief that she conceived him in a cave (*Homeric Hymn 4, To Hermes*, 3–5; *Homeric Hymn 18, To Hermes*, 3–7), gives grounds for considering his mother *Maia* / *Μαῖα* a form of the primal Mother-Goddess, or Earth-Mother goddess[32]. The etymology of his name, possibly implying the notion of link or support[33], together with the two of his main aspects as a messenger of the gods and a conductor of the souls of the dead to the underworld (Homer, *Odyssey*, 24.1, 10), may indicate his original function to connect the upper sphere — the sky and the lower sphere — the earth and the underworld; to note, such a function would have derived from a universal perceptional pattern of the "world pillar" or "world tree" (Toporov 1994). Also, Hermes' mythological characteristic "the mighty slayer of the snake-like monster *Argous*" / "κρατὺς Ἀργεϊφόντης" (Homer, *Iliad*, 16.181; *Homeric Hymn 4, To Hermes*, 73: "watchful slayer of the snake-like monster *Argous*" / "εὔσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης")[34], which probably entered the mythology of historic time from a prehistoric tradition (note his Mycenaean cult-title *Areias* "warrior" = "fighter", *see above*), his close ties with warriors and young heroes as well as with athletic education of youth in historic time[35], the idea of his original connection with the *Muses* — goddesses of harmony and creativity (*Homeric Hymn 4, To Hermes*, 439–496; Pausanias, 8.32.2, 9.5.8, 9.30.1) — all these seem to indicate the origins of his concept in the universal archetypal figure of a younger god who brings order and harmony to the world and human society after his victory over the primary chaotic powers. Such a figure is identified in almost all ancient religions and mythologies in the images of dragon-fighting gods, and was also the main one in the Indo-European religions and mythologies[36]. Therefore, it might be argued that Hermes, in some of his initial basic aspects, was perceived as a warrior-god and a leader of warriors, as a god-fighter with chaos, as a god who arranges the world or keeps it in order, as a god who

[32] VERMASEREN 1977, 9.

[33] PUHVEL 1984, v. 1, 160–161; *Etymologicon Magnum* 375.43–50, s.v. Ἕρμα.

[34] WATKINS 1995, 383–384: *Argeiphontis* / *Ἀργεϊφόντης* < *ἀργῆς* / *ἀργᾶς*, "serpent"; DEE 2001, 40–41.

[35] *RE 8*, 1913, 738–792, *s.v.* Hermes.

[36] IVANOV and TOPOROV 1994, 530; GAMKRELIDZE and IVANOV 1995, v. 1, 694–695.

connects the parts of the world — the sky and the earth, being himself the child of the Earth-Mother Goddess.

The image of Hermes *Kriophoros* occupies a special place in the religious and mythological complex of this god. Hermes' connection with shepherding is attested from the Homeric period (Homer, *Iliad*, 14.490–491); later, in the *Fourth Homeric Hymn*, he was called "Hermes the shepherd" / " Ἑρμῆς... οἰοπόλος" (*Homeric Hymn 4, To Hermes*, 314). As a divine figure, Hermes carrying a ram or lamb appears during historic time not only in Tanagra, but also in a number of other cult-places associated with various deities: for example, in the Cretan sanctuary of Aphrodite and Hermes at Syme[37], in Athens where Aphrodite shared with him her marble altar[38], in the Karnassian grove in Messenia where he was associated with the Great Goddesses and where the Mysteries were held (Pausanias, 4.33.4–5: "Hermes carrying a ram..." / "... Ἑρμῆς φέρων κριόν..."), in the Theban *Kabeirion* where he could appear as the Lord *Kabeiros* paired with the Mother-Goddess – Demeter *Kabeiria*[39], and in Korinthia where Hermes *together with a ram* was involved in the Mysteries of the Mother of Gods (Pausanias, 2.3.4: "Proceeding on the direct road to Lechaeum we see *a bronze image of a seated Hermes. By him stands a ram...* [*χαλκοῦς καθήμενός ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς, παρέστηκε δέ οἱ κριός*]. The story told *at the mysteries of the Mother about Hermes and the ram* [*τὸν... ἐν τελετῇ Μητρὸς ἐπὶ Ἑρμῇ λεγόμενον καὶ τῷ κριῷ λόγον*] I know but do not relate...")[40]. In a cult context, the image of Hermes *Kriophoros* is traced from approximately 600 BC, the earliest case being a votive lead figurine representing Hermes carrying a ram in front of him, in his left hand, dedicated to the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia* in Sparta[41]. Hermes with ram was widely and variously represented in Ancient iconography of all kinds: the god was shown mature and young, dressed and naked, carrying a grown up ram or a lamb on his shoulders or under his arm[42]. It seems possible to suppose that some of these representations, as that of Tanagran Hermes *Kriophoros* by Kalamis, were inspired by the actual religious ceremonies, which could have had various forms and different content. Other representations may just have shown Hermes in his traditional aspects as the protector of flocks, the patron of shepherds (*Homeric Hymn 4, To Hermes*, 570–571; Pausanias, 2.3.4: "... Hermes is the god who is thought most to care for and to increase flocks..."), and the god who established the ram sacrifice, first to himself and then to other gods[43]. It is worth noting that

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[37] LEBESSI 2002, 239–240.

[38] SIEBERT 1990, 313, no. 289.

[39] Pausanias, 9.25.5; SZANTO 1890, 359; SCHACHTER 2003b, 121–125, 129, 135, Fig. 5.12.

[40] A reproduction of that statue may be seen on the coins of Korinth issued during the period of Antoninus Pius, GARDNER 1883, pl. 15, no. 24.

[41] DAWKINS 1929, 275, fig. c.

[42] LOGIOTATIDIS 1862; SIEBERT 1990, 311–314, *s.v.* Hermes Criophore; KARAGEORGHIS 1995, 51, Cat. no. 43, pl. 25.6; BENETT, PAUL and IOZZO 2002, Cat. no. 30.

[43] BEULÉ 1862, 364–365.

Hermes’ connection with the ram was not limited to caring for herds and herdsmen, but was also a mysterious element in the cult of the Great Mother-Goddess (Pausanias, 2.3.4).

Among all the representations of Hermes with a ram, the type of youthful Hermes *Kriophoros* is of particular interest to our subject[44]. Typologically, it belongs to a large group of representations of young male ram-bearers with uncertain identity, which are known from the seventh century BC and were found in various places of the Greek world; the following examples can be mentioned: terracotta statuette of a young and warlike ram-bearer dated to 650–600 BC, from Crete, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 1998.172 (*https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1998.172*) [Figure 8]; bronze statuette of a ram-bearer from Crete, possibly from the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Hermes at Syme, dated to the end of the seventh century BC, now in the Berlin Staatliche Museen[45] [Figure 9]; rude bronze statuette of

Figure 8. Terracotta figurine from Crete, representing youthful and warlike ram-bearer, seventh century BC. Source: *https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1998.172*

Figure 9. Bronze figurine from Crete, representing youthful ram-bearer, seventh century BC. Source: *http://www.my-favourite-planet.de/english/people/h1/hermes.html*

[44] SIEBERT 1990, nos. 270, 271, 273, 275, 278, 279, 282-284, 290; FREL 1974; LEBESSI 2002, 257, Fig. 168.

[45] NEUGEBAUER 1924, 34; LEBESSI 2002, 126–127, 239–240.

a ram-bearer from Agia Triada in Crete, dated to the seventh century BC, now in the Heraklion Archaeological Museum, nos. 4783+4781[46]; colossal unfinished *kouros* with a lamb from Thasos, dated to 615–590 BC[47]; terracotta statuettes of youths carrying lamb in the right arm, dated to the seventh–sixth centuries BC, from the sanctuary at Agia Irini in Cyprus[48]; also, a number of anonymous Archaic *Kriophoroi* from various places, listed by M. Veyries[49]. It has been pointed out elsewhere that *Kriophoros* as an iconography theme was adopted by Greek art during the so-called *Daedalic* period (Early Archaic time) from the Near East, under the influence of Near-Eastern representations of votaries carrying sacrificial animals[50]. Based on this, it was suggested to identify the earliest Greek *Kriophoroi* as representations of human offering-bearers[51]. However, it does not seem improbable that ram carrying rituals and corresponding to them religious ideas existed in Greek religion on their own, as a universal religious pattern, from an indefinite time and without any foreign influence. Therefore, one may argue that the Greek representations of young ram-bearers, whether identified with Hermes or anonymous, reflect more or less similar Greek cult ceremonies centered on a figure that appeared *as a young and beautiful shepherd.* It may also be supposed that the celebrations, which included those ceremonies, were based on a more or less common religious idea, in which the concept of a *young and beautiful divine shepherd* was given great importance.

The figure of the *divine shepherd* was a universal element in ancient religions and mythologies; its interpretation should be searched in the earliest religious conceptions going back to the Neolithic and Bronze Age. There is sufficient evidence that the *divine shepherd,* whose primal, early forms were the divine ram and ram-god[52], was initially regarded as the son-lover of the Great Mother-Goddess (note the intimate scene depicted on a Late Minoan seal from Vapheio at Lakonia: divine ram stands on its hind legs, leaning on a goddess with its head[53]) [Figure 10].

Figure 10. Carnelian seal with representation of a woman and a ram leaning on her with his head — “Goddess and her Divine Ram”; found at the Vapheio Tomb (Lakonia), Late Helladic II A period. Source: Sakellariou 1964, no. 221.

[46] LEBESSI 2002, 10–11, Figs. 3–4.

[47] RICHTER 1970, 34, Figs. 84–86.

[48] KARAGEORGHIS 2003, 186, Fig. 377.

[49] VEYRIES 1884, nos. 6–8.

[50] LEBESSI 1985, 121–125, pl. 42, nos. A 35, Γ 14.

[51] LEBESSI 2002, 239–240; KARAGEORGHIS 1995, 43–53.

[52] MELLART 1967, 125, Fig. 38.

[53] SAKELLARIOU 1964, no. 221.

He personified the dynamic force of growth, and his main function was to fertilize (impregnate) periodically the Mother Goddess, to transmit his fertile energy to her, to reinforce her own fertility in order to ensure her ability to provide fertility and a permanent rebirth for nature[54].

In regard to the most basic characteristics of the divine shepherd's powerful female partner — the Great Mother-Goddess, it must be noted that the universal religious perception considered her as comprehensive and closely linked her not only to the earth, but also to the sun and heaven, and provided her with certain solar and celestial qualities[55].

Moreover, as a primal deity and the Mother of all, the Great Goddess was believed to give the order to nature and human society[56], and her shepherd-lover was supposed to be the custodian of it[57]. In Ancient Greek religion, that society-ordering function of the old Great Goddess survived, for example, in the concept of Demeter *Thesmophoros* "Earth-Mother the Law-bearer", whose direct Roman counterpart was the goddess Ceres *Legifera* "Earth the Law-bearer"[58], while in Athens, it was the sanctuary of the Divine Mother in *Agora — Metroon*, where the state archives were stored[59].

The erotic union of the Mother-Goddess and her younger lover, so important for primitive humankind, was celebrated at special religious ceremonies with the necessary solemnity. Usually, it had a mysterious character in order to observe the privacy of the divine couple and to keep in secret the fundamental mystery of regeneration of nature[60].

Because of the direct genetic ties of the *divine shepherd* to the Great Goddess, his mother, the figures of divine shepherds developed in individual religious and mythological traditions were supplemented with many extraordinary characteristics, as leadership, bravery, wisdom, magic skills, male beauty, and outstanding sexual (i.e., fertilizing) abilities[61]. These characteristics may be recognized in the concept of Tanagran Hermes *Kriophoros* / *Promachos.*

Many divine couples identified in various ancient religions and mythologies seem to have derived from the universal religious pattern pairing the Great Goddess, associated both to the fertility of the earth and to the radiance of the sky, with her beautiful shepherd-lover. The following divine couples may be mentioned in this regard: Sumerian / Akkadian *Inanna* / *Ishtar* and *Dumuzi* / *Tammus*[62], Phrygian *Cybele*, the "well-shining" / "*εὐδία*" Great Mother,

[54] BARING and CASHFORD 1993, 133.

[55] GOODISON 1989, 16–17, 20; BARING and CASHFORD 1993, 175–272; GOLAN 1993, 12–32; ZOLOTNIKOVA 2013, 9–10.

[56] BARING and CASHFORD 1993, 374.

[57] VERMASEREN 1977, 10, 33; BARING and CASHFORD 1993, 209.

[58] BARING and CASHFORD 1993, 374; SHTAERMAN 1987, 97.

[59] LIDDELL and SCOTT 1996, 1131; VERMASEREN 1977, 33; ROLLER 1996, 305–308, 313.

[60] FRANKFORT 1948, 295–299.

[61] SOKOLOV 1994.

[62] BARING and CASHFORD 1993, 207–215.

and *Attis*[63], and Ancient Greek Aphrodite and *Anchises* (*Homeric Hymn 5, To Aphrodite*, 53–200). For our subject, it is especially noteworthy that Phrygian Cybele was sometimes paired with Hermes[64] and that *Attis* not only often appeared as *Kriophoros*[65], but could also be linked with Hermes[66]. Also, the Phrygians and Lydians could confuse Aphrodite with Cybele, perhaps perceiving her as the personification of the most beautiful side of the Great Mother ("... τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὑπό Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν Κυβήβην λέγεσθαι..." / "... Aphrodite is called Cybele by the Phrygians and Lydians...", Photis, *Lexicon*, "Κύβηβος"); in the *Fifth Homeric Hymn*, Aphrodite appears on Ida, the sacred mountain of the Great Mother, for the erotic union with *Anchises*, "clad in a robe of out-standing brightness of fire", escorted by wild animals, the Great Goddess' entourage (*Homeric Hymn 5, To Aphrodite*, 68–74, 85–90). In historic time, Aphrodite used to be worshipped in association with Hermes the Shepherd, as, for example, in the Cretan sanctuary in Syme, where the cult activity is traced back to the Middle Minoan III B period[67], and in Athens, where she shared with him an altar[68]. Some other cases may be noted, as that of Selene, the Moon-goddess, and her beloved *Endymion*, a beautiful young shepherd, to whom she bore fifty daughters (Pausanias, 5.1.5; *Scholia ad Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica 4.57*; *Scholia ad Theocritus 3.49*), as well as that of the Idaean nymph *Oenona* who grew up Paris, initially a shepherd, and became his first wife (Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3.12.6; Ovidius, *Heroides 5* "*Oenone Paridi*"). These cases give additional reasons to believe that Hermes in his hypostasis as a *young and beautiful shepherd*, as Tanagran Hermes *Kriophoros*, was also considered a mysterious lover of some senior female deity representing the old Great Mother-Goddess. In relation to this conclusion, it must be pointed out that the goddess Demeter–*Graia*, who seems to have been associated with the territory of Tanagra in prehistoric times and with Tanagran Hermes in the historic period (*see above*), was actually a hypostasis of the Great Mother-Goddess / Divine Mother[69]. It may also be added that the sanctuary of the Divine Mother, dated to the fifth century BC, was discovered not far from the ancient city of Tanagra, at the place Soros, near the Moustafades village, present-day Kallithea[70].

[63] VERMASEREN 1977, 115–117.

[64] VERMASEREN 1977, 100, Pl. 71, Pl. 23; JOHNSTON 1996, 106.

[65] VERMASEREN and DE BOER 1986, nos. 142, 143.

[66] VERMASEREN 1977, 101, Pl. 23; BARING and CASHFORD 1993, 408.

[67] LEBESSI 1985; LEBESSI 2000; LEBESSI 2002.

[68] SIEBERT 1990, 313, no. 289; for common worship of Aphrodite and Hermes, see also *RE* 8, 1913, 760–761.

[69] BARING and CASHFORD 1993, 364–374; BURKERT 1997, 283; ROLLER 1999, 167, 169, 174.

[70] KORTE 1878, 388–397; HIGGINS 1986, 35, 40.

The religious symbolism of the ram

The universal religious symbolism of the ram contains other important indications for the interpretation of the Tanagran festival *Kriophoria*. The ram was an extremely widespread and very old religious symbol, traced among the religious ideas from the Neolithic period, when he seems to have been linked to the primary female deity – the solar-celestial *Divine Mother* — as her direct offspring[71]. Perhaps because of this, solar symbolism was universally attached to the ram[72]. The symbolic linking of the ram to the sun had various forms and is commonly attested in ancient cultures, including the religion and mythology of the Ancient Greeks; indicatively, the following evidence may be referred to here: worship of the gods of sun and sky in association with the ram or under the guise of ram, as, for example, Zeus — the sky god[73] and especially sun-linked Zeus *Laphystius* in Boeotia and Thessalia[74]; the folklore-mythological pattern of the "flocks of the sun", or Helios' "fair flocks of sheep" (Homer, *Odyssey*, 12.127–136)[75]; the belief in the ram's special connection with the increase of solar activity in spring, as can be seen, for example, in the Greek name of the constellation *Krios* "the Ram", Latin *Aries*, which marks the coming of spring, and in the conventional representation of spring as a youth with a lamb on his shoulders[76]; finally, a very ancient pattern of the "golden lamb" – a symbol of the sun and fertility[77].

The original connection of the ram with the all-generating power of the sun[78] caused a symbolic association of this animal with several other important notions. One of them was that of the *male fertilizing force*[79], which impregnates the female reproducing element — the Mother-Goddess[80]. In Ancient Greek mythology, the most obvious example of the idea of a sexual relationship between the female divinity and the ram can be seen in the myth about Zeus and Demeter, precisely in the episode when the god threw the genitals of a ram onto the lap of the goddess[81]. It should also be noted the myth, certainly based on some older religious idea, about the demand of the goddess Artemis to sacrifice the fabulous *golden lamb* to her (*Scholia in Euripidem, Orestes*, 811)[82]. Representation of the sacrifice of two sheep for the

[71] MELLART 1967, 125, Fig. 38.
[72] COOK 1914, 346–430; GOLAN 1991, 79–92.
[73] COOK 1914, 422.
[74] COOK 1914, 430; ZOLOTNIKOVA 2013, 75.
[75] COOK 1914, 409–412.
[76] BARING and CASHFORD 1993, 404, Fig. 10.
[77] COOK 1914, 407.
[78] COOK 1914, 429–430.
[79] COOK 1914, 429 with note 4; GOLAN 1991, 79–92.
[80] FRANKFORT 1948, 384, note 46; see also Fig. 10.
[81] VERMASEREN 1977, 105; for the connection of Demeter with the ram, see also BURKERT 1997, 268, 283,
[82] COOK 1914, 405.

goddess *Meter* on a votive relief from Kyzikus, dated to the second century BC[83], and Pausanias' short remark about the mysterious role of the ram in the cult of the Divine Mother in Ancient Korinthia (Pausanias, 2.3.4) can also be adduced. Perhaps, this original notion was eventually transformed into the idea about the sacred marriage of the Mother-Goddess and a beautiful shepherd, her son-and-lover.

Other notions universally linked to the ram were those of *healing and protection*, which is especially evident in the belief in the healing and protective qualities of the ram's fleece[84].

Thus, the ram was basically a universal solar symbol provided with the notion of male fertilizing power. Because of this, he was involved together with the Mother-Goddess in the conception about the mysterious process of procreation of nature; this animal was also endowed with protective qualities.

Ritual circular movement

Finally, the meaning of the ritual circular movement should be indicated. Ethnographical parallels offer innumerable examples of ceremonies of *walking around* something and *carrying a symbolic object around* something. Such ceremonies have their origin in the technique of primitive magic and, as noted above, are intended either to create a protective line, the *magic circle*, around something or to *transmit power* to something. Despite the variety of forms and particular purposes, all these ceremonies are united by one common element — a *symbolic circular line*.

Circle belongs to the earliest signs used by people to express their religious ideas. It occurs universally as a symbol of the sun[85] and is also commonly connected with the notion of femininity[86]. Therefore, it seems very likely that the circle as a symbol originally conveyed or expressed the earliest perception of the primeval female deity — the Great Goddess linked by some of her qualities to the sun and sky[87]. The creation of symbolic circular line in primitive magical rituals may be considered an action, presumably establishing communication with that goddess or causing her presence.

Hence, in primitive purifying ceremonies, a ritual circular movement would be a kind of call to that goddess for protection. In this regard, it may especially be noted the Ancient Roman custom of ritual walking, running or dancing around the city walls and the boundaries of rural settlements with purification purposes — *Lustratio*: a procession of people leading sacrificial animals (a ram, a pig, and a bull) traced a magical protective boundary around the

[83] ROLLER 1999, 204–205, Fig. 54.

[84] LORDKIPANIDZE 2001, 3.

[85] SHTAERMAN 1987, 32–33; GOODISON 1989, 140.

[86] ZOLOTNIKOVA 2002, 125.

[87] GOODISON 1989, 16, 17, 20; BARING and CASHFORD 1993, 175–272; ZOLOTNIKOVA 2013, 9–10.

territory to be purified. The fact that the term *lustratio* is derived from the Latin word *lux* "light" indicates that the rite was originally connected with the concept of light and the cult of the Sun[88]. In some special cases, *Lustratio* could be included in the ceremonial veneration of female deities, as *Juno Febru(a)lis* / *Februata* during the festival *Lupercalia*[89] and *Dea Dia* during the festival *Ambarvalia*[90]. The ritual procession *around* Rome, performed in honor of *Juno Regina* after the victory over Gasdrubal, may also be mentioned here[91]. It is important that those Roman goddesses were originally connected with the notion of light and shine: their names — *Juno* < **diou-n-a* / *Dia* < **div-i-a* are derived from the Indo-European root ***t'y-/*t'ei-/*t'iu-** "to shine", "to be shining white"[92], which indicates their descent from the primeval celestial goddess. As for the *Lupercalia*, the feast took place in February and virtually served to purify the entire community and to promote fertility in the coming New Year; two young men clad in goat skin and thus imitating male goats performed its central ceremony, running around the ancient sacred boundary of Rome[93]. The *Ambarvalia*, an agricultural purifying festival, which was celebrated at the end of May, included a procession of sacrificial animals (sheep, pigs, and oxen) around the field boundaries and the old boundaries of Rome[94]. A parallel to the Tanagran ceremony of *Kriophoria* may also be found in another Roman purificatory ritual known as *Amburbium* "walking around the city": it was usually carried out in cases of common danger and consisted of a procession around the city, during which prayers and sacrifices were performed[95]. Perhaps, it would be appropriate to mention here the Ancient Egyptian festival *Sed*, which in its developed form celebrated the annual renewal of the king's rule and health and comprised the ceremony of the king's running or dance eight times around a certain sacred territory. The festival is traced back to the Predynastic times and emerged from the tradition of the ruler's symbolic running alongside with a bull, which was Egyptian solar and fertile symbol, around the frontiers of his domain in order to renew the security of its boundaries and to re-ensure the harmony between him, his realm, and the universe. During the royal run ceremony, various deities could be honoured, but in many cases it was specifically dedicated to female deities[96].

The primitive belief in obtaining the protection of the primeval solar / celestial female deity by creating a sacred circle can be recognized in the use of the symbols of the sun and

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88 SHTAERMAN 1987, 32–33.

89 *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1968–1973, v. 1, 683.

90 SHTAERMAN 1987, 43.

91 SHTAERMAN 1987, 110.

92 GAMKRELIDZE and IVANOV 1995, v. 1, 196.

93 *Columbia Encyclopaedia* 2001–2004, *s.v.* Lupercalia; VUKOVIĆ 2018.

94 ADKINS and ROY 1996, *s.v.* Ambarvalia.

95 ADKINS and ROY 1996, *s.v.* Amburbium; RÜPKE 2012, 38.

96 FRANKFORT 1948, 85–87.

the sun's circular course as protective signs, which is attested, for example, among the Ancient Slavs[97].

Concerning the magical ceremonies of stimulating character, the ritual circular movement was supposed to impart more energy to the solar nature of the primeval goddess so that she could continue to reproduce life. Noteworthy ceremonies of this kind are identified in the Ancient Egyptian tradition: "the king, as the representative of the sun, walked solemnly round the walls of a temple in order to ensure that the sun should perform his daily journey round the sky without the interruption of an eclipse or other mishap"[98]; at the time of the winter solstice, a cow was led seven times around the temple of the sun (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 52). Similar ceremony was observed among the Canadian Indians during the eclipse of the sun: "men and women tucked up their robes... and then leaning on staves... they continued to walk in a circle till the eclipse of the sun was over"[99]. In Ancient Rome, at the beginning of the New Year in March, the vernal feast *Ignes Vestarum* was held: it was aimed at the annual rekindling of the sacred fire of the goddess *Vesta* with the help of the concentrated sunlight, and while the festival lasted, twelve patrician youths danced around Rome[100]. It has been assumed that the tradition of Greek circular dances also arose from primitive magical practices supposed to stimulate the movement of the sun or other heavenly bodies[101].

An attempted explanation of the meaning of the Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* in Tanagra

Based on the foregoing and in an attempt to explain the Tanagran festival *Kriophoria*, the following details should be considered together: firstly, the festival officially celebrated the healing or purification of the whole city from a pestilence; secondly, its main ritual was performed by the most beautiful young man who made a symbolic circle around the city walls, carrying a lamb on his shoulders; thirdly, the boy's appearance and role could have implied those of the Great Goddess's divine shepherd, and, finally, as a religious symbol, the lamb / ram traditionally embodied solar qualities and was endowed with the notion of male fertility. These details, associated with all the above evidence, give reason to conclude that the Tanagran celebration originally emerged as a combination of two primitive magical ceremonies: the establishment of the protective sacred circle around the settlement by appealing to the solar powers of a primeval female deity and the simultaneous stimulation of the vital solar energy of that goddess, supposedly protecting the settlement and nature in

[97] RYBAKOV 1987, 480.

[98] FRAZER 1922, v. 1, 312.

[99] FRAZER 1922, v. 1, 312.

[100] SHTAERMAN 1987, 58.

[101] GOODISON 1989, 140.

general. It seems likely that the community, which observed those rituals, from the very beginning considered them inseparable and dependent on each other, believing that the primeval goddess linked to the sun could protect the boundary of their settlement if she herself was supported by magical means.

Thus, based on the evidence presented, the following interpretation of the Festival can be suggested.

The Tanagran Festival of Hermes *Kriophoros* seems to have originated from a primitive communal custom of seasonal lustration of the territory occupied or controlled by a pastoral tribe of the distant ancestors of the historic Tanagraeans. That ceremony was linked to an increase in solar activity in mid-spring and also included the parallel stimulation of the sun's course through sympathetic magic.

Gradually, that primitive magical ritual would have been elaborated in a more complex seasonal ceremony of stimulation of the generative solar power of the Great Mother-Goddess with the help of a young ram-god (note Figure 10). The purpose of the action was to promote, with old magical means, the periodical re-creation of nature — the macrocosm, in order to ensure the existence in it of the shepherd community or settlement — the microcosm for a certain period of time.

During the Bronze Age, or rather, its final phase, the feast was transformed into a celebration of the sacred marriage between the Great Mother-Goddess and a young beautiful divine shepherd (the human form of the ram-god) — her hero and son-lover. The existence of the Bronze Age shepherd community / settlement became considered dependent on the periodic re-birth of the world by the Mother-Goddess, fertilized by her young heroic shepherd, who also established order in the newborn world by overcoming the anti-cosmic powers. It is quite possible that in that time the Great Mother-Goddess was worshiped on the territory of Tanagra as Demeter under the alternative name *Graia*, while the image of the divine shepherd and Goddess' hero was associated with Hermes.

The prehistoric festival and its underlying concept would have been radically changed since the Iron Age, in the process of the formation of the city-state — *polis*, when the heroic male figure acquired greater significance and began to shadow the image of the old female deity. Hence, the festival was transformed into a more social celebration with a more urban character and served to secure the city-state's secure existence. The role of the divine guardian of the city was confirmed for Hermes *Kriophoros* and *Promachos* who, nevertheless, retained the features of the prehistoric young and beautiful shepherd of the Great Goddess and a hero struggling with anti-cosmic powers (personified in decease, military offence, etc.) that threaten the city. It is not certain whether the sacred marriage between Hermes and the old Mother-Goddess was actually celebrated in later historic time, but it was still echoed in the choice of the most handsome young man to represent Hermes and in the local legends about *Graia* and a shepherd-man.

The festival would have received a new impulse and, perhaps, more ideological colors in the fourth century BC, when the walls of the city, destroyed by the Athenians, were built again. It seems to have become a sort of declaration of the city's safety under the official protection by Hermes. However, the primitive rituals of purification and sympathetic magic, as well as the sacred marriage element, were still implied in the whole structure of the celebration, even if its original meaning was no longer clearly understood.

Undoubtedly, Ancient Greek religious festivals provide scholars with highly interesting anthropological material, while anthropological and comparative approaches to the Ancient Greek festivals would in many cases make it possible to identify the deeper concepts and customs underlying the celebrations known in their later forms.

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An O*inophora* Type Vessel Discovered at the Noviodunum Necropolis

Ștefan HONCU[1], Aurel-Daniel STĂNICĂ [2]

Abstract. *Our article refers to a special discovery made at Noviodunum, the headquarters of the Danube fleet Classis Flavia Moesica. It is about an oinophora type vessel, shaped as a ram, which was discovered, by chance, in a cremation grave. Its presence in the necropolis of the city must not come as a surprise to us, because such discoveries come, once again, to show its commercial and economic importance in the province. The Noviodunum market represented a luxury goods consumer from all the provinces of the empire. Regarding the chronological framing of the vessel we support the opinion that it might come from the second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.*

Rezumat. *Articolul nostru discută o descoperire aparte făcută la Noviodunum, sediul flotei dunărene Classis Flavia Moesica. Este vorba despre un vas de tip oinophora, în formă de berbec, care a fost descoperit, în mod întâmplător, într-un mormânt de incinerație. Prezența acestuia în necropola cetății nu trebuie să ne surprindă, deoarece astfel de descoperiri vin să arate, o dată în plus, importanța comercială și economică a acesteia în cadrul provinciei. Piața de la Noviodunum reprezenta un consumator de bunuri de lux provenite din toate provinciile Imperiului. În privința încadrării cronologice a vasului suntem de părere că ulciorul s-ar putea data, eventual, în a doua jumătate a secolului al II-lea p.Chr.*

Keywords: Moesia Inferior, Noviodunum, necropolis, oinophora.

Introduction

The fortress of Noviodunum had an important strategic and economic role before the coming of the Romans, which was accentuated in the following periods, until the medieval epoch[3]. The first archaeological research on this site were done in the year 1953, as afterwards, a collective made of I. Barnea (responsible), B. Mitrea and N. Anghelescu accomplished the very first rescue digging by the length of the floodable beach of the Danube, by the ruins of the harbor installations of the fortress from the Roman epoch[4].

Since the annexation of Dobrogea to the Moesia Inferior province, during the reign of emperor Vespasianus, Noviodunum started its economic, military and urban evolution, as a

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[3] BARNEA 1977, 103.

[4] BARNEA, MITREA, ANGELESCU 1957, 156; ŞTEFAN 1973, 5; BARNEA 2000, 204.

main base for the Roman fleet at the Lower Danube – Classis Flavia Moesica – and the headquarters of several other military units over time (the detachments of Legio V Macedonica, I Italica, XI Claudia and the milites primi Constantiniani units). Moreover, the settlement was situated at the end of the military and commercial road which got through Dobrogea, coming from Marcianopolis, and which intersected here with the limes area, that was following the right bank of the river.

The tumular necropolis of the fortress was researched by G. Simion between the years 1958–1992, as 30 barrows were investigated, which represent just half of all the known ones. The pieces of information that resulted from the necropolis research make references to the timeline between the end of the 1st century and the end of the 2nd p.Chr. as they outline the funerary rites and the rituals practiced at Noviodunum in the early Roman period[5].

Another necropolis, for both cremation and burial, has been identified at the "La Livadă" point, situated in the vicinity of the fortress, at approximately 900 m in the South–South-West direction. Quite recently, one such tomb had been researched, as it was disturbed by maintenance work done to one of the exploit roads. From the inside the following were recovered: a ceramic vessel (jug), a whetstone, six bone tokens, multiple iron nails and some fragments from a bronze object. The authors of the research dated this discovery in the 2nd century p.Chr., mainly based on the ceramic recipient[6]. The field research accomplished in 2012 helped with the identification, on another exploit road from the fruit-growing complex, of at least two cremation tombs.

In the proximity of the tomb which was researched in the year 2011, at approximately 250 m East from it, at the root of a cherry tree, in the year 2013, the zoomorphic vessel shaped as a ram was discovered. We are presenting it in the following rows (Figure 1). It was part, most probably, of the inventory from a cremation tomb, which could not be researched[7]. The vessel had been recovered in its entirety, as it was restored by the experts from the Restauration Laboratory, with the mention that the right eye is missing. As of this moment, the jug is in the deposit of the History and Archaeology Museum that is part of ICEM Tulcea, having been processed with the inventory number 50484. The archaeological preventive researches that were made in the summer of the year 2020[8], in order to "*modernize the irrigation plot SPP1 from the Isaccea irrigation arrangement, in Tulcea county*", with the beneficiary OUAI Fruvnis, they outlined in the vicinity of the area where the ram jug was discovered several funerary complexes made in brick cist, but also the traces of some cremation tombs, which were previously destroyed by the old pipe to the irrigations system.

[5] SIMION 1977, 123–148; SIMION 1984, 75–96; SIMION 2007, 307–338.

[6] RADU, DINU, STĂNICĂ, 2011, 57.

[7] The shareholders of the company that manages the fruit complex did not allow the research team to carry out a rescue intervention.

[8] The research was accomplished by A.D. Stănică, M. Mocanu and R. Stănescu from ICEM Tulcea.

Description: a whole zoomorphic vessel (Figure 3). Dimensions: H = 20,4 cm; L = 20,5 cm; l = 9,1 cm; Socle: L = 14,3 cm; l = 7,6 cm. Mouth/ Opening: D_{ext} = 3,3 cm; D_{int} = 1,6 cm; Thickness of handle = 3,70. The paste is fine, light brick in colour (5YR/7.8 orange), with yellowish-brown coating on the outside, slightly exfoliated in some points, yellowish on the inside (2.5YR/4.8, 5.8, reddish brown, bright brown). The lip is cut straight, the neck is slim, stylish and small. The handle is lamellar, with three grooved decorations longitudinally arranged over it (with the ones on the margins being more pronounced) and is fixed by the base of the neck and by the back of the ram. The jug was made by printing it in a pattern with two halves that were glued to the side parts afterwards. The inferior part is rectangular, in the shape of a socle. The superior part of the piece represents a ram in a standing position on the socle. The head is elegantly made, as the left eye, the only one that was maintained, is big, elongated, with the eyebrow harmoniously accentuated. The mouth of the animal is big, and its nostrils are

Figure 1. A. Cremation tomb researched in 2011, B. The discovery location of the zoomorphic vessel

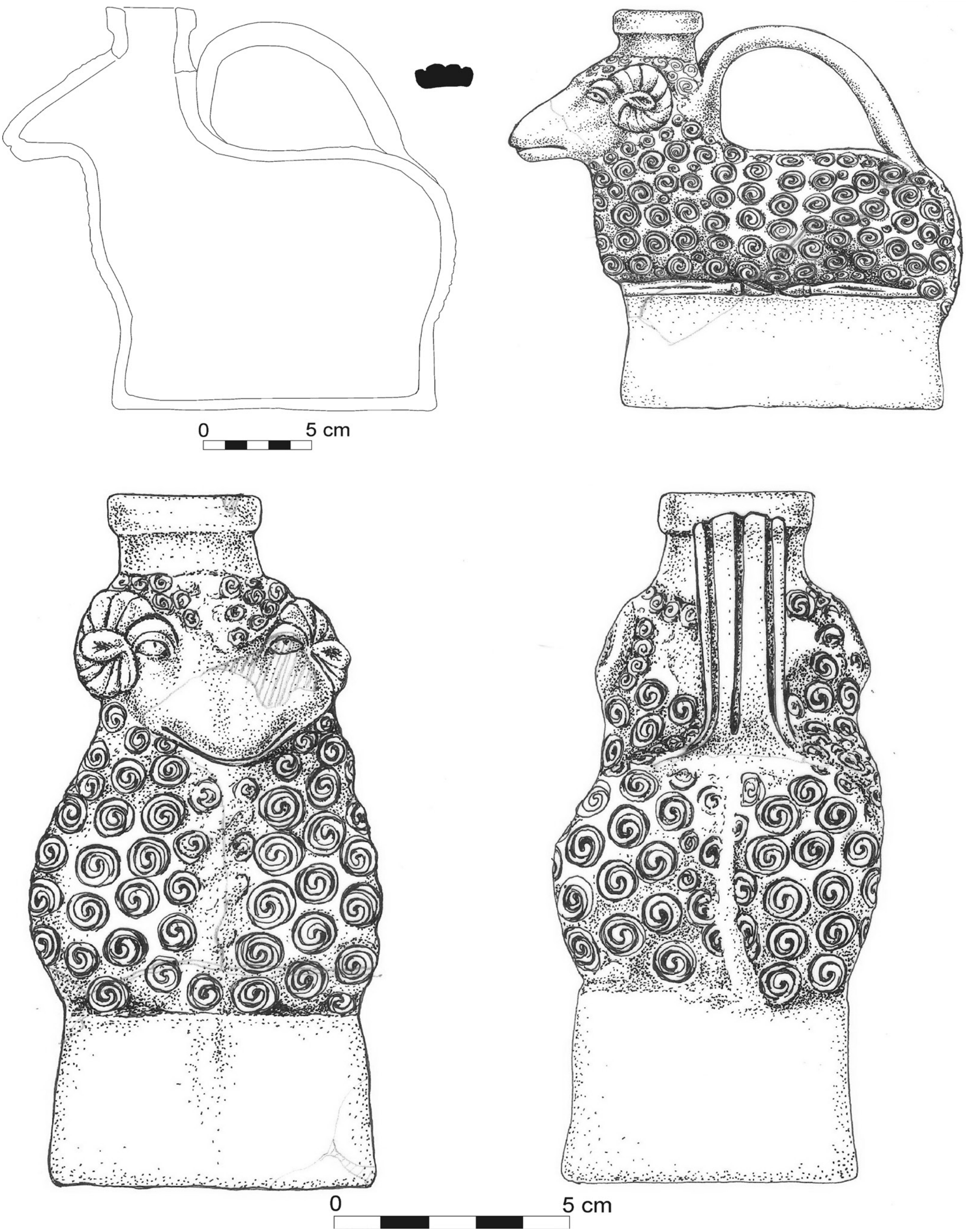

Figure 2. The drawing of the zoomorphic vessel discovered at the Noviodunum necropolis, at the "La Livadă" point

Figure 3. Photo of the zoomorphic jug, in the shape of a ram

marked through two small lines situated above. The horns, which are engraved in a spiral form, help fix the ears in their cores. The fleece was suggested through spiralled protruding motifs, which was obtained by printing it in the pattern. The legs are presented on the side parts of the sitting animal. The tail is suggested through a nervure in protrusion, obtained from the fusion of the two parts of the vessel (Figure 2). The item discovered at Noviodunum can be classified as a Type II, according to Simonenko's typology[9].

The usage of this type of vessels in different contexts and for a long period of time shows us the popularity they enjoyed, back in the days. These kinds of recipients were discovered in the Western area of the Empire, in the ceramics production centre from Brigetio[10]. A matrix with the representation of the ram was found in the potters' quarter, but the way the fleece is outlined is different from the vessel we are discussing about[11]. In Italy, the ram-shaped jugs are dated quite largely, in the 2nd–3rd centuries p.Chr.[12].

[9] SIMONENKO 2011, type 2, 139–140, fig. 83. For more discussions, please check SIMONENKO 1998.

[10] BORNIS 1977, 122, 124, Abb. 11, 1 a–b.

[11] BONIS 1977, 122, 124, Abb. 11, 1 a–b.

[12] ATLANTE I, 235, pl. 120.4.

In the eastern part of it, at Pergamum, seven fragments of patterns in which such vessels were made had been discovered[13]. Similar vessels appear in quite a high frequency, in tombs, in the northern part of the Black Sea[14]. Furthermore, this type of jugs was also identified near Chersonesos, in the necropolis from Sohvoz no. 103[15]. Such jugs also appear on the territory of the fortification from Chersonesos in the 2nd century p.Chr., Olbia etc.[16], while they can rarely be found in the Bosporan Kingdom[17]. In this Pontic region, this type of vessel was frequently discovered in Sarmatian tombs[18] where, according to morphological characteristics, Al. Simonenko classifies them in three types. Type II, which encompasses our item as well, is dated in the chronological segment belonging to the 2nd–3rd centuries p.Chr.[19].

Up to the present moment there have been attempts made by researchers from the northern part of the Black Sea to relate the presence of this type of vessel with the religious beliefs of the populations from this area, especially in relationship with the Sarmatians. Despite the fact that this kind of recipients was manufactured in the Mediterranean area, only later also spreading into the area of our research, the hypothesis was issued that those were made because of the religious beliefs of the Sarmatians, given the frequent discoveries in the necropolis that belonged to this population[20].

The only analogies from the Moesia Inferior province are at Beroe, where the neck and a piece from the head of a zoomorphic jug, in the shape of a ram, were found. The respective fragments were found in an archaeological context dated at the end of the 2nd century p.Chr.[21]. Other two fragments of zoomorphic vessels come from the Roman camp from Barboși, where they are included in the category of *Tiergefässe* type recipients, which appear mainly in the zone of Asia Minor, the Black Sea and northern Greece, but also northern Africa[22]. The fragments discovered at Barboși present the ram in a standing position, on its legs, as the pieces were discovered in contexts dated at the end of the 2nd century[23].

In the province of Dacia, a similar item was discovered in the camp from Cioroiul Nou, whose neck and handle are missing. The jug was dated to the middle of the 3rd century or in the second half of the same timeline[24].

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[13] POPESCU 2018, 11.

[14] POPA 2010 with the cited bibliography, please check the more recent SIMOMENKO 2011.

[15] STRŽELECKIJ et al. 2003–2004, 105, pl. 15/75.

[16] POPA 2010, 61 – who supports the thesis that such vessels could have been manufactured even at the center of Olbia. KLENINA 2003, 227.

[17] KLENINA 2003, 227, fig. 6/1–2.

[18] SIMONENKO 2011, 135–142.

[19] SIMONENKO 2011, type 2, 140, fig, 83.

[20] BONDOC, POPA 2010, 204.

[21] NUȚU, PARASCHIV 2009, 181, cat. no. 6, pl. II/6.

[22] HAYES 1972, 411–412.

[23] SANIE 2007, 298, fig. 4/2, fig. 6/1, 1a, 1b.

[24] BONDOC, POPA 2010, 204, pl. II/2.

These vessels have their typological origin in jugs with a degree of similarity to the previous periods, in the 2nd–1st centuries a.Chr., which were used to filter oil, to keep it and pour it in earthen lamps[25]. This fact is furtherly confirmed also by the discovery of a zoomorphic jug in the shape of a ram, in the dava from Răcătău, which had a colander[26].

In the Roman epoch it is probable that these very vessels were used for other purposes as well, not only to strain and pour the oil. If the Răcătău vessel is made with a colander, the same cannot be said about recipients manufactured in the first centuries of the Christian era. According to our knowledge, none of the ram-shaped vessels, known among the discoveries, was provided with a strainer. It is also possible that such recipients were also used for the pouring of wine[27].

The ram-shaped vessel discovered at Noviodunum could be interpreted in various manners. He could have been used for ordinary activities, for the pouring of oil and wine. Simultaneously, it could also be considered as an object of cult, used in processions, and linked with the cults practiced in the Hellenistic and Roman world, at certain holydays, but also as offerings deposited in tombs. The ram appears to be associated with the cult of the Anatolian goddess Cybele, where it was sacrificed during the ceremony called *criobolium* and with the god Mercury, where it is considered to be a sacred animal, most likely as a symbol of fertility, as the god was frequently represented alongside a ram or a goat[28]. No matter the functionality of those vessels, until the present moment no chemical analyses have been made, through which we could determine a certain usage. Thus, the discussion remains open, until further pieces of information are found, in order to unequivocally attest for a hypothesis or another.

Regarding the chronological framing, we agree that the jug could eventually be dated in the second half of the 2nd century p.Chr., by way of analogy with similar discoveries made in the province.

The discovery of such a zoomorphic jug in the Noviodunum necropolis shows us that the practice of the ritual deposit of such an object in the tombs of the deceased was a frequent practice[29]. Thus, in most of the researched tombs, offerings were discovered, which were meant to accompany the dead in the afterlife, or to indicate the activity he/she had during his/her lifetime[30]. The cremation tomb, in which the zoomorphic jug was found makes no exception from the existing general situation of the Noviodunum necropolis discoveries, from the end of the 1st century p.Chr. and the next hundred years.

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[25] BONDOC, POPA 2010, 204.

[26] CĂPITANU 1986–1987, 77, fig. 2/1, 89. For more information check POPESCU 2018, 13–14, 17, fig. III/1a–d.

[27] BONDOC, POPA 2010, 204.

[28] TAYLOR 1993.

[29] SIMION 1994, 94.

[30] SIMION 1994, 94.

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La presencia de Julia Mamaea en el gobierno de Alejandro Severo. Un repaso a través de los testimonios epigráficos

Pedro David CONESA NAVARRO[1]

Abstract. *In this paper we intend to look at the role that Iulia Mamaea played in the government of her son Alexander Severus. To this end, we will focus on the honours and titles that the Augusta received and which were recorded in the epigraphy. The classic authors speak of Iulia Mamaea as a powerful and controlling woman. After the death of her mother, Iulia Maesa, was the only one who guided the government of her son. She has also been considered one of the culprits in the fall of Alexander Severus and, therefore, of the entire Severus dynasty. However, if we look at the material evidence, it seems that this Augusta did not receive innovative titles. Rather, the main ones were given by her predecessors, especially by Julia Domna. The purpose of our work is not only to analyze the inscriptions related to Alexander Severus' mother, but also to study this crucial period of the 3rd century AD.*

Resumen. *En este artículo pretendemos examinar el papel que Iulia Mamaea desempeñó en el gobierno de su hijo Alejandro Severo. Para ello, nos centraremos en los honores y títulos que recibió la Augusta y que fueron registrados en la epigrafía. Los autores clásicos hablan de Iulia Mamaea como una mujer poderosa y controladora. Tras la muerte de su madre, Iulia Maesa, fue la única que detentó el gobierno de su hijo. También ha sido considerada una de las culpables de la caída de Alejandro Severo y, por lo tanto, de toda la dinastía de los Severos. Sin embargo, si miramos las evidencias materiales, parece que esta Augusta no recibió títulos innovadores. Más bien, los principales fueron dados por sus predecesoras, especialmente por Julia Domna. El propósito de nuestro trabajo reside no solo analizar las inscripciones relacionadas con la madre de Alejandro Severo, sino también estudiar este período crucial del siglo III d.C.*

Rezumat. *Articolul examinează rolul pe care Iulia Mamaea l-a deţinut în timpul domniei fiului său Alexander Severus. Atenţia se îndreaptă către studiul inscripţiilor privind onorurile și titlurile primite de împărăteasă. Din examinarea vestigiilor materiale reiese că, in pofida puterii deţinute, această "Augusta" nu a primit noi titluri, și că principalele inovaţii au fost introduse de catre predecesorii săi, in special de către Iulia Domna. Obiectivul studiului nu vizează doar examinarea inscripţiilor referitoare la mama lui Alexander Severus, ci și analiza perioadei de cumpănă caracteristică secolului III d. C.*

Keywords: Iulia Mamaea, Alexander Severus, Severan Dynasty. Female Power, *Augustae.*

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1. Introducción

Las mujeres en la Antigua Roma no fueron tratadas de la misma forma que los varones. Solo aquellas que se distanciaron de las normas impuestas por sus condiciones de género fueron descritas por las fuentes clásicas con aspectos peyorativos con el fin de relatar lo que constituía la antítesis de la buena matrona[2]. Esta situación estuvo motivada por el interés de los autores antiguos, que no eran otros que la política y los aspectos bélicos, dejando las cuestiones sociales en un segundo plano[3]. No obstante, desde el punto de vista artístico, estas últimas también aparecieron en representaciones escultóricas, lo que demuestra su inclusión en la política de *consensus* desarrollada por los *principes* a los que se encontraban supeditadas. Los retratos, entendidos como la reproducción más fiel de un individuo, se dieron por todos los territorios del Imperio romano, siendo, por ejemplo, las representaciones del Fayum, uno de los registros pictóricos más sobresalientes en los que podemos encontrar un cambio sustancial en el plano artístico. Las formas idealizadas imperantes en las primeras dinastías se abandonaron y se optó por un mayor realismo, en el que dominaron las líneas abstractas. Sin embargo, estos nuevos patrones no modificaron lo esencial de la tradición artística romana, pues los elementos principales dados durante el Alto Imperio siguieron persistiendo[4]. Su origen lo encontraríamos en las máscaras funerarias, especialmente a partir del contacto con la cultura griega y, en particular, con el período Helenístico[5]. Por tanto, pese a que las mujeres no podían ocupar ninguna magistratura o representación de carecer civil a excepción del sacerdocio, encontramos sus imágenes en diferentes soportes iconográficos, aunque en una menor proporción que sus homónimos masculinos[6].

Esta exposición pública también se aprecia a partir del material epigráfico, siendo precisamente en este último aspecto en el que nos centraremos en nuestro trabajo. Cenerini señaló que, durante el principado de Augusto, pese a que se legisló por una vuelta a las tradiciones republicanas de austeridad propias de los *mores maiorum*, en las que las mujeres se encontraban inmersas únicamente en la esfera doméstica, la necesidad de encontrar un heredero además de los constantes homenajes señalados en las distintas ciudades, evidenciaba la cada vez mayor participación de las féminas en la vida social de las urbes. En concreto, las de la casa del *princeps* también ocuparon un destacado papel en la dinámica política, pues los homenajes en su mayor proporción fueron sufragados por las élites

[2] CONESA NAVARRO 2016, 206.

[3] BRAVO 1994, 60.

[4] BERGMANN 2011, 75; ZANKER 2012, 189-190; CONESA NAVARRO 2020, 83. Sobre los retratos de Fayum con bibliografía actualizada sugerente es el trabajo de BRAGANTINI 2020, 15-19.

[5] ORIA SEGURA 2016, 159.

[6] FEJFER 2008, 331.

municipales como demostración de adhesión a la casa gobernante. La inserción de estas *mulieres* en lugares importantes supuso la verificación de un nuevo modelo de comportamiento que unía las tradicionales virtudes maternales de época republicana, con la posibilidad de participar personajes ilustres en el desarrollo urbanístico que beneficiaban a la colectividad[7]. Prueba de ello lo encontramos en que algunas construcciones o restauraciones de edificios significativos fueron sufragados con el capital personal de algunas *Augustae* además de mujeres adineradas[8]. A cambio, sus esfuerzos fueron recompensados con la erección de estatuas o monumentos a su memoria o a los de sus familiares. No obstante, una cuestión importante que debemos de formular a propósito de lo anunciado es la siguiente. Si no tuvieron capacidad de ejercer ninguna magistratura ni participar activamente en la vida política de las *ciuites*, ¿cuáles fueron las motivaciones para que financiaran infraestructuras de este calibre? Contamos con casos importantes como en la ciudad de *Thugga*, en la que una *flaminica perpetua,* Asicia Victoria, costeó cancelas de oro para ser insertadas en los *rostri*, las tribunas de los oradores, lugar eminentemente masculino, en el que se dirimían las cuestiones más importantes concernientes a la ciudad[9]. Una explicación podría ser el interés de perpetuar su imagen a pesar de no tener representación fáctica. No obstante, no podemos olvidar que estas estrategias evergéticas pudieron responder a un afán de promocionar a individuos masculinos de su *gens*[10]. Para el caso de las damas imperiales de la dinastía de los Severos mención especial merecen la inclusión de sus nombres en los miliarios por lo

[7] CENERINI 2017, 214-215. Según la anterior autora, uno de los aspectos más importantes relacionados con las funciones de las *Augustae* fueron sus capacidades benefactoras.cf. CENERINI 2009, 31. Esta misma idea con parecidos argumentos y con especial énfasis en la dinastía de los Severos, cf. NADOLNY 2016, 74.

[8] MARTÍNEZ LÓPEZ 2016a, 141-172; *Ibid.* 2016b, 105-132; *Ibid.* 2020, 61-92.

[9] MARTÍNEZ LÓPEZ 2011, 289 y 293. En la ciudad se atestiguó una inscripción en dos bloques en el área forense. En la misma se especifica que las puertas doradas, emplazadas *ad ornamentum rostroruma*, supusieron un coste de 20.000 sestercios. Por otro lado, Asicia Victoria donó también 100.000 sestercios para el flaminado de su hija, Vivia Asiciana. Además de un reconocimiento a su posición social y económica en un período crucial para la ciudad como fue el inicio del siglo III d.C., la urbe agradeció su gesto a partir de la erección de dos estatuas, una dedicada a ella y otra a su hija. Cf. BERTOLAZZI 2016, 99. Inscripción de Asicia Victoria: "*Res publica municipii / Septimi Aureli Liberi / Thugg(ae) cancellos / aereos quos // [Asi]cia Victo[ria] fl(aminica) p(erpetua) h(onesta) m(emoriae) f(emina) / [ad] ornamentum rostrorum / ex poll(icitatione) HS XX(milibus) n(ummum) fieri uoluit / additis a se quattuor can/cellis ampliata pecunia ded(icauit)*". Cf. *CIL* VIII 26593 = *ILAfr* 534b = *AE* 1907, 160 = *AE* 1908, 163 *AE* 2016, 1901. Inscripción de Vivia Asiciana: *Vibia[e Asicia]neti / fl(aminicae) perp[etuae] et / disciplina[e singul]aris / statuam qua[m u]terq(ue) / ordo decre[ue]rat / res publ(ica) mun(icipii) [T]hugg(ensis) / posui[t] // Asiciae V[i]ctoriae coniugi [---]V[---]A[---] / ob munifi[c]entiam lib[er]a[le]m et singulare[m in ciues suos] / et patriam [su]am quae probo a[ni]mo et exim[io exemplo prae]/ter summa[m] flamonii perp(etui) sui honorar[iam ampliatam] / etiam filiae [su]ae Asicianes singulari s[plendore ob flam(onium)] / HS C mil(ibus) n(ummum) patriae suae donaverit ex [quorum reditu dec(urionibus)] / utriusq(ue) [o]rdi[ni]s sportulae curiis e[pulum et universo] / populo g[y]mnasia praestentur lu[dique scaenici dentur] / statuam q[u]am uterq(ue) ordo decr[everat] / res p(ublica) mun(icipii) [Se]pt(imi) Aur(eli) lib(eri) Thugg(ensis) pos[uit*".Cf. *CIL* VIII, 26591 = *ILTun* 1427= *Dougga*, 188.

[10] Tal y como señaló Hemelrijk, las motivaciones para que una persona decidiera realizar actos de beneficencia en una ciudad pudieron ser muy diversos. A los intereses personales se sumaron los sentimientos religiosos, así como un deseo expreso por mejorar las ciudades. Cf. HEMELRIJK 2015, 166.

novedoso y excepcional que supuso este hecho. Bien es cierto que contamos con un precedente en un tramo de carretera en Suessa Aurunca, en Italia. En este caso está señalada la tía de Antonino Pío, Matidia Minor[11]. Documento que por su particularidad fue descrito por Pegano y Vilucci como "*vero e unicum*"[12]. Sin embargo, durante el siglo III d.C., y específicamente a partir de la dinastía severiana, parece que esta práctica se generalizó. Los nombres de las mujeres de la *domus diuina* estaban junto a los de los emperadores como madres o esposas[13]. Algunos de ellos, bilingües[14], tienen que ser entendidos como una pericia política con el fin de extender la idea de una familia unida y feliz como pretendía ser la imperial. Los mojones escritos en griego que mencionan a Alejandro Severo y a su madre se atestiguaron uno en Adrianópolis, Tracia[15] y tres en Cilicia[16]. Bajo estas premisas de participación política de las mujeres y su constatación en los testimonios epigráficos desarrollados especialmente en lengua latina pretendemos analizar la figura de Julia Mamaea en el contexto del gobierno de su hijo Alejandro Severo.

2. La titulatura imperial en Julia Mamaea: ¿un nuevo cambio de parámetros?

2. 1. Títulos oficiales dados por la Cancillería imperial

Las *Augustae* de la dinastía de los Severos fueron descritas en las fuentes literarias por inmiscuirse en la política del momento. Precisamente, Julia Maesa, Julia Soemias y Julia Mamaea no solo guiaron, sino también controlaron los gobiernos de Heliogábalo y Alejandro Severo. Los autores clásicos las describieron como seres sin escrúpulos, capaces de participar en intrigas y complots palaciegos, con la única pretensión de mantener su posición privilegiada en la corte imperial[17]. Incluso, Julia Soemias, por una referencia de la *Historia*

[11] GORDON, REYNOLDS, BEARD y ROUECHÉ 1997, 213.

[12] PAGANO y VILLUCCI 1991, 288.

[13] GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2017, 315.

[14] KETTENHOFFEN 1979, 97.

[15] *IGBulg* III, 2, 1827 = *IGRRP* I 772= 1892, 11.

[16] 1): Yeşildam: *IK* 56, 1, 14 = *RRMAM* 3.7, 15(D) (pp. 32-33); 2): Tozlu: *SEG* 12. 517 = *IK* 56, 1, 13 = *RRMAM* 3.7, 16(A) (pp. 34-35); 3): Orta Tozlu: *IK* 56, 1 = *RRMAM* 3.7, 17 (p. 37).

[17] Hdn. 5, 3, 9-12. Un ejemplo también lo encontramos en Julia Soemias en la *Historia Augusta* prácticamente al inicio de la vida de Heliogábalo. Una vez más, al igual que lo ocurrido con Faustina la Menor o Julia Domna, el autor empleó las supuestas actitudes deshonestas e infidelidades, llegándola a denominar como *meretrix*, para desacreditar a la madre del *princeps*. Cf. SHA. *Elag.* 2, 1-3: "*Hic tantum Symiamirae matri deditus fuit, ut sine illius uotuntate nihil in re publica faceret, cum ipsa meretricio more uiuents in aula omnia turpia exerceret, Antonino autem Caracallo strupro cognita, ita ut hinc uel Varius uel Heliogabalus uulgo conceptus putaretur. et aiunt quídam Varii etiam nomen idcirco eodem inditum a condiscipulis quod uario semina, de meretrice utpote, conceptus uideretur*". Es interesante el texto, pues podría estar conectado con el rumor extendido por Julia Maesa entre los soldados de que Heliogábalo y Alejandro Severo nacieron de relaciones extramatrimoniales que mantuvo Caracalla con sus primas en el momento en el que estas últimas se encontraban en la corte imperial junto a su madre. Cf. DC. 78 (79), 32, 2-3; Hdn. 5, 3, 9-10; HA. *Macr.* 9, 4; Eut. *Caes* 8, 22: "*Creatus est post*

Augusta, tuvo la osadía de ser la única mujer que supuestamente creó un senado femenino con sanciones de carácter legal y que fue ampliamente censurado[18]. No obstante, aunque consideremos que este poder decisorio pudo ser un tanto exagerado con el fin de desacreditarlas, tenemos que indicar que indiscutiblemente ostentaron un mayor protagonismo en cuestiones políticas que Julia Domna. Por ejemplo, el derrocamiento de Macrino estuvo condicionado por la poderosa hermana de la esposa de Septimio[19] y una vez nombrado emperador Alejandro Severo en 218 d.C., aunque se depositaron grandes

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hos M. Aurelius Antoninus, hic Antonini Caracallae filius putabatur, sacerdos autem Heliogabali templi erat". Sobre esta cuestión, cf. FRÉZOULS 1994, 130-131; LENFANT 2001, 52; BLENCKMANN 2002, 279-280; ANDO 2012, 65; KEMEZIS 2016, 350; CONESA NAVARRO 2019a, 190-191. En otro pasaje en concreto se indica que no solo Julia Maesa, sino también las hijas de esta última se dedicaron a difundir dicha noticia. Hdn. 5, 7, 3. No obstante, Casio señala la verdadera paternidad de Heliogábalo y Alejandro Severo. Cf. DC. 78 (79), 30, 2-3:" Ἡ Μαῖσα ἡ τῆς Ἰουλίας τῆς Αὐγούστης ἀδελφὴ δύο τε θυγατέρας, Σοαιμίδα καὶ Μαμαίαν, ἐξ Ἰουλίου Ἀουίτου ἀνδρὸς ὑπατευκότος, καὶ δύο ἐγγόνους ἄρσενας, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Σοαιμίδος Οὐαρίου τε Μαρκέλλου, ἀνδρὸς ὁμοεθνοῦς (ἐξ Ἀπαμείας γὰρ ἦς ἐκεῖνος ἦν) καὶ ἔν τε ἐπιτροπαῖς ἐξετασθέντος καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσγραφέντος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τελευτέσαντος, Ἀουῖτον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μαμαίας Γεσσίου τε Μακριανοῦ, Σύρου τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξ Ἄρκης πόλεως ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτροπείας τινὰς προσταχθέντος" (Boiss. vol. III, 1901, 437); Sobre el *cursus honorum* de los respectivos padres de Heliogábalo y Alejandro Severo, cf. ICKS 2013, 56-59. El senador bitinio también se hizo eco de este rumor, aunque la diferencia con respecto al relato anterior radica en que fueron los propios soldados los que aseguraron que Heliogábalo era hijo de Caracalla con el fin de derrocar a Macrino. Cf. DC. 78 (79), 32, 2-4: "τὸν τε γὰρ Ἀουῖτον, ὃν Μᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνῖνον ἤδη προσηγόρευον, περιφέροντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ εἰκόνας τινὰς τοῦ Κρακάλλου παιδικὰς ὡς καὶ προσφερεῖς αὐτῷ ἀποδεικνύντες, παῖδά τε ὄντως αὐτὸν ἐκείνου καὶ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι λέγοντες, καὶ "τί ταῦτα, ὦ συστρατιῶται, ποιεῖτε; τί δὲ οὕτω τῷ τοῦ εὐεργέτου ὑμῶν ὑεῖ μάχεσθε; "ἐκβοῶντες, πάντας τὺςσὺν τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ στρατιώτας, ἄλλως τε καὶ προθύμως πρὸς τὸ νεωτεροποιεῖν ἔχοντας, διέφθειραν ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐπιτεταγμένους σφίσιν πλὴν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ (διέδρα γάρ) ἀποκτεῖναι, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ τά τε ὅπλα τῷ Ψευδαντωνίνῳ παραδοῦναι" (Boiss. vol. III, 1901, 440-441). De hecho, tal y como podemos comprobar, se refería Dion Casio a Heliogábalo con los apelativos de Pseudoantonino o falso Antonino.

[18] SHA. *Elag.* 4, 3-4: "*Fecit et in colle Quirinali senaculum, id est mulierum senatum, in quo ante fuerat conuentus matronalis, sollemnibus dumtaxat diebus et si umquam aliqua matrona consularis coniugii ornamentis esset donata, quod ueteres imperatores adfinibus detulerunt et iis maxime quae nobilitatos maritos non habuerant, ne innobilitatae remanerent*". Este testimonio resulta muy problemático y actualmente es cuestionado por la historiografía cf. CHASTAGNOL 1979, 24; CID LÓPEZ 1993, 256; FRÉZOULS 1994, 131; VARNER 2001, 48; HIDALGO DE LA VEGA 2012, 154; MOLINIER ARBO 2016, 59; SAQUETE 2018, 325; CONESA NAVARRO 2019a: 196-198. Previo a este pasaje, hay que decir que el autor de la *Historia Augusta* también señaló que Julia Soemias participó en el Senado por el requerimiento de su hijo. Ocupó un escaño junto a los cónsules y actuó como testiguo, siendo el único emperador que permitió que una mujer fuera admitida en la Cámara. SHA. *Elag.* 4, 1-2: "*Deinde ubi primum diem senatus habuit, matre suam in senatum rogari iussit. quae cum uenisset, uocata ad consulum subsellia scribendo adfuit, id est senatus consulti conficiendi testis, solusque omnium imperatorum fuit, sub quo mulier quasi clarissima loco uiri senatum ingressa est*".

[19] SHA. *Macr.* 9, 4: "*his Maesa siue Varia dixit Bassianum filim ese Antonini, quod paulatim ómnibus militibus innotuit. erat praeterea Maesa ipsa ditissima, ex quo etiam Heliogabalus luxuriosissimus. qua promittente militibus legiones abductae sunt a Macrino. suscepta enim illa noctu in oppidum cum suis, nepos eius Antoninus appellatus est imperii delatis insignibus*" . Hdn. 5, 3, 9-12; 5, 4, 1-2. Interesante es este amplio texto en el que se expone que Maesa contaba con protegidos y fieles colaboradores entre los militares que se encontraban acantonados en Émesa. Tres fueron los aspectos que permitieron que apoyaran su causa. El descontento creciente con la gestión de Macrino, el recuerdo a Caracalla y, en especial, el dinero que fue aportado por la hermana de Julia Domna; DIXON 1988, 82-83.

esperanzas en su persona, pues había sido educado bajo los preceptos tradicionales grecolatinos y alejado de la tendencia exótica que imperó en su predecesor[20], pronto fue criticado por la manipulación ejercida por su madre[21]. De hecho, Herodiano comenzó su libro sexo anunciando que el período del último representante de la dinastía se inauguró bajo la tutela de Julia Maesa y Julia Mamaea con el fin de restaurar la moderación y que el nuevo *princeps* fuera respetado[22]. Bajo esta premisa podríamos pensar que los honores conferidos a Julia Soemias y sus hijas superarían con creces a los de la primera *Augusta* de la saga de los Severos. Sin embargo, nada más lejos de la realidad, parece que se produjo un fuerte

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[20] Hdn. 5, 7, 5. KOSMETATOU 2002, 401. No obstante, Herodiano cuando presentó a Julia Maesa, a sus hijas, a Heliogábalo y Alejandro Severo indicó que estos últimos fueron criados por su abuela y sus madres, siendo desde pequeños nombrados sacerdotes del dios solar de Émesa. Con esta aseveración confirmaba que en un primer momento no existió diferencia significativa en la formación de ambos. Cf. Hdn. 5, 3, 3-4. Sobre la educación recibida de carácter militar también se encuentra señalada en la *Historia Augusta.* cf. SHA. *Alex.* 3, 1-2: "*Alexander igitur, cui Mamaea mater fuit (nam et ita dicitur a plerisque), a prima pueritia artibus bonis imbutus tam ciuilibus quam militaribus ne unum quidem die sponte sua transire passus est quo se non et ad literras et ad militiam exerceret*". Parecidos argumentos los encontramos en Dion Casio. Este último autor matizó que, debido a que Alejandro Severo no imitaba la actitud de su primo, Heliogábalo sintió recelo e, incluso, tuvo pretensiones de eliminarlo. Finalmente, no lo conseguiría pues estaba protegido por su madre, abuela y el ejército. No obstante, también sugirió que el cambio de parecer se debió a que el propio Heliogábalo se dio cuenta de que cada vez más su primo e hijo adoptivo tenía muchos más adeptos. Cf. DC. 79 (80), 19, 1[1]: "Ἕως μὲν οὖν ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος τὸν ἀνεψιὸν ἐφίλει, ἐσώζετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας ὑπώπτευε καὶ ἐμάνθανε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ῥέποντὰς ὁλοσχερῶς ταῖς εὐνοίαις, ἐτόλμησε μεταγνῶναι καὶ πάντα ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει αὐτοῦ ἔπραττεν" (Boiss. Vol III, 1901, 472) y DC. 79 (80), 19, 1[2]-2: "Ὡς δέ ποτε καὶ ἀναλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπεξείρησεν, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἤνυεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκινδύνευσεν·ὅ τε γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπό τε τῆς μετρὸς καὶ τῆς τήθης ὑπό τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐφυλάσσετο" (Boiss. vol. III, 1901, 472). Las pretensiones del hijo de Soemias las frenó su abuela Maesa cf. Hdn. 5, 8, 3-4: "ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος πυνθανόμενος παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ μετρὶ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς πάσας ἀπεῖργέ τε καὶ ἐκώλυεν ἡ κοινὴ μάμμη ἀμφοτέρων Μαῖσα, γυνὴ καὶ ἄλλως ἐντρεχὴς καὶ τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐλῇ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐνδιαιτηθεῖσα [ἅτε τῆς Σεβήρου γυναικὸς Ἰουλίας ἀδελφὴ γενομένη καὶ τὰ πάντα σὺν αὐτῇ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίψασα]".

[21] MADSEN 2016, 157. Sobre la condescendencia de Alejandro Severo con su madre se puede apreciar en una serie de construcciones llevadas a cabo en el Palatino, además de otros monumentos que recibieron el nombre de la *Augusta.* cf. SHA. *Alex.* 26, 9-10:"*in matrem Mamaeam unice pius fuit, ita ut Romae in Palatio faceret diaetas nominis Mamaeae, quas imperitum uilgus hodie "ad Mammam" uocat, et in Baiano platium cum stagno, quod Mamaeae nomine hodieque censetur*". Parecidos argumentos los encontramos en Aurelio Victor. Este último también señaló las construcciones llevadas a cabo en Roma con el nombre de Mamaea como una muestra de afecto de Alejandro Severo hacia su madre. Cf. Aur. Vic. Caes. 24, 5: "*Opus Urbi florentissimum celebrius fabricatus est, matrisque cultu, quae nomine Mammaea erat, plus quam pius*", Eutr. 8, 23. Son numerosas las referencias, especialmente en Herodiano, en las que se incide en la manipulación ejercida por Julia Mamaea sobre el emperador, especialmente tras la muerte de Maesa. Cf. Hdn. 5, 8, 10; 6, 1, 4-6. De hecho, como recientemente puntualizó Cordovana, el gobierno de Alejandro Severo se ha visto como la antítesis del gobierno de Heliogábalo, aunque siempre bajo la atenta vigilancia y manipulación de su madre. Cf. CORDOVANA 2018, 46.

[22] Hdn. 6, 1, 1-2: "Ὁποίῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει ὁ νέος Ἀντωνῖνος ἐχρήσατο, ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις δεδήλωται· παραλαβόντος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ <μὲν> σχῆμα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκείνῳ περιέκειτο, ἡ μέντοι διοίκησις τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἰκονομία ὑπὸ ταῖς γυναιξὶ διῳκεῖτο, ἐπί τε τὸ σωφρονέστερον καὶ σεμνότερον πάντα μετάγειν ἐπειρῶντο".

continuismo con algunas alteraciones. La mayoría de títulos y epítetos a los que fueron asociadas- *sactissima Augusta*, posiblemente *carissima*, o *mater castrorum et exercitus*- los encontramos en inscripciones de Julia Domna y Julia Maesa que después serían desarrollados en mayor o menor proporción por las hijas de esta última y continuados en algunas de sus sucesores[23].

Aunque parece que Alejandro Severo y su madre no tuvieron una *poena post mortem* de carácter oficial, una vez asesinados en Germania a principios de 235 d.C.[24], una gran

[23] *CIL* XI, 3774 (p 1354): *[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurel]io [[[Antonino]]] Pio F[elici Aug(usto)] / [sacerdoti dei Solis Invic]ti [[El[agabali]]] pontif(ici) max(imo) trib(unicia) [pot(estate) --- co(n)s(uli) ---] / [p(atri) p(atriae) et Iuliae Ma]esae sanctissimae Aug(ustae) aviae Im[p(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) [[[Aureli Antonini Pii Felicis Aug(usti)]]] / [---]ius Laetus dicatissimu[s n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) e(orum)].* El título de *sanctissima Augusta* lo encontramos en algunos epígrafes procedentes de Panonia Inferior y referentes a Otacilia Severa, esposa de Filipo el Árabe. Cf. *AE* 1969/1970, 496; *AE* 1969/1970, 497; *CIL* III, 11326; *CIL* III, 4627 = *CIL* III, 11334 = *RHP,* 205; *MEMNH,* 118. Sobre el término de *mater castrorum et exercitus* en testimonios de Julia Maesa. Cf. *AE* 1981, 902 = *AntAfr*-1980, 172, 21: *[[[Imp(eratore) Caes(are) M(arco) Aure]]]/[[[lio Severo Aontoni]]]/[[[no Alexandro Pio]]] di/ui Magni Antonini / Pii [[[filio]]] diui Severi Pii / [[[nep(ote) et Iulia Mamaea]]] / [[[Aug(usta) matre Aug(usti) n(ostri)]]] / et Iulia Maesa Aug(usta) matre castrorum et exer/citus [[[et Aug(ustae)]]] auia / [[[Aug(usti) n(ostri) et Cn(aea) Seia]]] Herennia?]]] Aug(usta) [[Se[ueri Aug(usti) coniuge]]] / [.* En las anteriores inscripciones señaladas de Otacilla Severa podemos apreciar que también se encontraba la denominación de *mater castrorum et exercitus*, lo que demostraría una imitación de los patrones epigráficos dados por las últimas representantes de los Severos. Estos últimos testimonios responden a miliarios, siendo, por tanto, una prueba más que confirmaría la influencia de las *Augustae* de la dinastía severiana. NADOLNY 2016, 123; GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2017, 320 n. º 65-67, 69 y 321 n. º 70. Sobre *carissima* hay que indicar que este apelativo solo lo conocemos por una inscripción: *AE* 2000, 409, que plantea problemas de lectura al conservarse solo las últimas letras del supuesto atributo: *[]SIMAE*. Por otro lado, hay que indicar que este apelativo no fue común encontrarlo en los epígrafes relacionados con las mujeres imperiales, sino pertenecientes al ámbito privado. Ello hace que tenga que ser estudiado con sumo cuidado en el contexto que estamos estudiando. Cf. NADOLNY 2016, 123-124 nota 256. Según Nadolny, en lo que se refiere a las denominaciones de *sanctissima Augusta* o el de *domina nostra*, anteriormente referenciado, fueron concesiones extraoficiales. En un primer momento aparece reflejada con dicha nomenclaturas Julia Maesa aspecto que también se dio con su hija. Cf. NADOLNY 2016, 126-127. Sobre esta última argumentación se profundizará en el siguiente apartado.

[24] Según el autor de la *Historia Augusta* las causas de su muerte pudieron estar relacionadas con el deseo de la madre del emperador de viajar a Oriente para desarrollar una actitud vanidosa y abandonar la guerra germánica, lo que supuso el enfado del ejército. Cf. SHA. *Alex.* 63, 5-6: "*Causa occidendi eius ab aliis haec fuisse perhibetur, quod mater eius relicto bello Germanico orientem ad iactantiam sui uellet redire, atque ob hoc esset iratus exercitus. sed haec ab amatoribus Maximini ficta sunt, qui uideri noluerunt imperatorem optimum ab amico suo interfectum contra iura humana atque diuina*". Más extensos son los relatos contenidos en Herodiano y Zósimo. Cf. Hdn. 6, 9, 1-8; De todo el pasaje, sí que nos gustaría detenernos al final del mismo, pues como epílogo, se indica que la actitud desarrollada por el *princeps* fue buena, pues no se produjeron derramamiento de sangre. La única causa que precipitó su caída fue la codicia y cicatería de su madre. Hdn. 6, 9, 8; Zos. 13, 2-3; VARNER 2004, 196; KÖRNER 2011, 88; MENNEN 2011, 160; CONESA NAVARRO 2018, 252-254. La fecha exacta en la que fueron asesinados se desconoce. Todo parece indicar que se tuvo que producir entre febrero y marzo de 235 d.C. Cf. SCHUMACHER 2004, 2. Por ejemplo, aunque la cantidad de epígrafes desde que salió a la luz la clásica obra de Kettenhofen ha podido variar, el autor señaló que, en su amplia mayoría, los testimonios de la *Augusta* se encuentran dañados. cf. KETTENHOFEN 1979, 156. Al respecto tendríamos que indicar que en la obra de Kienast se aceptó que en febrero- marzo de 235 d.C. tanto Mamaea como su hijo sí que

proporción de inscripciones y retratos fueron destruidos intencionadamente, no siendo restaurados dichos testimonios hasta el 238 d.C. bajo el gobierno de Gordiano III, una vez divinizado el *princeps*[25]. Este fenómeno se dio por acciones espontáneas que respondieron a un descontento generalizado por la gestión desarrollada por el emperador de dejarse guiar por su madre. Por otro lado, este proceso tiene que ser visto como una muestra de lealtad a Maximino el Tracio, que consiguió poner fin al gobierno del último representante de la dinastía[26] o uno de los principales instigadores de la eliminación de los testimonios relacionados con Julia Mamaea y su hijo[27]. De hecho, es imposible entender el gobierno de Alejandro Severo sin la presencia de su progenitora, lo que permitió a A. Molinier Arbo afirmar que estaríamos ante la primera regencia femenina dada durante el Imperio romano[28]. Sabemos por los autores clásicos que, mientras todavía estaba en el poder Heliogábalo, Mamaea manejó sus contactos con el fin de que su hijo alcanzara la púrpura, empleando una vez más el soborno como previamente hizo su madre. Con ello se demuestra que, tanto el hijo de Soemias como el propio Alejandro Severo fueron realmente utilizados en las estrategias políticas orquestadas por estas poderosas mujeres[29]. Por otro lado, manifestaba la importancia del *ordo equester* en posibilitar los nombramientos de los emperadores que, hasta la llegada de los Severos, dicha competencia la había detentado casi en exclusividad el Senado[30]. Sin

fueron condenamos a *damnatio memoriae*. Cf. KENAST 2004, 180. Misma interpretación se encuentra en la actualización de la obra. Cf. KIENAST, ECK y HEIL 2017, 174.

[25] VARNER 2004, 196.

[26] VARNER 2004, 198; GÜNTHER 2016, 121. Es complejo aceptar esta hipótesis al no contar con testimonio que señalen que Maximino el Tracio llevó a cabo una sanción oficial de *damnatio memoriae* contra Alejandro Severo y su madre como sugirieron algunos expertos. cf. KOSMETATOU 2002, 398. Sobre la ausencia de referencias literarias de *damnatio memoriae* al último representante de los Severos, cf. BATS 2003, 285 y 290. No obstante, lo que parece claro es que fue en este período cuando se produjeron la amplia mayoría de las cancelaciones tanto en inscripciones como en retratos. Cf. DE ARRIBALAGA Y PRADO 2010, 120. Un caso singular lo constituye Crespo Pérez, pues además de incluir a Mamaea como una de las mujeres de la familia imperial que sufrieron *damnatio memoriae*, la incorpora dentro del elenco de las esposas de emperadores que sufrieron este tipo de condena, cuando sabemos que realmente esa información no es correcta. Cf. CRESPO PÉREZ 2014, 42.

[27] OKOŃ 2018, 146.

[28] MOLINER ARBO 2016, 57.

[29] Hdn. 5, 8, 3, WILLIAMS 1904, 70-71; KOSMETATOU 2002, 401; BELCKMANN 2002, 291; ICKS 2013, 39-40. Este último autor también señaló que ambas hermanas tuvieron una gran rivalidad. A propósito de los sobornos al ejército, Herodiano fue muy crítico con Mamaea. Indicó que, aparentemente, recaudaba dinero para repartirlo entre los soldados. No obstante, realmente lo que estaba haciendo era aumentar su patrimonio personal a costa también de los bienes de personas particulares. Cf. Hdn. 6, 1, 8: "ᾐτιᾶτο δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ πάνυ ἤσχαλλεν ὁρῶν αὐτὴν οὖσαν φιλοχρήματον καὶ περὶ τοῦτο ὑπερφυῶς ἐσπουδακυῖαν. Προσποιουμένη γὰρ ἀφθόνως καὶ ῥᾳδίως ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος χαρίζεσθαι, ἰδίᾳ ἐθησαύριζε· καὶ διέβαλλεν ἔσθ᾽ ὅπῃ τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχήν, αὐτοῦ ἄκοντός τε καὶ ἀσχάλλοντος οὐσίας τινῶν καὶ κληρονομίας ἐξ ἐπηρείας ὑφαρπασάσης ἐκείνης".

[30] Este proceso, que comenzó con Cómodo, persistió durante la dinastía de los Severos. El poder senatorial se vio más debilitado, aspecto que volvería de nuevo con Maximino el Tracio con la excepción de Alejandro Severo. Cf. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ y SANCHO GÓMEZ 2006, 58. No obstante, hay que decir que, a diferencia de sus antecesores,

embargo, sobre este último aspecto hay que advertir que la práctica desarrollada en tiempos de Alejandro Severo no fue la desplegada por sus antecesores. La Cámara volvía a tener poder decisorio, siendo visto este fenómeno como una medida emprendida por la propia Julia Mamaea con el fin de evidenciar un regreso a las costumbres ancestrales y, con ello, poner fin a lo dispuesto durante el nefasto mandato de su sobrino. El propio Herodiano señaló que, de esta forma, se rompía con la tiranía de Heliogábalo y se regresaba a un régimen aristocrático. La estrategia de otorgar de nuevo el prestigio perdido al Senado fue visto positivamente no solo por los senadores que eran los más afectados, sino también por los militares y el pueblo romano en general[31].

Julia Domna, Julia Maesa y Julia Mamaea recibieron similares títulos que sus predecesoras, siendo *Augusta*, *Mater Castrorum*, *Senatus ac Patriae* y *Mater Augusti*[32] los más representativos. Si comparamos los honores de la esposa de Septimio Severo con los de la madre de Alejandro Severo, según Levick la única diferencia deriva en una mayor constatación de epígrafes para el caso de la primera, además de que fueron promovidos por personalidades de superior rango[33]. En parte, esta afirmación fue sostenida con anterioridad por Kettenhofen, pues en lo concerniente a las inscripciones votivas señaló que los dedicantes que las proyectaron no tuvieron una conexión especial con Alejandro Severo y su madre[34]. A estas últimas dignidades que fueron incluidas por otras *Augustae*, se sumaría una de especial significancia por su originalidad. El apelativo de *Mater Uniuersalis Generis Humani* no lo encontramos incorporado en las titulaturas de sus antecesoras y tampoco en las de sus sucesoras. Constatado a partir de un testimonio procedente de Cartagena, en Hispania[35], y del que hablaremos detenidamente en el siguiente apartado, fue considerado por la historiografía como una prueba irrefutable del poder ejercido por la *Augusta* durante el gobierno de su hijo[36].

con el último representante de los Severos parece que se dio una relación cordial y fluida con el Senado. Por ejemplo, Maesa para asociar a su nieto nombró un consejo de regencia que estuvo compuesto por dieciséis senadores experimentados. Además, condecoró con esta categoría a sus prefectos del pretorio con el fin de que estos últimos pudieran actuar y emitir sentencias. Cf. RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2010: 32.

[31] Hdn. 6, 1, 2: "καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοὺς δοκοῦντας καὶ ἡλικίᾳ σεμνοτάτους καὶ βίῳ σωφρονεστάτους ἑκκαίδεκα ἐπελέξαντο συνέδρους εἶναι καὶ συμβούλους τοῦ βασιλέως· οὐδέ τι ἐλέγετο ἢ ἐπράττετο, εἰ μὴ κἀκεῖνοι αὐτὸ ἐπικρίναντες σύμψηφοι ἐγένοντο. ἤρεσκέ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ, τὸ σχῆμα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκ τυραννίδος ἐφυβρίστου ἐς ἀριστοκρατίας τύπον μεταχθείσης". Sobre la posibilidad de que esas medidas fueran introducidas por la *Augusta* está señalado en HIDALGO DE LA VEGA 2012, 158.

[32] OKOŃ 2013, 108.

[33] LEVICK 2007, 213. Aspecto que también indicó con posterioridad NADOLNY 2016, 127.

[34] KETTENHOFEN 1979, 166.

[35] *CIL* II, 3413 = *D*, 485: *Iuliae Auitae / Mameae Augu(stae) / matri domini / n(ostri) sanctissimi / Imp(eratoris) Severi Ale/xandri Pii Fe/licis Aug(usti) et / castrorum et / senatus et pa/triae et univer/si generis hu/mani conven/tus Karthag(inensis).*

[36] NADOLNY 2016, 133; GÜNTHER 2016, 116; OKOŃ 2018, 146.

Estos nombramientos podrían estar relacionados con el hecho de que Mamaea siempre acompañó al último representante de los Severos en todas las expediciones militares[37]. Es interesante valorar cómo prácticamente todos sus honores fueron conferidos casi de inmediato a la asunción de Alejandro Severo a la púrpura imperial[38]. No obstante, también se propuso por algunos especialistas que el de *Augusta* lo adquirió mientras todavía estaba gobernando Heliogábalo[39]. Esta interpretación que actualmente es denostada por la amplia mayoría de la academia, ya fue puesta en tela de juicio por Kettenhofen[40]. Se pensó que Mamaea fue elevada al rango de *Augusta* antes de que su vástago fuera *imperator* a partir de la edición de un epígrafe en pergamino procedente de Pérgamo y que fue estudiado por Wiegand en 1932[41]. Desde que lo asumió Livia, este honor fue dado a las mujeres que estaban relacionadas con los emperadores y que, en una amplia proporción, fue promovido directamente por el *princeps,* aunque también pudo responder a una iniciativa senatorial[42].

En lo que respecta a la inscripción de Pérgamo, Benario matizó que es cierto que la hipótesis de que Soemias y Mamaea fueron elevadas al rango de *Augustae* durante el gobierno de Heliogábalo, se basa en una reestructuración del texto en la que, precisamente, la palabra *Augustas*, que sería crucial para apoyar esta hipótesis, se encuentra eliminada. A pesar de todo, esta lectura le pareció la más plausible. La presencia de las hijas de Maesa en el epígrafe es incuestionable y lógicamente deberían ir acompañadas sus menciones con algún honor. Ello lleva a pensar que *Augusta* sería el único título que habría ostentado Mamaea por entonces, pues no tenía ninguna vinculación directa con la casa imperial más allá de ser la tía del *princeps*; datándose el ejemplo antes de 222 d.C.[43]. No obstante, Gilliam indicó que la lectura ofrecida presenta ciertas deficiencias. Para empezar, cualquier epígrafe relacionado con un dignatario y Heliogábalo no va a ser una excepción, debería comenzar con la fórmula *Imp(erator) Caes(ar)* y no directamente con su nombre. Por otro lado, es bastante inusual que *Augustus* preceda a los *cognomina ex uirtute* de *Pius* y *Felix*. Más bien, se puede desprender que realmente lo que faltaba en el texto eran los *gentilicia* del emperador, lo que en cierta manera explicaría la inserción de Mamaea. Aun aceptando la presencia de esta última con la dignidad de *Augusta*, habría que intentar conocer las razones de su inclusión. Gilliam recordó que durante el siglo III d.C. fue frecuente encontrar honores relacionados con algunos miembros de la *domus diuina* cuando realmente todavía no los había asumido. Es decir, es posible que en

[37] NADOLNY 2016, 127-128.

[38] KIENAST 2004, 180; KIENAST, ECK y HEIL 2017, 174.

[39] WIGGERS y WEGNER 1971, 200 (Wegner): "*Bereits zur Zeit der Herrschaft des Elagabal führte Iulia Mamaea den Titel Augusta*".

[40] KETTENHOFEN 1979, 156.

[41] *AE* 1933, 281. Concretamente, le lectura de Wiegand sería la siguiente: *[M. Aurelium An]toninu[m August]um Pi[um Felicem et Iuliam Soe]miadem [et Iuliam] Mama[eam Augustas Aris]taenetu[s et ....] s lib. pr[occ.].*

[42] Sobre un reciente estado de la cuestión. Cf. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ y CONESA NAVARRO 2018, 673-676.

[43] BENARIO 1959, 13-14.

el momento en el que Alejandro Severo recibió el título de *Caesar*, también aparecía en algunos testimonios epigráficos con la nomenclatura de *Augustus*, aunque realmente esta dignidad le fue otorgada una vez fallecido su primo y predecesor. Ello hace pensar que debido a los problemas que presenta el epígrafe en cuestión, así como a que realmente estamos ante un testimonio aislado, lo más sensato sería mantener la teoría tradicional de que fue nombrada *Augusta* Julia Mamaea en el momento en el que su hijo fue distinguido como emperador[44].

En cierta manera la reflexión anterior nos parece pertinente, pues encontramos testimonios en los que está Geta distinguido como *Augustus* antes de que a este último le fuera otorgado dicho rango[45]. Debido a que responde a un ejemplo provincial, podríamos suponer que se dio una situación similar a lo ocurrido con el vástago de Julia Domna. No obstante, para el caso del hijo menor de Septimio Severo apreciamos una mayor proporción de testimonios que confirmarían esta anomalía y no como lo sucedido con el ejemplo de época de Alejandro Severo. Además, de producirse la incorporación de Mamaea tendría que ser cuando su hijo fue nombrado *Caesar* tras ser adoptado por su primo mayor, del que apenas distaba escasos años de edad[46]. Son muchos los problemas que presenta este texto, lo que permite que sigamos inclinándonos por la teoría tradicional. Aunque fuera cierta la lectura, no deja de ser un epígrafe provincial y carente de validez ante la inexistencia de paralelos en otros contextos similares o en la propia Roma[47]; además de no encontrarse la pieza original.

Por último, resultaría extraño que aparecieran nombradas las hijas de Julia Maesa y que esta última no; más si tenemos presente que además de saber con seguridad que tuvo el rango de *Augusta* durante el gobierno de su nieto mayor, su presencia en los testimonios epigráficos se explicaría no solo por la posición destacada que ejerció durante los períodos de Heliogábalo y Alejandro Severo, sino también por ser el verdadero nexo de unión que enlazaba a sus nietos con los anteriores dignatarios de la saga imperial. Caracalla, al no tener hijos, la línea

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[44] GILLIAM 1963, 28.

[45] Un ejemplo de ello lo encontramos en los testimonios tripolitanos en los que fue frecuente encontrar al hijo menor de Septimio Severo con el rango de *Augustus* a partir de 201 d.C., cuando realmente este último lo adquirió en 209 d.C. cf. REYNOLDS y PERKINS 1952, 91 n. º 292; 226-227 n. º 913- n.º 915; MASTINO 1981, 15 y 37.

[46] D.C. 79 (80), 17, 2-3; 18, 1: "Ἔσχε δὲ οὕτως. τὸν Βασσιανὸν τὸν ἀνεψιὸν αὑτοῦ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσαγαγών, καὶ τὴν Μαῖσαν καὶ τὴν Σοαιμίδα ἑκατέρωθεν παραστησάμενος, παῖδα ἔθετο, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὡς καὶ πατέρα ἐξαίφνης τηλικούτου παιδίου, καίπερ οὐ πολὺ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ αὐτοῦ προέχοντα, ἐμακάρισε, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλου τέκνου δεῖσθαι ἔφησεν, ἵν΄ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἄνευ ἀθυμιῶν διαγένηται·καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεγάβαλον τοῦτό τέ οἱ ποιῆσαι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν προσονομάσαι κεκελευκέναι. καὶ ἔγωγε πείθομαι ἐκ θείας τινὸς παρασκευῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ γεγονέναι, τεκμαιρόμενος οὐχ οἷς ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἀλλ΄ ἔκ τε τοῦ λεχθέντος αὐτῷ ὑπό τινος, ὅτι ἄρα τις Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ἐμέσης ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν διαδέξεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἔν τε τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω καὶ τῇ Θρᾴκῃ" (Boiss, vol. III, 1901, 470-471).

[47] Como ejemplo, podemos indicar que tanto en la primera versión de Kienast, así como en la actualizada, se señala que Mamaea alcanzó el grado de *Augusta* bajo el gobierno de su hijo. Cf. KIENAST 2004, 56; KIENAST, ECK y HEIL 2017, 48. Dixon también fue partidaria de que Julia Mamaea recibió el título de *Augusta* tras la subida al poder de Alejandro Severo, indicando que, por otro lado, fue el momento en el que Maesa fue divinizada. Cf. DIXON 1988, 83.

masculina estaba agotada. Por el contrario, Julia Maesa fue la única descendiente viva y la que daba realmente legitimidad a sus gobiernos al ser la hermana de Julia Domna. Ello explicaría que en ocasiones la encontremos mencionada en una posición anterior a sus hijas[48]. Lo normal es que, debido a la proximidad al emperador, se encontrara a en primer lugar la mención de la madre frente a la de la abuela. Un ejemplo de ello lo encontramos en Numidia: *Iulia Mamaea Aug(ustae) filio Iuliae Maesae Aug(ustae)*[49]. Otro testimonio, también de la misma región, guarda cierto parecido solo que para el caso de Maesa se añadiría el grado de parentesco con respecto a Alejandro Severo: *nepos*[50]. No obstante, es problemático este último ejemplo debido a lo fragmentado que se encuentra[51].

Al final de la obra de Dion Casio hay un texto que fue redactado por el epitomista bizantino Zonaras. En él se informa que, una vez proclamado *imperator* Alejandro Severo, se le concedió a su madre el grado de *Augusta* y no antes[52]. En las dedicaciones escritas en griego encontramos su mención traducida, Σεβαστή. Un dato interesante al respecto sería que, mientras que en latín este honor siempre estuvo presente en los testimonios relacionados con Mamaea, según Kettenhonfen no se dio con la misma insistencia en los escritos en griego[53]. Si nos retrotraemos al período de Heliogábalo, podemos comprobar que Julia Maesa y Julia

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[48] De hecho, esta proximidad a Septimio Severo que sería transmitido a partir de la hermana y sobrinas de Julia Domna, explicaría que estas últimas tuvieran una mayor relevancia que las esposas de Heliogábalo y Alejandro Severo. Cf. GÜNTHER 2016, 128. *AE* 2012, 1210; *CIL* VIII, 2564 = *CIL* VIII, 18052 = *D*, 470 = *CBI*, 782 = *AE* 1947, 201 = *AE* 1978, 889 = *AE* 2016, 1828.

[49] *CIL* VIII, 26547 = *ILAfr*, 528 = *LBIRNA*, 484 = *AE* 2016, 1905: *Pro sal[ute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) diui Septimi S]everi Pii nepotis diui [Magni Antonini Pii f(ilii) [[M(arci) Aureli Seueri Alexandri Pii Felicis Aug(usti)]]] / et [[Iuliae M[amaeae Augustae matris] Aug(usti) et Iuliae Maesae Aug[ustae auiae Aug(usti)]] totiusque d]iuinae domus eorum opus te[mpli] / Fortunae [quod --- patri]ae suae extruxerat uetus[tate corruptum res publica munici]pii Septimi Aureli liberi Thuggensis r[estituit(?)];* KOSMETATOU 2002, 399-400.

[50] *AE* 1912, 155: *Imp(eratore) Caes(are) / diui Seueri P[ii] nepo/te diui Antonini Mag/ni [[filio [M(arco) Aurelio]]] / [[S[eu]e[r]o A[lexan]dro]] / [[P[io] Felice Aug(usto) p[o]n]]/[[tifice max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate)]] / [[patre patriae]] consu/[l]e [[Iuliae Mam(a)eae Aug(ustae)]] / [[filio Iuliae Maes(a)e]] / Aug(ustae) [[nepote]] res p(ublica) / Cuiculitanorum ui/as torrentibus ex/haustas restituit et no/uis munitionibus dilata/uit*. Tal y como indicó Kettenhofen, pese a estar fragmentada la pieza, en la línea 5 la parte que está eliminada correspondería al nombre de Julia Mamaea, ya que no se podría contemplar la posibilidad de que fuera el espacio dedicado al título de mater castrorum ya que este último iría a continuación de la denominación de Augusta.cf. Kettenhonfen 1979, 158.

[51] NADOLNY 2016, 124.

[52] Zon. 12, 15, p. 119, 31-120, 9D: "Τοῦ δὲ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας, ὁ ἐκείνου ἀνεψιός (οὕτω γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους ὠνόμαζον), τὴν αὐταρξίαν ἀπεκληρώσατο. ὃς αὐτίκα τὴν οἰκείαν μητέρα Μαμαίαν Αὔγουσταν ἀνεῖπεν, ᾗ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίαν μετακεχείριστο, καὶ περὶ τὸν υἱὸν σφοὺς ἄνδρας συνήγαγεν, ἵνα δι᾽ἐκείνων αὐτῷ τὰ ἤθη ῥυθμίζοιτο, κἀκ τῆς γερουσίας τοὺς ἀμείνονας συμβούλους προσείλετο, ἅπαν προκτέον κοινουμένη αὐτοῖς" (Boiss. vol. III, 1901, 477). Según Boissevain (vol. III, 1901, 477), esta nota atribuida a Zonaras pudo proceder directamente del testimonio del propio Casio; aspecto que también sería recogido posteriormente por KETTENHOFEN 1979, 157.

[53] KETTENHOFEN 1979, 157: "*Die Ehrung Julia Mamaeas als Mutter des Kaisers (oder "unseres Herrn") die den die Severerzeit so charakteristischen dynastischen Gedanken betont, begegnet, soweit ich sehe, aug sämtlichen lateinischen Ehreninschriften, in den griechischen fehlt sie besweilen*".

Soemias estuvieron señaladas como *Augustae* en algunos epígrafes[54] y Mamaea comenzó a tener cierto protagonismo cuando creció el descontento entre los soldados ante la actitud desarrollada por Heliogábalo. Fue la astucia de Maesa lo que posibilitó que finalmente Alejandro Severo fuera elevado a la púrpura imperial. Comprendiendo que el ocaso de su nieto mayor se encontraba cerca, intervino con el fin de que la dinastía continuara. Esta estrategia se ha visto por los autores clásicos como una maniobra egoísta y personal, pues realmente no fue una acción emprendida por el bien del Estado, sino más bien por el propio interés de no verse privada de los privilegios disfrutados tras vivir en la corte en el momento en el que su hermana fue la esposa de Septimio Severo[55]. Esta maniobra, definida por Sánchez Sánchez como "epílogo measiano", fue el último intento de prolongar la cada vez más debilitada saga de los Severos[56]. Una vez eliminado Heliogábalo, Julia Maesa, su hija menor y Ulpiano fueron los que realmente manejaron en un primer momento las riendas imperiales[57].

Julia Mamaea recibió el título de *Augusta*[58] y *Mater Augusti* alrededor del 14 de marzo del 222 d.C. Solo dos años más tarde, en el 224 d.C., aunque no parece del todo seguro, se añadió a su titulatura la alusión a *Mater Castrorum*, siendo incorporado el grado de *Mater Senatus* en el transcurso del 226 d.C., aunque también con interrogantes[59]. Resulta muy complejo precisar una cronología exacta a partir de los testimonios epigráficos, más si tenemos presente los problemas derivados de sus inscripciones a raíz de la eliminación de su nombre; además de que, con toda probabilidad, una gran proporción de los ejemplos fueron destruidos. A partir de 227 d.C. se situaría la incorporación de *Mater Castrorum, Senatus et Patriae*[60]. No obstante, Kettenhofen matizó que se podría retrotraer a septiembre de 225 d.C., pues la constatación de un epígrafe con esta amplia titulatura en los que también aparece señalada Orbiana podría ser determinante para sostener dicha hipótesis[61]. El enlace de esta última con Alejandro Severo

[54] *AE* 2012, 1210: *[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) [[[M(arco) Aur(elio) Antonino P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto)]]] et [[[Iuliae Mae]]]/[[s[a]e Aug(ustae)]] au[iae [[Aug(usti) n(ostri)]]] et [[[Iuliae Soaemiadi Aug(ustae)]]] / [[matri Au[g(usti) n(ostri)]]] [--- evo]/cati qu[orum nomina subscripta sunt ---] / deuoti [Numini maiestatique eorum] // P]io Felic[i] / [Aug(usto) ---] / [---]ae con(iugi) / [Aug(usti) n(ostri) et matri(?) Au]g(usti) n(ostri).*

[55] Hdn. 5, 7, 1-5: "ὁρῶσα δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Μαῖσα, ὑποπτεύουσά τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπαρέσκεσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ τοῦ βασιλέως βίῳ, καὶ δεδοικυῖα μή τι ἐκείνου παθόντος πάλιν ἰδιωτεύῃ, πείθει αὐτόν, κοῦφον ἄλλως καὶ ἄφρονα νεανίαν,θεσθαι υἱὸν Καίσαρά τε ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀνεψιὸν ἐκείνης δὲ ἔγγονον ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας θυγατρὸς Μαμαίας". Algunos trabajos recientes que abordaron esta cuestión, cf. MORENO FERRERO 1983, 100; CONESA NAVARRO 2018, 251.

[56] SÁNCHEZ SÁNCHEZ 2017, 23-24. Un caso interesante sería la obra de Ando. Los epígrafes referentes al período de Heliogábalo y Alejandro Severo están referidos como la dinastía de Maesa. Cf. ANDO 2012, 66-75.

[57] KOSMETATOU 2002, 405; MENNEN 2011, 173; ROYO MARTÍNEZ 2019, 130.

[58] HERZOG 1918, col. 917 lín. 15-19 n. º 558; KOLB 2010, 29 n. º 28.

[59] KIENAST, ECK y HEIL 2017, 174; OKOŃ 2018, 145-146.

[60] KOSMETATOU 2002, 411.

[61] *CIL* VIII, 18254 = *CIL* VIII, 18257 = *AE* 1967, 573: [*Pro aeternitate imp]erii domini nostri / [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) diui Magni Antonini Pii filii M(arci) Aureli Seueri Alexandri P]ii Felicis Augusti et pro incolumitate / [Iuliae Mamaeae Augustae matris Augus]ti nostri et castrorum [[et]] / [[Gneae Seiae Herenniae Sallustiae Baebiae Orbianae sanctissimae Augustae coniugis]] Augusti nostri / [---]S numin[i] eorum devotus*; KETENHOFFEN 1979, 159.

posibilitó que el Imperio volvería a tener dos Augustae, ya que, tras la muerte de Julia Maesa, no se había dado una situación similar. En este caso la madre del emperador aparece en una posición anterior a la de la esposa del *princeps*[62], lo que reforzaría la visión de la preponderancia de Mamaea en el discurso político. Es importante señalar que en ningún momento se menciona al padre del emperador, lo que demuestra la legitimidad que tenían estas *Augustae* no sólo se puede confirmar en las fuentes escritas, sino también en la documentación epigráfica.

La atribución de *Mater Augusti* es posible que respondiera a una estrategia con el fin de marcar la diferencia con respecto a la esposa de Alejandro Severo. Indiscutiblemente, esta alusión a la maternidad de diferentes capas sociales se debió a una maniobra política con el fin de un regreso a los honores conferidos no solo a su madre, sino especialmente a los de su tía Julia Domna. De hecho, fue la esposa de Septimio Severo la primera en asumir esta amplia titulatura; encontrándose en el registro epigráfico a partir de los testimonios fechados desde el 211 d.C. en adelante. La aclamación de *Mater Senatus* adquirió un valor añadido, pues su homónimo masculino, el título de *Pater Senatus,* no fue empleado por ningún varón de la dinastía de los Severos, siendo Cómodo el último en incorporarlo. En lo que se refiere a *Mater Patriae* presenta una gran controversia entre la historiografía. Sabemos por Tácito[63] que, tras la muerte de Augusto, el Senado de Roma propuso investir a Livia con dicha distinción a imitación de su marido que había adquirido el cargo de *Pater Patriae.* Tiberio rehusó incorporarlo a su madre con el pretexto de que podía ser un tanto extravagante para una mujer. Fue Julia Domna quien lo asumió por primera vez; siendo ampliamente discutido el momento exacto en el que se le confirió. Las fechas barajadas oscilan entre 205 d.C. hasta 211 d.C. Tras ella, serían su hermana y la madre de Alejandro Severo las siguientes en recibirlo[64].

Más interesante resulta el apelativo de *Mater Castrorum*. Aunque no deja de ser al igual que los anteriores un honor que respondió a una pericia política con el fin de evidenciar continuidad, la situación especial que estaba atravesando el Imperio, en la que los enfrentamientos tanto internos como externos fueron cada vez más frecuentes, motivó la creación de unas artimañas con las que lograr la adhesión de la población al *princeps* y, en

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[62] *CIL* VIII, 18254 = *CIL* VIII, 18257 = *AE* 1967, 573: *[Pro aeternitate imp]erii domini nostri / [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) diui Magni Antonini Pii filii M(arci) Aureli Seueri Alexandri P]ii Felicis Augusti et pro incolumitate / [Iuliae Mamaeae Augustae matris Augus]ti nostri et castrorum [[et]] / [[Gneae Seiae Herenniae Sallustiae Baebiae Orbianae sanctissimae Augustae coniugis]] Augusti nostri / s numin[i] eorum devotus.*

[63] Tac. *Ann*., 1, 14, 1-3: "*Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. alli parentem, alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur "Iuliae filius" censebant. ille moderan- dos feminarum honores dictitans eademque se temperantia usurum in iis quae sibi tribuerentur, centerum anxius inuidia et muliebre fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit*".

[64] LUSNIA 1995, 134-135; KOSMETATOU 2002, 411. Aunque con interrogantes, parece que fue a partir del 4 de febrero de 211 d.C., según Kienast, Eck y Heil, cuando desarrolló precisamente el título completo de *Mater Castrorum et Senatus et Patriae*. Cf. KIENAST, ECK y HEIL 2017, 152. Tal y como recientemente indicó Günther, Julia Domna y Julia Mamaea tuvieron el honor de ostentar títulos que con anterioridad no se dieron. Cf. GÜNTHER 2016, 116.

particular, del sector militar. Como recordó Alföldy, entre la muerte de Marco Aurelio, fallecido en 180 d.C. a consecuencia de una enfermedad, y la abdicación de Diocleciano, producida en 305 d.C., no se dieron gobiernos duraderos, sino más bien, todo lo contrario. A excepción de Septimio Severo que tuvo el honor de fundar la dinastía y morir dejando un imperio aparentemente pacificado a sus hijos, el resto tuvieron que hacer frente a guerras civiles o revueltas militares, además de que todos fueron asesinados por sus sucesores. Sin duda, esta situación alteró la realidad sociopolítica del Imperio, transformando la percepción que se tenía del emperador. Este último fue visto con un poder mucho más absoluto, constituyéndose en un auténtico *dominus*; mutación que posibilitó que la historiografía estableciera este período histórico desarrollado desde finales del siglo II d.C. y principios del III d.C. como el paso del principado al dominado[65]. Este cambio de paradigma también afectó a las *Augustae,* siendo los apelativos relacionados con la maternidad y la de los campamentos militares en particular, una de las respuestas más evidentes. Sin duda, estamos ante una maniobra con la que se pretendió fortalecer los lazos entre la Cancillería imperial y el ejército. A través de esta "maternidad institucional" se aseguraba el sometimiento de las tropas, extendiéndose luego a la Patria y al pueblo romano en general[66].

A partir de un epígrafe de Ostia, se puede establecer la incorporación del título de *mater castrorum* en la titulatura de Julia Mamaea el 3 de agosto de 224 d.C.[67]. Ello se debe a que, a pesar de que sabemos que lo asumió mientras su madre Julia Maesa todavía estaba viva[68], hay una serie de inscripciones fechadas entre 222 d.C.- 223 d.C. en las que no viene referida como

[65] ALFÖLDY 2012, 237-239.

[66] HEMELRIJK 2012, 203-204; DOMÍNGUEZ ARRANZ 2017, 124. Según Langford, aunque no está del todo claro sobre las motivaciones del título de mater castrorum, no tuvo dudas en indicar que el resto de títulos relacionados con la maternidad del emperador, del Senado y del Imperio, a pesar de su peculiaridad, fueron concedidos por el Senado a Julia Domna, desde donde tendríamos que ver la influencia más directa para el caso de Julia Mamaea. Cf. LANGFORD 2013, 111.

[67] *CIL* XIV, 125 = *D*, 223: *Imp(eratori) Caesari M(arco) [A]urelio / Seuero Alexandro / Felic<i=E> Aug(usto) et Iuli(a)e Mameae / matri domini n(ostri) et castror(um) / totiusq(ue) d(omus) d(iuinae) statio n(umeri) fr[u]mentariorum / locus adsignatus ab Agricola Aug(usti) lib(erto) proc(uratore) p(ortus) u(triusque) / et Petronio Maxsimo(!) |(centurione) ann(onae) et Fabio Maronae |(centurione) / operum dedicatum III Non(as) Aug(ustas) Appio Cl(audio) Iuliano et Brutt(io) / Crispino co(n)s(ulibus) patrono Q(uinto) Turranio Masila cura(m) / agente P(ublio) Flauio Fl(aui) filio Iuniore / et Valerio Donato cur(antibus)*. Así también lo expresó Kettenhofen, siendo esta inscripción la que se considera como la primera en la que la *Augusta* está referida con dicha titulatura. Cf. KETTENHOFEN 1979, 158. Sobre la incorporación de este honor concedido por el ordo militar, autores plantearon que fue una prueba de que los soldados se dieron cuenta que su verdadero comandante en jefe no era el emperador, sino su madre. Cf. SPEIDEL 2012, 135. Sin embargo, como este último autor señaló, resulta muy difícil argumentar que por el simple hecho de ostentar este título podamos hablar de una intervención directa de las *Augustae* en los asuntos militares, pues la presencia de las mujeres en los campamentos militares estuvo bien delimitada.

[68] WILLIAMS 1904, 72-73 y 94.

mater castrorum[69]. Ello permitió a Kettenhofen proponer que, a diferencia de lo señalado por Williams, esta condecoración no la asumió de manera simultánea a la asunción de su hijo a la púrpura imperial, como sí ocurrió con el grado de *Augusta*[70]. De todas formas, es posible encontrar ejemplos posteriores en los que no se encuentra señalada esta maternidad. Uno de ellos lo encontramos en África proconsular, siendo la incorporación de la esposa de Alejandro Severo lo que permitió fecharlo entre septiembre y diciembre de 205 d.C.[71]. No sería hasta el 228 d.C. aproximadamente, cuando dicho honor se incluyó sin reservas en los testimonios latinos, no ocurriendo lo mismo con los escritos en griego[72]. Dentro de estos últimos, mención especial merece el epíteto μήτηρ καὶ τῶν ἀηττήτων στρατοπέδων[73]. La palabra ἀητήτος equivaldría al latín *inuictus.* Las referencias más tempranas se datan en torno a la mitad del siglo II d.C., mientras que las más tardías durante el siglo VI d.C. Dicho vocablo no solo lo encontramos en inscripciones, sino también en documentación papirácea. En las titulaturas imperiales suele estar precedido por la palabra αὐτοκράτωρ. Aunque parece una novedad, está incorporado en un papiro relacionado con las cuentas del templo de Júpiter Capitolino en Arsione[74], en el que Julia Domna aparece aludida con idéntica disposición y similar significado al caso de su sobrina, encontrándolo también en un testimonio de Alejandría que se data en 216 d.C.[75] Su traducción sería la de madre de los invencibles campamentos (*mater inuictorum castrorum*)[76].

Con parecidos argumentos también contamos con otro testimonio procedente de Tomis en el que Julia Mamaea es señalada como μήτηρ καὶ τῶν γενναιοτάτων αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδων[77]. Este último se insertaría en el mismo contexto, pues a pesar de su carácter provincial y de las innovaciones terminológicas, responde a epítetos que vinculaban a las damas de la casa imperial con los ejércitos. Por tanto, estamos ante una maniobra posiblemente relacionada con el *consensus* político desarrollado por el emperador. Kettenhofen equiparó estas

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[69] KETTENHOFEN 1979, 157. En concreto, Williams lo señaló de la siguiente forma: "*As she is called* mater Augusta et castrorum *on an inscription made before Maesa´s death and her name seldom appears without this title, it is probable that she received it also when she became* Augusta". Cf. WILLIAMS 1904, 94.

[70] KIENAST, ECK y HEIL 2017, 174.

[71] *CIL* VIII, 26548 = *ILTun* 1412 = *Dougga*, 14: *Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caesaris M(arci) Aureli [[Seueri [Alexan]dri]] Pii Felicis Aug(usti) [---] / [[Iuliae Mamaeae A]]ug(ustae) [[matris]] Aug(usti) [[et Cn(aeae) Se[iae Her]enniae Sallustiae Ba[rbiae] ---]]/[[ius]] quod postulante universo populo p[romiseru]nt A(ulus) Vitellius Priva[tus.* Un estudio en el que se analiza la figura de la esposa de Alejandro Severo, cf. HEIL 2001: 233-248.

[72] KETTENHOFEN 1979, 284 nota 667. un miliario encontrado en Haidanopolis en el que se indica la maternidad de los campamentos y del propio emperador. Cf. *SEG* 39, 654.

[73] KETTENHOFEN 1979, 158.

[74] *BGU* II, 362 xi, II. 15-19.

[75] *IGR* I, 5 1063 = *Kayser*, 14.

[76] JONG 2006, 98, 100 y 108.

[77] *IScM* II, 92: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ/ Ἰουλίαν [[[Μαμμαία]ν]]/ Σεβαστὴν Αὐρηλ/(λ)ίου (Αὐρηλίου) – Σευήρου [[[Ἀλ]εξ[άν]δ[ρο]υ]]/ Εὐσεβ(οῦς) -- Εὐτυχ(οῦς) – Σεβ(αστοῦ) --- μετέ/ρα καὶ τῶν γενναιοτάτων/ αὐτοῦ στραπτοπέδων/ βουλὴ δῆμος τῆς λαμ/προτάτης μετροπόλεως/ καὶ -- α´-- τοῦ Εὐωνύμου Πόντου/ Τόμεως.

menciones griegas dentro del apartado del honor de *Mater Castrorum*. Matizó que para el caso de Julia Mamaea, al igual que había ocurrido con Julia Domna que intentó imitar a Faustina la Menor con el fin de mostrar cierta continuidad institucional, así también se expresaría para estos ejemplos relacionados con la última dama de la saga de los Severos[78]. Por último, habría que mencionar la denominación de *Mater Castrorum et Exercitus* que, como apuntábamos anteriormente, este honor también se aprecia en epígrafes de Julia Maesa[79]. Son precisamente en estas dos *Augustae* en las que se incorpora en un primer momento, siendo asumido posteriormente por la esposa de Filipo el Árabe[80]. La importancia del mismo, como recordó Speidel, radica en que por primera vez se aludía directamente al ejército y no bajo un concepto abstracto como lo sucedido con la maternidad de los campamentos tanto para la esposa de Marco Aurelio como para Julia Domna. Es decir, a partir de esta diferenciación podríamos establecer que en un primer momento se produjo un acercamiento con el sector ecuestre que se hizo todavía más patente durante los gobiernos de Heliogábalo y Alejandro Severo a consecuencia de la situación inestable que estaba atravesando el Imperio.

2.2. Honores propios de manifestaciones espontáneas

Nadolny indicó que, aunque podamos establecer una simultaneidad de honores entre Julia Domna y Mamaea, siendo estas dos últimas *Augustae* las que más títulos recibieron durante la dinastía, sí que hay un aspecto divergente entre ambas. Mientras que para la esposa de Septimio Severo se incluyeron atributos que siguieron unas directrices institucionales marcadas por la Cancillería imperial y rara vez se salían de la norma[81], con la madre de Alejandro Severo se asistió a una mayor insistencia en expresiones particulares que pudieron responder a un deseo deliberado por venerar a los diferentes integrantes de la *domus diuina*. Esta pérdida de oficialidad de los títulos se tiene que entender como la promoción de homenajes por voluntad de los dedicantes en el más amplio sentido de la palabra[82]. El honor de *Mater Uniuersi Generis Humani* todo apunta a que respondió a una acción particular al no

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[78] KETTENHOFEN 1979, 158-159.

[79] *CIL* XIII, 5175= *AE* 2013, 1140 = *AE* 2015, 981: *] / [pro salute(?)] d(omini) n(ostri) [Imp(eratoris) Seueri Alexandri] / [Aug(usti) et I]ul(iae) M[am(a)eae Aug(ustae) matris] / [Aug]ust[i n(ostri) castrorum et] / [exer]citu[s.*

[80] SPEIDEL 2012, 137.

[81] Un ejemplo lo encontramos con el apelativo τύχη τῆς οἰκουμένης constatado, por ejemplo, en dos inscripciones de Histria, una dedicada a Julia Domna y otra a su hermana. Algunos autores, como es el caso de Bertolazzi, apuntaron que este honor, al igual que el de *mater populi Romani* para el caso de la esposa de Septimio Severo no tuvieron una sanción oficial. Cf. *IScM* I 89: "Ἀγαθῆι τύχηνι /vacat /Ἰουλίαν Δόμναν Σε(βαστὴν)/ τύχην τῆς οὐκουμέ/νηης μητέρα τοῦ θει/οτάτου καὶ ἀνεικήτου /Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντω/νείνου βουλὴ δῆμος /τῆς λαμπροτάτης Ἰ/στριανῶν πόλεως"; *IScM* I, 93: "Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι/ [Ἰο]υλία [[Μα[ĩ]sαν]] Σε/[βα]στήν τύχην τῆς/ [ο]ἰκουμένης μάμμην/ [τ]οῦ θειοτάτου κ[αὶ] ἀνεικήτου Αὐτοκρά/τορος [[[Ἀ]ν[τω]νε[ίν]ου]]/ βουλὴ δῆμος τῆς/ λαμπροτάτης Ἰστριη/νῶν πόλεως; KETTENHOFEN 1979, 161-162; BERTOLAZZI 2019, 477 y 483.

[82] NADOLNY 2016, 126.

constatarse su presencia en la *Urbs*[83]. No obstante, la apreciación del mismo título en caracteres griegos (δέσποινα τῆς οἰκουμένης) en una inscripción proyectada en *Augusta* Trajana, en Tracia, bajo el gobierno de L. Prosio Rufino[84], confirmaría que el apelativo en cuestión fue conocido y desarrollado en diferentes lugares del Imperio.

En Dacia, concretamente en Sarmizegetusa, se atestiguaron dos fragmentos de lo que se presupone que sería un homenaje dedicado a Alejandro Severo y Julia Mamaea. Aunque contiene algunas lagunas, se incorporó a la titulatura de la *Augusta* el honor de *Mater Uniuersi Generis Humani*[85]*.* Si examinados la propuesta de I. Piso en *L´Anée Epigraphique*, se incide en que las líneas donde está el apelativo en cuestión presentan problemas. De hecho, se insiste que, aunque con toda probabilidad se tendría que datar el testimonio bajo el gobierno de Alejandro Severo, no es del todo segura esta propuesta, además de que no se puede afirmar que estuviera mencionada la madre de este último. De los dos fragmentos publicados en el *CIL* uno de ellos desapareció, conservándose el restante en el museo de Deva. Dos atestiguados con posterioridad se sumarían a la misma pieza, aunque no deja de ser una sugerencia[86]. Todo ello permite que, aunque contemos con publicaciones en las que este testimonio también se incluye como uno de los dos ejemplos en los que Mamaea adquirió el honor mencionado con caracteres latinos[87], por precaución optemos por seguir manteniendo el caso cartagenero como el único producido en latín hasta la fecha.

Concretamente, este último responde a un pedestal labrado en serpentina gris azulada que fue descubierto en el siglo XVIII mientras se acometían labores relacionadas con la construcción de un aljibe. Unido a la titulatura, adquiere una mayor consideración al ser uno de los pocos ejemplos relacionados con la *Augusta* en solar hispano y el único de toda la península ibérica en el que está referida con el *cognomen* de su padre, *Auita*. La datación oscila entre el 222 d.C.- 235 d.C. a consecuencia de la ausencia de la *tribunicia potestas* del emperador. No obstante, es posible que fuera anterior al 225 d.C., pues la amplia mayoría de dedicaciones a la *domus* imperial realizadas con estas características se solían proyectar casi al inicio del

83 KETTENHOFEN 1979, 161: "*Selbstverständlich ist die Prädikation MATER VNIVERSI GENERIS HUMANI nicht der amtlichen Titulatur der Mutter des Kaisers*". En esta misma opinión y con anterioridad, Fink ya desacreditó este nombramiento, señalando que responde a algo "*redactio ad absurdum*", cf. FINK 1944, 18 nota 4.

84 *IGBulg*, III, 2, 1561 (*AE* = 1935, 113): [Ἰου]λ[ί]αν Μα[μαίαν]/ [δ]έσποιναν τῆς οἰ / [κ]ουμένης, ἡγεμονε/ [ύ]οντος τῆς θρακῶν /[ἐ]παρχείας Ἰουλ(ίου) / [Πρ]ωσε[ίο]υ πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) σεβ(ασταῦ) σεβ(αστοῦ) / ἀντιστρατήγου……; KETTENHOFEN 1979, 157-158; KOSMETATOU 2002, 412.

85 *CIL* III, 7970 = *AE* 1998, 1094: *[Pro salute(?)] aete[rna] / [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli] Sever[i Alexandri Pii Felicis Aug(usti) et] / [Iuliae Mamaeae matris Aug(usti) n(ostri) et ca]str(orum) [et patriae et universi huma]ni gener[is] / nymph[aeum 3 M(arcus) Lucceius] Felix p[roc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostri)] / [*.TÉGLÁS y KÖNIG 1884, 53 n. º 6 "*wie es scheint der einzigen Inschrift, wo der Titel* mater universi generis *humani vorkömmt*". Los anteriores autores no tuvieron en cuenta el testimonio de Cartagena.

86 *AE* 1998, 1094.

87 OKOŃ 2018, 146.

gobierno de cada uno de los *principes* mencionados[88]. Interesante al respecto sería señalar que, en este caso, a diferencia de la amplia mayoría de testimonios que estamos tratando que respondieron a iniciativas particulares, el pedestal y su correspondiente estatua fueron encargados por un organismo municipal, como fue el *conuentus Carthaginensis*.

Entre los apelativos que recibió de manera extraoficial y que estarían conectados con Julia Domna destacan *Pia Felix*. No obstante, hay que precisar que para el caso del primero ya contamos con precedentes en las dos Faustinas, aunque su incorporación se produjo una vez que fueron divinizadas. Con este adjetivo se hacía referencia a la dedicación y sumisión expresa de las *Augustae* a las normas civiles y divinas. Por el contrario, *Felix*, introducido por primera vez con Julia Domna, estaba relacionado con el favor concedido por los dioses a la esposa de Septimio Severo como protectora y garante del Imperio[89]. Para el caso de la madre de Alejandro Severo lo apreciamos a partir de un homenaje efectuado por la republica de Volubilis, y datado entre 222-235 d.C.[90]. En este mismo contexto tendríamos que incluir el término de *sactissima Augusta*, siendo a partir de un testimonio de Roma, fechado entre 222-224 d.C., la prueba que lo confirmaría. En este último está el nombre de la abuela del emperador delante del de su hija. Por otro lado, el hecho de que se encuentre localizado en la capital imperial y ofrecido por un individuo relacionado por el orden ecuestre, Tito Flavio Domiciano, confirmaría la gran consideración que tenía Maesa entre los militares[91]. No

[88] ABASCAL PALAZÓN y RAMALLO ASENSIO 1997, 180-182 n.º 44. Tal y como indicó Abascal, es el único testimonio de la colección cartaginense confeccionada con este material. Por otro lado, esta dedicación efectuada a la casa imperial confirmaría el paso de una ciudad con un eminentemente carácter minero a una transformación en un centro administrativo importante. Cf. ABASCAL 1995, 147. De hecho, este ejemplo pertenecería a uno de los homenajes que evidenciarían que durante el Alto Imperio y hasta bien entrado el siglo III d.C. las instituciones, los órganos administrativos, las magistraturas y la vida de la ciudad continuó con cierta normalidad en la promoción de monumentos. La urbe ostentó la capitalidad conventual y tanto el *ordo decurionum*, el *conuentus Carthaginensis* y algunos particulares proyectaron estatuas y pedestales dedicados a la familia imperial, siendo este ejemplo, el último que se tiene constatado de esta naturaleza y destinado a un representante de la *domus* imperial. Cf. NOGUERA 2002, 84-85; MARTÍNEZ SÁNCHEZ 2017, 281 y 286. Este testimonio hispano, como recientemente han puesto de relieve Noguera Celdrán y Madrid Balanza, es significativo pues junto a otras dedicaciones, algunas de reciente aparición como el *titulus pictus* dedicado a Heliogábalo atestiguado en el Foro de la ciudad o una inscripción funeraria de un beneficiario consular instalado en la ciudad, demostrarían que a inicios del siglo III d.C. todavía persistió la iniciativa privada y no fue un período de crisis generalizada como se ha tendido a ver entre la historiografía. Cf. NOGUERA CELDRÁN y MADRID BALANZA 2014, 47. Sobre la inscripción del beneficiario consular. Cf. ANTOLINOS, NOGUERA y SOLER 2007, 49-60. Sobre el *titulus pictus* en cuestión, cf. NOGUERA CELDRÁN, ABASCAL PALAZÓN y MADRID BALANZA 2017, 149-172.

[89] BERTOLAZZI 2019, 477.

[90] EUZENNAT, MARION y GASCOU 1982, 257-258 n. º 403: *[Iu]liae Mam[a]eae / Piae Felici / Augustae matri / Aug(usti) n(ostri) res publi/ca Volubilit(anorum) / devotissima nu[mini eiu]s ex decreto or/dinis posuit.*

[91] *CIL* VI, 3675 = *D*, 484 (p. 171): *Pro salute domini / nostri Imperator(is) / Seueri [[Alex[an]dri]] / Augusti et / Iuliae [[Maesae et]] / Iuliae Avitae / [[M[amaeae]]] Sanctissimarum / Augustarum / Genio Sancto castror(um) / peregrinorum / T(itus) Fl(avius) Domitianus / domo Nicomedia quod / speculator leg(ionis) III Parth(icae) / Severianae uouit has/tatus leg(ionis) X Fretensis / princeps peregrinorum / reddedit.*

obstante, también aparece señalada Julia Mamaea de manera aislada con idénticos atributos[92] o con pequeñas variaciones como lo ocurrido en Dacia[93] y en un testimonio de África procunsular[94] que es denominada *mater sactissima.*

Dentro de la vinculación de estas mujeres con el *ordo equester* es preciso mencionar un *graffiti* realizado por un soldado de *la cohors VII uigilium* de la propia ciudad de Roma. Al igual que la amplia mayoría de testimonios ligados con estas *Augustae*, el hecho de que fuera promocionado por un militar se ha interpretado por parte de la academia como una muestra de lealtad y cercanía de este sector hacia la *Augusta*, más si tenemos presente la manera en la que está referida: *c(o)ho[r]te septima bi[gi]l(um) Mami(ana) Seberi(ana) Alexandri(ana)*[95]. El dedicante no solo aludía al emperador, sino también a su madre. A partir de este testimonio privado nos permite comprender la dimensión que tenía la progenitora de Alejandro Severo en el gobierno de su hijo, además de una demostración de cómo los soldados emplearon apodos o epítetos para referirse a las unidades militares individuales[96].

Kuhoff puso de relieve que *sanctissima Augusta* pudo tener su origen a consecuencia de los calificativos *fortissimus* y *felicissimus* que se desarrollaron en primera instancia en testimonios de Septimio Severo y que serían continuados con gran asiduidad durante el siglo III d.C.[97].

[92] *IDR* III^2, 145 = *ILD*, 268 : *[Pro salute(?) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli] / [Seueri [[Alexandri]] Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) et] / [[[Iul]iae M[amaeae]] sanctissi]mae Aug(ustae) / [[[m]atr[is]] Aug(usti) n(ostri)] et cas[tro]rum / M(arcus) Luccei[us] Fe[li]x [pro]c(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostri) / [---]imu[---] / [-------] / [---]mus [; ILD, 269:] / [[[Iuliae Mamaeae]] sanctissimae Aug(ustae)] / [[m[atris]] Aug(usti) n(ostri) et castrorum] / M(arcus) Lu[cceius Felix proc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostri)] / P(ublius) Ael(ius) H[;ILD*, 270: *Pro salute Ae[terna] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aurel{l}i Se[ueri Alexandri Aug(usti) et] / [[Iuliae Mamaeae]] s[anctissimae Augustae] / [[ma[tris]] Aug(usti) n(ostri) et castrorum] / templi si[gnis(?);* *CIL* III, 13724 = *ILBulg*, 264: *[I(oui)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [c]eterisqu[e] di{i}s / deabusq(ue) Geni[o] loc[i] / huiusce praesid[i]/[bu]s Haemi montis / ob felicissimum a[d]/uentum do[mini n]o[s]/[tr]i M(arci) [Aureli] [[Seue]]/[r]i A[l]e[xandri]]] Pii / [Fe]licis Inuicti San[c]/[t]issimi Augus[ti et] / [d]om[inae nostrae [[Iuli]]/[[]ae Auitae(?) Mamaeae]]] / Sanctissimae Augus/[t]ae C(aius) Quintus Decius / [u(ir)] c(larissimus) leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prouinciae / [Mo]es(iae) inf(erioris) [[c[a]n[d]i[datus Aug(usti?)]]] / [Max]imo II et Urbano [co(n)s(ulibus)].* Además de inscripciones, con este mismo adjetivo de *sanctissima Augusta* relacionado con Julia Mamaea lo podemos encontrar en un papiro perteneciente a la colección de la Universidad de Michigan, inv. n.º 3627. La importancia de este testimonio radica en que se llevaron a cabo restauraciones de diferentes edificios en Egipto que, posiblemente, tuvieron algo que ver con la visita del emperador y su madre, aunque en el texto no aparece señalada dicha expedición. Cf. THOMAS Y CLARYSSE 1977, 195-207.

[93] *IDR* III^1, 76 = *AE* 1912, 5: *[[Iuliae Mam(a)eae Aug(ustae)]] / [[matri sanctissimi]] / [[Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Seueri Ale]]/[[xandri Aug(usti) et cas]]/[[trorum senatusq(ue)]] / [[coh(ors) III Dalmatarum]] / [[Alexandriana |(miliaria) eq(uitata)]] / [[c(iuium) R(omanorum) P(ia) F(idelis) Num(ini) maiesta]]/[[tique eius ex quaes]]/[[tura sua dedicante]] / [[Iasdio Domitiano]] / [[leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) co(n)s(ulari)]] / [[Daciar(um) trium]].*

[94] *CIL* VIII, 2778: *Iuliae Aug(ustae) coniug[i] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) diui M(arci) Antoni/ni Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) fil(i) diui / Commodi fratris diui An/tonini Pii nepotis diui Hadri/ani pronepotis diui Traiani / Parthici abnepotis diui Ner/uae adnepotis / L(uci) Septimi Seueri Pii Pertina/cis Aug(usti) Arabici Adiabenici / p(ontificis) m(aximi) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VII imp(eratoris) VIII co(n)s(ulis) I[I p(atris) p(atriae)] / matri sanctissimi [principis] / [M(arci) Aureli Antonini.*

[95] *CIL* VI, 30008. Tal y como recordó SABLAYROLLES 1996, 54.

[96] ECK 2019, 269.

[97] KUHOFF 1993, 254.

Estos epítetos laudatorios para el caso del *princeps* estuvieron ligados con su carácter militar. Por otro lado, el adjetivo de *sanctissimus* desarrollado también en evidencias tempranas de esta saga imperial formó parte de una serie de atributos que, tal y como matizó Mastino, permiten apreciar cómo la *domus diuina* fue asimilada a las divinidades[98]. Por ejemplo, y relacionado con Julia Mamaea y su hijo, un testimonio singular lo constituye una inscripción honoraria de Neoclaudiopolis. En la titulatura de la hija de Julia Maesa se especifica que era la madre del divino soberano Alejandro Severo[99].

Un último epíteto relacionado con la *Augusta* sería el de *domina nostra*[100]. A propósito de este último, un ejemplo problemático lo constituye una inscripción procedente de Mauritania Caesaris de la que apenas se conserva el nombre del del *princeps* y el inicio de la mención de su madre y que se data en 224 d.C.[101]. Tal y como aseguró Kettenhofen, tiene que ser estudiado con mucha cautela a consecuencia de las lagunas que presenta[102]. Por otro lado, se ha establecido que la mujer de nombre Julia es la madre de Alejandro Severo, aunque no deja de ser una hipótesis. Además de su madre, también podría ser su abuela, más si tenemos presente que, como hemos indicado anteriormente, en ocasiones Julia Maesa se encontraba en inscripciones de sus nietos en una posición anterior a las de sus hijas. También es difícil de precisar un testimonio de Auxerre que se fechó en torno a 228 d.C.[103]. Los principales inconvenientes que presenta se deben a que solo se conserva un bloque correspondiente al final del texto que fue hallado en marzo de 1731. De hecho, en las últimas actualizaciones realizadas del epígrafe no se incorporó el epígrafe en ningún gobierno específico[104].

[98] MASTINO 1981, 8 y 61.

[99] *SEG* XIL, 1108bis: "Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ/ [[Ἰουλία[ν Μ]αμα[ῖαν]/ [Σε]β(αστὴν) vacat μη[τέρα] /τοῦ [κ]υ[ρίου ἡμ]ῶν / [θειο]τάτο[u] vacat/ [Αὐτοκρ]άτο[ρος]/Μ. Αὐρ. Σεουήρου/ Ἀλεξάνδρου]]/ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ/ δῆμος Νεοκλαυ/διοπολειτῶν/ ἐπὶ Π. Ἀλφίου/ Αὐείτου πρεσβ(ευτοῦ)/ καὶ ἀντιστρ(ατήγου) τοῦ/ Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἄρχοντος/ Κλ. Φάλκωνος/ ἐπιμεληθέν/των Ἀντ. Ἀν/τωνείνου/ καὶ Αὐρ. Ἡλιάδου/ ἐν τῷ σκθ´/ [ἔτει]. Hallada la pieza en los cimientos de una mezquita. A pesar de encontrarse dañada, se pudieron restituir los nombres y titulaturas con facilidad, además de su datación, 224-225 d.C., por una cronología local y por los dedicantes. Cf. KAHL y OLSHAUSEN 1991, 612-613.

[100] *CIL* XV, 7336 = *AE* 1893, 72: *D(ominae) n(ostrae) Iuliae Mam(a)eae A[ug(ustae)] / [Po]lychronius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) fec(it) / VIIII.*

[101] *CIL* VIII, 20634; GSELL 1893, 289 n.º 355: *Seuer][[us Al]][exander ---] / [[------]] / [---] domu[s ---] / [---] Iuli[---] / [---] CLXXXV[.*

[102] KETTENHOFEN 1979, 158.

[103] KETTENHOFEN 1979, 160 y 163. Sobre la inscripción en concreto: *CIL* XIII, 2922:*] / pro salute dominorum u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito) / dedicauit Modesto et Probo co(n)s(ulibus).*

[104] Un ejemplo de ello lo encontramos en el trabajo de Delor. Este último se limitó a indicar que estamos ante un testimonio dedicado a nuestros señores, proyectado durante los consulados de Modesto y Probo. Cf. DELOR 2002, 187 n. º 59.

4. Conclusiones

Son muchas las voces que propusieron que a partir de los testimonios epigráficos relacionados con Julia Mamaea permiten proponer que tuvo un gran protagonismo en el gobierno de su hijo. Hipótesis que se confirmaría si nos ceñimos a los comentarios de los autores clásicos, además de que estamos ante un emperador de escasa edad. No obstante, la realidad tuvo que ser mucho más compleja, en la que la situación social e histórica, que muchas veces no ha sido atendida por la academia científica, pudo determinar no solo los honores conferidos, sino que una buena parte de los dedicantes fueran personalidades relacionadas con el *ordo equester*. La imagen que se puede obtener exclusivamente a partir de los testimonios materiales resulta un tanto artificial. Por la misma casuística podríamos pensar que Julia Domna, que recibió similares condecoraciones y un considerable número de inscripciones, desempeñó un papel político importante a lo largo de toda su vida. Sin embargo, todo indica que este fenómeno fue resultado de la estrategia de *consensus* orquestada por su esposo, con el fin de afianzar su posición en el solio imperial y mostrar cierta continuidad con la extinta dinastía de los Antoninos. Por las fuentes clásicas adquirió competencias que se extralimitaron de su condición de género bajo la gobernanza de Caracalla, al despachar comitivas reales o encargarse de la correspondencia. Sin embargo, las inscripciones dedicadas a ella o su representación en ejemplos escultóricos y numismáticos fueron elaborados prácticamente desde que Septimio Severo accedió a la púrpura.

Por otro lado, hemos indicado que una de las estrategias desarrolladas por Mamaea fue precisamente seguir la estela de sus antecesoras, especialmente de su tía y madre, con el ánimo de distanciarse del período en el que su sobrino fue emperador y con la pretensión de que su vida no finalizara de igual manera que la de su hermana. Como indicó Okoń, también es cierto que esta sobreexplotación de los distintos miembros de la *domus* imperial pudo deberse a una pericia política con el fin de reforzar la posición de los diversos *principes*; pues así parece confirmarlo sus sucesoras que no tuvieron una presencia tan amplia como estas *Augustae* sirias y que encontramos en su registro epigráfico similares honores[105]. Además, siguiendo a Kettenhofen, aunque se dieran dedicaciones por diversos territorios provinciales y la constatación de lo que parece ser un nuevo lenguaje en las fórmulas epigráficas consistentes en adjetivos laudatorios dedicados a la *domus* que podrían plantear una alineación de la *Augusta* con las divinidades, hay que ser cautos al respecto. Tanto los numerarios emitidos por la ceca de Roma como por aquellas provinciales sugieren que no hay indicios para sostener que a Julia Mamaea se la identificó con ninguna diosa[106]. Es por ello que la hipótesis de que estemos ante testimonios promocionados por particulares y bajo acciones

[105] OKOŃ 2018, 148.

[106] KETTENHOFEN 1979, 165.

espontáneas cobre especial significancia. Además de no encontrar paralelos en la *Urbs*, tampoco fueron aplicados en un amplio número.

Ello no quiere decir que pensemos que Mamaea no gozó de una situación privilegiada y que pudo obrar con el fin de influir en los asuntos estatales. Tal y como hemos indicado, la edad con la que Alejandro Severo asumió el poder, además de los amplios contactos que tuvo su madre al ser descendiente de una importante familia sacerdotal de Émesa pudo resultar decisivo. Por otro lado, no solo por la parte Oriental, sino también por el hecho de encontrarse en la corte cuando Julia Domna fue esposa de Septimio Severo son aspectos que no podemos pasar por alto y que nos indicarían que gozó de una gran consideración y una amplia red de contactos; materializado en los homenajes que personalidades del sector militar le ofrecieron.

No obstante, la preponderancia que tuvo el ejército durante el siglo III d.C. pudo condicionar en cierta manera las dedicaciones que le ofrecieron. No hace falta recordar que, Alejandro Severo, al igual que Heliogábalo, incluso el propio Septimio Severo, alcanzaron la púrpura imperial con el apoyo del sector militar. Solo Caracalla sustituyó a su padre después de asesinar a su hermano bajo el sistema hereditario. Este último no tuvo descendencia y, por lo tanto, para justificar la caída de Macrino, se hizo necesaria la estrategia de señalar que los hijos de Soemias y Mamaea fueron descendientes directos del primogénito del *princeps* lepcitano. En cierta manera, los únicos sucesores que podían continuar con la línea dinástica serían las familiares de Julia Domna. Más allá de la credibilidad que pudieran aportar dichos rumores extendidos por Maesa, quien realmente estaba dando legitimidad al gobierno de Alejandro Severo no era otra que su propia madre y esta última, fue consciente que, para mantener su posición era necesario extender la idea de que la *domus* era una estructura férrea y fuerte que respectaba las tradiciones. De ahí se explicaría no solo su inclusión en los testimonios epigráficos, sino también la de Orbiana en calidad de nueva *Augusta* y futura madre del sucesor dinástico.

Son las connotaciones relacionadas con el ejército y con la esfera militar en las que podemos encontrar una realidad poliédrica vivida en el Imperio y que se puso de manifiesto en la epigrafía de Mamaea. Como indicábamos anteriormente, Alejandro Severo fue elevado con el apoyo del ejército, lo que podría ser indicativo de que, en un momento dado, estos últimos también podrían deponerlo, mucho más cuanto estamos hablando de un *princeps* que todavía no tenía la suficiente madurez para asumir responsabilidades de gran calado. Fue preciso ser asesorado en sus inicios no solo por su madre, sino también por un amplio grupo de personalidades entre las que se encontraba Ulpiano. Es aquí donde la maternidad pudo desempeñar un papel fundamental con el fin de consolidar la posición del último representante de la dinastía de los Severos. Atentar contra un emperador no era una acción anómala, sino todo lo contrario. Tal y como se pudo comprobar, cuando un *princeps* no era considerado digno de su cargo era depuesto, como lo ocurrido con Heliogábalo. Ello explicaría a nuestro entender que el título de *mater castrorum*, que tanto Faustina la Menor como Julia Domna lo recibieron aparentemente por unos motivos concretos y relacionados con los conflictos bélicos[107], en las últimas *Augustae* de la dinastía de los Severos tuvo una significación diferente. En este caso, no solo se debió a una demostración de continuidad con sus predecesoras, sino también como una estrategia de conseguir la lealtad de las tropas, pues al asumir Mamaea la maternidad no solo del emperador, del senado y de la patria, sino también de los ejércitos, confirmaba que toda la población se encontraba bajo su amparo; siendo la condecoración de *Mater Generis Humani* la máxima expresión. No obstante, no podemos olvidar que este último epíteto respondía a lo que diferentes especialistas han denominado como títulos de carácter extraoficial, que se alejaban de los marcados por la Cancillería imperial y también hay que indicar que, a diferencia de la amplia mayoría, este pedestal y su correspondiente estatua fueron sufragados por un organismo municipal.

Con ello, queremos reflexionar en este trabajo que, a diferencia de lo que tradicionalmente se ha considerado, la amplia titulatura desarrollada por Julia Mamaea no sería la prueba que confirmaría que tuvo un poder importante en el gobierno de su hijo. La realidad y casuística pudo ser mucho más amplia, y además de responder a una política de *consensus* con el fin de asemejarse a sus antecesoras, también pudo deberse a una estrategia para consolidar su posición dentro de la Corte. El sector militar había demostrado tener un poder considerable y por mucho que influyera esta *Augustae* en las decisiones imperiales, sin tener asegurada la adhesión de los ejércitos, su estabilidad y la de su hijo no dejaban de ser efímeras como así ocurrió, pues estos últimos finalmente fueron eliminados y de nada sirvieron los supuestos contactos y margen de maniobra con los que contó la hija menor de Maesa y madre del último representante de los Severos.

Agradecimiento.Queremos mencionar y agradecer la prestigiosa base de datos Claus-Slaby y colaboradores: http://www.manfredclauss.de/. A dicha página web remitimos para consultar la bibliografía de cada una de las inscripciones latinas. En el presente trabajo, por motivo de economización de espacio, solo citamos los *corpora* más representativos de cada uno de los ejemplos.

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Late Roman Tableware from Argamum – "Faleză Est" Sector. Phocaean Ware

Marian MOCANU[1]

Abstract. *In this article it is analysed the pottery produced in Phocaean workshops, discovered in the "Faleză Est" sector of the late Roman fortress Argamum. The forms identified are H 1, H 2, H 3, H 4, H 5, H 8 and H 10. Most common of all by far is the form H 3. Chronologically, the studied ceramic group dates between the middle of the 4th century and the third quarter of the 7th century.*

Rezumat. *În acest articol este este analizată ceramica de masa produsă în atelierele din Phocaea, descoperită în sectorul "Faleză East" al cetății romane târzii Argamum. Formele identificate sunt H 1, H 2, H 3, H 4, H 5, H 8 și H 10. Cea mai numeroaseă dintre toate este de departe forma H 3. Din punct de vedere cronologic, grupul ceramic studiat este datat între jumătatea secolului al IV-lea și al treilea sfert al secolului al VII-lea.*

Keywords: Phocaean Red Slip Ware, Argamum, Scythia, Western Black Sea.

We continue the analysis of the potter-sherds from Argamum discovered in the "Faleză Est" sector with the Phoceaean tableware (Figure 1). Known in the literature as "Late Roman C", Phocaean tableware is widespread in the western Black Sea, especially in the 5th and 6th centuries, and Argamum is no exception. The ceramic group from the "Central Sector" of the late Roman fort at Argamum revealed that for the chronological interval mentioned above, the phocaene wares represents 80 per cent of the total tableware[2].

Following the processing of ceramic group found in the "Faleză Est" sector, we identified 109 typical ceramic fragments from the Phocaean area, to which we added six fragmentary plates with stamped decoration. If we take into consideration the entire sample of tableware from "Faleză Est", presented before, we can see the apparent predominance of this type of pottery.

The first identified form is H 1, variant B, with a single specimen, to which is added another belonging to the variant H 1D (Figure 2/1–2). The bowls specific to the H 1 form appear in a series of archaeological sites in the West-pontic space, such as Halmyris. Here ceramic fragments were discovered in archaeological contexts dating from the 4th to the 6th

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[2] MOCANU 2018, 340 and graph 4.

centuries. However, most of them are from archaeological contexts dated back to 5th century[3]. In Histria this type of pottery is known both from recent research in the Acropolis Centre-south Sector[4] and from the archaeological excavations of the second half of the 20th century[5]. Aegyssus is another settlement in which was attested the presence of the H 1 form, whereas a result of the excavations of the 70s of the 20th century we know eight specimens, classified in variants A, B and C[6]. Other two sites where this type of tableware is present are Topraichioi[7] and Ibida, in the Extra-Muros West III[8] and Extra-Muros North I[9] sectors. At Argamum, in addition to these tow pottery-shreds identified in the "Faleză Est" sector, are added tow others from the "Central Sector" of the late Roman fort[10]. The phocaean form H 1 with the H 4 form produced at Çandarli is sometimes entangled in West-pontic area, because the H 1 form is considered the successor of the pergamenian one.

The following form produced in the Phocaean workshops, present in the studied pottery group is H 2C (Figure 2/3). This type of bowls is specific to the 5th century, and was widespread in the Mediterranean basin, but also entered the Black Sea. In the province of Scythia, the H 2 form is present in Histria, in the Acropolis Central-South sector and is dating to archaeological contexts from the beginning of the 5th century[11]. Form H 2 also appears in the late Roman settlement of Halmyris. Following the excavations of the '80s of the 20th century, were inventoried three ceramic fragments attributed to archaeological levels 7 and 8, thus dating in the second half of the 4th century and the first half of the 5th century[12]. Following the study of tableware discovered between 2006 and 2014 it is being identified five other specimens[13]. The H 2 form is present on the Danube limes in the forts from Capidava[14] or Aegyssus[15]. Inland the province of Scythia, the H 2 form appears at the fortress from Tropaeum Traiani[16] and at Ibida[17].

[3] TOPOLEANU 2000, 44–45, Pl. 1/8–9, Pl. 2/10–18. MOCANU 2018A, 238–239, Fig. 6/1–5.

[4] BĂDESCU, ILIESCU 2016, 142–143, Fig. 1–2; ILIESCU *et alii* 2017, 47–49, Fig. 1–3.

[5] SUCEVEANU 1982, 84, no. 1–2, Fig. 7/1–2 (Level IIIA – last quarter of the 4th–fist half of the 5th centuries).

[6] MOCANU, NUȚU 2017, 131–132, Fig. 7/3.

[7] OPAIȚ 1996, 137, Pl. 56/11, 13.

[8] MOCANU 2011, 232, Pl. 2/10.

[9] MOCANU 2014, 154, Fig. 4/17.

[10] MOCANU 2018, 339, Fig. 2/18–19.

[11] BĂDESCU, ILIESCU 2016, 144–145, Fig. 5/2-3; ILIESCU *et alii* 2017, 51-52, Fig. 7/1–4.

[12] TOPOLEANU 2000, 46, Pl. 2/19, pl. 3/20. No. 20 is in fact a Pontic Red Slip Form 3 dish.

[13] MOCANU 2018A, 239, Fig. 6/6–8.

[14] OPRIȘ 2003, 150, Pl. 54/354.

[15] MOCANU, NUȚU 2017, 132, fig. 7/4–5.

[16] BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU, BARNEA 1979, 187, Fig. 160/2.

[17] MOCANU 2014, 154, Fig. 4/19; MOCANU 2011, 232, Pl. 2/12.

Form H 3 is by far the most representative product of Phocaean workshops, not only in the particular case of Argamum, but in the entire West-Pontic region[18]. All the eight variants of this type of dish /bowl are identified in the ceramic group discovered in the “Faleză Est” sector. The two pottery-shreds that have classified as H 3A are a late variant (H 3A / C variant), the transition from the classic A variant to the C variant (Figure 2/4–5). These ceramic fragments represent the first attestation of the H 3A form at Argamum, because in the “Central Sector” the earliest is the H 3B form. In the “Faleză Est” sector, it is being classified six ceramic fragments in the form H 3B (Figure 2/6–8) and seven each in the types H 3C (Figure 2/9–11) and H 3D (Figure 2/12; Figure 3/13–14). All these forms dated to the second half of the 5th century. For the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th century, the specific form is H 3E (Figure 3/15–21), with 21 ceramic fragments. The forms from the first half of the 6th century are: H 3F (Figure 3/22-24; Figure 4/25–28) with 22 pottery-shreds, H 3G (Figure 4/29) with two fragments and H 3H (Figure 4/30–33) with 11 ceramic fragments. In the “Faleză Est” sector, a total of 78 ceramic fragments were discovered belonging to the H 3 form.

In the Black Sea basin the H 4 form founds in minimal numbers (Figure 4/34). Its existence has certified in Halmyris[19] and Ibida[20]. In the fortress from Argamum, up to now a single ceramic fragment has discovered in the “Faleză Est” sector. The H 4 plates are framed in the early stages of the Phocaean workshops, dating to the second half of the 4th century.

Another type of bowls rarely found in this geographical region are those specific to form H 5 (Figure 4/35). The four ceramic fragments studied for this article are the only ones of this kind from Argamum, discovered until today, and most probably dated in the second half of the 5th century. Apart from Argamum, other late Roman archaeological sites in Scythia where the presence of the H 5 form reported are Halmyris[21], Histria[22] or Ibida[23].

A ceramic fragment it is classified in the form H 8 (Figure 4/36). As well as the forms H 4 and H 5 this type of bowls it is extremely rarely spread in the west-pontic area. Analogies are identified in the fortifications from Histria[24], Topraichioi[25], Halmyris[26] or Ibida[27]. The H8 bowls it is dated in the second half of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century.

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[18] ILIESCU *et alii* 2017, 52–54, Pl. 7/5–7, Pl. 8–10; RAȚIU, OPRIȘ, DUCA 2017, 215–217, Pl. 4/10–12, Pl. 5–7; BĂDESCU, ILIESCU 2016, 145–147, Fig. 5/4–11, Fig. 6; MOCANU 2011, 232–240, Pl. 3–7; GĂMUREAC 2009, 265–266, Pl. 11/103–104, Pl. 12/105-106; TOPOLEANU 2000, 46–54, Pl. 3/21–30, Pl. 4–7/62–65.

[19] TOPOLEANU 2000, 56, Pl. 8/73–74.

[20] MOCANU 2014, 157, Fig. 4/31.

[21] MOCANU 2018a, 245, Fig. 9/20; TOPOLEANU 2000, 59–60, Pl. 9–10/94–98.

[22] SUCEVEANU 1982, 92, no. 24, Fig. 11/24.

[23] MOCANU 2014, 158, Fig. 5/32.

[24] ILIESCU *et alii* 2017, 56, Pl. 12/3.

[25] OPAIȚ 1996, 138, Pl. 58/5.

[26] TOPOLEANU 2000, 59–60, Pl. 10/94–97, Pl. 11/98.

[27] MOCANU 2011, 240, 90–92, Pl. 8/90–92.

The last and latest form produced in Phocaean workshops, discovered in the “Faleză Est” sector, is H 10. Within the studied ceramic group were identified all three specific variants of this form. Fourteen ceramic fragments are classified as H 10A (Figure 4/37-38; Figure 5/39-40), 12 are H 10B (Figure 5/41-43), and five are H 10C (Figure 5/44-45). The H 10 form is specific to the chronological interval between the second half of the sixth century and the first half of the seventh century. Unlike the H 3 form that is present in all the late Roman fortresses of the western-pontic area, form 10 its found in significant quantities, especially in the settlements on the Black Sea shore-line, the best-known examples being Histria[28] or Halmyris[29]. From H 10 is also found in sites inland the province of Scythia, but in smaller quantities[30].

Following the archaeological excavations in the “Faleză Est” sector, six Phocaean ceramic fragments with stamped decoration were unearthed (Figure 5). The decoration can bee classified as geometric and vegetal, zoomorphic or paleo-Christian motifs. The geometric and vegetal motifs identified are the lozenge with volutes alternating with the kantharos. These stamps are arranged circularly around the centre of the plate-floor. The stamps are medium in size and with a high degree of usage. In the West-Pontic area, the motif of the kantharos it is known on ceramic fragments discovered at Histria[31], Tomis[32] and Ibida[33], and the lozenge with volutes were attested at Halmyris[34] and Tomis[35]. This combination of decorative motifs can be dated back to the second half of the 5th century.

The following stamp shows a decorative motif in the form of “S” with a double outline. Like the previous one and this one is specific to the second half of the 5th century. The analogies known in the western Black Sea come from Ibida[36], Halmyris[37], Tomis[38] and Histria[39]. The last geometric decorative motif is a double outlined diamond and a stylized cross placed above. In Scythia, it is less known, unlike previous decorative motifs. The only known analogy comes from the ancient archaeological excavations at Histria[40]. This type of decoration style is specific to the second half of the 5th century. With stamps depicting running rabbits, with their heads turned back are decorated two ceramic fragments. These

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[28] BĂDESCU, ILIESCU 2016, 148–149, Fig. 8; SUCEVEANU 1982, 99, no. 10–12, Fig. 14/10–12.

[29] MOCANU 2018a, 245–246, Fig. 9/23–25, Fig. 10/1–2; TOPOLEANU 2000, 60–62, Pl. 11/99–106.

[30] OPRIȘ 2003, 152, Pl. 55/364–370; BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU, BARNEA 1979, 189, Fig. 167/2.1.

[31] POPESCU 1965, 701, Fig. 2/9.

[32] PAPUC 1973, 167–168, Fig. 11/1–3.

[33] MOCANU 2011A, 296, Fig. 2/4.

[34] TOPOLEANU 1996, 146, no. 9-10, Pl. 2/9–10.

[35] PAPUC 1963, 160, Fig. 5/1.

[36] MOCANU 2011A, 297, Fig. 3/11.

[37] TOPOLEANU 1996, 145, no. 7, Pl. 2/7.

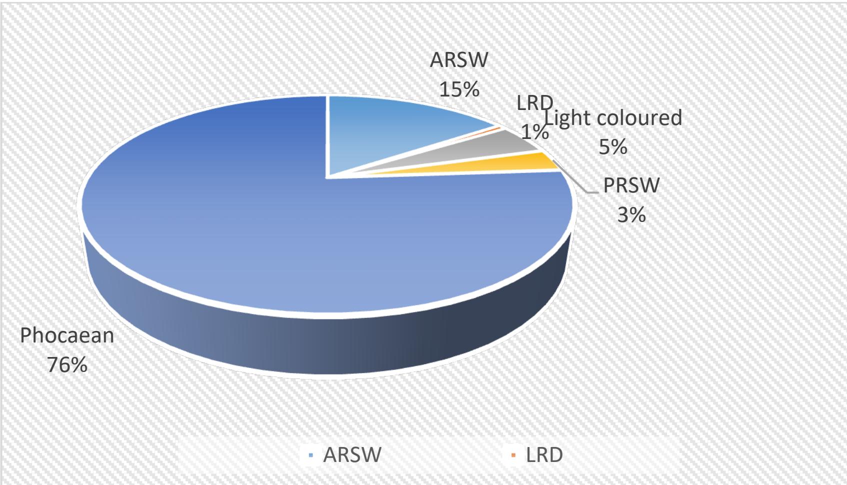
[38] MUNTEANU, PAPUC 1976, 149, Pl. 1/Fig. 3.

[39] POPESCU 1965, 706, Fig. 7/2.

[40] POPESCU 1965, Fig. 11/6.

stamps were executed circularly around the centre of the bowl floor. The decorative motif is specific to the second half of the 5th century with useful analogies in Tomis[41]. The only ceramic fragment decorated with paleo Christian motif shows a cross with a double outline. In the centre of the plate floor was executed a large stamp. The way the decoration it is placed, and its dimensions, are specific to the first half of the 6th century. The double outlined cross is a stamp widespread in late Roman settlements on the Black Sea littoral, such as Histria[42] and Tomis[43], but also appears in settlements from the Lower Danube area, in Noviodunum[44] and Ibida[45].

Quantitative analysis of the Phocaean tableware group from the "Faleză Est" sector shows that the most common form is H 3F, followed closely by the H 3E form. Other forms with a substantial presence are H 10A and H 10B. At the opposite are the earliest forms, such as H 1B, H1 D or H 4. If we take into account other categories of tableware from "Faleză Est" sector, presented before, we find that the Phocaean ceramics represent 76% of the total, followed by the North African pottery, with 15%, and the light colored Aegean pottery with 5%. At the oposite are the Pontic pottery with 3% and the Cypriot ceramics with only one percentage (Graph 1). Compared with the group of tableware from the "Central Sector", the percentage ratio between the main workshops is almost similar, with the amendment that in the "Faleză Est" sector, ceramics from the Aegean and Cyprus appear as new.



Graph 1. Percentage ratio of tableware from "Faleză Est" sector

[41] PAPUC 1973, 161, 176, Fig. 8/4, 7.

[42] POPESCU 1965, 714, Fig. 13/8.

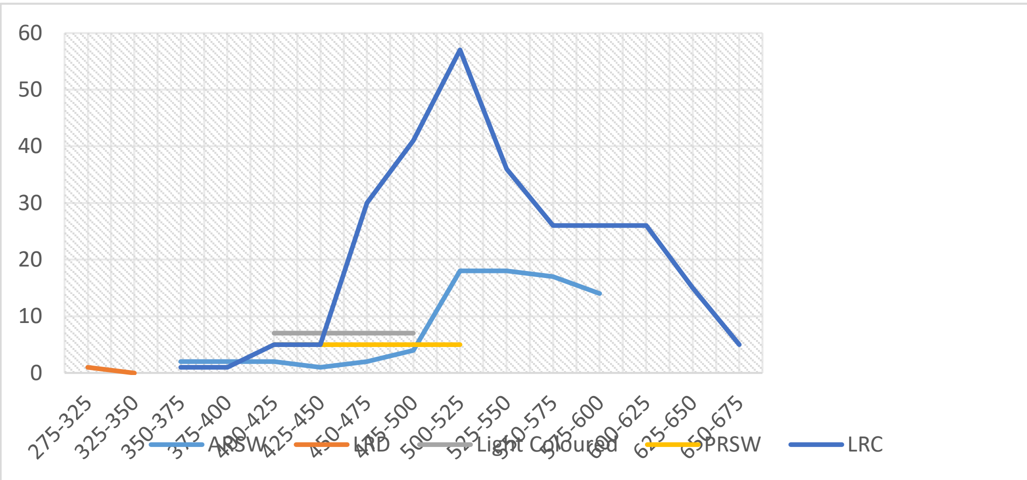
[43] PAPUC 1983, 180, Fig. 24/2.

[44] TOPOLEANU 1984, 192, no. 24, Pl. 5/8, Pl. 10/10.

[45] MOCANU 2011a, 299, Fig. 4/23–24.

Typo-chronologically (Graph 2), the tableware from the "Faleză Est" sector it is framed as follows: a single ceramic fragment (Cypriot – LRD) it can be dated at the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century. Between the middle of the 4th century and the middle of the 5th century, the quantity of tableware is relatively constant, here framing the early forms imported from North Africa or Phocaea, but also the pottery from the Pontic basin or Aegean. A spectacular increase in the quantity of tableware is present in the middle of the fifth century, thereby the peak being reached in the first quarter of the sixth century. With the middle of the 6th century the quantity of tableware begins to gradually decrease, until its disappearance in the third quarter of the 7th century.

The typo-chronological evolution of the ceramic group from the "Faleză Est" sector highlights the fact that the researches focused on the latest archaeological levels identified in the late Roman fort from Argamum. At the same time, we can say that the existence of this fortification it has extended in the first three-quarters of the seventh century.



Graph 2. Typo-chronology of tableware from "Faleză Est" sector

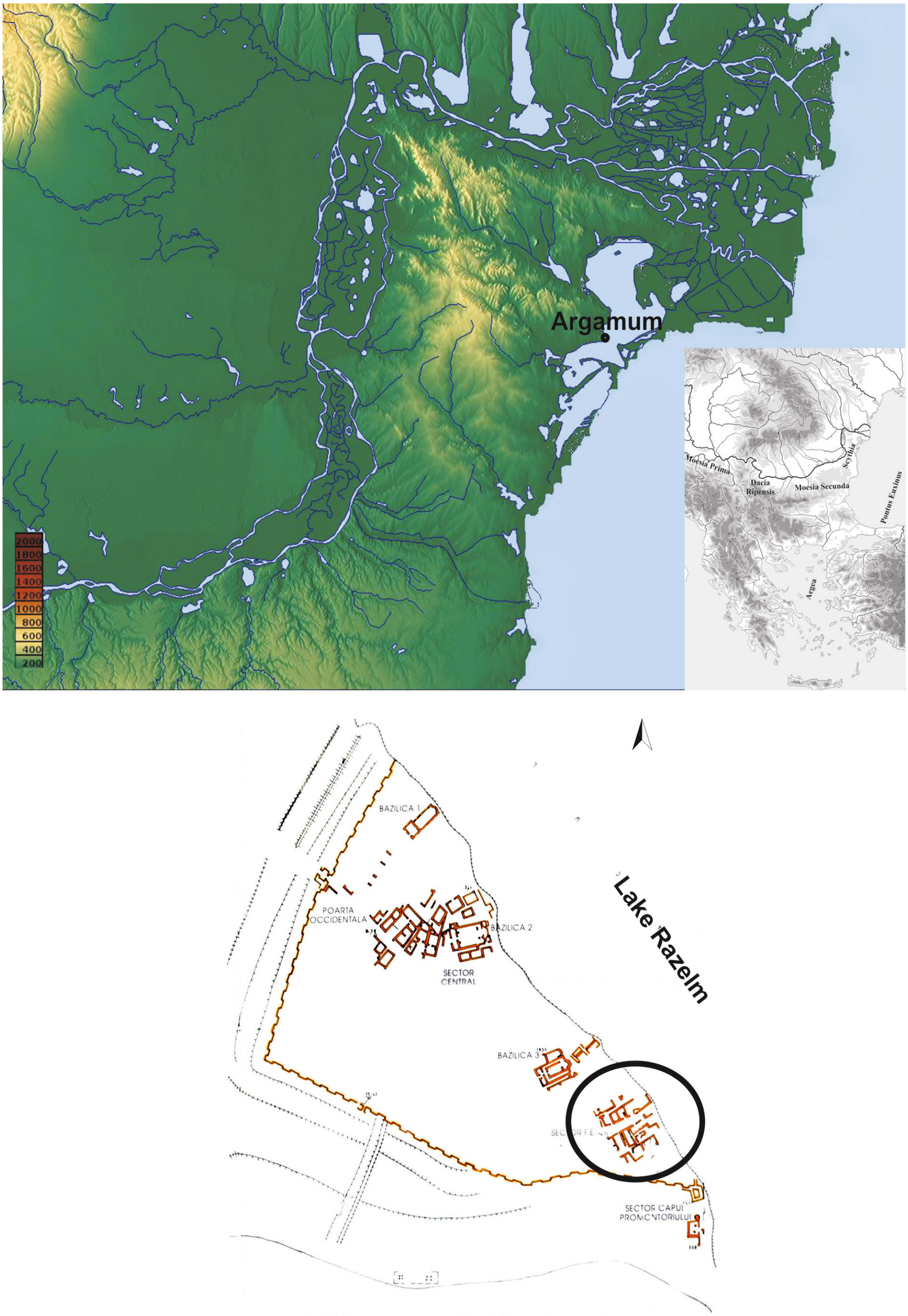


Figure 1. Location and plan of Argamum and Faleză-Est sector

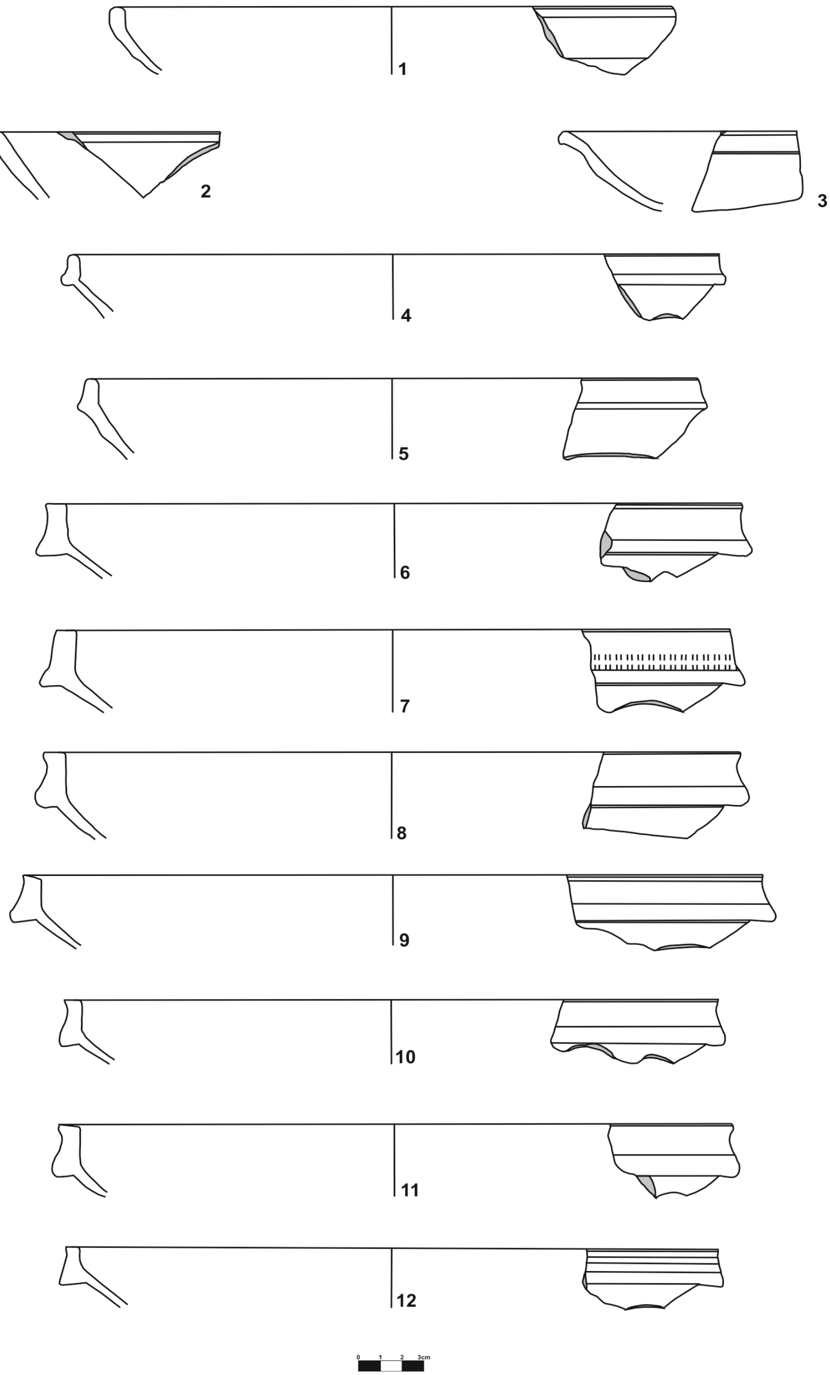


Figure 2. H1, H2C

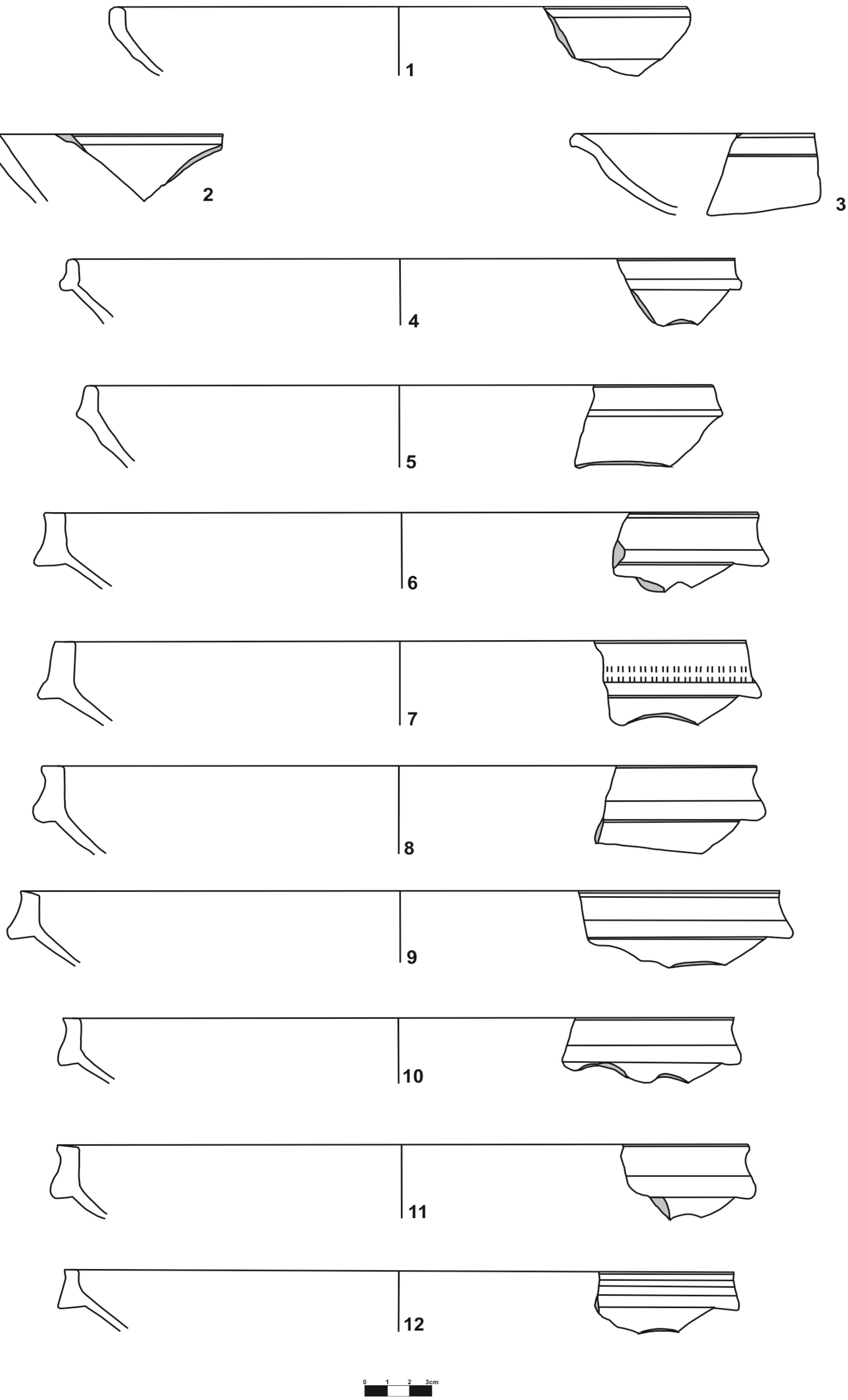


Figure 3.

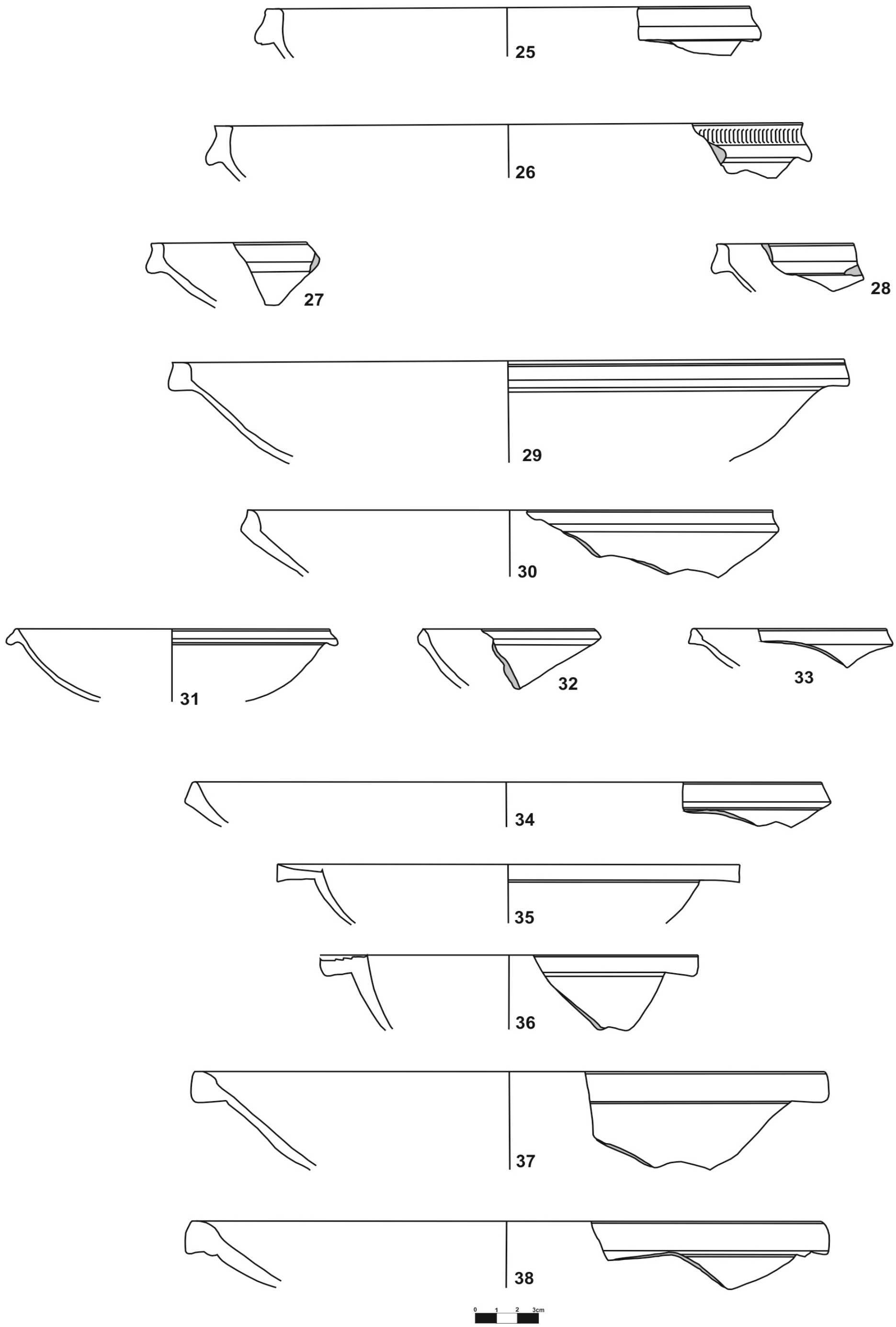


Figure 4.

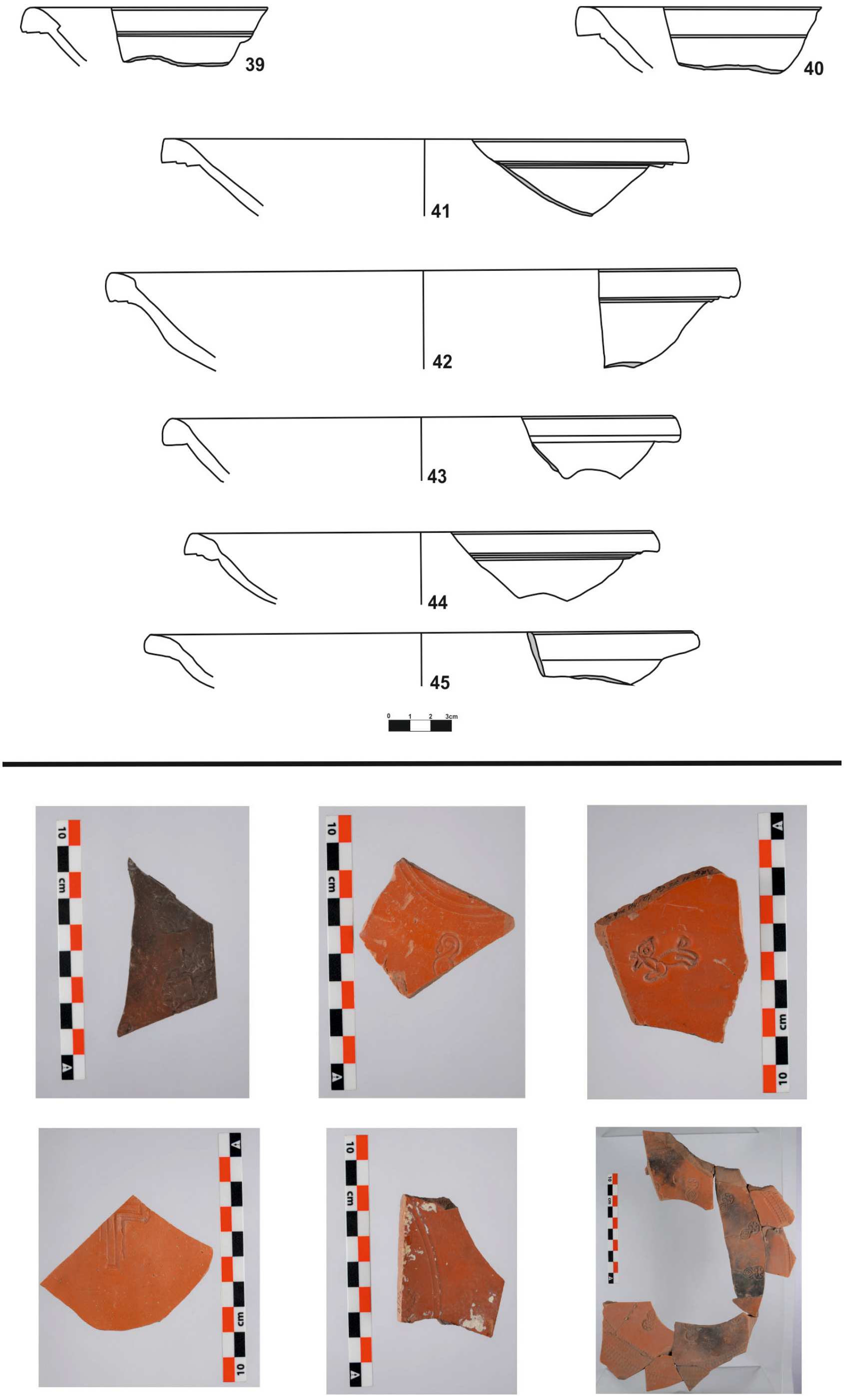


Figure 5.

Selective Catalogue

Form H 1B

1. Bowl. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1996, FE, C14-15, -1.70 m. Dm: 26; Hp: 3.2.

Reddish-brown fabric (2.5 YR 4/8), dark reddis-brown slip (2.5 YR 3/6). Exterior rim is painted black.

Form H 1D

2. Bowl. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1981. Dm: undeterminable; Hp: 3.2.

Reddish-brown fabric (2.5 YR 4/6), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8). On exterior rim, traces of black paint.

Form H 2C

3. Small dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1995, FE, C15, -1.50 m. Dm: undeterminable; Hp: 3.9.

Orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/8) with fine limestone particles, slip of same shade.

Form H 3A/C

4. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1983, FE, C21. Dm: 30; Hp: 3.2.

Reddish-brown fabric (5 YR 4/6), orange slip (5 YR 6/6).

5. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1981. Dm: 28; Hp: 3.9.

Dull reddish-brown fabric, reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/6).

Form H 3B

6. Large dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1991, FE, C1/4, -0.85 m. Dm: 32; Hp: 3.6.

Orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/8), oranage slip (5 YR 7/8).

7. Large dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1981, FE. Dm: 31; Hp: 4.

Bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/8), dark reddish-brown slip (5 YR 3/6). Exterior rim has toothed wheel decoration.

8. Large dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 2001, FE, C1, -0.90 m. Dm: 32; Hp: 4.2.

Reddish-brown fabric (2.5 YR 4/8), bright brown slio (2.5 YR 5/8).

Form H 3C

9. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1979. Dm: 32; Hp: 3.5.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), dark reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 3/4).

10. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1991, FE. C7, -0.85 m. Dm: 30; Hp: 3.1.

Orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8).

11. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 2001, FE, C1, -0.70 m. Dm: 31; Hp: 3.5.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8).

Form H 3D

12. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1981. Dm: 30; Hp: 2.9.

Dull reddish-brown fabric (2.5 YR 4/4) with a large quantity of debris, dark reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 3/6).

13. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum, FE, passim. Dm: 32; Hp: 2.6.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), orange slip (2.5 YR 6/8). The outer rim is decorated with toothed wheel.

14. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 2001, FE, C9, -0,70 m. Dm: 29; Hp: 2.1.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/6), dark reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 3/6), with traces of black paint on both sides.

Form H 3E

15. Dish. Missing floor.

Argamum 2001, FE, C8, -0.40 m. Dm:23; Hp: 4.5.

Brigh brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8).

16. Dish. Rim and upper part.

Argamum 1995, FE, C13, -0.90 m. Dm: 29; Hp: 4.4.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8). The exterior rim has toothed wheel decoration.

17. Dish. Missing floor.

Argamum 2001, FE, C8, -0.40 m. Dm: 25; Hp: 3.9.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8) with fine particles of limestone, reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8).

18. Dish. Rim fragmrnt and upper part.

Argamum, FE, passim. Dm: 28; Hp: 2.2.

Orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/8), bright brown slip (2.5 YR 5/8).

19. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1995, FE, C16. Dm: 22; Hp: 2.5.

Orange fabric (5 YR 6/8), orange slip (2.5 YR 6/8).

20. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 2001, FE, C2, -0,94 m. Dm: 26; Hp: 2.5.

Reddish-brown fabric (2.5 YR 4/8) slip of same shade, the outer rim has toothed wheel decoration.

21. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 2001, FE, C2, -1.00 m. Dm: 22; Hp: 2.8.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8).

Form H 3F

22. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1991, FE, C2, -0.50 m. Dm: 23; Hp: 2.6.

Dark reddish-brown fabric (5 YR 3/4), brownish-black slip (5 YR 3/1). The exterior rim has toothed wheel decoration.

23. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1990, FE. Dm: 26; Hp: 2.8.

Reddish-brown fabric (5 YR 4/6), slip of same shade (5 YR 4/8). The exterior rim is painted balck.

24. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1981, FE. Dm: 24; Hp: 2.6.

Bright reddish-brown fabric (5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (5 YR 4/8).

25. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 2001, FE, C8, -0,40 m. Dm: 23; Hp: 2.5.

Orange fabric (2.5 YR 6/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8).

26. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1990, FE. Dm: 28; Hp: 2.7.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8). The exterior rim is painted white and toothed wheel decorated.

27. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum, FE, passim. Dm: undeterminable; Hp: 3.3.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8). The exterior rim is painted black.

28. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1995, FE, C14, -1.35 m. Dm: undeterminable; Hp: 2.4.

Reddish-brown fabric (2.5 YR 4/8), slip of same shade.

Form H 3G

29. Large size dish. Missing floor.

Argamum 1995, FE, C4, -0.70 m. Dm: 32; Hp: 5.2.

Reddish-brown fabric (2.5 YR 4/6), dark reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 3/6). The exterior rim is painted black.

Form H 3H

30. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1995, FE, C15, -1.50 m. Dm: 25: Hp: 3.4.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8) with some fine particles of limestone, reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8). The outer rim is painted black.

31. Small size dish. Missing floor.

Argamum 2001, FE, C1, -1.30. Dm: 15; Hp: 3.7.

Brownish-grey fabric (5 YR 4/1), dark reddish-brown slip (5 YR 3/3).

32. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1996, FE, C14-15, -1.70 m. Dm: undeterminable; Hp: 4.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), slip of same shade.

33. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1995, FE, C8; -1.15 m. Dm: undeterminable. Hp: 2.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8).

Form H 4

34. Plate. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1990, FE, -0.60 m. Dm: 30; Hp: 2.3.

Greyish-brown fabric (5 YR 4/2), dull reddish-brown slip (5 YR 4/4). The exterior rim is painted black.

Form H 5

35. Medium size bowl. Missing flor.

Argamum 2001, FE, C8, -0.40 m. Dm: 22; Hp: 4.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8).

Form H 8

36. Bowl. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1984, FE. Dm: 18; Hp: 3.8.

Dark reddish-brown fabric (5 YR 3/4), brownish-black slip (5 YR 2/2).

Form H 10A

37. Dish. Rim fragment and upper part.

Argamum 1991, FE, C10, -0.60 m. Dm: 30; Hp: 5.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8). The outer rim is painted white.

38. Dish. Rim and upper body.

Argamum 1996, FE, C14. Dm: 30; Hp: 3.4

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8); reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8)

39. Dish. Rim fragment and upper wall.

Argamum 2001, FE, C7, -0.45. Dm: undeterminable; Hp: 2.7.

Reddish-brown fabric (2.5 YR 4/6), dark reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 3/6). The exterior rim is painted in black and white.

40. Dish. Rim fragment and upper wall.

Argamum, FE, passim. Dm: undeterminable; Hp: 3.

Bright reddish-brown fabric (5 YR 5/6), reddish-brown slip (5 YR 4/8).

Form H 10B

41. Dish. Rim fragment and upper wall.

Argamum 1987, FE, passim. Dm: 25; Hp: 3.5.

Orange fabric (5 YR 6/8) with some small limestone particles, reddish-brown slip (5 YR 4/8).

42. Dish. Rim fragment and upper wall.

Argamum, FE, passim. Dm: 30; hp: 4.5.

Greyish-brown fabric (5 YR 4/2), dark reddish-brown slip (5 YR 3/4). The outer rim is painted black.

43. Dish. Rim fragment and upper wall.

Argamum 2001, FE, C1, -0.80 m. Dm: 24; Hp: 2.9.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8).

Form H 10C

44. Dish. Rim fragment and upper wall.

Argamum 1987, FE, passim. Dm: 22; Hp: 3.3.

Orange fabric (5 YR 6/8), bright brown slip (5 YR 5/8).

45. Dish. Rim fragment and upper wall.

Argamum 1987, FE, passim. Dm: 26; Hp: 2.4.

Bright brown fabric (2.5 YR 5/8), reddish-brown slip (2.5 YR 4/8).

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A New Approach to the Periodization of Polished Ceramics of the Saltovo-Mayaki Culture

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Abstract. *The article presents a technique of periodization of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture burials based on the shapes of polished vessels. The methodological basis of the research is historical-and-cultural approach. This is a scientific direction developed by the famous Russian ceramic researcher A.A. Bobrinsky. The materials of the study are the most popular categories of vessels from the catacomb cemeteries of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture. These are jugs and cups from Dmitrievka and Yutanovka cemeteries. The main hypothesis of the study is as follows: (1) Burials with polished vessels of the mass traditions of shapes creating are earlier on the cemetery; (2) During the necropolis functioning, the erosion of mass traditions of vessel shapes creating took place; and (3) Distribution of new (possibly mixed) traditions belongs to the late period of necropolis functioning. Burials with vessels of the 'new' traditions should be attributed to the late period of the burial ground's existence. The hypothesis found a number of independent confirmations at both burial sites studied. These are metal inventory, planigraphy, and topography of graves.*

Rezumat. *Articolul prezintă o tehnică de periodizare a înmormântărilor din cultura Saltovo-Mayaki pe baza formelor pe care le prezintă vasele lustruite. Baza metodologică a cercetării o reprezintă abordarea istorico-culturală. Aceasta este o direcție științifică dezvoltată de faimosul ceramolog rus A.A. Bobrinsky. Materialele studiului sunt cele mai populare categorii de vase din necropolele sub formă de catacombe ale culturii Saltovo-Mayaki. Acestea sunt ulcioare și cupe din cimitirele Dmitrievka și Yutanovka. Ipoteza principală de studiu este următoarea: (1) înmormântări cu vase lustruite având forme tipizate sunt cele mai timpurii din necropolă; (2) în timpul funcționării necropolei, s-a produs o diminuare a standardizării formelor vaselor; și (3) distribuția de noi tradiții (eventual mixte) aparține perioadei târzii de funcționare a necropolei. Înmormântările cu vase aparținând „noilor" tradiții ar trebui atribuite perioadei târzii a existenței spațiului de înmormântare. Această ipoteza se bazează pe o serie de dovezi independente la ambele locuri de înmormântare studiate. Ele provin din inventarul obiectelor din metal, planigrafia și topografia mormintelor.*

Keywords: Ceramics, Saltovo-Mayaki, polished vessels.

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Introduction

Chronology is the core of cultural and historical reconstructions based on archaeological sources. The internal chronology of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture is still not well developed in the current time. Perhaps, only belt sets are the only category of the Saltovo-Mayaki items with clear dating capabilities. The current level of knowledge allows us to identify the earliest burial objects related to the formation of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture, and burial with "classic" Saltovo items. Some researchers have proposed their variants of the chronological division of elements of belt elements directly within the "classic" set[2]. However, such schemes sometimes contradict each other.

But the main problem is not even the inconsistency of the chronological schemes mentioned. The fact is that belt sets were a social or age markers in the Saltovo-Mayaki society[3]. That is why belt sets and their elements are not mass finds in the Saltovo-Mayaki graves.

The recent discoveries show that an important chronological marker may be some types of items that are well known in the North Caucasus but are very rare in the Middle Don. The combination of such items with the earliest belt sets and Byzantine coins strongly suggests that these items were brought to the Don by the first settlers from the Caucasus. Probably they can also be used to highlight the earliest burial complexes of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture on the Middle Don[4]. But such items are too rare to rely confidently on them to develop an internal chronology of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture.

Ceramic vessels are more suitable material for such tasks. This group of sources is more numerous. The most numerous kind of pottery in the catacomb cemeteries of the Middle Don are polished vessels, especially two categories – jugs and cups. They are in the focus of the article.

The article attempts to show the possibilities of historical-and-cultural approach, developed by famous Russian ceramic researcher A.A. Bobrinsky, to the study of the shapes of clay vessels[5] and the analysis the chronology of the Saltovo-Mayaki contexts. The purpose of ceramics study in the framework of the historical-and-cultural approach is to reconstruct the specific cultural traditions of manufacturers and consumers of pottery, as well as to study the history of the population in ancient times based on data about these cultural traditions[6].

How can this task be implemented concerning the shapes of clay vessels?

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[2] PLETNEVA 1989; KOMAR 1999.

[3] AFANASIEV 1993, 45, 48; FLEROV 1990.

[4] AKSENOV 2012a.

[5] BOBRINSKY 1986; 1988; TSETLIN 2018.

[6] BOBRINSKY 1978.

The choice of historical-and-cultural approach largely related to the historical circumstances of the appearance of Saltovo populations in the Middle Don. It is considered that the main part of the Alans who moved to the Middle Don was from the Kislovodsk basin[7]. In addition to the Central Caucasus population, it was immigrants from other regions, i.e. Western and Eastern Caucasus[8].

Thus, in the 8th century, several groups of the Caucasian dwellers moved to the Middle Don with their pottery traditions of polished vessel making. These traditions have local origins in the North Caucasus, dating back to the first half of the first millennium AD.

Here it is important to note one thought. There was no other population who practiced the manufacture and widespread funeral use of polished pottery in the Middle Don before (in the 7th–8th centuries) the resettlement of the Alans. This means that different groups of Don Alans who settled this territory in the second half of the 8th century continued their traditions of pottery production at the new place. It follows that polished vessels of the early stage of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture should be made by the traditions that are conversant with a particular human group. Therefore, according to historical-and cultural-approach, the earlier polished ceramics of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture should be vessels made under the most stable traditions of shapes creating.

I will try to prove the hypothesis in the article basing on the analysis of archaeological sources.

The article deals with the results of polished ceramics periodization based on two famous catacomb cemeteries of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture. The first is the Dmitrievka cemetery. It is located in the Upper Seversky Donets. The site was explored since 1957 for eleven field seasons by an expedition led by S.A. Pletneva. More than 170 burials have been studied, most of them are catacombs[9]. The second cemetery is Yutanovka. It is located on the Middle Oskol. The site was investigated in the 1970s and 1980s. 28 catacombs were excavated, most of them were studied by the expedition led by G.E. Afanasiev[10].

In the article, I will try to solve three tasks:

1) To identify vessels that correspond to mass and stable cultural traditions of creating the shape. I mean vessels that have stable and repeated combinations of shape parameters, which are significant in the physiology of the work of the vessel manufacturer. These are the overall proportionality of the vessels, the overall proportionality, and angles of inclination of the functional parts of vessels;

2) To conduct a chronological grouping of the catacombs of Dmitrievka and Yutanovka cemeteries. It is based on the idea that the earlier ones should be catacombs with vessels

[7] AFANASIEV, RUNICH 2001, 22–23.

[8] AKSENOV 2012b, 216; MASTYKOVA 2016, 252.

[9] PLETNEVA 1989.

[10] AFANASIEV 1987, 177.

shapes of mass, stable traditions, and the later ones should be catacombs with vessels shapes made with violations of such mass traditions;

3) To check all conclusions concerning Dmitrievka and Yutanovka periodization using all available independent data.

Methods, materials

The technique used in this article was developed by the famous Soviet and Russian ceramic researcher A.A. Bobrinsky[11]. He is a founder of historical-and-cultural approach to the ceramic studies in Russian archaeology[12]. The technique has not yet started in the English-language scientific literature, and therefore it continues to be unknown. The technique is aimed at the identification of different cultural traditions of potters at the stage of the shaping of vessels.

Objects of analysis are frontal photos of vessels, in exceptional cases – drawings of vessels. At the preparatory stage, the natural shape asymmetry is eliminated by an average contour for each vessel.

A most general level of analysis is a variety of shapes on the general proportions. The analysis of general proportions is the study of the ratio of the height of the vessel to its maximum diameter. This information shows the most common differences in the views of potters and consumers of vessels on the dimensional parameters of clay products. This level of analysis is used in the article.

According to historical-and-cultural approach, the physiology of potter's work is a basis for the division of a vessel's shape into different functional parts. Each act of the shape creation involved two types of accented physical effort of the potter – point and spatial. Potter's point of physical effort is targeted to the separation of one part of the vessel from another. Points of application of such efforts can be identified using, for example, circular patterns (Figure 1). The second level of analysis is based on this information.

A more detailed level of analysis is a variety of shapes on their 'natural structures' and details of the vessel's functional parts. According to historical-and-cultural approach, a vessel can consist of 7 functional parts: 'lip' (top edge of vessel capacity), 'cheek' (part for pouring out), 'neck' (dispenser of pouring out), 'shoulder' (limiter of filling), 'brachium' (additional storage capacity), 'body' (main filler) and 'base' (bottom edge of vessel capacity). Names of functional parts were borrowed from the vocabulary of real potters by A.A. Bobrinsky[13].

The shape of each functional part of the vessel can be characterized by two parameters - general proportions and angle of inclination. General proportions are responsible for the

[11] BOBRINSKY 1986; 1988.

[12] TSETLIN 2017.

[13] BOBRINSKY 1988, 6.

overall ratio of altitude and latitude parameters of a particular part of the vessel. It is calculated as the ratio of the height of the part to the half-sum of the bases. The angle of inclination is measured by the slope of the line drawn between the points that distinguish a specific functional part on the left or right half of the vessel contour.

In the article I will mention only parameters which give clear result for distinguishing different cultural traditions of vessel shape creation:

1) General proportions of the whole vessel;
2) General proportions of 'body';
3) Angles of 'shoulder' or 'brachium'[14];
4) General proportions of 'neck'.

The main task of all the procedures is to identify the most popular and stable traditions of creating the shape of polished vessels basing on a combination of these parameters.

Such sources were investigated: 157 jugs and 103 cups from the Dmitrievka cemetery, 15 jugs, and 10 cups from Yutanovka cemetery. Thus, the material of this study consists of 285 polished vessels.

Analysis

1) Dmitrievka

1.1. Jugs

The first step of jugs shape study is to analyze their general proportions (hereinafter – GP). It is the ratio of the most general shape parameters – the height of the vessel and the maximum diameter of the vessel. The distribution of GP-values is not normal (Figure 2.1). The histogram shows two groups of jugs. The borders are located about 0.9–1.15 and 1.15–1.4, with peaks around values 1 and 1.2.

What is the significance of these groups? We can take the answer if to divide all jugs into 2 groups based on GP of 'body' by the technique used: jugs with 'low body' and jugs with 'middle/low body'[15]. Interval of 'low body' GP is 0.1768–0.3534, interval of of ' middle/low body' GP is 0.3535–0.7069[16]. The comparison of these groups on the GP of whole vessels shows important differences (Figure 2.2). The most of 'low body' jugs are located in the interval from 1.0 to 1.2. The most of 'middle/low body' jugs are located in the interval from 1.2 to 1.4. Thus, the jugs' differences in GP of the whole vessel are closely related to the differences in GP of 'body'.

[14] In this study, we do not draw a strict line between these two functional parts and consider them together.
[15] See TSETLIN 2018.
[16] TSETLIN 2018, Tab. 2.

The next step is the analysis of ‘shoulder’ or ‘brachium’. The density of the distribution of the values of the angles demonstrates the presence of two groups of vessels (Figure 2.3). They are located at intervals of approximately 115–123º and 125–132º. The border that appears on the histogram around the 123–124º becomes understandable if we compare the angles of ‘shoulder’/’brachium’ between jugs with ‘low body’ and jugs with ‘middle/low body’. Angles values in the range of 115–123º are found mainly for jugs with ‘low body’ (Figure 2.4). The situation with ‘middle/low body’ jugs is somewhat different. In the right part of the histogram (angles values 125–132º), jugs with ‘middle/low body’ are about 2.5 times more than jugs with ‘low body’. Also ‘middle/low body’ jugs are few in the left part of the histogram.

The results show that there is a certain relationship between the morphological parameters of jugs considered. The general trend is as follows[17]:

– jugs with a relatively lower GP usually have ‘low body’ and low angles of ‘shoulder’/’brachium’;

– jugs with a relatively higher GP usually has ‘middle/low body’ and high angles of ‘shoulder’/’brachium’.

It is demonstrated by the graph with the results of canonical analysis (Figure 3). The method is shown similarities/differences between objects for several groups of variables set by the researcher. The general trend is quite obvious here. Differences on GP of ‘body’, i.e. on the horizontal axis, are associated with the characteristics of jugs on two other parameters (GP oh whole vessel, angles of ‘shoulder’/’brachium’). Therefore, ‘low-body’ jugs are mostly located in the lower-left part of the graph, and ‘medium/low-body’ jugs are mostly located in the upper-right part of the graph.

It seems possible to conclude that in this case, we are dealing with jugs made by potters of two different traditions of shaping. These traditions differ both on the most general ideas about the proportions of vessels and the parameters of basic functional parts. The first tradition includes jugs with a lower GP of the vessel (i.e. up to 1.2), ‘low body’ and angle of ‘shoulder’ of up to 123º (Figure 5.1–3). The second tradition includes jugs with GP of the vessel (i.e. more than 1.2), ‘medium/low body’ and angle of ‘shoulder’ more than 125º (Figure 5.4–6).

1.2. Cups

The analysis of cups is based on a similar algorithm. There is only one difference. Handles of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture cups can be ring-shaped or zoomorphic. It is generally accepted that these differences are significant. I took it into account in this study. Therefore, the cups

[17] The ‘neck’ analysis was performed, but it did not yield results. Therefore, this information is not provided in the article.

analysis content is the definition of typical traditions for cups with a ring-shaped handle and cups with a zoomorphic handle.

The analysis of 'neck' GP shows some differences between ring-shaped handle cups and zoomorphic handle cups (Figure 4.1). Based on the histogram, it is possible to draw a boundary between the groups around the value of 0.6. Among zoomorphic handle cups, the majority (34 out of 55, i.e. 62%) have 'neck' GP up to 0.6. Among ring-shaped handle cups, the majority (25 out of 39, i.e. 64%) have 'neck' GP above 0.6.

Analysis of 'shoulder'/'brachium' angles showed the following (Figure 4.2). The most of zoomorphic handle cups are in the range of about 123-130º, i.e. actually in the right part of the histogram (36 vessels out of 55). Another result is shown by ring-shaped handle cups. Almost all vessels are in the range of approximately 110–123º.

Based on the data considered[18], it is possible to determine the combinations of shape parameters that are most 'typical' for different groups of cups. Ring-shaped handle cups often have high 'neck' GP (more than 0.6) and lower angles of 'shoulder'/'brachium' (up to approximately 123-124º) (Figure 5.7–9). Zoomorphic handle cups often have relatively lower 'neck' (up to 0.6) and the relatively higher angles of 'shoulder'/'brachium' (more than 125º) (Figure 5.10–12). I assume these variants can claim to be different traditions of the shapes creating for each of the groups of cups considered. In total, about 68% of all studied cups from Dmitrievka are within the framework of these two traditions.

At this stage, the investigation of different traditions of shaping vessels is completed. Now we can move on to the following task.

1.3. Periodization

This part of the article is dedicated to directly testing the main hypothesis of this study. According to this, the main reason of chronological changes of polished vessels were two processes. The first was the erosion of mass traditions of vessels shapes creating; the second was the distribution of new (possibly mixed) traditions.

To check that, it is necessary to divide burials into three groups following polished vessel shapes. The principle of dividing based on a testable hypothesis. The early group (№ 1) includes burials where polished vessels of only mass traditions were found. The intermediate group consists of burials where a combination of polished vessels of mass traditions and polished vessels not corresponding with mass traditions is recorded. Finally, the late group includes burials where all polished vessels do not correspond with the mass traditions of shape creating.

[18] 'Body' analysis and GP of whole vessel analysis were performed, but it did not yield bright results. Therefore, this information is not provided in the article.

After grouping the burials, we have the following result. Group 1 (early) includes 34 contexts: burials 3, 6, 21, 44, 46, 49, 52, 55, 56, 58, 50, 61, 62, 64, 70, 74, 86, 98, 102, 103, 109, 114, 121, 135, 137, 140, 150, 154, 159, 165, 168, 173, 178, 179. Group 2 (intermediate) includes 38 contexts: burials 11, 14, 22, 23, 26, 28, 30, 38, 45, 51, 57, 63, 69, 72, 77, 81, 83, 89, 94, 101, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 118, 119, 123, 125, 126, 134, 151, 152, 164, 170, 171, 174, 177. Group 3 (late) includes 29 contexts: burials 1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 15, 17, 32, 36, 43, 54, 59, 67, 71, 73, 79, 82, 84, 88, 91, 92, 116, 120, 122, 124, 130, 138, 155, 167.

Thus, all three selected groups are approximately equal to each other in the number of burials. The next step is to check that these groups reflect the internal chronology of the cemetery. If it is true, these groups should have differences in metal items from burials each of them.

Based on the data of S.A. Pletneva, I make a summary table including information about items found in burials with jugs and cups. It contains information about the most common inventory categories: jewelry, decorations, tools, toilet items, and clothing. Based on the summary table data, it is possible to compare the three burial groups.

First, we consider the results of discriminant analysis (Figure 6.1–3). According to the table of classification (Figure 6.2), the reliability of differences between groups is on average 88%. Three burial groups are distinguishable on the chart (Figure 6.1). Those results would be impossible if compared groups are the same on types of a metal item. The distances between the compared groups (p-values) does not show any contradictions (Figure 6.3). Probably it is interesting the differences between groups 2 and 3 are more pronounced than the differences between groups 1 and 2.

Thus, we find out that burial groups selected by the shapes of polished vessels are distinguishable by the types of metal items.

These differences are also explored by another method of comparison – the principal component analysis. According to the results, the most significant for us is the differences between the two “extreme” positions from the proposed sequence: between group 1 (early) and group 2 (late). The areas of the densest concentration of burials on the chart (Figure 6.4) schematically separated by a dotted line. Group 1 burials are mainly located at the left bottom of the graph. Group 3 burials are mostly located at the top right of the graph. Burials of “intermediate” group 2 are not located compactly (Figure 6.5). They occupy both the zone of group 1 and the zone of group 3.

Thus, the principal component method confirms the presence of some differences in metal items between the compared groups.

The next step of the periodization verification is the search for the types of metal items, which distinguish burial groups. For realize that, charts of frequency distribution were developed. Following the results, some markers of relatively earlier groups 1 and 2 were dedicated.

Finger-rings of type 1 (Figure 5.6a) are found in 15 burials (I mean here only burials with jugs or cups, but not all burials of Dmitrievka). All 15 contexts present in groups 1 and 2. Burials of group 3 have not finger-rings of type 1. Earrings of type 1 (Figure 5.6b) are found in 13 burials. All that burials belong to groups 1 and 2. Burials of group 3 have not earrings of type 1. Mirrors of type 2, kind 1 (with concentric circles and zigzags) (Figure 5.6c) are found in 16 burials, 14 of them are in groups 1 and 2. Among group 3 such mirrors are found only in 2 burials. Amulets of type 9 ('amulet-mirrors') (Figure 5.6d) are found in 17 burials, 15 of them are in groups 1 and 2. Among group 3 such amulets are found only in 2 burials. Axes of type 3, kind 1 (Figure 5.6e) are found in 11 burials. All they are part of groups 1 and 2. Mattocks of type 4 are found in 10 burials. All they are part of groups 1 and 2.

It is necessary to notice that according to S.A. Pletneva's conclusions, most of the mentioned types are characteristic markers of the earliest catacombs of Dmitrievka. We came to a similar conclusion here independently, using only the shapes of polished vessels.

An important addition to the results is the distribution of the earliest types of belts elements by the groups. Early belt sets and their elements are present in 15 complexes (burials 5, 21, 51, 52, 54, 55, 79, 81, 83, 88, 106, 111, 121, 164, 165). 12 of them must belong to groups 1 and 2.

Thus, three crucial points should be noted. First, the periodization of the Dmitrievka cemetery proposed on polished vessel shapes reflects some changes in the types of metal items. Second, these changes occur among metal items that can be considered as chronological markers. Third, these changes occur precisely at the time when the shapes of jugs and cups of mass stable traditions are no placed in the graves – a time of group 3.

Another issue that should be considered is the spatial distribution of burials assigned to different groups. In this case, we are interested in the part of the cemetery where most of the burials are located. According to S.A. Pletneva, these are areas I, II, III, IV, VII, and VIII[19].

The mapping shows some regularities concerning the location of the earliest burials (group 1) and later graves with vessels of non-mass traditions (groups 2, 3). The plan (Figure 7. 1) clearly shows that the earliest burials (group 1) have a minority at the South-Eastern part of the cemetery. Only 6 graves of group 1 are located here. Graves with polished vessels of non-traditional shapes (groups 2, 3) have significant superiority in this part of the cemetery. There are almost 4.5 times more: a total of 27, including 15 of group 2 and 12 of group 3. In front of it, 20 of 26 the earliest burials (group 1) located on the North-Western part of the Dmitrievka cemetery.

It follows, that the periodization of burials, built based on polished ceramics, allows recording a significant predominance of relatively later graves at the south-eastern end of the cemetery.

[19] PLETNEVA 1989, Fig. 118.

The result seems not accidental. It is well connected with the topography of the site. Dmitrievka cemetery is located on the gentle slope of the hill (Figure 7.2). The hill has bounded the territory of the cemetery on the north-western side. Therefore, it seems very logical that we record a significant preponderance of later burials in the South-Eastern part of the site. This could happen if, over time, the territory of the cemetery expanded in a direction down the hill. This scheme of chronological zoning of the cemetery is confirmed by two other circumstances. First, we observed the highest density of the catacombs in the south-eastern part of the cemetery. Second, southern and south-western boundaries of the cemetery are still not reliably established. The plan of the cemetery shows many catacombs tending to the south-eastern border of the excavation trench.

Thus, the periodization of Dmitrievka based on only shapes of polished vessels has found confirmations by independent groups of data – the inventory of burials, planigraphy, and, in part, the topography of graves.

2) Yutanovka

2.1) Jugs

The second example under consideration is the Yutanovka catacomb cemetery.

Based on the results of Dmitrievka ceramics analysis, all jugs divided into 2 groups: jugs with 'low body' and jugs with 'middle/low body'.

The values of GP jugs from Yutanovka are in the range from 0.95 to 1.3. But most of 'low body' jugs have GP values in the range 0,95–1,13 and most of 'middle/low body' jugs have GP values in the range 1.1–1.3 (Figure 8.1). It follows two groups of jugs are distinguishable on the GP of the whole vessel. Only 4 jugs do not correspond to this dependence (here and further – on the graph, such vessels are marked with a dotted line). First, there are two jugs with 'low body'. They are in the range that is more typical for jugs with 'medium/low body'. Second, these are two jugs with 'medium/low body' in the interval typical for 'low body'.

The next step is to analyze the parameters of 'shoulder' or 'brachium' (Figure 8.2). Jugs with 'low body' are located mainly in the range of 125–134º. Jugs with 'medium/low body' generally occupy the interval of 116–121º.

The next object of analysis is GP of 'neck' (Figure 8.3). 'Low body' jugs are most densely located in the range of 0.8–1. 'Middle/low body' jugs are located in the lower part of the chart, mainly in the range 0.4–0.75. Only one 'middle/low body' jug is located in the range more typical for 'low body' jugs.

Thus, differences between 'low body' jugs and 'middle/low body' jugs are very clear. It is fair for all considered parameters of jugs shape: GP of the whole vessel, angles of 'shoulder' or 'brachium' and GP of 'neck'. Based on these results, it is possible to distinguish two variants of stable combinations of shape parameters of Yutanovka jugs.

The first tradition (Figure 10.1–3) is characterized by 'low body', relatively low GP of the whole vessel (appr. up to 1.1/1.15), relatively stronger angles of 'shoulder' (125–134º), and a relatively higher 'neck' (0.9–1.6). The second tradition (Figure 10.4–5) is characterized by 'Middle/low body', relatively high GP of the whole vessel (more than 1.15), relatively lower angles of 'shoulder' (up to 120–121º), and a relatively lower 'neck' (0.4–0.8).

In total, 9 of 15 studied jugs from Yutanovka are within the framework of these two groups.

2.2) Cups

As we noticed for Dmitrievka cemetery, Saltovo cups can have either a ring-shaped handle or zoomorphic handle. Both types of cups are represented in Yutanovka.

GP of cups (Figure 9.1). The highest density of values among cups with a ring-shaped handle is recorded in the interval 0.95–1.15. Cups with zoomorphic handles are located mainly in the range of 0.7–0.9. Only one cup with a zoomorphic handle has the GP that typical for other cups group.

GP of 'neck' (Figure 9.2). All cups with zoomorphic handles are located at the bottom of the chart. It is the range of 0.5–0.7. Almost cups with ring-shaped handles are located in a different range – 0.8–0.95. The only one cup is not in this range.

Angles of 'shoulder'/'brachium' (Figure 9.3). All cups with zoomorphic handle form compact clusters in the range of 120–123º. Cups with ring-shaped handle has not shown a clear situation: 2 vessels are located in 120–123º, 3 vessels are located near 130º.

The analysis results show that differences between the two groups of cups are real almost for all the studied parameters of shapes. The relatively lower GP of the whole vessel (up to 0.9), the relatively lower 'neck' (GP up to 0.7), and the relatively lower 'shoulder'/'brachium' angles (120–123º) are typical for cups with zoomorphic handle. Another combination is traditional for cups with a ring-shaped handle. It includes high GP of whole vessel (0.9–1.1) and high 'neck' (GP 0.8–0.9). It is more difficult to distinguish the typical values of the 'shoulder'/'brachium' angle. However, we note that three of the 5 cups are very different in the angle 'shoulder'/'brachium' from cups with a zoomorphic handle.

Out of 10 cups of Yutanovka cemetery, 7 cups show compliance with the identified mass traditions for this site.

Thus, based on the analysis results we can distinguish polished vessels made in compliance with the mass traditions. I remind that according to the hypothesis of this study, these vessels should be markers of earlier burials. This thesis was confirmed earlier when analyzing the materials of the Dmitrievka cemetery. Now we will perform the same check for Yutanovka.

2.3) Periodization

All Yutanovka catacombs containing polished vessels are divided into 2 groups. Early group contains vessels of only mass traditions: graves № 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 1N, 2N, 3P. Late group includes catacombs contains vessels of non-mass traditions: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 20, 23, 1P, 2P.

The number of catacombs in Yutanovka cemetery is much less than in the Dmitrievka cemetery. Therefore, using multidimensional statistics methods (discriminant analysis, principal component analysis) to check the proposed periodization is not reasonable.

For verification ceramic's periodization, all inventory from catacombs was used, except elements of the belt sets[20].

All metal items were divided into types. I followed the typology proposed by S. A. Pletneva for Dmitrievka when it was possible. After dividing the inventory into types and entering all the data in the summary table, I compared two chronological groups of catacombs by types and categories of items. The results of this procedure revealed a list of finds that characterize an exceptionally early group of catacombs.

1) Toilet boxes (Figure 12.1-2).

Toilet boxes were used probably as pectoral items. Generally, these items are rare in the Saltovo-Mayaki cemeteries. According to S.I. Vladimirov, toilet boxes were found in 13 burials. 9 of such burials contained elements of belt sets of the 2nd half of the 8th–early 9th centuries. Thus, the toilet boxes are indicators of the earliest stage of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture[21].

This conclusion is similar to V.S. Aksenov's observations on the chronology of early medieval metal objects with embossed ornaments. This ornament adorns all toilet boxes. According to V.S. Aksenov data, the similar technique of ornamentation is more typical for the pre-saltovo antiquities of the South of Eastern Europe in the 5th–the first half of the 8th centuries. Finds of these items indicate the stage of formation of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture[22]. In addition to the toilet boxes, another object with an embossed ornament was

[20] Most of the belt elements from the catacombs of both groups (Fig. 11.4–7) belong in general to the period of the end of the 8th–first half of the 9th century according to A.V. Komar chronology (1999). Elements of the belts of the second half of the 8th century are recorded in three burials (Fig. 11.1–3). However, in all cases, they were found together with the later elements of the belts.

[21] VLADIMIROV 2019, 109.

[22] AKSENOV 2018, 302.

found in Yatanovka. This is the tip of the belt from the catacomb 3P (Figure 11.3). This grave fell into the early group according to my periodization.

2) Zoomorphic amulets (Figure 12. 7–9).

The first amulet from catacomb 20 (Figure 12.7) is a figurine of a horse standing calmly with straight front and hind legs. Amulets if this type did not appear until the middle of the 8th century[23]. The close date is also noted for the antiquities of the Middle Don – the second half of the 8th–early 9th century[24].

The second amulet was found in catacomb 20, too. This is a figurine of deer (Figure 12.8). Similar amulets are not found in the Saltovo-Mayaki culture. I know a very close analogy to this item in the catacomb 87 of Mokraya Balka cemetery in the North Caucasus. This context is dated by the end of the 7th–early 8th century[25].

Nothing definite can be said about the date of the third amulet of this group – the figurine of goat (Figure 12.9). Such amulets are unknown in the Saltovo-Mayaki graves. But in general, amulets in the form of goats were common in the Caucasus since the Early Iron Age[26]. Figurines of goats and rams are known in the early medieval burial grounds of the Caucasus. But stylistically they are very far from the objects of Yutanovka[27].

3) Amulets of Pletneva type 9 (‘amulet-mirrors’) (Figure 12.5–6).

According to S.A. Pletneva, this type is a marker of early graves in the Dmitrievka cemetery. I came to the same conclusion independently during the analysis of the polished vessels of Dmitrievka (see previous part of the article). The early chronological position of amulets-mirrors is substantiated by strictly dated contexts of Mokraya Balka. The analogies are known in catacombs dated by the end of the 7th–early 8th centuries or the 1st half of the 8th century[28].

4) Earrings of Pletneva type 1 (Figure 12.13–14).

This type is widespread at the Saltovo sites. According to S.A. Pletneva, these earrings are a marker of early graves from the Dmitrievka cemetery. As shown earlier, this type of earring is also to indicate earlier graves according to my periodization based on the polished vessels. Earrings with a composite pendant do not go beyond the 8th century in D.A. Stashenkov chronology[29].

5) Earrings of “Caucasian” types (Figure 12.10–12).

They are very rare for the Saltovo cemeteries. On the North-Western Caucasus, they are typical for contexts of the second half of the 8th – the first half of the 9th century (Uspenskiy

[23] ALBEGOVA, KOVALEVSKAYA 2011, 278.

[24] AKSENOV 2016, 17–18.

[25] AFANASIEV, RUNICH 2001, Fig. 98. 13.

[26] ATAEV 1963, 156.

[27] ATAEV 1963, Fig. 21. 14, 16; ALBEGOVA 2001, Fig. 4. 13.

[28] AFANASIEV, RUNICH 2001, Fig. 18. 5; 36. 3; 64. 10; 98. 14; 128. 15.

[29] STASHENKOV 1998, Fig. 6.

2015, 96–97). Finds of such earrings on the Middle Don are known in graves dated to elements of belts sets of the 2nd half of the 8th century[30]. V.S. Aksenov suggests such earrings as a part of the early sets of personal jewelry of the population of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture, brought to the Middle Don by the first settlers from the Eastern regions of the North Caucasus[31].

6) Mirrors with rare ornaments (Figure 12.15–17).

The item from the catacomb 15 (Figure 12.15) belongs to a rather rare group of early medieval mirrors. In contrast to mirrors with geometric and solar symbols, they carry stylized images of reptiles (lizards) and insects (scolopendras). A recently published report takes into account 14 such items, 11 mirrors come from burial grounds from the territory of Dagestan[32]. Graves with such mirrors date from the 6th–9th centuries.

Despite the wide chronology of such mirrors, it is important that here we are talking about products that are extremely rare in the Middle Don, and more typical in the North Caucasus and probably associated with the graves of the first settlers.

A mirror from the catacomb 10 can also be considered as rare for the Saltovo-Mayaki culture (Figure 12.16). On one of the surfaces of the product, two circles of inclined, and sometimes slightly curved, notches are applied. A similar style of decoration is marked on the mirror from the catacomb 14 of the Starosaltovsky cemetery of the second half of the 8th century[33].

7) Imitation of the Byzantine solidus of Leo III the Isaurian and Constantine V (717–741)[34].

In conclusion, a few words should be said about a coin from catacomb 10 of the early group. The find of this item in the early group of Yutanovka is very significant. Among researches, the point of view about the small-time lag of the Byzantine solidus of the 7th–8th centuries is widespread. This makes it possible to use them as a reliable chronological indicator for determining the earliest Saltovo-Mayaki graves[35]. The appearance of coins of Leo III and Constantine V in the Don occurred during the period of the closest relations between the Khazar Khaganate and Byzantium (approximately 730–750s)[36]. They are markers of the final third of the 8th century[37]. It corresponds to the time of the formation of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture. After the end of this period, the flow of Byzantine coins to the territory of the Khazar Khaganate stopped due to foreign policy reasons.

Thus, at least 7 kinds of items that characterize an exceptionally early group of Yutanovka can be considered as real chronological indicators. The first case is when the item

[30] AKSENOV 1999, 141, Fig. 3. 22; 6. 44; 7. 5.

[31] AKSENOV 2012b, 215–216.

[32] GADZHIEV, DAVUDOV 2018.

[33] AKSENOV 1999, Fig. 6. 43.

[34] AFANASIEV 1980, 3.

[35] SEMENOV 1993, 95.

[36] KRUGLOV 2005, 90.

[37] KRUGLOV 2002, 91.

type is rare for the Saltovo-Mayaki culture, but typical for the early medieval Caucasian graves. Such items probably correspond with the first resettlers from the Caucasus. The first case is when item type has analogies in the Saltovo context, which includes elements of the earliest belt sets.

In conclusion, it is necessary to consider the question about the planigraphy of burials from different chronological groups. Some regularities in the spatial position of the catacombs of the early and late groups are revealed (Figure 13.1). Almost all the catacombs of the late group (except № 20, 23) form a fairly clear line that limits the area of the excavation trench on the eastern side.

One detail makes special attention to this result. We are talking about the topography of the site (Figure 13.2). Like Dmitrievka, Yutanovka cemetery is located on a slope of a hill. Catacombs of the late group occupy the lower part of the slope. They are located at the hill's base.

We have already recorded the same thing based on the results of planigraphic analysis at the Dmitrievka cemetery. There later graves occupied the lower part of the slope like on Yutanovka. I think it is very important that the shapes of the polished vessels show similar trends in chronological zoning on both burial sites considered.

Conclusion

The article tested the assumption that the violation of the mass traditions of creating shapes of polished vessels may be the new basis for the periodization of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture cemeteries. The sources were vessels from two different catacomb cemeteries. Based on the traditions of the shapes creating of polished vessels, earlier and later groups of graves are identified. The hypothesis found several confirmations.

The earlier groups of graves (according to polished vessels) on both sites are characterized by metal objects typical of the early Saltovo period (the second half of the 8^{th}–early 9^{th} centuries). This picture is supplemented by planigraphic and topographical trends of the location of the catacombs of the late group, which have direct parallels between Dmitrievka and Yutanovka cemeteries. Later graves were usually arranged on the lower part of the slope.

All this allows us to conclude that it is possible to use the shapes of polished vessels to clarify the relative chronology of the Saltovo-Mayaki culture cemeteries.

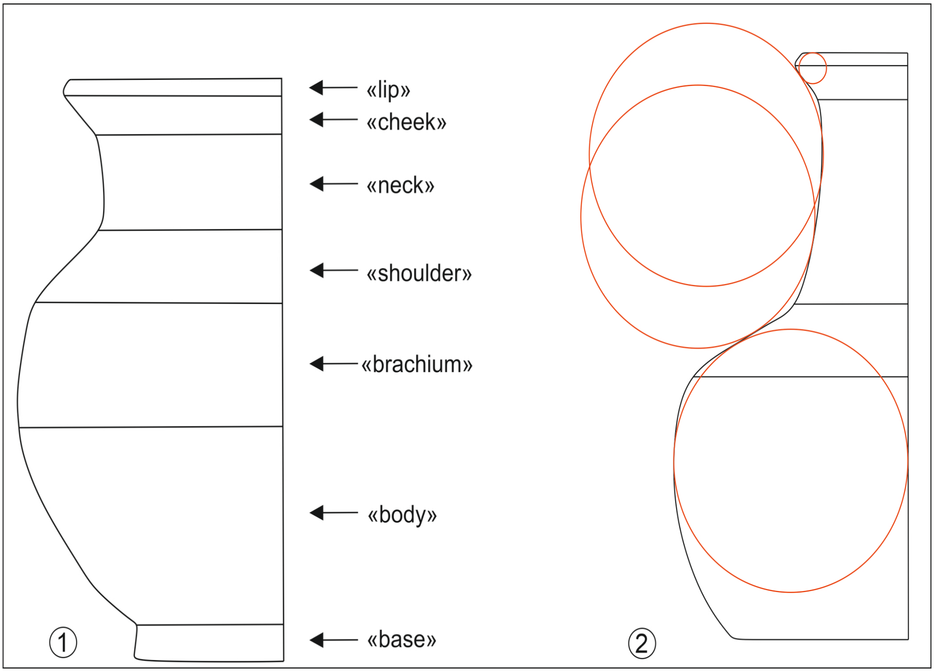


Figure 1. Functional parts in the vessel's structure. 1 – location of different parts, 2 – the technique of allocation of different functional parts (on the example of the jug)

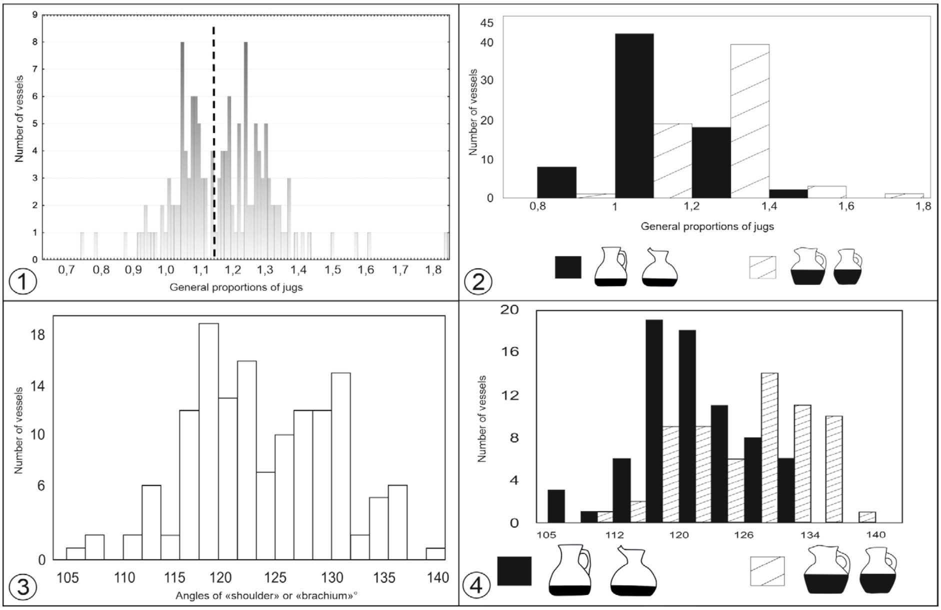


Figure 2. Jugs of Dmitrievka cemetery. Analytical charts. 1 – general proportions of jugs, 2 – general proportions of 'low body' jugs and 'middle/low body' jugs, 3 – angles of 'shoulder' or 'brachium' of jugs, 4 – angles of 'shoulder' or 'brachium' of 'low body' jugs and 'middle/low body' jugs

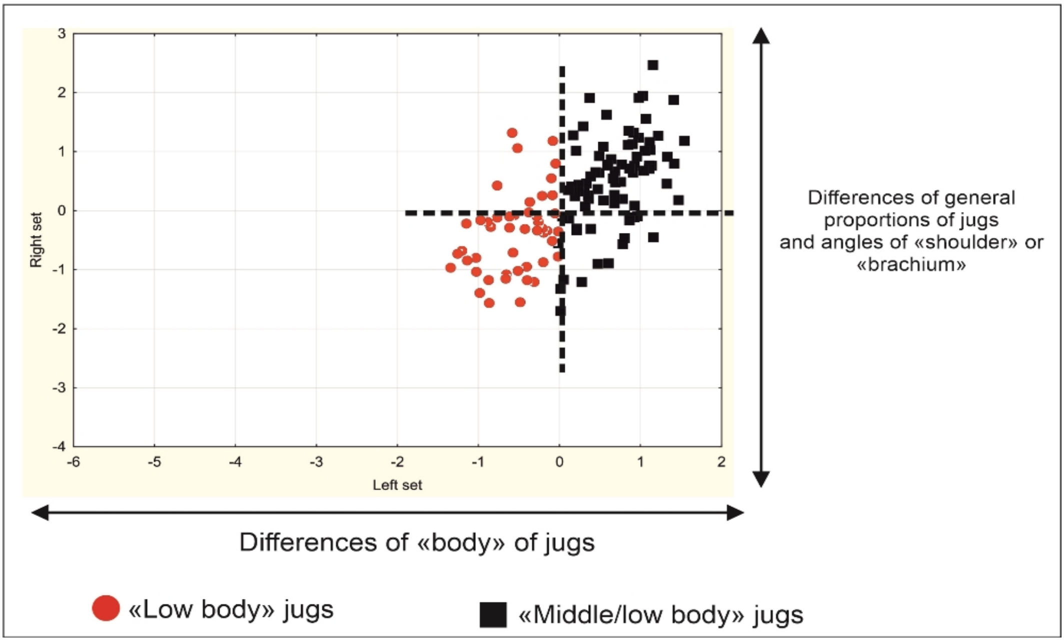


Figure 3. Jugs of Dmitrievka cemetery. Results of canonical analysis

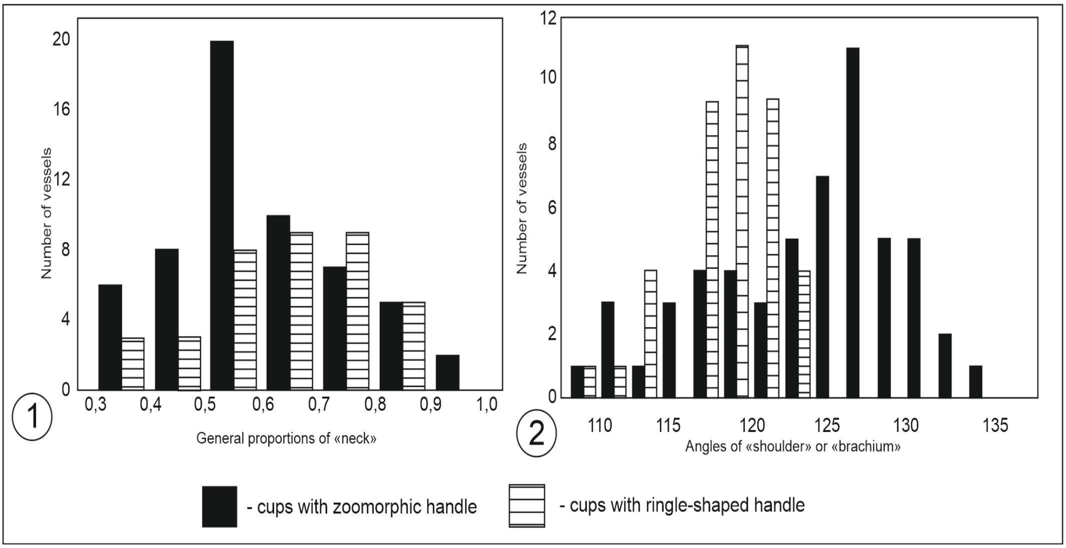


Figure 4. Cups of Dmitrievka cemetery. Analytical charts. 1 – general proportions of 'neck', 2 – angles of 'shoulder' or 'brachium'

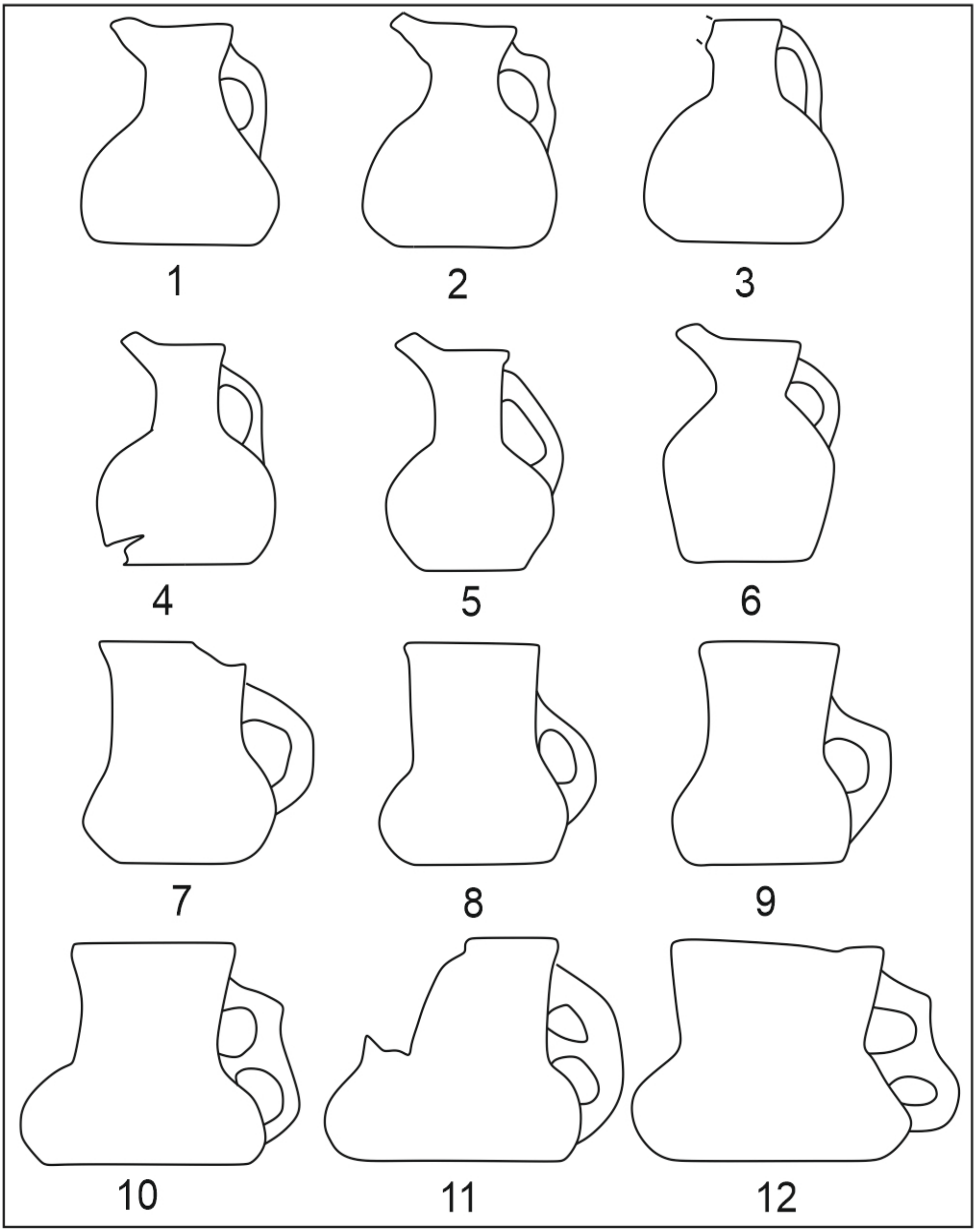
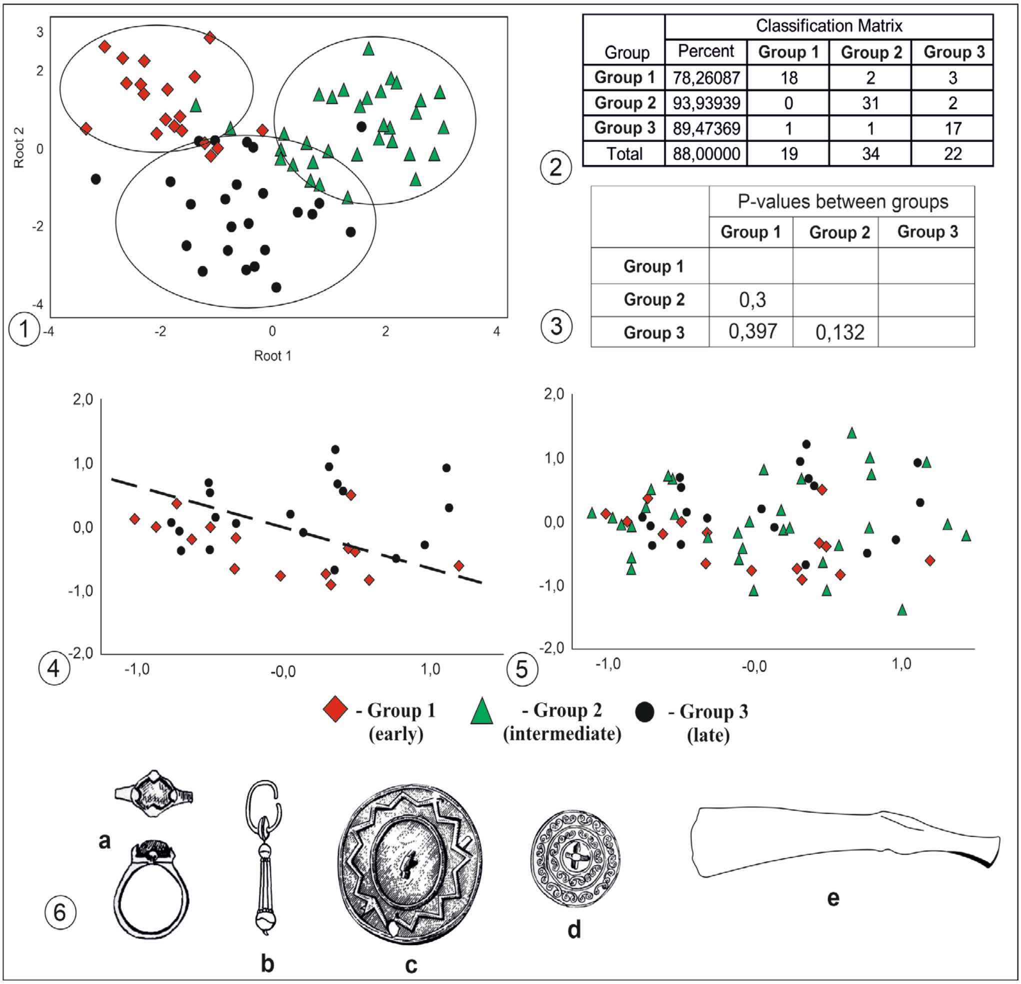


Figure 5. Mass traditions of shapes of polished vessels from Dmitrievka (not to scale) (by E.V. Sukhanov). 1–3 – jugs, the first tradition, 4–6 – jugs, the second tradition, 7–9 – cups with ring-shaped handle, 10–12 – cups with zoomorphic handle



Group	Classification Matrix			
	Percent	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Group 1	78,26087	18	2	3
Group 2	93,93939	0	31	2
Group 3	89,47369	1	1	17
Total	88,00000	19	34	22

	P-values between groups		
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Group 1			
Group 2	0,3		
Group 3	0,397	0,132	

Figure 6. Checking of periodization based on polished vessels. 1 - chart of discriminant analysis, 2 – table of classification, discriminant analysis, 3 – p-values between groups, discriminant analysis, 4 - chart of principal component analysis (only groups 1 and 3), 5 – chart of principal component analysis (all groups), 6 – indicators of groups 1 and 2. Figures of items after Pletneva 1989, fig. 35. I. 3; 49. 9; 53; 57; 61. 1

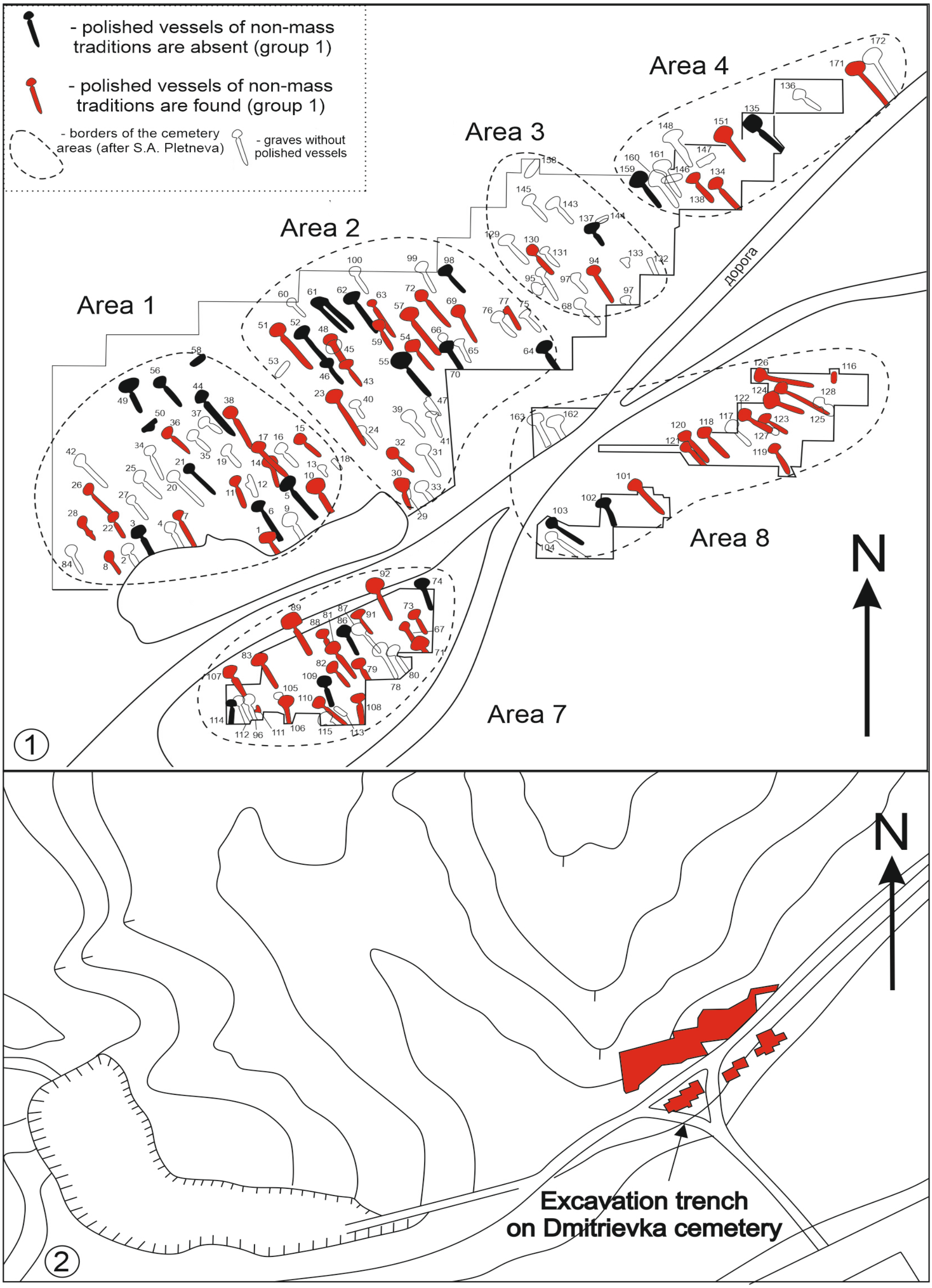


Figure 7. Plans of Dmitrievka cemetery. 1 – planigraphy, 2 – topography

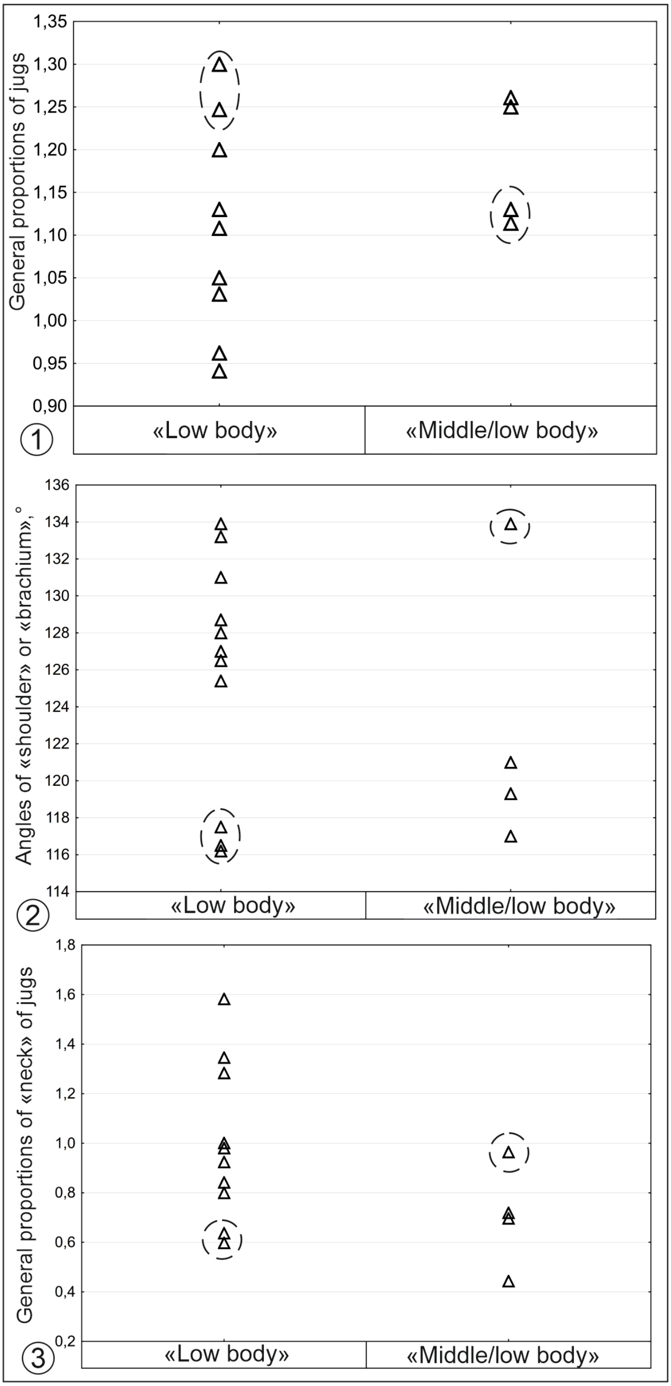


Figure 8. Jugs of Yutanovka cemetery. Analytical charts. 1 – general proportions of jugs, 2 – angles of 'shoulder' or 'brachium', 3 – general proportions of 'neck'

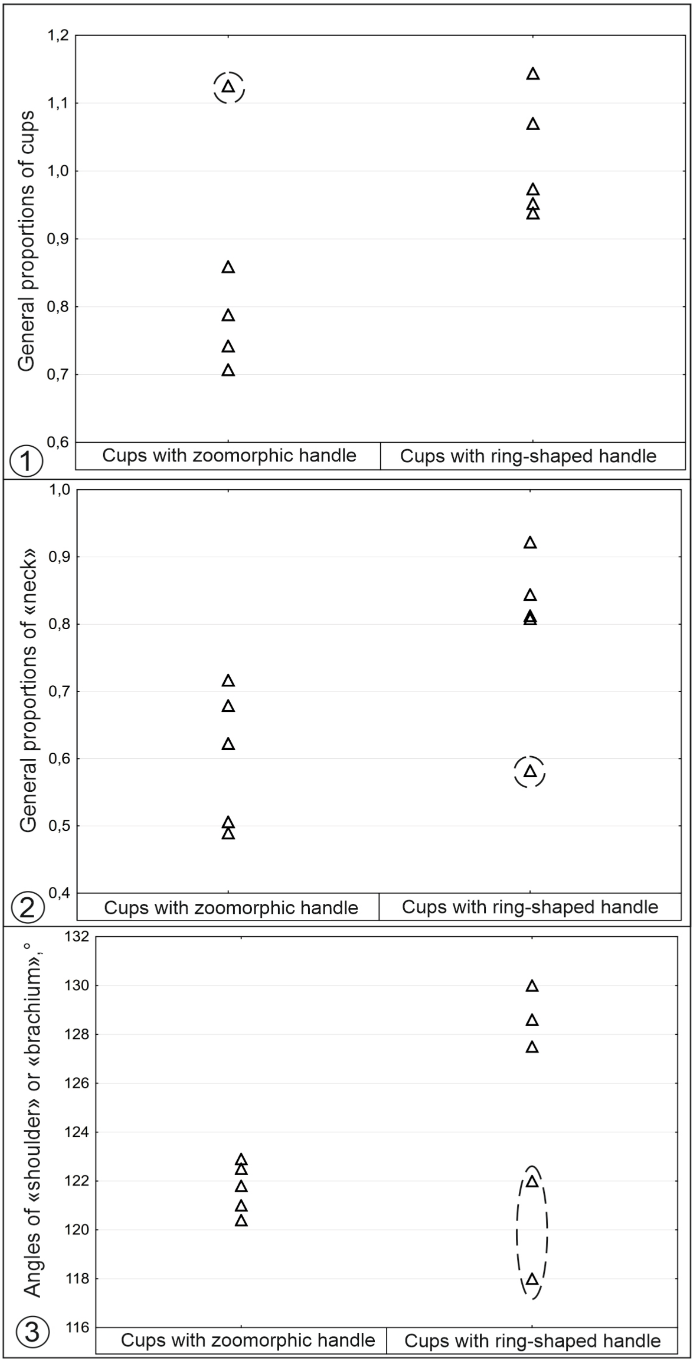


Figure 9. Cups of Yutanovka cemetery. Analytical charts. 1 – general proportions of cups, 2 – general proportions of 'neck', 3 – angles of 'shoulder' or 'brachium'

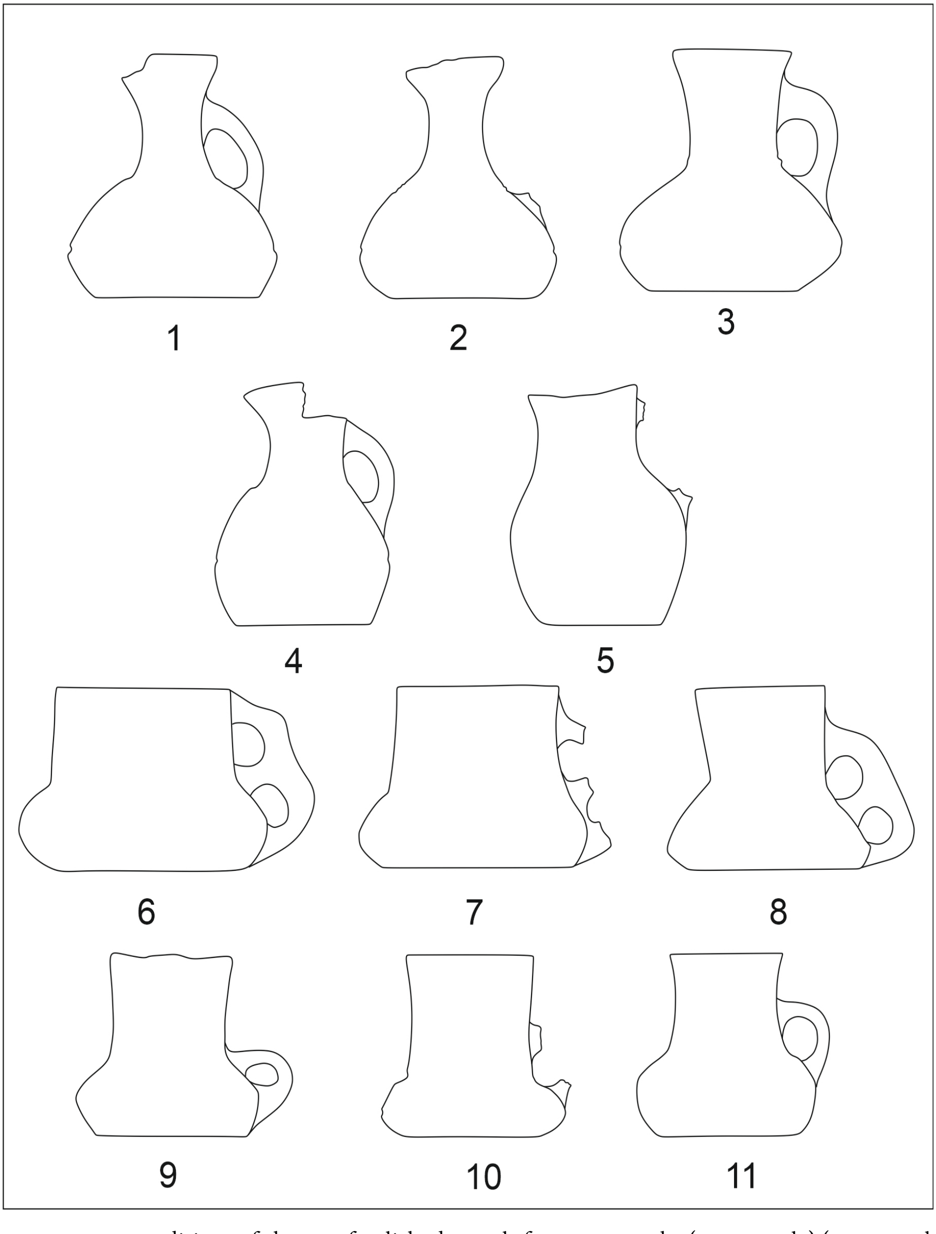


Figure 10. Mass traditions of shapes of polished vessels from Yutanovka (not to scale) (not to scale). 1–3 – jugs, the first tradition, 4–5 - jugs, the second tradition, 6–8 – cups with zoomorphic handle, 9–11 – cups with ring-shaped handle

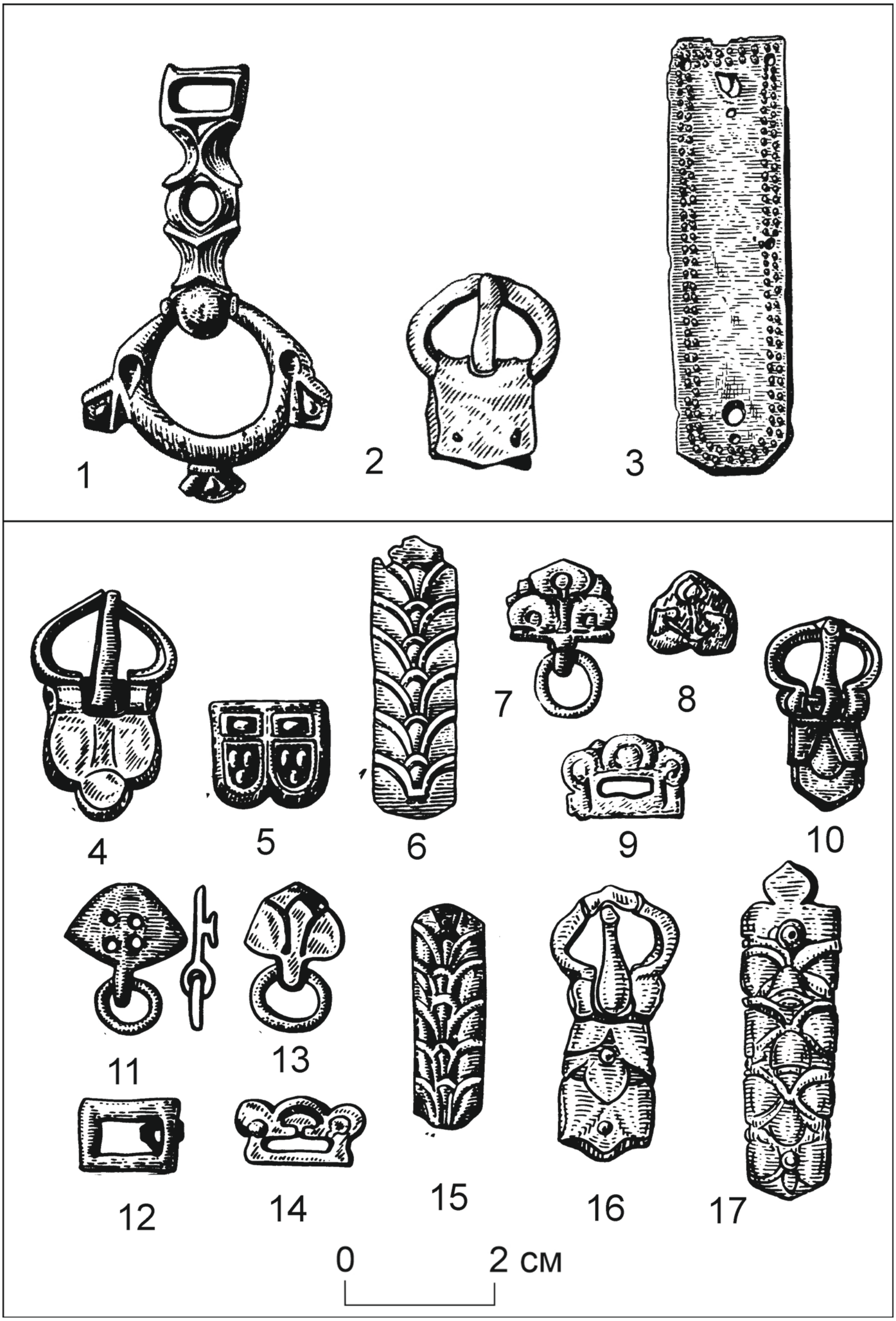


Figure 11. Elements of belts sets from Yutanovka (by G.E. Afanasiev). 1–3 – items of the second half of the 8th century, 4–17 – items of the end of the 8th – the early of the 9th century

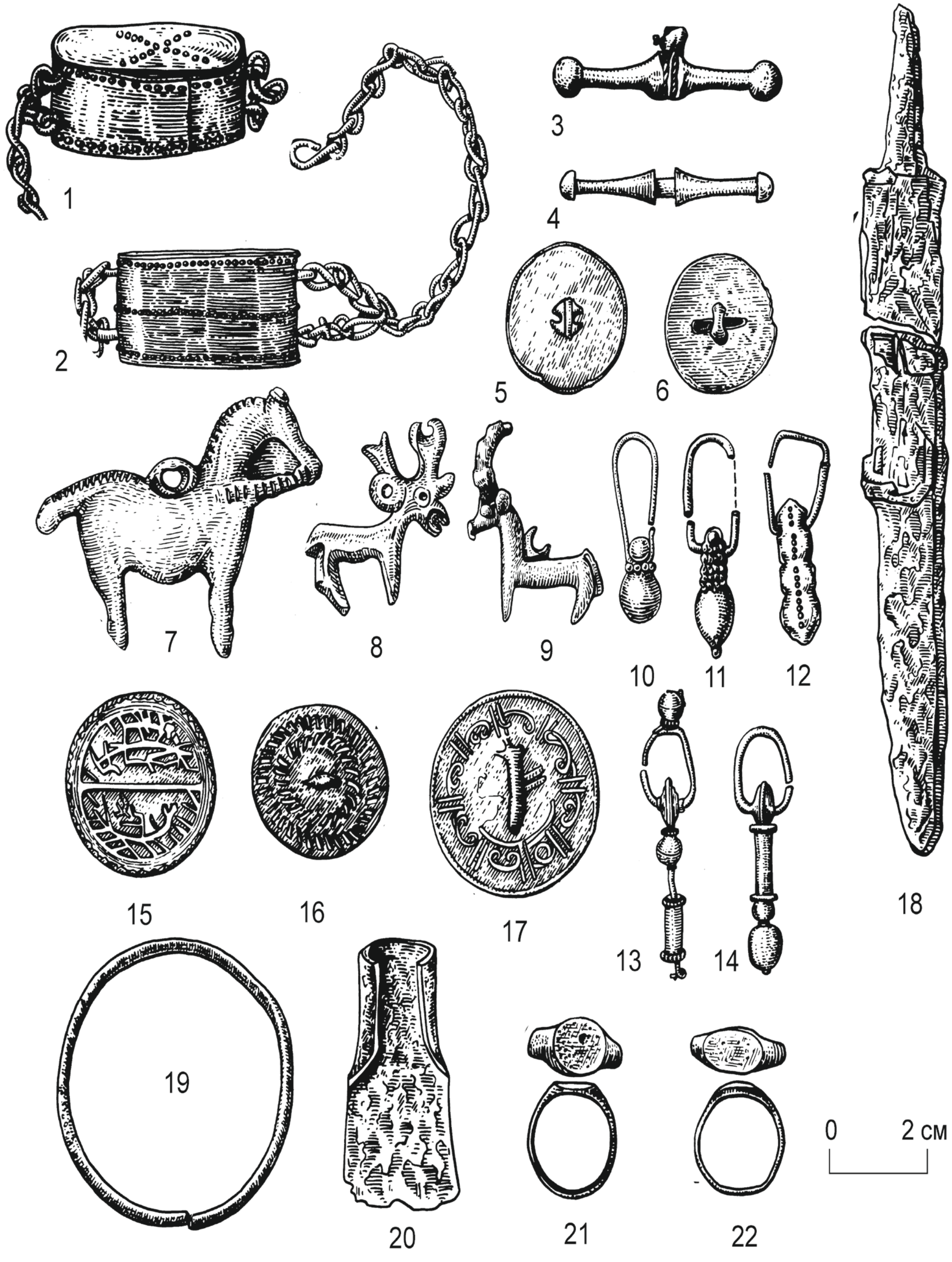


Figure 12. Markers of early graves group of Yutanovka (by G.E. Afanasiev)

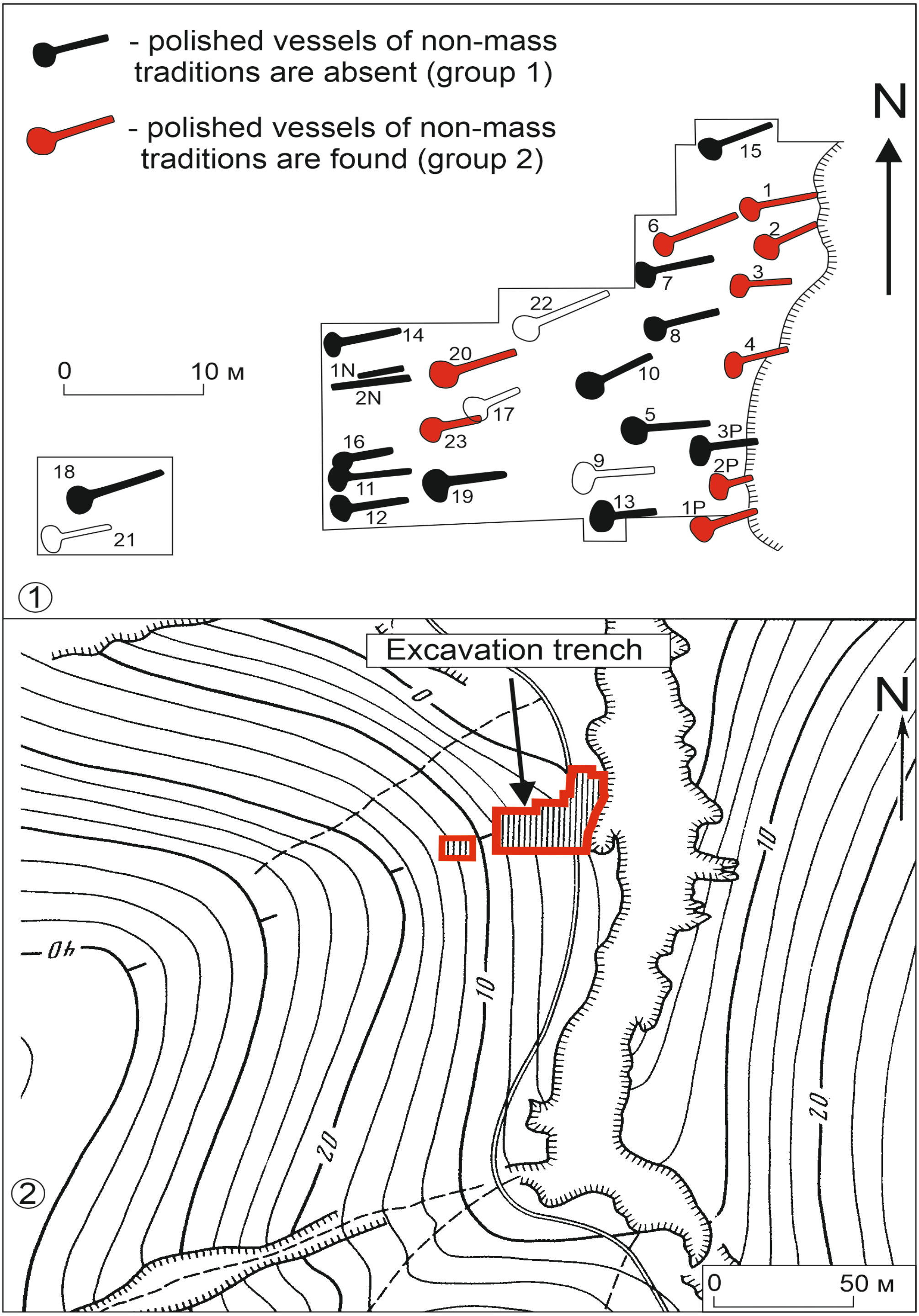


Figure 13. Plans of Yutanovka cemetery. 1 – planigraphy, 2 – topography

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Contributions to the biography of a forgotten translator of Herodotus' The Histories: Dimitrie I. Ghica

Adrian-Bogdan CEOBANU[1]

Introduction

On September 30th, 1914, in Bucharest, around noon, a funeral procession took a silent itinerary from the street called Spătarului, number 13, towards the Șerban-Vodă cemetery. His mother, his wife and children, his close relatives, and his friends paid one last homage to Dimitrie I. Ghica. The central press included mentions of the one who had been an "ephoros of civilian hospitals; a former plenipotentiary minister; a former deputy and senator"[2]. He passed away on September 28th, 1914, following a brief illness. Many obituaries failed to mention anything about his literary passions, about his activity as a translator and a writer. Indeed, much could have been said on the topic. Nicolae Iorga was the only one outlining a portrait that comprised his worthy qualities: "the translator and annotator of Herodotus was the most studious of Ion Ghica's sons. He had benefitted from high quality studies in England. His knowledge was far reaching and deep, proven also by the lectures given last year at the Institute for the Study of Southeastern Europe. He also tried getting into the political life, but he lacked the required energy and spontaneity to make a name for himself"[3]. The great historian had a great insight into the work penned by Dimitrie I. Ghica, given that in 1909 he had published the manuscript of the first Romanian translation of Herodotus' The Histories; the said translation was performed in the 17th century and it was found at the Coșula Monastery[4].

Dimitrie I. Ghica began translating – in late 19th century – from Greek into Romanian Herodotus' The Histories, in four volumes. It was a tremendous effort carried out by the person who in 1880 was awarded by the Romanian Academy for having translated the 4th book[5] of the work in question. Decades later, his name seems to have been forgotten; a couple

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[1] "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași, bogdan.ceobanu@yahoo.com

[2] "Universul", year XXIII, Wednesday, October 1st, 1914, p. 5.

[3] "Neamul Românesc", year IX, issue 40, București, October 12th, 1914, p. 8; IORGA 1938, 32.

[4] HERODOT 1909; MARINESCU-HIMU 1964, 309-323.

[5] Dimitrie I. Ghica was not the only one to have translated the 4th book of Herodotus' The Histories. In 1879, in Iași, Alexandru Gr. Suțu had his translation published; he had used the Teubner edition of 1874. In the introduction, the

of press articles[6] managed to point out, though, aspects of his biography[7]. Posterity does seem to have forgotten about him too soon. In the following lines, my endeavour is to reconstruct – even partially – the biography of a person with an important diplomatic and literary activity.

Family and education

Born on March 25th, 1848, in Bucharest, Dimitrie was the son of Ion Ghica and of Alexandrina. He was born to a numerous family: he had five sisters and four brothers. His father – the descendant of a ruling family from Walachia – was an important Romanian politician: a participant in the 1848 Revolution, subsequently sent to exile – he sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire and he was even bey of Samos – he was involved in the unionist movement of 1859; subsequently, he held several ministerial positions both during the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, and in the first years of Carol I's reign. In 1881, he was appointed Romania's plenipotentiary minister in London; he remained in this position for ten years and he returned to the country at the end of his tenure. He died six years later, in 1897[8].

In 1847, Ion Ghica married Alexandrina, daughter of the Greek-born general Nicolae Mavros and of Sevastița Suțu (granddaughter of Mihai Suțu, third time the prince of Walachia and one time the prince of Moldavia in late 18th and early 19th century)[9]. From among the ten children born to the family of Ion and Alexandrina Ghica, only seven survived to adulthood. Sabina Cantacuzino – a person close to the family – recollected in her memoirs that besides Dimitrie, "a truly, remarkable, educated, and well-mannered man, but who out of a strange anomaly was not the favourite of the house, at least of his mother", no other child managed to meet the expectations of the family[10].

Dimitrie I. Ghica spent the first part of his childhood abroad. From late 1849 to the spring of 1859, he lived first in Constantinople, then in Samos (from 1854), where his father had been appointed governor. I believe that the period spent on the island near the Turkish coast had an influence on his literary taste. Furthermore, on the first page of the volume within Herodotus' The Histories, published in 1894, he inserted the following dedication: "This work is dedicated to my father Ion Ghica; while he was a governor in Samos, I visited as a child the birthplace of Herodotus and the ruins of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor. This is a token of my respect, affection, and gratitude". Years later, upon visiting the island of Samos, Dimitrie

translator confessed to having rushed with the publication of the edition, to having possibly made mistakes, given that he had not undertaken Greek literature for 23 years (HERODOT 1879 VIII-IX.)

[6] GRECEANU 1995a, MAMINA 2008.

[7] See also the page dedicated to Dimitrie I. Ghica in SIMION 2017, 961.

[8] For further details concerning the political and diplomatic activity carried out by Ion Ghica, see BENGESCU, 1899; PĂCURARIU 1959; IORDACHE 1995.

[9] Alexandrina Ghica died on April 2nd, 1926 (see GRECEANU 1995b).

[10] CANTACUZINO 2013. 197.

I. Ghica noted in his journal that in those places he had lived the most beautiful years of his childhood[11]. During those times, Ion Ghica would accompany Dimitrie Bolintineanu in his journeys across Asia Minor and the surroundings; there is no explicit evidence that young Dimitrie would have accompanied them, too. Bolintineanu's notes[12] are worth reading in order to understand the atmosphere dominating Dimitrie's uprising. Those thoughts on the world proposed mental revisitations of the past, suggested geographical itineraries, treasured folk traditions and beliefs.

Following three years spent in the country (1859-1862), Dimitrie I. Ghica was sent by his father to Great Britain for studies; he was enrolled in Wellington College. In a period when the Romanian elite was trained mainly in a French-speaking environment, with most young people choosing Paris[13], the option of the Ghica family was by no means random. During his exile, Ion Ghica had a very good relationship with the ambassador of Great Britain to Constantinople, Stratford Canning; the latter also mediated the enrolment of Dimitrie[14]. Decades later, Ghica noted in his journal – for the day of September 11th/24th, 1901: "Today we celebrate 39 years since my father dropped me at Wellington College; I was a foreign kid, in a foreign and far away school. I bless that day, for it has enabled me to get a good and Christian education, which has bettered me with a blessing from above (...) I cried bitterly 39 years ago, though one cannot state to have had a happy childhood at home. I wonder what would have been the outcome, had I had parents with more patience and less severity towards me"[15]. The carefully written paragraph merely suggested the regret of a childhood and adolescence haunted by sadness and lacking the desired affection.

After graduating from high school, the young Ghica continued his studies in Great Britain. He attended Cambridge University and he obtained a doctoral degree in social and political sciences in 1872. In the same year, his first translation was published. He had translated into Romanian the work by Thomas B. Macaulay, Despre drepturile civile ale Israeliţilor.

Upon returning to the country, Dimitrie participated in 1873 in a contest for a position at the Philosophy Department of the University in Iași, but to no avail. In the same year, he married Melania Kretzulescu, daughter of Constantin Kretzulescu. The two were cousins. Maria, Ion Ghica's mother, had been born to the Câmpineanu family; she was Anica's sister,

[11] Biblioteca Academiei Române [Romanian Academy Library] (hereinafter BAR), Secția Manuscrise [Manuscripts Section], A 3822, Dim. I. Ghica (Jurnal), caietul [notebook] II, f. 153.

[12] See BOLINTINEANU 1968.

[13] Foreign universities had for a long time the "monopoly" for the training of local elite. Explanations reside in the shortcomings of Romanian education and in the mirage of Western Europe. Constantin Argetoianu's words synthesise the situation in the best way possible. According to him, "in the years 70 and 80, a doctoral degree – especially obtained in Paris – opened all the doors in our countries" (ARGETOIANU 2008, 88).

[14] GRECEANU 1995a, 300.

[15] BAR, Secția Manuscrise [Manuscripts Section], A 3822, Dim. I. Ghica (Jurnal), caietul [notebook] II, f. 13.

who was married to Alexandru Kretzulescu. The latter had many descendants, among whom Constantin. Dimitrie and Melania had two children together: Ion, born in 1874, and Alexandrina, born two years later[16].

The family relations and the atmosphere of his uprising modelled Dimitrie's career. He was a cousin of Dimitrie A. Sturdza's wife, Zoe Sturdza. The former was one of the leaders of the National Liberal Party and its president from 1892. His sister Maria was married to Sturdza's brother, George. The liberal path marked his public image. His brothers took on a different path: Alexandru became a politician after marrying the daughter of the conservative politician Lascăr Catargi[17]; Nicolae married the daughter of the conservative leader Gheorghe Grigore Cantacuzino[18].

After working in Great Britain for four years, at the British Museum, Dimitrie Ghica returned to the country at the end of the 70s. He also dipped his toes into politics, in the Old Kingdom, by becoming a member of the National Liberal Party, but this endeavour did not benefit from any resounding success. He dedicated his time to translations; thus, he translated Romeo and Juliet, subsequently featured on the scene of the National Theatre in Bucharest. He rejoiced more than standing ovations.

During the sessions of the Romanian Academy in 1878, the decision was made to include in the Zappa award (for classical translations, from Greek and Latin authors) for the subsequent year the best translations of Plinius Coecilius Secundus (junior). Epistol. Liber VIII 1-21, Plutarchus. Vita Pelopidae cap. I-XXII inclusive, and Herodotus. Historiarum lib. IV, cap. 51-100. Persons participating in the contest had to meet certain requirements. For instance, manuscripts had to be sent by September 1st, 1879, in order to be assessed by the Literary Section of the esteemed academic forum. The winners were to be charged by the Romanian Academy with the integral translation of the work written by the author in question, which also covered the printing costs. Obviously, there were also mentions concerning the financial compensation of the people to be declared winners[19]. The Commission that analysed the translations from Plutarch and Herodotus comprised Ioan Caragiani, Ion Ghica, Alexandru Odobescu, Alexandru Papadopol-Calimah, and George Sion[20]. One may find surprising Ion Ghica's presence in the Commission – it was the only one where he was included – but he was at that point the president of the Romanian Academy. Whereas four translations from Herodotus were received, only three were accepted for appraisal, among which the one by Dimitrie I. Ghica. Upon assessing the translations received, the members of the Commission

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[16] GRECEANU 1995a, 299-300.

[17] GRECEANU 1995b. 121-122.

[18] Nicolae I. Ghica was also a diplomat he was even appointed secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His biographic chart may be found in CEOBANU 2019, 121-122.

[19] Analele Academiei Române [Romanian Academy Annals], seria [series] II, tom [volume] I, sesiunea extraordinară a anului [extraordinary session of the year] 1879, Typografia Academiei Române, 1880, p. 236-237.

[20] *Ibidem*, p. 248.

determined that the one done by candidate C was the best, by highlighting several aspects: it had the most complete footnotes, containing grammatical, syntactical, philological, critical explanations on the text. However, there were also recommendations made by the reporter of the commission, Ioan Caragiani: the translator had to revise the work under the special control of a certain recommended member[21]. On April 13th, 1880, in a solemn session that included the opining of envelopes, the Romanian Academy awarded the translation presented by Dimitrie I. Ghica, who thus obtained the financial support of the institution and the right to translate Herodotus' work. It was not an easy task for him. Caught in the daily turmoil, he managed to finalise the project only after three decades and a half, a period during which he alternated the literary, diplomatic, and political career.

Literature and diplomacy in the Old Kingdom

Dimitrie I. Ghica joined the Romanian diplomacy in 1883; he activated as legation secretary, first in Berlin and then in Constantinople. Upon his accession to Romanian diplomacy, his father – Ion Ghica – was the Romanian minister in London, while D.A. Sturdza was in charge with the foreign policy of the Old Kingdom. We may assume that kinships played an important role in his accession to the Romanian diplomatic corps. Those were the times when one could join the Romanian diplomatic corps by appointment; contests were included as an access way as late as the spring of 1885. George Bengescu – a diplomat, too, and a relative of Dimitrie I. Ghica – disavowed the manner of initiation in his diplomatic career. As he had noted, "Dimitrie Ghica was taken from the benches of the governmental majority and suddenly appointed first-class secretary of the Berlin Legation by Mr. Dimitrie Sturdza, to whom Dimitrie Ghica was closely related"[22].

During their stay abroad, besides the imperatives of their official missions, the Romanian diplomats were involved in various other activities. Several examples maybe relevant in this respect. Alexandru Emanoil Lahovari – Romania's minister in Rome – sent in 1898 to Petru Poni, the president of the Romanian Academy, 202 documents comprising 942 pages concerning the Romanian Principalities. Due to the efforts made by Nicolae Kretzulescu in Petersburg, in February 1884, the university of that city constituted a special course of Romanian language and literature. In Constantinople, Trandafir Djuvara dealt with the collection Ottoman chronicles and sources for the history of Romanians. This led to the portrait in public perception of the scholar diplomat. In a speech uttered on the occasion of

[21] Analele Academiei Române [Romanian Academy Annals], seria [series] II, tom [volume] II, ședințele ordinare din 1879-80 și sesiunea generală a anului 1880 [the ordinary sessions of 1879-80 and the general session of the year 1880]. Secțiunea I. Partea administrativă și Desbaterile [Section I. Administrative Part and Debates], Tipografia Academiei Române, 1881, p. 283-292.

[22] BENGESCU 1899, 300.

the reception to the Romanian Academy of the diplomat Dumitru C. Ollănescu, Iacob Negruzzi pointed out as follows: "this is the right place to highlight that – for our honour and praise – in opposition maybe to what is happening in other nations, many of those who have represented our countries attached to the foreign governments took advantage of their spiritual peace abroad given that they were far from the domestic political struggles – always passionate through their nature – and they worked arduously and successfully in the field of national literature"[23]. Several examples are notable in this direction.

Vasile Alecsandri was appointed in late January 1885 as plenipotentiary minister in the French capital. This was ultimately a long tenure; it lasted five years, until August 1890. His experience in diplomacy dated to the reign of Alexandru Ion Cuza. He had earned a good name. King Carol considered him "an experienced diplomat who had to undertake several missions of uttermost importance concerning Napoleon III, Victor Emanuel, and England. His reports of the period, namely 1857-1863, are excellently written and they were even partially published (...) from the early youth, he had very good relations to the French metropolis and to the literary circles of the area. Hence, his heart drove him to Paris, reason for which all we could do was to give him the position that had become vacant"[24]. Alecsandri accepted the challenge of acting as plenipotentiary minister in Paris in a period when the Romanian-French relations were tense. Tact and wisdom were very much required for mitigating divergences; he managed to be quite successful in this respect. He had a hard time adjusting, though. He was dissatisfied with the conditions found at the headquarters of the Legation, placed in a particular hotel on Penthièvre street. He decided to move in a building near the Monceau park, where "from the salon balcony, one would catch a glimpse of the blue sky, no wider than a handkerchief, and the sight of two or three trees making the poet's view more animated"[25].

The agitation of Paris was not to his taste, but he did not skip the official soirées thrown each Wednesday by the French minister of Foreign Affairs. He did not like French cuisine. He served his meals at home, while during receptions, he would focus on the atmosphere. He spent his free time in theatres, the circus, and the hippodrome. However, he would also receive backlash from Bucharest. He was scolded for "not contacting more often and on a more intimate level with the Romanian young people in Paris", who spent their days in the cafés and alehouses of the Latin Quarter[26]. During his stay in the French capital, he worked on the French translation of the drama Ovidius, in five acts and in verse, as well as on the project of a tragedy, Virgiliu.

[23] DINU 2014, 186.

[24] CRISTESCU 2005, 195.

[25] BENGESCU 1899, 182.

[26] BENGESCU 1899, 195-209.

Other such examples include George Bengescu and Dumitru Ollănescu Ascanio. The first – born in 1848 in Craiova – was a descendant of a great noble family from Walachia; he joined diplomacy in 1872 as secretary of the diplomatic agency in Vienna. In a first phase, he alternated the diplomatic and the administrative career. From the 80s, he had held various positions in the Romanian diplomacy: Legation secretary in London, in Paris, plenipotentiary minister in the Hague and Brussels, then in Athens. George Bengescu was attracted by the "book treasures" of Paris; he occupied the "Reserve" table at the National Library[27]. In London, he had accepted the appointment as Legation secretary because he was attracted by the perspective of studying in the British Museum library. He took an interest in Voltaire and he found unpublished letters pertaining to him. He translated from his work; he also translated some of Alecsandri's poems into French. He drafted up an impressive bibliography concerning the Romanian-French relations in the 19th century; he was also interested in the issue of the East. He was among the first biographers of Queen Elisabeth. His literary passion never hindered his professional commitments.

This profile partially fits Dumitru Ollănescu Ascani, too. He was born in 1849 at Focşani; a descendant of a noble family, he joined diplomacy in September 1876, first in the headquarters of the Ministry, then in the foreign service. The last dignity honoured was the one as plenipotentiary minister in Athens, from 1889 to 1892. Literary critique admits that Ollănescu completed his literary work upon leaving the diplomatic corps; this is partially true. He had dedicated his time to writing, given that he completed in 1879 the work titled Pe malul gârlei. Comedie într-un act. He was also one of the translators focusing on Horace's works. Whereas his initial desire was to translate his entire work, he eventually managed to translate the letters, odes, two satires, and the entire Arta poetică (1891), the last translated into Romanian for the second time. Moreover, between 1878-1879, Ollănescu wrote, under the pseudonym Ascanio, the dramatic critique for the "România liberă" newspaper; between 1884-1885, he also collaborated with "Voinţa naţională", by signing various literary reviews.

Dimitrie I. Ghica: a diplomat and a literate

Appointed in the German capital from July 1st, 1883, Dimitrie I. Ghica did not forget about his literary endeavours. Beyond the routines and activities related to the tasks specific to his position, he continued his editorial project regarding the translation of Herodotus' The Histories. He was in touch with Ion Bianu, the director of the Romanian Academy Library. In a letter sent in early May 1886, he agreed with the last, by admitting that it was problematic to have the work printed in Romania. He was thinking of discussing with various German editors, renowned and appreciated for their openness to publishing books in diverse

[27] BENGESCU 1899, 69-80.

languages. He also asked for an estimate of the printing costs and for more details on the working methods. However, he was aware that the 2,000 Lei per year for printing expenses promised by the Academy would not be enough. According to his calculations, the entire edition would have been published across two decades. He proposed a solution that would have solved partially the financial needs: cashing in money during the publication, through subscriptions[28]. He was quite confident in his plan.

Two weeks later, he sent to Bianu a printed page sample by L. Schade. That printing house collaborated fruitfully with the German Academy. He was very much pleased with the offer received, as well as with the quality of execution. He estimated that for 800 copies he would have needed 12-13,000 Marks. According to his own words, Ghica had already finished the first two volumes[29]. He was overly optimistic, though. He did not get the best of news from Bucharest. The financial constraints and the political tensions delayed the approval of expenses. In late 1886, other shortcomings emerged: because he dedicated most of his time to his professional obligations, Ghica had to make several amendments; he had to take a trip to London for a visit to his father; there was also the strike of the German printers. He chose not to become pessimistic and he wrote to Bianu that "I know the pace of it is piano, but I do hope it is at least sano"[30].

In the last part of the year 1889, Dimitrie I. Ghica was transferred to the diplomatic mission of Romania in Constantinople; in the meanwhile, on November 19th, 1888, he had been promoted as Legation advisor. He was not pleased of his situation on the Bosporus banks. He acknowledged it in a letter penned in early 1890: "Not even the charming view before my eyes today – bringing the first sunny day on the balcony of the serial, a unique view in its own way, with Bosporus to the left and the Marmara Sea to the right (...) – none of such beauty has brought me any consolation. I admire them; I am in awe of them and very much impressed, but upon coming home, I feel sad and I am homesick; I miss my family, my country, my friends"[31]. Given that the activity of the Legation was intense, he may not have advanced terribly with his editorial project. Due to governmental instability, he resigned from diplomacy on February 23rd /March 11th, 1891, and he returned to the country[32].

He sought refuge at his Topliceni estate and he had all the time necessary for his translations. In 1894, in Berlin, the printing house of L. Schade – with whom he had begun a collaboration eight years prior – issued the first volume of Herodotus' The Histories. In the introduction, Ghica stated to have been aware of the difficulty entailed by such "huge and complicated" work; he admitted to a preference for the Latin and Greek literature even since

[28] CROICU, CROICU 1974, 505.

[29] CROICU, CROICU 1974, 505-506.

[30] CROICU, CROICU 1974, 506-508.

[31] CROICU, CROICU 1974, 513.

[32] CEOBANU 2019, 113.

he had been a student. He appreciated the studies conducted by other exegetes of the work penned by Herodotus, such as Dean Blakesley or Canon Rawlinson. He expressed his gratitude to Professor Reginald Stuart Poole within the British Museum for all the assistance provided. Towards the end of the introduction, he provides several clarifications concerning the Greek text: “in order to study this text, I consulted all the versions within famous manuscripts and, where there was a doubt, I appraised carefully the arguments produced by the most competent commentators in favour of the various versions they supported”[33]. The author also made a biography of Herodotus, where he included several aspects within the life of “the father of history”[34].

After quitting the diplomacy in 1891, he was reintegrated by Dimitrie A. Sturdza, in January 1896, as secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He honoured this position for two years and a half; he collaborated with the Liberal leader between November 1896-March 1897 and with Constantin Stoicescu, minister of Foreign Affairs. According to The Organisation Law of the Ministry, drafted up in March 1873, the secretary general, who was also the director of the chancery, had two types of attributions: he sent the correspondence for the minister and he could replace the former in various situations. As a director, he received the correspondence and distributed it to various departments; he monitored the activity of the clerks within central administration, and he ensured the “unity and harmony” within it. The Law for the reorganisation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, drafted up in February 1894, brought along several modifications concerning the status of the secretary general in the organisation chart of the institution. He “assisted” the minister, by distributing the works for the various services of the department. The office of registration and “expedition” and the service of “translations” were under his strict monitoring[35].

Dimitrie I. Ghica held the most important dignity within the central administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until late June 1898, when he was appointed envoy extraordinary and Romania’s plenipotentiary minister in Athens. It was perhaps the best destination for Ghica. He served two tenures in the Greek capital: July 1st/13th, 1898- April 1st, 1900 and May 14th, 1901-March 29th, 1905. The journal kept in this period reveals his interests, beyond his diplomatic activity. He went to the conferences of various personalities, such as the lecture held on December 18th /30th, 1899, on the Acropolis, by the director of the German Institute of Archaeology, Wilhelm Dörpfeld[36].

Because travels were among his passions, he often chose journeys that took a couple of days in order to admire the astounding Greek heritage. He took advantage of the beautiful

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33 GHICA 1894, VI-VII.

34 GHICA 1894, IX-XXIII.

35 MAMINA, NEACȘU, POTRA 2004, 672.

36 BAR, Secția Manuscrise [Manuscripts Section], A 3822, Dim. I. Ghica (Jurnal), f. 6.

weather and he went to Cape Sounion to admire Poseidon's Temple[37]. He was accompanied by his wife Melania for "an archaeological stroll" in Athens, in early February 1900, with the purpose of taking photographs. He wrote: "we went to the Prisc hilltop and he walked on the steps where Demosthenes is said to have uttered his famous speeches against Philip of Macedonia. The natural rock has a perpendicular cut to form a wall of the precinct, and the stairs leading to the tribune are also cut in the rock. This provides a splendid view of the Acropolis entrance from Propylaea and on the Parthenon and the Temple of Athene Nike. Underneath the hilltop, between us and the Areopagus, one may see the excavations made by the German school in the Melete quarter, where Mr. Dörpfeld found the Enneacronus fountain and where he discovered the entire irrigation system of Pericles' descendant"[38].

The lines written by Ghica reveal a person paying attention to details, with a great insight into ancient Greece; he was also in touch in the latest discoveries in the field. This may be why he entered in early 1901 – after having been replaced in April 1900 in the position of Romanian minister in Greece – the contest for a position in the Greek Language and Literature Department at the University of Bucharest. Following the death of Francudi Epaminonda on March 8th, 1897, the position had been vacant. The candidates included Constantin Litzica, Dimitrie Burileanu, and Dimitrie I. Ghica, who submitted a request on January 21st, 1901 for his intention to apply for the position. Among the scientific arguments invoked, besides the works already published, he reminded that "in the field of Greek archaeology", he had followed – during his position as official representative of Romania in Athens – the courses of various Archaeology schools in the Greek capital, especially of the German and the French school[39].

His fellow candidate, D. Burileanu, born on October 26th, 1869, with a Letter degree from the University of Sorbonne in Paris, had been from 1898 a substitute teacher within the Department[40], while Constantin Litzica had obtained in 1894 a Letter degree the University of Bucharest. In his journal, Ghica noted that on January 23rd / February 5th, 1901, he first went to the Romanian Academy in order to get copies of the translation from Herodotus, and then he submitted them to the Ministry of Public Instruction, along with a request for applying to the contest[41]. He was not successful; the position was given to D. Burileanu, who through the royal decree of October 19th, 1901 was appointed permanent aggregate at the University of Bucharest.

[37] *Ibidem*, f. 9.

[38] *Ibidem*, f. 11.

[39] Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale [County Service of the National Archives] Iași, Fond Rectorat [Rectorate collection], dosar [dossier] 656/1900-1901, f. 238-239.

[40] Anuarul Universității din București pe anul școlar 1901-1902. Al X-lea Anuar publicat de secretariatul Universității, Institutul de Arte grafice Carol Gobl, București, p. 19.

[41] BAR, Secția Manuscrise [Manuscripts Section], A 3822, Dim. I. Ghica (Jurnal), f. 248.

Meanwhile, Ghica became involved in the political life. As a candidate of the National Liberal Party, for a position of deputy in the 1st college Muscel, he was not successful. The result of the elections was communicated to him on his birthday, namely March 13th /26th, 1901. He was turning 53. According to his notes, this was one of the greatest disillusions of his life[42]. Good news also came, however. The same Dimitrie A. Sturdza, once again the leader of the Romanian diplomacy, would influence his career. At the proposal of the latter, through the royal decree No. 1986, of May 14th, 1901, signed by King Carol I, Ghica was recalled to "active duty" from May 16th, 1901 and appointed again envoy extraordinary and second-class plenipotentiary minister in Athens[43]. Thus began Ghica's second mission in the Greek capital, when he continued many of the activities carried out during his first tenure: in September, he welcomed a visit from a group of Romanian university students, led by Professor Tocilescu[44]; he paid visits to the temple of Jupiter Olympian[45]; he travelled to the Island of Poros, along with the Legation secretary, Constantin Diamandi[46]; he was in the audience at the conference held by Professor Dörpfeld about Nike's temple in order to "refreshen his memory"[47] and at the one held by the French archaeology professor H. Lechat, a former student of the French School in Athens[48].

In early May 1902, Dimitrie I. Ghica, accompanied by his wife, went on a trip to the Island of Samos, thus setting foot there "after a 43-year absence". He remembered that "so many memories filled my thoughts and I found it most curious to be in Samos again, so much so that I could not sleep"[49]. The visit to the island also brought back unpleasant memories: in the yard of the St Spiridon church, he found the graves of his siblings, Alexandrina and Nicu, who had died in 1857 and 1858[50]. He found his childhood places unchanged; he saw familiar faces again. Memories flooded his mind; in the centre, there was the image of his father, whose tenure as governor of the Samos Island dwelled in the collective memory of the inhabitants.

In 1902, a Romanian publishing house issued the fourth volume of Herodotus' The Histories[51]. The discussions with Ioan Socec – the owner of the publishing house – had begun in the period when Ghica was still in the country, namely around 1900-1901; they were

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[42] *Ibidem*, f. 289.

[43] CEOBANU 2019, 113.

[44] BAR, Secția Manuscrise [Manuscripts Section], A 3822, Dim. I. Ghica (Jurnal), caietul [notebook] II, f. 1-11.

[45] *Ibidem*, f. 17.

[46] *Ibidem*, f. 18-19.

[47] *Ibidem*, f. 35

[48] *Ibidem*, f. 96.

[49] *Ibidem*, f. 151-152.

[50] *Ibidem*, f. 152.

[51] Istoriile lui Herodot. Traducere română din limba originală însoțită de textul elinesc și de note critice geografice, etnografice și gramaticale, cuprinzând rezultatul celor mai recente cercetări și descoperiri privitoare la text și la subiectele tratate de acest autor, și ilustrată cu harte și desenuri by Dimitrie Ion Ghica M.A., a work awarded by the Romanian Academy, vol. IV, București, 1902, Stabilementul de Arte Grafice I.V. Socecu.

resumed when he came to Romania in May 1902. Ghica's choice was not random. In the Old Kingdom, one of the most important families of booksellers-editors, who influenced book trade, was the one whose famous representative was Ion V. Socec (1830-1896). The business had begun in 1856, and his successor Emil carried on the family tradition[52]. In his introduction to the fourth volume, Dimitrie I. Ghica mentioned that "from among the entire work penned by Herodotus, the first 140 chapters of this book have a special importance for us, the Romanians, because they comprise the oldest description of the Lower Danube basin, of the left bank occupied today by the Romanian Kingdom, of the peoples inhabiting it, as well as of the region on the northern Black Sea coast, with its ancient Scythian population"[53]. In the spring of 1905, he left Greece; this would be his last contact with the Romanian diplomacy. He subsequently joined politics and he held various administrative positions.

The two other volumes were published in 1912 (volume II) and 1915 (volume III), posthumously. The latter was published under the supervision of Iuliu Valaori, an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, the University of Bucharest. His family gave the manuscript to the Romanian Academy, given that "Ghica's hand stopped forever". In the introduction to the volume, in October 1915, several lines were inserted about Dimitrie I. Ghica "who never stopped making a priority of the study and translation of the Muses penned by the Father of History (...) Ghica wished to provide the Romanian reader with an entire encyclopaedia of knowledge about the ancient Greek and barbarian world, representing the target of the accounts and descriptions made by the first historian, geographer, and ethnographer of the Greek world"[54].

By way of conclusion

Decades later, the exegetes of Herodotus' work appreciated the efforts made by Dimitrie I. Ghica in late 19th and early 20th century. Perhaps the best description of his activity is the one provided by A. Piatkowski in his introductory study for the 1961 edition of Herodotus' work, where he highlights that the translation was done "in the spirit of the most reliable scientific translations; it is accompanied by a rich critical apparatus (...) the translated work was not widely disseminated among the Romanian public or reedited. Ghica's translation is more than valuable; inconsistencies are scarce and the text critique accompanying the work involves a tremendous effort. The notes took into account the outcomes of the latest scientific research

[52] POPA 2015, 38-45, 71-76.

[53] Dimitrie I. Ghica, Introducere la Cartea IV, in Istoriile lui Herodot..., vol. III, p. III.

[54] Note in Istoriile lui Herodot. Traducere română din limba originală însoțită de textul elinesc și de note critice geografice, etnografice și gramaticale, cuprinzând rezultatul celor mai recente cercetări și descoperiri privitoare la text și la subiectele tratate de acest autor, și ilustrată cu harte și desenuri by Dimitrie Ion Ghica M.A., a work awarded by the Romanian Academy, vol. III, București, Librăriile Soccec&Co, 1915, p. V.

endeavours of the last part of the 19^{th} century"[55]. Today, more than 100 years after the death of Dimitrie I. Ghica, his name is worth a historiographical rehabilitation, among both historians and philologists.

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