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SOMMAIRE

ÉTUDES ET ARTICLES

Daniele Vittorio PIACENTE, <i>Aspetti della politica culturale di Costantino</i>	5
Cătălin HRIBAN, <i>Quelques considérations sur la configuration de l'espace urbain dans la ville pré-moderne de Iași</i>	15
Ioan IAȚCU, <i>The ambos of the Christian basilicas within the province of Scythia</i> ...	49
Rada VARGA, <i>Two inscriptions from Sarmizegetusa revisited</i>	79
Valentin PIFTOR, <i>Age rounding and social status in Moesia Inferior</i>	87
Elena ADAM, <i>L'origine des légionnaires de Mésie Inférieure. La V^e légion Macedonica à Troesmis</i>	115
Leonardo GREGORATTI, <i>North italic settlers along the "amber route"</i>	133
Gabriela LUCHIAN, <i>Aspects concernant l'organisation des associations professionnelles dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romain. Règlements statutaires</i>	155
Iulia PETRARIU, <i>Greeks, Phoenicians and the alphabet</i>	189
Neculai BOLOHAN, <i>Preliminary notes concerning Middle Bronze Ages potter analysis from Costișa-Cetățuia, Neamț County</i>	199
Elena VIERU, <i>Some Noua settlements without ash-mounds from the Eastern part of Romania (with emphasis on the region of the Bârlad basin)</i>	241
Sebastian FINK, <i>Oswald Spengler und der Streitwagen: ein Plädoyer für Universalgeschichte</i>	261
Constantin ICONOMU, <i>A Cucuteni A₃ settlement at Pocreaca, Iași</i>	297
COMPTE-RENDUS	317
Abréviations	323

ASPETTI DELLA POLITICA CULTURALE DI COSTANTINO

DANIELE VITTORIO PIACENTE¹

Keywords: Constantine – culture – teaching.

Abstract: *The new institutional rule wanted by the Emperor Constantine called a direct intervention in public education. With the establishment of the new capital, Constantinople, there are schools and universities, as well as a public library, poles of attraction of the ducts of the time looking for sinecures and honors from the Emperor. Constantine in fact reward with important exemptions from munera professors and doctors, together with their closest relatives, in order to facilitate their professional duties.*

Summariu: *Il nuovo assetto istituzionale voluto dall'imperatore Costantino richiedeva un intervento diretto e deciso nell'istruzione pubblica. Con l'istituzione della nuova capitale, Costantinopoli, sorgono scuola e università, oltre che una biblioteca pubblica, poli di attrazione dei dotti del tempo in cerca di prebende e onori da parte dell'imperatore. Costantino infatti gratifica con importanti esenzioni dai munera professori e medici, unitamente ai loro più stretti congiunti, al fine di facilitare l'adempimento dei loro doveri professionali.*

Rezumat: *Noul demers instituțional dorit de împăratul Constantin reclama o intervenție directă și fermă în procesul de instrucție publică. O dată cu stabilirea capitalei la Constantinopol, apar școli, universități, o bibliotecă publică ca poli de atracție a învățaților vremii care căutau beneficii din partea împăratului. Într-adevăr, Constantin a răsplătit deopotrivă profesori și doctori, precum și rudele acestora prin importante scutiri de la diverse îndatoriri pentru a se putea ocupa de propriile chestiuni profesionale.*

La riforma dell'assetto politico dell'amministrazione imperiale, iniziata con Diocleziano, si consolidò definitivamente sotto Costantino con la fondazione di una seconda capitale in Oriente, Costantinopoli. La complessa macchina burocratica che ne derivava richiedeva un intervento più diretto del governo nell'istruzione pubblica, indirizzato essenzialmente a formare una classe dirigente che fosse adeguata alla gestione della macchina dello stato: nella nuova metropoli era necessario

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reimpostare l'intero sistema amministrativo e, in particolare, si avvertiva la necessità di inserire nella formazione dei funzionari imperiali insegnamenti di vario genere, primo fra tutti quello del diritto. Nel contempo si sentiva anche l'esigenza di rendere la neonata città di Costantinopoli esteticamente gradevole, attraverso l'abbellimento architettonico e il restauro degli edifici pubblici esistenti, ovvero la costruzione di nuovi. Ciò spiega anche la continua richiesta, nelle costituzioni imperiali, di personale tecnico di alta qualificazione professionale, che evidentemente in Oriente non era facilmente reperibile, in quanto tutte quelle competenze che in Occidente si erano acquisite e stratificate nel corso del tempo, a Costantinopoli dovevano essere create non solo *ex novo* ma anche molto rapidamente.

Tra gli edifici pubblici più significativi eretti da Costantino ci fu quello dedicato alla formazione superiore, l'Università; esso fu costruito in una zona che finora non è stata possibile identificare con certezza, ma dove certo insegnarono docenti di varie discipline. In una sua costituzione del 27 febbraio 425 Teodosio II, che molto probabilmente riprendeva una normativa già costantiniana, disponeva che i docenti nominati e stipendiati dall'amministrazione imperiale in nessun caso potessero dedicarsi all'insegnamento privato, sia pubblico, sia domestico, pena la decadenza dai privilegi in godimento, il rischio di una nota di biasimo e, al limite, anche l'espulsione dalla città. Peraltro la nomina di questi insegnanti era demandata ad un apposito ufficio del senato². Era inoltre interdetto ogni tipo di insegnamento pubblico impartito da altri maestri, anche se tenuto in luoghi diversi da quelli messi a disposizione dall'amministrazione: costoro dovevano solo limitarsi all'insegnamento privato presso le proprie dimore³. Attraverso non poche fonti conosciamo

² CTh. 6.21.1 (vd. *infra* nt. 6).

³ CTh. 14.9.3 (27 febbraio 425): Imp. Theod(osius) A. et Valentinianus caes. *Universos, qui usurpantes sibi nomina magistrorum in publicis magistrationibus cellisque collectos undecumque discipulos circumferre consuerunt, ab ostentatione vulgari praecipimus amoveri, ita ut, si qui eorum post emissos divinae sanctionis adfatus quae prohibemus adque damnamus iterum forte temptaverit, non solum eius quam meretur infamiae notam subeat, verum etiam pellendum se ex ipsa ubi versatur inlicite urbe cognoscat. Illos vero, qui intra plurimorum domus eadem exercere privatim studia consuerunt, si ipsis tantummodo discipulis vacare maluerint, quos intra parietes domesticos*

anche alcune delle discipline insegnate: il giovane Giuliano, ad esempio, cominciò a frequentare corsi di greco e di retorica⁴; vi si insegnava poi il diritto⁵ e la retorica latina⁶; ancora il Codice teodosiano⁷ ci fa intravedere che erano attivi insegnamenti di retorica, di filosofia, di giurisprudenza e di letteratura greca e latina.

E' naturale che tutto questo fervore nella didattica doveva essere supportato da un'adeguata disponibilità di materiale librario: tuttavia a Costantinopoli nel IV secolo esisteva probabilmente un'unica biblioteca pubblica, ma non sappiamo con quale dotazione di libri. In quella medesima epoca, invece, a Roma, culla della civiltà letteraria per tanti secoli, è quasi certo che, retaggio di un nobile passato, ci fossero ben ventotto biblioteche pubbliche, che però Ammiano Marcellino si rammaricava di vedere chiuse come tombe⁸. La vita culturale dell'impero,

docent, nulla huiusmodi interminatione prohibemus. Sin autem ex eorum numero fuerint, qui videntur intra Capitolii auditorium constituti, ii omnibus modis privatarum aedium studia sibi interdicta esse cognoscant scituri, quod, si adversum caelestia statuta facientes fuerint deprehensi, nihil penitus ex illis privilegiis consequentur, quae his, qui in Capitolio tantum docere praecepti sunt, merito deferuntur. Dat. III kal. Mart. Constan(tino)p(oli) Theod(osio) A. XI et Valent(iniano) cons. Vd. anche SEECK 1876 (rist. 1983), 236.

⁴ Socr., *Hist. Eccl.* 3,1,b.

⁵ Anth. Pal., 9,660.

⁶ Hieron., *Chron.*; Auson., 16,2,4; Themist., *Orat.* 20,3.

⁷ CTh. 14.9.3 cit.; CTh. 6.21.1 (15 marzo 452): Imp. Theodosius A. et Val(entini)anus caes. Theofilo p(raefecto) u(rbi). *(Gram)maticos Graecos Helladium et Syrianum, Lati(num) Theofilum, sofistas Martinum et Maximum (et iu)ris peritum Leontium placuit honorari codici(lis) comitivae ordinis primi iam nunc a nostra ma(ies)tate perceptis, ita ut eorum qui sunt ex vicariis (dig)nitare potiantur. Qua in re quicumque alii ad id do(ctri)nae genus, quod unusquisque profitetur, ordinati (pro)dentur, si laudabilem in se probis moribus vit(am) esse monstraverint, si docendi peritiam fac(undi)amque dicendi, interpretandi subtilitatem, cop(iam) disserendi se habere patefecerint et coetu amp(lis)simo iudicante digni fuerint aestimati, qui in memorato auditorio professorum fungantur officio, hi quoque, cum ad viginti annos observatione iug(i) ac sedulo docendi labore pervenerint, isdem, quibus praedicti viri, dignitatibus perfruantur.* Dat. id. Mart. Constantinopoli Theodosio Aug. XI et Valentiniano Caesare cons.

⁸ Amm., 14,6,18: *Quod cum ita sit, paucae domus studiorum seriis cultibus antea celebratae nunc ludibriis ignaviae torpentis exundant, vocali sonu, perflabili tinnitu fidium resultantes. Denique pro philosopho cantor et in locum oratoris doctor artium ludicrarum accitur et bybliotheccis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis organa fabricantur hydraulica, et lyrae ad speciem carpentorum ingentes tibiaeque et histrionici gestus instrumenta non levia.* Vd. PARENTI 2006, 108 ss.

infatti, si svolgeva ormai quasi esclusivamente a Costantinopoli, dove confluivano i dotti del tempo attratti dalla possibilità di ottenere prebende e onori da parte dell'imperatore.

Costantino fu persona colta e sensibile alle varie forme di espressioni e attività culturali, poiché già da adolescente aveva frequentato studi letterari ed aveva sempre seguito con interesse l'insegnamento di filosofi e poeti, come da tradizione di famiglia, in quanto suo padre Costanzo Cloro aveva dato alla sua amministrazione una forte impronta culturale⁹.

Una testimonianza di particolare interesse sulla statura di Costantino come uomo di cultura, sia pure intrisa di retorica panegiristica, è quella che si ricava da Optaziano Porfirio, un dotto e raffinato poeta vissuto tra III e IV secolo. I suoi *carmina*, nei quali il personaggio centrale è naturalmente Costantino, in una sorta di prefazione epistolare in prosa, contengono una lettera di Optaziano a Costantino e, in risposta, una di Costantino ad Optaziano. Al paragrafo 6 della sua lettera Optaziano inneggia al suo imperatore, non solo per i grandi meriti conseguiti in guerra e in pace, ma anche per la sua particolare sensibilità alla poesia¹⁰. Optaziano, che aveva conosciuto l'esilio per motivi che non ci sono del tutto noti (ma forse si era reso responsabile di adulterio nonché di pratiche magiche) raccolse in un libretto i suoi carmi 'figurati' che si approfondono in appassionate esaltazioni del Cristianesimo e in ampie lodi dell'imperatore. Tale operazione gli valse un recupero di credibilità da parte di Costantino, che non solo gli restituì l'agibilità politica, ma gli concesse anche, nel breve

⁹ COSTABILE 2012³, 430 ss.

¹⁰ Opt. Porf., *Carm.* 1,6 (POLARA 2004, 48):*qui inter belli pacisque virtutes, inter triumphos et laureas, inter legum sanctiones et iura etiam Musis tibi familiaribus plaudis, ut inter tot divinae maiestatis insignia, quibus et invictus semper et primus es, huius etiam studii in te micet splendor egregius.* Polara, comunque, esprime dubbi sull'autenticità di queste due epistole che potrebbero invece essere solo esercitazioni scolastiche medioevali (POLARA 2004, 43-44); se anche così fosse le due lettere testimonierebbero che la fama di Costantino come uomo di cultura era giunta fino ad epoca più tarda. Comunque Gerolamo ci informa (*Chron. ad a.* 329) che Optaziano inviò dall'esilio a Costantino un *insigne volumen* per impetrare la grazia; Beda (*de arte metr.* 1,24), tuttavia, sosteneva che i versi di Optaziano erano pagani e dunque da non utilizzare.

lasso di tempo di circa quattro anni, la carica di amministratore della Campania, di proconsole dell'Acaia, dell'Asia, e prefetto di Roma per due volte.

Il suo principale avversario, Licinio, si era dimostrato un barbaro avverso alle lettere¹¹, per cui Costantino, come suo antagonista, brillava per qualità diametralmente opposte. Tra l'altro egli dichiarò di "preferire a tutti gli onori l'umile carica di stratego ateniese ed il modesto ricordo che di lui quella città aveva voluto scolpire nella pietra"¹². La sua intenzione, cioè, era quella di essere ricordato come il principe romano che più di altri aveva favorito il progresso delle lettere e delle discipline liberali¹³.

Si rivelano di particolare rilievo anche alcuni provvedimenti speciali di Costantino, in genere volti a riconfermare decisioni di imperatori precedenti. Se ne trova un esempio in una disposizione dell'imperatore del 321 (o 324), nella quale si confermano le esenzioni dai *munera civilia* di medici, grammatici e retori¹⁴ per le delicate funzioni cui tutti costoro assolvevano¹⁵: queste erano categorie professionali in prevalenza pagane, ma ciò non era in contrasto con la politica religiosa

¹¹ Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 41,8.

¹² Iulian, *Orat.* 1,8.

¹³ Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 41,14.

¹⁴ CTh. 13.3.1 (1 agosto 321/324): Imp. Constantinus A. ad Volusianum. *Medicos, grammaticos et professores alios litterarum innumeros esse cum rebus, quas in civitatibus suis possident, praecipimus et honoribus fungi; in ius etiam vocari eos vel pati iniuriam prohibemus, ita ut, si quis eos vexaverit, centum milia nummorum aereo inferat a magistratibus vel quinquennialibus exactus, ne ipsi hanc poenam sustineant, servus eis si iniuriam fecerit, flagellis debeat a suo domino verberari coram eo, cui fecerit iniuriam, vel, si dominus consensit, viginti milia nummorum fisco inferat, servo pro pignore, donec summa haec exsolvitur, retinendo. Mercedes etiam eorum et salaria reddi praecipimus. Quoniam gravissimis dignitatibus vel parentes vel domini vel tutores esse non debent, fungi eos honoribus volentes permittimus, invitos non cogimus.* P(ro)p(osita) kal. Aug. Sirmio Crispo et Constantino CC. cons.

¹⁵ Nella costituzione contenuta in CTh. 13.3.1 esiste un problema di datazione: i due Cesari Crispo e Costantino II, indicati nella *subscriptio*, erano già stati consoli nel 318 con Licinio e nel 320 con Costantino; ricoprirono poi, sempre insieme, il secondo e il terzo consolato rispettivamente nel 321 e nel 324. Sempre la *subscriptio*, inoltre, reca la data della pubblicazione avvenuta il 1° agosto a Sirmio, dove nel 324 l'imperatore Costantino non sembra aver soggiornato. SEECK 1919, 171 propende per l'anno 321. Vd. anche GERMINO 2004, 163 nt. 66; GERMINO 2003, 188 ss.; COPPOLA BISAZZA 2009, 3 ss.

dell'imperatore, che anzi mirava ad un lungimirante recupero e ad una necessaria integrazione dei "gentili" nel Cristianesimo, bensì costituiva anche un invito ai Cristiani a non respingere la cultura pagana ma farla propria ed assorbirla.

E' significativo che l'abbinamento tra le professioni del docente e del medico si mantenga costante nel corso del tempo¹⁶. Se ne ha un'attestazione nel libro 13.3 del *Codex Theodosianus*, intitolato *De medicis et professoribus*, che riunisce insieme diciannove diverse costituzioni emanate tra il 1° agosto 321 e il 13 luglio 428. Di queste disposizioni, nove riguardano i medici¹⁷ e quattro i professori¹⁸, le altre sei sono comuni alle due categorie¹⁹. Ai professori sono riservate prevalentemente due costituzioni²⁰, a cui possiamo aggiungere quella sui grammatici e gli oratori²¹ e quella sui filosofi²², mentre ai medici ne sono riservate cinque²³; una è comune alle due categorie²⁴.

Nel 326, con una nuova legge inserita nel Codice teodosiano, Costantino concesse le medesime immunità anche ai figli di queste categorie protette²⁵, e ancora alcuni anni dopo, nel 333, estese tali privilegi

¹⁶ PIACENTE 2013, 332 ss.

¹⁷ CTh. 13.3.2 (21 maggio 326), 13.3.4 (12 maggio 362), 13.3.8 (30 gennaio 370), 13.3.9 (10 marzo 370), 13.3.12 (14 settembre 379), 13.3.13 (22 gennaio 387), 13.3.14 (10 marzo 387), 13.3.15 (26 luglio 393), 13.3.19 (13 luglio 428).

¹⁸ CTh. 13.3.5 (17 giugno 362), 13.3.6 (11 gennaio 364), 13.3.7 (19 gennaio 369), 13.3.11 (23 maggio 376).

¹⁹ CTh. 13.3.1 (1 agosto 321/324), 13.3.3 (27 settembre 333), 13.3.10 (29 aprile 370), 13.3.16 (30 novembre 414), 13.3.17 (30 novembre 414), 13.3.18 (19 agosto 427).

²⁰ CI. 10.53.4 e 7 (anno 362).

²¹ CI. 10.53.2.

²² CI. 10.53.8 (anno 369).

²³ CI. 10.53.1, 5, 6 (anno 333), 9 (anno 370), 10 (anno 370).

²⁴ CI. 10.53.16 (anno 414).

²⁵ CTh. 13.3.2 (21 maggio 326): *Idem A. ad Rufinum p(raefectum) p(raetori)o. Archiatri omnes et ex archiatri ab universis muneribus curialium, senatorum et comitum perfectissimorumque muneribus et obsequiis, quae administratione perfunctis saepe mandantur, a praestationibus quoque publicis liberi immunesque permaneant nec ad ullam auri et argenti et equorum praestationem vocentur, quae forte praedictis ordinibus aut dignitatibus adscribuntur. Huius autem indulgentiam sanctionis ad filios quoque eorum statuimus pervenire. Dat. XII kal. Iun. Constantino A. VII et Constantio Caes. cons. Vd. GERMINO 2004, 92 ss.*

anche alle loro mogli: è la prima volta che ciò avviene, ma è evidente che la *ratio* dell'estensione era diretta a facilitare da parte dei medici e professori l'adempimento dei loro doveri professionali²⁶. Nel Codice giustiniano tutte queste disposizioni vengono collocate in un'unica costituzione²⁷. Tecnicamente l'imperatore abroga le gravi limitazioni fissate da Antonino Pio ed ancora vigenti, parificando i diritti dei provinciali con quelli dei cittadini delle capitali, dove già dalla metà del II secolo i maestri non erano soggetti a restrizioni. Oltre ai grammatici, ai medici e ai retori, i *professores litterarum artium* comprendono i filosofi, ma non i giuristi, esclusi dall'immunità. Le immunità concesse da Costantino sono le più ampie fra le varie concessioni di tutti gli imperatori: il suo intento è evidentemente quello di favorire la più ampia diffusione della cultura.

Oltre alla propensione agli insegnamenti tradizionali di discipline umanistiche, Costantino incentivò gli insegnamenti professionali, fino ad allora pressoché ignorati nell'impero romano. In una lettera al Prefetto d'Italia, Felice, che nella fattispecie aveva giurisdizione anche sull'Africa²⁸, Costantino sollecita l'avviamento agli studi di architettura nelle province africane, addirittura anche attraverso l'elargizione di apposite borse di studio (*salarium competens*), di quanti più giovani fosse possibile²⁹.

²⁶ CTh. 13.3.3 (27 settembre 333): Idem A. ad populum. *Beneficia divorum retro principum confirmantes medicos et professores litterarum, uxores etiam et filios eorum ab omni functione et ab omnibus muneribus publicis vacare praecipimus nec ad militiam comprehendi neque hospites recipere nec ullo fungi munere, quo facilius liberalibus studiis et memoratis artibus multos instituunt.* P(ro)p(osita) V kal. Octob. Constan(tino)p(oli) Dalmatio et Zenofilo cons. Vd. PAVAN 1952, 20 ss.; GERMINO 2004, 173 ss.

²⁷ CI. 10.53.6pr.-1: Imp. Constantinus A. ad populum. *Medicos et maxime archiatros vel ex archiatis, grammaticos et professores alios litterarum una cum uxoribus et filiis nec non etiam rebus, quas in civitatibus suis possident, ab omni functione et ab omnibus muneribus civilibus vel publicis immunes esse praecipimus neque in provinciis hospites recipere nec ullo fungi munere nec ad iudicium deduci vel exhiberi vel iniuriam pati, ut, si quis eos vexaverit, poena arbitrio iudicis plectetur. 1. Mercedes etiam eorum et salaria reddi iubemus, quo facilius liberalibus studiis et memoratis artibus multos instituunt.* PP. V k. Oct. Constantinopoli Dalmatio et Zenophilo cons. [a. 333].

²⁸ JONES, MARTINDALE, MORRIS 1971, 331.

²⁹ CTh. 13.4.1 (27 agosto 334?): Imp. Constantinus A. ad Felicem. *Architectis quam plurimis opus est; sed quia non sunt, sublimitas tua in provinciis Africanis ad hoc studium eos inpellat, qui*

E ancora, con una legge promulgata dopo la sua morte, ma quasi certamente da lui ispirata, volle incentivare con forza le professioni manuali, specie quelle utili all'edilizia, per creare competenze evidentemente molto rare o del tutto inesistenti nell'Oriente dell'impero: intonacatori, stuccatori, falegnami, scalpellini, pittori, intagliatori, mosaicisti, marmisti, argentatori, doratori, costruttori di pavimenti o di scale, veterinari, scultori, trapanatori di pietre e metalli preziosi, lavoratori del bronzo, del ferro, dell'avorio e del piombo, lastricatori di pavimenti, costruttori di specchi, vetrai, lavandai, stovigliai e pellicciai, erano soggetti per i quali era altresì prevista l'estensione dell'immunità dagli oneri pubblici³⁰. La richiesta di tali professionalità ritorna anche nel *Codex repetitae praelectionis*, segno evidente che il problema al tempo di Giustiniano non era stato ancora risolto³¹.

Un'altra costante preoccupazione dell'imperatore fu la difesa e la conservazione delle opere d'arte: venne istituito il *curator statuarum*, che si occupava della manutenzione delle sculture ed il centuriato *rerum nitentium* a tutela degli oggetti d'arte e dei monumenti pubblici. Appare singolare (ma va comunque ascritto a suo merito) che Costantino sia stato

ad annos ferme duodeviginti nati liberales litteras degustaverint. Quibus ut hoc gratum sit, tam ipsos quam eorum parentes ab his, quae personis iniungi solent, volumus esse immunes ipsisque qui discent salarium competens statui. P(ro)p(osita) VI kal. Sept. Karthagine Optato et Paulino cons. Vd. SEECK 1919, 182.

³⁰ CTh. 13.4.2 = CI. 10.66.1 (2 agosto 337): Idem A. ad Maximum p(raefectum) p(retori)o. *Artifices artium brevi subdito comprehensarum per singulas civitates morantes ab universis muneribus vacare praecipimus, si quidem ediscendis artibus otium sit adcommoandum; quo magis cupiant et ipsi peritiores fieri et suos filios erudire. Dat. III non. Aug. Feliciano et Titiano cons. Segue l'elenco di trentacinque professioni: architecti, medici, mulomedici, pictores, statuarii, marmorarii, laquearii, lapidarii, quadratarii, sculptores, musivarii, deauratores, albarii, argentarii, barbaricarii, diatretarii, aerarii, fusores, tignarii, structores, scansores, intestinarii, ferrarii, blattarii, tessellarii, aquae libratores, figuli, aurifices, vitriarii, plumbarii, specularii, eburarii, pelliones, carpentarii, fullones.*

³¹ Dei suddetti aspetti si è parlato anche alla XV Settimana di studi tardoantichi e romanobarbarici dedicata a "La svolta di Costantino" e organizzata dal Dipartimento di Studi Classici e Cristiani dell'Università di Bari Aldo Moro presso il Centro Studi Micaelici e Garganici di Monte Sant'Angelo (FG) nel settembre 2012. Vd. anche GERMINO 2003, 245-246.

costretto a 'difendere' e a recuperare restaurandole anche opere d'arte di origine pagana che non aveva potuto eliminare.

Appare interessante la testimonianza che anche i figli di Costantino, in particolare Costanzo e Costante, proseguendo nella politica culturale del padre, solleccarono i costruttori di macchine, i geometri, gli architetti e gli idrologi ad insegnare il mestiere ad altri, allargando così ancora di più il novero delle categorie di lavoratori esentati dai *munera civilia*³².

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³² CTh. 13.4.3 = CI. 10.66.2 (6 luglio 344): Imp. Constantius et Constans AA. ad Leontium p(raefectum) p(raetori)o. *Mechanicos et geometras et architectos, qui divisiones partium omnium incisionesque servant mensuris et institutis operam fabricationi(bus) stringunt, et eos, qui aquarum inventos ductus et modos docili libratione ostendunt, in par studium docendi adque discendi nostro sermone perpellimus (CI.: compellimus). Itaque immunitatibus gaudeant et suscipiant docendos qui docere sufficiunt*. Dat. prid. non. Iul. Leontio et Sallustio cons. Da ultimo vd. PLISECKA 2012, 56 ss. e bibliografia ivi citata.

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QUELQUES CONSIDÉRATIONS SUR LA CONFIGURATION DE L'ESPACE URBAIN DANS LA VILLE PRÉ-MODERNE DE IAȘI

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Keywords: pre-modern European town, pre-modern Iași, town-planning.

Abstract: *The morphology analysis of the pre-modern town in the East-European space is encumbered by the lack of maps and zoning plans, as well as by the small quantity of preserved documentary sources. In the case of Iași, the Russian military maps of the 18th century, together with the General plan of Iași made by the French engineer Joseph Bayardi, creates the base for analysis, corroborated by the historical documentary sources recently edited. The general analysis we carry out considers the origins, emergence, evolution and distribution of the town quarters/cores, the streets configuration as well as the size, distribution and evolution of urban plots. The analysis uses both cartographic and documentary sources, supported by analogies with the similar situations in the rest of Moldavia, which are documented by archaeology, and in Central and Western Europe, when the analogy is appropriate.*

Rezumat: *Analiza morfologiei orașului premodern în spațiul est-european se lovește de lipsa documentelor cartografice și cadastrale, ca și de numărul mic al documentelor de proprietate păstrate. În cazul orașului Iași, hărțile de stat major rusești de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea, împreună cu planul lui Joseph Bayardi din 1814 constituie o bază cartografică pentru analiză, împreună cu sursele documentare publicate recent. Analiza generală pe care o facem vizează apariția, originea, evoluția și distribuția nucleelor/cartierelor, configurația stradală și mărimea, distribuția și evoluția loturilor, folosind sursele cartografice și cele documentare, ca și analogiile cu situațiile similare din restul Moldovei, constatate arheologic, și cu cele din Europa Centrală și Occidentală, acolo unde se poate face analogie.*

Résumé: *L'analyse de la morphologie de la ville pré-moderne dans l'espace est-européen se heurte au manque des documents cartographiques et cadastraux et au nombre limité des documents de propriété conservés. Dans le cas de la ville de Iași, les cartes d'Etat*

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majeur russes de la fin du XVIIIe siècle, à côté du plan de Joseph Bayardi de 1814, constituent une base cartographique pour l'analyse, avec les sources documentaires récemment publiées. L'analyse générale que nous faisons vise l'apparition, l'origine, l'évolution et la distribution des noyaux/quartiers, la configuration des rues, la dimension, la distribution et l'évolution des lots, en utilisant les sources cartographiques et celles documentaires, aussi que les analogies aux situations similaires du reste de la Moldavie, étudiées du point de vue archéologique, tout comme celles de l'Europe Centrale et Occidentale, dans les cas où l'analogie est possible.

Bien que la ville médiévale se développe du village, devenant beaucoup plus que le village originaire. Elle ne peut pourtant survivre en l'absence du village. Dans une logique très similaire, différant en contexte et prémisses, la ville ne peut pas se détacher du plan qu'elle partage avec l'habitat rural. Avec une partie de l'organisme collée au paysage, comme le village, la ville projetée horizontalement sur un plan, dépourvue des catégories et quantités de la troisième dimension, offre au „narrateur” les composantes géométriques qui témoignent de ses origines rurales. En termes de planimétrie, le plus simple type morphologique européen post-romain consiste dans une seule rue, élargie le long d'une portion (qui devient le centre de la ville) pour offrir un espace public (marché); les deux côtés de la rue possèdent des lots, dont l'ouverture est trois fois plus réduite que la longueur. L'arrière des lots est très souvent souligné par une ruelle ou sentier, qui constituent, dans la plupart des villes à leurs débuts, la ligne de démarcation du territoire urbain.

L'utilisation du syntagme de *croissance organique* est, selon nous, inadéquate pour la description de l'évolution d'une ville médiévale. Le développement physique de la ville dépend de la décision des individus ou des entités communautaires ou administratives de construire ou reconstruire sur le territoire de la ville, des constructions et terrains qui sont par ensuite insérés dans la croissance économique urbaine. De ce point de vue et jusqu'à ce niveau toutes les villes médiévales sont « planifiées ». Si le but ultime de l'initiative et de la promotion urbaine est la production de valeur, les villes médiévales devraient être de simples moteurs économiques et financiers d'un capitalisme *avant la lettre*. La réalité est pourtant intensément altérée par l'intervention de *l'espace*

comme valeur sociale. Le milieu changé par constructions, dont l'expression élaborée est la ville, est le résultat d'un équilibre mobil entre les forces qui ont comme but la croissance économique et les forces qui modèlent l'espace physique en vertu d'un (ou de plusieurs) modèle(s) social (sociaux) idéal (idéaux)²; le processus de culturaliser le paysage est finalisé seulement par l'intégration des relations de pouvoir dans la matrice spatiale résultante.

La différence définitoire entre plusieurs villes médiévales étudiées individuellement réside dans les proportions où ces décisions individuelles ou communautaires sont adoptées. Le propriétaire d'un endroit de maison de la petite ville de Șcheia, qui décide le vendre pour bâtir trois ou quatre maisons, pour le vendre, influence moins la topographie de la ville par rapport au prince Miron Barnovschi, qui décide de fixer la limite et de diviser en lots une partie de l'endroit princier, afin d'étendre le territoire urbain de la ville de Iași avec « le Faubourg de Barnovschi »³.

L'exemple *de la limite* du faubourg est le plus éloquent lorsqu'on étudie les origines rurales de la ville. En tant que paysage agraire, la limite du faubourg est la partie de la ville qui est la plus proche de la manière rurale de vivre. Formée de pâturages, prairies, terroirs et étangs, la limite est l'espace quasi amorphe qui constitue le domaine de subsistance de la ville, espace alloué par le prince par ces raisons, de sorte qu'il dispose totalement de propriété. Des points de vue social, politique, économique, la limite est ainsi assimilée, *de facto*, à la propriété personnelle du prince, bien que légalement, morphologiquement et topographiquement, elle soit not seulement la ceinture quasi-rurale du faubourg, mais le périmètre délimité constituant la base du plan sur laquelle s'élève le relief urbain. Par conséquent, la limite du faubourg apparaît comme la fondation plane, collée au paysage, dont la ville s'élève d'une manière tridimensionnelle.

La forme de la ville est déterminée par les **limites** de celui-ci. La qualité de cet espace à habiter est donnée par la manière de gérer le relief

² ZUKIN 1991, 213.

³ *DocIs* I, 437-438.

et les ressources. Par conséquent, le relief et les ressources sont les fonctions qui arbitrent les limites et la forme d'un habitat, leur analyse permettant de reconstituer la géométrie probable et la portion respective de la topographie historique de la localité.

Ainsi, la limite d'une ville devrait coïncider avec la délimitation des plus périphériques propriétés à statut juridique urbain. Cet énoncé simple pose le problème, extrêmement complexe, de la définition d'un statut juridique de la propriété urbaine, dans les conditions de l'inexistence d'une source documentaire de nature juridique dans laquelle ce statut spécial soit défini ou expliqué comme tel. La première différence spécifique entre la propriété rurale et celle urbaine est la délimitation spatiale et personnelle claire de celle-ci, sous la forme de *l'endroit de maison*, c'est-à-dire le lot urbain qui se trouve en propriété personnelle héréditaire. Le tracement d'un périmètre urbain, utilisant le critère de l'attestation documentaire des endroits de maison, est fortement dépendent de l'identification spatiale des transactions immobilières, identification difficile à réaliser en tenant compte de la précarité des données spatiales qui peuvent être extraites des sources documentaires. La toponymie permet seulement des identifications spatiales au niveau du méso-habitat: des voisinages, rues, quartiers. La grille de localisation est offerte par la source cartographique principale, le plan de Bayardi (1813) (**v. fig. 1**).

L'endroit de maison apparaît mentionné pour la première fois dans une donation de Petru le Boiteux pour le monastère de St. Sava de Iași, de 1583⁴. La localisation de ce don est donnée par la phrase « ... maisons faites par nous dans le faubourg de Iași, et avec l'endroit de ces maisons, pour que nos prieurs y habitent et font leur église ... », ce qui place la respective propriété sur l'actuel emplacement de l'église St. Sava. Antérieurement à cette date, le critère du statut de la propriété est inapplicable et, par conséquent, les limites de la ville avant le règne de Petru le Boiteux doivent être définies par d'autres méthodes.

⁴ *DocIs*, 37.

Le périmètre reconstruit sur le critère de la présence de l'objet de droit, représenté par *l'endroit de maison*, est relatif, mais il peut être défini d'une manière plus nette en appliquant de manière successive les critères de spécificité.

La spatialité d'un habitat est déterminée, tout d'abord, par la relevance du *plan*, qui peut être considéré comme un ensemble de quartiers qui, à leur tour, consistent en groupes de lots, d'*endroits de maison*. Par conséquent, la morphologie et la géométrie de l'habitat (avec d'autres mots la *topographie*) sont déterminées, en grande mesure, par les caractéristiques historiques et spatiales de *l'endroit de maison*⁵. Sauf son utilisation comme jalon de délimitation du périmètre urbain, l'endroit de délimitation peut argumenter, par ses dimensions moyennes documentées à un certain moment et dans une certaine zone, l'âge de l'intégration de la respective zone dans le cadastre urbain, par l'extrapolation de la vitesse de division du lot initial en fonction du nombre de générations, *i.e.* la division longitudinale du lot à chaque génération, par la division entre les héritiers. Bien qu'elle soit seulement théorique, cette modalité d'évaluation peut être utilisée comme instrument comparatif entre les lots, entre les zones de la ville ou entre les classes sociales de propriétaires.

Les concessions urbaines dans les nouvelles villes de l'Europe médiévale ont des dimensions relativement réduites. La seconde *locatio* de la ville médiévale Lübeck, du règne de l'empereur Henri le Lion (1158), consiste en lots de 25×100 coudes (7,5×30 m), le côté court vers la rue⁶; à Freiburg, pendant la même période, les lots sont de 50×100 coudes (15×30 m)⁷.

En Prusse, Silésie et Grande Pologne, les lots de la majorité des faubourgs fondés au début du XIII^e siècle ont le front de 60 coudes (20 m) et la profondeur de 120 ou 240 coudes (40 ou 80 m), sans se différencier du reste de l'espace germanique⁸. Les lots des faubourgs fondés vers la fin du siècle diminuent, pourtant, comme dimensions, à 50 coudes (16 m) le front,

⁵ LAVEDAN, HUGUENEY 1974, 124.

⁶ DICKINSON 1945, 91.

⁷ DICKINSON 1945, note 13.

⁸ A Sroda Słaska, la fondation du duc Henri le Barbu, LAVEDAN, HUGUENEY 1974, 124.

la profondeur variant entre 150 et 200 coudes (48-60 m), diminution accentuée aussi par la réduction de l'unité de mesure, d'un coude/pied de 0,31 à un de 0,28 m⁹. À Wrocław, entre le Grand Marché et la Rue Ste. Maria-Magdalena, les lots sont de 60×240 coudes (20×80 m) dans le front du Marché et de 60×120 coudes (20×40 m) dans le front de la rue¹⁰. A Cracovie, la *locatio* de 1257 de la nouvelle ville impose des lots ayant des fronts de 2, 3, 4 et 5 fenêtres (6, 9, 12, 15 m respectivement) avec la profondeur de 244 coudes (85,5 m)¹¹.

En l'Angleterre du XII^e siècle, les lots des nouvelles *locationes* sont de dimensions variées, mais avec la proportion front/profondeur de 1:3¹², alors que les lots avec la proportion F/A de 1:6 semblent comme étant plus anciens, et ceux à fronts plus larges (1:2) plus récents (les XIII^e et XIV^e siècles)¹³.

À Stratford, la *locatio* de l'évêque de Worcester de 1196 fournit des lots de 3,5×12 perches (18×60 m), permettant aux bourgeois de les diviser ultérieurement en deux ou même trois morceaux longitudinaux et les louer¹⁴, à mi-siècle depuis la fondation. Les registres de la ville montrent un grand nombre de contribuables possédant un tiers ou une moitié de lot. En ce qui concerne la fondation de Hendon, en 1185, les lots sont de 8×20 perches (39.6×100.6 m)¹⁵ et sont divisés en deux pendant une génération, sans d'autres divisions ultérieures. La même situation est enregistrée à Lichfield (1140-1150), où les lots de fondation ont des dimensions de 5×8 perches (25×40 m), les divisions ultérieures résultant en lots au front de 2,5 perches ou moins (6-7 m)¹⁶.

Le tracement des lots au soc est constaté, par suite des fouilles archéologiques, dans le cas de petits faubourgs échoués après leur

⁹ LAVEDAN, HUGUENEY 1974, 125.

¹⁰ LAVEDAN, HUGUENEY 1974, 130.

¹¹ LAVEDAN, HUGUENEY 1974, 130.

¹² PALLISER, SLATER, DENNISON 2000, 162.

¹³ PALLISER, SLATER, DENNISON 2000, 169.

¹⁴ SLATER 1987, 195.

¹⁵ PALLISER, SLATER, DENNISON 2000, 172.

¹⁶ SLATER 1987, 200.

fondation¹⁷. De petits lots ayant la proportion de 1:2,3 sont enregistrés à Bury St-Edmunds en 1269, de 3×7 perches (15×35 m)¹⁸.

Une moyenne au niveau de l'Europe occidentale des XII^e-XIII^e siècles et pour la largeur du front de l'endroit de maison a été estimée à 30 coudes (entre 8,75 et 9,25 m)¹⁹, la profondeur ayant des dimensions variées, déterminées par les conditions locales, physiques ou administratives. Ce « standard » européen est valable seulement dans le cas des villes ou faubourgs fondés *ad-hoc*, entourés de fortifications, ce qui n'est pas applicable aux villes ou faubourgs ouvertes, modulaires, de l'Europe d'est, où l'habitat urbain est beaucoup moins structuré.

Une approximation graphique de quelques fronts probables de lots, pour les habitations datées dans les XVI^e-XVII^e siècles de Tg. Trotuș, offre des dimensions de 9, 12,5, 17 et, respectivement 22 mètres, respectivement 4, 6, 8 et 10 toises²⁰ (v. **fig. 2**). Le plan a été numérisé et rectifié, on a marqué les trajets probables des rues (en partant de la distribution des habitations relativement contemporaines) et l'orientation de la construction et de l'accès. La largeur du front a été approximée, dans les quatre cas qui ont facilité cette possibilité, pour les habitations à territoire délimité sur les deux côtés, en haut et en bas de la «rue».

Si on applique la même méthode au plan général des fouilles de Baia, la séquence 1967-1976, pour les habitations du troisième tiers du XV^e siècle²¹, on dispose d'une estimation des fronts de lots pour deux cas de 10,5 et 14 mètres (c'est-à-dire 4¾ et 6,5 toises) (v. **fig. 3**).

Dans le cas du plan général des fouilles de 1977-1980, dans la même ville médiévale, concernant la même période²², deux estimations possibles ont offert des valeurs du front de lot de 14,5 et 10,7 mètres, (c'est-à-dire 6¾ et 5 toises). La concordance des estimations entre les deux sites de Baia

¹⁷ A Chipping Bassett en 1267 la *locatio* contient des lots au front de 4 perches, délimités par des sillons, PALLISER, SLATER, DENNISON 2000, 172.

¹⁸ SLATER 2000, 599.

¹⁹ BROOKS, WHITTINGTON 1977, 287.

²⁰ ARTIMON 2004, Fig. 75.

²¹ NEAMȚU, NEAMȚU, CHEPTEA 1980, Fig. 3.

²² NEAMȚU, NEAMȚU, CHEPTEA 1986, Fig. 1.

(situés à environ 700 mètres l'un de l'autre, en ligne droite) offre le support de nos estimations, s'approchant aussi des valeurs de 4 et 6 toises de Tg. Trotuș), alignant la structure des lots de fondation des villes de la Moldavie médiévale (au moins pour celles fondées par la population de Transylvaine) à la pratique européenne (v. fig. 4).

Dans le cas de la ville de Iași, les informations dont nous disposons pour la reconstitution du parcellaire initial, médiéval, sont quasi exclusivement de nature documentaire. Les dimensions initiales du lot correspondent à ceux de la concession princière du moment de la *locatio*, un calcul rapide montrant qu'à Iași, les dimensions de la concession urbaine constatée par voie documentaire devrait avoir une moyenne de 24×28 toises princiers (approximativement 50×60 m). Cette moyenne couvre un grand nombre de variations entre les dimensions estimées d'une concession du Vieux Faubourg (16×30 toises) et celles d'une concession des Montagnards du Nouveau Faubourg (28×30 toises). Les endroits de maison à Iași varient de 8×8 toises (15×15 m), évalué à 50 zlotys en 1642, dans la rue des Bottiers²³, à 9×15½ toises princiers (20×34 m), évalué à 300 lei en 1641, dans la rue de Trébizonde²⁴, 17×18 toises (30,5×32,5 m) en tête de la Grande Rue, en 1706, sur la place des anciennes prisons princières²⁵, 10½×17½ toises (19×31,5 m) dans la rue de la Chiure, en 1711²⁶, 9(7)×12¾ toises (16,5(12,5)×23 m) un « morceau » d'endroit dans la rue des Pêcheurs, évalué à 30 lei en 1712²⁷, 7½×35½ toises (12,5×64 m) dans la rue de Trébizonde, en 1713²⁸, 4×15 toises princier (9,5×36 m) dans la rue Russe, devant Caravansérail, en 1714²⁹ et jusqu'à 35×60 toises princiers (63×108 m), dans la banlieue des Montagnards, entre l'Eglise Ste. Prepodobna Paraschiva et l'Eglise St. Nicolas le Pauvre, en 1724³⁰.

²³ *DocIs* I, 390.

²⁴ *DocIs* I, 384.

²⁵ *DocIs* II, 277.

²⁶ *DocIs* II, 369.

²⁷ *DocIs* II, 373.

²⁸ *DocIs* II, 389.

²⁹ *DocIs* II, 423.

³⁰ *DocIs* II, 554.

Une série de mesurages appliqués à une copie rectifiée du plan de Bayardi (1813) offre une plage de valeurs relativement étendue, de 22,7 à 64 m (respectivement de la 10½ à 30 toises princiers), en concordance tant avec les valeurs fréquentes des limites de la du XVIII^e siècle qu'avec les mesurages de rues de 1811. Même si la variation dynamique des dimensions du front de lot est un argument pour une dynamique tout aussi accentuée du double processus de fragmentation et d'agrégation des lots, résultant dans la formation de « latifundia urbains » des boyards et surtout des monastères, cette constatation n'est pas très utile dans l'estimation, sur des bases analytiques des dimensions et de la forme des lots de fondation appartenant à la période ancienne de la ville de Iași et, par conséquent, du parcellaire médiéval de la ville, initiative qu'on doit laisser à la charge des méthodes d'extrapolation sur des bases graphiques /géographiques.

Une statistique des lots urbains dans la ville de Iași des XVII-XVIII siècles devrait prendre en considération les prémisses:

- Le *front* du lot varie en fonction du nombre des partitionnements, *i.e.* plus il est petit, plus le lot initial a été plus souvent divisé.
- L'assertion ci-dessus est valable dans le cas des endroits de maison et non dans ceux des boutiques.
- La longueur du lot devrait rester relativement constante le long du temps, lors des partitionnements successifs.
- Le partitionnement transversal qui apparaît parfois est accompagné par l'apparition d'une ruelle qui soutient le front de la partition « de derrière ».
- Le repartitionnement transversal ultérieur est accompagné par l'apparition d'une « ruelle » d'accès, dont la largeur est extraite de la longueur des lots résultants.
- L'agrégation des lots est un phénomène initié par l'investissement immobilier, la constitution de « latifundia » urbains et leur séparation dans des espaces louables comme boutiques ou endroits de maison.

- Les propriétés agrégées peuvent superposer ou non les limites des lots de fondation.
- La division en espaces louables est faite selon les mêmes principes que la désagrégation antérieure, mais le plus souvent elle ne superpose pas les limites des lots acquis lors de la formation du « latifundium ».

Le front d'une place de boutique est relativement constant, *i.e.* approximativement 2 toises princiers (4,3 m), avec la possibilité d'être utilisé comme étalon pour l'évaluation des fronts de lots ou propriétés agrégées à dimensions inconnues³¹.

Nous pouvons arbitrairement séparer les propriétés à dimensions connues en quelques zones qualitatives, en fonction de la distance par rapport au centre géométrique de la ville ancienne (un point arbitraire situé sur la rue du Vieux Pont, à une distance égale entre l'église St. Nicolas Princier, l'église Ste. Vendredi et l'église Dancu):

- La zone des rues Russes, St. Vendredi et le Vieux Pont, entre la Grande Rue (à l'ouest) et l'église arménienne St. Grégoire l'Illuminateur (à l'est) (pratiquement le Vieux Faubourg)
- La zone convexe autour de la zone A, délimitée par la rivière Bahlui (à l'ouest), la rue du Nouveau Pont (à nord) et la rivière Cacaina (des Chiures) (à l'est).
- Le reste de la ville: à nord de la Nouvelle Rue, à l'ouest de la ravine Pevețoaiei, avec la plaine de la rivière Bahlui au-dessous la Cour et jusque dans la zone de versement de la rivière Cacaina dans la rivière Bahlui (le quartier des Tsiganes auprès de la Cour, la rue Bouillante et la banlieue des Pêcheurs au-dessous de St. Jean Zlatooust).

³¹ Le plus connue mesurage des rues de Iași, comme celui de 1811, du au projet d'illumination des rues, offre quelques sets de dimensions pour les endroits de boutique. Même si les données se réfèrent à une période beaucoup plus tardive pour affecter notre essai de reconstitution, on peut observer que le front d'un endroit de boutique a une largeur minimale qui est de manière nécessaire constante et déterminée par les standards de déroulement en bonnes conditions de l'activité commerciale et par les besoins de circulation et physiologiques d'une personne moyenne.

La structuration de la ville est faite selon le squelette établi par les artères principales et les rues, les voies d'accès secondaires apparaissant seulement après la délimitation claire et la clôture des lots, éléments qui finissent cette division de l'espace urbain. La «ruelle» large de deux toises du lot mesuré ou «de la voie ayant la largeur d'un char» de quatre toises de l'un ou plusieurs lots délimités est plus souvent mentionnée après 1680. Certes, la fréquence accrue des apparitions peut être due aussi au nombre de documents conservés. La comparaison des mentions littérales avec le groupement spatial des valeurs mentionnées dans les documents nous offre une idée générale sur la succession des fondations urbaines à (v. **le Tableau 1**).

Le diagramme de distribution des valeurs pour les dimensions des endroits de maison et de boutique connus dans la ville de Iași entre le milieu du XVII^e siècle et le milieu du XVIII^e siècle montre une prépondérance mineure des lots de forme carrée (en général 8×8 toises–17,3×17,3 m) et de ceux de rapport approximatif 1/1,25 (13×16 toises–28×34,5 m) (v. **fig. 5**).

Les mêmes données, analysées d'une manière graphique sous la forme de la distribution des valeurs des fronts d'endroits de maison, en toises, montre deux zones dominantes, l'une dans l'intervalle 6-8 et l'autre dans l'intervalle 10-16, permettant l'adoption comme dimension hypothétique du front d'un lot urbain de fondation d'approximativement 15 toises, avec une division ultérieure, après une ou deux générations, de la majorité des lots initiaux, en parcelles longitudinales de 1/2 ou 1/3 du lot, tel que l'indique la pointe modérée de l'intervalle 4-6 (v. **fig. 6**).

Tableau 1

Vieux Faubourg	Nouveau Faubourg	Faubourg de Barnovsc hi	Le Grand Faubourg	Le Faubourg d'en Bas	Le Faubourg d'en Haut
	1610				
	1623				
1644	1644				
1646					

1647					
1648					
		1649			
		1651			
1652					
1656					
1658		1658			
1661					
					1667
1668					
				1669	
			1677		
1678					
				1680	
					1681
				1687	

Analysée d'une manière graphique sous la forme de la distribution des valeurs des profondeurs des endroits de maison, en toises, les données spatiales extraites montrent deux zones dominantes, l'une dans l'intervalle 10-18 et l'autre dans l'intervalle 26-32, permettant l'adoption de la dimension hypothétique d'un lot urbain de fondation d'approximativement 30 toises, avec une division transversale ultérieure, après une ou deux générations, de la majorité des lots initiaux en moitiés, à voie d'accès dont la largeur est comprise entre 1,5 et 2,2 toises (**v. fig. 7**).

Les mêmes données, analysées du point de vue graphique sous la forme de la distribution sur les rues des valeurs des fronts d'endroits de maison, en toises, à minimum-moyenne – maximum, permet l'adoption d'une hypothèse qui pourrait attacher un vecteur temporel à l'axe horizontal de la représentation graphique. De la sorte, un ordonnancement qui prend en calcul les valeurs minimales du front de lot, en vertu de la prémisses qui fait corréler directement l'âge au degré de fragmentation, indique le Vieux Pont et la rue Russe comme zones de la première *locatio* de la ville médiévale de Iași (en concordance avec la chronologie fournie

par les églises, étant attachés à la Ste. Vendredi et respectivement St. Nicolas Princier). Le même ordonnancement attache les rues de Caravansérail et de Bărboi au noyau initial, comme des expansions de la première *locatio*, théoriquement les rues groupées à droite de la valeur minimale de sept toises pour le front du lot constituent une nouvelle *locatio*, respectivement le Nouveau Faubourg (Hagioaia, la rue Sinueuse, le quartier des Pêcheurs, les banlieues des Montagnards, la rue du Foin, le Faubourg de la Farine) et le Faubourg de Barnovschi (la rue des Boitiers et la rue de Trébizonde). Si les valeurs maximales hautes qui apparaissent du côté gauche de la représentation graphique sont documentées comme des agrégations afin de former de « latifundia urbaines »³², les valeurs hautes de maximum du côté droit sont, en fait, des fronts de lots de très grandes dimensions accordés dans les banlieues de la périphérie de nord-est et de nord de la ville (v. fig. 8).

Cette hiérarchie devient significative si on la met en relation avec les données documentaires concernant « la moitié de la ville de Iași » de la première moitié du XVIIe siècle, afin de déterminer la géométrie des phases successives de la ville ancienne, de la période « non-documentaire » (v. fig. 9).

La statistique finale du recensement de 1774 pour la ville de Iași³³ offre une structure similaire de la distribution des rues et des banlieues dans des catégories différentes d'« énergie urbaine ». Certes, compte tenu de la nature fiscale du recensement, la statistique ne reflète pas de manière réelle la présence importante des boutiques des monastères Golia et Dancu (dans la rue Sinueuse), Barnovschi (dans la rue de Trébizonde) et des Trois Hiérarques, de la Cathédrale Métropolitaine et de l'Eglise catholique (dans la Grande Rue). Cette absence n'altère pas, pourtant, de manière

³² Tels ceux de Grigore Ureche mare, grand juge dans la Rue des Bottiers– Rue Russe (*DocIs* I 537, 538; *DocIs* II, 118) Miron Costin grand chancelier dans la Rue Sinueuse (*DocIs* II, 66), de Hristodor grand responsable du blé du Vieux Pont–Rue Sinueuse (*DocIs* II, 179), Gheorghe grand portier dans la Rue des Bottiers – la Rue des Bains (*DocIs* I, 486), Solomon Bârlădeanu de la Rue Brăhăriei – le Nouveau Faubourg (*DocIs* I, 448, *DocIs* II, 122, 343)

³³ *DocStat* I, 128-129.

considérable la conclusion de nature spatiale que nous pouvons tirer de la statistique des données numériques (**v. fig. 10**).

Comme on l'observe, la concentration commerciale de la ville superpose les deux Faubourgs: le Vieux (en Bas) délimité par la rue Russe, le Vieux Pont et la Grande Rue (perpendiculaires sur la direction de la pente) et le Nouveau (en Haut), délimité par le Pont de Hagioaia (perpendiculaire sur la direction de la pente) et la Rue de Caravansérail (parallèle à la direction de la pente). Logiquement, ces deux zones de concentration commerciale devraient correspondre aux noyaux des deux *locationes* successives, le plus ancien étant celui de la zone du Vieux Faubourg.

Le mesurage des rues de 1811 nous donne la possibilité d'effectuer une comparaison entre les dimensions du front d'un endroit de boutique dans la zone commerciale de la ville³⁴. De la sorte, pour la Grande Rue la fréquence la plus élevée est celle des boutiques ayant un front entre 2 et 3 toises principales (4,3 – 6,5 m), avec une moyenne de 2¾ toises (6 m). Dans les conditions où le front d'un endroit de boutique apparaît dans le contrat de construction conclu par Ion, maître charpentier, avec le préfet de l'église catholique (1749), de 2 et respectivement 3 toises³⁵, et la largeur moyenne d'un front de boutique en Europe Occidentale dans le XV^e siècle était considérée comme étant de 4-5 m³⁶, nous pouvons prendre les fronts de boutiques de la Grande Rue comme un standard ad-hoc pour le XVIII^e siècle, auquel nous pouvons comparer les valeurs minimales et moyennes obtenues pour les autres rues mesurées en 1811, la partition ultérieure de ces endroits résultant en fronts plus étroits, même d'un toise, et qui apparaissent dans le mesurage de 1811 dans la rue du Faubourg d'en bas

³⁴ *DocStat I*, 279 esq.

³⁵ *DocIs IV*, 401.

³⁶ VIOLLET-LE-DUC 1868, 240, s. v. *boutique*.

(la rue du Vieux Faubourg)³⁷, sur le Vieux Pont³⁸, la rue des Bottiers³⁹ et la rue de Ste. Vendredi⁴⁰.

L'histogramme cumulative du total des propriétés à endroits de boutique mesurées en 1811 fournit un résultat relativement prévisible: d'un total de 1122 d'endroits de boutique sur les rues principales, la grande majorité ont des fronts compris dans l'intervalle de valeurs $1\frac{1}{2}$ - $2\frac{3}{4}$ toises (773 endroits, représentant 68,9% du total). De cette majorité, 219 endroits de boutique, formant la pointe absolue de la statistique, ont la dimension du front entre 1,75 et 2 toises (3,78 – 4,32 m) (**v. fig. 11**). Ces valeurs sont dues au nombre très grand d'endroits de boutique à fronts sous $1\frac{1}{2}$ toises, de la Rue du Faubourg d'en bas, du Vieux Pont, de la Rue des Bottiers et de la Rue de Hagioaia.

Une analyse représentée sous la forme d'un diagramme sérial minimum - moyenne - maximum, ordonné de manière ascendante d'après la valeur des dimensions minimales du front d'un endroit de boutique (prenant une fois de plus en considération le mesurage de 1811), présente, à la gauche de la représentation graphique la Rue du Faubourg d'en bas (Russe), la Rue des Bottiers et le Vieux Pont, un groupe contigu de rues, auquel on ajoute la Rue de Hagioaia, à un plus haut degré de fragmentation du front de parcelle est, à notre avis, le résultat d'un processus économique naturel censé d'accroître l'efficacité de la propriété immobilière dans une économie monétaire (ce que l'économie urbaine de la modernité à ses débuts est à coup sûr): lot de fondation → valorisation du front → division jusqu'à la dimension d'un endroit de boutique → agrégation en latifundia urbaines → fragmentation du front sous la forme de boutiques loués. La même zone est indiquée par l'analyse des données spatiales des documents des XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles comme la zone ayant la fragmentation maximale des fronts des endroits de maison (**v. fig. 12**).

La répartition numérique des endroits de boutique dans les rues, rapportée à la profondeur mesurée des rues (le mesurage de 1811) et au

³⁷ *DocStat I*, 281-284.

³⁸ *DocStat I*, 288-291.

³⁹ *DocStat I*, 286-288.

⁴⁰ *DocStat I*, 284-286.

nombre théorique des endroits de boutique (la longueur mesurée rapportée à la largeur moyenne du front de l'endroit de boutique pour la rue respective) met de nouveau en évidence la Rue du Faubourg d'en bas (la rue Russe) et le Vieux Pont, avec un nombre de 272 et de 213 endroits de boutique. L'ordonnancement interne du diagramme reflète un indice *ad-hoc* de densité commerciale, qui est le rapport entre le nombre réel d'endroits de boutique comptés en 1811 et le nombre maximal théorique d'endroits de boutique ayant la largeur moyenne du front qu'on pourrait comprendre, pour une densité commerciale de 100%, dans la largeur mesurée de la rue. Il est évident qu'un indice de densité commerciale supra-unitaire marque des valeurs très élevées d'intensité et de dynamisme, alors qu'un indice dont la valeur est inférieure à 0,5 marque indubitablement une zone résidentielle. L'ordonnancement des rues conformément à l'analyse statistique des données de 1811 sépare nettement les rues commerciales: le Vieux Pont, la Rue Russe et la Rue des Bottiers dans le Vieux Faubourg, la Rue de Hagioaia dans le Nouveau Faubourg, des rues à activité commerciale réduite: la Rue de la St. Vendredi, la Rue de Raz, la Rue de Trébizonde, la Rue du Faubourg d'en haut (**v. fig. 13**). Au niveau du mesurage /de la cadastre de 1811, la structure commerciale/résidentielle de la ville est homogène avec les données qualitatives fournies par la cadastre de 1774.

Les diagrammes résultant de la statistique des données spatiales offertes par le mesurage de 1811 mènent à quelques conclusions:

- La majorité des endroits de boutique ont la largeur frontale d'environ 2 toises (4,25 m).
- Le front moyen de l'endroit de boutique est relativement constant en Europe pendant la période pré-industrielle.
- La concentration maximale et le degré maximal de fragmentation coïncide, à Iași, avec la localisation offerte par les données documentaires antérieures au mesurage de 1811.

Si le degré de fragmentation du front est directement proportionnel à la désirabilité de l'espace pour des buts commerciaux, la fragmentation des lots **comme surface** est une mesure estimative de l'âge de l'habitat dans un périmètre donné (urbain ou non-urbain). Les deux raisonnements

convergent vers la localisation d'un périmètre en même temps central et ancien, dans les conditions d'un habitat relativement stable comme intensité et qualité. Cette convergence est localisée dans le périmètre délimité par les points correspondant à l'Eglise St. Nicolas Princier, le bout d'ouest du Vieux Pont, l'Eglise St. Sava, le Monastère Barnovschi et la douane (l'Eglise St. Lazare), périmètre ayant dans son centre théorique l'Eglise St. Vendredi et qui peut être assimilé au Vieux Faubourg. L'attachement des bouts de la Rue Russe (qui deviendra plus tard la Rue du Faubourg en bas) et de la Grande Rue à l'Eglise St. Nicolas princier soutient cette hypothèse logique.

Si les informations documentaires ne sont pas suffisantes pour la reconstitution du parcellaire médiéval de la ville, l'analyse de plan, corroborée aux données spatiales fournies par les sources documentaires, statistiquement analysées, permettent la constitution de quelques hypothèses de grande probabilité. De la sorte, analysant la morphologie du Vieux Faubourg (dans la configuration théorique énoncée ci-dessus), délimité à l'ouest par la Grande Rue et à l'est par le monastère Barnovschi et la Rue des Bottiers, les trois artères parallèles au bord du plateau, de nord à sud (le Vieux Pont, la rue St. Vendredi + la Rue de Trébizonde et la Rue Russe) sont séparées par des intervalles dont la largeur moyenne est d'approximativement 100 mètres. Dans la **Fig. 14** chacune des trois rues est marquée par un couloir dont la largeur est de 50 mètres. Les limites des couloirs sont approximativement colinéaires jusqu'à l'intersection avec la limite théorique du Vieux Faubourg (avant la construction du Monastère Barnovschi), d'où elles deviennent divergentes. Il est significatif à souligner le fait que la limite de sud du couloir de la Rue Russe coïncide en grandes lignes avec le bord du plateau, les ruelles qui accompagnent au sud la Rue Russe se positionnant immédiatement à l'intérieur de ce couloir. Si nous acceptons une valeur moyenne de la profondeur du lot dans la zone du Vieux Faubourg d'approximativement 50 mètres (23½ toises), à partir de l'analyse de plan, la différence entre cette valeur et celles fournies par la statistique des données documentaires, qui indique une valeur moyenne corrigée de 30 toises, est relativement élevée. Loin de faire la faute de modifier les données pour les faire correspondre à la

théorie, nous ne pouvons que supposer que la statistique ne dispose pas de données suffisantes et que, au moins pour la valeur de la profondeur du lot de fondation, la moyenne obtenue doit être utilisée seulement comme une valeur d'orientation. D'ailleurs, cette différence entre le résultat de l'analyse de et celui de la statistique des informations documentaires est aussi explicable par la différence entre les domaines d'application: si les informations documentaires proviennent de l'intervalle 1640-1740, les informations spatiales traitent un périmètre délimité par les Eglises St. Nicolas Princier, Ste. Vendredi et St. Sava, périmètre qu'il faudrait dater de la fin du XV^e siècle jusqu'à la dernière décennie du XVI^e siècle.

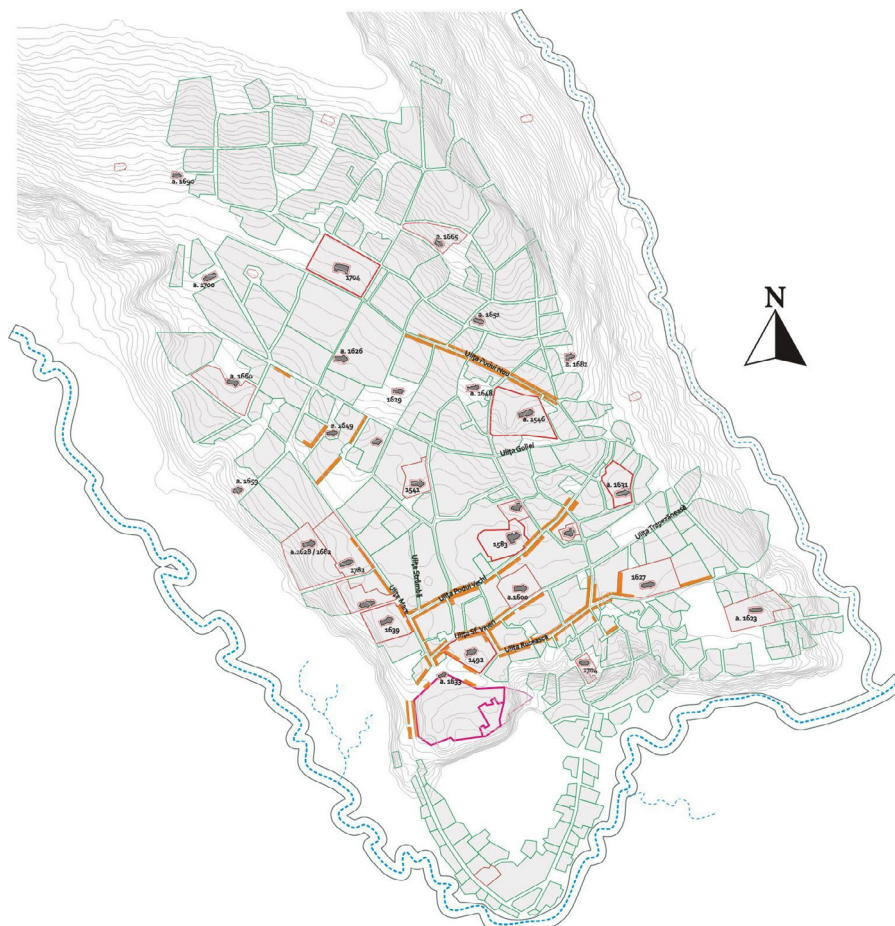


Fig. 1. Carte synthétique de base pour la ville de Iași. Source: le plan de l'armée russe d'occupation, 1789, publié par Mariana Șlapac dans *Arta Urbanismului* / Numérisation, rectification avec le logiciel Global Mapper, numérisation, superposition aux isohypses de 1m / Toutes les églises existantes pendant la période 1495-1799 sont marquées / Les contours suivent les limites des quartiers (ȘLAPAC 2008, p.79. Archive Militaire-Historique de la Russie de Moscou, F. 846, reg. 16, d. 2543, f. 1)

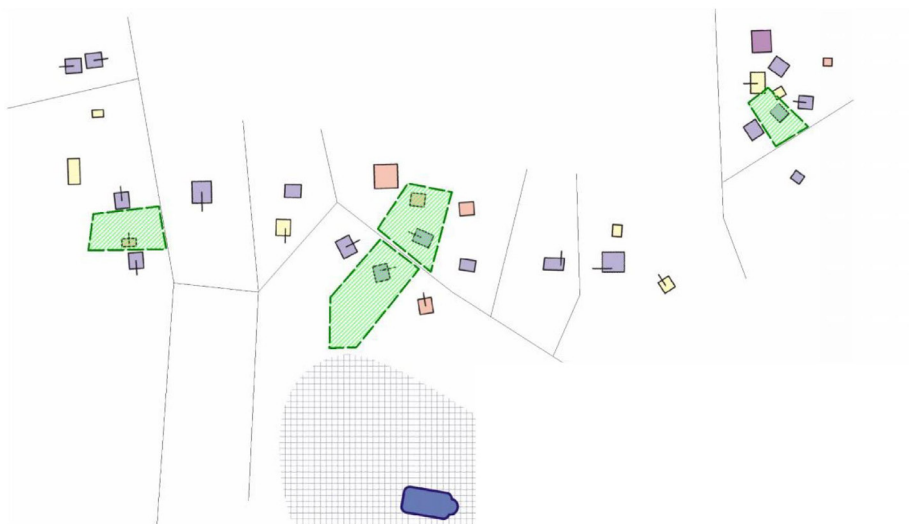


Fig. 2. Une approximation graphique de quelques fronts probables de lots, pour des habitations datées pendant les XVIe-XVIIe siècles de Tg. Trotuș, offre les dimensions de 9, 12,5, 17 et, respectivement 22 mètres, c'est-à-dire 4, 6, 8 et respectivement 10 toises. Le plan a été numérisé et rectifié, on a marqué les trajets probables des rues, à partir de la distribution des habitations relativement contemporaines, de l'orientation de la construction et de l'accès (ARTIMON, 2004, fig. 75)



Fig. 3. Une approximation graphique de quelques fronts probables de lots conformément au plan général des fouilles de Baia, la séquence 1967-1976, pour les habitations du deuxième tiers du XV^e siècle. L'estimation a offert une estimation des fronts de lot pour deux cas de 10,5 et 14 mètres (respectivement 4³/₄ et 6,5 toises) (NEAMȚU, NEAMȚU, CHEPTEA 1980, fig. 3)



Fig. 4. Une approximation graphique de quelques fronts probables de lots conformément au plan général des fouilles de Baia, la séquence 1977-1980, pour le même horizon temporel, deux estimations possibles ont offert des valeurs du front de lot de 14,5 et 10,7 mètres (respectivement 6¾ et 5 toises) (NEAMȚU, NEAMȚU, CHEPTEA 1986, fig. 1)

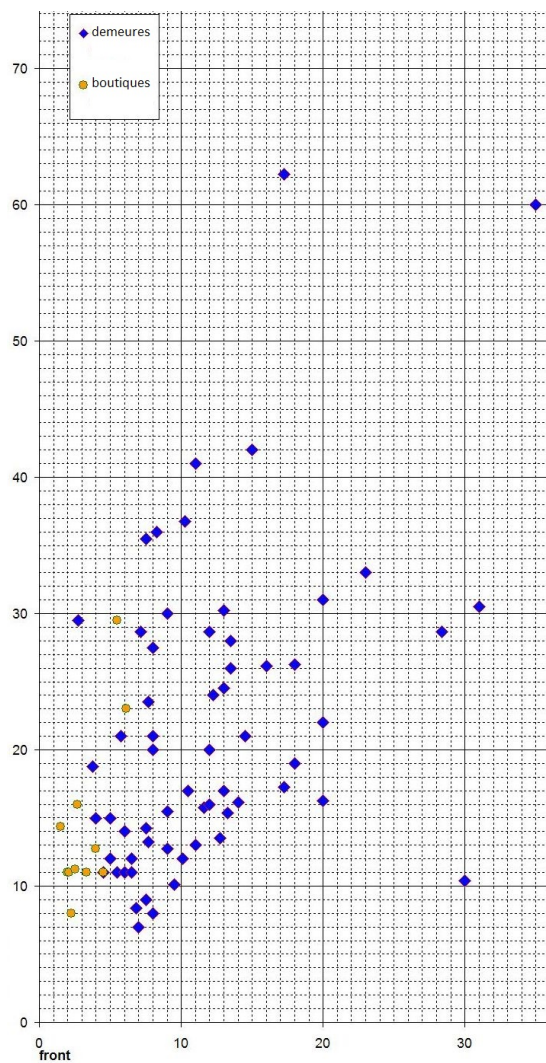


Fig. 5. Le diagramme de distribution des valeurs pour les dimensions des endroits de maison et de boutique connus à Iași, datant de la moitié du XVII^e siècle jusqu'au milieu du XVIII^e, montre une prépondérance mineure des lots de forme carrée (en général 8×8 toises – 17,3×17,3 m) et de ceux de rapport approximatif 1/1,25 (13×16 toises – 28×34,5 m) (HRIBAN 2012, 97)

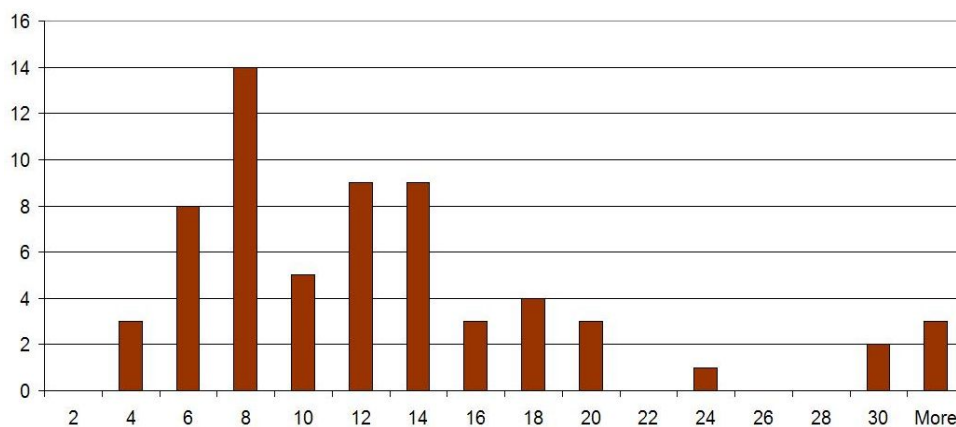


Fig. 6. Les mêmes données, analysées d'une manière graphique sous la forme de la distribution des valeurs des fronts d'endroits de maison, en toises, montre deux zones dominantes, l'une dans l'intervalle 6-8 et l'autre dans l'intervalle 10-16, permettant l'adoption comme dimension hypothétique du front d'un lot urbain de fondation d'approximativement 15 toises, a une division ultérieure, après une ou deux générations, de la majorité des lots initiaux, en parcelles longitudinales de 1/2 ou 1/3 du lot, comme l'indique la pointe modérée de l'intervalle 4-6 (HRIBAN 2012, 98)

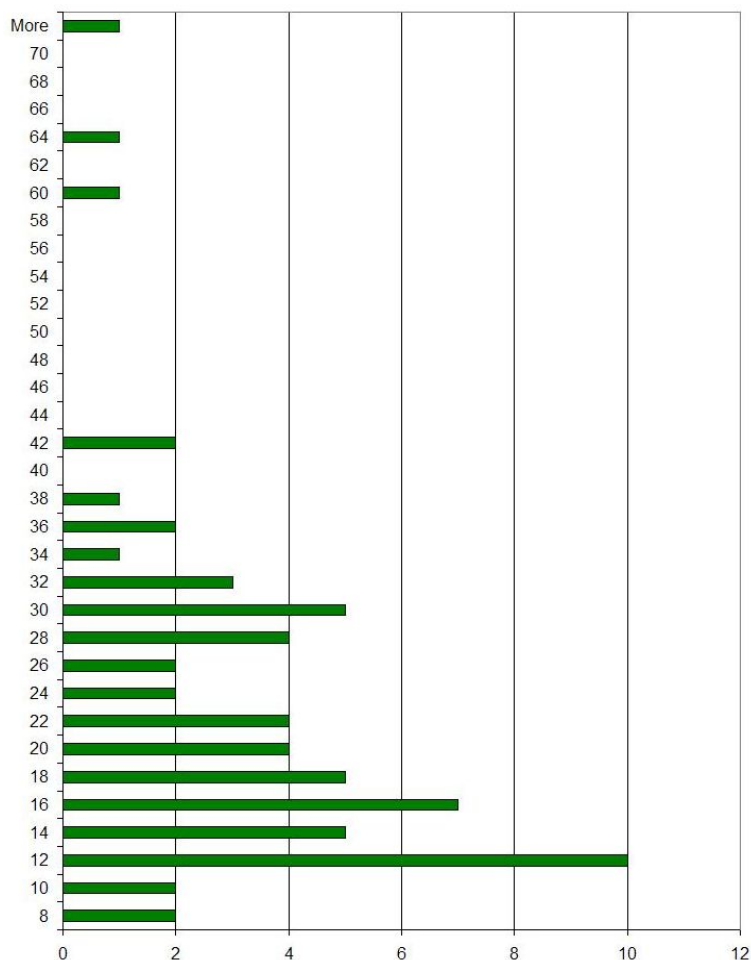


Fig. 7. Analyses du point de vue graphique sous la forme de la distribution des valeurs des profondeurs des endroits de maison, en toises, les données spatiales extraites montrent deux zones dominantes, l'une dans l'intervalle 10-18 et la seconde dans l'intervalle 26-32, permettant l'adoption de la dimension hypothétique d'un lot urbain de fondation d'approximativement 30 toises, avec une division transversale ultérieure, après une ou deux générations, de la majorité des lots initiaux en moitiés, avec une voie d'accès dont la largeur est comprise entre 1,5 et 2,2 toises (HRIBAN 2012, 99)

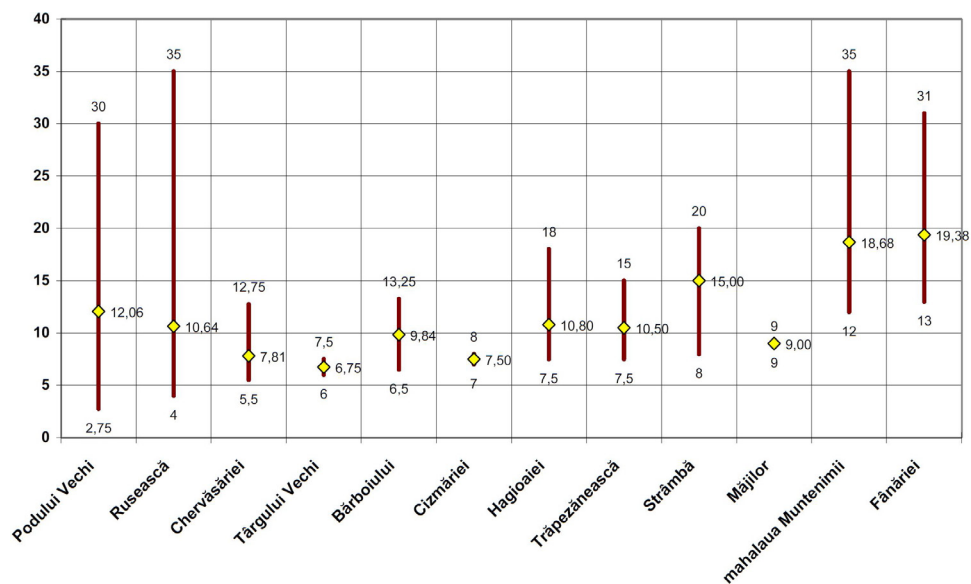


Fig. 8. Les mêmes données, analysées d'une manière graphique sous la forme de la distribution dans les rues des valeurs des fronts d'endroits de maison, en toises, à minimum - moyenne - maximum (HRIBAN 2012, 100)

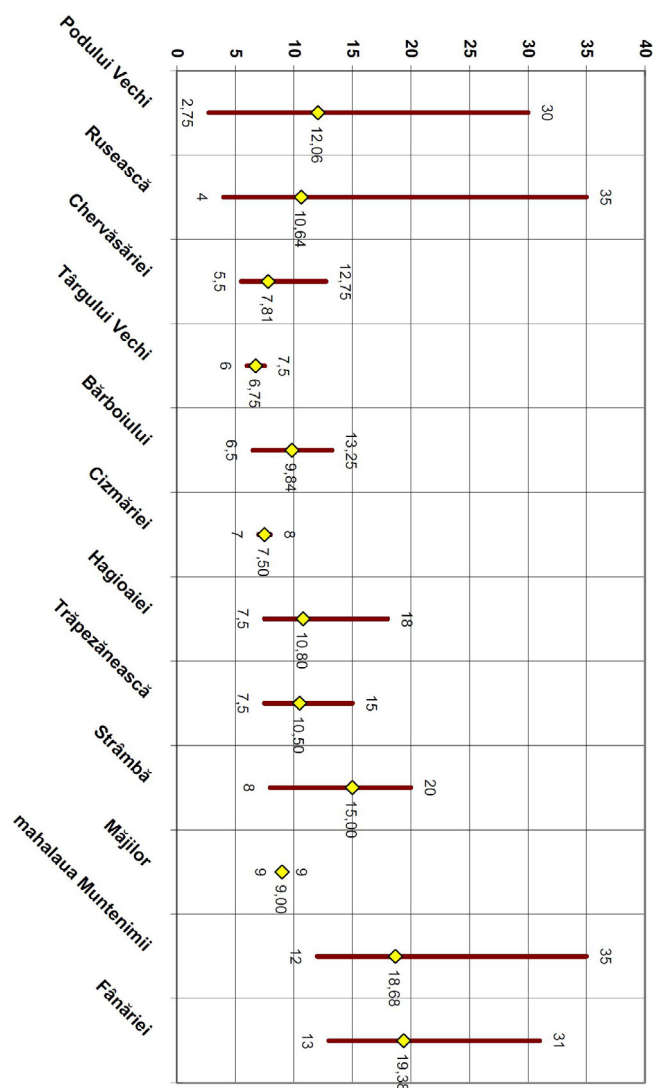


Fig. 9. Une corrélation statistique des noms des rues avec les transactions qui concernent les endroits de maison offrent, pour la période 1580-1700, une hiérarchie qui suggère un ordre chronologique où les rues de la ville médiévale Iași apparaissent et se développent (HRIBAN 2012, 101)

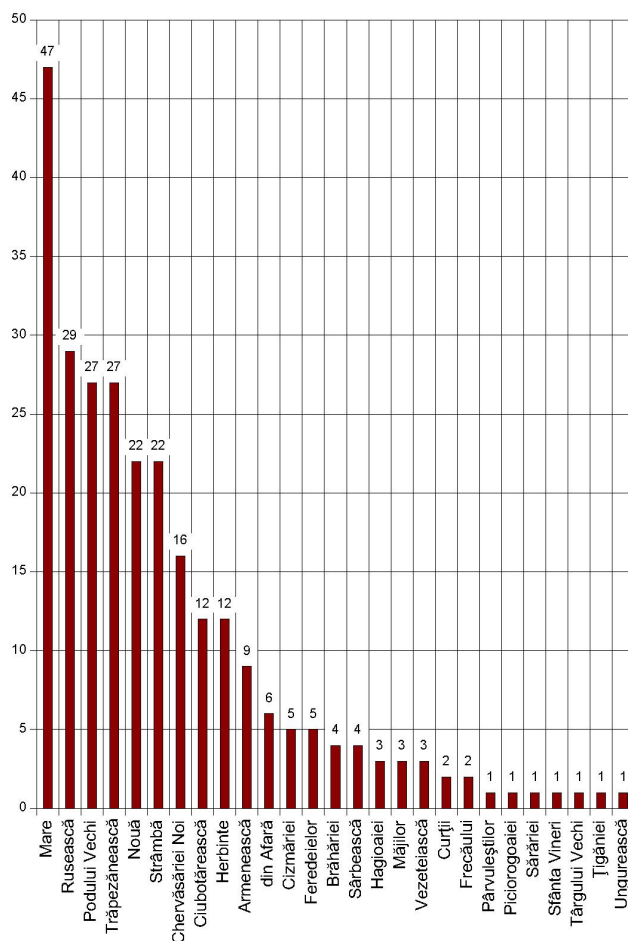


Fig. 10. La statistique finale du recensement de 1774, pour la ville de Iași, offre une structure similaire à la distribution des rues et banlieues en différentes catégories d' « énergie urbaine ». Certes, tenant compte de la nature purement fiscale du recensement, la statistique ne reflète pas d'une manière réelle la présence importante des boutiques de monastères Golia et Dancu (dans la Rue Sinueuse), Barnovschi (dans la Rue de 3 Trébizonde) et Trois Hiérarques, de la Cathédrale Métropolitaine et de l'Eglise catholique (dans la Grande Rue) (HRIBAN 2012, 102)

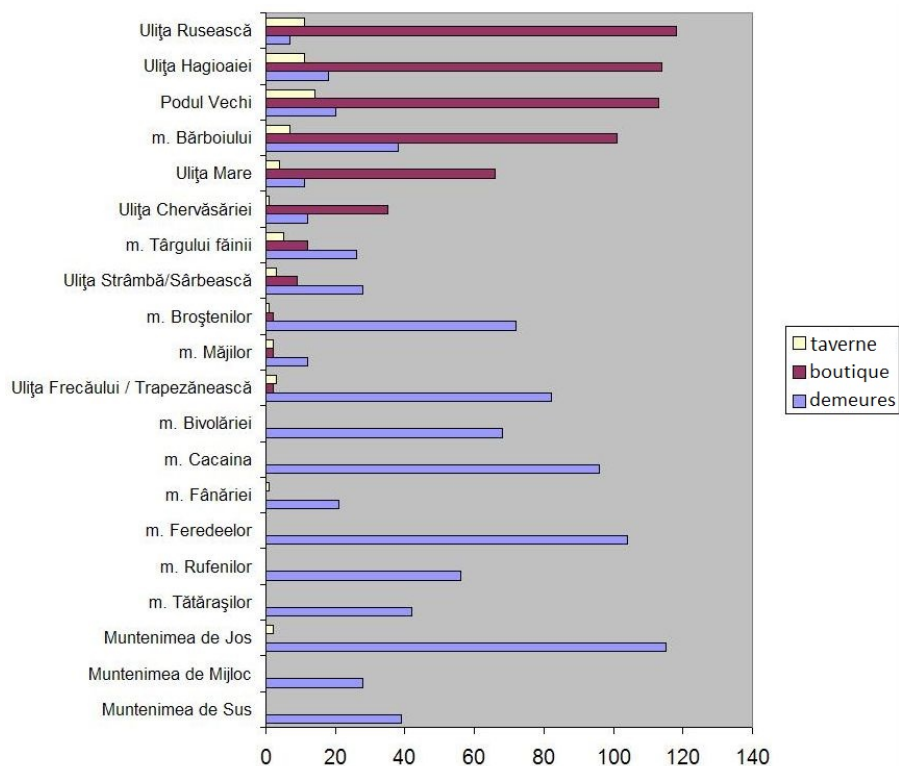


Fig. 11. Histogramme cumulative: d'un total de 1122 endroits de boutique des rues principales, la grande majorité a des fronts dans l'intervalle de valeurs de $1\frac{1}{2}$ - $2\frac{3}{4}$ toises (773 endroits, représentant 68,9% du total). De cette majorité, 219 endroits de boutique formant la pointe absolue ont la dimension du front entre 1,75 et 2 toises (3,78 – 4,32 m) (HRIBAN 2012, 105)

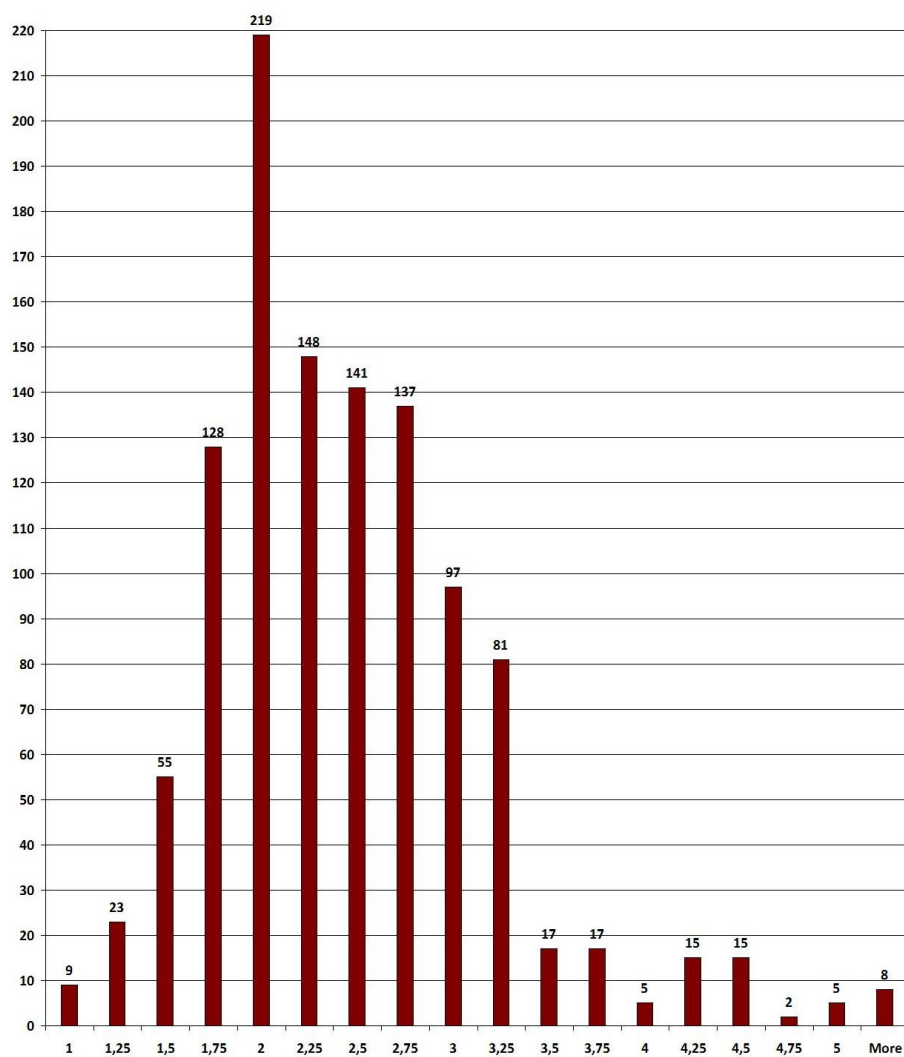


Fig. 12. La représentation graphique de la statistique des dimensions des fronts d'endroit de boutique, sous la forme d'un diagramme minimum - moyenne - maximum, ordonné de manière ascendante d'après la valeur des dimensions minimales du front d'un endroit de boutique (HRIBAN 2012, 106)

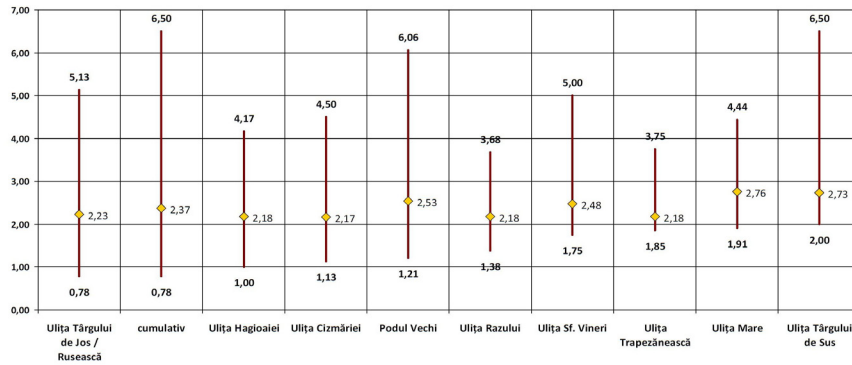


Fig. 13. La répartition numérique des endroits de boutique dans les rues, rapportée à la longueur mesurée des rues (le mesurage de 1811) et le nombre théorique des endroits de boutique (longueur mesurée rapportée à la largeur moyenne du front de boutique pour la respective rue) (HRIBAN 2012, 107)

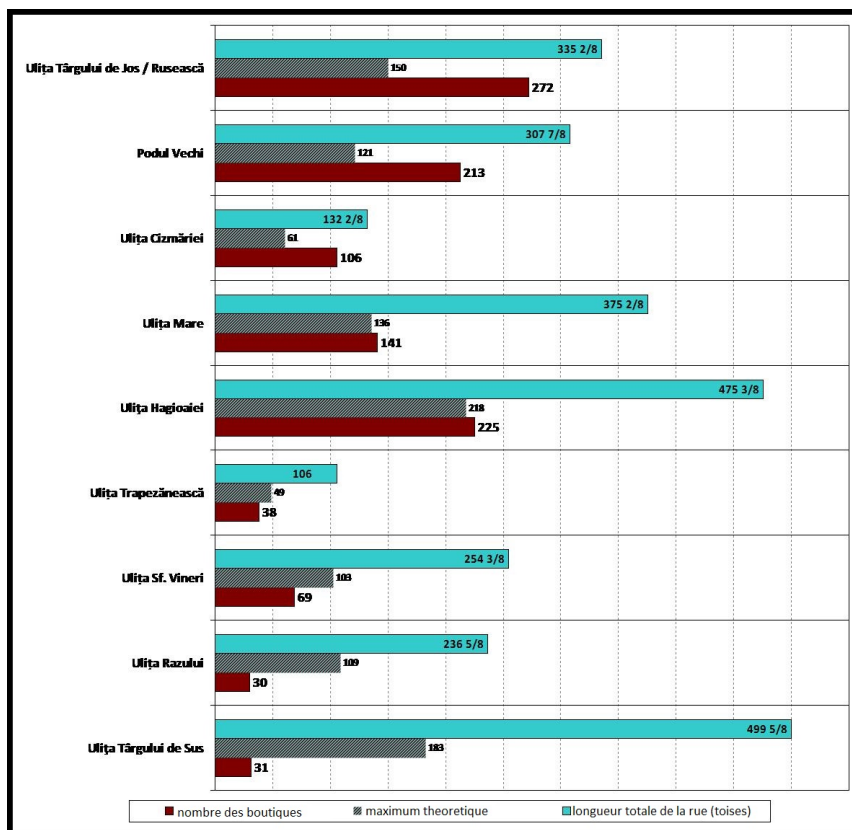


Fig. 14. Les rues importantes de la vieille ville, analysées sous forme graphique, conformément de l'indice de densité commerciale. La largeur du buffer qui marque les rues est directement proportionnelle à la valeur de l'indice de densité commerciale calculé statistiquement en vertu des mesurages de 1811 (HRIBAN 2012, 204)

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THE AMBOS OF THE CHRISTIAN BASILICAS WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF
SCYTHIA

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Keywords: ambo, Scythia, Christian basilicas, Justinian, marble, Constantinople.

Abstract: *Considered an element of Oriental tradition, the ambo is a rare presence within the liturgical furniture in the Christian basilicas of this province situated between the Danube and the Black Sea. The archaeological discoveries have underlined the presence of this essential element within the Christian service, mostly in the centres situated along the western Black Sea coast, both Romanian and Bulgarian (Histria, Tomis, Bizone, Topola). Hence, traces of certain ambos in the paving of some Christian basilicas (Histria, Zaldapa) have been discovered, as well as a series of elements from balustrades, made of Proconnesus marble and decorated with Christian symbols (Tomis). This study underlines the presence of the axial, Constantinopolitan ambo, diffused mainly in the 6th century AD.*

Rezumat: *Considerat un element de tradiție orientală, amvonul constituie o prezență rară în mobilierul liturgic al basilicilor creștine situate între Dunăre și Marea Neagră. Descoperirile arheologice au scos în evidență prezența acestui element esențial al serviciului creștin, mai cu seamă în centrele situate pe litoralul vestic al Mării negre, atât în România, cât și în Bulgaria (Histria, Tomis, Bizone, Topola. Au fost descoperite urme ale unor amvonuri din pavajul anumitor basilici creștine (Histria, Zaldapa), precum și o serie de elemente din balustrade, lucrate din marmură de Proconessos și decorate cu elemente creștine (Tomis). Acest studiu subliniază prezența unui amvon axial, de tip constantinopolitan, răspândit mai ales în secolul al VI-lea p. Chr.*

The ambos within the Christian basilicas in the province of Scythia have not yet made the object of an overall study, considering their weak presence in or even their absence from the Dobruđjan archaeological setting. The Romanian specialized literature only mentioned some decorative elements that were part of this type of construction, such as the three plates preserved in the crypt of the basilica discovered in the yard of the “Mihai Eminescu” High-school in Constanța, as well as the trace of the ambo within the central nave of the episcopal basilica in Histria. This

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study integrates both the discoveries within the episcopal centres and more (on the Romanian territory of Dobrudja), and those within the Bulgarian space.

Being part of the category of liturgical furniture, the ambo (Ἀμβων, *ambo*)² was situated centrally in the middle of the nave, closer or farther away from the sanctuary. Here, the priest or the deacon held various speeches or they read passages from the Gospel³, holidays were announced⁴, verses were chanted. In the words of St. John Chrysostom, “a certain place” (ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ τόπῳ), “where he mounted when he preached”⁵. One of the oldest mentions about the existence of this slightly raised platform belongs to Cyprian of Carthage (c. 200–258), who mentions lectors ascending a *pulpitum* to be seen and heard more distinctly⁶.

The 8th chapter of *Constitutio Apostolica* stated that, during the bishop’s consecration, the deacon summoned the people to prayer from an elevated place (ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἀνελθῶν); in this case, it was a rudimentary ambo⁷. Besides the priests, in the ambo were also allowed, during certain moments of the service, the appointed singers, as stated in the 15th Canon of the Council of Laodicea (371)⁸. Hence, it is considered

² The term derives from the verb ἀναβαίνειν, which means “mounting”, cf. TESTINI 1980, 592-593. In the ancient literary sources, as well as in inscriptions, this liturgical furniture has the following names: πύργος, βῆμα, *pulpitum*, *suggestus*, *auditorium*, *tribunal*, *exedra*, *dicterium*, *pyrgus*, cf. LECLERCQ 1924, 1330; DELVOYE 1966, 126-127; BOURAS, TAFT 1991, 75.

³ *Testam. Dom.*, 1, 19 (48-49): “*locus legenda lectiones extra altare parum ab ipso distet*”.

⁴ *Itin. Eg.*, 29, 5 (SC 296, 270): “*subit presbyter in altiori loco*”; BRANIȘTE 1982, 362.

⁵ *Socr., Hist. Eccles.*, 6, 5, 5 (287): John Chrysostom, “mounting the pulpit from which he was accustomed to address the people in order to be more distinctly heard”; Cassiod., *Hist. Eccles. Trip.*, X, 4 (PSB 75, 395); *Soz., Hist. Eccles.*, VIII, 5, 2 (SC 516, 260-261), characterizing the ambo as βῆμα τῶν ἀναγνώστων (“rostrums for readers”); JARRY 1963, 149.

⁶ *Cypr., Epist.* 34, 4 (PL 4, 329): “*super pulpitum, id est super tribunal ecclesiae*”.

⁷ *Const. Apostol.*, 2, 57, 5 (SC 320, 312-313): Μέσος δὲ ἀναγνώστης ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἐστὼς ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ Μωϋσέως ...” (“le lecteur, debout au milieu, en un lieu élevé, lira les écrits de Moïse ...”); JARRY 1963, 149.

⁸ *Conc. Laodic.*, can. 15, in HEFELE 1896, 309: “Besides the appointed singers, who mount the ambo and sing from the book, other shall not sing in the church”.

that the ambo belongs to the Oriental tradition. From a typological perspective, four types of ambos are known: the first type – also the oldest – has an oval platform and it features only one access staircase⁹; the second type is “fan-shaped” with two curving staircases; the third type – the most diffused – has two staircases on its east-west axis. The Syrian ambo is different from the others, because it combines the functions of the ambo and of the *synthronon*¹⁰.

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1. Bizone, the “St. Kosmas and Damianos” basilica (fig. 2)

Placed centrally in the middle of the basilica’s nave dedicated to the two thaumaturgic saints, 9.30 m from the eastern apse, the stylobate of an ambo was discovered in the paving. The construction – 2.60 m long and 2.20 m wide – features a semicircular shape in the east part. The elevation may have been made of wood, and a single staircase may have provided the access to the upper part. The ambo probably corresponds to the second phase in the existence of this basilica¹¹.

2. Callatis, the “Syrian” basilica (?) (fig. 9)

In the patrimony of the “Callatis” Archaeological Museum in Mangalia, there is a white-purplish marble plate – to which the inventory number 535 was ascribed¹² –, which could have been part of the Christian establishment “suspected” of belonging to the “Syrian type”. The item is 50.5 cm long and not thicker than 15 cm. Broken on all sides, it still preserves a floral decoration in the centerfield of the plate, surrounded on all sides by a sequence of mouldings and flutes; the other side is not decorated. This plate certainly belonged to the balustrade of an ambo,

⁹ TESTINI 1980, 593.

¹⁰ BOURAS, TAFT 1991, 75.

¹¹ MIRCHEV, TONCHÉVA 1962, 30, 108, fig. 6-9; ATANASOV *et alii* 2009, 49; DOSSEVA 2011, 148, fig. 12.

¹² In the inventory register — at number 535 — it is recorded as a *cancelli* plate, without mentioning the establishment it had belonged to (information provided by Dr Robert Constantin, from the Callatis Museum of Archaeology, to whom I express my gratitude).

because it is significantly thicker than the *cancelli* plates (with a thickness ranging between 4 and 6 cm). In addition, the decoration in diagonal on the surface of this item indicates that it had a trapezoid shape and that it belonged to the balustrade that flanked one of the access staircases to the platform of the ambo.

Close analogies with this item are reported in Moesia Inferior, especially at Novae, where pilasters, plates and platform fragments belonging to the basilica's ambo were discovered. They were dated to the period of Justinian I, when this establishment was restored and embellished¹³ (fig. 16, 17). As for the decorations, it is worth mentioning a trapezoid plate discovered in Cyprus, at Cape Drepano (A basilica), which was decorated with heart-shaped leaves¹⁴, as well as a marble item from the ambo of the Iassus basilica (Caria), with a rosette-like floral decoration¹⁵. However, the most similar decorations are the vegetal elements found on an ambo plate belonging to the cathedral dedicated to Saint Cyriacus of Ancona (fig. 10)¹⁶.

3. Histria, the episcopal basilica (fig. 3, 4, 5)

Though not one element of the elevation belonging to the ambo of the episcopal basilica at Histria was preserved, its shape was identified with precision because of the traces conserved in the limestone paving of the basilica. In the eastern part of the *naos*, there is the trace of an ambo, shaped as the Greek letter φ . Situated at 1.60 m from the western front of the transept, it measures 4 m in length (including the staircase). The eastern part of the ambo – consisting of the traces of the staircase substruction – was conserved as a print in the mortar, measuring 1.00×0.90 m. The western part is shaped as a right angle with the sizes 1.40×1.00 m. The central part of the ambo measures 1.65 m in diameter along the north-south axis, and 1.55 m along the east-west one. The flagstones around the

¹³ PARNICKI-PUDELKO 1983, 256-258; PARNICKI-PUDELKO 1990, 319-341.

¹⁴ MICHAELIDES 2001, 48, fig. 5.3a.

¹⁵ PEIRANO, GARBEROGLIO 2012, 344, fig. 3.

¹⁶ MARANO 2008a, 166, fig. 4.

ambo are cut and combined with high precision. In the northwest angle, at the junction of two flagstones, a small opening (0.80 × 0.80 m) was noticed; it was made to help in erecting the vertical construction of the ambo¹⁷.

4. Tomis, the basilica in the yard of the “Mihai Eminescu” High-school (fig. 11)

Within the crypt underneath the basilica in the yard of the “Mihai Eminescu” High-school, three white-purplish, fragmentary marble¹⁸ pieces are conserved, which belonged to an ambo that decorated the inside of this basilica¹⁹. One of the plates – with a trapezoid shape – is 79.5 cm long, 31.3 cm wide and 5.7 cm thick. It served as a balustrade, by delimiting a lateral of the staircase, which ensured the access to the platform of the ambo. The middle of the plate features the artistic image of a bird, probably a pigeon. It is framed on all sides by flutes and mouldings disposed sequentially (fig. 12). An analogy for the representation of this bird is the ambo of the Archbishop Agnellus, in the *basilica Ursiana* (Ravenna)²⁰, as well as in Khobi (Georgia) (fig. 15)²¹.

The second plate – broken on all sides – is 38 cm long, 25 cm wide and approximately 5 cm at its maximum width. On one of the sides, it is decorated with a cross with four equal arms of spreading form. The lower side of the cross features three mouldings and three flutes, disposed sequentially (fig. 13).

The last ambo element is a monolith item; both the pilaster and the plate were cut in the same marble block. The pilaster is 65 cm long, and the size of the pilaster in section is 18 x 18 cm. Its surface features a frame with

¹⁷ SUCEVEANU 2007, 26, fig. 8; MILOŠEVIĆ 2007, 45-46, pl. XXV; BOUNEGRU 2009, 69; ACHIM 2012, 138, 160, fig. 14; BORN 2012, 96-97, Abb. 102.

¹⁸ BORN 2012, 55, Abb. 55: “prokonnesischer Marmor”.

¹⁹ BARNEA 1979, 132, pl. 48; MARANO 2008b, 144: “in Romania, l’unico ambone è quello della basilica in via dela Liceo 2 a Tomi-Constanza, del quale restano solo un pannello rettilineo con la croce sulla croce (sic!) e un piccolo frammento di parapetto trapezoidale modanato e recante la raffigurazione di un piccolo volatile”.

²⁰ LECLERCQ 1924, 1341-1342, fig. 313; CAMPANATI 1991, 265-264, fig. 32.

²¹ HRUSHKOVA 1979, fig. 1.

relief mouldings and flutes. The plate, which makes a single body with the pilaster, is 27 cm wide and 5 cm thick. Its surface is decorated with a cross on a globe, with only two of the cross' arms being preserved (**fig. 14**). A similar situation was identified at Cherson (Crimea)²², Khobi (Georgia)²³, Ravenna (Basilica of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo²⁴ and the Arian cathedral²⁵), where rectangular parapets with small rectangular attached pilasters are decorated with such an ornaments. The motif of the cross on a globe is encountered in the Constantinopolitan sculptures of the 5th-6th centuries, especially in the marble scraps of the church of St. Polyuktos and Hagia Sophia²⁶.

5. Topola, the basilica (fig. 6)

In the basilica near Topola (a commune in the region of Dobrici, in Bulgaria) – situated right on the Black Sea shore (on the territory of the Bizone city), with a surface of around 40 m² –, the stone ambo is the best-preserved liturgical element. It was placed a height of 1 m from the floor. In the eastern and western part of the ambo's basin, the passages used by the priest to go up and then down were conserved. These passages are also underlined by the presence of large steps which delimited the stone pedestal above which the ambo rose. Another element preserved is represented by two pairs of flutes for the fixation of the massive parapets. The walls of the ambo are decorated – on the southern and northern sides – with relief groups of three crosses each, disposed symmetrically and partially conserved²⁷.

²² BIERNACKI 2002, 82, fig. 5

²³ HRUSHKOVA 1979, 132, fig. 15.b

²⁴ CAMPANATI 1991, 263, fig. 31.

²⁵ CAMPANATI 1991, 250-251, fig. 3a-b.

²⁶ MARANO 2008b, 126, note 79.

²⁷ ATANASOV et al. 2008, 50.

6. Tropaeum Traiani, “the marble basilica”

This alleged ambo within the “marble” or episcopal basilica in this city is referred to in a letter from 1906, addressed by Gr. Tocilescu to the architect Gustav von Cube, in which there is a mention of a stone base belonging to such a liturgical furniture. Based on a sketch elaborated by the German architect, Alexandru Barnea identifies it as an ambo base, which also probably featured a wooden superstructure²⁸. The only element belonging to an ambo and identified within a clear archaeological context is a limestone slab, on which this construction was built and which was situated on the central axis of the basilica, 3.30 m from the altar balustrade²⁹.

7. Zaldapa, basilica no. 1 (fig. 7, 8)

In the middle of the central nave, there is a massive ambo, with two opposite staircases, of which only the base was conserved in the initial position. The central part of the ambo measures 2.50 m, while the projection of the stairs is 1.62 x 0.94 m in size. The numerous fragments discovered on the surface of the basilica indicate that the ambo was made of marble³⁰.

²⁸ ACHIM 2007, 201, note 24; BARNEA 1970, 688-689, fig. 7/1: “We do not know the exact provenance of this base. We assume it served as a support for the, probably wooden, tribune of an ambo that would have belonged to one of the Christian basilicas from the city, possibly dating from the 4th century” (author's translation); in the monograph of Tropaeum Traiani, this base was not attributed to an ambo, cf. MĂRGINEANU-CĂRSTOIU, BARNEA 1979, 136, cat. 3.14, fig. 116/3.14.

²⁹ CĂTĂNICIU 1995, 583: “dans l’axe central de la basilique est conservée encore, mais très détruite par suite des intempéries, une base de pierre de calcaire – éventuellement d’un ambon.”; CĂTĂNICIU 2006, 244: “believe that the remains of a shell limestone slab discovered 3.3 m in front of the *cancelli*, on the central axis, can only be identified as the remains of an Ambon.”

³⁰ TORBATOV 2000, 54-55, 98, fig. 28, 29, 30; TORBATOV 2003, 109; DOSSEVA 2011, 143, fig. 3.

The importance of the presence of this liturgical element among the furnishings of a Christian establishment is described in a passage of *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*. It states that the bishop Cyprian of Thaenae (the province of Byzacena, in the north of Africa) – because he wanted to build a basilica in the honour of his saviour, St. Demetrius – purchased an ambo, a *ciborium* (*kiborion*) and small columns (κιδόνια)³¹, all made of Proconnesus marble, from a ship captain that was in the city's harbour³². The *Miracula* reads that these items were brought from the capital of the Empire, Constantinople (ἐν βασιλείᾳ). Given that the State had exclusive monopoly over white marble, the items were purchased from the State offices. The inscription on the ambo within the A basilica at Cape Drepanon (Cyprus) – where the sailors that crossed the Mediterranean and faced the dangers in order to bring this furniture from the Empire capital are mentioned – also confirms this aspect.³³ Another example is the shipwreck discovered on the Sicilian coasts, at Marzamemi, where – considering the size of the marble sample (200 – 400 tons)³⁴ – the ambo should be considered the most valuable item³⁵, since it was made of *breccia* or *verde antico*, which was extracted from the quarries of Atrax, near Larissa (Thessaly)³⁶. The importance of this type of liturgical furniture and the taste for expensive materials used for their embellishment during the reign of Justinian I are underlined in the famous description of St. Sophia's ambo (Ἐκφρασις τοῦ ἄμβωνος). This description belongs to Paulus Silentiarius, who underlines that it was made of polychrome Hierapolis marble and that it was gold-, silver-, -ivory and precious stone-plated³⁷.

Based on the aforementioned aspects, we can admit that the ambos in the province of Scythia – researched archaeologically and whose traces

³¹ LEMERLE 1979, 235, 240.

³² BAKIRTZIS 2000, 1451, note 6.

³³ MICHAELIDES 2001, 51, fig. 5.7.

³⁴ MORRISSON, SODINI 2002, 209.

³⁵ KAPITÄN 1969, 71; CASTAGNINO BERLINGHIERI, PARIBENI 2011, 68-69, fig. 5.

³⁶ SODINI 2002, 133; MARANO 2008b, 161.

³⁷ Paul. silent., *Ekphr.* 201 (55); LECLERCQ 1924, 1333; DIEHL 1901, 483-484; WHITBY 1985, 215-228; 169; PARIBENI 1990, 169, tab. II, fig. 10.

are conserved *in situ* or identified based on decorative elements – definitely belong to the 6th century AD. It is worth stressing that, in this province, the frequent type of ambo is the one with a raised platform, supported by small columns, featuring symmetrical staircases placed on the axis of the central nave. This attests the direct influence of Constantinople, which means that the architectural canons imposed by the capital were followed to the letter. This aspect underlines that the Scythian basilicas belonged to a unitary architectural group, made of Greek, Ravenna and micro-Asiatic establishment; their main common element is the Constantinopolitan ambo³⁸. This group includes the following geographical references: Constantinople (Sancta Sophia³⁹, Sf. Euphemia, the Beyazit B basilica, Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, St. Polyeuktos)⁴⁰, Asia Minor (Miletus, Priene, Ephesus, Sebasta), Cappadocia (Meriamlik), Crimea (the “western” basilica)⁴¹, the Balkan Peninsula (The B basilica of Philippi⁴², Pirdop⁴³, Srma⁴⁴, the cathedral in the city of Novae, the big basilica of Nicopolis ad Istrum⁴⁵), Crete (Agios Titos of Gortyna)⁴⁶, Cyprus (Peyia), Kos Island (Mastichari)⁴⁷, Italy (Ravenna), Syria (Qal’at Sim’an, the B basilica of Resafah and Deir Solaib)⁴⁸. From a stylistic perspective, the marble items discovered allow the inclusion of the ambos in the province of Scythia within a set of Circumpontic discoveries (Crimea, Georgia). It is easy to see that this set bears the mark of the Constantinopolitan School, characterized by Oriental decorative elements, specific to the 6th century AD. Since it was included in *quaestura exercitus* (AD 536), this province

³⁸ BIERNACKI 1995, 329-331.

³⁹ LECLERCQ 1924, 1338-1339; XYDIS 1947, 23, fig. 32; MAJESKA 1978, 299-308.

⁴⁰ SODINI 1975, 587.

⁴¹ KLENINA 2006, 88, fig. 8.

⁴² LEMERLE 1945, pl. LXXVII.

⁴³ KRAUTHEIMER, 251-252, fig. 211.

⁴⁴ CHEVALIER 1995, 155-156, fig. 5-6.

⁴⁵ DOSSEVA 2011, fig. 7.

⁴⁶ KRAUTHEIMER 1986, 255, fig. 214.

⁴⁷ KRAUTHEIMER 1986, 108, fig. 60.

⁴⁸ SODINI 1975, 588.

situated between the Danube and Black Sea benefitted, just like Crimea or Moesia Secunda – considering their strategic and military role – from the *benevolentia* of the imperial court. This was reflected in the massive marble imports⁴⁹, which came from the imperial quarries of Proconnesus, Aphrodisias, and Thasos.

Finally, it is worth underlining the identification of these ambos (either by the presence of marble or limestone elements, or by the identification of prints left in the paving of basilicas), especially in the settlements situated along the western Black Sea coast (Histria, Tomis, Callatis, Bizone, Topola). Only in two cases, were they identified within the province (Zaldapa and Tropaeum Traiani), which determined us to believe that the presence of these furnishings was sporadic or that a part of the Dobrudjan basilicas had wooden ambos.

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⁴⁹ MARANO 2008b, 145; BIERNACKI 2005, 58: in Novae, “there was an impressive ambo with two flights of stairs, made of Proconnesos marble in Constantinople in the early 6th cent., apparently at the emperor’s special order”.

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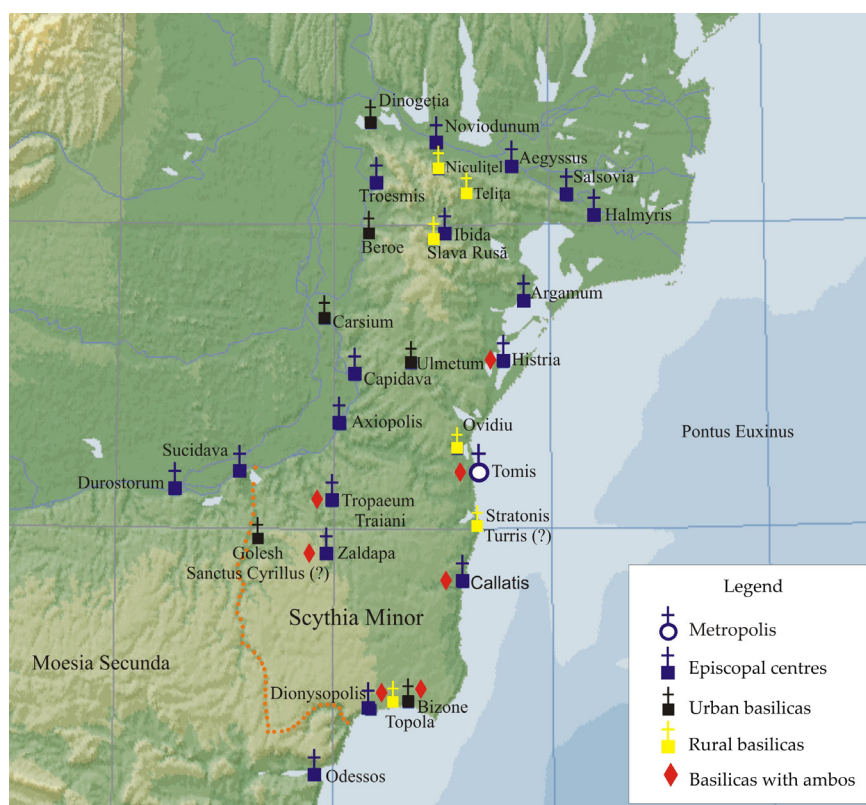


Fig. 1. Ecclesiastical centres in the province of Scythia (4th–6th centuries AD)

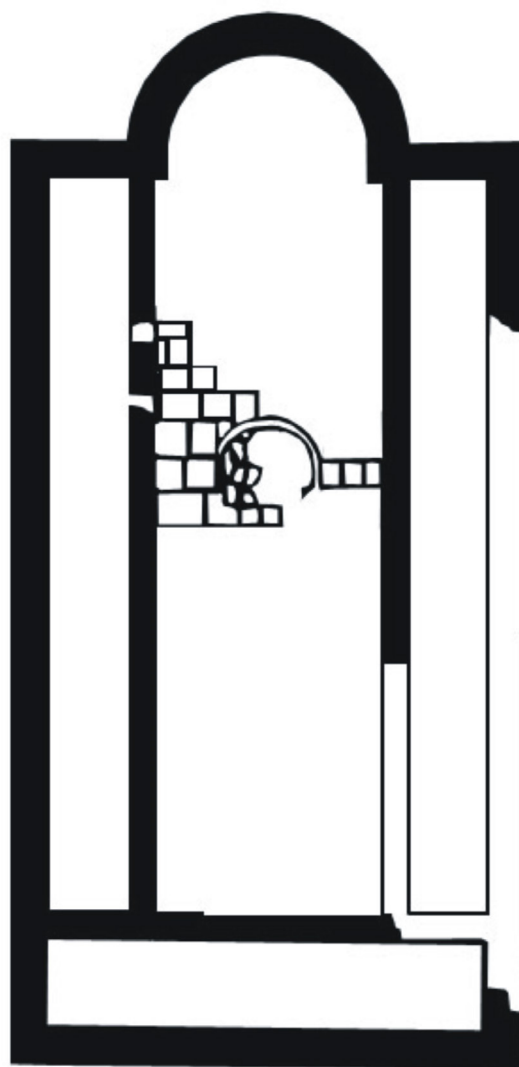


Fig. 2. Bizone. The “Sts Kosmas and Damianos” Basilica. Plan of the basilica, with the placement of the ambo (after ATANASOV *et alii* 2009, 49)

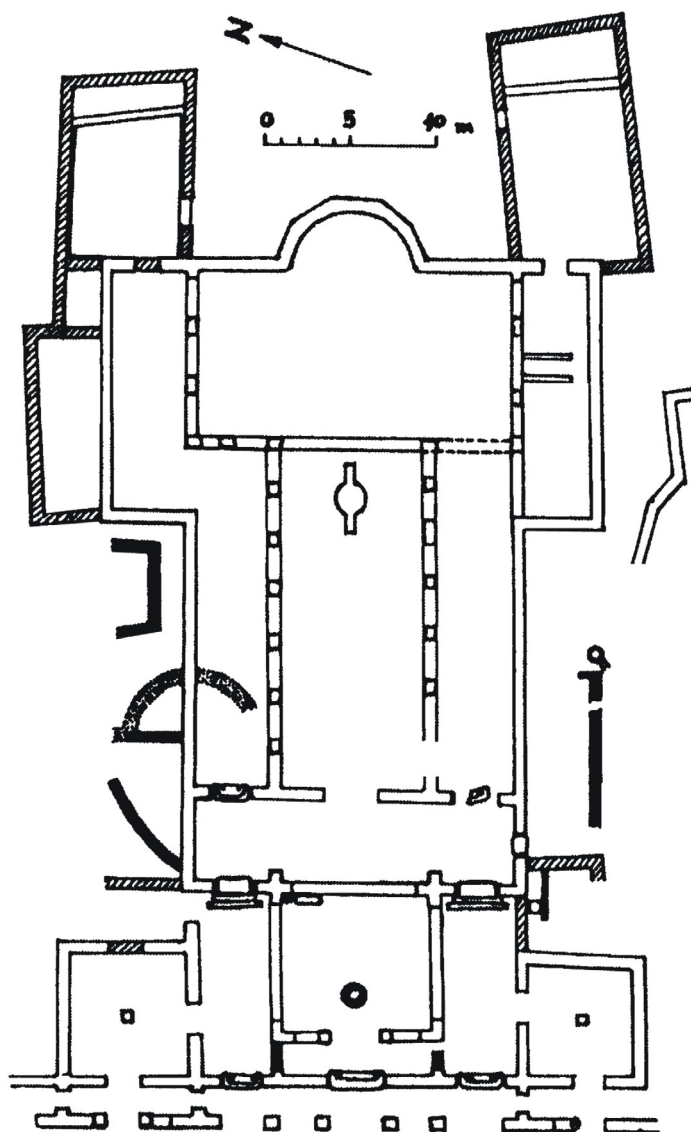


Fig. 3. Histria. The episcopal basilica. Plan of the basilica, with the placement of the ambo (after BĂJENARU, BĂLTĂC 2000-2001, fig. 1)



Fig. 4. Histria. The episcopal basilica. The print of the ambo in the paving of the central nave (after ACHIM 2012, fig. 14)



Fig. 5. Histria. The Episcopal basilica. The print of the ambo. View from the southern nave (after BORN 2012, Abb. 102)



Fig. 6. Topola. The basilica. The ambo's basin (after ATANASOV *et alii* 2009, 50)

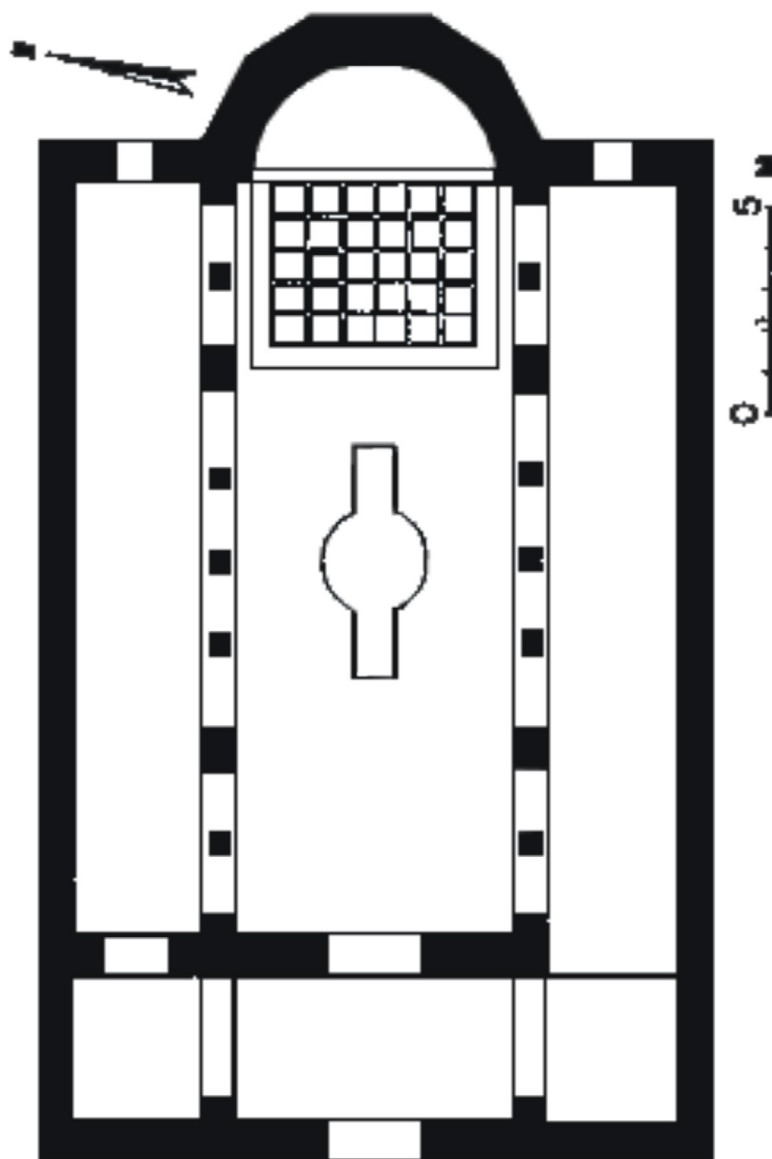


Fig. 7. Zaldapa, the No. 1 basilica (after TORBATOV 2000, fig. 23)

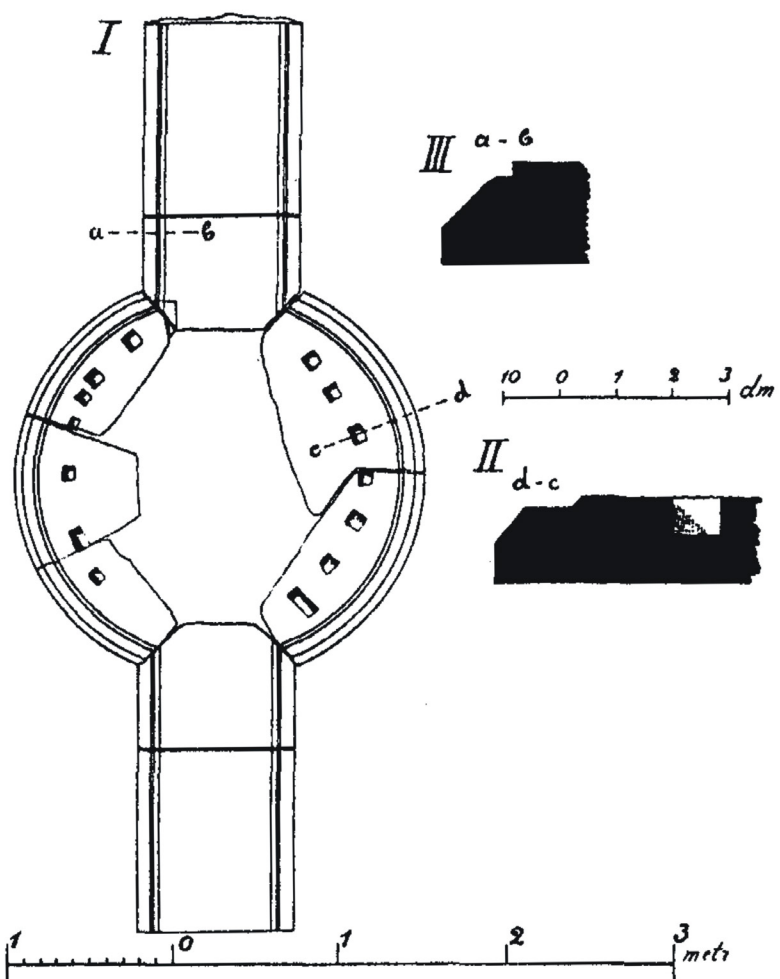


Fig. 8. Zaldapa, the No. 1 basilica. The ambo (after TORBATOV 2000, fig. 28)



Fig. 9. Callatis. The Syrian basilica (?). Plate belonging to an ambo (photo Ioan Iațcu)



Fig. 10. Ancona. Ambo plate belonging to the cathedral dedicated to Saint Cyriacus (after MARANO 2008, fig. 4)



Fig. 11. Tomis. Crypt of the basilica in the yard of the “Mihai Eminescu” High-school (photo Ioan Iațcu)



Fig. 12. Tomis. The basilica in the yard of the “Mihai Eminescu” High-school. Marble plate belonging to an ambo (photo Ioan Iațcu)



0 10 cm

Fig. 13. Tomis. The basilica in the yard of the “Mihai Eminescu” High-school. Marble plate belonging to an ambo (photo Ioan Iațcu)



Fig. 14. Tomis. The basilica in the yard of the “Mihai Eminescu” High-school. Marble element belonging to an ambo (photo Ioan Iațcu)



Fig. 15. Khobi. Cathedral. Southern wall (after HRUSHKOVA 1979, fig. 1)

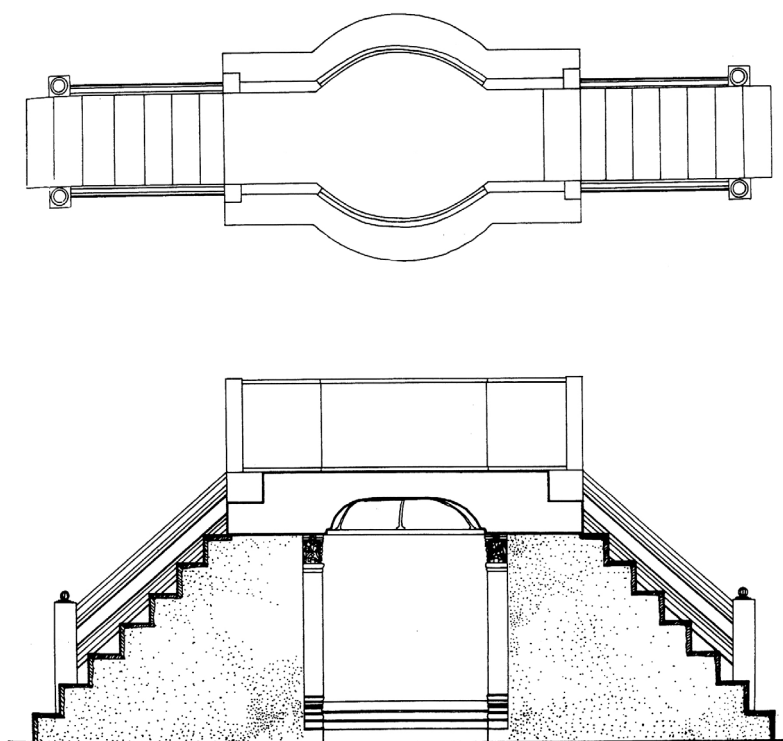


Fig. 16. Novae. The episcopal basilica. Reconstruction of the ambo. Bottom view and length section (after BIERNACKI 1995, fig. 7)

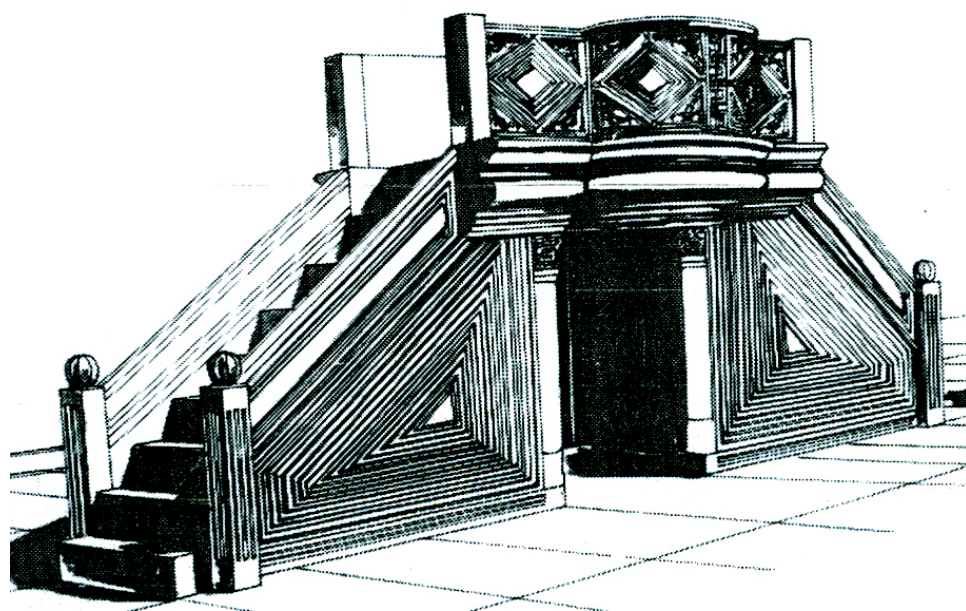


Fig. 17. Novae. The episcopal basilica. Reconstruction of the ambo (after BIERNACKI 1995, fig. 10)

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARMIZEGETUSA REVISITED¹

RADA VARGA²

Keywords: CIL III 1468; AE 1959, 303; *libertus*; family relations.

Abstract: *The current work deals with two funerary inscriptions from Sarmizegetusa and the identity of their dedicator. Based on text details, as well as on stylistic and functional characteristics of the monuments, we got to the conclusion that the dedicator of the two epitaphs is the same person: Herculanus, imperial verna and adiutor tabularii in the capital of Dacia.*

Rezumat: *Articolul de față are ca obiect de studiu două inscripții funerare de la Sarmizegetusa și identitatea dedicantului lor. Bazându-ne pe date extrase din conținutul textelor, precum și pe caracteristici stilistice și funcționale ale monumentelor, am ajuns la concluzia că cele două epitafuri au același dedicant: Herculanus, verna imperial și adiutor tabularii în capitala Daciei.*

The purpose of the current paper is reinterpreting two inscriptions from Sarmizegetusa – CIL III 1468³ and AE 1959, 303⁴. More precisely, the research will focus on the identity of the dedicator, which we believe to be one and the same person in both cases, namely Herculanus, an imperial slave holding an official position.

The two inscriptions that we hint at have different histories. The first one was initially mentioned by Steinbüchel⁵. A. Fodor⁶ also described the inscription, noting that, at the time when he saw it, it was in the

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³ For more details, also see <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD047408>.

⁴ For more details, also see <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD019513>.

⁵ As quoted by MOMMSEN in CIL III, p. 238.

⁶ FODOR, II, 31, no. XXXVI. Worth mentioning, though not highly relevant, is his misreading of the woman's name: instead of Aurelia Respecta, Fodor saw Aurelia Frespecta. This detail is not very important because the inscription is readable today and there are no doubts on the correct form of the name.

property of baron Nopcsa from Farkadin (today General Berthelot village, situated at approximately 20 kilometers from Sarmizegetusa). J. F. Neigebauer catalogued it as well⁷, including the monument among the discoveries from Várhely (today Sarmizegetusa). M. J. Ackner, F. Müller⁸ and subsequently T. Mommsen⁹ repeat these pieces of information, without adding any further details. Currently the inscription is in the custody of the Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilization from Deva, in a fairly good state of preservation.

The second inscription has a shorter history, as it was first referred to by O. Floca in 1953¹⁰. A very important fact is that it was discovered in the necropolis of Sarmizegetusa; unfortunately, its upper right corner was totally damaged. Today it can be found at the local archaeological museum from Sarmizegetusa.

Getting to the content and form of the inscriptions, one must say that the first one, though lacking an exact discovery context, does not raise many question marks. The text is entirely kept:

D(is) M(anibus) / Aureliae Respectae / rarissim(ae) feminae / Herculanus Augg(ustorum) / n(ostorum) vern(a) / adiut(or) tabul(arii) coniug(i).

The monument is 95 x 60 x 10 centimeters and is stylistically interpreted by A. Diaconescu as a *locullus* plaque¹¹.

⁷ NEIGEBAUER 1851, 33, no. 80.

⁸ ACKNER, MÜLLER 1865, 30, no. 130.

⁹ CIL III 1468.

¹⁰ FLOCA 1953, 767, no. 10.

¹¹ DIACONESCU 2004, I, 294.



CIL III 1468 (photo after <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD047408>).

The second inscription is the one that raises the real interpretation problems, mainly because of its broken corner and implicitly missing text. The first reading, proposed by O. Floca, is as follows:

*D(is) M(anibus) / C(laudiae) Turpillae vixit an[nis] ... / item / Caro
Caes(aris) n(ostri) v(ernae) [vix(it) an(nis) ... / Herculanus [Aug(usti) lib(ertus)]
adiu(tor) [t]ab(ularii) / uxori et filio bene merent(ibus) / fecit.*

As one can see, the missing parts have been filled out by the author. The reconstruction of the text is mainly satisfactory, but caution is mandatory for the title of *Augusti libertus*. One single detail of Floca's reconstruction is crucial and has not been noted: he uses “/” instead of the more common “/” for the missing parts of the texts. Thus, the editors of the *L'Année Épigraphique* adopted his reading, without properly indicating the words filled in by the author, as they probably omitted to notice his

atypical choice of punctuation. Further on, the IDR reading¹² is more reserved and in our opinion more realistic:

*D(is) M(anibus) / Cl(audiae) Turpillae vix(it) a[n(nis)] ... / item / Caro
Caes(aris) n(ostri) [v(ernae?) vix(it) an(nis)] ... / Herculanus Aug(usti) n(ostri)
adiut(or) [tab(ularii)] / uxori et filio bene merent(ibus) / fecit.*



AE 1959, 303 (photo after <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD019513>).

The main “improvement” of this reading is giving up the assumption that Herculanus was a freedman. Nonetheless, the visibility of the *Aug n* syntagma on stone eludes us. Even so, the researchers that later on discussed this inscription adopted the *L’Année Épigraphique* reading¹³, thus considering Herculanus an imperial freedman and not associating him with the dedicator of the first epitaph discussed here.

Stylistically, this second plaque resembles the other one: it has 108 x 63 x 12 centimeters and is as well considered an epitaph marking a *locullus* (one with two urns this time, as the plaque is obviously wider than the previous), in the same mausoleum or *columbarium* of the *familia*

¹² IDR III/2, 402.

¹³ Especially MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2004 and CIONGRADI 2007, while DIACONESCU 2004 adopts the IDR reading.

*Caesaris*¹⁴ from the necropolis of Sarmizegetusa. As well very relevant, they are both integrated by C. Ciongradi in the *Profilgerahme Tafel, Gruppe 2* category¹⁵. Even more, the letters of the two inscriptions are basically similar. If the monuments were not executed by the same craftsman, we can definitely state they were the work of the same workshop.

The main problem resides in the reading of the second text and more precisely in the insertion of the term *libertus*. While the dimensions of the stone do not impose as compulsory the presence of this status mark, the reading imposed by *L'Année Épigraphique* was later on used by all researchers interested in one or another aspect of the monument. Further on, we will explain our reasons for believing that the dedicator of the two monuments is one and the same person – Herculanus, imperial *verna* and *adiutor tabularii* at Sarmizegetusa.

As already mentioned, the two monuments seem to come from the same burial place. They are stylistically congruent and – more important – the writing points towards the same workshop. Regarding the content of the two texts, we see no reasons for adopting the *libertus* reading, when the dimensions of the stone and letters do not demand it. While Herculanus is by far not a rare name at the provincial level, these two are its only apparitions among the slaves and freedmen attested in Sarmizegetusa. As for the dating of the two inscriptions, there are no clues offered by the style or decoration of the monuments¹⁶, as they are rather minimalistic. Based on the imperial titles, the possibilities are quite numerous. Thus, for the first inscription we need to identify two *Augusti*, which could possibly be: Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-169), Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (177-180), Septimius Severus and Caracalla (198-209) and Caracalla and Geta (211-212). For the second inscription, we are seeking a period of time when there were an *Augustus* and a *Caesar*; they could be

¹⁴ DIACONESCU 2004, I, 295.

¹⁵ CIONGRADI 2007, 267, T/S 6 for CIL III 1468 and CIONGRADI 2007, 268, T/S 10 for AE 1959, 303.

¹⁶ DIACONESCU 2004 and CIONGRADI 2007 give the approximate dating of the inscriptions on criteria related to onomastics and to the imperial titles mentioned by both texts.

Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (139-161), Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (166-177) or Septimius Severus and Caracalla (196-198). More combinations of the two sets of possible years are theoretically valid, many of the in-between intervals are short enough to be correlated and they do not allow us to deduce which inscription was the first one. Based on the funerary rite, A. Diaconescu assumes that a pre-Severan dating would be more suited¹⁷. If we adhere to this hypothesis, the variables decrease in numbers. If we also consider the name of the wife from the first epitaph, which is more likely to be associated with Marcus Aurelius' after the death of his predecessor, we could reduce the interval for erecting the first inscription to two: 161-169 or 177-180. On the same criterion, the intervals best fitted for the second inscription would be 139-161 and 166-177. At this point, we believe that, realistically, this is as much as one could say about the dating of the two monuments. Though not offering unequivocal intervals, the dating is edifying and it definitely pleads for the contemporaneousness of the epitaphs.

Getting to the characters and the family details revealed by the two inscriptions, we have Herculanus, imperial *verna* and *adiutor tabularii* in Sarmizegetusa. We know nothing about his origin, as the name is completely irrelevant in this context. We could assume that he was a rather important person in the local community and not only, for his position, as well as in the light of the fact that it was not customary for an imperial slave to be an *adiutor tabularii*¹⁸ (this office being usually held by *liberti*). He buries two wives – in what succession we cannot know, as seen – and a son along with one of the women. In the case of the first monument, the age is not mentioned and on the second stone, due to its advanced degradation, neither the age of the mother, nor of the child can be read. The only potentially relevant name is that of Aurelia Respecta, as it indicates a period post-Marcus Aurelius. But this is not actually compulsory, as it can be dependent on many other exterior factors. Another important detail is offered by the second inscription: while the wife is a Roman citizen, the son is an imperial *verna*, as his father.

¹⁷ DIACONESCU 2004, I, 295.

¹⁸ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2004, 148.

Theoretically, this opens up more possibilities. The first one is that the mother was an ex slave, freed after the birth of Carus¹⁹; of course, she would have had to be an imperial slave as well, otherwise the child would have been the property of whomever her master was, not of the *Caesar*. Her name does not indicate a “filiation” from the imperial house and even if the bearing of an imperial name after becoming free doesn’t appear to be a general rule, it still is a major drawback for this theory. Another possibility – and the one we incline towards – takes into consideration the great malleability of the Roman civil law. Gaius, more or less contemporary with our Herculaneum, presents details of various situations that could lead to eluding the strictness of the law and that basically allowed the parents to choose, in given cases, which status would be more advantageous for their child²⁰. Some forms of *fictiones iuris* were simply acceptable in the civil right²¹ and in a world where the law was ruled by the power of the precedent and by imperial edicts and decrees, it is hard to believe that choosing would have been a problem for an imperial slave, with a quite good position. Of course, becoming an imperial *verna* as his father might have been advantageous for the child and putting him under the protection of the *Caesar*, the heir apparent, was definitely strengthening the family’s ties with the imperial house. The last possibility, rather theoretical, is that the child was not Claudia Turpilla’s, but the result of another marriage, unknown to us.

One last detail to be discussed, though without a demonstrative role, is the employment of terms defining the marital relation: *coniux* on the first inscription and *uxor* in the second case. Both terms imply a *conubium*, which of course is impossible in the case of a slave. Nonetheless, the “misuse” is not rare, as the mentioned terms, along with *maritus*, are used rather lightly on epitaphs, frequently appearing on funerary monuments of slaves or soldiers.

¹⁹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2004, 139 for this precise comment. GAIUS I 80, 81 for the legislation on the matter.

²⁰ GAIUS I 26, I 86 on certain situations when the law could be eluded.

²¹ BIANCHI 1997, 259-266.

Our study tried to demonstrate that the two inscriptions of Sarmizegetusa, previously regarded as separate entities, are linked by the identity of their dedicator. In this new light, they reveal a couple of details on the family life of a rather important character of the local community. As well, the study underlines once again the possibilities that reevaluating even well known inscriptions can open and the role they can play in revealing new data relevant for the reconstruction of the social and familial realities of province Dacia.

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Keywords: age rounding, Moesia Inferior, legal status.

Abstract: *The study overall concerns the age-rounding process in the Latin inscriptions, which has triggered the interest of the researchers starting with the 19th century. The first part of this study deals with the age-rounding process in the province of Moesia Inferior, by comparing the data with those provided for other Lower Danube provinces, differentiated on gender. The second part of this study presents the age-rounding process depending on the legal status of the deceased by using Whipple's Index. The values of age rounding are close to those obtained for the other Lower Danube provinces. It is worth mentioning that there are more ages ending in 0 and 5 than in other digits. Concerning the legal status, the age-rounding process is less accentuated in the case of citizens and militaries.*

Rezumat: *Acest studiu se referă la procesul de rotunjire a vârstelor în inscripțiile latine, care a suscitât interesul cercetătorilor încă de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea. Prima parte a acestui studiu se ocupă de procesul rotunjirii vârstelor în provincia Moesia Inferior comparând datele cu cele oferite pentru alte provincii de la Dunărea de Jos, diferențiat pe sexe. A doua parte a studiului prezintă procesul de rotunjire în funcție de statutul juridic al defunctului/defunctei folosind Indexul lui Whipple. Valorile rotunjirii vârstelor sunt apropiate de cele obținute pentru celelalte provincii de la Dunărea de Jos, cu mențiunea că s-au observat mai multe vârste terminate în 0 și 5 decât în alte cifre. În ceea ce privește statutul juridic, procesul de rotunjire a vârstelor este mai puțin accentuat în cazul cetățenilor și al militarilor.*

Age rounding is a demographic phenomenon characteristic to all historical eras, from industrialization to modernization – it has only disappeared during the contemporary period. This phenomenon also appeared during the 20th century, for example within the census in Turkey

¹ This article was realized in the frame of CNCS project *The dynamics of colonization in the civilian and military milieu of the Roman province Moesia inferior. A model of a contrastive approach*, nr. 217/2011.

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– 1945; 58% of the adults declared an age divisible by 5³. In one of his books, Walter Scheidel stated, “in pre-industrial societies past and present, the capability of stating one’s own age or age of an adult family member with precision, or even the mere wish to do so, cannot be taken for granted”⁴. For the fact that the exact age was unknown during the Antiquity, we cite the example of Aurelius Isidorius, who declared to be 35 in April 297, 37 in April 308, 40 in August 308, 45 before June 309, and 40 in June 309⁵. Nevertheless, the historians who studied demography warned that this might have been an exception, not the rule. In this article, we will try to determine whether there is a tendency for age rounding – by gender and social status – in Moesia Inferior.

This demographic phenomenon has been in the attention of historians starting with the end of the 19th century, when, in 1898, W. Levison published the article “Die Beurkundung des Civilstandes im Altertum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bevölkerungsstatistik,” BJ, 102, 1898. More than half a century later, when the demographic studies on the Roman Era were resumed, age rounding came back to the researchers’ attention (A. Mocsy, “Die Unkenntnis des Lebensalters im römischen Reich,” AAntHung 14, 1966, the series of articles signed by J. Szilagy, in *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, issues 13-19, 1961-1967, R. P. Duncan-Jones, “Age rounding, Illiteracy and Social Differentiation in the Roman Empire,” in *Chiron* 7, 1977, as well as Walter Scheidel, “Digit preference in age records from Roman Egypt,” in *Measuring sex, age and death in the Roman Empire. Explorations in ancient demography*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1996). Duncan-Jones was the only one who tried, starting from the data provided by Mocsy and Szilagy, to offer the complete picture of age rounding in the Latin-speaking half of the Empire. Nevertheless, except for Scheidel, nobody analyzed this issue at the level of a single province, and Scheidel chose as province the Roman Egypt, which provides to the researcher over 2,000 ages from census returns, tax lists,

³ DUNCAN-JONES 1977, 334.

⁴ SCHEIDEL 1996, 53.

⁵ DUNCAN-JONES 1977, 333.

tombstones, mummy labels, records of legal transactions, and lists of public officials.

We will use Whipple's Index to calculate age rounding. It applies to the interval 23-62 years old, eliminating young ages, that parents were better informed on, and old ages, less known. This interval is divided into four decades. The index-figures are calculated as follows: we subtract 20 from the percentage of ages divisible by 5 within a decade and we multiply the result by 1.25.⁶ If there are only ages ending in digits divisible by 5, the result is 100, and if they represent 20, then the result is 0. Scheidel states that this index starts from two wrong presumptions. The first is that all decades must be equal and the second – that within each decade, the classification by digits must be equal (each digit must represent 10% of the sample per decade). For the first presumption – that there should be an equal number of persons in each series – to be true, birth rate should be constant (in the pre-industrial societies, epidemics, famines, and wars make birth rate fluctuate rather significantly). In addition, life expectancy should be rather high, mostly that this situation is not present in the contemporary societies, either. As concerns the second presumption, it is hard to believe that the same number of persons died at 23 and at 32, and this situation occurs in all the decades⁷.

Our sample comprises 110 females, 270 males, and 17 persons whose gender could not be determined, from funerary stones dating since the first three centuries of our era, for the province of Moesia Inferior.

In the first part, we will analyse the rapport between rounded ages and “unrounded” ages at the level of the entire sample.

For the females in Moesia Inferior, the following situation appears:

⁶ DUNCAN-JONES 1977, 337.

⁷ SCHEIDEL 1996, 54.

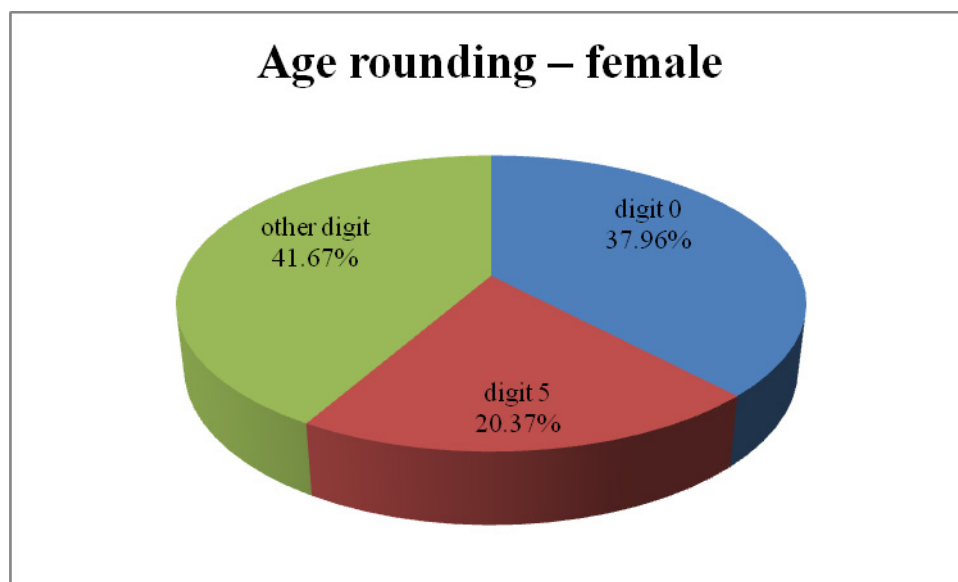


Figure 1. Age rounding in Moesia Inferior (females)

In our sample, there is only one case explicitly showing that the exact age of the deceased was unknown, meaning the presence of the phrase “more or less,” but for Pannonia Superior Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba cites two such cases, a 100 years old male and an 18 years old teenager⁸. The parents, Aurelius Nio[...] and Orfia Vitilla, set up a stone for their daughter Domitia Iuliana who lived more or less 9 years and 2 months⁹. We find it surprising that the age is so exact (even the months are mentioned), but that the formula more or less is still used. In the other cases where we find the phrase “more or less,” the ages are rounded. Of the 110 persons within the female sample, we eliminated two females whose age was shown fragmentarily. Of the remaining 108, 45 persons do not have the age ending in 0 or 5, meaning only 41.67%. The percentage of females with “unrounded” ages in Moesia Inferior is lower than that of

⁸ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR, COZMA 2007, 29.

⁹ ILBR, 132.

Pannonia Inferior – 44%¹⁰, or Dacia – 47%¹¹, but higher than that of Pannonia Superior – 34.6%¹². In regard to the ages with digits ending in 0, the sample in Moesia Inferior records one of the lowest percentages – 37.96%, close to that of Pannonia Inferior (37%), but significantly lower than that of Pannonia Superior (48.2%), and slightly lower than the one of Dacia (39%). In the case of ages ending in the digit 5, Moesia Inferior has the highest percentage among all the Danubian provinces – 20.37%, unlike the other provinces: Pannonia Superior – 17.2%, Pannonia Inferior – 19%, and Dacia – 14%.

Age	Number of persons
1-4	9
6-9	9
11-14	2
16-19	8
21-24	6
26-29	3
31-34	2
36-39	1
41-44	1
46-49	0
51-54	0
56-59	2
61-64	1
66-69	0
71-74	0
76-79	1

Table 1. Classification of unrounded ages by age categories

¹⁰ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR, COZMA 2007, 48-49.

¹¹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2003, 31.

¹² MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR, COZMA 2007, 16-17.

34 of the 45 persons with an unrounded age lived until 25, meaning 75%, and 39 of the 45 until 35, meaning 86%, which shows that people had better memory concerning the persons who died younger. The following persons had their age “more accurately” stated: Domitia Iuliana, who died at 9 years and 2 months old¹³; Cornelia Alexandra, who lived 23 years and 5 months¹⁴; Iulia Valentina – died at 11 years and 59 days old¹⁵; Aurelia Sambatis, who lived 25 years, 5 months and 12 days¹⁶; Veturia – 24 years and 2 months¹⁷; Ulpia Flavia – 18 years and 6 months¹⁸; Aurelia Melete – 60 years, 2 months, and 7 days¹⁹; Valeria Matriona – 1 year and 11 months²⁰; Antonia Aprulla – 9 years and 6 months²¹; Valentilla – 45 years, 3 months, and 5 days; and Aprilia – 9 years, 5 months, and 3 days²². If we analyze the dedicators of the inscriptions belonging to the 10 females (except for Valeria Matriona, whose dedicators are unknown), the following situation appears: the 5 persons under 20 years old have the parents as dedicators, the four under 45 years old have as dedicator the spouse, and Aurelia Meletia has the children as dedicators. In addition, 9 of the 11 cases are represented by persons under 30 years old, which shows that, in case of young persons, the dedicators were more aware of the exact age. Finally, we underline that all 11 females with exact ages recorded are citizens. If we analyze the legal status of the 20 dedicators, we notice that two of them are magistrates, one is an *Ilvir*, one a *decurio coloniae*, one is *praefectus equitus* of *ala*, and 17 are simple citizens.

As concerns the rounded ages, the following situation appears by age categories:

¹³ CIL III, 12357, ILB, 132.

¹⁴ CIL III, 12452.

¹⁵ CIL III, 12478a.

¹⁶ ISM II, 367

¹⁷ ISM V, 35.

¹⁸ ISM V, 39.

¹⁹ ISM V, 42.

²⁰ ISM V, 104.

²¹ IGL Novae, 93.

²² ILB, 82.

Age category (years)	Number of rounded ages
5	2
10	1
15	2
20	2
25	8
30	11
35	6
40	5
45	2
50	8
55	1
60	9
65	1
70	3
75	0
80	2

Table 2. Classification of rounded ages by age categories

If most of the unrounded ages were recorded for ages under 25, most of the rounded ages are recorded for ages starting from 25 years old – 56 persons of 63–, meaning 88%, and from 25 years old to 60 years old, 50 persons – 79 %. Nevertheless, we have to add that three females, though with ages ending in 5 or 0, have actually their exact ages recorded – Aurelia Sambatis, Aurelia Melete, and Valentilla, that we have mentioned above. Most rounded ages are at 25 (8 persons), 30 (11 persons), 50 (7 persons), 60 (9 persons). Of the 11 cases of females deceased at 30 years old from Moesia Inferior, in nine cases the spouse is the dedicator, in one case the mother and the siblings, and in another case there is no mention of the type of relation between the dedicator and the deceased. This may indicate that they died either at birth or without having had children. The ages of 50 and 60 may be considered old ages, as we will see below (the life

expectancy at childbirth for the females in Moesia Inferior was around 35.248 years²³).

When analyzing the situation of the male population in Moesia Inferior, the following situation appears:

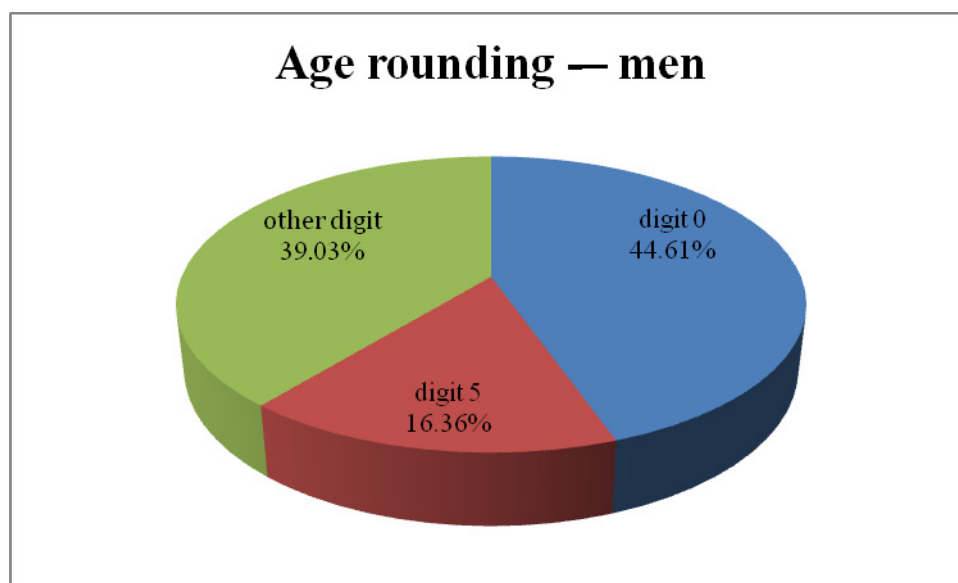


Figure 2. Age rounding in Moesia Inferior (males)

This way, in Moesia Inferior there are 120 persons (44.61%) with the age ending in the digit 0; 44 (16.36%) have the age ending in the digit 5, and only 105 (39.03%) have the age ending in another digit. The situation is similar to that of Dacia – 42% of the persons have the age ending in the digit 0, 16% in 5, and 42% in another digit²⁴. A similar situation is that of Pannonia Inferior – 41% of the persons have the age ending in the digit 0, 15% in 5, and 44% in another digit²⁵. The situation is a little different in Pannonia Superior, where the rounded ages are predominant: 45.4% of the

²³ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR 2011, 423.

²⁴ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2003, 48-49.

²⁵ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR, COZMA 2007, 57.

ages ending in 0, 21.1% ending in 5, and only 33.5% of the ages ending in other digits.²⁶

As in the case of the female population, there are precisely indicated ages: Ampus Victorinus – lived one year and 6 months²⁷, Valerius Herculianus – 12 years and 6 months²⁸, Tiberius Claudius Tertullus – died at 17 years and 12 months old²⁹, [...] Aemilius – 18 years and 8 months³⁰, Theocritos, the son of Theocritos, 22 years and 9 months³¹, [...] Claudianus – 44 years, 5 months, and 10 days³², an anonymous male – 23 years and 11 months³³, an anonymous citizen – 46 years, 7 months, and 16 days³⁴, Aurelianus Valerianus – 14 years, 11 months, and 15 days³⁵, Aurelius Hermes – 70 years and 11 days³⁶, (...)us Claudianus – 1 year, 4 months, and one day³⁷, Caius Veturius Verus – 19 years, 8 months, and 24 days³⁸, Valerius Septimius – 63 years, 6 months, and 16 days³⁹, Marcus Antonius Valetinus – 10 years and 3 months⁴⁰, Titus Flavius Acceptus – 1 year, 2 months, and 3 days⁴¹, Apriorianus – 19 years, 2 months, and 6 days, Valentinus – 6 years, one month, and 3 days; and Aper – 3 years and 6 days⁴². Of the 19 deceased with exact ages stated, one person has a very fragmentary inscription (reason for which it is not possible to know the legal status). Out of the remaining 18, the sources attest a peregrine and 17

²⁶ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR, COZMA 2007, 27.

²⁷ CIL III, 14211³.

²⁸ CIL III, 14212.

²⁹ ISM II, 168.

³⁰ ISM II, 184.

³¹ ISM II, 186.

³² ISM II, 211.

³³ ISM II, 305.

³⁴ ISM II, 349.

³⁵ ISM II, 354.

³⁶ ISM V, 42.

³⁷ ISM V, 198.

³⁸ SCORPAN 1977, 205

³⁹ SCORPAN 1977, 217.

⁴⁰ IGLNovae, 93.

⁴¹ AE, 1999, 1335.

⁴² ILB, 82.

citizens. Among the 17 citizens, there are an *equus romanus*, two veterans, a military of the fifth legion Macedonica, a *librarius legati legionis* and an *ex speculatore*, reason for which we can say that they belonged to the elite. If we analyze the dedicators of these inscriptions, we notice that, in the case of the 14 deceased under 25, for five of them both parents are dedicators, for one of them the mother, and for another five the father. In two cases, the dedicators are unknown, and in one case, the kinship is unknown. In 57% of the 19 cases, the dedicators are the parents, meaning the persons who know better the ages of their children. In the other five cases of deceased over 40 years old, the following situation is outlined: in two cases the wives and the children are the dedicators, in one case the children and a brother, and in another case the dedicators are unknown. However, it is worth underlining that, out of the five cases, in three cases, the deceased was related to the military world. The legal status of the dedicators is similar to that of the deceased, meaning only one female peregrine and the rest citizens. Among the citizens, three are related to the military setting (a veteran, a legion centurion and a member of the Praetorian Guard) and one is a magistrate (*decurio coloniae*). The persons with ages stated very exactly represent 7.03% of the male population sample in Moesia Inferior.

We present below the classification of the exact age by age categories:

Age category	Number of persons
1-4	12
6-9	8
11-14	4
16-19	15
21-24	8
26-29	10
31-34	7
36-39	4
41-44	4
46-49	4
51-54	2

56-59	7
61-64	9
66-69	3
71-74	1
76-79	3
81-84	1
86-89	1
91-94	0
96-99	0
101-104	2

Table 3. Classification of unrounded ages by age categories

Most of the exact ages belong to the interval under 35 years old – 64 persons, meaning 60.95%, but there is also a certain concentration in the interval between 56 and 65 years old, close to the age when the veterans were discharged (15.23%). The agglomeration of exact ages up to less than 35 years old, unlike in the case of females – up to 25 years old, could also be due to the higher life expectancy at birth for males than for females. We find surprising the presence of the two unrounded ages over 100 years old; actually, they are the only ages over 100.

As regards the rounded ages for the male population in Moesia Inferior, the situation is the following:

Age category (years)	Number of rounded ages
5	3
10	3
15	2
20	12
25	8
30	12
35	8
40	18

45	11
50	24
55	4
60	26
65	4
70	16
75	2
80	5
85	2
90	2
95	0
100	2
105	0

Table 4. Classification of rounded ages by age categories

We notice that most rounded ages appear between 20 and 70 years old (87.8%); the most numerous cases are recorded at 30 years old (12 persons), 40 years old (16 persons), 50 years old (21 persons), 60 years old (24 persons), and 70 years old (15 persons). They are considered ages of the adulthood, of army discharge, or of the beginning of senescence, meaning of wisdom. The age of 60 was considered the beginning of what we call today senescence. Though in the historiography related to the names given to the various stages in the life of the Roman citizens many authors claimed that *senex* began around 40, Parkin proved that the old age-related view was far more complex and that, in the Roman world, the old age would have begun at 60⁴³.

By analyzing the situation of the entire sample for Moesia Inferior and by adding the persons whose gender could not be determined to the male and female population, the following situation appears:

⁴³ PARKIN 2003.

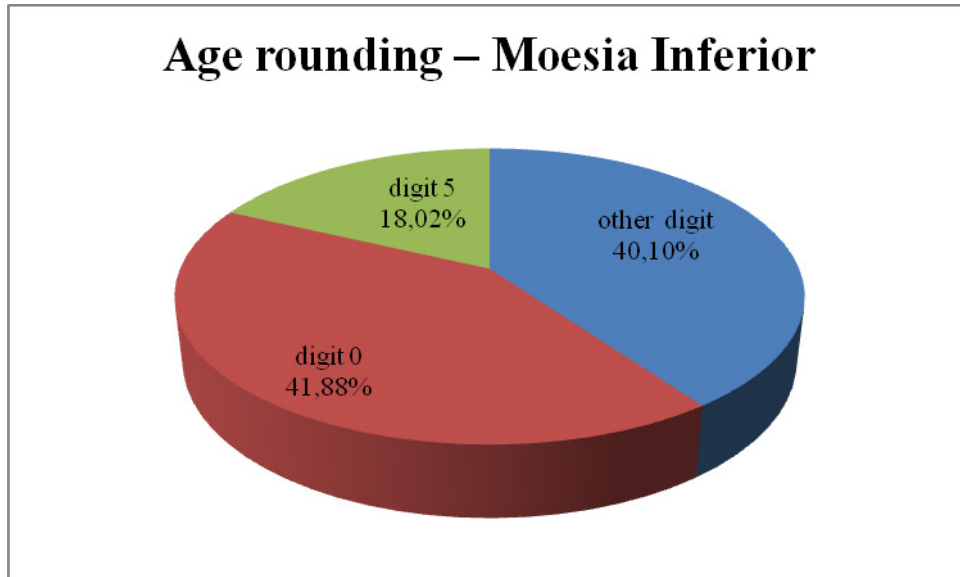


Figure 3. Age rounding for the population in Moesia Inferior

If, in the case of females, the unrounded ages are the most numerous percentage wise, and if, in the case of males, the most numerous are those ending in 0, at the level of the entire population there is an equalization as regards the percentages. In addition, by analyzing the percentage of the exactly mentioned ages, meaning the 11 ages for females and the 25 for males, and by adding a child who died at 5 years and 12 days old⁴⁴, we obtain 36 very exact ages. They are part of a sample of 375 persons, meaning 9.6%, a mean between the percentage of the female and that of the male population.

In the following lines, we will try to apply Whipple's Index to our sample and to compare it with the results obtained by Duncan-Jones.

After applying Whipple's Index to the female sample, we have obtained the following results:

⁴⁴ ISM II, 218.

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
23-32	19	25	70.00
33-42	11	14	73.21
43-52	10	11	88.63
53-62	10	12	79.16
23-62	50	62	75.80
Mean of the four decades			77.75

Table 5. Whipple's Index for females

The number of persons within the calculation interval is 62, meaning only 57.40% of a small overall sample, representing the smallest sample in the Lower Danube area. The first decade comprises almost 40% of the ages, and then they decrease, with the exception of a slight increase in the last decade. The relatively close values of the first two decades, also close to the final mean of the index, show that the younger persons provide the general trend for the entire sample. The third decade is weird, because the index has a high value – 87.5, showing a strong rounding process; there is only one age (43 years old) that is not divisible by 5. It is surprising that the lowest value of the index is registered at the decade 53-62. A possible explanation is that the dedicators of the stones for the persons who died at an older age are their children, usually a little less careful concerning their mother's age. The index has very high values, also due to the relatively small sample. Nevertheless, this is not the only explanation. Moesia Inferior is a peripheral province of the Empire, with a mixture between the centuries old Greek-speaking tradition and the Roman one. The more we advance southward and eastward, the fewer funerary stones that state the age. This precision is part of the Roman funerary customs, while the Greeks prefer to present information on the way a person died and who he/she was.

The index value is close to that obtained by Duncan-Jones for the females within the two Moesias – 73.3⁴⁵. This shows that there was an accentuated preference in this area for the ages ending in a digit divisible by 5.

In his article regarding digit preferences when expressing one's age, W. Scheidel says that the interval 23-62 or 20-69 is not the best choice in order to calculate preference digits, taking into account that, for the Egypt sample, Bagnall and Frier obtained a life expectancy at birth of 22.5 years⁴⁶. For his calculations, he used an extended sample with ages ranging between 10 and 69. We tried to apply the calculation method for Whipple's Index to this extended sample. We have obtained a 60.5 value, much lower than that obtained for the sample 23-62. This is not surprising because, up to 25 years old, in our sample there were mainly unrounded ages, as we have shown above. This extended sample comprises 76 persons – 14 more than the small one, which means, for our rather small sample, almost 14%.

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
10-19	2	12	0
20-29	10	19	40.78
30-39	17	20	81.25
40-49	7	8	84.37
50-59	9	11	77.27
60-69	10	11	88.63
10-69	55	81	59.87

Table 6. Whipple's Index for females (extended sample)

The first decade does not include an age rounding process, and the second decade provides a value under 50, significantly lower than that of

⁴⁵ DUNCAN-JONES 1977, 343.

⁴⁶ BAGNALL, FRIER 1995, 77.

the reduced sample. Starting with the third decade, the values increase: they are situated between 80 and 90, except for the decade 50-59, which records a value little under 80. The first three decades comprise many persons, while in the second half of the sample the number of persons decreases by every decade. Starting with the age of 30, the age rounding process is highly present in Moesia Inferior. The value of the rounding index at the level of the entire extended sample is significantly lower (by almost 20) than that of the reduced sample.

From the legal perspective, as regards the female sample in Moesia Inferior, the following situation appears:

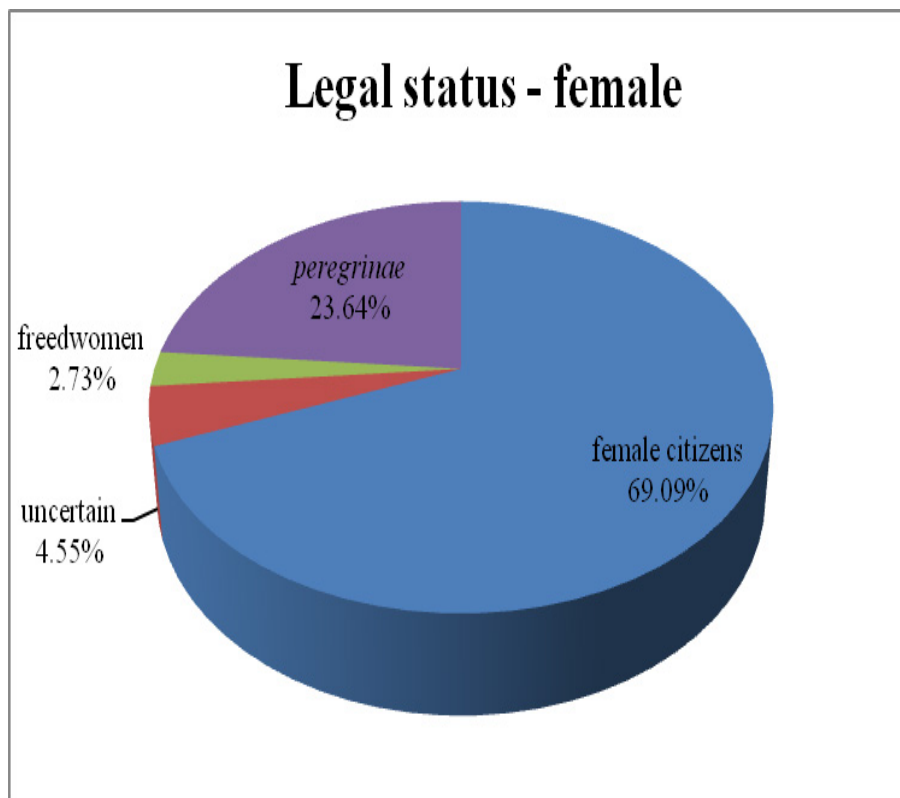


Figure 4. Legal status of the females

In order to identify any age rounding tendency depending on the legal status of the deceased females, we have applied Whipple's Index only for the female citizens and for the *peregrinae*, as the freedwomen are too few to include them in the calculation. In addition, there was no slave female in our sample.

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
23-32	12	17	63.23
33-42	7	10	62.50
43-52	8	9	86.11
53-62	5	6	79.16
23-62	32	42	70.23
Mean of the four decades			72.75

Table 7. Whipple's Index for female citizens

The situation of the female citizens is slightly different from that of women in general. There are lower values in the first two decades than those at the level of the entire population. The third decade has a very high index, as in the case of the entire female population. The mean has approximately the same values as at the level of the entire female population.

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
10-19	1	10	0
20-29	6	14	28.57
30-39	10	13	71.15
40-49	6	7	82.14
50-59	7	8	84.37

60-69	5	5	100
10-69	35	57	51.75

Table 8. Whipple's Index for female citizens (extended sample)

In the extended sample, an increase of the index values was found, which shows the accentuation of the rounding process by age. In the first decade, no rounding process is present, while the last decade features only rounding ages. The index value in the second decade is very low, while in the third decade the value is double. Starting with the age of 30, the rounding process is accentuated in the extended samples of the citizens in Moesia Inferior. The value of the entire sample is significantly lower than in the case of the reduced sample.

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
23-32	5	6	79.16
33-42	2	2	100
43-52	1	1	100
53-62	5	6	79.16
23-62	13	15	83.33
Mean of the four decades			89.58

Table 9. Whipple's Index for the *peregrinae*

The situation of the *peregrinae* is very different from that of the female citizens. The *peregrinae* offer the image of a sample with an accentuated rounding process: only two persons of the 15 within the sample do not have rounded ages.

Age groups	Ages ending in a number	Total	Whipple's Index
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	divisible by 5		
10-19	1	2	37.50
20-29	3	4	68.75
30-39	4	4	100
40-49	1	1	100
50-59	1	2	37.50
60-69	5	6	79.16
10-69	15	19	73.68

Table 10. Whipple's Index for the *peregrinae* (extended sample)

In the extended sample of the *peregrinae*, we notice low values under 40 (two decades), but also exclusively rounded ages in two other decades. The index value at the level of the extended sample is lower than in the above-presented situation.

In the case of the persons with uncertain legal status, we notice exclusively rounded ages, and in the case of freedwomen, two rounded ages and an uncertain age. We may pinpoint that, the higher the social status, the lower the age rounding process: the citizens were more careful concerning the persons' age than the other categories. Though rising proportionally with them, the age rounding process remains differentiated on social categories. The female citizens have lower scores than the *peregrinae*, except for the decades 50-59, 60-69 of the extended sample. This can be explained by the fact that the samples of *peregrinae* also include persons within the Greek environment on the Black Sea coast, who had a good financial situation and a high education level, though they were not citizens.

By applying Whipple's Index on the male sample in Moesia Inferior, we obtain the following results:

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
23-32	20	40	37.50

33-42	26	34	70.58
43-52	35	41	81.70
53-62	31	41	69.51
23-62	112	156	64.74
Mean of the four decades			64.82

Table 11. Whipple's Index for males

The sample used to calculate Whipple's Index for males comprises 144 individuals, representing 56% of the overall male sample, which means a lower percentage than that of the female population. Nevertheless, this is understandable because in the female sample there is no individual over 80 years old, while the male sample comprises three centenarians. The Whipple's Index values are lower for males than for females. We notice a relatively uniform division on decades for the sample used. The first decade has a very low value, while the third decade, as in case of females, has a very high value compared to the mean and to the other values. The fourth decade is close to the mean, but slightly higher. All the values are significantly lower than for females.

When comparing it to the results obtained by R.P. Duncan-Jones for the two Moesias, our value is slightly higher, but close. Duncan-Jones obtained 57.2 for the males of the two Moesias⁴⁷, compared to 64.74 – the value that we obtained for the ages in Moesia Inferior.

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
10-19	4	25	0
20-29	19	37	39.18
30-39	20	31	55.64
40-49	29	37	72.97

⁴⁷ DUNCAN-JONES 1977, 343.

50-59	28	37	69.59
60-69	31	42	67.27
10-69	131	209	53.34

Table 12. Whipple's Index for males (extended sample)

The first decade does not present an age rounding process; the rounded ages constitute only 20% of the decade sample. The values increase in the next three decades, while in the last two they decrease a little. The number of persons in each decade is similar, except for the first decade, which has a smaller number. The model is similar to that of the reduced sample. The values are lower in the case of the decades, as well as at the level of the entire sample.

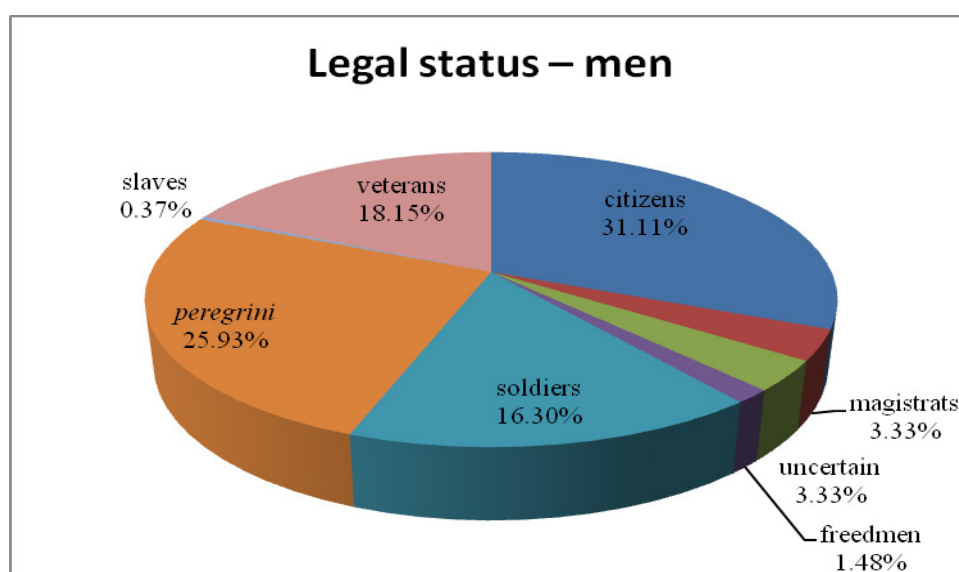


Figure 5. Legal status of the male population

As concerns the males, besides the legal statuses of *peregrinus*, freedman, and slave, we have added three other categories: magistrates, soldiers, and veterans. The magistrates would represent the wealthiest and

most educated among the citizens and the *peregrini* (in the Greek cities on the Black Sea coast), while the soldiers and veterans are categories that do not come only from that province and that present high mobility. We notice that the soldiers and the veterans would represent the highest percentage in our sample, followed by citizens and *peregrini*. This is why we will analyze the three categories below, by observing and analyzing the differences and similarities between them.

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
23-32	6	12	37.50
33-42	6	7	82.14
43-52	7	8	84.37
53-62	8	10	75.00
23-62	27	37	66.21
Mean of the four decades			69.75

Table 13. Whipple's Index for citizens

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
10-19	2	12	0
20-29	6	13	32.69
30-39	5	6	79.16
40-49	7	8	84.37
50-59	6	8	68.75
60-69	8	8	100
10-69	34	55	52.27

Table 14. Whipple's Index for citizens (extended sample)

For the first sample, the model is similar to that of the entire population. The values of the second, the third, and the fourth decades present higher values than the entire population. The fourth decade has a lower value than the second and the third decades. The last three decades have higher values than the mean and at least twice the value of the first decade. We can say that, after the age of 30, the age rounding process becomes significant. In the extended sample, the first decade does not feature an age rounding process; the second decade has a low value, while the four other decades have double values compared to the second decade. The last decade is represented only by rounded ages. The index value at the level of the extended sample is significantly lower than in the case of the reduced sample; the difference is around 15.

Compared to female citizens, male citizens register lower values, except for the second decade, where the value seems to be higher. Generally, it appears that, when the deceased was a male citizen, the indicators stated more exactly the age than in the case of a female citizen.

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
23-32	4	9	30.55
33-42	8	9	86.11
43-52	9	9	100
53-62	3	4	68.75
23-62	25	31	75.80
Mean of the four decades			71.35

Table 15. Whipple's Index for *peregrini*

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
10-19	2	11	0

20-29	7	10	62.50
30-39	6	8	68.75
40-49	7	8	84.37
50-59	7	8	84.37
60-69	3	6	37.50
10-69	32	51	53.43

Table 16. Whipple's Index for *peregrini* (extended sample)

The first decade within the first sample offers a low value, followed by two decades with high values (one represented exclusively by rounding ages) and the last decade with a lower value. In the second sample, the first decade does not present an age rounding process, and the last decade has a very low value. The other decades have high values. The age rounding process increases with the age in the case of the *peregrini* in Moesia Inferior, but around the age of 60, the age rounding process is less accentuated.

The index values are different from those for the male citizens. The values are very high for the second and the third decades, the latter including exclusively digits ending in a number divisible by 5. Also, all the values are lower than those of the *peregrinae*. The mean is still slightly higher than that of the male citizens.

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
23-32	4	11	20.45
33-42	7	13	42.30
43-52	17	22	71.59
53-62	17	22	71.59
23-62	45	68	57.72
Mean of the four decades			58.90

Table 17. Whipple's Index for militaries and veterans

Age groups	Ages ending in a number divisible by 5	Total	Whipple's Index
10-19	0	2	0
20-29	3	8	21.87
30-39	4	11	20.45
40-49	10	16	53.12
50-59	14	20	62.50
60-69	17	23	67.39
10-69	48	80	50.00

Table 18. Whipple's Index for militaries and veterans (extended sample)

The values of both samples are in ascending order (except for the third decade within the extended sample, where the value is slightly lower than in the preceding decade), just like the number of persons within the first decade or the number of persons with ages ending in a multiple of 5. In both samples, the first part has low age rounding values, while in the second they are high. The values are lower in the second sample, but the difference of values at the level of the entire samples is low: almost 8.

The militaries and veterans represent the only category better represented in the sample 23-62 years old (43.5%), than in the overall sample of the male population (34.4%). Whipple's Index values are very low, even though there is the same tendency in the third decade, providing the highest value. The value of the first decade is the lowest in our entire sample. The fact that the militaries and the veterans have the lowest values of them all shows that it was easier to memorize the age in the army, mostly given that the data related to the enrolment age and to the years of military service were important for the General Staff and for the administration of the Roman State.

If we compare the values obtained for the sample between 23 and 62 years old and those for the extensive sample between 10 and 69 years old,

we get the following values: citizens 23-62 years old 66.21 and 10-69 years old 52.27, *peregrini* 23-62 years old 75.8, and 10-69 years old 53.43; for the militaries 23-62 years old 57.72 and 50.0. The values are lower for a more numerous sample included in the calculation. The smallest difference is that of soldiers, because the militaries were enrolled starting with ages ranging between 18 and 22. This means that there are few representatives for the decade 10-19 years old, a decade in our sample that lowers significantly the index value. This occurs because, toward 35 years old, there is a dominance of the ages ending in other digit than 0 or 5.

Even though our study is based on a rather small sample compared to that included in the studies of Duncan-Jones and Scheidel, we notice, at the level of Moesia Inferior, certain tendencies as regards the preference for rounded ages (ending in a number divisible by 5).

Unlike the other Danubian provinces for which calculations have been made – Dacia, Pannonia Inferior, and Pannonia Superior –, the female population registers a slightly higher preference for ages ending in the digit 5, in the detriment of those ending in 0 or in other digits. The male population registers values similar with those in the other provinces. The unrounded ages are present mostly at small and young ages – under 25 for females, and under 35 for males – except that, in the case of males, there is a concentration in the interval between 50 and 65 years old. The rounded ages are concentrated, for both males and females, from 30 to about 70. The very exact ages represent around 10% for both males and females, concentrated in the younger part of the sample. If, in case of females, the very exact ages appeared only for the female citizens, at the male population they also appeared at *peregrini* and soldiers.

Because we have applied Whipple's Index of small samples, it was a little more difficult to set up tendencies, mostly that, when having as criterion the legal status. In addition, as concerns the *peregrini* and *peregrinae*, a decade for each is represented only by individuals with rounded ages. We have obtained higher values for the index than Duncan-Jones, but this may be due to the geographic location of the province (at a relatively far border of the Empire), to the presence of the Greek cities and of a Greek-speaking population. It may also be due to the fact that the

archaeological research of the decades to come may still find funerary stones. In addition, some of the inscriptions in this period were used as building material at the end of the 3rd and the second half of the 4th century to restore the enclosure walls during the invasions of the migratory peoples.

The values obtained show a low represented third decade, with a dominance of rounded ages, while the fourth decade has lower values. The female citizens, though with values not very different from those of the *peregrinae*, show a clear lower tendency, when extending the sample, for numbers divisible by 5. As regards the male population, the militaries and veterans represent the category with the lowest tendency toward rounded digits, followed by male citizens and *peregrini*. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that a part of the soldiers belonged to legions, which means they were also citizens, and the veterans within the auxiliary troops also gained citizenship; had we added them to the category of citizens, we would have obtained significantly lower index values. We notice the same tendencies in Moesia Inferior as at the level of the other Latin-speaking provinces, obtained by Duncan-Jones – lower values for males compared to females and for citizens compared to non-citizens. Nonetheless, in Moesia Inferior the values for *peregrini* and citizens are closer.

The application of Whipple's Index to other neighbouring provinces in the future will provide us with a better picture of the age rounding tendencies at the level of each province; it will also underline the similarities and the differences compared to other Latin-speaking provinces considered as a whole.

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L'ORIGINE DES LÉGIONNAIRES DE MÉSIE INFÉRIEURE.
LA V^E LÉGION MACEDONICA À TROESMIS¹

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Keywords: Roman army, soldiers' origin, recruitment policy, diversity, Legio V Macedonica, Moesia Inferior, local recruitment, recruitment areas.

Abstract: *In the last decades the growing number of studies on the origin of Roman soldiers revealed new information concerning the mobility of the legions, the recruitment policy in the Roman Empire and also the role played by soldiers and veterans in the provincial society. The discovery of new sources changed the perception over the Roman army, its mobility and adaptability. In this context, this study analyzes the inscriptions of the Legio V Macedonica discovered at Troesmis in which the origin of the soldiers is clearly stated. The aims of this paper are to identify the legionaries' origin and to highlight the main aspects of a possible recruitment pattern specific to Moesia Inferior.*

Resumé: *Le problème de l'ethnie des soldats est devenu central ces dernières années, surtout grâce à la découverte d'un grand nombre de sources à même d'apporter de nouvelles données concernant la mobilité des troupes, la politique de recrutement dans l'Empire romain et, non pas de moindre importance, le rôle joué par les soldats et les vétérans dans la société provinciale. Le nombre accru de sources facilitera la création de nouveaux modèles susceptibles de changer la perception sur l'armée romaine, en faisant découvrir sa structure tant soit peu « détendue », ses mobilité et adaptabilité. L'ouvrage ci-présent ne se préoccupe que des inscriptions concernant la V^e légion Macedonica, découvertes à Troesmis, et qui mentionnent d'une manière claire l'origine des soldats. C'est pourquoi notre démarche va aborder premièrement l'analyse historique des inscriptions, tout en continuant par l'explication, la description et l'identification des légionnaires, pour en arriver finalement à la présentation des traits principaux d'un modèle possible de recrutement spécifique à la Mésie inférieure.*

Rezumat: *In ultimele decenii, numărul din ce în ce mai mare de studii privind originea soldaților romani au scos la iveală noi informații referitoare la mobilitatea trupelor, la politica de recrutare aplicată de Imperiu și de asemenea la rolul jucat de soldați și veterani*

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în societatea provincială. Descoperirea de noi surse a contribuit la schimbarea percepției asupra armatei romane, asupra mobilității și adaptabilității sale. În acest context, acest studiu analizează inscripțiile legiunii V Macedonica descoperite la Troesmis, inscripții în care originea soldaților este clar menționată. Scopul acestei lucrări este acela de a aduce în prim plan studiul soldaților ca indivizi și, în același timp, își propune ca prin intermediul analizei întreprinse să ajungă la cunoașterea mecanismelor sistemului de recrutare aplicat de Imperiu în Moesia Inferior.

« tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento (hae tibi erunt artes),
pacique imponere norem, parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.
Ne l'oublie pas, Romain, c'est à toi qu'il appartient de soumettre les
nations »³

À partir du XIX^e siècle, les changements culturels caractérisant l'impérialisme romain représentent un important domaine d'étude dans le cadre de l'archéologie romaine. Les recherches entreprises ont ainsi en vue deux éléments, d'une part, l'inclusion des provinces dans le système politique romain, d'une autre, le paradigme des échanges culturels, autant sous forme de culture dominante, d'éléments arrivés dans la nouvelle culture, qu'implicitement, sous forme de romanisation. Du côté du paradigme de l'évolution sociale, être indigène et, plus encore, Romain, représentent des éléments constitutifs d'une démarche vers la *modernité*⁴. Après le règne d'Auguste, la barbarie ne sera plus envisagée comme un état en soi permanent, mais comme une situation se prêtant aux changements par l'adoption de valeurs et formes culturelles romaines. C'était un processus que les autorités romaines désiraient stimuler⁵.

Dans ce contexte, connaissant l'importance que l'État romain accordait à l'armée, au rôle des soldats et des vétérans dans la vie politique, il est facile à comprendre la place privilégiée que l'armée romaine détient dans les œuvres historiographiques. Et encore, n'oublions pas le nombre de plus en plus grand de sources archéologiques, qui vont

³ Vergilius, *En.* 6, 851.

⁴ REVELL 2009, 6.

⁵ ROYMANS 1995, 47.

changer la perception sur la mobilité et l'adaptabilité de l'armée romaine. C'est ainsi que le problème de l'ethnie des soldats est devenu un point de mire ces dernières années, mettant en évidence de nouvelles données concernant la mobilité des troupes et la politique de recrutement caractérisant les provinces.

Les dernières décennies ont imposé la tendance historiographique de séparation des études concernant l'armée romaine, de la grande aire des analyses sur l'Empire romain, estimant que ces dernières peuvent constituer un domaine en soi. Plus encore, les méthodes d'analyse appliquées à cette aire de recherche sont distinctes, soulignant les différences entre ce nouveau domaine et le reste des études concernant l'Empire romain⁶.

Nous devons souligner dès le début le fait que, pour le syntagme d'armée romaine, nous devrions plutôt utiliser celui d'*armées romaines*, vu que, parallèlement aux éléments uniques impossibles à ignorer, il y a aussi des éléments distincts susceptibles à différencier entre elles les provinces et les armées stationnées sur leur territoire⁷. Dans ce qui suit, nous allons aborder le concept d'armée romaine comme définition exacte du paradigme *diversité au sein de l'unité*.

On a souvent oublié un élément important, notamment, que les soldats étaient des civils avant leur recrutement, volontaire ou pas, et redevaient tels à la fin de leur service militaire. Dans ces conditions, l'image tant soit peu brutale qu'on avait du soldat romain, envisagé comme une machine de guerre, se modifie, se faisant remplacer par une vision plus appropriée à la réalité et qui présente l'ambivalence du légionnaire: civil/soldat. En illustrant cette ambivalence, Richard Alston affirmait que la typologie de recrutement, le type de récompenses, autant

⁶ ALSTON 1995, 3.

⁷ HAYNES 1999, 10: Au milieu du II^e siècle ap. J.-C., les soldats, en stationnement à Birrens, ont élevé trois autels, l'un pour Mars et Victoria Augusta de la part de ceux de Rhétie, un deuxième pour la déesse Ricagambada, par ceux du district Vellavian se trouvant en Germanie, et le dernier, mais non le moins important, pour Viradecthis, de la part de *pagus conductis militans* appartenant aux cohortes. Par leurs dédicaces, ces groupes commémoraient les différences existant dans chaque unité, pour laquelle ils représentaient une minorité.

financières que celles qu'on aura à la fin du stage militaire modifiaient leur statut social⁸. Nous pouvons ainsi tirer la conclusion qu'on se trouve dans la présence d'un processus d'aliénation d'un certain groupe humain.

Dans notre étude, nous n'analyserons que les inscriptions liées à l'activité de la V^e légion Macedonica, découvertes à Troesmis, vu qu'on y fait clairement mention à l'origine des légionnaires. Cette démarche a comme point de départ l'analyse historique des inscriptions, en continuant par l'explication, la description et l'identification des individus (en tant que personnes à part entière dans le cadre de l'armée romaine). D'une importance égale sera aussi l'analyse de la manière dont on pourrait intégrer ce type de recrutement dans la typologie déjà connue concernant l'Empire romain (les Gaules, les Germanies⁹), tout en soulignant les traits spécifiques à ce modèle.

La V^e légion Macedonica a résisté le long de toute son existence dans la zone danubienne, son nom se trouvant mentionné pour la première fois dans l'œuvre de Strabon¹⁰. Au cours des années 33-34 ap. J.-C., elle se trouve attestée pour la première fois à côté de la III^e légion Scythica, en tant que participante à la construction de la voie stratégique sur la rive droite du Danube¹¹. Même si l'on connaît certaines données sur les deux légions suivantes, la V^e légion Urbana et la V^e légion Gallica¹², légions qui pourraient être identiques avec la légion en question, il n'y a pas de témoignages sur les premières décennies d'existence de la légion qui nous intéresse. K. Strobel lie l'existence de la V^e légion Macedonica à celle de la V^e légion Urbana, la première étant renommée grâce aux services rendus pendant la guerre macédoine de 29-27 av. J.-C.¹³

Beaucoup plus tard, elle a été récompensée par l'empereur Commodus avec le titre de *pia fidelis* pour loyauté et fidélité, notamment

⁸ ALSTON 1995, 7.

⁹ STOLL 2006, 217-343; RICHIER 2004; BIRLEY 2006, 615-617; FAURE 2009, 137-167.

¹⁰ Strabon, *Geogr.*, 16, 2, 19.

¹¹ *CIL* III, 1698.

¹² MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 31. L. Keppie estime que la V^e légion Macedonica est la même que la V^e légion Gallica, tandis que K. Strobel considère cette hypothèse impossible, affirmant que les deux sont en fait distinctes.

¹³ FARNUM 2005, 19.

en 186 ap. J.-C., après la fin de la révolte de Maternus¹⁴. Une fois les guerres daces finies, la légion se verra transférée à Oescus, pour y revenir d'ailleurs de 271 à 388 ap. J.-C., et à Troesmis, pour y rester par intermittence jusqu'en 167 ap. J.-C., lorsqu'elle sera en cantonnement dans le castrum de Potaissa de Dacie inférieure. Son existence s'avérera durable vu qu'on en fera mention jusqu'au VI^e siècle ap. J.-C.¹⁵

A partir des inscriptions découvertes à Troesmis, on connaît les fonctions publiques occupées par les vétérans, comme celles, par exemple, de Lucius Lucinius Clemens¹⁶, ayant les charges de *quinquennalis canabensium* et de *decurio Troesmensium*, ou celle de Titus Flavius Alexander¹⁷ ayant la même charge de *quinquennalis canabensium*. On y rencontre aussi la charge de *magistri canabensium* tenue par C. Valerius Pudens¹⁸, P. Valerius Clemens¹⁹, tandis que le vétéran Tiberius Vitalis²⁰ va être *sacerdos provinciae*. Il est facile à remarquer que dans les inscriptions marquant la fonction du légionnaire après sa retraite il n'est pas fait mention du grade qu'il détenait au sein de la légion. On peut en conclure qu'il s'agissait de soldats de rang inférieur. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas la seule possibilité. Il se peut que les fonctions civiles marquées sur les inscriptions soient moins importantes que le grade militaire détenu.

L'une des inscriptions les plus importantes est celle concernant le vétéran Tiberius Claudius Ulpianus²¹, présentant une carrière militaire éminente, centurion de son état dans encore six légions à part la V^e légion Macedonica, notamment: la X^e légion Gemina, la IV^e légion Flavia, la XII^e légion Fulminata, la II^e légion Cyrenaica, la X^e légion Fretensis, la II^e légion Adiutrix. La carrière militaire de ce centurion originaire de Laodicée de Syrie est unique parmi les militaires dont le nom se trouve sur les inscriptions de la Dobroudja. Son enrôlement, tantôt dans une légion,

¹⁴ FARNUM 2005, 19.

¹⁵ FARNUM 2005, 19.

¹⁶ ISM V, 158.

¹⁷ ISM V, 155.

¹⁸ ISM V, 154.

¹⁹ ISM V, 156.

²⁰ ISM V, 194.

²¹ ISM V, 179; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 46.

tantôt dans une autre, pourrait représenter une promotion due à son activité, mais, en même temps, pourrait être lié au transfert des gouverneurs et légats des légions. Pour étayer cette affirmation nous nous servons de l'observation faite par Yann Le Bohec, d'après lequel être muté dans une autre unité militaire ou dans une autre province ne constituait pas obligatoirement un avancement, et que seulement l'appartenance à la première cohorte ou à la garnison de Rome pouvait être estimée comme une promotion à un grade supérieur²².

Sur les inscriptions découvertes à Troesmis apparaît aussi le nom d'un préfet des castres de la V^e légion Macedonica, Tiberius Veturius Mauretanus²³, inexistant sur d'autres inscriptions, originaire de Fundi, ville de Latium, dont les habitants appartenaient à la tribu Aemilia. Son nom avait été inscrit par *ordo Troesmensum* (le sénat du site civil de Troesmis), dans le laps de temps correspondant au cantonnement de cette légion dans cette province.

L'inscription dédiée à Lucius Lucinius Clemens²⁴ représente une véritable source d'informations concernant la charge de *quinquennalis* à Troesmis. Vétéran de la V^e légion Macedonica, il était originaire de Nikopolis (Nikopolis de Judée). Selon Iiro Kajanto, son cognomen fait partie de la catégorie des noms enregistrant des qualités mentales. C'est ainsi qu'un cognomen réunira l'espoir de chacun des parents dans le futur tempérament tendre de leur fils²⁵. L'éditeur de cette inscription a soutenu qu'il s'agissait de Nikopolis de Judée, lieu de stationnement pour la légion sous Vespasien et Titus. A la fin de son stage militaire, Licinius Clemens entrera dans la magistrature, autant au sein des *canabae* de la légion, que dans le site civil. Il sera le seul vétéran de la légion chez qui l'on constate cette dualité, être à la fois *quinquennalis* des *canabae* (magistrat accomplissant la charge de censeur) et *décurion* dans le site civil. L'inscription avait été édifée lorsqu'il avait commencé à exercer sa charge de *quinquennalis*. Sa femme, Licinia Veneria, avait le même *gentilicium*. Il

²² LE BOHEC 1990, 77.

²³ ISM V, 143; CIL III, 6 195 ; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 49.

²⁴ ISM V, 158.

²⁵ KAJANTO 1965, 66, 69.

est possible qu'elle ait été libérée par son mari ou ait eu la citoyenneté après la retraite de ce dernier²⁶. Ce titre de *quinquennalis* ne nous est parvenu avec certitude que dans les *canabae* de Troesmis²⁷.

Dans cette analyse nous ne saurions pas omettre le nom de Valerius Firmus (cognomen qui indique les qualités mentales de son propriétaire²⁸). Il était originaire de Nicée de Bithynie²⁹. Il est possible qu'après le retour de la légion, d'Orient à Troesmis, Firmus y soit arrivé avec toute sa famille et y soit resté même après sa retraite. Il avait été *custos armorum* (c'était lui le gardien de la clé de ce qu'on appelait *armamentarium*), appartenant à la catégorie dite des *principales*.

Un autre légionnaire dont on connaît l'origine certe a été Tiberius Claudius Priscus³⁰ (cognomen ayant un passé fameux si l'on se rapporte à Tarquinus Priscus³¹), recruté probablement comme les autres légionnaires d'origine orientale, soit pendant l'expédition de Trajan, soit pendant le règne de Hadrien. Il était originaire de Hemesa en Syrie. Il avait été probablement recruté à l'âge de 22 ans, lors de la participation de la légion à l'expédition part de Trajan ou à la guerre de Judée de Hadrien. Giovanni Forni inclut l'inscription dans la période Vespasien-Trajan³².

Toujours à Troesmis, on a découvert l'inscription portant le nom d'un certain Decimus³³ (cognomen se rapportant à la date de naissance, l'une des modalités latines les plus anciennes de nommer les enfants³⁴), de la tribu Claudia, originaire de Savaria (ville de Pannonie). La plaque funéraire y avait été placée par un autre centurion de la même légion et son héritier probablement, Valerius Pudens de son nom. Il est possible qu'il soit identique à ce Valerius Pudens dont le nom apparaît sur une

²⁶ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR 2005-2006, 212; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 56-57.

²⁷ APARASCHIVEI 2005-2006, 191.

²⁸ KAJANTO 1965, 68.

²⁹ ISM V, 196; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 36-57.

³⁰ ISM V, 178; CIL III, 7500; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 45-46.

³¹ KAJANTO 1965, 71.

³² FORNI 1953, 224.

³³ ISM V, 201; CIL III, 6 187, 6 193.

³⁴ KAJANTO 1965, 73.

autre inscription découverte à Troesmis, vétéran de la même légion et magistrat des *canabae*³⁵. Giovanni Forni propose comme lieux d'origine deux autres villes, notamment Novaria et Varvaria. Les citoyens de ces deux villes appartenant à la Regio XI Transpadana et à la Dalmatie s'inscrivaient aussi dans la tribu Claudia, de même que ceux de Savaria³⁶. L'inscription peut dater des premières années de l'arrivée de cette légion à Troesmis.

Deux des centurions de la légion sont originaires d'Oescus: le premier s'appelait C. Iulius Saturninus³⁷ (cognomen utilisé aussi par les notables républicains³⁸), tandis que pour le second on n'a malheureusement pas retenu son nom³⁹. Le lien entre les deux villes, Oescus et Troesmis, est démontré par l'intermédiaire des inscriptions et, implicitement, par l'existence des légionnaires originaires d'Oescus et stationnés à Troesmis. Il est probable que Saturninus a été recruté lors du stationnement de la légion dans le site. Il avait le grade d'*optio*, les *optiones* faisant partie des *principales*, grade précédé par celui de *tessararius* (transmetteur des ordres du commandant) et suivi par celui de *signifer*. A Oescus on a d'ailleurs découvert aussi une autre inscription appartenant à C. Iulius Celer, un autre vétéran de la même légion (cognomen faisant partie des noms suggérant la rapidité ou bien la lenteur, tous deux considérées traits de l'esprit et du corps)⁴⁰. Conformément aux études déjà réalisées, il est possible que tous deux aient fait partie de la même branche de la gens Iulia, dont les représentants avaient été recrutés dans la V^e légion Macedonica⁴¹. A Oescus toujours on a découvert une inscription sur G. Iulius Longinus (nom suggérant la hauteur), un autre vétéran de la

³⁵ ISM V, 154; CIL, III, 6 166; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 53.

³⁶ AE 1983, 879.

³⁷ ISM V, 188; CIL III, 6 190.

³⁸ KAJANTO 1965, 54, Saturninus comme Martialis étaient deux noms extrêmement communs en Afrique. Dans ce cognomen, le suffixe -inus/na garde sa signification d'origine: Saturninus = « qui appartient à Saturnus ». Ce nom semble avoir été utilisé aussi à l'époque du christianisme – par exemple, un évêque Saturninus.

³⁹ ISM V, 203; CIL III, 6 192.

⁴⁰ CIL III, 7428; ILB, 56; KAJANTO 1965, 66.

⁴¹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 386.

légion, originaire de Heraclée⁴². Certains ouvrages admettent la possibilité d'un lien de parenté entre celui-ci et Saturninus, ou, du moins, l'appartenance à une même branche familiale. De la sorte, on supposerait l'existence d'une origine orientale, Heraclée, en ce qui concerne le dernier, étant connue la tradition du recrutement des légionnaires dans la zone du Pont et de la Bithynie⁴³. Plus encore, on a remarqué le lien existant entre Saturninus et un autre vétéran de la V^e légion Macedonica, un certain Publius Scribonius Varus (dont le nom se trouve sur une inscription découverte à Oescus) originaire d'Éphèse⁴⁴. Il est possible que la femme de Saturninus, Scribonia Melitine (surnom grec), soit de la même famille que Scribonius⁴⁵. Ces inscriptions datent de la première moitié du II^e siècle ap. J.-C., lorsque Troesmis n'était pas encore devenue une ville, et lorsque les liens entre les villes étaient assurés par des militaires et leurs familles.

Parmi les vétérans remarquables de Troesmis, apparaît le nom des membres de certaines familles d'Ancyre. Une inscription qui date des années 151-154 ap. J.-C. fait mention du nom d'un certain Titus Flavius Alexander⁴⁶, vétéran de la légion, dont on retrouve le nom parmi les membres de la tribu Fabia d'Ancyre en Asie Mineure. Celui-ci fera élever un autel en l'honneur de Jupiter. En quittant l'armée, il va s'établir dans les *canabae* de Troesmis, s'assurant une bonne situation matérielle en tant que *quinquennalis*.

Un autre vétéran de la V^e légion Macedonica, originaire lui aussi d'Ancyre, s'appelle Caius Antistius Valens (l'un des surnoms les plus répandus, ayant la signification de force physique, obtenu par un adjectif à une seule terminaison)⁴⁷ de la tribu Fabia⁴⁸. Comme les autres, ce dernier aura dû être incorporé lors de l'expédition orientale de la légion pendant le règne de l'empereur Hadrien. D'après une inscription découverte à

⁴² ILB, 55; AE 1960, 128.

⁴³ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 386.

⁴⁴ ILB, 58; AE 1920, 108.

⁴⁵ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 386.

⁴⁶ ISM V, 155; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 43.

⁴⁷ KAJANTO 1965, 66.

⁴⁸ ISM V, 174; CIL, III, 6 184; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 42-43.

Troesmis et sur laquelle se retrouve le nom de son fils, Antistius Zoticus (nom grec), il s'y est établi avec sa famille⁴⁹. On suppose qu'après son stage militaire, il aura épousé l'une de ses esclaves, qu'il a affranchie. Il est plus que probable aussi qu'une partie, au moins, de la famille Antistia a trouvé ses origines dans les provinces celto-germaniques, et c'est à partir de là que ses membres se sont installés en Galatie⁵⁰.

Un autre personnage originaire d'Ancyre est C. Plancius [---]⁵¹, possible magistrat du territoire de Troesmis lorsque la V^e légion Macedonica se trouvait encore à Troesmis (l'inscription date de 163 ap. J.-C.). Vu que la légion y était stationnée, et que la construction élevée par ordre de C. Plancius était dédiée aux vétérans et aux citoyens romains des *canabae*, nous supposons que ce personnage était un vétéran de la légion. C. Egnatius Valens⁵² y apparaît en tant que vétéran et décurion de la ville (163 ap. J.-C.). Son fils était encore militaire actif dans la même légion. Comme la famille Antistia, les Egnatii apparaissent attestés aussi dans les provinces celto-germaniques, sans qu'on sache quand même lesquels des membres de cette famille sont parvenus finalement en Galatie. Les recherches démontrent que presque tous les vétérans appartenant à la V^e légion Macedonica et qui provenaient d'Ancyre faisaient partie de la tribu Fabia⁵³.

Mais les informations concernant les soldats de la région orientale de Mésie ne s'arrêtent pas là. L'une des familles originaires d'Amastris est celle de Titus Flavius Valens appartenant à la tribu Terentina, qui apparaît inscrit avec sa femme, son frère et sa belle-sœur. Dans une étude dédiée aux familles des pontobithyniens de Troesmis, Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba estime que Flavius Alexander, le frère de celui-ci, avait été soldat, tous les deux se trouvant réunis dans la même légion lors des recrutements d'Orient (lorsque des vexillations de la légion ont participé à la guerre

⁴⁹ ISM, V, 175.

⁵⁰ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR 2005, 333.

⁵¹ ISM V, 135; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 434-4.

⁵² ISM V, 183; CIL III, 6188.

⁵³ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR 2005, 335.

parthique de Trajan ou à celle de Judée du règne d'Hadrien)⁵⁴. La femme de Titus Flavius Valens s'appelait Marcia Basilissa. Ce nom apparaît encore dans une autre inscription à Troesmis, celui de la femme de Titus Valerius Marcianus⁵⁵, de la tribu Pollia, né dans le camp (il paraît que tous les soldats originaires des camps se trouvaient inscrits dans la tribu Pollia)⁵⁶. Marcianus était un vétéran de la légion et ancien *beneficiarius consularis*. Sous l'Empire, les *beneficarii* s'occupaient de problèmes administratifs. Normalement, quelqu'un occupait la haute place de *beneficiarius* après avoir servi comme *immunis*. Il paraît qu'après *honesta missio* de 170 ap. J.-C., Marcianus est rentré dans les *canabae* de Troesmis. À partir de cette inscription, on a estimé qu'à ce moment-là Troesmis n'avait pas encore acquis le titre de *municipium*, vu qu'après le transfert de la légion, les *canabae* continuaient d'exister. Sa femme, Marcia Basilissa (nom grec), avait acquis le titre honorifique de *mater dendrophorum*, en tant que prêtresse d'un collège de fidèles de Cybèle. Les études déjà effectuées donnent comme improbable l'explication selon laquelle les deux inscriptions concernant Marcia Basilissa se rapportent à une unique et même personne, trouvant comme explication le fait qu'il s'était agi de deux sœurs. On estime ainsi que Titus Flavius Valens a quitté Amastris en compagnie de sa femme, de son frère, Flavius Alexander et de sa femme, de même que de la sœur de cette dernière, la deuxième Marcia Basilissa laquelle, une fois arrivée à Troesmis, épouse Titus Valerius Marcianus (né dans les castres)⁵⁷. Les identités de gentilice et de surnom ne représentent pas quelque chose de nouveau pour les frères du monde romain, un exemple semblable se rencontrant toujours parmi les inscriptions de

⁵⁴ ISM V, 184; CIL III, 7501; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2008-2009, 18; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 31-4.

⁵⁵ ISM V, 160; KAJANTO 1965, 35.

⁵⁶ LE BOHEC 1990, 84-5. On a considéré que tous ceux qui provenaient des camps étaient des fils de soldats, donc nés dans les camps de la légion. A. Mócsy estime quand même que cette formule, *origo castris*, était une patrie fictive pour les jeunes qui, eux, avant d'entrée dans l'armée, avaient été des pèlerins, n'ayant pas le droit, de la sorte, de faire partie d'une légion. Il est possible que cette formule soit utilisée pendant le règne d'Hadrien se rapportant aux derniers naturalisés en date; VITTINGHOFF 1971, 299-318.

⁵⁷ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2008-2009, 20.

Troesmis, concernant deux autres soldats de la V^e légion Macedonica, originaires eux aussi d'Amastris, notamment Iulius Ponticus (recruté probablement à 18 et décédé à 32 ans), inscrit à côté de son frère, Iulius Ponticus, et deux Sentii Pontici (l'un vétéran et l'autre militaire actif au sein de la même légion)⁵⁸.

Une stèle funéraire ayant inscrit le nom de Publicia Cyrila, esclave libérée et femme de Publicius Niger (ce cognomen fait partie du groupe de cognomens liés aux particularités physiques⁵⁹), vétéran de la V^e légion Macedonica, nous offre des informations sur le possible lieu d'origine du légionnaire en question. Sa femme étant originaire de Bithynie, on penserait aisément à l'origine orientale de Publicius Niger. Ce qu'on appelle un gentilicium appartenant à ce Romain représente une construction typique pour un esclave libéré de la ville. Il est d'ailleurs bien possible que les deux époux aient été des esclaves libérés appartenant à la même communauté ou qu'ils soient provenus de familles de condition sociale égale.

On trouve des informations concernant l'expédition parthique sur la stèle funéraire de Valerius Valens, *miles* dans la V^e légion Macedonica, recruté à 29 ans, probablement en 162 ap. J.-C., décédé à 25 ans à cause de cette expédition parte⁶⁰. Le monument est élevé par son père, Iulius Dizzace, cognomen thrace. Nous estimons pouvoir attribuer à ce soldat une origine locale ou du moins danubienne.

Th. Mommsen arrive à la conclusion qu'il y a eu deux aires de recrutement, l'Orient et l'Occident, et que les principaux changements chronologiques ont eu lieu du temps de Vespasien, Hadrien et Septime Sévère. Après le règne d'Auguste, on enregistre un recul lent du nombre de soldats originaires de la Péninsule italienne⁶¹, recul enregistré aussi par

⁵⁸ *ISM V*, 186; *CIL III*, 7 502.

⁵⁹ *ISM V*, 192; *CIL III*, 7 503; KAJANTO, 1965, 64 ; MIHAILESCU-B}RLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 36.

⁶⁰ *ISM V*, 185, *CIL III*, 6 189; FILOW 1906, 75 ; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012, 58.

⁶¹ MANN 1983, 51. Mann estime qu'il y avait une politique centrale qui se préoccupait de la distribution de quelques Italiens dans chaque province.

Forni⁶², de même qu'une croissance progressive du nombre de non italiens en provenance des provinces sénatoriales riches, les plus romanisées et pacifiées: Gaule Narbonnaise, Bétique, Afrique et Macédoine⁶³.

Il faut souligner qu'il n'y avait pas une typologie du recrutement pouvant être appliquée à tout l'Empire, existant des variations régionales dues à des facteurs externes, comme, par exemple, les pertes causées par les guerres, lesquelles ont détruit et altéré la typologie de recrutement. La X^e légion Fretensis, qui avait subi de grosses pertes lors de la révolte des Hébreux entre 66-70 ap. J.-C., va recruter entre 68 et 69 ap. J.-C. un grand nombre d'Égyptiens, même si, généralement, on ne les recrutait pas pour servir au-delà des frontières de l'Égypte⁶⁴. Yann Le Bohec soutient qu'il faudrait interpréter avec prudence l'idée de la présence des étrangers dans une liste de militaires. Ceci pourrait être expliqué soit par un flux normal, soit comme un mouvement de forces exceptionnel, notamment : compléter les pertes subies après un conflit ou après la fin du service militaire d'un grand nombre de légionnaires, ce qui aurait amené d'autres recrutements massifs.

Au cours du II^e siècle ap. J.-C., on constate les signes d'une évolution, plus exactement, le passage du recrutement régional à celui local⁶⁵. A la fin du même siècle, on constate l'existence d'un grand nombre de soldats qui indiquent (comme lieu d'origine) *origo castris*. En même temps, quoique les Italiens ne soient pas disparus des provinces, le pourcentage les concernant est peu élevé⁶⁶.

En guise de conclusion, soulignons que la totalité des inscriptions ayant constitué l'objet de notre ouvrage fait partie de l'aire chronologique du II^e siècle ap. J.-C. Comme l'on observe dans le cadre de notre analyse, les personnes faisant partie des zones occidentales et centrales de l'Asie

⁶² FORNI 1953, 224.

⁶³ LE BOHEC 1990, 84; CAMPBELL 2002, 26.

⁶⁴ CAMPBELL 2002, 28.

⁶⁵ CAMPBELL 2002, 26 : La localisation du recrutement apparaît probablement dans les légions qui avaient des localités romanisées tout autour, elle apparaît ensuite dans les colonies romaines et, plus tard, dans les communautés militaires (*canabae* ou sites civils surgis autour des camps militaires).

⁶⁶ LE BOHEC 1990, 85.

mineure⁶⁷, surtout celles du Pont et de Bithynie, sont les plus nombreuses. Cela s'explique principalement par la proximité géographique, tout comme par les multiples relations existantes entre les deux zones. Dans la seconde moitié du II^e siècle ap. J.-C., en Mésie Inférieure a pénétré un grand nombre de personnes en provenance d'Asie Mineure. On y atteste une multitude de vétérans, la plupart originaires de Galatie et de Pont-Bithynie, provinces ayant une ancienne tradition concernant le recrutement. Roxana Curcă et Nelu Zugravu affirment, dans leur étude sur l'onomastique des Orientaux de la Dobroudja romaine, que les personnages en question ne sont pas des Orientaux par ethnie, mais par origine, eux, étant des Romains ou des Grecs assimilés du point de vue juridique ou des personnes de langue latine, intégrés du point de vue linguistique dans l'aire hellénophone⁶⁸.

En analysant les inscriptions consacrées aux légionnaires de la V^e légion Macedonica, jusque vers 86 ap. J.-C., se trouvant dans tout l'Empire, Florian Matei-Popescu arrive à la conclusion que sept soldats avaient été recrutés en Macédoine, deux ou trois dans la Péninsule italienne, deux en Asie mineure et encore huit soldats dont on ne connaît pas l'origine. L'auteur estime que dans cette période on observe la tendance des soldats originaires de Macédoine de lutter dans les légions de Mésie et de Dalmatie. Surtout concernant la période Auguste – Vespasien, on ne saurait pas affirmer la suprématie de l'élément italien dans la légion en question⁶⁹. On constate la même chose dans la liste établie par Forni, car deux seulement des légionnaires proviennent de l'Italie⁷⁰.

Cette proportion majoritaire des légionnaires provenus de la zone orientale de l'Empire s'explique si l'on considère le périple de la V^e légion Macedonica le long des décennies dans la zone orientale de l'Empire: la campagne orientale de Néron, la guerre de Judée, la guerre parthe de Trajan, la révolte des juifs du temps d'Hadrien, la guerre parthe de Lucius Verus. Il est certain que ces légionnaires faisaient partie des nouvelles

⁶⁷ CURCĂ, ZUGRAVU 2005, 326-327.

⁶⁸ CURCĂ, ZUGRAVU 2005, 328.

⁶⁹ MATEI POPESCU 2010, 43-44.

⁷⁰ FORNI 1953, 224.

recrues qui avaient complété les rangs de la légion fort affaiblie par les pertes subies durant ces luttes.

Sur les inscriptions découvertes à Troesmis, concernant des soldats et des vétérans de la V^e légion Macedonica, on rencontre le nom de quatre vétérans d'Ancyre (Galatie), deux d'Amastris, deux de Bithynie, deux de Syrie (Laodicée et Hemesa), un de Nikopolis de Judée, deux d'Oescus, un de Savaria (Pannonie)/Novaria (Regio XI Transpadana)/Varvaria (Dalmatie), un de Fundi-Latium, un légionnaire né dans les castres de la légion de Troesmis, tout comme un soldat ayant une origine locale. Vu que, avant son stationnement à Troesmis, la V^e légion Macedonica s'était trouvée en cantonnement à Oescus, il est possible que des fils de légionnaires nés dans les camps se soient ensuite enrôlés dans la même légion, ayant ainsi Oescus comme lieu d'origine.

Les deux légionnaires originaires de Mésie Inférieure pourraient représenter le début d'un processus de recrutement local, cependant, dans le stade présent de notre recherche, une acceptation ou une négation de ce phénomène, démontré pour d'autres provinces de l'Empire, seraient impossibles à établir. Ce qui est sûr c'est que nombre d'inscriptions apportent des preuves certaines d'une « self perpetuating military class »⁷¹, ainsi appelée par J. F. Gilliam.

Le stade présent de notre recherche (rien que l'analyse des inscriptions concernant la V^e légion Macedonica) ne permet pas d'offrir des conclusions définitives. On peut quand même constater l'existence d'un pourcentage élevé de soldats orientaux constituant la base d'une activité possible de recrutement local, et le nombre extrêmement bas de légionnaires italiques. Les recherches futures vont compléter les données obtenues jusqu'à présent, pour amener à l'établissement d'une typologie spécifique de recrutement pour toute la province Mésie Inférieure.

⁷¹ GILLIAM 1986, 284.

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Keywords : Aquileian families, Amber Route, Noricum, Roman trade.

Abstract: *During the late Republic and the early Principate, the area under the direct control of Rome expanded considerably beyond the Alps, including a large portion of the north-western Danube basin. The situation offered the Aquileian trading families new opportunities to extend their sphere of activity. In this period, Italic merchants, most of them coming from Aquileian families, settled in the Roman centres along the "Amber Route", establishing trade relationships with their hometown. The study of epigraphic evidence provides relevant elements in order to define the economic role of these families.*

Rezumat: *În perioada de sfârșit a Republicii și în cea de început a Principatului, zona aflată sub controlul Romei se mărește considerabil dincolo de Alpi, cuprinzând o arie mare a bazinului Dunării de nord-vest. Această situație oferă familiilor de negustori din Aquileia posibilitatea să-și extindă aria de activitate. În această perioadă, negustori italici, majoritatea din Aquileia, se stabilesc în centrele romane situate de-a lungul "drumului chihlimbarului", întemeind noi relații cu orașul de origine. Studiul evidenței epigrafice aduce în discuție elemente relevante pentru definirea rolului economic al acestor familii din Aquileia în regiunea dintre Alpi și Dunăre.*

In 181 BC, as Titus Livius writes³, the *triumviri Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus*, led about 3,000 *pedites*, infantrymen, and their families, mainly from central Italy, in the territory of the Veneti, an indigenous population of north-eastern Italy in good terms with Rome. There they

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³ Liv. 39, 54, 55; 40, 34.

founded the Latin right colony of Aquileia. Only few years before, between 186 and 183 BC, again according to Livius' narration⁴, large contingents of Transalpine Gauls, *Galli transgressi in Venetiam*, crossed the mountain passes of the Eastern Alps and attempted to settle in the easternmost corner of the Padanian Plain. The intruders were immediately dissuaded by means of Roman diplomacy, but the events brought to the Senate's attention the problem of gaining control of the eastern portion of the Alps, the easiest to cross, and ensuring protection from the Gallic tribes pressing from the north⁵.

Thus, in 181 BC the Latin colony of Aquileia was founded in the middle of what is now called Friulian plain, which extends from the southernmost slopes of the Eastern Alps to the northern shores of the Adriatic Sea. Thorough founding this *colonia* Rome claimed control on that portion of the Italian peninsula, with the clear intention of monitoring it and of dissuading future attempts by populations from the other side of the Alps from attempting to make their way and settle within the mountain range.

The city arose at some distance from the sea, close to the Natissa, a navigable river. It appeared immediately clear that the survival of the isolated Roman *colonia*, at the easternmost borders of the "Roman world", depended on its close connection with the other Roman centres of northern Italy. Thus the far away Aquileia played an important role in the subsequent road building plans which were put into effect in the second half of the 2nd century BC. Through the creation of an efficient road network, the Roman leadership intended to increase the connectedness and the cohesion between the Roman foundations north of the river Po, concurrently facilitating and accelerating the communications with central Italy and the *Urbs*.

In 148 BC the route of the *Via Postumia* was traced out, a main road which crossed the Padanian plain connecting Aquileia with Genua on the Tyrrhenian coast⁶. A few years later, in 131 BC, the *Via*

⁴ Liv., 39, 22.

⁵ SARTORI 1960.

⁶ ZACCARIA 1994, 52-53.

Annia followed, a road running along the Adriatic coast and connecting the foundations of Hatria, Padua, Altinum, Concordia and Aquileia⁷. Thus, at the end of the 2nd century BC, Aquileia lay at the north-eastern end of two important arterial roads: one leading into the western Cisalpine Gaul and the other one, into the Cispadane region and the rest of the peninsula⁸.

Very soon the strategic position of the settlement and its role in the Roman network system proved itself instrumental in the emergence of Aquileia's secondary function. The colony became the starting point for of any trade and commercial enterprise east and north of the Alps and for any attempt to extend Roman political and economic influence in Noricum and Pannonia.

Strabo's words seem particularly useful clarifying this: «Aquileia, which is nearest of all to the recess of the Gulf, was founded by the Romans as a fortress against the barbarians». A few lines below he states: «Aquileia has been given over as an emporium for those tribes of the Illyrians that live near the Ister (Danube river); the latter load on wagons and carry inland the products of the sea, and wine stored in wooden jars, and also olive-oil, whereas the former get in exchange slaves, cattle, and hides»⁹.

Strabo's words show clearly the dual nature of the Roman settlement: Aquileia was both a military outpost and an “*emporion*”, a trade centre looking towards the regions east and north of the Alps. Since the end of the 2nd century BC already, merchants and businessmen from all Italy began to settle in the city lured by the possibilities of profit provided by the increasing demand of Italic products from those Transalpine regions, which were gradually entering the Roman sphere of influence¹⁰.

⁷ According to traditional datings. Recently the 128 BC has been accepted: DONATI 2009.

⁸ PANCIERA 1976, 156-157; WINKLER 1977, 184-188; PAVAN 1987, 21-22.

⁹ Strabo, *Geogr.*, 5, 1, 8.

¹⁰ ZACCARIA 1989, 23.

The period of the late Republic (1st century BC) witnessed a substantial increase in the movement of goods between Aquileia and the regions north-east of the Alps. The situation had in that time radically changed from the scenario depicted by Strabo. Instead of waiting to meet foreign tradesmen in Aquileia, the Roman merchants began to move along the well known ancient transalpine routes, which had been used since prehistory times and through which amber from the Baltic reached the peninsula¹¹. They were in search of new, unexploited markets for their products and new and cheaper sources of raw materials for their manufacturing activities¹².

Several inscriptions corroborate in fact the presence outside the Alps of Roman tradesmen or commercial agents, members of prominent Aquileian or north-Italic *gentes*, or *servi* or *liberti* closely connected to those same families. The most striking case is the settlement of the Magdalensberg, close to today's Klagenfurt, the most important trading station of the *Regnum Norici*, an alpine kingdom, a friend and ally of the Romans which controlled the mountainous region lying just north of the Italic *X Regio*. Here the well known Aquileian *gens* of the *Barbii* was able to establish a near-monopoly gaining control of the supply of raw iron, which was sent south and simultaneously making large profits selling italic products to the local population¹³.

There far from the territory of the *colonia* Aquileia several inscriptions prove the presence of dozens of *Barbii*. Most of them were freedmen/*liberti* employed by the *gens'* leadership in Aquileia as local commercial agents, in charge of safeguarding the family's economic interests abroad and managing the trade and transport of goods to and from the Roman centre.

During the early Principate, the area under direct control of Rome expanded considerably beyond the Alps, including a large

¹¹ BUORA 2002, 42-43.

¹² ŠAŠEL 1981, 165-166; ŠAŠEL 1987, 149.

¹³ ŠAŠEL 1966, 117-137; PICCOTTINI 1990a, 74-87; PICCOTTINI 1990b, 288; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 1998, 283.

portion of the north western Danube basin as far as the main course of the river. The military conquest and pacification of Illyricum, in AD 6-9, offered the Aquileian trading families new opportunities to expand their sphere of activity. During this period, the volume of traffic and the number of Italic tradesmen involved increased significantly, along with the overall complexity of the trade network and the level of integration of foreign merchants in the new acquired territories¹⁴.

The Aquileian *gentes*' agents were of course among the first immigrants to settle in the new founded centres. By exporting Italic products, they promoted the Romanization of the indigenous social elites, ensuring at the same time a continuous supply of western products for the other Roman settlers and for the soldiers of the legions guarding the frontiers, and their families.

Sometimes, these Italic traders, in particular the freedmen, managed to become prominent figures in the new towns' societies, holding relevant political offices in the civic government of the new foundations where they had transferred their activity.

Very soon the Aquileian agents moved towards the Danube basin and the north-western Balkan peninsula, where the Roman provinces of Pannonia and Noricum were gradually taking shape. The remarkable economic interest stimulated by the routes and the regions east of the Alps is perfectly explained by a passage of Strabo¹⁵ : «the Odra (pass) is the lowest part of the Alps [...] through which the merchandise from Aquileia is conveyed in wagons to what is called Nauportus (over a road of not much more than four hundred stadia); from here, however, it is carried down by the rivers as far as the Ister and the districts in that part of the country». Thus, in an early period the key factor was the possibility of using the rivers Liubljanica, Sava and Danube to move the goods easily and quickly to very distant destinations.

¹⁴ ZACCARIA 1994, 53-55.

¹⁵ Strabo, *Geogr.*, 4, 6, 10.

From Aquileia, an important road led to the Danube basin region. It crossed the Alps at the Ocra pass, and headed eastwards, meeting the river Liubljanica near the town of Nauportus. Nauportus, today's Vrhnika, was a Roman *vicus* which was, according to Tacitus, granted an almost municipal autonomy. It arose from the half of the 1st century BC, when Roman territorial control began to include the region immediately east of the Alps. For some decades it was the last Roman trading post on the route going to the East. At Nauportus cargoes were transferred from waggons to boats and conveyed down the rivers *Emona* (Liubljanica) and *Savus* (Sava) and further downstream to the Danube¹⁶.

The few inscriptions, dated between the last decades of the Republic and the Augustan period found at Nauportus, confirm the interest of the Aquileian families, or of Italic families with strong connections with Aquileia, like the *gens Petronia*, the *Fabia* and the *Anneia* in the mercantile activity of the river station¹⁷. It seems evident that at Nauportus, during its few decades of existence, the most important local offices were held by men belonging to or closely connected with families which were prominent, rich and influent in contemporary Aquileia.

The town's important role did not last long. Tacitus in his *Annales* relates that during the turmoil in the region which followed Augustus' death in AD 14, the town was sacked by the military units stationed there and engaged in the construction of roads and bridges¹⁸. Very likely, what caused its economic decline was not the pillage by mutineering military units, but the building activities they were engaged in before the news of the *princeps*' death spread through the region.

Rufius Festus, in his *Breviarium Rerum Gestarum Populi Romani*, dates to precisely Augustus' last years the completion of the main

¹⁶ Tac., *Ann.*, 1, 10; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, 3, 22.

¹⁷ CIL III, 3776 – 3778; ŠAŠEL KOS 1990, 143-159.

¹⁸ Tac., *Ann.*, 1, 20; ŠAŠEL 1975/76 ; ŠAŠEL KOS 1990, 147-148; ZACCARIA 2007, 350.

road connecting Aquileia with Emona, the modern Lubijana, 15 miles east of Nauportus¹⁹.

After the pacification of Pannonia and Dalmatia and during the long period of peace which followed, the building of an efficient Roman road network reduced the volume of traffic along the rivers. The new land routes promoted the development of the settlements at strategic points where the main roads met. Emona was one of these settlements close to conjunction of several routes²⁰.

Emona was founded as a Roman *castrum* at the very beginning of the 1st century AD²¹. The importance of the city increased in the following years until it became a *colonia* under the emperor Claudius. As at Nauportus, also at Emona inscriptions demonstrate that many inhabitants in the very early phases of the city's life came from Aquileia and maintained strong bonds with their hometown.

Several members of the well known Aquileian *gens* of the *Caesernii* lived in Emona. *Titus Caesernius Diphilus* was a freedman, *sexvir* of Aquileia, buried in Emona²². Other members of the family are attested in later times, like the *T. Caesernius Ianuarius T. libertus*²³, *sevir* at Emona.

Well attested are also active individuals in Aquileia from republican times. *Lucius Marcius Philotimus*, from the *gens Marcia*, was *sevir* of Aquileia, but probably lived or conducted some activity in Emona²⁴. The freedman *Titus Vellius Onesimus*, who made a dedication to Diana, deserves a special attention. He was a *sevir* and *augustalis* in Emona, *sevir* in Aquileia and *augustalis* at Parenzium on the Dalmatian coast²⁵.

¹⁹ Fest., *Brev.*, 7.

²⁰ ŠASEL KOS 2011, 106-117.

²¹ PLESNICAR-GEC 1976, 120-121; ŠASEL KOS 1995, 231-233; ŠASEL KOS 2003, 11-19; ŠASEL KOS 2012, 79-104.

²² AIJ 176; ŠASEL 1960, 201-221; ŠASEL KOS 1998, 101-112; ŠASEL KOS 1998, 103; MRÁV 2001, 88-89; ŠASEL KOS 2012, 91.

²³ CIL III, 3850; ZACCARIA 1985, 114.

²⁴ CIL III, 10772; ZACCARIA 1985, 112.

²⁵ CIL III, 3836; 134- ŠASEL KOS 1999, 175-176.

Other Aquileian families attested in the Emona texts are the well known *Barbii*²⁶, the *Cantii*²⁷, the *Clodii*²⁸ and the *Dindii*²⁹. The inscriptions of Emona mention almost all the traditional and well documented Aquileian families, evidence of the strong connections between the leading classes of the two cities.

During Tiberius' and Claudius' rule, the importance of Emona increased. In the first half of the 1st century AD, the Roman leadership exerted great efforts to transform the territories of Pannonia and Regnum Noricum, the latter annexed in 15 BC, into provinces of the Roman Empire. Following the gradual deployment of the legionary units on the Danube, at the limits of the territory controlled by Rome, new roads were built with the purpose of connecting Italy with the extended frontiers. Closely associated with this new road network, new Roman settlements were founded in the provincial territory, facilitating the movement of citizens from Italy to the new urban centres.

Emona, the easternmost station on the eastward routes at the beginning of Tiberius' reign, found itself in a strategic position for an important role in the consolidation of the Roman presence throughout the eastern territories. Well connected with the middle Danube region through the Sava river, Emona lay at the starting points of the two most important "Amber routes", which connected Italy with the Danube river and had been used since Prehistoric times to transport the precious stones from the shores of the Baltic to the peninsula and the Mediterranean area³⁰.

One of these roads running along the Sava led to Siscia, Sirmium and the middle Danube. The second one headed northwards

²⁶ AIJ 165 = RINMS 28; ZACCARIA 1985, 113.

²⁷ CIL III, 3857 = AIJ 183; LEBER 1970, 500; FORNI 1989, 63; ZACCARIA 1985, 113; ZACCARIA 2004, 35, 46.

²⁸ CIL III, 3838 = AIJ 152; CIL III, 10769 = RNMS 38; CIL III, 14354 = RNMS 20; ZACCARIA 1985, 113.

²⁹ AIJ 158 = RINMS 18 = ILJug 316c ZACCARIA 1985, 114.

³⁰ Plin., *Nat. hist.*, 3, 146; Vell. Pat., 2, 109. 5; PÓCZY 1998, 161-168; ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, 21-42; SOPRONI 1990, 353.

towards the Claudian military base of Carnuntum³¹. It ran through regions which belonged to the kingdom of Noricum before the annexation of that state. In the middle of the 1st century AD, these territories were involved in the project of Romanization imposed via the creation of five new *municipia*, Aguntum, Teurnia, Virunum, Iuvavum and Celeia.

During Claudius' reign and even more, so under the Flavians up to the start of Trajan's rule, large military units began to be deployed closer to all the frontiers of the empire. On the Danube, Carnuntum arose as a military base in the early years of Claudius³², while at the end of this process, in AD 102/106 the new military base of Vindobona (Wien) hosted the legion *XIII Augusta* which moved there from Poetovio (Ptuj).

Pliny the Elder mentions the journey of exploration to the Baltic shores of a vaguely defined *equus romanus*, who was commissioned to procure amber by a certain Iulianus, an important man in Rome, in charge of gladiatorial games for the emperor Nero³³. The naturalist states clearly that the starting point of that expedition was the town of Carnuntum, where presumably the merchant again recrossed the Danube on his way back to Rome with his precious load. In the second half of the 1st century AD, Carnuntum was an important military base, but also the point where the most important trade route from Italy towards northern Europe left Roman territory. Surprisingly, the Amber Route from Aquileia to Carnuntum, despite its importance and the fact that it had been intensively used for centuries, became a Roman road only in later times, possibly between the end of the 1st century and the early years of the 2nd. The foundation policy inaugurated by Claudius and carried on by the Flavians in eastern Noricum along with the transfer of the legions, which usually left well formed and developed towns and triggered the formation of new urban realities in the places of their destination, resulted in a

³¹ Vell. Pat., 2, 109-110.1.

³² STIGLIZ, KANDLER, JOBST 1977, 583-730.

³³ Plin., *Nat., Hist.*, 37, 45.

series of towns at regular intervals along the entire Aquileia-Carnuntum Amber Route.

The merchants groups in Aquileia and Emona, the two main Italic centres on the Amber Route, and in particular the Aquileian families or the families connected with them, who were active, as seen, in both cities, were ready to exploit the possibilities offered by the new *municipia*. These families, as happened at Nauportus and Emona, extended their trading area along the Amber Route establishing trade offices and sending agents into the new towns in order enter the new markets and to maintain commercial contacts with the military units at the frontiers.

Celeia was one of the *municipia* created by Claudius in the newly acquired territories of Noricum³⁴. It was the first major centre east of Emona, on the road to Carnuntum and it seems to have been a prominent station on the route north, judging from the large number of milestones from the Roman road to Carnuntum which have been found in and around the city. The most ancient ones, for both for the Emona-Celeia and the Celeia-Poetovio sections, are dated to the very early years of Trajan's reign (AD 101/102)³⁵. Other inscriptions of the same typology mention other emperors of the 2nd century: Hadrian (AD 131/132)³⁶, Antoninus Pius (AD 142-145)³⁷ and Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (AD 161)³⁸.

These stones prove that the road was fully operational in the 2nd century AD, although some members of families of Italic and Aquileian origin had already settled and were already active in that *municipium*. A certain Decimus Castricius Verus Antonius Avitus was

³⁴ ALFÖLDY 1974, 90-93; LAZAR 2002.

³⁵ ILLPRON 1877 = IIJug 410; CIL III, 5732 = ILLPRON 1788; CIL III, 5738 = ILLPRON 1955 = RIS 370; WINKLER 1985, nn. 16, 23, 32; 46, 68-71.

³⁶ ILLPRON 1879 = IIJug 1197; CIL III, 5733 = ILLPRON 1789; WINKLER 1985, nn. 17, 24; 46-47, 68-71.

³⁷ CIL III, 5734 = ILLPRON 1790; ILLPRON 1880 = IIJug 1880; CIL III, 5743 = ILLPRON 1803 = RIS 373; WINKLER 1985, nn. 18, 25, 37; 47, 70-71.

³⁸ LOVENJAK 2004, 205-210; RATHMANN 2004, 185-187.

a young *decurio* of *Claudia Celeia*³⁹, probably during the Flavian period. In the thermal station of Rimske Toplice, on the road from Emona, a certain Saturius is documented. He was a *servus* of Decimus Castricius Sabinus, who was a man probably connected with the *decurio*'s family⁴⁰. Nearby, at the way station of Atrans/Trojane, a certain C. Castricius⁴¹ and a *servus* of a certain Castricius Marcellus⁴² are mentioned in the local inscriptions. The *Castricii* were a family of Italic origin. Some members of that *gens* were present in Aquileia⁴³ since republican times and in Iulium Carnicum⁴⁴. A *Ilvir* in another inscription from Celeia seems to be connected with a member of the *gens Trosia*, of which there is good evidence at Celeia⁴⁵, but also at Aquileia⁴⁶, Concordia⁴⁷ and Tergeste⁴⁸.

C. Atilius Secundianus is remembered as *aedilis* of Celeia⁴⁹. Other *Atilii* are documented in the Norican town⁵⁰, among them a certain Atilia Nigella, wife of P. Petronius P. f. Priscus, a man belonging to the tribe *Velina* and probably a citizen of Aquileia⁵¹. The *gens Atilia* itself is mentioned at Aquileia⁵² as well as at Concordia⁵³. There is much better evidence in Aquileia of the above mentioned *gens*

³⁹ CIL III, 5226 = ILLPRON 1686 = IlJug 400; ALFÖLDY 1974, 125.

⁴⁰ CIL III, 5152 = ILLPRON 1846.

⁴¹ CIL III, 5136 = ILLPRON 1939 = RINMS 109.

⁴² CIL III, 5137 = ILLPRON 1939 = RINMS 109.

⁴³ CIL V, 8360 = IA 978; IA 667; IA 3405; CALDERINI 1930, 480.

⁴⁴ CIL V, 1857, MAINARDIS 2008, n. 19, 111.

⁴⁵ CIL III, 5116, 13525 = ILLPRON 1850; CIL III, 5274a = ILLPRON 1724; CIL III, 11702 = ILLPRON 1743.

⁴⁶ CIL V, 750 = IA 120; CIL V, 830 mentioning a *sevir*; CIL V, 1419 = IA 1560; CIL V, 1422 = IA 1564; IA 69; IA 612; IA 1064; IA 1563; 2510; 3401; CALDERINI 1930, 181.

⁴⁷ CIL I², 2191 = V, 1890 = ILLRP 5472; LETTICH 1994, n. 32; 92-94; BROILO, n. 33.

⁴⁸ CIL V, 480; 639; 640.

⁴⁹ CIL III, 5225 = ILLPRON 1685. SCHERRER 2003, 36.

⁵⁰ CIL III, 5241 = ILLPRON 1698.

⁵¹ CIL III, 5259, 11693 = ILLPRON 1733.

⁵² CIL V, 1101 = IA 862; CIL V, 1102 = IA 863; CIL V, 1052 = IA 667; IA 2251; LETTICH 2003, 159.

⁵³ CIL V, 1308; LETTICH 1994, n. 80, 169.

Petronia. The most important members present in the late republican and 1st century inscriptions are a *decurio*⁵⁴, three *seviri*⁵⁵ and a *quattuorvir*⁵⁶. At Celeia, no less than eight *Petronii* are mentioned in four inscriptions including the above mentioned Atilia Nigella's husband from Aquileia⁵⁷.

The *Cassii*, a Roman *gens* which has spread far and wide, mentioned in Aquileia from republican times⁵⁸, were also present in Celeia and played an important role in the town's society, judging from the large number of epigraphic texts referring to them⁵⁹. Particularly interesting is a dedication to *Adsaluta* from a sacred area close to the bank of the Sava, made by C. Cassius Quietus, a man involved in the traffic of goods along the river⁶⁰.

Finally, the well known italic family of the *Postumii* is mentioned in two inscriptions from Celeia⁶¹. In both texts a *libertus* of a T. Postumius, possibly employed as a commercial agent for the *gens*, as it happened in the cases of Nauportus, Emona and Magdalensberg, is mentioned.

Leaving Celeia, the Amber Route headed west towards the centre of Poetovio and the crossing point of the river Drava. Founded by Tiberius as a military base, Poetovio remained military in nature until Trajan moved the legionary units to Vindobona, conferring on Poetovio the status of *Colonia Ulpia Traiana*, a settlement place for the

⁵⁴ CIL V, 1002 = IA 49

⁵⁵ CIL V, 8973 = IA 612; CIL V, 1003 = IA 613; CIL V, 1004 = IA 611.

⁵⁶ CIL V, 1001 = IA 526. BANDELLI 1988, 106; TASSAUX 2000, 380-381; LETTICH 2003, n. 41, 201-202.

⁵⁷ CIL III, 5191a = ILLPRON 1652-1653; CIL III, 5260 = ILLPRON 1713; CIL III, 5261 = ILLPRON 1714; CIL III, 5259, 11693 = ILLPRON 1733.

⁵⁸ CIL V, 8252 = IA 24. 159 479.

⁵⁹ CIL III, 13524 = ILLPRON 1747-1748 = ILS 8906; CIL III, 5247 = ILLPRON 1705; CIL III, 5249 = ILLPRON 1711; CIL III, 5188 = ILLPRON 1619; SCHERRER 2003, 24; VISOČNIK, 2008, 348.

CIL III, 5196 = ILLPRON 1657; CIL III, 11699 = ILLPRON 1739; CIL III, 14368 = ILLPRON 1754.

⁶⁰ CIL III, 11684 = ILLPRON 1859.

⁶¹ CIL III, 5266 = ILLPRON 1717; CIL III, 5251 = ILLPRON 1585 = AIJ 52.

veterans. A milestone and a building inscription are known from the town and its surroundings. They are both dated to Hadrian’s reign (AD 132)⁶² and probably belong to the Amber Route. Among the town’s inhabitants, not explicitly identified as soldiers or veterans, are mentioned some members of the *gentes Herennia*⁶³ and *Petronia*⁶⁴. There is a *decurio* belonging to the *gens Cassia*⁶⁵ and a second *decurio* belonging to the *Clodia*⁶⁶. In the second century, the inscriptions also show the emergence of the italic *gens Valeria* in the leadership of the new *colonia*, a social group probably already active in the 1st century AD⁶⁷.

After turning north and crossing the river Arrabo, the Amber Route reached the *colonia* of Savaria (Szombathely), where a fragment of a milestone has been found. The stone bearing unfortunately only the very bottom part of the inscription, reports the distance between Savaria and Rome. Given the explicit reference to the *Urbs*, it is very likely that this milestone was connected with the Amber Route road, at that time the most direct connection with Rome. It has been dated on a palaeographic basis to the last years of the 1st century or the early years of the 2nd one, and it is considered to be the most ancient milestone of the road ever found⁶⁸.

Savaria was another Claudian colonial foundation which arose on the site of an ancient Celtic settlement to become a colony of veterans⁶⁹. Here the role and the presence of Italic settlers from Emona

⁶² CIL III, 5744 = ILLPRON 1983 = RIS 370 WINKLER 1985, n. 43; 72-3; AIJ 361 concerns the construction of a bridge probably connected with the road.

⁶³ CIL III, 10884 = AIJ 397 = RIS 406. Attested in 1st century Aquileia: IA 516a-b; 703; 1162; AE 1996, 689.

⁶⁴ CIL III, 4018 = AIJ 285.

⁶⁵ AE 1986, 568: *T(itus) Cassius / Verinus dec(urio) col(oniae) Poet(ovionensium) praef(ectus) fabr(um) praef(ectus) / pro II vir(is) et Donna Maximilla con(iux) / pro salute T(iti) Cassi Severi fili(i)*.

⁶⁶ CIL III, 4022 = RIS 387.

⁶⁷ CIL III, 4028 = AIJ 280; CIL III, 4038 = AIJ 287 = ILS 7120; CIL III, 4045 = AIJ 341 = ILS 7304 = RIS 400; AIJ 279; 288,

⁶⁸ AE 2000, 1195; KOLB 2004, 151; KISS, SOSZTARITS 1996-1997, 111-113.

⁶⁹ FITZ 2003, 47-48; SOPRONI 1990, 351.

is more evident than in Celeia and Poetovio⁷⁰. An altar from the territory of Savaria (Ondód)⁷¹ is dedicated explicitly by the *Emonienses qui consistunt finibus Savariae*, to the deity *Aecorna Augusta*, a divinity who, as Marieta Šašel Kos demonstrated⁷², was closely connected with the river Ljubljana⁷³. Other inscriptions mention members of *gentes* traditionally connected with Aquileia. Tib. Barbius Tib. f. Valens, from the famous *gens Barbia*⁷⁴, who belonged to the Velina tribe, was a *decurio coloniae*, a *quaestor* and a *Ivir iure dicundo*⁷⁵. Some members of the well known Aquileian family of the *Caesernii*⁷⁶ along with a *Postumius libertus*⁷⁷ are also mentioned.

Moving north towards the Danube, the last major settlement before the route reached the right bank of the river was the town of Scarbantia (Sopron), a settlement that had existed already from the beginning of the 1st century AD and was made *municipium* by Domitian (AD 89-92)⁷⁸. Close to the road, at Kohfidisch, a milestone of Hadrian can be seen, which is very similar to the stones found in Celeia and Poetovio⁷⁹. At Scarbantia the family of the *Sextilii* is present⁸⁰. This was a north Italic *gens*, of which there is only later and scanty evidence at Aquileia⁸¹, but linked here with the famous Aquileian *gens* of the *Canii/Kanii*⁸².

⁷⁰ MÓCSY 1974, 76-78, 120-122.

⁷¹ RIU 135; KOVÁCS 1998, 100-120; ŠAŠEL KOS 2008, 689; ŠAŠEL KOS 2010, 218.

⁷² ŠAŠEL KOS 1996, 85-90.

⁷³ Other attestations in Nauportus: CIL III, 3776, 10719 = ILS 4876 = ILLRP 33 and Emona : CIL III, 3831 = AIJ 148 = ILS 4875a; CIL III, 3832 = AIJ 149 = ILS 4875b; CIL III, 3833 = AIJ 150 = ILS 4875c. For other attestations of settlers from Emona in Savaria CIL III, 4196 = RIU 57; CIL III, 10927 = RIU 60.

⁷⁴ ŠAŠEL 1966.

⁷⁵ CIL III, 4156 = RIU 14.

⁷⁶ CIL III, 4201 = RIU 131 = AIJ 177.

⁷⁷ CIL III, 4206 = RIU 58.

⁷⁸ SOPRONI 1990, 351-352; GÖMÖRI 2003.

⁷⁹ DRAGANITS, ROHATSCH, HERDITS 2008, 44.

⁸⁰ RIU 195.

⁸¹ CIL V, 1052 = IA 662; CIL V, 1379 = IA 736.

⁸² IA 201, 1224, 1269, 1567, 3280; CALDERINI 1930, 179.

C. Sextilius Senecius, *decurio Scarbantiae* and his family are buried together with a certain Kania Titi l. Urbana. The *gens Kania* is well known in Aquileia, where several *Titii C/Kanii* are mentioned. T. Canius T. l. Adrastus for example was a *sevir*⁸³ in Aquileia, while T. Kanius Ianuarius⁸⁴ was a priest of *Feronia* by republican times. The *gens C/Kania* seems to have been more important in the territory of Scarbantia than in the settlement itself. At Hegykő in fact, the two sons of T. Kanius T. l. Cinnamus dedicated a funeral monument to their father⁸⁵, stating explicitly that he was a *negotiator*, a merchant. In the same place, Canius M. f. Praesens and Canius M. f. Lucanus honoured their father with the words: *[Aug]ustali Cla(udia) [Sava]ria primo [decur]ion(i) Scarban(tia)*⁸⁶, probably a member of the leading classes in both those towns on the Amber Route. Another possible link between Aquileia, Savaria and Scarbantia is a 2nd century inscription found in Aquileia in which a certain L. Atilius L. l Saturninus⁸⁷ is remembered as a victim of bandits during his journey from his hometown Scarbantia. A possible relative bearing the same name is attested in the nearby town of Savaria⁸⁸. During the 2nd century, too, connections between Aquileia, Savaria and Scarbantia continue to be evidenced in the inscriptions⁸⁹. As a final example, the epigraphic texts from the territory of Scarbantia witness also the presence of members of the *Marcuseni*, a family from *Tergeste*⁹⁰.

This preliminary epigraphic survey excluded late 2nd century attestations and most of the texts explicitly referring to soldiers, veterans or state officers, that is to say all those men who were sent to

⁸³ IA 588 = CIL V, 978; CALDERINI 1930, 179; TASSAUX 2000, 378.

⁸⁴ IA 153 = CIL V, 755; IA 199 = CIL V, 8218; IA 200 = CIL V, 776 = ILS 3483; CALDERINI 1930, 179.

⁸⁵ RIU 221 = CIL III, 4250; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 1985, 253; PICCOTTINI 1990a, 85.

⁸⁶ RIU 222.

⁸⁷ IA 861 = ILS 8507; CALDERINI 1930, 70.

⁸⁸ CIL III, 4225, 10936.

⁸⁹ RIU 155; CIL V, 8336; AE 1953, 93; ILJug 1153.

⁹⁰ CIL V, 571, 616, 617 e 625; MÓCSY 1973, 207-213.

those areas on duty. This panoramic view nonetheless shows that, although the construction of the so called Amber Route road occurred only in the 2nd century, some north Italic trade groups, and in particular the Aquileian *gentes* and the merchants from Emona, were already active on the road, probably from the time of the reorganization of the territory of Noricum and western Pannonia, which took place under Claudius. Much more interesting is the fact that, apart from some sporadic cases of widely distributed *gentes* names, like the *Cassii*, the *Postumii* and the *Petronii*, the families, which can be more or less connected with Aquileia, seem to have been related to a precise town on the road: the *Castricii*, the *Atilii* and the *Trosii* to Celeia, the *Herenni*, the *Clodii* and the *Valerii* to Poetovio, the *Caesernii* and the *Barbii* to Savaria, and the *C/Kanii* to Scarbantia.

This distribution could suggest that along the road to Carnuntum the agents of each family involved in the traffic of goods established themselves in one of the four main centres along the road. Perhaps the business families divided the local markets among themselves. Another important element is the importance of the inhabitants of Emona along the route. They are explicitly mentioned in the case of Savaria, but there is nothing to exclude the possibility that the *Caesernii* and the *Barbii* mentioned in that same town or some of the other tradesmen active there or in other centres, could come from Emona rather than from Aquileia. This raises the question of the origins of the tradesmen belonging to the *gentes* attested both in Aquileia and Emona. It is possible, and likely due to the strategic importance of Emona in the middle of the 1st century AD, that the descendants of the Aquileian merchants and their *liberti* agents, who had settled in Emona at the very beginning of the 1st century AD or in the years immediately following the death of Augustus, later moved along the Amber Route from the today's Slovenian capital establishing their main base at Savaria.

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ASPECTS CONCERNANT L'ORGANISATION DES ASSOCIATIONS
PROFESSIONNELLES DANS L'EGYPTE HELLENISTIQUE ET ROMAIN.
RÈGLEMENTS STATUTAIRES

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Keywords: professional associations, Hellenistic Egypt, Roman Egypt, associations' status.

Abstract: *In this paper we set out to analyze the internal organization of professional associations based on statutory provisions. These statutes include information about how an association was founded, the terms on which different people could be admitted or could leave the group, the duties of the president, the identity of the members of the associations, the regulations regarding the conduct of the members, the mutual assistance given to members in difficulty, the payment of contributions to the functioning of the association, the joint payment of the fees for the right to exercise one's profession, attending meetings and banquets, as well as the coercive measures imposed on those who break the rules agreed on by statute. The analysis of associative structures based on statutory provisions proves that, in Egypt, these bodies functioned in the same manner even before the Greek and Roman rule.*

Resumé: *Dans notre étude nous envisageons une analyse centrée sur l'organisation interne des associations professionnelles, conformément aux dispositions statutaires. Nous discutons les informations sur la création d'une association, les conditions d'y être admis ou de quitter le groupe, les attributions du président, l'identité des membres de l'association, les réglementations concernant le comportement des membres, l'assistance mutuelle accordée aux membres en difficulté, le payement des cotisations pour le bon fonctionnement de l'association, le payement des taxes sur le droit d'exercer la profession, la participation aux réunions et banquets, ainsi que les mesures coercitives contre ceux qui ne respectaient pas les règlements établis de commun accord par le statut. L'analyse des structures associatives à base des dispositions statutaires relève qu'en Egypte ces corps ont existé et fonctionné de la même manière bien avant la domination des Grecs et des Romains.*

Rezumat: *În lucrarea de față ne-am propus o analiză a organizării interne a asociațiilor profesionale efectuată pe baza prevederilor statutare. Aceste statute cuprind informații*

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despre modul în care se fondează o asociație, condițiile în care diferite persoane puteau fi admise sau părăsi grupul, atribuțiile președintelui, identitatea membrilor asociațiilor, reglementările privind conduita membrilor, asistența mutuală acordată membrilor aflați în impas, plata cotizațiilor pentru funcționarea asociației, plata în comun a taxelor pentru dreptul de exercitare al meseriei, participarea la întruniri și banchete, precum și măsurile coercitive aplicate celor care încălcau regulile stabilite de comun acord prin statut. Analiza structurilor asociative pe baza prevederilor statutare demonstrează că în Egipt aceste corpuri au existat și au funcționat în aceeași manieră încă dinaintea stăpânirii grecilor și romanilor.

On dispose d'excellentes informations concernant l'organisation interne des structures associatives, informations qui se trouvent dans leur statut. Les statuts des associations gréco-romaines (*νόμοι*, *lex collegii*, *decretum*, *pactio* ou *conventio*) sont envisagés comme des contrats conclus volontairement entre les membres, en vertu de leur propre consensus et à caractère obligatoire, après avoir été approuvés². Le style de ces documents est assez protocolaire et reflète l'accord et l'égalité entre les partenaires qui décident de travailler ensemble.

Il y a eu de nombreuses polémiques concernant, d'une part, l'aspect volontaire de la création des associations et les droits égaux de ses membres et, d'autre part, la continuité des éléments traditionnels égyptiens sous la domination grecque et romaine³. C'est pourquoi nous nous limiterons dans notre travail à l'étude des dispositions législatives prévues dans les statuts des associations provenant de l'Égypte hellénistique et romain et nous éviterons, si possible, d'extrapoler sur les dispositions des statuts appartenant à des associations situées dans d'autres zones, donc nous éviterons d'imiter San Nicolo, qui a publié son livre sur les guildes égyptiennes, il y a presque un siècle⁴.

Cependant, ont été publiés les statuts grecs de la période lagide et romaine et un autre statut de la période byzantine⁵, qui se trouvent dans

² TAUBENSCHLAG 1950, 509.

³ PRÉAUX 1948, 192 *sqq.*

⁴ SAN NICOLO 1972, deuxième édition, II, 16 *sqq.*

⁵ P.S.I. XII 1265, voir NORSA 1937, 1-7.

les collections de Michigan⁶ et de Londres⁷. En plus, on a publié les statuts écrits en démotique dans les collections de Berlin⁸, Caire, Lille, Hambourg et Prague⁹.

La plus grande partie de ces statuts conserve des règles concernant : l'élection du président, les taxes, le nombre de membres, la préparation des réunions ou des assemblées générales, les banquets mensuels, les revenus et les dépenses, les normes de comportement et de conduite, l'assistance accordée aux membres défavorisés, les règlements concernant le décès d'un membre et l'organisation des funérailles, ainsi que les amendes pour ceux qui ne respectent pas les dispositions du statut décidées à la création de l'association. Tous ces documents apportent des informations concernant les membres de l'association, leur âge, la localité où ils habitent, le nombre des membres ainsi que les conditions dans lesquelles ils ont quitté la structure associative. Nous précisons que dans les statuts analysés¹⁰ nous n'avons pas trouvé de règlements complets.

Les statuts des associations contiennent le plus souvent le lieu et la date exacte des réunions. Malheureusement, il y a quelques-uns qui n'englobent pas ce type d'informations, à cause de la détérioration des morceaux entiers de papyrus. En revanche, on peut approximer la date de la rédaction par l'intermédiaire d'autres éléments, tels que les années de règne des rois ou des empereurs auxquels on apportait des offrandes et

⁶ P. Mich. V 243 (pendant le règne de Tiberius), P. Mich. V 244 (43 ap. J.-C.); P. Mich. V 245 (47 ap. J.-C.); P. Mich. V 246 (milieu du I^{er} siècle, ap. J.-C.); P. Mich. V 247 (I^{er} siècle, ap. J.-C.); P. Mich. V 248 (début du I^{er} siècle, après J.C), publiés en P. Mich. V, 99-120; voir aussi BOAK 1937a, 210-219; BOAK 1937b, 212-220, ainsi que les excellents commentaires sur ces statuts appartenant à PRÉAUX 1948, p. 189-198.

⁷ P. Lond. 2710 (69- 58 av. J.-C.), voir ROBERTS, SKEAT, NOCK 1936, 39-88.

⁸ DE CENIVAL 1972, 103 *sqq.*

⁹ DE CENIVAL 1972, *passim.*

¹⁰ Il s'agit des statuts des associations religieuses des natifs égyptiens écrits en démotique: P. dem. Lille I, 29 (224-223 av. J.-C.); P. dem. Caire 30605 (145 av. J.-C.); P. dem. Caire 30606 (158-157 av. J.-C.); P. dem. Caire 30619 a, P. dem. Caire 30619 b (138-137 av. J.-C.); P. dem. Caire 31178 (180-179 av. J.-C.); P. dem. Caire 31179 (148-147 av. J.-C.); P. Berlin 3115 (110-108 av. J.-C.); P. Prague (138-137 av. J.-C.); P. Magdola(?).

des sacrifices, étant considérés comme des protecteurs divins de l'association :

L'an 24, mois de Méchir, du roi P[tolémée], vivant éternellement, fils de Ptolémé[e] et d'Arsinoë, les dieux Adelphe (...). « Nous sommes] d'accord pour les appliquer [au lieu] susdit¹¹.

(P. dem. Lille I 29)

L'an 2, mois de Tybi, des [rois] Cléopâtre, [la] mère, [la déesse] Épiphane et Ptolémée, fils de Ptoléméé, le dieu Épiphane... « Nous sommes d'accord pour tenir l'assemblée sur le dromos du temple de [...] et de la neuvaine....(dans) le village Arsinoë, méris de Themistès, (dans) le nome arsinoite¹².

(P. dem. Caire 31178)

*L'an 24 mois de Meso[ré, des rois] Ptolémée et Clé[o]pâtre (...)
Règlement qu'ont adopté les membres de l'[association]et le chef de la troupe (des fidèles) du crocodile qui tiennent assemblée [devant Sebek] et les dieux (de) Se[be]k, dans le cimetière du crocodile du village de Sebek Tebtynis, dans la méris de Polémon et le nome arsinoite...¹³*

(P. dem. Caire 30606)

la troisième année (du règne) de Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, (...), à Tebtynis, dans l'arrondissement Polemon de « noma » Arsinoite¹⁴.

(P. Mich. V 244)

¹¹ Sacerdotes, membres d'une association appartenant au temple de Horus de Bechedet, village Sebeck Pisai, du *meris* (arrondissement) Themistes, *noma* Arsinoite, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, p. 3.

¹² Cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 39.

¹³ DE CENIVAL 1972, 45. Il semble que la même association et le même endroit, mais à des dates différentes, soit présents aussi en P. Hamb. I, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 59 *sqq.*; P. dem. Caire 31179, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 63 *sq.*; P. dem. Caire 30605, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 73; P. dem. Caire 30619, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 93 *sqq.* et P. Prague, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 83 *sq.*

¹⁴ Seul P. Mich. V 245 mentionne la date: « la septième année (du règne) de Tiberius »; les autres n'ont pas la même chance.

1. Approbation des statuts

L'approbation du statut d'une association, quelle qu'elle soit, avait lieu au cadre d'une cérémonie solennelle¹⁵ et, grâce à l'accord de création, on établissait des règles qui devenaient obligatoires pour tous les membres. Le statut exprimait la volonté des personnes associées, comme le montre les formules des textes démotiques : *nous appliquerons...*¹⁶, *nous ferons...*¹⁷.

Les textes grecs de l'Égypte, démontrent l'expression de la même volonté des membres de la guilde :

*Le statut (νόμος = loi), créé en commun par tous ceux appartenant à l'association du tout-puissant Zeus, devrait être primordiale. Conformément à ses dispositions...*¹⁸. (P. Lond. 2710, 3-5.)

*nous nous sommes réunis, nous, les soussignés, hommes de Tebtunys (...) qui avons voté à l'unanimité (...)*¹⁹

(P. Mich. V 244, 2-4)

*nous, les soussignés, hommes, commerçants de sel de Tebtunys, nous nous sommes réunis et nous avons décidé de commun accord...*²⁰.

(P. Mich. 245, 2-4.)

Cette modalité de valider le statut d'une association met en évidence que les statuts des associations égyptiennes ne sont que des contrats privés dont la validité dépend de la volonté et du consensus de ses membres et leurs règlements d'exécution sont appliqués en accord avec les principes du droit privé²¹.

¹⁵ DE ROBERTIS 1981, 65.

¹⁶ P. dem. Lille I 29, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 3; P. dem. Caire 31178, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 39; P. Prague, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 83.

¹⁷ *Nous appliquerons..., nous donnerons nos cotisations chaque mois..., nous ferons les holocaustes et les offrandes des rois..., nous créerons une ration e livraison pour chacun de nous..., nous boirons de la bière etc.*, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, p. 3 sq, p. 39, sq, p. 45 sq, 59 sq, p. 64 sq, p. 74 sq, p. 94 sq, p. 83 sq.

¹⁸ Cf. ROBERTS, SKEAT, NOCK 1936, 41.

¹⁹ Cf. SCHNÖCKEL 2006, 112.

²⁰ Cf. SCHNÖCKEL 2006, 115.

²¹ BOAK 1937b, 220.

En conclusion, on constate que dans les structures associatives il y a plus de démocratie que dans les organismes civiques, comme le montre les dispositions législatives, où tout est accepté en commun accord par tous les membres²².

2. La validité de l'application des statuts

La durée du contrat, la validité du règlement du statut et, bien sûr, du fonctionnement de l'association était d'un an²³, par suite des dispositions des statuts démotiques et grecs de l'Égypte :

A partir de l'an [24, mois de Mé]chir (?), jusqu'à l'an 25, mois de Méchir, 30 jour, ce qui fait un an, soit 12 mois

(P. Lille 29)

[« Nous l'appliquerons à partir de] l'an 24, mois de Mesorè, jusqu'à l'an 25, mois de Mesorè, soit un an, soit 12 mois(...), [soit] encore un an, dissant tout ensemble ²⁴.

(P. dem. Caire 30606)

Copie du règlement [qu]'ont adopté les membres de l'association d'...inscrite ci-dessous, tenant assemblée dans les temples nommés, depuis l'an 3, mois Pharmouthi, jour 15, jusqu'à l'an 4, mois Pharmouthi jour 16, soit 12 mois 1/6, disant tous ensembles²⁵.

(P. dem. Caire 30619)

on a élu d'abord le président, Petesouchos, fils de Teephbennis (...) pour un an, depuis le mois et le jour mentionnés ci-dessus²⁶.

(P. Lond. 2710, 5-6)

pour être président pendant une année²⁷.

²² VERBOVEN 2007, 26.

²³ Excepté P. Berlin 3115, mais entre les textes a, c, d, il y a une période d'une année, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 146.

²⁴ Dans P. dem. Caire 30606, P. Hamb. I, P. dem. Caire 31179, P. dem. Caire 30605, où l'on précise la possibilité de prolonger le contrat encore pour une année, après avoir obtenu l'accord des membres, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 45 sqq., 60, 64.

²⁵ Cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 93; voir aussi P. Prague, 84.

²⁶ ROBERTS, SKEAT, NOCK 1936, 41.

(P. Mich. V 244)

Le caractère annuel de la validité du statut et de l'élection du président de la guilde ne présente aucune considération religieuse²⁸ ; on pourrait l'expliquer par la nécessité de transmettre vers l'administration des rapports annuels²⁹ concernant l'administration des temples et des affaires.

L'inventaire annuel des matériaux³⁰ et des moyens de production a constitué une pratique habituelle en Égypte, donc le renouvellement annuel des contrats des associations a, évidemment, une explication économique et également juridique.

Les documents démontrent que la validité d'un an se maintient aussi sous la domination romaine, mais pourtant, rien ne les empêche de mettre leurs intérêts en commun les années suivantes³¹.

3. Attributions du président

Le président élu par les membres de l'association pendant de la réunion spéciale de création de la guilde³² est une personne avec autorité, qui est respectée et votée en unanimité par les membres de la guilde. Il semble que le principe de la majorité ne soit pas connu, car les documents écrits en démotique ainsi de ceux écrits en langue grecque suggèrent la volonté unanime des membres³³.

Nous considérons que le nombre réduit des membres appartenant à la même guilde d'artisans ou de commerçants rend leur cohésion plus

²⁷ PRÉAUX 1948, 190; voir aussi P. Mich. V 244, 107; Boak 1937, 218. Toujours une année chez P. Mich. V 245, 114 et P. Mich. V 243, 99.

²⁸ DE CENIVAL 1972, 147.

²⁹ Chrest. Wilck. 96 = P. Tebt. II 298, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 147, note 3.

³⁰ DE CENIVAL 1972, 147.

³¹ Le renouvellement du contrat d'association dans les années qui suivent dépend de la volonté des membres de la guilde, cf. BOAK 1937b, 213.

³² DE CENIVAL 1972, 148.

³³ Les textes stipulent clairement ce principe d'unanimité, même si DE CENIVAL 1972, 147, considère qu'on pourrait appliquer le vote majoritaire sans maintenir cette application dans le statut.

étroite en raison de leurs intérêts communs, ce qui les détermine de prendre les décisions en unanimité.

Décidant en conformité avec les dispositions, ils ont élu d'abord Petesouchos, fils de Teephbennis, comme président ; c'est l'un d'entre eux, digne de sa position dans la société, élu pour un an depuis le mois et le jour mentionnés³⁴.

(P. Lond. 2710, 5-7)

Nous, les soussignés, hommes, marchands de sel de Tebtunys, réunis, nous avons décidé ensemble, de commun accord, d'élire l'un d'entre nous, homme bon, Apunchis, fils d'Orseus, comme surveillant et aussi percepteur publique pour la future huitième année (de règne) de Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator et le même Apunchis comme percepteur publique pour la même commerce et pour la future année³⁵.

(P. Mich. V 245, 3-8)

on vote en unanimité l'élection de l'un d'entre nous, un homme excellent, Kronion, fils d'Hrodes, comme président pour une année³⁶.

(P. Mich. V 244, 4- 5)

nous avons élu comme président (...) Heron, fils d'Orseus³⁷

(P. Mich. V 243, 1)

Dans les statuts démotiques des associations, le rôle de chef était joué par *mr šn*, personnage qui dirigeait les temples et avait la mission d'examineur³⁸. Dans P. dem. Lille I 29, la hiérarchie est mise en évidence par la position occupée des croyants qui accompagnaient le faucon sacré au cours de la procession³⁹.

Nous escorterons (litt. : « ferns parvenir ») le faucon [...] le « supérieurs du faucon » et le reste des « supérieurs » de la « maisons », tous ensembles⁴⁰.

³⁴ ROBERTS, SKEAT, NOCK 1936, 41.

³⁵ P. Mich. V 245, 114; BOAK 1937a, 218; SCHNÖCKEL 2006, 115 sq.

³⁶ P. Mich. V 244, 107; SCHNÖCKEL 2006, 112.

³⁷ P. Mich. V 243, 56; SCHNÖCKEL 2006, 108.

³⁸ DE CENIVAL 1972, 154.

³⁹ Association des croyants de Horus, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 153.

⁴⁰ DE CENIVAL 1972, 6.

Un autre terme employé est celui de chef des croyants (*mr šn*), ou celui de « supérieur du faucon » (*wr bjk*), suivi du « second » (*p ; mh-2*), le deuxième dans la hiérarchie après *mr šn* ou *mr mš*⁴¹.

Dans le même statut on mentionne aussi les sacerdotesses (*hm-w ntr*), les récitants ou les hérauts (*hm-w ntr*), d'autres divinités vénérées dans le temple, à côté de la divinité principale⁴².

Les dirigeants des associations avaient des noms différents dans les statuts grecs et on employait parfois des termes différents pour désigner le président⁴³ de la même guilde. Ainsi, le terme ἐπιμελητής⁴⁴ est employé dans certaines guildes à côté de ἡγούμενοι⁴⁵, κεφαλαιωτής⁴⁶, προστάτης⁴⁷ ou τραπεζίται⁴⁸, ce qui signifie qu'au début de la principauté on ne faisait pas une réelle distinction entre les termes employés⁴⁹.

Le président, qui détenait le pouvoir exécutif⁵⁰, avait l'obligation de surveiller que les membres accomplissent les obligations assumées par le statut⁵¹. Ainsi il surveillait le paiement mensuel des cotisations ou des taxes occasionnelles établies de commun accord par tous les membres, le paiement des amendes pour défaut de se conformer aux réglementations fixées par le statut et la collecte des cotisations, dues par le statut, pour le

⁴¹ DE CENIVAL 1972, 153 *sqq.*

⁴² Voir d'autres fonctions détenues dans le cadre des associations professionnelles des sacerdotesses égyptiennes, (grands sacerdotesses, les chefs de l'association, le conseil des « sages », les menus sacerdotesses, le représentant de la police locale qui avait la mission de garder le temple, le percepteur public etc.), cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 153- 162.

⁴³ Nous employons ce terme dans son acception étymologique, cf. lat. *praesidis* = celui qui est en tête, dirigeant, surveillant, gardien, voir GUṬU 2007, 461.

⁴⁴ P. Mich. V 244, 4 și P. Mich.V 245, 5.

⁴⁵ P. Mich. V 244, 21, 45; P. Mich. V 245, 43; P. Lond. 2710, 6.

⁴⁶ P. Mich. V 244, 16.

⁴⁷ P. Mich.V 243, 3; 17.

⁴⁸ P. S. I. XII 1265, 6, 8, 9, 13.

⁴⁹ BOAK 1937b, 213.

⁵⁰ Dans la guilde des croyants de Zeus Hypsistos (69-58 av. J.-C), le président a un assistant, personnage présent dans les associations des natifs égyptiens dans l'époque lagide, cf. BOAK 1937b, 214; P. Lond. 2710, 11.

⁵¹ BOAK 1937b, 214.

bon fonctionnement de la guilde. Le statut l'obligeait aussi de préparer le banquet mensuel et de fournir la bière ou le vin pour les fêtes mensuelles. Il avait aussi le pouvoir de saisir les biens des débiteurs ou de retenir le débiteur pour le faire arrêter par les autorités.

Le président recueille les fonds monétaires, surveille l'accomplissement des obligations fiscales envers l'Etat, les taxes pour le monopole qu'ils louaient ou pour les quatre droits d'exercer le métier⁵².

Nous avons décidé ensemble, de commun accord, d'élire l'un d'entre nous, un homme bon, Apunchis, fils d'Orseus, comme surveillant et aussi comme percepteur public pour la future huitième année de Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator et le même Apunchis de recueillir toutes les taxes publiques pour le même commerce, pour la même année qui va venir (...).

Si quelqu'un ne réussit pas payer ses dettes ou ne peut pas accomplir une de ses obligations publiques ou toute une autre chose qu'on lui demande, on permettra au même Apunchis de l'arrêter dans la rue, dans sa maison ou dans les champs pour enseigner les « prostas »⁵³.

(P. Mich. V 245, 4-8; 39-42)

Les mêmes dispositions concernant les mauvais payeurs sont prévues aussi dans les statuts démotiques des associations religieuses⁵⁴, le président ayant le droit d'obliger ses membres à payer toutes les taxes à la guilde ou à l'Etat, par la confiscation des biens ou par l'arrêt des personnes.

4. Membres de l'association

Pour être membre des associations professionnelles égyptiennes, il fallait exercer la même profession et appartenir à une communauté. Les statuts des associations de l'Égypte fournissent des informations sur les membres, car on y trouve des renseignements concernant leur âge, leurs signes particuliers, leurs études. Le plus souvent on trouve joint à la fin du

⁵² P. Mich. V 245, 5-9; P. Mich. V 244, 6-7; P. S. I. XII, 1265, 1, 6.

⁵³ P. Mich. V 245, 114 sqq.; BOAK 1937a, 218 sqq.

⁵⁴ P. dem. Lille I 29, 21-22; P. dem. Caire 30605, 6-8; P. dem. Caire 30606, 7-8; P. dem. Caire 30619 a+b, 5-6; P. dem. Caire 31179, 7-8.

contrat de l'association la liste contenant les membres et leur signature⁵⁵. F. de Cenival conteste que dans les listes des statuts démotiques seraient inscrits tous les membres d'une association⁵⁶, car les membres qui savaient écrire pouvaient signer à la place des illettrés. Cet aspect paraît être invalidé par les statuts de deux guildes pendant le règne de Tiberius⁵⁷ ; il est très probable que l'administration romaine a imposé que tous les membres soient inscrits dans le contrat avec l'accord de ceux illettrés.

4.1. Âge des membres

On ne spécifie nulle part l'âge pour qu'une personne soit admise dans une association, excepté le statut de P. dem. Berlin 3115a qui comprend les sacerdotés qui surveillaient la nécropole de Djeme⁵⁸.

Tout homme au monde qui passera 10 ans parmi les coachytes, on devra l'introduire à l'association d'Amon Opet.

(P. dem. Berlin 3115a)

Les statuts écrits en langue grecque offrent des informations intéressantes sur l'âge des membres, sans que cet aspect soit précisé dans les statuts des associations professionnelles des sacerdotés, écrits en démotique.

Si dans le statut de P. Mich. V 243 est inscrit l'âge des premiers quatre membres, en échange, dans les autres statuts écrits en langue grecque, même dans ceux partiels⁵⁹, on trouve, à côté de l'âge, d'autres identificateurs, par exemple la descendance, les signes particuliers et les éventuels surnoms.

L'âge des membres se situe entre 29 et 55 ans, ce qui démontre que les associations professionnelles accueilleraient les meilleurs artisans et commerçants, reconnus dans leur communauté pour leur professionnalisme, capables de contracter des travaux et de verser à l'État

⁵⁵ P. Prague, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 90.

⁵⁶ P. Prague, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 90.

⁵⁷ P. Mich. V 246; P. Mich. V 247; P. Mich. V 248.

⁵⁸ DE CENIVAL 1972, 103.

⁵⁹ P. Mich. V 246; P. Mich. V 247; P. Mich. V 248.

des sommes importantes en avance pour louer le droit exclusif de faire le commerce ou de contrôler la production d'un certain produit. Ils embauchaient des travailleurs spécialisés pour une certaine période et honoraient les commandes faites par les particuliers ou par l'Etat ; ils respectaient la quantité et garantissaient la qualité des produits manufacturés par leurs propres biens⁶⁰.

Voilà des informations concernant les membres. Elles sont fournies par les statuts des associations écrits en grec et datant de la période romaine:

Herakleios, fils d'Aphrodisios, environ 42 ans, une cicatrice entre les sourcils.

Orses, fils de Kronides, presque 45 ans, une cicatrice à un sourcil.

Mieus, fils d'Harmiusis, presque 46 ans, une cicatrice sur la joue gauche.

Harmiusis, fils de Phasos, environ 55 ans, une cicatrice sur (...) droit(e).

Moi, Heron, fils d'Orseus, président, j'ai approuvé (le statut) comme convenu ci-dessus.

Moi, Sotherichos, fils de Sotherichos, je suis d'accord.

Moi, Patron, fils de Patunis, je suis d'accord.

Moi, Herodes, fils de Sotherichos, je suis d'accord.

Moi, Psenobastis, fils d'Herodes, je suis d'accord.

Moi, Herodes, fils d'Herodes, nommé aussi Isidorus, je suis d'accord.

Moi, Osenouphis, fils d'Harmiusis, je suis d'accord.

Moi, Apollonios, fils d'Apollonios, je suis d'accord.

Nous, Herakles, fils d'Aphrodisios, et Harmiusis, fils de Phasos, et Orses, fils de Kronides, et Mieus, fils d'Harmiusis, nous sommes d'accord, comme nous l'avons affirmé ci-dessus. Nikanor, fils d'Heliodoros a écrit pour eux, car ils sont illettrés.

⁶⁰ Voir les termes d'un contrat pour la construction d'un navire. La personne qui a commandé le produit s'oblige de donner chaque mois du blé, de l'huile et de l'argent pour payer le salaire des travailleurs jusqu'à ce que le navire soit terminé à terme et dans les conditions techniques excellentes établies dès le début et pour lesquelles le constructeur (probablement le président d'une association de *naupegoi*) garantit avec ses biens et ses possessions (P. Mich. inv. 1972 de 15 novembre 249), cf. SIJPESTEIJN 1996, 160.

Moi, Orsenouphis, fils d'Horos, je suis d'accord.

Moi, Orseonouphis, fils d'Aphrodisios, je suis d'accord.

Moi, Herakles, fils de Ptolemaios, je suis d'accord.

Orsenouphis, fils d'Horos, (...) fils de (...), a écrit pour eux, car ils sont illettrés.

(P. Mich. V 243, 13-34)

Kronion, fils d'Herodes, président, environ 35 ans, une cicatrice à la jambe droite.

Onnophris, fils de Nephoris, presque 40 ans, une cicatrice au sourcil gauche.

Psenkebkis, fils de Marres, presque 38 ans, une cicatrice au front, au-dessus du sourcil gauche.

Panesneus, fils d'Harmiusis, environ 30 ans, une cicatrice au sourcil droit.

Sigeris, fils de Pakebkis, presque 29 ans, une cicatrice sur la tempe gauche.

Pakebkis, fils de Sigeris, environ 35 ans, une cicatrice sur le pouce gauche.

Sekonopis, fils de Papontos, nommé aussi Diodoros, presque 32 ans, une cicatrice au milieu du front.

Anchious, fils d'Anchious, environ 30 ans, une cicatrice à la jambe droite.

Orseus le Jeune, fils de Petermuthis, nommé aussi Kuberomnis environ 33 ans, une cicatrice sur le pouce gauche.

Panebtunis, fils de Panebtunis, presque 32 ans, une cicatrice sur la joue gauche.

Kronion, fils de Labesis, presque 30 ans, une cicatrice sur le nez, au-dessous des sourcils.

Eutuchos, fils d'Eutuchos, fils de (...) presque 30 ans, une cicatrice sur le pouce droit.

Petouchos, fils de Protos, nommé aussi Hermais, environ 35 ans, une cicatrice sur l'avant-bras droit.

Sisoeis, fils d'Eutuchos, le charpentier, presque 35 ans, une cicatrice au milieu du front.

Labesis, fils de Labesis, presque 35 ans, une cicatrice sur le front.

Harmaesis, fils d' Harmasis, environ 33 ans, une cicatrice sur le pouce gauche.

Komon, fils d'Anchious, presque 37ans, une cicatrice sur la tempe droite.

Orseus, fils de Panebtunis, presque 30 ans, une cicatrice sur le petit doigt de la main gauche.

Hermas, fils d'Anchious, presque 33 ans, une cicatrice au genou gauche.

Orseus, fils d'Haroutes, fils de Nanas, presque 34 ans, une cicatrice sur le premier doigt de la main gauche.

Amaeis, fils de Marres, presque 35 ans, une cicatrice au sourcil gauche.

Horus, fils d'Harmiusis, presque 32 ans, une cicatrice sur le premier doigt de la main droite.

Papontos, fils de Papnebtunis, presque 32 ans, une cicatrice sur le pied gauche.

Moi, Kronion, fils d'Herodes, président, j'ai voté comme indiqué plus haut.

Moi, Eutuchos, fils d' Eutuchos, nommé aussi (...) j'ai voté.

(P. Mich. V 244, 21-46)

4.2. Nombre de membres

On peut voir dans P. Mich.V 243, 13-34 que le statut contient le nom de 15 personnes, y compris le président, qui ont exprimé leur accord avec ce qu'on a inscrit dans le statut, et dans P. Mich. V 244, 21-46 il y a 24 signatures suivies de celle du président et d'un autre personnage dont le rôle reste inconnu, probablement c'est son adjoint.

Les autres statuts de la période romaine sont incomplets.

En ce qui concerne le statut de la guilde des marchands de sel⁶¹, le morceau de papyrus qui contenait la liste des noms et les signes particuliers des signataires, a été perdu⁶²; on pourrait pourtant reconstituer la liste, car les membres avaient loué le droit de vendre du sel et du gypse dans les villages de la zone Tebtunyas, chacun des membres ayant un territoire où il avait le droit exclusif de vente.

La liste incomplète qui comprend les noms de 15 personnes, contribuables à la guilde d'Harpocrates, est aussi intéressante, car les noms

⁶¹ P. Mich. V 245, 114.

⁶² P. Mich. V 245, 115

sont disposés en groupe de cinq : le premier groupe occupe les premières sept lignes, le deuxième groupe les lignes 8-13 et le troisième groupe est inscrit sur les lignes 14 -19⁶³.

Il y en a encore deux statuts qui appartiennent à la collection de Michigan⁶⁴ qui ne contiennent que des listes, incomplètes aussi, avec les noms des membres de certaines associations, dont on ne connaît ni le nom, ni les signes particuliers. Dans le statut de la guilde des banquiers, qui date de la période byzantine, il n'y a que cinq signatures⁶⁵.

4.3. Hiérarchie dans l'association

Pour comprendre la hiérarchie interne⁶⁶, il est indispensable d'étudier les différents noms des membres des associations. Il est certain que pour les associations des sacerdotés des temples et pour les paysans des domaines royaux, l'organisation hiérarchique était plus rigoureuse⁶⁷ que celle des guildes d'artisans et de commerçants, qui semblent avoir des droits et responsabilités établis de commun accord et respectés de tous les membres sous menace d'amendes.

En revanche, dans les associations professionnelles du monde grec et romain tout membre avait sa place bien établie dans la hiérarchie de la structure respective⁶⁸.

Dans les statuts que nous avons étudiés nous n'avons pas trouvé une hiérarchie à l'intérieur du groupe des partenaires d'affaires. Pourtant, une série de documents provenant de l'enregistrement des taxes payés par les corporations⁶⁹ au *grapheion* de Tebtunis nous fournissent des informations⁷⁰. Malheureusement, il n'y a que le nom de ces corporations

⁶³ P Mich. V 246, 116.

⁶⁴ P. Mich. V 247 et P. Mich. V 248 (I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.).

⁶⁵ PSI. XII 1265, 15-19 (V^e siècle après J.C.), voir NORSA 1937, 1-7.

⁶⁶ DE CENIVAL 1972, 153.

⁶⁷ Leur nombre était plus grand et l'association ne représentait autre chose que la communauté du temple ou du village.

⁶⁸ ROYDEN 1988, 12 *sqq.*

⁶⁹ P. Mich.V 121; P. Mich. V 123; P. Mich. V 124.

⁷⁰ SCHNÖCKEL 2006, 18.

et on n'a mentionné que le nom de celui qui paye les taxes au nom des tisserands; en général cette personne est le président de l'association⁷¹.

D'autre part, toute la société égyptienne a été hiérarchisée au cours de son histoire. Cette hiérarchie n'est pas rigide car, du point de vue théorique, toute personne avait accès à une position plus haute, si non dans la vie politique, au moins dans la vie sociale, par l'intermédiaire de la profession exercée. Pourtant, dans le monde oriental⁷² et romain de cette époque⁷³, on respecte une certaine hiérarchie dans certaines associations, par exemple les associations religieuses. En ce qui concerne les associations professionnelles égyptiennes, comme nous l'avons mentionné ci-dessus, les membres confient au président un certain pouvoir, mais on ne peut pas discuter d'une hiérarchie *stricto sensu*.

5. Conditions d'admissibilité ou d'abandon de l'association

Les statuts des associations de l'Égypte prévoient clairement la possibilité d'être admis dans l'association. Après la constitution de l'association, personne n'y était plus admis, car les statuts ne prévoyaient pas cette situation.

Un autre problème est si les partenaires pouvaient quitter l'association avant que le contrat d'une année soit expiré.

Généralement, dans les guildes égyptiennes, les associés n'avaient pas la permission de quitter l'organisation. Voilà une clause de la guilde de Zeus Hypsistos⁷⁴.

Il faudrait que personne d'entre nous n'ait la permission de (...) ou de commettre des infractions ou de quitter la fraternité avec le président pour un autre (...) ou de démissionner au cours de l'année.

⁷¹ SCHNÖCKEL 2006, 18, voit en Harmysios, celui qui signe au nom des illettrés de l'association des tisserands, comme une sorte de secrétaire de l'organisation. On sait que parfois cette tâche est accomplie par le président.

⁷² Dans la plupart des statuts de ces associations il y a le sacerdote, le superviseur et le scribe, cf. WEINFELD 1986, 20 *sqq.* La flexibilité dans ces fonctions est présente aussi dans les associations religieuses de l'Égypte lagide. Voir DE CENIVAL 1972, 163.

⁷³ DE RUGGIERO 1900, II, 1, 396.

⁷⁴ Cf. ROBERTS, SKEAT, NOCK 1936, 42.

(P. Lond. 2710)

Parmi les serments faits devant les dieux de respecter les clauses du contrat, telle qu'elle soit leur nature, il y avait les serments qui obligeaient les parties de ne pas quitter le groupe jusqu'à la fin du terme.

L'abandon forcé de la guilde était prévu dans deux des statuts démotiques, où l'adultère commis avec la femme de l'un d'entre compagnons était puni d'une grosse amende et la possibilité d'être éliminé de l'association⁷⁵.

Celui d'entre nous qui trouvera l'un d'entre nous avec sa femme, si la preuve est faite contre ce dernier, son amende sera de 2 [kite] et nous le poursuivrons pour l'exclure de la « maison » (association).

(P. dem. Lille I 29)

Celui d'entre nous qui commettra l'adultère avec la femme de l'un de nous, son amende sera de 300 deben ; on le poursuivra pour l'exclure de la « maison » (association).

(P. Prague)

Dans la période romaine il y a le cas d'un patron, donc qui n'était membre de la guilde, qui présente sa démission à cause des problèmes financiers qui l'empêchent de subventionner l'association :

A Tharx, au président et aux membres de l'association d'Epidoros. A cause de ma pauvreté, je ne peux plus être patron de l'association. Je vous demande d'approuver ma démission⁷⁶.

(SB V 7835)

6. Règlements concernant les cotisations et autres contributions

Les statuts laissent observer deux catégories de cotisations payées par les membres : les contributions habituelles, destinées aux taxes publiques ou à d'autres manifestations (par exemple la visite du roi ou de l'empereur dans la *chora*), et les contributions pour les frais du fonctionnement de la guilde⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ P. dem. Lille I 29 et P. Prague, cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 9 et 88.

⁷⁶ La lettre provient de Soknopaiou Nesos et est datée entre 198-209 ap. J.-C.

⁷⁷ BOAK 1937b, p. 215.

Il y avait aussi des contributions occasionnelles, par exemple pour le mariage d'un membre, pour la naissance d'un enfant ou pour l'achat d'un troupeau ou d'une propriété. Les contributions en nature existaient aussi, d'habitude aliments, bière, vin, couronnes, pommades, sel, résine etc., que les membres de l'association offraient à diverses occasions : réunions, banquets mensuels ou fêtes dédiés aux dieux protecteurs de l'association, mise en prison de quelqu'un pour sa dette, embaumement des cadavres, banquets funèbres pour commémorer les membres décédés⁷⁸.

Dans les statuts des associations professionnelles des sacerdotés égyptiens, écrits en démotique, on peut remarquer fréquemment des informations sur les contributions en nature, surtout substances nécessaires à la momification. Il y a des statuts qui spécifient que la livraison sera faite mensuellement, à la différence d'autres où cette information ne se trouve pas. :

« Nous donnerons nos cotisations chaque mois, en plus de la contribution de la fonction, pour laquelle nous faisons des livraisons et nous le remettons entre les mains du représentant de la « maison », lorsqu'elles viendront à échéance chaque mois.

(...) Il donnera résine et sel ; et nous donnerons : onguent, couronnes, encens (?), ricin et bois aux fonds de la « maison »⁷⁹.

(P. Hamburg I)

Dans l'association de Zeus Hypsistos, de la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque, on ne spécifie pas le montant des cotisations, mais il y a la mention que tous les membres doivent payer chaque mois :

contributions et autres taxes devraient être payées de chacun⁸⁰

⁷⁸ P. Mich. V 243, 9-10.

⁷⁹ Cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 60 *sqq.* On trouve les mêmes dispositions dans presque tous les statuts démotiques: P. dem. Lille I 29, 3; P. Prague, 47; P. dem. Caire 31179, 63 *sq.*; P. dem. Caire 30605, p. 74; P. dem. Caire 30606, 84; P. dem. Caire 30619, 95.

⁸⁰ Cf. ROBERTS, SKEAT, NOCK 1936, 42.

(P. Lond. 2710)

Il semble que, dans des cas spéciaux, qui ne figurent pas dans le statut, c'est l'assemblée des membres qui décident le montant des contributions et des amendes.

Les autres situations seront réglementées selon la décision de l'association.

(P. Mich. V 243)

Dans d'autres statuts grecs, en dehors des taxes publiques recueillis par le président, on mentionne des contributions financières offertes par les membres de l'association à l'occasion de divers événements, comme l'on peut voir dans le tableau ci-dessous :

Contributions financières

**les sommes sont exprimées en drachmes*

Contributions	P. Mich.V 243 (I ^{er} siècle ap. J.- C.)	P. Mich. V 244 (43 ap. J.-C.)	P. Mich. V 245 (47 ap. J.-C.)
pour le banquet mensuel	12	-	-
pour le mariage d'un camarade	2	-	-
pour la naissance d'un garçon	2	-	-
pour la naissance d'une fille	1	-	-
pour acheter une propriété	4	-	-
pour acheter un troupeau	4	-	-

pour acheter du bétail	1	-	-
caution versée pour un camarade emprisonné à cause d'une dette privée	100	100	-
contribution pour le décès d'un membre	1 +2 pains	-	-

7. Réglementations sur les banquets et les réunions

En général, les banquets caractérisaient la vie associative ; ainsi, on facilitait la communication entre les individus et on assurait la cohésion de la communauté⁸¹.

Dans tous les statuts on prévoit l'obligation des membres de se réunir chaque mois pour un pot avec leur président⁸².

Apparemment, chacun avait le droit de convoquer des réunions; on a des informations concernant le lieu des réunions (dans le village, dans la métropole)⁸³, ainsi que le type de réunion auquel ils devraient assister.

Quand les membres se réunissaient pour la mort d'un camarade, ils devraient se raser la tête et devraient participer à un banquet en l'honneur du défunt, qui se prolongeait toute la journée. Chacun était obligé d'apporter de l'argent et/ou des aliments pour le banquet funèbre ; pour l'enterrement et de déposer des couronnes de fleurs sur le tombeau.

Si un membre meurt, tous devront se raser la tête et participer au banquet toute la journée. Celui qui ne rase pas la tête au cas du décès d'un camarade, il

⁸¹ BOAK 1937b, 216.

⁸² P. Mich. V 243, 1: le 12 de chaque mois; P. Mich, V 244, 14-15: le 8 on fête l'anniversaire de l'empereur; P. Mich. V 245, 34-35: le 25 de chaque mois; P. Lond. 2710, 5-6: *un banquet chaque mois dans le sanctuaire de Zeus*, sans spécifier le jour; P. dem. Lille I, 29, p. 3: *Nous tiendrons assemblée dans le temple susdit du [village susdit, les jours], que ceux de la « maison » auront fixés comme jours de session*; P. dem. Caire 30606, 6; 30619 a et b, 4-5, 31179, 6.

⁸³ P. Mich. V 243, 4; P. Mich. V 244, 7-9; P. Lond. 2710, 12.

payera une amende de 4 drachmes. Celui qui ne participe pas à l'enterrement et ne dépose pas une couronne de fleurs au tombeau payera une amende de 4 drachmes. (P. Mich. V 243, 9-12)

Dans certaines guildes ces contributions, ainsi que la participation au banquet funèbre, ne se limitent pas au décès d'un membre de l'association, mais s'étendent aussi sur leurs membres de la famille :

Si un président ou un père de famille, une mère, un enfant, un frère ou une sœur meurt et l'un des associés ne participe pas à l'enterrement, il payera une amende de 4 drachmes en faveur de l'association et il organisera une fête pour les autres membres de l'association. (P. Mich. V 244, 16-18)

Il y a des analogies dans les textes démotiques qui comprennent des dispositions pour l'enterrement des partenaires ou des membres de leur famille ainsi que pour le banquet funèbre organisé en l'honneur du défunt pour consoler la famille⁸⁴.

Celui d'entre nous qui mourra dans le village susdit, pendant la susdite période, nous le ferons parvenir à la nécropole, nous ferons en sorte que le représentant ... prélève pour lui 100 rations de deuil : le prix de s[on embaumement] ; 50 rations [celui de] ses 35 jours ; 25 rations [celui de] sa fête funéraire ; 25 rations, nous donnerons de l'argent pour lui à la « maison », chacun 2 kite par personne.

Celui d'entre nous qui ne l'escortera pas [alors qu'il le peut], si la preuve est faite contre lui, son amende sera de ½ kite.

Celui d'entre nous dont le père, la mère, le frère, la sœur, le beau-père ou la belle-mère mourront dans le village ci-dessus, pendant la période susdite, nous irons l'escorter jusqu' à la nécropole, et nous ferons en sorte que le représentant de la « maison » prélève pour lui [... rations]. Nous le recevrons en personne à la « maison » nous les ferons boire et nous apaiserons son cœur⁸⁵.

(P. dem. Lille 29)

8. Règlements concernant la conduite des membres

⁸⁴ Des dispositions semblables se trouvent aussi en P. dem. Caire 30605, 12-17. P. dem. Caire 30606, 13-17; P. dem. Caire 31179, 15-16; P. dem. Caire 30619, 95; P. dem. Berlin 3115, 103; P. Prague, 88.

⁸⁵ Cf. DE CENIVAL 1972, 7-8.

La majorité des associations impose à ses membres un code de conduite. Ainsi, les membres ne doivent pas prendre des décisions concernant les affaires sous l'influence de l'alcool⁸⁶, à la table du banquet, chaque membre ne doit s'asseoir que sur la chaise qui lui est réservée⁸⁷, il ne doit pas porter plainte ou calomnier un autre camarade⁸⁸, il ne doit pas conspirer contre un autre associé ou perturber la famille d'un camarade⁸⁹.

On interdit les actes de violence verbale et physique contre les membres de l'association (même faites sous l'influence de l'alcool), appeler un camarade devant le tribunal⁹⁰, ou porter des accusations publiques contre un camarade.

9. Règlements sur l'assistance mutuelle

L'assistance mutuelle était obligatoire dans toutes les associations professionnelles ; il en résulte la responsabilité collective⁹¹. Mais, comme nous allons voir, il y a des dispositions concernant l'assistance mutuelle présentes dans les statuts des associations professionnelles des sacerdotés égyptiens qui s'appliquaient longtemps avant la domination égyptienne ou macédonienne.

Les membres des associations s'accordent assistance mutuelle au cas où l'un des camarades est en difficulté ou se trouve en conflit avec les structures de l'Etat, par exemple si l'un d'entre eux ne peut pas accomplir certaines obligations, telles que célébrer la liturgie, l'impossibilité d'honorer les commandes vers l'Etat, l'impossibilité de payer les taxes et les contributions de toute nature parce qu'il était malade ou il avait d'autres problèmes et non pas parce qu'il était de mauvaise foi.

⁸⁶ P. Mich. V 243, 3.

⁸⁷ P. Mich. V 243, 6-7.

⁸⁸ P. Mich.V, 7-8; P. dem. Lille, I 29, 10, 22-23; P. dem. Caire 30605, 19-21; P. dem. Caire, 30606, 18-20; P. dem. Caire 31179, 20-21, 24.

⁸⁹ En P. dem. Lille I, 29, 25, P. dem. Caire 31179, 22, P. dem. Lille I 29, recto 2, 25-26 on pénalisait la tentative de séduire la femme d'un membre.

⁹⁰ P. dem. Lille, 29, 13-14; P. dem. Caire 30605, 21-22; P. dem. Caire 30606, 20-21.

⁹¹ Spécifié en Nov. Theod II 6, 2, qui s'applique dès le début du V^e siècle dans l'empire, cf. BOAK 1937b, 217.

Pour se mettre à l'abri, il pouvait se réfugier dans le temple, qui avait droit d'asile. En revanche, s'il était emprisonné, il était assisté par le représentant de l'association et les membres étaient obligés de témoigner pour lui et de lui apporter de la nourriture pendant l'incarcération, jusqu'à la fin du procès.

L'associé pouvait, dans certains cas, bénéficier du soutien de la guilde, même s'il était coupable, mais après avoir obtenu l'accord de tous les membres.

Voici quelles sont les dispositions inscrites dans les statuts en ce qui concerne l'assistance mutuelle juridique accordée par les structures associatives :

Celui d'entre nous qui sera jeté en prison injustement, sans recours à l'autel [du roi ou temple divin], nous ferons en sorte que le représentant de la « maison » prélève pour lui une ration de denrées qu'ils percevront (?) pour lui chaque jour de son emprisonnement en question, jusqu'à ce que le dieu le grâcie (?). Nous porterons témoignage dans son procès, tous ensemble et nous ferons appel (?) pour lui, jusqu'au dixième jour ; si nous pouvons le faire relâcher, nous le ferons relâcher]

(P. dem. Lille I 29, 14-16)

Celui d'entre nous qui ira supplier le dieu, eu sera en prison, ou (réfugie ?) au temple du dieu, que le représentant de la maison l'assiste (?) et qu'il lui donne cinq rations.

Celui d'entre nous qui sera impliqué dans un procès injuste, nous donnerons l'argent des cotisations que ceux de la « maison » décidé de donner pour son procès.

(P. dem. Caire 30606)

Celui d'entre nous qui sera impliqué dans un procès [injuste], nous témoignerons en sa faveur et nous verserons à son profit l'argent des cotisations [que ceux] de la « maison » auront convenu de donner pour qu'il soit dégagé (de son procès, le représentant de la « maison » l'assistera et nous ferons prélever pour lui 10 rations.

(P. dem. Caire 31179, 22-23)

Celui d'entre nous à qui l'on dira « Livre au jour (dit) ! », et qui ne livrera pas, son amende sera de 25 deben et on le poursuivra (en justice) pour le forcer à

*s'acquitter de son obligation, à l'exception de celui qui sera malade, en prison (ou) en procès avec le trésor royal*⁹². (P. Hamburg I)

Celui d'entre nous qui ira supplier e dieu ou qui sera en prison ou (réfugié) au temple du dieu, le représentant de la « maison » l'assistera (?), et nous verserons pour lui 5 rations.

Celui d'entre nous qui sera impliqué dans un procès injuste, nous témoignerons en sa faveur et verserons pour lui l'argent de cotisations que ceux de la « maison » auront décidé de la verser pour le dégager (de son procès).

(P. dem. Caire 30605, 22-23)

Celui d'entre nous que l'on emprisonnera injustement, nous témoignerons tous en sa faveur(?); nous donnerons pour son procès jusqu'à 50 deben par personne avec intérêt, jusqu'à ce qu'on le [relaxe] (?);

Celui d'entre nous qui ne témoignera pas en sa faveur(?), son amende sera de 25 deben; on le poursuivra pour [exiger de lui ce que ceux de la « maison » décideront.

*Celui d'entre nous qui sera emprisonné de façon justifiée, le représentant de la « maison » témoignera pour lui (?) selon notre avis (?); [il prélèvera pour lui] 10 rations (et) 10 deben*⁹³.

(P. Prague)

*Celui d'entre nous qui sera impliqué dans un procès complètement injuste, nous soutiendrons (?) tous ensemble, jusqu'à ce que nous [le] dégageons de son procès*⁹⁴.

(P. dem. Cairo 30619)

10. Amendes

La violation des règlements stipulés dans les statuts des associations était pénalisée et les amendes variaient selon la gravité de l'infraction.

⁹² DE CENIVAL 1972, 61

⁹³ DE CENIVAL 1972, 89 sq.

⁹⁴ DE CENIVAL 1972, 95 sqq.

Dans le statut de l'association de Zeus Hypsistos⁹⁵ on ne spécifie pas les mesures coercitives à appliquer si le règlement est violé, mais, très probablement, la punition du membre coupable était décidée du président ou de l'assemblée générale des membres, en respectant les normes éthiques de la société égyptienne.

On constate que dans les statuts démotiques de la période lagide il y a des amendes pour les plus petits écarts, tandis que dans certains statuts rédigés en langue grecque on mentionne les grands écarts et l'assemblée des membres décide l'amende, si c'est le cas.

Les tableaux ci-dessous présentent des différences considérables entre le montant des sommes payées pour la même infraction et il y a des variations même à l'intérieur de la même association⁹⁶. On voit aussi que le niveau des amendes augmente d'une époque à l'autre, en raison, sans doute, de l'inflation qui a monté progressivement de l'époque hellénistique jusqu'à la domination arabe.

La plupart des chercheurs ont tiré la conclusion que ces associations, ayant à la base la liberté volontaire d'association, ont été créées par les Grecs⁹⁷ et elles se retrouvent partout dans la période romaine.

Mais, à la suite des analyses des statuts de différentes structures associatives, on peut confirmer que les associations professionnelles égyptiennes pratiquaient ces procédures, comme nous l'avons constaté dans le système associatif égyptien (et aussi oriental)⁹⁸, bien avant l'hellénisme.

Les statuts des associations de l'Égypte montrent leur organisation complexe ; il y a des dispositions dont le but était de donner la possibilité d'accomplir certaines fonctions exigées de l'organisation de la société, dans une certaine période.

⁹⁵ P. Lond. 2710, voir ROBERTS, SKEAT, NOCK 1936, 41*sqq.*

⁹⁶ DE CENIVAL 1972, 202.

⁹⁷ BOAK 1937b, 220.

⁹⁸ WEINFELD 1986, p. 8 *sqq.*

D'autre part, les structures associatives de la population reflètent, en égale mesure, les caractéristiques de la vie culturelle et civique de la société à laquelle elles appartiennent.

Tableau des amendes
conformément aux statuts des associations dans la période romaine écrits en langue grecque

**les sommes sont exprimées en drachmes*

Motifs	P. Mich.V 243 (I ^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.)	P. Mich. V 244 (43 ap. J.-C.)	P. Mich. V 245 (47 ap. J.-C.)
s'il ne participe pas à une réunion dans le village	1	2	1
s'il ne participe pas à une réunion dans la ville	4	en dehors de la localité 4	en dehors de la localité 4
		en métropole 8	en métropole 8
refus d'aider un camarade en difficulté	1	-	-
s'il occupe la place d'un camarade à un banquet	3 « obols » en plus pour sa propre place	-	-
accuser ou calomnier un camarade	8	-	-
incitation contre un autre membre	60	-	-
adultère	60	-	-

refus de participer à l'enterrement	4	4	-
refus de participer à la commémoration des camarades	4	-	-

TABLEAU DES AMENDES

conformément aux statuts des associations écrits en langue demotique

*le montants sont indiqués en *kite*⁹⁹

	P. dem. Lille 29 224-223 av. J. -C	P. dem. Cairo 31178 180- 179 av. J. -C.	P. dem. Cairo 30606 158-157 av. J. -C	P. dem. Hamb. I 151 av. J.-C.	P. dem. Cairo 31179 148-147 av. J.- C.	P. dem. Cairo 30605 145 av. J. -C.	P. dem Cairo 30619 138- 137 av. J. -C	P. Praga 138- 137 av. J. C.	P. dem. Berlin 3115 110- 108 av. J. -C.	P. Mag- dola ^Ptol.
Refus de faire les livraison	2	-	250	250	[...]	250	1500	-	-	-
Ne pas se rendre à une convocation	1/2	-	250	-	-	-	1500	-	100	-
Accuser de la lèpre...	8	-	1000	-	1000	1000	-	1000	-	-
Donner...à la femme d'un collègue...	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manquer à la procession ou enterrement du dieu...	1	-	[...]	P. Hamb 250	2[50(?)]	300	-	-	-	-
Insulter le supérieur de l'animal sacré	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

⁹⁹ D'après Sottas, *Pap. dém. de Lille*, p. 76 sq, apud DE CENIVAL 1972, 200-202.

Frapper le supérieur de l'animal sacré	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Etre insulté ou frappe par le supérieur ; il paie....	-	-	-	-	750	500	-	250	50	-
Insulter le <i>mr mš</i>	-	-	350	-	1200	750	-	500	100	-
Réciproque....	-	-	-	-	1200	650	-	1000	-	-
Frapper le <i>mr mš</i>	-	-	800	-	1500	850	-	1500	-	-
Réciproque....	-	-	-	-	600	400	-	500	-	-
Insulter le "second" ...	-	-	350	-	800	600	-	-	-	-
Réciproque....	-	-	-	-	800	600	800	1600	-	-
Frapper le "second"	-	-	-	-	900	750	900	1500	-	2000
Insulter un prêtre ordinaire...	-	-	-	-	900	600	-	-	-	-
Réciproque....	-	-	-	-	1200	900	-	-	-	-
Frapper un prêtre ordinaire...	-	-	800	-	1000	800	-	-	-	-
Réciproque....	-	-	900	-	1500	1000	-	-	-	-
Insulter un membre de l'association	-	-	250	-	500	250	-	100	-	-

Frapper un membre de l'association	-	-	600	-	1000	500	1000	500	-	-
Ne pas assister un confrère en justice.....	4	-	-	-	-	-	3000	500	-	-
Ne pas assister à un enterrement dans le village....	1/2	-	50	-	50	50	-	-	-	-
Ne pas collaborer à un enterrement hors de village...	4	-	100	-	200	[...]	-	200	-	-
Ne pas participer au deuil..	-	-	50	-	-	20	-	50	-	-
Ne pas secourir un confrère dans le besoin...	-	-	-	-	250	250	750	500	-	-
Faire obsatcle à l'administrateur dans l'exercice de ses fonctions...	6	-	250	P. Hamb 250	500	250	3000	500	-	-
Refuser les fonctions d'administrateur....	-	100	250	-	-	350	-	-	-	-
Se plaindre d'un confrère devant une autorité après	2	-	300	-	1000	1000	-	750	-	2000(?)

jugement par l'association...										
Se plaindre devant une autorité avant de l'avoir fait devant l'association...	2	<i>Smj</i> (déposer une plainte contre quelqu'un	250	-	500	500	-	500	-	-
		<i>dj-t bjn</i> (diffamation ?)	500	-	500	-	-	500	-	-
Se plaindre, en appeler et être 2 fois débouté.....	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adultère avec la femme d'un confrère	2	-	-	-	1000	-	-	3000	-	1000
Ne pas se conformer au règlement...	30	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-

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WEINFELD, M. 1986. *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect. A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, Göttingen.

Keywords: ancient Greece, Phoenicians, transmission of alphabet, history of writing.

Abstract: *The invention of the alphabet is still a problem for the contemporary historiography, archaeology and linguistics. This study emphasizes some of the most important aspects of this process. After a critical review of the most important theories, the author takes into consideration the issue of the author and the reason of inventing the vowels. The latter is presented here as a linguistic necessity.*

Rezumat: *Inventarea alfabetului constituie încă o problemă pentru istoriografie, arheologică și lingvistică. Acest studiu pune în evidență aspectele cele mai importante ale procesului amintit. După o privire critică asupra principalelor teorii, autoarea ia în considerare motivul inventării vocalelor, prezentat ca o necesitate lingvistică.*

The alphabet has such a great importance for the history of mankind that its origin and reason of inventing still need to be looked into and analyzed, despite the large amount of information we dispose today of.

The alphabetical writing can be traced back to Egypt², but it was used in Antiquity especially by Semitic peoples and a major process in its history is the Phoenician transmission to the Greeks. In this article, I will study some aspects of the ways in which the Greeks acquired writing.

Firstly, I shall present some of the major theories regarding the process of how the Phoenician *abjad* became an *alphabet*.

An innovative theory belonged to Barry Powell. The main point in introducing the alphabet to Greece was its reason: to set down Homer's epopees. The person who transforms the Phoenician script in accordance with the rules of the Greek language is called "the adapter" and he is compared with other inventors of alphabetical scripts, like Ulfilas,

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² DARNELL et al. 2005, *passim*.

Cyrrillus, etc. The moment this would have taken place would be about 800 BC.³

His theory has many counter-arguments. Firstly, we must look for suggestions in Homer's literary and linguistic critics. Moses I. Finley shows that the Greeks did not hand down the Homeric poems in the poet's century, or during the following one⁴. Also, Gregory Nagy divides the period of transmission of the Homeric Poems into five episodes: the first two are still oral transmission, up to the middle of the sixth century, while the next one is just of "transcription" of the text, followed by a centralization of the different versions⁵. So the language and style offer little credibility to a written form in the 8th or 9th century BC.

Secondly, many historians dismiss this theory, because one of Powell's arguments was the lack of inscriptions before the proposed date: "[...] he would presumably be forced to move the date of Homer back, should some inscriptions turn up dated to, say, -900"⁶. In other words, the *argumentum ex silentio* is not an argument.

On the other hand, J. N. Coldstream suggests that "the birth of the Greek alphabet is most likely to have occurred somewhere within the first half of the eighth century"⁷. His arguments are based on epigraphic proofs, found in Athens (a graffito from the Dipylon Workshop), written in the Phoenician manner (from right to left) and a Cretan inscription dated before 700 BC, where the "old-fashioned character of the local alphabet, which suggests firsthand acquaintance with Semitic writing" shows a great importance. Another one is a mid-eighth-century Greek graffito from Rhodos⁸.

Lillian Jeffery places the transmission of the alphabet to the Greeks round the middle of the eighth century⁹, on the Syrian coast. Her interest

³ POWELL 1991, 20.

⁴ FINLEY 1968, 5.

⁵ NAGY 2003, 2.

⁶ MILLER 1994, 39.

⁷ COLDSTREAM 2003, 279.

⁸ COLDSTREAM 2003, 280-281.

⁹ JEFFERY 1963, 22.

focuses on the following questions: where, when, by what routes and what were the dates of changes (Semitic to Greek and dialectal improvements). But, in our opinion, the most important aspect of her theory is the ascription of the invention to Greek traders travelling to Phoenicia.

Joseph Naveh argues against Lilian Jeffery's theory regarding the eight-century BC adoption. His argument is the direction of writing. While the Phoenician script was already linear, the Greeks "neglected its achievements and turned it into a more primitive, almost pictographic script"¹⁰. Because of this reason, he looks for a more archaic script, particularly the Proto-Canaanite: "We suggest, therefore, that the Greeks learned the West Semitic writing at approximately the same time that the Hebrews and Aramaeans achieved literacy"¹¹, consequently the mid-eleventh century¹².

Also, Henry Rogers agrees with Naveh's early date because the use of the boustrophedon use by the Greeks¹³, but considers Cyprus as the place of adoption.

Moreover, a very early date is offered by Isaac Taylor. He sustains that Greeks learned the alphabet in the 13th or 12th centuryBC¹⁴, but from an Aramean source (the "a" from alpha, beta, etc is a postclitic article of the Aramean idiom)¹⁵ and pays more attention to the Cadmean legend.

According to Roger Woodard, the adaptation of the alphabet took place in Cyprus. After the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, when Greece faced a period of illiteracy, those people who migrated to Cyprus continued their tradition of writing and created the Greek alphabet based on the Phoenician one. The historical moment would be, according to him, at a time when a Phoenician settlement appeared in Cyprus; "It is probable, then, that a *terminus post quem* for the acquisition of the

¹⁰ NAVEH 2005, 178.

¹¹ NAVEH 2005, 184.

¹² NAVEH 2005, 42.

¹³ ROGERS 2005, 154.

¹⁴ TAYLOR 1883, 23.

¹⁵ TAYLOR 1883, 25.

Phoenician script by the Cypriot Greeks is to be established at approximately 850 BC or perhaps slightly earlier"¹⁶.

Why, then, was the Cypriot syllabary still in use? Woodard argues that the "hellenocentric conservatism" of the Cypriot society rejected the new form of writing while continuing to use a syllabic script¹⁷.

After a brief review of the major theories of specialists, I shall try to find out what was the reason of adoption and, accordingly, if there have been a single adaptor or a collective one, and to explore the cause of vowels innovation.

First of all, "Whereas the early evidence for writing is associated with bookkeeping in Mesopotamia or in Mycenaean Greece, or with religion for Hebrew and Arabic, or with oracular predictions for Chinese, such associations for Greek are less clear"¹⁸. Consequently, we must look for another reason as the cause of borrowing an alien script. For example, a more practical one was represented by commercial necessities. As L. Jeffery pointed out, the traders might have been Greeks' teachers of alphabetical writing and in order to support her thesis she offers philological arguments for the process involved. The scholar's point of view is based on the process of learning itself (analysis of punctuation, influence of the Semitic cursive script, etc.)¹⁹.

But, if one person, as Powell suggests, had created a form of writing, then the newly created signs and their meanings would have been used in the same manner. But the local differences show a progressive diffusion according to dialectal variations; a simultaneous spread with Homeric epopees would favor a centralized and fixed alphabetical type.

Thus, I think there was a collective author who took the alphabet from the Phoenicians. For example, if some merchants had considered the idea of using written materials as being more helpful, it became soon a new trend and had time to develop in both chronological and geographical ways in a more liberal manner.

¹⁶ WOODARD 1997, 219.

¹⁷ WOODARD 1997, 224.

¹⁸ ROGERS 2005, 155.

¹⁹ JEFFERY 1963, 7.

Furthermore, for a collective author pleads the preservation, in the Greek language, of the name of instruments, which might indicate schools or groups of persons for achieving letters: "The writing tablet, *deltos* in Greek, has even kept its Semitic name, *daltu*—*daleth* in Hebrew—together with the name of the special wax with which it is covered, *malthe*"²⁰.

Finally, we may invoke the existence of commercial centres in Antiquity which were also schools for scribes come to receive special training, like Ugarit²¹. Thus, from such a type of school might Greeks have learned the alphabet, especially since it was not necessary to exist a mixture of the two cultures, but just enough knowledge regarding the basic language of the teachers (Phoenician). Economical contacts offer such an opportunity.

Another collective author for the alphabet was proposed, as mentioned above, by Woodard. But the Cypriot Greeks are less probable to have adopted a foreign script, taking into account that they had their own. If they had wanted to have an alphabetical system of writing, they could have adopted Cypro-Minoan signs according to the Phoenician matrix, or could have only simplified the syllabary, not create another one and use both of them. In conclusion, the Cypriot theory of the adapter is less probable.

Regarding the place of alphabet in history, Salomon Reinach considers that "L'histoire de l'alphabet grec n'est qu'un chapitre [...] de l'histoire générale de l'alphabet phénicien, qui s'impose successivement à tous les peuples civilisés [...]"²². Was it indeed so? We believe that the introduction of vowels was an innovation which determined spreading and later large use, so the Greek reform has the greatest importance.

But how were the vowels created and for what reason?

First of all, Joseph Lam draws attention: "When Hebrew and Aramaic speakers adopted this alphabet for their own texts, they did not create additional symbols for phonemes in their languages that were

²⁰ BURKERT 1992, 30.

²¹ SCHNIEDEWIND 2007, 3.

²² REINACH 1885, 175.

absent in Phoenician; they simply utilized the twenty-two available signs, making practical accommodation where necessary. Whether this was due to the perceived prestige of the Phoenician script or some other reason is difficult to ascertain"²³.

In my opinion, the issue is not the lack of changings in these two scripts, but the reason of the Greeks for introducing the vowels. Many theories regard this as a misunderstanding of the Semitic languages. For example, Walter Burkert considers the invention of vowels just a mistake. Learning the alphabet by heart, the Greeks took just the first sound, because they did not have the Semitic glottal within their language and the initial meaning of letters had no sense for them²⁴. Learning by heart was accompanied by rhyming, as Gordon Hamilton suggests, comparing the Greek "zeta, eta, theta, iota" and so on, with other practices (in Ethiopia, for example, "wawi, lawi, tawi", etc.)²⁵.

It has also been suggested that the vocalic value of certain signs (Y) as a consequence of the double pronunciation in Phoenician was the pattern for the Greek vowels. However, these signs were *matres lectionis*, thus auxiliary materials, and might have inspired the Greeks if they had known and understood their role, but they were not to be considered vowels.

Furthermore, the invention of doublets (*upsilon* from *wau* and *omega* from *omicron*²⁶) for some signs and dialectal supplemental letters (ϕ, χ, ψ) make obvious the intelligence and capacity of creation of the adapters, because these letters fit the linguistic necessity of the Greek language.

As a consequence, I think that the introducing of vowels was in relation with the Greek language itself and must be regarded as a linguistic problem.

The Semitic family of languages is consonantal and the words consist of three consonant roots²⁷, while the vowels have secondary

²³ LAM 2010, 193.

²⁴ BURKERT 1992, 28.

²⁵ HAMILTON 2006, 286.

²⁶ JEFFERY 1963, 4.

²⁷ CORNIȚESCU, ABRUDAN 2002, 10 and 74.

functions and they are used in order to express grammatical processes²⁸. Phoenician is a North-Western language of this family²⁹ (sometimes considered just Western or just Northern) and every word begins with a consonant, which is also reflected in writing: "Following the acrophonic method one could never come upon a vowel, for no word began with one"³⁰.

But there are words beginning with a vowel in Indo-European languages, thus also in ancient Greek. Besides, vowels have a greater importance in phonology and also in morphological relations (like ablaut or apophony, where the vowel gradation might indicate a difference in time or aspect for verbs). We can read a Hebrew text in *scriptio defectiva*, but for Greek it would be quite difficult.

Consequently, I think that the Greeks took the principle of representing *each* sound in writing and they included both vowels and consonants, according to their often use and importance. This was natural and logical to happen, and it is important to mention the fact that in the Linear B syllabary there had existed signs for vowels, too. They chose only well-defined sounds from their language and that is the reason why the alphabet lacked semi-vowels or representation of the pitch (only by later improvements: accents and orthographic symbols). The Greeks had no reason for keeping the Semitic tradition of writing, but for Hebrew and Aramaic it was useful, so they adopted the Phoenician alphabet without changes, as Joseph Lam showed above.

In conclusion, there is no *communis opinio* of the specialists about the alphabetical phenomenon as a whole. We need more primary sources in order to answer the question raised in the beginning of this study. Eventually, archeology and epigraphy will show exactly where and when the creation of the Greek alphabet took place and up till then, "it is difficult

²⁸ CORNIȚESCU, ABRUDAN 2002, 11.

²⁹ JOUON 1947, 3.

³⁰ HARRIS 1936, 15.

to think about writing because writing is a form of thinking and it is difficult to think about thinking"³¹.

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³¹ POWELL 1991, 69.

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PRELIMINARY NOTES CONCERNING MIDDLE BRONZE AGE POTTERY
ANALYSIS FROM COSTIȘA-CETĂȚUIA, NEAMȚ COUNTY

NECULAI BOLOHAN¹

Keywords: Middle Bronze Age, Eastern Carpathians, pottery, archaeological records, macroscopic and microscopic analysis, SEM-EDS analysis.

Abstract: *The Costișa archaeological culture has been known for more than half a century and it has been categorized as belonging to the Middle Bronze Age in the Eastern Carpathian area. From the very beginning it was supposed to be the result of local connections with southern Monteoru-type elements and northern ones such as Komariw-Bialy-Potik. This assessment was made on the basis of a comparative analysis of the known archaeological investigation methods (stratigraphy and pottery typology). The present contribution employs another type of analysis of the pottery from the eponymous site. Thus, starting from the archaeological database consisting of seven pottery shards, the following scientific investigations were performed: SEM-EDS analysis, optical spectroscopy, and chemical modules analysis. The aim was to cover all the steps followed during modern pottery investigation, from the archaeological description of the artefacts and the initial macroscopic evaluation, to the integration by the archaeologist of the data obtained from the other types of analysis. The results of these analyses could provide multiple coherent answers regarding the history of a site, the ceramic technology, the relations between the local community and the Monteoru ones.*

Rezumat: *Cultura Costișa este cunoscută de peste o jumătate de secol. Aceasta a fost încadrată în perioada mijlocie a epocii bronzului din zona de răsărit a Carpaților Orientali. Încă de la debutul cercetărilor, cultura Costișa a fost considerată ca fiind rezultatul îmbinării unor elemente nordice de tip Komariw-Bialy-Potok cu elemente sudice de tip Monteoru. Această primă evaluare a fost făcută pe baza analizei comparative a rezultatelor aplicării metodelor de investigare arheologică (stratigrafie și tipologie ceramică). Contribuția actuală încearcă să utilizeze și alt tip de investigare a materialului ceramic din situl omonim. Astfel, pornind de la o bază de date arheologice formată din șapte fragmente de ceramică, au fost aplicate și următoarele tipuri de investigație*

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științifică: macroscopie și microscopie optică, analiza SEM-EDS, spectroscopie optică, module de analiză chimică. Am dorit parcurgerea tuturor etapelor unui tip actual de investigare a olăriei, care începe cu descrierea arheologică a artefactelor și prima evaluare macroscopică până la integrarea de către arheolog a datelor rezultate ca urmare a utilizării analizelor multiple. Rezultatele acestor investigații ar putea oferi mai multe răspunsuri coerente cu privire la următoarele aspecte: istoria de unii sit, tehnologia ceramică, relațiile dintre comunitatea locală și comunitățile Monteoru.

Introduction

Within the Bronze Age framework in the area situated east of the Carpathians, the case of the Costișa culture requires a reassessment. Details concerning its origin, spreading area and its role in the cultural framework of that era need to be clarified. The first attempts at the research of this culture² as well as the most recent one³ emphasized the blending of local components with different elements coming from the North or East. These first observations were made on the basis of a comparative analysis of the known archaeological investigation methods (stratigraphy, typology). The bulk of the research was dedicated to the pottery analysis, its presence in the archaeological layers, its frequency, techniques and decoration motifs.

Since the early 1960s up until recently, for this form of cultural representation the archaeologist did not manage to apply the current methods of investigating ceramic ware, which would have provided a more affluent range of answers. This shortcoming was due to the absence of adequate means of research and the steadfastness of the local archaeologists in a discourse that avoided the use of these means⁴. In this endeavour the inclusion and gradual diversification of investigating pottery can already speak of a long history of research from abroad as well as some very interesting local contributions.

This paper, although using a rather tenuous database, tries to bring forward other type of considerations on pottery from the eponymous site.

² VULPE 1961.

³ MUNTEANU 2010.

⁴ ANGHELINU 2012, 21.

This analysis is based on the use of physical and chemical analyses of the basic elements specific to this category of historical sources. To these analyses were added the archaeologist's naked-eye observations of the pottery, as well as details concerning the components of the prolonged technological process of manufacturing clay vessels.

All these factors are meant to promote, when the database and other means of investigation will be expanded, the diversification of the archaeological discourse and a necessary rewriting of the Costișa culture story.

Explanatory elements on the history of an archaeological culture

The Costișa archaeological culture is known for more than half a century. This material output of the communities who inhabited the western and southern Cracău-Bistrița basin during the Middle Bronze Age was investigated in two main stages. The first is represented by the contribution of Alexandru Vulpe and Mihai Zamoșteanu through the first research ever conducted at the eponymous site⁵. Within this stage should be included the contribution of Marilena Florescu, which extended the knowledge concerning the subject matter through investigations conducted at Borlești (Neamț County)⁶. As a result of these contributions, the Costișa culture was categorized as belonging to the Middle Bronze Age and was held to be the result of local connections with southern Monteoru-type elements and with northern ones such as Komariw-Bialy-Potik⁷. In this scenario it was assumed that, on its way northwards, the Monteoru culture overlapped/annihilated the Costișa communities. Marilena Florescu underlined the Costișa cultural history and considered, on the basis of the stratigraphic and comparative data, that the discovery from Borlești belongs to an earlier stage. This phase would correspond to the Monteoru IC3 phase. The Trzciniac and Monteoru features found in

⁵ VULPE, ZAMOȘTEANU 1962.

⁶ FLORESCU 1970, 78-79.

⁷ VULPE 1962.

the Costișa pottery repertoire may be understood as the result of adaptation, or of the cultural receptivity of the Costișa culture⁸.

A second phase of research began after 1990, when general studies⁹ and monographs¹⁰ were published, the research at older sites was resumed (*Costișa-Cetățuia*, *Poduri-Dealul Ghindaru* etc) and excavations at new sites were opened (*Siliștea-Pe Cetățuie*)¹¹. Current contributions have followed a differentiated theoretical and methodological basis and provided new insight on the absolute chronology¹², on the relations between the Monteoru and the Costișa cultures¹³, on the content of some earlier discoveries¹⁴, and on other topics that have enriched the knowledge of the Bronze Age in this area. As a result of these contributions (radiocarbon dating), it was established that, at least for the *Costișa-Cetățuia* and *Siliștea-Pe Cetățuie* sites, the period of occupancy of the two sites can be traced throughout the 19th BCE to the 17th BCE centuries¹⁵. Equally important seems to be the comments on the possibility of some contributions from Central Europe or from Transylvania in fingerprinting the Costișa culture.

Site informations

The southern part of the Cracău-Bistrița basin was a densely populated geographical subunit in prehistoric times¹⁶. The two rivers that

⁸ FLORESCU 1970.

⁹ VULPE 2001, 248-249, Fig. 37/1-6.

¹⁰ DUMITROAIA 2000, 127-156, fig. 93-115 and the chronological table from p. 324. CAVRUC-DUMITROAIA 2001; MUNTEANU 2010.

¹¹ Within this site has been examined a batch of 13 pottery fragments. Here, in order to achieve a coherent analysis I kept the same order of carrying out the scientific and archaeological investigations. The intention was to compare the results of pottery analysis of two archaeological cultures from two contemporary and neighboring sites. See BOLOHAN 2013. The results of a comparative study will be published after completing the data base and the structural analyses.

¹² BOLOHAN 2010.

¹³ POPESCU 2003; 2006, POPESCU-BĂJENARU 2004.

¹⁴ POPESCU 2000.

¹⁵ BOLOHAN 2010, 237-240.

¹⁶ DUMITROAIA 2000, Map 6; CAVRUC-DUMITROAIA 2001, Map of discoveries.

drain the basin facilitated communication. In fact, the environmental conditions in the southern half were favourable to the development of relations between communities. By its geographical position, the Costișa-Cetățuia stronghold has an important place in the short- and medium-distance contacts specific of the period.

The Costișa-Cetățuia site is located in the Subcarpathian nappe and belongs to the Pietricica digitation. The soil consists of clay-siltite formations, grey-sands with brecciation and Carpathian conglomerates associated with rocks of chemical precipitation (rock salt, potassium salt, gypsum). The occurrence area of the peri-Carpathian nappe is marked by the presence of numerous mineralized springs (Rmn. *slatine*)¹⁷. For the present study of relevance are the Badenian deposits located between Buhuși and Mărgineni. Within these deposits there are yellowish grey marl, with rare intercalations of hard limestone and yellowish calcareous sandstones¹⁸.

For the first time in 1937, then in 1959-1960, 1962, 2001-2008 and 2010 at Costișa-Cetățuia, Neamț county, was investigated an archaeological site, which by its characteristics unveiled the presence of two subsequent pottery groups, Costișa and Monteoru¹⁹. The settlement is located in the lower basin of the Bistrița River (Pl. 1) on a promontory of 75m altitude and 500m width (*Cetățuia*), but also in relation to the high terrace area located on the left side of the watercourse. A fortification was built by exploiting land conditions and by making three ditches. The forehead of the terrace is strongly carved and interrupted by stabilized landslides. The top of these terraces contain substantial deposits of loess. During the Bronze Age the Costișa community used these natural accidents, providing protection for each segment of the terrace, through the northern and southern ravines.

The living space was divided into two sections (A and B). The first is taller and has a visibility of up to 3-4 km by the lower basin of the

¹⁷ GRASU *et alii* 1999, 35-36; RUSU *et alii* 2002, 80.

¹⁸ LUPAȘCU 1996, 20, COTOI, GRASU 2000, 14, 33-53, DONISĂ 1968.

¹⁹ For references see *supra*, the chapter dedicated to the history of an archaeological culture.

Bistrița River. There is no visibility from the site towards the neighbouring and contemporary site of Siliștea-*Pe Cetățuia*.

The characteristics of pottery found in the lower layer indicates the presence of a pottery group to be called Costișa, with affinities in northern ceramic type groups alike Komariw and Bialy Potik, and in the top layer is present a pottery with different shapes, simple decoration, which belongs to the Monteoru group ceramic, phases IC3-Ib.

Based on these observations as well as on the stratigraphic features, the authors of the research talk about a period of contact/cohabitation of the two ceramic groups and about the "closing" of the Costișa-*Cetățuia* settlement by the Monteoru ceramic group²⁰.

Cultural framing and archaeological taxonomy (introductory notes)

Characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age in the researched area were the Costișa and Monteoru ceramic groups, specifically in the central and southern regions and the area of Trzciniec-Komariw, by the north-eastern outskirts. In the central area, as a consequence of connections with Eastern Transylvania, are present some artefacts belonging to the Wietenberg ceramic group. Until recently, the archaeological method of choice was the comparison of all cultural, chronological, technical and aesthetical delimitations in order to identify specific features of the pottery history within a site (Costișa-*Cetățuia*) and common features of contemporary pottery from several sites (Monteoru, Costișa, Borlești, Lunca, Siliștea etc.)²¹.

Under these circumstances, framing in phases and stages the two pottery groups from which the bulk of the artifacts was collected, was made in reference to the stratigraphy from Sărata Monteoru (Monteoru pottery group) and based on the interpretation of differences or similarities of the pottery.

²⁰ See recently POPESCU-BĂJENARU 2009.

²¹ See a recent critique concerning this kind of archaeology at ANGHELINU 2012, 17-20.

Thus, for the Costișa pottery group, on account of eye-naked observations made by the archaeologists²², were identified the following ceramic categories:

A. Fine pottery

- Clay matrix
- Inclusions (small pebbles, mica, very well crushed shards)
- Dense, well prepared
- Well-burnt, uniformly-coloured core and surfaces

B. Coarse pottery

- Clay matrix
- pebbles, flint of angular shape
- Untidy worked
- Crumbly
- Greyish up to black core

C. A possible semi-fine intermediary pottery

For the Monteoru ceramic group, based on the same bulk of technical observations, the following ceramics groups were identified:

A. Very good paste

- Clay matrix
- Well mixed
- Well burnt
- Thin section
- No coloured core

B. Good paste

- Sandy clay matrix
- Crushed gravels uniformly sorted
- Well burnt
- Thin core section

C. Coarse ware

- Clay matrix
- Angular pebbles and poorly sorted flint

²² For a detailed view concerning the pottery taxonomy specific for Monteoru and Costișa groups. See BĂRZU 1989; ZAHARIA 1990, 1991, 1993; DUMITROAIA 2001, 19-20; POPESCU 2006.

- Different coloured core

The arguments presented above were based on drawing a classification of pottery shapes, centred on the use of the aforementioned criteria. Technological, functional and aesthetic criteria were added to these. From here emerged two dominant ceramic categories, each with several variants and sub-variants: household vessels (food preparing, liquid storage, transport etc.) and special purpose vessels (funerary, ritual).

Thus, for the Costișa ceramic group was observed the preference for using differentiated ceramic paste for differentiated types of pottery. Therefore, cups and amphorae were made of good paste (A) and bowls and dishes-jars were made of coarse paste (B). For the Monteoru pottery group have been met same criteria. Difference was driven/determined by a larger classification of shapes as soon as the varied decorative techniques and models.

A first observation can be made about the uniformity of the pottery shape *repertoire* specific for the two pottery groups. The exceptions may be seen in the way of working the surfaces of the pots (techniques, motifs). The response was seen in the identification of the same pottery fashion specific for Middle Bronze Age or in the violent imposition of a community and the acceptance of its artefacts.

Methodological issues

For this research it was processed the archaeological recording, observing and describing artefacts which were made on separate sheets. For each sample were applied some scientific investigation: chemical composition (SEM-EDS analysis, optical spectroscopy and chemical modules analysis), physical analysis (XRD)²³. My aim was to complete the steps from archaeological description of the artefacts to the integration by the archaeologist of data from other types of analysis. The results of these analyses could provide multiple coherent answers regarding the history of a place, the pottery technology, the relations between the local community

²³ Unfortunately, by the time of writing these lines I have not received the results of XRD analysis, fact which has fragmented drawing the conclusions.

and the Monteoru communities. The archaeological research has made essential contributions concerning the stratigraphy, the artefact typology and the chronology. This step needs to be followed by a scientific verification of macroscopic observations, comparing data obtained from Costișă site with data from contemporary and neighbouring sites. A first step has been achieved through the publication of a first batch of ceramic artefacts from contemporary Bronze Age settlement at Siliștea-*Pe Cetățuie*, Neamț County²⁴.

In this context, the main goal is to attempt an overview and a detailed analysis of the pottery batch that originates from the Bronze Age level at Costișă-Cetățuia.

For setting up the database which made the object of this scientific analysis, I chose samples coming from the ceramic fragments excavated at Costișă-Cetățuia, Neamț County (Pl. 2/P1-P7)²⁵. For the purposes of this analysis and interpretation, I chose the experience of a research centre with a longer tradition in the development of these initiatives. Thus, to the personal experience in describing and interpreting artefacts, I added the performance achieved by Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group (PCRG)²⁶ and some other recent contributions in the field²⁷. For analysing the pottery shards I ordered in two steps the analysis. The first stage is represented by a naked-eye analysis performed by the archaeologist considering the following criteria:

- location (acronym), year of research, sample number
- photographs (original shard, front, back, drawing and thin section)
- spatial patterning
- fabric
- ingredients
- exterior colour (according to Munsell catalogue)

²⁴ BOLOHAN 2013.

²⁵ In which P is the acronym for probe/sample.

²⁶ *Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group* available from: <http://www.prehistoric-ceramics.org.uk>

²⁷ MACKENZIE, ADAMS, 2013; QUINN 2009; QUINN 2013.

- wall thickness
- rim diameter
- ceramic group

In the second stage, this involved combining the results of macroscopic analysis with the thin-section microscopic analysis. I tried to identify and characterize the clay matrix, the elements of fabric and the elements observables by archaeologist and specialist in soil science and petrography. The following variables were used:

- place and (acronym) year of research; sample number
- photography (original shard, front, back, drawing and thin section)

Although the analysed database is not consistent, I tried to keep its diversity and a unique criterion for selecting samples from only the upper clay containers encompassing the main shapes and the main surface appearances stated above. They were selected from the whole assemblage of pottery. This allowed an easier reconstitution of the vessel forms subjected to structural analyses.

The data base

By using the criteria above, the technical equipment and the personal experience in archaeological investigation to which was added the experience of specialists in other fields, it was compiled a database containing the records of archaeological objects, the files resulting from macroscopic observations and the structural analysis. In this manner, I tried using all possible data, from the current state of ceramic fragments to the elemental analysis and observations of fabric.

Through operating with data from the site, I have found new features that were not visible to the archaeologists.

The samples have been numbered P1-P7, for which I have kept the logo specific for the *Costișa-Cetățuia* (Cos)²⁸.

All seven ceramic samples are coming from research conducted in 2001 (P4, P5, P6), 2003 (P7), 2007 (P1, P3) and 2008 (P2) originating in areas

²⁸ Pl. Archaeological records from *Costișa-Cetățuia* (P1-P7).

SI/2001 (P, 4, P5, P6), SIII/2003 (P7), SXIV/2007 (P1), S/XVII.I/2008 (P2) and *passim*/2007 (P3). These were associated with other different types of archaeological materials. The samples have been recovered from the same archaeological layer situated between 0.26 m (P1) and 0.40 m (P7)²⁹. These data, together with architectural remains, attest the existence of an intense Bronze Age settlement. For the correct incorporation of the database, we chose to record data provided by the authors of the research: description of archaeological fragments, typological classification. To these data I added a specific set of naked-eye observations made during database creation. This step is necessary in attempting to identify possible ceramic groups in the study group³⁰. In the later stage were tried some microscopic analyses, which gives multiple data on clay and temper as consequence of the chemical composition identification.

Archaeological macroscopic observations

Based on these criteria, the archaeological analysis led to the identification of two pottery groups: (A) coarse (P1, P4, P7) and (B) fine or semi-fine (P2, P3, P5, P6). For this step has been handled the observations on the vessel body colour, a very good indicator of the technology and used material³¹. For the group A the colour of the vessel body is much differentiated and is represented by red (2.5 YR 5/6) to very dark grey (5Y 3/1) and brown (7.5 YR 5/4). For group B the body colour is more uniform and is represented by brown (7.5 YR 5/2), light brown (7.5 YR 6/4), very pale brown (10YR 8/2) to grey (10YR 6/1). The differences observed in group A are due to the use of different sources of raw materials (clays, temper, fine calcium carbonate) or different temperatures during the combustion, the atmosphere. As it was found, the colour of pottery depends on the action of the iron oxides, hydroxides, trioxides in reducing

²⁹ These samples and the first preliminary data about the discovery context were provided for study by Dr. Anca Popescu, whom I warmly thank.

³⁰ This is quite difficult to achieve given that we had only seven shards. The situation will be improved and the degree of extrapolation of conclusions will gain consistency when the database will be expanded.

³¹ RATHOSSI *et alii* 2004, 316.

or oxidizing conditions and the way they react with calcareous or non-calcareous clays. Since "firing at temperatures below 800°C does not produce any difference in the colour or the properties of the clay chemistry"³² and the colour of fractures/cores is dark-grey, most of the shards (P3, P5, P6, P7) can be assigned to a reducing condition group. The P2 and P4 belong to a mixed category represented by an unoxidized core, oxidized exterior and oxidized interior. The only clear exception is the P1, which by its reddish colour belongs to an oxidising condition pottery.

Of the first group belong three bowls (P1, P4, P7) with a good amount of grog and gravel in the matrix. The second group is represented by two cups (P2, P3), two bowls (P4, P5) and an askos (P6). Based on these observations on the macrostructure to which were added some details of the surface treatment it may conclude that P4 and P6 belong to Monteoru culture and P1, P2, P3, P5, P7 belong to Costișa culture.

Methodology of microscopic observations (Pl. 3/P1-P7)

In a second phase of the microscopic observations, for a better visualization of non-plastic intrusion, was used a Zeiss Stemi 2000-C Stereo Microscope, which provide a magnification range from 1,95× to 250× and a field of view from 118 mm to 1.00 mm. Within the microscopic observations, in the last phase of the analysis was utilized a Celestron Deluxe Handheld Digital Microscope 44302 A (the microscope is equipped with a digital camera built-in 2MP for snapshot, images and videos and 10× to 40× and 150× magnification scale) which has helped in the identification of pottery technology and finding some petrographic features.

Sample preparation of fresh sections consisted of cutting slices of pottery fragments followed by three gradual grinding until a flat surface was obtained³³. This stage was followed by dirt cleaning and washing these surfaces, drying and then preparing them for microscopic analysis. Each ceramic sample was recorded and photographed with a Canon camera attached to the microscope.

³² MANIATIS 2009, 7-10, Fig. 9.

³³ Pl. 3. (P1-P7).

Preliminary observations concerning the microstructure

The clay and mineralogical naked-eye study confirmed the presence of at least two types of fabric for all the samples analysed, independently of their surface treatment, typology or cultural assignment. As far as the matrix is concerned, they showed abundant long, narrow and elongated or rounded pores which were usually oriented parallel to the surfaces (P1, P6, P7). This could be an indication of direction in which potters applied forces with their fingers to form the walls of the vessels. While this could also suggest a poor homogenization of the wet paste before firing, on the other hand, the paste seemed to be well homogenized or poorly homogenized since the inclusions appeared well distributed in the matrix for the category of the fine matrix or in a very chaotic distribution when looking to the so called coarse matrix (P7 is the most striking example).

A clean and uniform reddish surface, even though some of them are greyish stained, was observed in the samples at Costișa-Cetățuia, which indicates the oxidation condition for P1 or reducing conditions for P3, P5, P6, P7³⁴ maintained during the firing process or a sandwich like aspect which indicates an unfinished thermic process.

Most of the samples show textural and chromatic differences between the body and the surface. For some samples this aspect demonstrates that, prior to firing, separate layers or engobe were applied to the vessels in order to produce different surface structures, to protect the body or to improve the decoration of the body (see the P3 sample).

The ceramic batch from Costișa-Cetățuia is well burned, with a good to fine clay matrix while the paste is more crumbly and brittle. Macroscopic and microscopic observation of cut-sections reveal some differences among the samples from Costișa-Cetățuia (see the colour variations of the core, from greyish (P3, P5, P6, P7) with the intermediary sandwich aspect (P2, P4) to reddish colours (P1).

The fresh-sections, however, revealed mainly two sorted fabric despite some differences in surface appearances. The first one consists of

³⁴ See *supra*, footnote 29.

mainly abundant large, angular and sub-angular (see P1, P4, P7). The second group is represented by few rounded and sub-rounded inclusions within a fine or coarse grained clay matrix (see P2, P3, P5, P6). These inclusions appeared to be uniformly distributed or, some of them, in a very "chaotic" appearance in the clay matrix. The gradation of the inclusion are from few microns up to less than 1mm for the cups (P2, P3) and 2.5 mm within a bowl clay matrix (P4). Most of the grog inclusions are uniformly distributed in the clay- matrix.

The manufacture

The variety and the uniqueness of raw material sources as well as different technological approaches influenced the look and quality of the paste. Usually, local sources of clay were worked, a visible feature, made obvious by the natural inclusions which are the marker of clay deposit. However, the qualities of clay sources (plasticity, malleability) were tempered in accordance with the needs of manufacturing process. It requires a varied technological knowledge, such as identifying the source, extracting the suitable clay, primary processing, the transport, preparing for manufacturing, burning, drying. In this craft the natural transmission or cultural transfer of knowledge was equally important.

Sources of clay

Along the middle basin of the Bistrița River are typical recent Quaternary deposits consisting of stratifications of sands, silt and clays. This observation is the main indicator for recognizing local source of manufactured clay from the two sites. The exception consists of sample P6 from *Costișa-Cetățuia*, which through elemental analysis and through comparing the elemental module show a different type of material. However, even though I noted common aspects of studied pottery, can be observed differences between the pastes used to make pottery from the same site. Almost certainly, these manufacturing differences can be understood as a result of transformation or adoption/adaptation of new technological and cultural behaviours.

Non-plastic inclusions

Adding plastic and non-plastic inclusions will change the original qualities of clay. In this respect, it was noted that the types of inclusions and their size are used differently. With some exceptions, for the shards under study, inclusions are present depending on vessel characteristics: the shape and thickness of the vessel walls. Temper was originally processed and its size enhanced the quality of pottery. Thus, well crushed temper increased the homogeneity of the paste and hardness of the vessel walls while coarse-looking temper (angular or sub-angular, poorly sorted) decreased the homogeneity but increased the porosity and the breaking degree. Moreover, different types of inclusions with large dimensions prevent the formation and dissemination of cracks³⁵, the array in the clay matrix which increases the hardness of the vessel; the same type of inclusion accelerates the drying vessel before firing³⁶. The noticeable non-plastic inclusions are grog/crushed fired-pottery fragments, pellets of clay and quartz, and calcium carbonate. Distinguishing between these elements is very difficult³⁷. Size inclusions show, at least for the group analysed, their deliberate choice. For example, the inclusions for the cups matrix are well rounded and sub-rounded of less than 1 mm. At the same time the size of the inclusions up to 2.5 mm are present in fragments originating from the bowls (P1, P4, P7).

Crushed shards

Crushed shards were the most commonly temper in the analysed samples. The restricted use of grog only for specific ceramic vessels (P1, P4-P7) show particular technical and cultural behaviour that involve observation, selection and the use of the raw material.

³⁵ The weathering, sintering, splitting of raw materials, the occurring of different types of cracks and the way they react in the matrix, according to application of SEM investigation, see Emami *et alii* 2011, 299.

³⁶ GARCIA-HERAS *et alii* 2008, 10.

³⁷ KREITER *et alii* 2007, 38.

Methodology of structural analysis

The involvement of multidisciplinary analysis in investigating the prehistoric archaeofacts begins to have consistency and provide new ways of interpretation. Considered until recently as the privilege of a small body of specialists such analyses are becoming a common good and a field of dialogue and interference. In these circumstances, the "archaeological monologue" built on standardized production or reproduction of the artefactual typologies needs to be reconsidered.

In this case study I started from enhancing the possibilities of approaching the archaeological monuments by using and merging non-destructive methods of investigation. These facts, in connection with the expertise and the personal observations on the ground, have suggested another "story" of the investigated place.

Reconstitution of the sites and artefacts history is, in recent years, a lifelong perspective challenge to which various fields are committed to provide an answer. Thus, the effort is concentrated on the reconstruction of 'histories' and not just on the mere enumeration of physical characteristics. The situation was encouraged by recent developments in the physical and chemical invasive or non-invasive analysis or by the gradual remodelling of PC technology.

The naked-eye observations and structural analysis (macroscopic evaluation, electron microscopy, SEM-EDX performed in specialized laboratories in Iași allowed the identification of some ceramic groups, the compositional differences, the ratio of elements, a situation which could be explained in the context of pottery technology and within the context of the Bronze Age contacts between the communities. These first considerations will be completed by petrographic analysis that will allow integrating data on the technology of pottery, identifying sources of raw materials and their circulation or the circulation of finished products.

Chemical evaluation

To confirm the macroscopic results I chose, according to local resources, to use a second method of investigation. Thus, scanning electron microscopy (SEM) in combination with energy dispersive X-ray

spectrometry (EDX)³⁸ was further performed for microstructural and microchemical characterization (**Table 1-2**).

Personally, in line with the objectives of this case study I tried to profit of the researcher expertise from Iași who had experience in using SEM-EDX/EDS³⁹. This is a technique with historical success for pottery examination and it was routinely employed for other samples in the same centre.

For compositional analysis was used a scanning electron microscope, SEM VEGA II LSH model, manufactured by the Czech company TESCAN coupled with an EDX detector type QUANTAX QX2, manufactured by BRUKER/ROENTEC Germany. The microscope, controlled entirely via a PC, has an electron gun filament of tungsten, which can achieve a resolution of 3nm to 30kV, with magnification of 30× and 1,000,000× operating mode "resolution" acceleration voltage from 200 V to 30 kV, scanning speed between 200 ns and 10 ms per pixel. Pressure is less than 1×10^{-2} Pa. The resulting image can be formed by secondary electrons (SE) and backscatter electron (BSE). Quantax QX2 is an EDX detector handled for qualitative and quantitative micro-analysis. EDX detector is a third generation, of X-flash type, which does not require liquid nitrogen cooling and is about 10 times faster than conventional detectors Si (Li).

Technique, along with the visualization of the microphotographs (Pl. 4), allows image exposure with the mapping/layout of the investigated surface atoms. Based on X-ray spectrum will be determined the elemental composition (in percent gravimeter or molar ratios) of a microstructure or of a selected zone as soon as the evaluation of the composition variation along a vector disposed in an area or a section subjected to analysis.

³⁸ Some results of SEM-EDS analyses have been published without realizing, however a connection of all categories of results. In the same context I noted that the Nuclear Magnetic Resonance Spectroscopy investigations confirmed some of the archaeological observations. VASILESCU *et alii* 2012.

³⁹ All the SEM-EDX/EDS analysis has been carried out by dr. Viorica Vasilache and Professor Ion Sandu from Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, ARHEOINVEST Interdisciplinary Platform.

Structural analysis (SEM-EDX) has enabled the identification of compositional differences, the ratio of elements (Table 3-4), which could be explained in the context of pottery fabric technology as soon as within the contacts between communities during the Bronze Age. In this respect, I worked according to the following objectives: grouping the shards in relation to the weight of the chemical elements; watching for the elemental concentration; identifying the Caustic module (Si/Al), Alkaline-Earth module (Ca/Mg) and the Alkaline module (K/Na).

All pottery categories presented the following chemical elements: Si, Al, Fe, Ca, Mg, K, Na, P, Ti, and O (Table 1-2) In addition, there are small amounts of C in samples from Costișa-*Cetățuia*: (see the results for P1 engobe and structure, P3 engobe and P6 engobe. Mn has been positively tested in the engobe structure of the P1 sample⁴⁰.

For a finer interpretation of the test results, the elemental ratios of Si/Al (Caustic module) and Ca/Mg (Alkaline-Earth module), and the ratio K/Na (Alkaline module) were calculated (Table 3-4). These data are very important for finding the average value of the gravimetric concentration.

Thus, for the analysed samples from Costișa-*Cetățuia*, it was found that the Si/Al module calculated on the engobe is contained between 1.6 and 3.5, and for the structure analysis it is between 2.1 and 3.0.

When comparing the P3 engobe with the P3 structure samples from Costișa-*Cetățuia* it was noted that the engobe Caustic module (Si/Al) is lower than on the structure while the engobe Alkaline-Earth module (Ca/Mg) is higher. Changing of the Caustic module in favour of the Alkaline-Earth module shows that the artefact was buried for a long period in aggressive soil. When the Ca/Mg module is between 0.5 and 2.5,

⁴⁰ Two ceramic fragments belonging to Costișa culture and one belonging to Monteoru culture from the Eastern Carpathians area were analyzed in the Iași laboratory. Elemental analysis results show totally different by comparing with those obtained for the shards from Costișa-*Cetățuia*. This observation might suggest the use of different raw materials, different technology or just another cultural behavior. Unfortunately, the authors of the investigation have not referred to the place of provenance of the three pottery fragments to be able to carry out a comparative overview. SANDU *et alii* 2010, Table 1 and Table 3

it means that they are residual elements of combustion, and when the ratio is greater than 3 they are from contamination.

Whether the Ti and Fe are present in large quantities at the exterior surface of the pots is due to the exterior slip or of pigments. The presence of Mn on the outside surface of the samples P1 is due to the “painting” material structure.

The Carbon present in the engobe and the structure of the sample P1 from Costișa-Cetățuia, only in low concentrations, shows that the artefact was burned at temperatures around 850°C. The samples which do not contain C in the paste show that “the flue gases carrying the hydrocarbons that decomposed on the outer surface did not penetrate into the interior of the vessel”⁴¹. Obtaining this constant level of temperature for firing pottery shows good technical knowledge⁴² visible from most of the samples subjected to the tests. The presence of the C on the outside of the pottery sample (P1, P3, P6) probably means that it is due to the contamination of the site.

Analysing these elemental compositions (Table 1-2) and the three module (Table 3-4) on the Costișa-Cetățuia samples, one may easily observe that the sample P6 shows more extreme values, suggesting the hypothesis that this object was made of different materials than the other six. Following the elemental composition of the samples from the interior side of the Costișa-Cetățuia samples, I am inclined to say that the artefact corresponding to the sample P6 is made of a different material than the other⁴³. The assessment is supported by the overall appearance of the sample, the macroscopic observations and the cultural framing.

This thesis is further supported by the larger amount of P in the P6 vessel structure, compared to the other six samples coming from Costișa. This can be explained by the burning of pottery between 600°C and 800°C, as well as by maintaining a porosity of the structure that allowed organic

⁴¹ Froh 2004, 171-172.

⁴² ORTON *et alii* 1994, 68–69; GOFFER 2007, 237, 242–243 and Table 58; IORDANIDIS *et alii* 2009, 294–296 and fig. 3.

⁴³ The assesment is sustained by the analysis of the factor score saved using the regressive method. See, Plates 5-6.

liquids that contain P or phosphates to penetrate the fabric⁴⁴. The burning of pottery at temperatures above 800°C would result in a decrease of the P concentration. The low concentration of P from outside the vessel was explained by their direct exposure to heat sources and repeated heating during use. Also, the P is up to six times higher in the basis of the vessel in respect to the rim of it⁴⁵. No less important is the speculation that vessels which have a high content of P at the interior side could belong to the cooking vessel category (boiling wheat or beans!!!). According to archaeological typology the sample should come from a Monteoru askos-like vessel, which would suggest that the vessel was worked out for cooking certain products during some ceremonies. In the same context of analysis, could be interpreted the occurrence of P in the P3 Costișa-Cetățuia. The analysis of P3 samples from Costișa points out the existence of a large amount of P on the outside/engobe, which proves that the vessel was burned between 600°C and 800°C and also its contamination⁴⁶. In such circumstances the sample could belong to a boiling/cooking pot or vessels with special purpose. To all these data the archaeological observation must be added: the latter reveals that the vessel in question belongs to the category of two handled cups from the Costișa ceramic group area.

Also, the sample P3 (Pl. 5-6) shows values much different than the average of other samples. The exterior side of the sample P3 should be subject to attention since the values content of the elements on the outside differs widely, which means that was contaminated from the soil, especially with P and Ca. Moreover, the presence of C, just on the exterior of the sample, show that here has been formed calcium carbonate due to moister environment in which it lay⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ CACKETTE *et alii* 1987, 122.

⁴⁵ Phosphorus is considered to be the most common element affected by different types of contamination. The normal value of P₂O₅ concentration in the clay is between 0.1 and 0.5 wt. %. There were discovered at least five different conditions in which the Phosphorus may have high values. See, PFREUDIGER-BONZON 2005, 39.

⁴⁶ GARCIA-HERAS *et alii* 2008, 9.

⁴⁷ It still remains to explain the extreme position of the P7. See Pl. 6.

Closing remarks

This contribution was a challenge which I attempted to meet by combining the archaeological investigation methods with scientific analysis methods. As was stated above, even if these methods were applied to a small body of samples, the setting of a proper research design adequate to coherent questions can lead to consistent results. This attempt is an improved model that could provide answers to questions on technology, raw material origin, transmission of knowledge, relations between communities.

The pottery technology from Costișa-Cetățuia was quite uniform. The similarities of the pottery and the technological choices may suggest a "common market" and the perpetuation of the household technology. The few differences may suggest an intra-site tradition⁴⁸ where the variations result from are given by the different treatment of two ceramic groups, coarse and fine, by the use of the temper, by certain accidents occurring during firing⁴⁹, or by the artefact history after leaving the site. Among the seven fragments stands out the P6 sample. This, by all its features is an intruder in the pottery from Costișa-Cetățuia. Within the same context I have noticed the association between P4 and P6 or the location to the extremities of the chemical identification data. Note that the two fragments were assigned to the Monteoru culture.

As I already said in another context⁵⁰, my impression is that, with very few exceptions, there are no major technological differences between the two ceramic groups (A and B). Proximity, contamination, cohabitation, all led to the transfer of knowledge and technology, as demonstrated through structural analysis⁵¹.

⁴⁸ KREITER *et alii* 2009, 114.

⁴⁹ For some indicators concerning the connections between clays and the thermal transformation, see at GARCIA-HERAS *et alii* 2008, 8. Analysing the magnification of the fresh fractures one can say that, at least for the analyzed seven shards, there's no signs of vitrification. So, maybe, the clay crystals have not been completely destroyed. According to these observation the clays used for making pots at Costișa-Cetățuia belong to the illite category.

⁵⁰ BOLOHAN 2013.

⁵¹ BOLOHAN 2013.

At the time being, we still have to answer some questions about the usefulness of this type of investigation where we have 'a bicycle made for two'⁵². The success, the degree of generalization and application of these investigations depend on openness and availability of both archaeologists and scientists, without building parallel discourses. My recent experiences have shown that, on a local scale, we have a long way to integrate the scientific investigation techniques in the archaeological interpretation. Certainly, the success of this approach should centre on the principle of *do ut des*.

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⁵² POLLARD, BRAY 2007.

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Annual Review of Anthropology

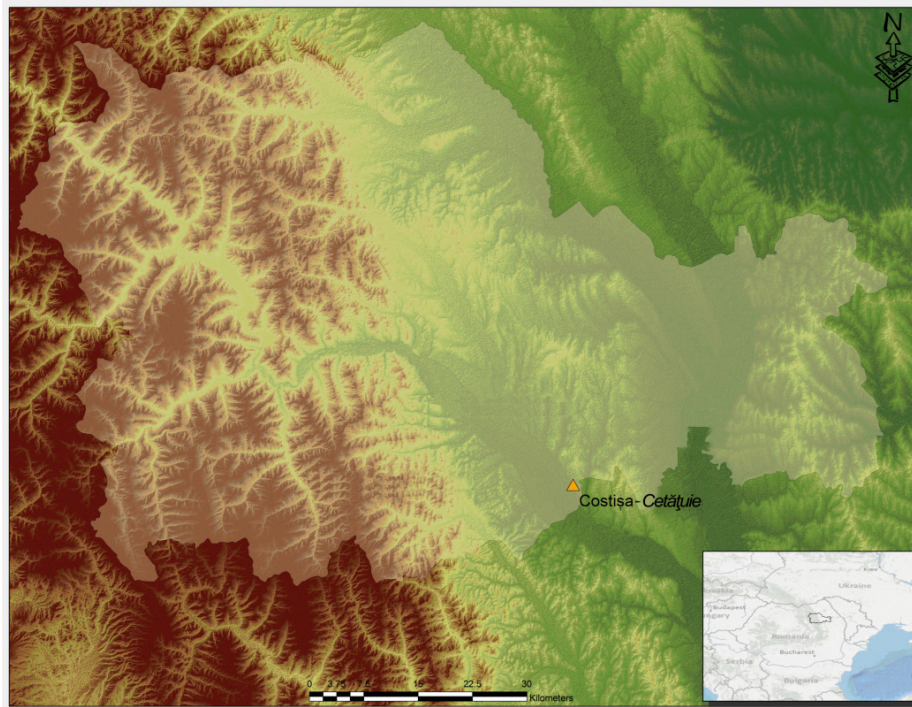
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Archeometriai Műhely



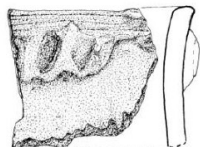

Hyperfine Interactions





IJCS



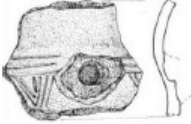

Material Characterization



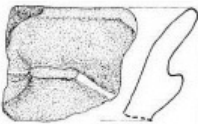







Cracău-Bistrița depression and the placement of the Costișa-Cetățuia site



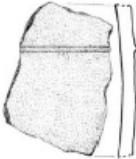

COS-P1			
Original Sherd (front and back sides)		Drawing	Original Sherd (thin section)
			
Stratigraphy and spatial patterning		Plateau B, S XIV, squares 2-3/b-c, -0,18-0,26 m, Costișa ground layer (the area with broken pottery)	
Surface treatment, firing conditions		Coarse, Oxidation	
Ingredients		Grog, Gravels	
Exterior color		2.5 YR 5/6	
Wall thickness		7,26 mm	
Diameter of rim		20 cm	
Vessel type and ceramic group		Bowl, Costișa Group	

COS-P2			
Original Sherd (front and back sides)		Drawing	Original Sherd (thin section)
			
Stratigraphy and spatial patterning		Plateau B, S XVIII, square 6a, -0,25 m, second layer of stones	
Surface treatment, firing conditions		Fine, Reduction	
Ingredients		Carbonates	
Exterior color		7.5 YR 6/4	
Wall thickness		5,52 mm	
Diameter of rim		—	
Vessel type and ceramic group		Cup, Costișa Group	

COS'07-P3			
Original Sherd (front and back sides)		Drawing	Original Sherd (thin section)
			
Stratigraphy and spatial patterning		No. 427 Costișa 2007	
Surface treatment, firing conditions		Fine, Reduction	
Ingredients		–	
Exterior color		10 YR 8/2	
Wall thickness		6,97 mm	
Diameter of rim		–	
Vessel type and ceramic group		Cup, Costișa Group	

COS-P4			
Original Sherd (front and back sides)		Drawing	Original Sherd (thin section)
			
Stratigraphy and spatial patterning		Plateau A, S I, squares 3-4, -0,30 m	
Surface treatment, firing conditions		Coarse, Reduction	
Ingredients		Grog, Gravels, Quartz	
Exterior color		5 Y 3/1	
Wall thickness		11,47 mm	
Diameter of rim		30 cm	
Vessel type and ceramic group		Bowl, Monteoru Group	

COS-P5			
Original Sherd (front and back sides)		Drawing	Original Sherd (thin section)
			
Stratigraphy and spatial patterning		Plateau A, S I, squares 9-10, -0,36 m, Costișa ground layer	
Surface treatment, firing conditions		Fine, Reduction	
Ingredients		Grog, Quartz	
Exterior color		10 YR 6/1	
Wall thickness		10,00 mm	
Diameter of rim		–	
Vessel type and ceramic group		Everted Bowl, Costișa Group	

COS-P6			
Original Sherd (front and back sides)		Drawing	Original Sherd (thin section)
			
Stratigraphy and spatial patterning		Plateau A, S I, squares 7-8, -0,32 m	
Surface treatment, firing conditions		Semi fine, Reduction	
Ingredients		Grog, Limestone	
Exterior color		7.5 YR 5/2	
Wall thickness		6,98 mm	
Diameter of rim		–	
Vessel type and ceramic group		Askos (?), Monteoru Group	



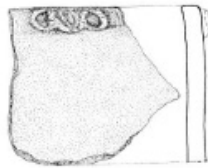
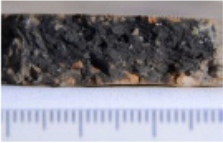
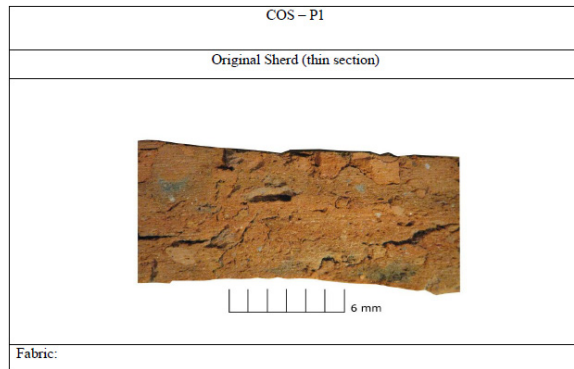
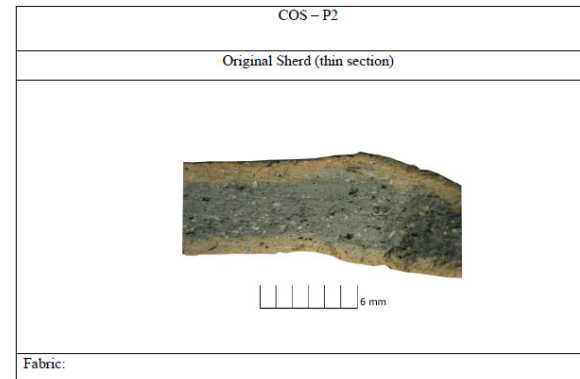
COS-P7			
Original Sherd (front and back sides)		Drawing	Original Sherd (thin section)
			
Stratigraphy and spatial patterning		Plateau A, S III, square 5b, -0,40 m, under the stones	
Surface treatment, firing conditions		Coarse, Reduction	
Ingredients		Grog, Gravels	
Exterior color		7.5 YR 5/4	
Wall thickness		10,22 mm	
Diameter of rim		43 cm	
Vessel type and ceramic group		Everted bowl, Costișă Group	

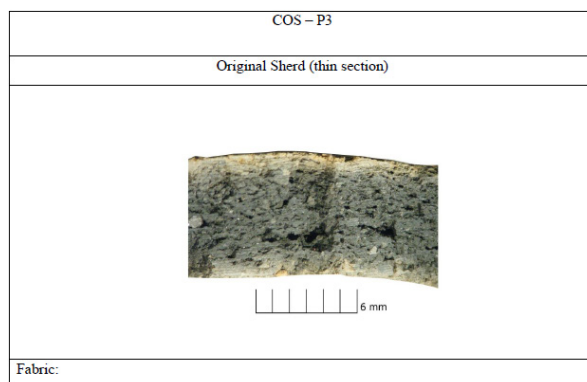
Plate 2. Costișă-Cețățuia. The archaeological database (P1-P7)



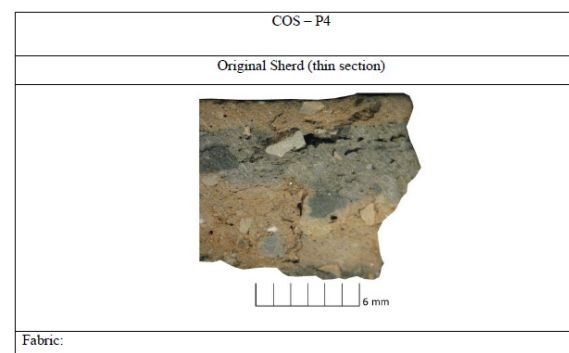
Dominant grain types:	Grog
Relatively few grain types:	Gravels
Sporadically occurring grain types:	Calcite
Shapes of the dominant grains:	Sub-angular
Sizes of the dominant grain:	1mm ≤ 2,5 mm
Total quantity of grains:	30%
Matrix/pores:	Coarse
Sorting:	Moderate
Remarks:	Reduction and no added surface; Costișa Group



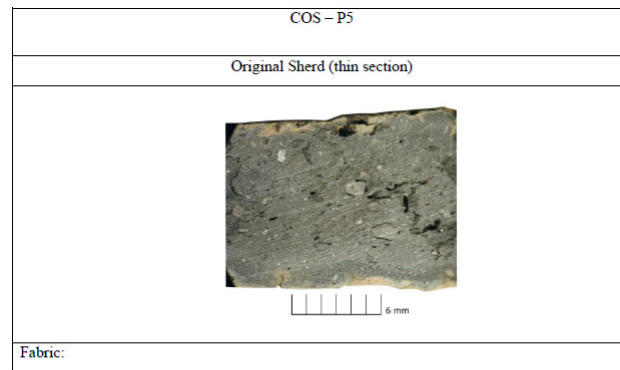
Dominant grain types:	Carbonates (?)
Relatively few grain types:	–
Sporadically occurring grain types:	–
Shapes of the dominant grains:	Well rounded
Sizes of the dominant grain:	>1 mm
Total quantity of grains:	15-20%
Matrix/pores:	Fine
Sorting:	Good
Remarks:	Reduction, greyish core and reddish surfaces; Costișa Group



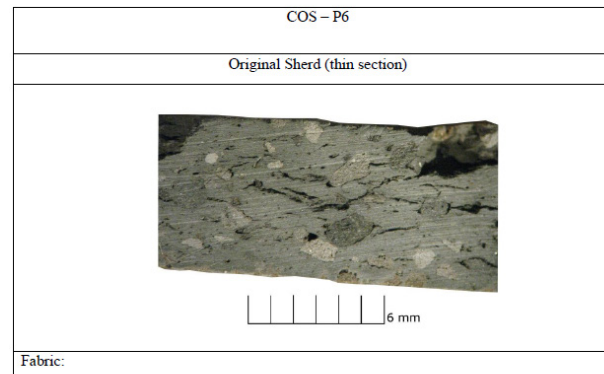
Dominant grain types:	Carbonates
Relatively few grain types:	Gravels
Sporadically occurring grain types:	–
Shapes of the dominant grains:	Sub-rounded
Sizes of the dominant grain:	>1mm
Total quantity of grains:	15 %
Matrix/pores:	Fine
Sorting:	Good
Remarks:	Reduction, greyish core and yellow-reddish surfaces; Costișa Group



Dominant grain types:	Grog
Relatively few grain types:	Gravels
Sporadically occurring grain types:	Carbonates, Quartz/Feldspar (?)
Shapes of the dominant grains:	Sub-angular
Sizes of the dominant grain:	2,5 mm
Total quantity of grains:	35-40 %
Matrix/pores:	Coarse, porosity
Sorting:	Bad
Remarks:	Reduction, thin greyish core, yellow-reddish surfaces, poor fabric; Monteoru Group



Dominant grain types:	Grog
Relatively few grain types:	Quartz
Sporadically occurring grain types:	Carbonates
Shapes of the dominant grains:	Sub-rounded
Sizes of the dominant grain:	1,5 mm
Total quantity of grains:	15-20%
Matrix/pores:	Semi fine, porosity/cracking
Sorting:	Bad
Remarks:	Reduction, greyish core and thin yellowish surfaces; Monteoru Group



Dominant grain types:	Grog
Relatively few grain types:	Calcite
Sporadically occurring grain types:	Feldspar
Shapes of the dominant grains:	Sub-rounded
Sizes of the dominant grain:	1,5 mm
Total quantity of grains:	40%
Matrix/pores:	Semi fine, Porosity/cracking
Sorting:	Moderate
Remarks:	Reduction, greyish color, no added surfaces; Monteoru Group



COS – P7	
Original Sherd (thin section)	
	
	
Fabric:	
Dominant grain types:	Grog
Relatively few grain types:	–
Sporadically occurring grain types:	Carbonates
Shapes of the dominant grains:	Sub-angular
Sizes of the dominant grain:	2mm
Total quantity of grains:	45-50%
Matrix/pores:	Coarse, porosity/cracking
Sorting:	Bad
Remarks:	Reduction, mosaic like fabric, greyish core: Costișa Group

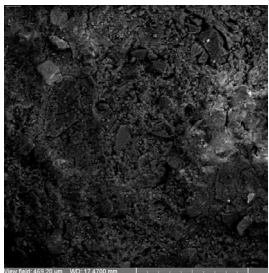

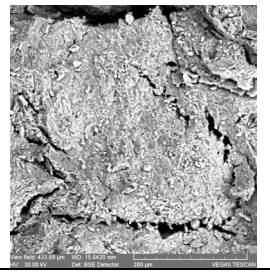
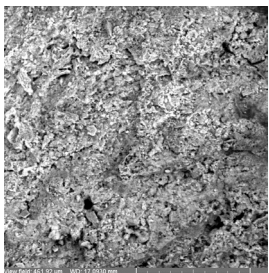
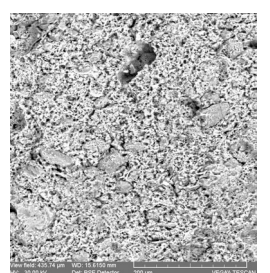
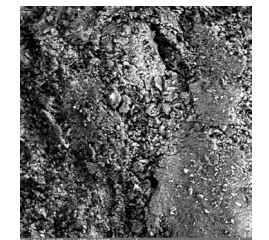

Plate 3. Costișa-Cetățuia. The archaeological database. Fresh cut sections (P1-P7)

Cos Samples	Si	Al	Fe	Ph	Ca	K	Ti	Mg	Na	C	Mn	O	Sum
P1 engobe	28.040	10.953	7.708	1.938	2.548	2.835	1.188	1.737	0.506	0.970	0.434	41.143	100
P3 engobe	17.456	10.615	5.532	5.493	5.939	1.713	0.890	1.214	0.456	1.229		46.966	100
P4 engobe	36.592	10.320	6.047	0.541	1.255	2.861	0.662	1.143	0.874			39.705	100
P5 engobe	28.267	10.633	5.890	2.603	3.041	2.461	0.902	1.829	0.551			43.824	100
P6 engobe	27.701	10.223	5.252	3.417	1.743	2.865	0.925	0.986	0.998	1.594		44.297	100
P7 engobe	29.182	10.963	5.202	3.325	2.515	2.259	0.959	1.027	0.794			43.774	100

Table 1. Costișă-Cetățuia. Elemental composition for the engobe samples (SEM-EDS analysis)

Cos Samples	Si	Al	Fe	Ph	Ca	K	Ti	Mg	Na	C	O	Sum
P1 struct.	29.619	10.752	5.275	2.037	1.932	3.154	0.778	1.532	0.782	1 562	42.577	100
P1 struct.	31.361	11.807	4.861	2.380	2.525	3.195	0.751	1.217	0.392		41.509	100
P1 struct.	33.475	11.811	5.829	2.433	1.863	2.567	0.661	1.299	0.524		39.539	100
P1 struct.	33.389	10.995	5.246	1.452	2.092	2.926	0.699	1.356	0.736		41.108	100
P1 struct.	30.470	11.708	4.822	2.292	2.894	2.716	0.654	1.477	0.654		42.313	100
P1 struct.	25.273	11.969	6.523	6.507	2.531	2.423	1.048	0.901	0.604		42.221	100
P1 struct.	31.300	10.078	4.728	1.944	2.826	2.786	0.878	0.965	0.728		43.768	100

Table 2. Costișă-Cetățuia. Elemental composition for the structure samples (SEM-EDS analysis)

Cos samples	Engobe	Structure
P1		
P2		
P3		
P4		

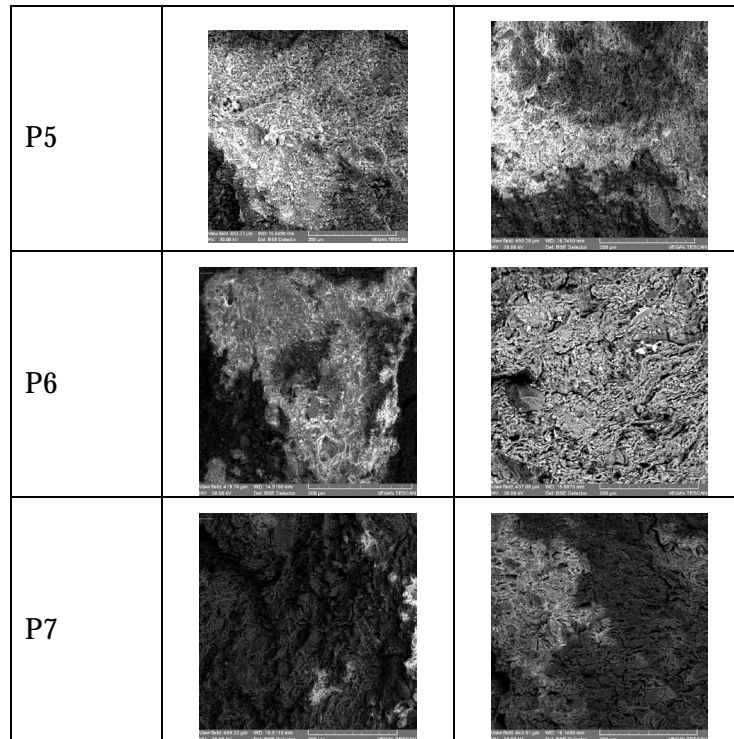


Plate 4. Costișa-Cetățuia. BSE microphotographs for P1-P7 samples

Module	Si/Al	Ca/Mg	K/Na
P1 engobe	2.56	1.47	5.60
P3 engobe	1.65	4.90	3.76
P4 engobe	3.55	1.10	3.27
P5 engobe	2.66	1.66	4.47
P6 engobe	2.71	1.77	2.87
P7 engobe	2.66	2.45	2.84

Table 3. Costișa-Cetățuia, SEM-EDS analysis. Molar Ratio for engobe

Module	Si/Al	Ca/Mg	K/Na
P1 structure	2.75	1.26	4.03
P2 structure	2.67	2.07	8.15
P3 structure	2.83	1.43	4.90
P4 structure	3.07	1.54	3.97
P5 structure	2.60	1.96	4.15
P6 structure	2.11	2.81	4.01
P7 structure	3.10	2.93	3.83

Table 4. Costișa-Cetățuia, SEM-EDS analysis. Molar Ratio for structure

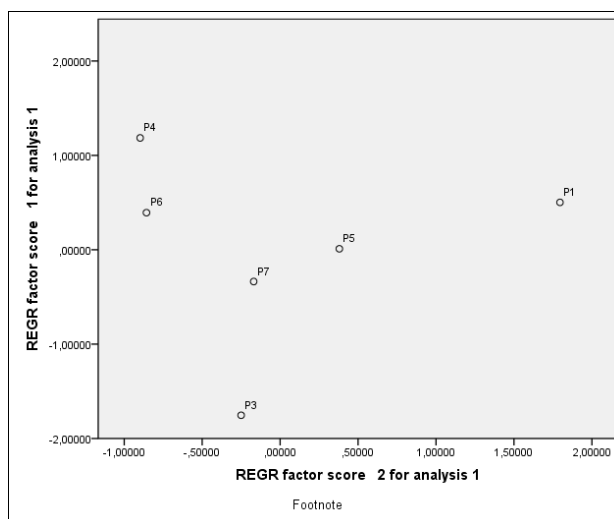


Plate 5. Plotting based on the chemical analysis of the Costișă-Cetățuia sample by SEM-EDX. The samples are marked according to the archaeological data base (engobe).

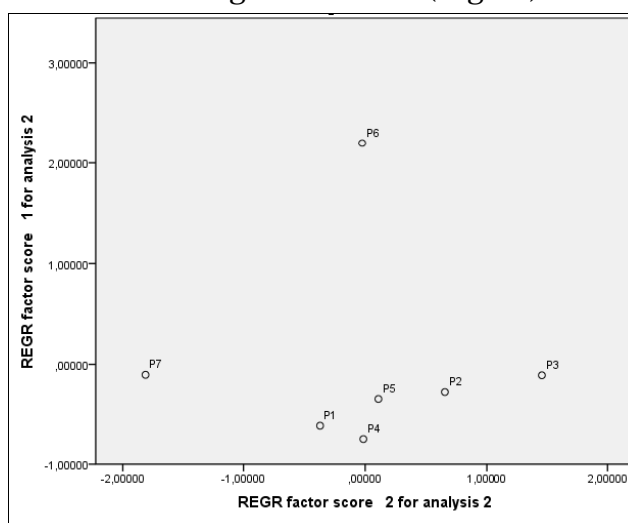


Plate 6. Plotting based on the chemical analysis of the Costișă-Cetățuia sample by SEM-EDX. The samples are marked according to the archaeological data base (structure).

**SOME NOUA SETTLEMENTS WITHOUT ASH-MOUNDS FROM THE
EASTERN PART OF ROMANIA (WITH EMPHASIS ON THE REGION OF THE
BÂRLAD BASIN)**

ELENA VIERU¹

Keywords: Noua culture, the Bârlad Basin, the Eastern part of Romania, settlements without ash-mounds, change in cultural aspects.

Abstract: *The aim of this paper is to draw the attention to some Noua settlements for which no ash-mounds were revealed during the excavations. Though, I focus in the first place on the Basin of the Bârlad River, I will also look for parallels in the Eastern part of Romania. A small number of excavations were performed in Late Bronze Age settlements from the Bârlad Basin; in three cases, the small scale soundings revealed levels without ash-mounds. The comparison between layers with and without ash-mounds allowed some preliminary observations to be made, though further reinforcement is needed. I intend to present those particular cases and to bring into discussion some of the remarks the researchers made. Also, an objective of this approach is to establish a starting point of a discussion about Noua settlements without ash-mounds.*

Rezumat: *Articolul de față prezintă câteva așezări Noua unde nu au fost descoperite cenușare în timpul săpăturilor. Astfel, autoarea își concentrează analiza asupra așezărilor din bazinul Bârladului, căutând analogii cu așezări din estul României. Unul din obiectivele acestui demers este și de a stabili un început al unei discuții privind așezările fără cenușare aparținând culturii Noua.*

I. Introduction

The Noua culture is a Late Bronze Age group which is characteristic for a large area, delimited eastward by Dniestr river, westward by the Apuseni Mt., to the North by Northern Carpathians and the southern limit is given by the Siret-Prut confluence point². Ash-mounds are among the defining elements of the cultural complex

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² VULPE 2001, 281.

Sabatinovka-Noua-Coslogeni (S-N-C). Their definition and function has been a subject of different theories and polemics³.

However, the aim of this paper is not to discuss the ash-mounds but to draw the attention to the sites that didn't reveal any traces of "ashy" soil during the diggings. Up to now, only disparate mentions about these particular cases have been made. In this situation, an approach bringing together the data and outlining some remarks made by the researchers has the potential of creating a starting point for a more detailed study of Noua settlements without ash-mounds.

This article is divided into several sections. First, some information will be provided on the territorial and chronological framework of the Noua culture as a whole. Furthermore, I present the sites from the Bârlad Basin which revealed no ash-mounds during the excavation. In the end, I will summarise the observations made by the researchers and I will look for parallels that can fill in the database. The study ends with the suggestion of models that can explain the lack of ash-mounds from some Noua settlements.

II. Geographical framework

At the end of the Middle Bronze Age, significant changes took place, which characterize the beginning of the Noua culture in the east- and intra-Carpathian regions, on the left side of Prut River and also in Carpathian Ukraine. Out of this vast territory, the study focuses in the first place on the Basin of Bârlad River, which lies within the core of Noua culture. This small area is part of a larger plateau region, extending on both sides of Prut River. The left side is bordered by the Codru Bâcului hills and on the right side by the Moldavian Plateau.

Within the Basin of Bârlad River, there is hilly terrain with altitudes decreasing from north (around 400 m) to south (ca 250 m). The major axis of the region is the Bârlad valley, that connects the surrounding regions through its tributaries⁴. This hydrographical unit is not rich either in water

³ SAVA 2005, 78-83; DIETRICH 2011, 131-142; SAVA, KAISER 2011, 421-434.

⁴ POGHIRC 1983, 45.

supplies or natural resources⁵. Communities living in Bârlad valley were also not favoured by fertile soils⁶.

III. Chronological framework

Traditionally, it is assumed that the chronological framework of the Noua culture coincides with the end of the Bronze Age. This division corresponds, *grosso modo*, to LH (Late Helladic) III from the Aegean tripartite system⁷. Since its first mentions until two decades ago, the chronological limits for the Noua culture were established between XIV-XIII/XII centuries B.C.⁸. Lately, radiocarbon dating and new archaeological investigations extended its limits between XVI-XIII/XII centuries B.C.⁹.

IV. Methodology and sources

This paper is the result of a study I was carrying out as a doctoral Student at the University of Iași¹⁰. Firstly I created a database that recorded all known sites from the Bârlad basin assigned to Late Bronze Age. This framework was supplemented through the study of archaeological collections owned by the museums from Iași, Vaslui, Bârlad, Bacău and Tecuci, and through field research. Afterwards, the information from this database was analyzed also according to the presence or absence of ash-mounds.

I identified around 180 certain or probable Noua settlements in the Basin of the Bârlad River. In half of the cases ash-mounds were mentioned in the documentation. For the other half, there was no specific information about the settlement type (pl. 1). Beyond this, I have been able to identify

⁵ MUTIHAC, STRATULAT, FECHET 2007, 29.

⁶ BARBU 1987, 158-160.

⁷ MOUNTJOY 1993, 4, table I; VULPE 2001, 15.

⁸ NESTOR 1934, 116-117, and also the bibliographical marks 480-481; NESTOR 1934, 183, and also the bibliographical mark 47; NESTOR, PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1960, 113-114, where the authors assign Noua culture to the third and the last part of the Bronze Age; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1953, 443-486; FLORESCU 1964, 143-216.

⁹ KAISER, SAVA 2009, 147-159.

¹⁰ The thesis was coordinated by Prof. Univ. Dr. Nicolae Ursulescu.

three sites that were excavated and which revealed no ash-mounds. These are Dealu Morii-*Gura Ghionoaiei* (the last level of the Late Bronze Age settlement), Dădești-*Pe Tablă*, as well as Negrileşti-*Zaharia*. Recently, the fourth Noua settlement from the southern part of the Bârlad Basin, discovered by chance while digging a different chronological context, does not contain traces of “ashy” soil. These last discoveries will be further discussed when the stratigraphy and the archaeological material will be published.

I have had to rely on the published archaeological plans/outlines of the investigations of these sites since detailed drawings were and are not available¹¹.

1. Dealu Morii (pl. 1/1)

The Late Bronze Age settlement from Dealu Morii is located in the western part of the Bârlad Basin, in the region of the Tutova hills. In 1963 a small excavation was performed here and Monteoru and Noua settlement layers were found¹². The authors (M. Florescu and V. Căpitanu) mention that the trenches they made, T and L, revealed a settlement with two Late Bronze Age levels, the one below with remains of ash-mounds and the last one without (pl. 2)¹³. The authors assert that the second level, documenting a later phase of Noua culture, overlaps and extends beyond the former one, although the general excavation plan suggests that the archaeological structures from this subsequent layer were spread between and around the ash-mounds, not above them¹⁴. However, there are some limitations in

¹¹ The plans included in the plate section have been modified (in most of the cases, I removed other archaeological structures but those ones assigned to Noua culture) in order to reflect the plan of Late Bronze Age inhabitation and to transmit the informations in a simpler, easier way.

¹² FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, 50.

¹³ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, 71, fig. 1/1-11. The authors say that this last layer contains five houses, two pits and some other living structures that were not so well preserved. In the plan of the Noua layer without ash-mounds they illustrated 11 living structures.

¹⁴ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, 71; FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1968, 35-48. A brief remark: in the article published in 1968, M. Florescu and V. Căpitanu shortly describe the Noua settlement from Banca. In their second article, from 1969, in the first bibliographical mark they indicate that due to administrative changes, the settlement from Banca is now called Dealu Morii.

fully relying on the published data: the sounding was small scale and the stratigraphy is ambiguous, insufficiently explained.

Another site considered by the authors of the excavation (M. Florescu and V. Căpitanu) without ash-mounds is the one from Dădești (pl. 1/2). The site is located a few km north of Dealu Morii village. In 1963 a small trench (83 x 1 m) was dug here (pl. 3). Among other discoveries (assigned to the Neolithic and late Hallstatt periods) archaeological material from the Monteoru and Noua cultures was found¹⁵. There were not any structures assigned to the Late Bronze Age (like houses, pits or hearths), only some scarce archaeological material: pottery, bone artefacts. The authors concluded that this site does not contain ash-mounds, because no clustering of archaeological material was noticed and there are no signs of “ashy” soil¹⁶.

Though this case is not relevant for a comprehensive study of the subject, I consider that it must be mentioned when talking about Noua sites without ash-mounds identified in the Bârlad Basin. It is noteworthy also because the authors, M. Florescu and V. Căpitanu, assume that this Late Bronze Age “layer” from Dădești is contemporary with the last level from Dealu Morii, though they do not offer a strong argument for this assumption, like artefacts’ parallels; instead, they suggest that in both cases the archaeological remains are no longer clustered, but spread¹⁷. Another interesting point is that M. Florescu and V. Căpitanu talk again¹⁸ about the possibility of a final (third) phase of Noua culture, represented in the western part of the Bârlad Plateau by settlements with and without ash-mounds¹⁹.

2. Negrilești (pl. 1/3)

The settlement is located on the left bank of the Bârlad River at the interface of two different geographical regions, i.e. the Tutova hills in the

¹⁵ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1971, 123.

¹⁶ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1971, 123.

¹⁷ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1971, 123.

¹⁸ They also mentioned this hypothesis in their articles from 1968 and 1969.

¹⁹ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1971, 127-128.

north and the Tecuci plain in the south. The small scale excavation performed here in 1981 revealed, among others, a double Noua burial, but it was only 2008 when another campaign found additional Late Bronze Age material²⁰. Systematic research that began in 2009 is still ongoing and that makes of Negrileşti the only settlement of Noua culture that is currently investigated in the Bârlad basin²¹. Nine pits, one deposition and one house assigned to Late Bronze Age have been discovered up to now²² (pl. 4).

In order to find out if the absence of ash-mounds is also associated with differences in the inner structure of the settlements or in material culture, it is necessary a detailed study, regarding aspects like: the type and the size of the houses, the distance between them and their arrangement within the settlement, the building techniques, other structures (hearths, pits) and the frequency of different types of artefacts. Unfortunately, the published data is not satisfactory to allow such an approach: the number of the sites without ash-mounds is too small and they have been investigated through small scale soundings, so we don't have a proper view of the main characteristics of these settlements. Looking for a change in the frequency and structure of artefact types is not sustained and also risky, since only a percentage of the material culture was discovered and published. There are, though, some mentions made by the authors of the diggings, more or less argued, that can be mentioned here and that if, they are even partly correct, indicate that the absence of the ash-mounds is accompanied by changes in material culture's aspects:

- The final level from Dealu Morii consists of ground level houses²³ and the excavations from Negrileşti revealed one pit dwelling²⁴. Both types

²⁰ ADAMESCU, ILIE 2011, 21.

²¹ Also, small digging performed in 2010 in the neolithic site *Tăcuta-Dealul Miclea* revealed a Middle Bronze Age à Late Bronze Age necropolis, which is, at the moment, the only (proto?) Noua burial context investigated nowadays in the studied region (<http://cimec.ro/arheologie/cronicaca2012/cd/index.htm>).

²² ADAMESCU, ILIE 2011, 23-25.

²³ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, 71.

²⁴ ADAMESCU, ILIE 2011, 24-25.

are peculiar to the entire S-N-C cultural complex²⁵, so that no particular trait of these settlements can be seen on the basis of this architecture.

- The regular size of the clay platforms found within the ash-mounds²⁶ is around 3,5 x 4m (14 m²), with quasi-rectangular contours²⁷. A similar situation was recorded in the layers without ash-mounds (Dealul Morii, the last level, and Negrileşti), where the houses are around 14 m²²⁸.

- A detailed comparison between the structure of the settlements with and without ash-mounds is hampered by the small scale excavations performed in the sites presented here, so we do not have the overall picture. There are noteworthy, though, some observations that the authors of the diggings, comparing levels with and without ash-mounds, made:

- The ash-mound contains one or more levels, and usually each level consists of a cluster of two or three platforms distributed randomly in each level of the mound. This is the situation revealed by large scale excavations performed at some sites such as Gârbovăţ²⁹, Lichitişeni³⁰, Cavadineşti – the layer with ash-mounds³¹ (these three sites are located in the Bârlad Plateau, which partially corresponds to the Bârlad Basin). One exception is from Cândeşti (lies southwards of the region discussed here,

²⁵ MANZURA, SAVA 1994, 186.

²⁶ The purpose of this paper is not to debate the character of the “ash-mounds”. According to the some known contexts from the Eastern part of Romania, ash-mounds consist from one or more levels of platforms that were seen as house floors. The subject is still a matter of discussion. DIETRICH 2011, 132, where the author claims that only the “ash-mounds” have been studied, and the space between or near them not.

²⁷ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1968, 37. Bigger sized platforms are an exception, like the one of 7x2,3 m from Tăvădăreşti-Banca, with three hearths, dated to the second phase of Noua culture (FLORESCU 1991, 128).

²⁸ ADAMESCU, ILIE 2011, 24. In one case, the authors of the excavation from Dealul Morii mention a house of 7 x 2,3 m, with three hearths (FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, 72, fig. 5). Both the description and the drawing looks alike the house from Tăvădăreşti-Banca as it was published by A. C. Florescu (FLORESCU 1991, fig. 6), and it might be a confusion. There are known houses with impressive surfaces found in Noua sites, like the one from Andrieşeni, of 35-40 m² (FLORESCU 1959, 120).

²⁹ FLORESCU, RUGINĂ, VICOVEANU 1967, 76.

³⁰ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1968, 37; FLORESCU 1991, 87.

³¹ DRAGOMIR 1959, 455.

outside the Carpathian curve), where the houses were arranged radially around a “cult place”³². Usually, the distance between the platforms inside the ash-mounds is around 3-4 m³³.

- In contrast to this, in the level without ash-mounds from Dealu Morii, the distance between the five houses is much larger and they are not clustered, but spread over a large area (pl. 2). Because this one example cannot sustain our argument that the structure of the level without ash-mounds, shown only partially by the investigation, differs, I looked for similar situations in other areas of Noua culture. The excavation performed at the Cavadinești site, near the Bârlad Basin, revealed two Late Bronze Age levels: the first one, older, with ash-mounds, and the second one, later, without³⁴. The author assumes that during this second phase the community living in Cavadinești had to abandon the ash-mounds and build houses around and between them, because the area for inhabitancy became more and more restricted³⁵. The material discovered in this second phase from Cavadinești shows a simplification in pottery style compared to the previous level, and the prevalence of Noua elements³⁶, and this suggests that the second level could be assigned to the final phase of the culture, *grosso modo* contemporary with the second layer from Dealu Morii and with the one from Negrileşti.

- In order to build domestic structures, the Late Bronze Age communities used wattle and daub technology, in other words the available raw materials. Occasionally (for instance in the first level from Dealu Morii, unlike the ones from Bârboasa and Lichitişeni³⁷), the clay platforms found within the ash-mounds overlay a pebble or stone layer and the remains of the wooden sill beam is shallow³⁸. In the second level

³² FLORESCU, FLORESCU 1990, 58.

³³ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1968, 37.

³⁴ DRAGOMIR 1960, 157.

³⁵ DRAGOMIR 1960, 157.

³⁶ DRAGOMIR 1960, 156-157.

³⁷ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1968, 37; FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, 58-60.

³⁸ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1968, 37.

from Dealu Morii the houses lack an actual platform³⁹. Nevertheless, no firm comparison can be made until new research is performed.

- Comparing the artefact frequency between layers with and without ash-mounds is untenable at the moment. Yet, the authors of the investigations from Dealu Morii mention the decrease in bone material in the second level (they do not specify if is household waste, tools or both) and the increase of grinding stones⁴⁰. This fact is considered as evidence that Noua communities who until recently were seen as leading a nomadic way of live, may have led a more sedentary lifestyle⁴¹.

The number of examples discussed here and the small scale investigations do not allow assumptions to be made. Therefore, I looked for sites without ash-mounds in the Eastern part of Romania and I identified some specific situations:

A: Sites where the level with ash-mounds is followed by one without “ashy” soil, where the living structures are no longer clustered, but spread all over the surface of the layer. These situation is specific to the second layers from Dealu Morii and Cavadinești, located in the southern part of the region. In both cases, the second layers are more recent and have been assigned to a late phase of Noua culture.

B: Sites that do not show evidence of ash-mounds: Negrilești, Dădești, Ripiceni-Izvor. I also mentioned another case of Noua settlement without ash-mounds, but published data is needed.

- The authors of the digging from Negrilești date the findings, based on a horse bit, somewhere in the XIIth century B.C⁴².

- The situation from Dădești is not clear, also because the sounding was irrelevant due to its scale: the authors did not find any ash-mound while digging and they did not see any traces of “ashy” soil around. Due to this and also to the fact that the sporadic material is spread all over the

³⁹ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, 71-72.

⁴⁰ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, 73.

⁴¹ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1968, 46.

⁴² ADAMESCU, ILIE 2011, 34.

Dădești Hill and is not clustered, the authors of the diggings indicate the possibility that this site is contemporary with the second level from Dealu Morii⁴³.

- The situation from Ripiceni-Izvor is not clear; in this case, it is mentioned only that the Noua material does not come from ash-mounds⁴⁴.

C: Other questions are posed by Noua settlements, where the archaeological material is found in clusters, without forming a proper ash-mound. This is the situation of many Late Bronze Age sites from the Sub-Carpathian region, where only few settlements with typical ash-mounds have been identified⁴⁵.

D: In only one case, that of Epureni, the ash-mound superposes a mound with “ashy” soil, with a maximum width in the middle of 0,7 m that thins towards the edges⁴⁶. In the report published in 2001, E. Safta mentions two layers, the one from the top with ash-mounds and the one below without, but no remarks to the assignment of the material to any of Noua phases were made⁴⁷. The next year’s report does not solve the problematic details; on the contrary, the author talks about a Bronze Age level, ante-Noua, two Late Bronze Age layers and one settlement assigned to early Hallstatt⁴⁸.

V. Results and Discussions

The possibility to find a well-argued hypothesis about the causes of the appearance of the Noua settlements without ash-mounds is out of question at this stage of research. There are noteworthy, though, some remarks that can replace, for the moment, the lack of firm theories:

⁴³ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1971, 123.

⁴⁴ PĂUNESCU, ȘANDURSCHI, CHIRICA 1976, 31.

⁴⁵ DIACONU 2008-2010, 53; DIACONU 2012, 101.

⁴⁶ SAFTA 2001, <http://cronica.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=1174>; The author doesn’t say anything else about the settlement without „ash-mounds”.

⁴⁷ SAFTA 2001, <http://cronica.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=1174>.

⁴⁸ SAFTA 2002, <http://cronica.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=1362>.

a. the ash-mounds were not discovered, but they might exist. In the situation where only small areas were investigated, they might be somewhere around. It is possible that the digging from Dădești did not reach the proper settlement. An example in this respect is the settlement from Mihălășeni, where the ash-mounds could not be seen at the surface, but they were found while digging⁴⁹. A plausible explanation, suggested by Lidia Dascălu is that it is possible, during all these millennia, that the ash-mounds were flattened (because of the short inhabitancy, agriculture, geomorphologic factors) or they can be visible today only in case of thick cultural layers⁵⁰.

b. there are no ash-mounds.

b.1. This was considered to be a clue for the short inhabitancy period of the site, which could be the case for Dădești. In my opinion, this hypothesis is noteworthy, also because the ash-mounds often have more than one cultural phases and they indicate a longer and more intense inhabitancy of the settlement.

b.2. If we exclude the cause of short inhabitancy and if changes (like the appearance/disappearance of ash-mounds) can be noticed from one Noua layer to the next one, then it would be appropriate to talk about a process of change in cultural aspects⁵¹. In this case, the problem of the lack of ash-mounds is more complex and each variation should be dealt with separately. Unfortunately, there are not known so many cases of such settlements, that have been also dug, so, at the moment, we can talk of exceptions, but not of a pattern.

The problem of Epureni settlement is interesting, because the ash-mound layer overlaps the one without. If the level below belongs to the first phase of Noua culture, then this settlement could offer a glance into a

⁴⁹ DASCĂLU 2007, 80, 240.

⁵⁰ DASCĂLU 2007, 80, 240.

⁵¹ To use in this context the formula “cultural change” is risky, since even the term “culture” is so complex and there isn’t an agreement between different schools of archaeology, anthropology, ethnology, etc. (HOLE 1973, 28).

gradual process of appearance of the ash-mounds⁵². The observation is supported also by the structure of the Pufești settlement, where a trench performed in a Monteoru IIa and IIb site revealed a type of settlement with houses clustered in groups of 35-45 m diameter⁵³. These clusters were located at a distance of 25-30 m from each other⁵⁴. But since we do not know yet the nature of the material from Epureni, first level, and we don't have more examples from Monteoru IIa and IIb and Noua I, this is only an idea that needs further consideration.

The last levels from Dealu Morii and Cavadinești also pose problems of interpretation. This problematic situation is reinforced by the discoveries from Negrilești. Coincidence or not, these three particular sites, located in the southern part of Siret-Prut interfluve, are assigned to a developed phase of Noua culture. There have been discussions about a final phase (III?) of this culture⁵⁵, in which some of the defining elements, like ash-mounds, disappear. This alleged third phase would be characterized by the increase of the agricultural activities and by a more sedentary lifestyle of the Late Bronze Age communities⁵⁶. In the same time, a possible cause of these changes might be the contact with the Early Iron Age elements⁵⁷. It was also mentioned that these changes in material culture, reflected also by the lack of ash-mounds from levels assigned to the end Noua culture, are announcing the changes that were about to happen⁵⁸.

VI. Conclusions

Due to the current state of research, outlining a firm argued hypothesis is a difficult approach. Therefore, I rather wanted to draw the attention to the lack of the ash-mounds from particular sites of Noua

⁵² FLORESCU 1964, 164-165, talks about the phase before Noua culture, with sites that contain smaller, more clear bordered ash-mounds.

⁵³ FLORESCU, NICU, RĂDULESCU 1971, 159.

⁵⁴ FLORESCU, NICU, RĂDULESCU 1971, 159.

⁵⁵ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1968, 46; FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, 77.

⁵⁶ FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, 77.

⁵⁷ LÁSZLÓ 1976, 64 and the bibliographical mark 44.

⁵⁸ LÁSZLÓ 1972, 220 and the bibliographical mark 24.

culture, first and foremost from the Bârlad Basin. Later on, several parallels were identified in the Eastern part of Romania. The brief description and discussion of these particular cases show rather the difficulty of approaching the subject. It is upon further investigations to fill in this framework and to expand the discussions on the theme.

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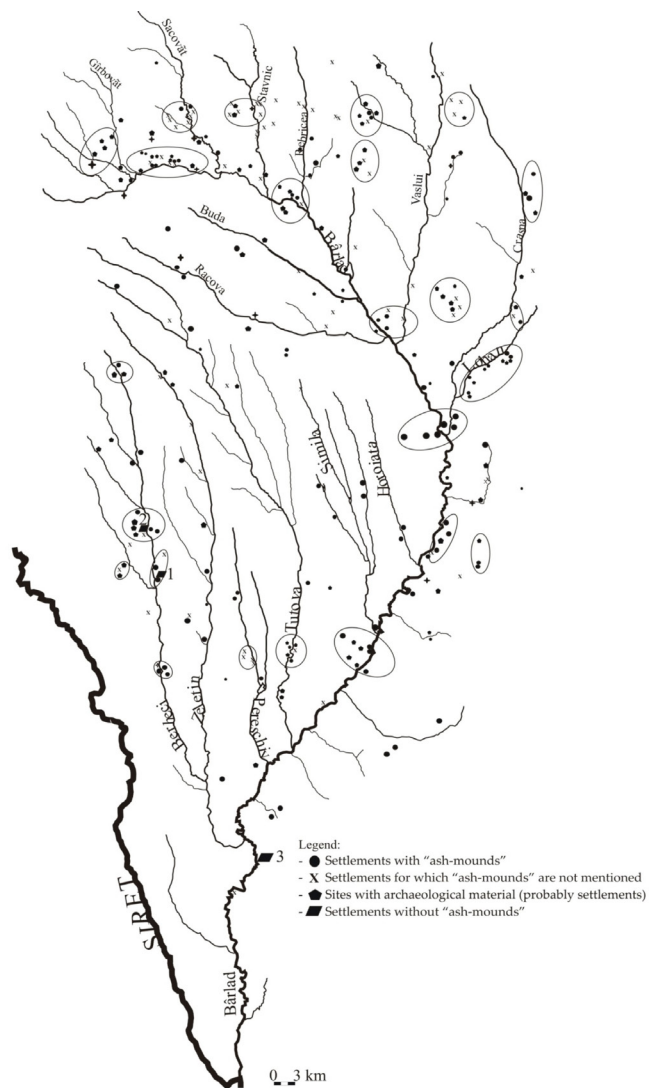


Plate 1. Distribution map of Late Bronze Age (Noua culture) sites from the Bârlad Basin

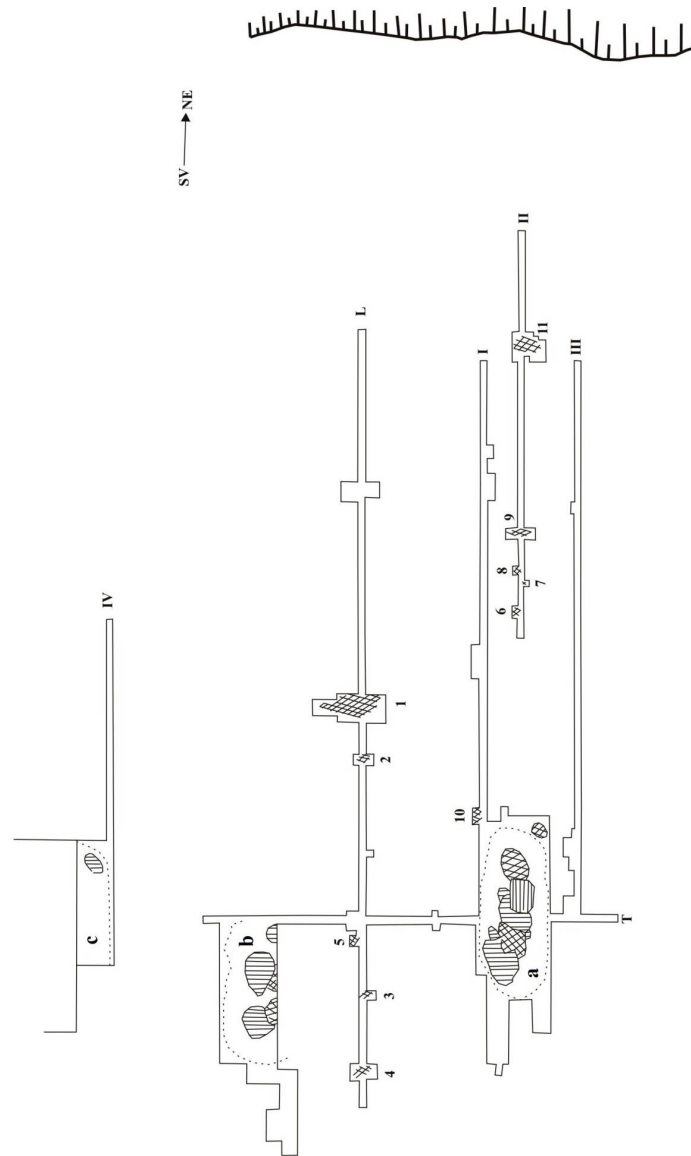
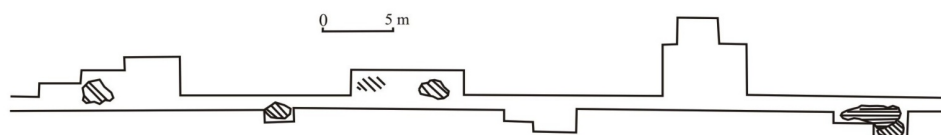


Plate 2. Dealu Morii-Gura Ghionoaiei: the excavation plan. a-c: „ash-mounds”; 1-11: inhabitory structures from the last level (adapted after FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969, fig. 1)



Legend:

 Noua archaeological material

 Monteoru artefacts

 Undetermined artefacts

Plate 3. Dădești-*Pe Tablă*: the outline of the small scale sounding (after FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1971, fig. 1)

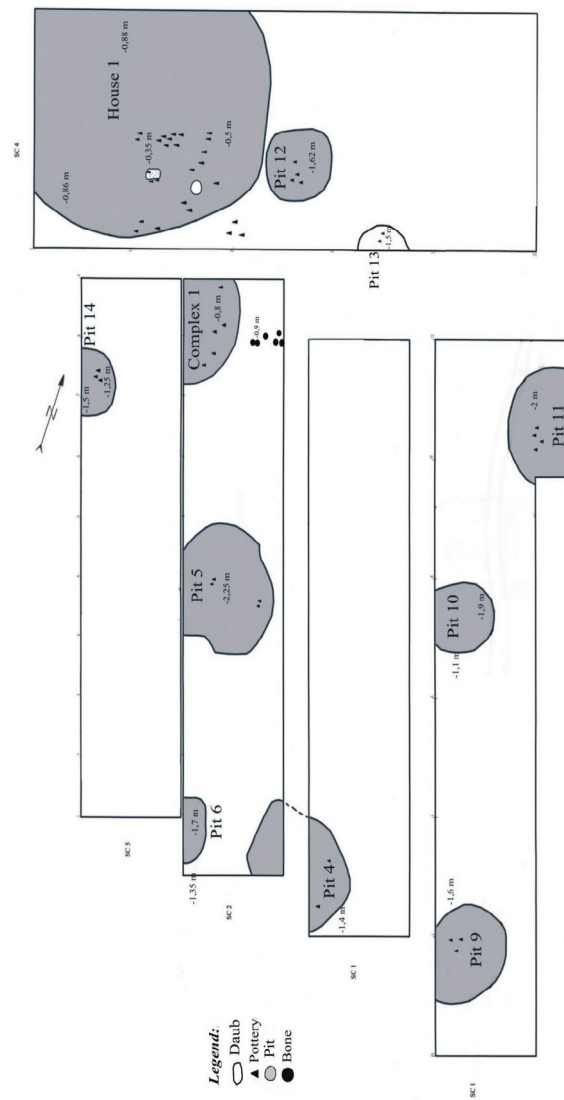


Plate 4. Negrileşti-Zaharia: the excavation plan with Nougă structures and material (after ADAMESCU, ILIE 2011, fig. 1/3)

**OSWALD SPENGLER UND DER STREITWAGEN: EIN PLÄDOYER FÜR
UNIVERSALGESCHICHTE**

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Keywords: Oswald Spengler, anti-Eurocentric historical view, war chariot.

Abstract: *Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) was one of the most influential philosophers of history between WW I and WW II. His book "The Decline of the West" (1918) made him famous. In this book Spengler attested that the phase of the West as a productive culture is over and that the phase of civilization has started. In the years after the publication of his main work Spengler started to get more and more interested in Ancient History in its broadest sense. He argued against a Eurocentric view of history and suggested to reconsider our common understanding of history and its epochs. In the last part of the paper I try to show how Spengler conceptualized his universal history by the example of a lecture given by him on the war chariot and its influence on world history.*

Zusammenfassung: *Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) war einer der einflussreichsten Geschichtsphilosophen der Zwischenkriegszeit. Sein Ruhm gründete sich auf sein 1918 erschienenes Hauptwerk „Der Untergang des Abendlandes“, in dem Spengler das Ende der abendländischen Kultur diagnostiziert und eine Phase der Zivilisation voraussagte. In den 1920er Jahren wandte sich Spengler vermehrt der Alten Geschichte im weitesten Sinn zu. Er argumentierte gegen ein eurozentristisches Geschichtsbild und empfahl das Überdenken herkömmlicher abendländischer Epocheneinteilungen. Einen Vortrag Spenglers mit dem Titel „Der Streitwagen und seine Bedeutung für den Gang der Weltgeschichte“ nehme ich hier als Ausgangspunkt, um zu zeigen, wie sich Spengler diesen universalhistorischen Ansatz vorstellte und weshalb dieser fruchtbar ist.*

Rezumat: *Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) a fost unul dintre cei mai influenți filosofi ai istoriei din perioada interbelică. Faima lui se fundamentează pe lucrarea sa de căpătâi „Declinul occidentului”, în care el realizează un diagnostic al sfârșitului culturii occidentale și pervede o altă etapă a civilizației. În anii 1920, Spengler devine din ce în ce mai interesat de istoria antichității în sensul cel mai larg al cuvântului. El polemizează împotriva unei viziuni eurocentriste asupra istoriei și sugerează reconsiderarea înțelegerii istoriei și a epocilor istorice. În ultima parte a lucrării voi încerca să prezint modul în care Spengler conceptualizează istoria universală prin exemplul unei conferințe susținută de el, în care vorbește despre carul de luptă și despre influența acestuia asupra istoriei lumii.*

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Oswald Spengler: Leben und Werk

Oswald Spengler wurde am 29. Mai 1880 in Blankenburg im Harz geboren. Sein Vater Bernhard Spengler war Postsekretär, seine Mutter Pauline, geborene Grantzow, entstammte einer Künstlerfamilie. Vor allem Spenglers Tante Adele Grantzow erwarb sich durch ihre Tanzkünste internationalen Ruhm, so trat sie schon mit vierzehn Jahren als Solotänzerin am Hoftheater in Hannover auf, ließ sich danach noch in Paris ausbilden und nahm 1864/65 ein Engagement in der Hochburg des Balletts – in St. Petersburg – an, das sie endgültig zu einem Weltstar machte. Auftritte vor Napoleon III., dem Zaren Alexander II. und König Wilhelm von Preußen folgten. 1876 starb Adele an einer Blutvergiftung². Der Einfluss dieser Tante, über deren Schicksal Spengler nach eigener Auskunft erst im Alter von 18 Jahren aufgeklärt wurde, ist für seine Karriere wohl in zweierlei Hinsicht von Bedeutung. Zunächst gab das Bewusstsein aus einer Künstlerfamilie zu stammen Spenglers literarischen Ambitionen sicherlich einen weiteren Anstoß und nach dem Tod seiner Mutter, die von ihrer Schwester Adele ein kleines Vermögen geerbt hatte, gab ihm diese Erbschaft die Möglichkeit sich aus dem Schuldienst zurückzuziehen und sich auf seine schriftstellerische Tätigkeit zu konzentrieren³.

Doch zunächst noch kurz zum Bildungsweg Spenglers. In Halle besuchte Spengler die Latina der Franckeschen Stiftungen, eine vom Pietismus geprägte Schule, in der er jedoch eine gründliche humanistische Ausbildung genießen konnte. Das Studium der modernen Sprachen war allem Anschein nach eher dürftig, dieses Manko versuchte Spengler später durch Selbststudium auszugleichen. Die Atmosphäre der Schule empfand Spengler als bedrückend⁴. 1899 bestand er das Abitur und da er aufgrund eines Herzfehlers vom Militärdienst freigestellt war, begann er gleich im Anschluß in Halle ein Lehramtsstudium der Mathematik und der Naturwissenschaften. Nach dem Tod des Vaters im Jahr 1900 beschloss Spengler Halle zu verlassen und wechselte 1901 nach München, das ihn

² KOKTANEK 1968, 6-8.

³ KOKTANEK 1968, 113.

⁴ KOKTANEK 1968, 19-20.

von Anfang an faszinierte⁵. 1902 verbrachte er ein Semester in Berlin, das ihn nicht sonderlich begeistert⁶. Seine Dissertation mit dem Titel „Heraklit – eine Studie über den energetischen Grundgedanken seiner Philosophie“ reichte Spengler in Halle ein, sie wurde zunächst abgelehnt, nach der Einarbeitung der geforderten Fachliteratur jedoch angenommen. Um das Staatsexamen zu erhalten verfasste Spengler eine zweite Arbeit über „Die Entwicklung des Sehorgans bei den Hauptstufen des Tierreichs“ und schloss sein Studium im Jahr 1904 ab⁷.

Im Jahr 1905 sollte Spengler den Schuldienst in Lüneburg antreten. Er erlitt beim Anblick der Schule jedoch einen Nervenzusammenbruch und kehrte nach Blankenburg zurück. Die familiären Verhältnisse waren jedoch seit dem Tod des Vaters unerträglich geworden und so zog es Spengler vor das elterliche Haus schnell wieder zu verlassen und trat eine Stelle in Saarbrücken an. 1906 wechselt er nach Düsseldorf, 1907 nach Hamburg wo er eine fixe Anstellung als Oberlehrer bekommt⁸. Etwa ein Jahr nach dem Tod der Mutter im Jahr 1910 quittierte Spengler den Schuldienst und zog wieder nach München, das bis zu seinem Tod sein Wohnort bleiben sollte.

Der sogenannte Panthersprung nach Agadir, die Entsendung des deutschen Kanonenboots Panther nach Agadir aus Anlass der Einmärsches französischer Truppen nach Marokko, war für Spengler ein Erweckungserlebnis. Nach der langen Friedenszeit, zumindest in Deutschland, zeigte dieses Ereignis wie fragil die politische Situation in Europa geworden war und wie schnell es zu einem militärischen Konflikt der hochgerüsteten imperialen Mächte Europas kommen konnte. Spengler war nun überzeugt, dass die politische Entwicklung Europas geradewegs auf eine Katastrophe, einen Weltkrieg, hinauslaufe. Für ein wirkliches Verständnis dieser Entwicklung, so Spengler, müsste man zumindest die Entwicklung der letzten Jahrhunderte überblicken – die Idee zum

⁵ KOKTANEK 1968, 56-58.

⁶ KOKTANEK 1968, 67.

⁷ KOKTANEK 1968, 68.

⁸ KOKTANEK 1968, 95.

Untergang des Abendlandes war geboren⁹. Von 1911 an arbeitete Spengler am Untergang des Abendlandes und Anfang 1917 gab er das Werk in den Satz. Seiner ungebrochener Siegeszuversicht verleiht Spengler im Vorwort des ersten Bandes Ausdruck, das er im Dezember 1917 verfasst hat: „Ich habe nur den Wunsch beizufügen, daß dies Buch neben den militärischen Leistungen Deutschlands nicht ganz unwürdig dastehen möge“¹⁰.

Als der Krieg mit der Niederlage Deutschlands endet, bricht Spenglers Traum eines von Deutschland dominierten Europas zusammen und er findet sich bald in erklärter Gegnerschaft zur Weimarer Republik. Die bolschewistischen und nationalistischen Revolutionsversuche lehnt er jedoch gleichermaßen ab und hoffte darauf, dass die Monarchie wieder zurückkehren würde¹¹. Mitten in die Zeit der Niederlage fällt der persönliche Triumph Spenglers. Der Untergang des Abendlandes macht ihn mit einem Schlag berühmt und löste eine heftige wissenschaftliche und öffentliche Kontroverse um Spenglers Thesen aus, deren Verlauf in den vier Jahren von 1918 bis 1922 von Manfred Schröter dokumentiert wurde¹². In den Jahren nach der Niederlage sah es Spengler als seine Pflicht an, seinen Ruhm nutzend an der Neugestaltung Deutschlands – natürlich seinen eigenen Vorstellungen gemäß – zu arbeiten. Mit der Schrift „Preußentum und Sozialismus“ eröffnete Spengler 1919 eine Reihe von politischen Schriften, die 1933 mit „Jahre der Entscheidung“ endet¹³. Unter dem Eindruck des verlorenen Weltkrieges setzt sich Spengler für eine Wiedererstarke Deutschlands ein, das sich nun – Spengler erscheint hier als Realpolitiker aus der Schule Machiavellis – im Kampf um die Verteilung der Welt seinen Platz sichern müsse und dessen Aufgabe es letztendlich sei ein Imperium der Spätzeit zu errichten. Damit gelangen wir zu Spenglers Geschichtsphilosophie, die er im Untergang des Abendlandes zum Ausdruck brachte und die ich hier zumindest in ihren wichtigsten Punkten umreißen möchte.

⁹ KOKTANEK 1968, 128-129.

¹⁰ SPENGLER 1972, XI.

¹¹ KOKTANEK 1968, 212.

¹² SCHRÖTER 1922, abermals abgedruckt als Teil 1 in SCHRÖTER 1949.

¹³ SPENGLER 1919 und SPENGLER 1933.

Wie bereits erwähnt wurde Spengler mit dem Erscheinen seines Hauptwerks mit einem Schlag berühmt und sein Titel „Der Untergang des Abendlandes“ wurde zu einem Ausdruck des Lebensgefühls nach der Katastrophe des ersten Weltkrieges¹⁴. Spengler machte es sich zum Ziel, die einzelnen Stadien des Unterganges, den er als geschichtsmorphologisch begründete Tatsache ansah, voranzubestimmen. Dieses Ziel wollte er durch Analyse und Vergleich historisch erfassbarer Untergangsphänomene erreichen, da er annahm, dass alle Kulturen ähnliche Stadien von Entstehung und Zerfall durchlaufen¹⁵. Nach Auskunft des Buchtitels steht die abendländische Kultur in ihrer Endphase, vor ihrem quasi gesetzmäßig eintretenden Untergang. Unweigerlich denkt man hier an den – zumindest im Abendland – meistdiskutierten Untergang, den der Antike. Das Ende der Antike erscheint als Katastrophe. Die Vorstellung dieses Untergangs ist verknüpft mit halbwildem Völkern, die mordend und plündernd durch das Gebiet des ehemaligen Imperiums ziehen, mit dem Verlust antiken Kulturgutes und vieler zivilisatorischer Errungenschaften. Auf die kulturell hochstehende Antike folgt das düstere Mittelalter, das Europa, zumindest nach populärer Vorstellung, erst in der Renaissance wieder zur kulturellen Höhe der Antike zurückfinden lässt. Ist das das Bild, das Spengler für seine Zukunft – unserer Gegenwart gezeichnet hat?

In einem im Jahr 1921 veröffentlichten Aufsatz mit dem Titel „Pessimismus?“ sieht Spengler sich einem „beinahe allgemeine[n] Mißverständnis“ ausgesetzt, das einerseits darauf beruhte, dass dem Buch ein neuer „Blick auf die Dinge, aus dem die Methode sich erst entwickelt“ zugrunde liegt, andererseits war es „die Verkettung von Zufälligkeiten“, die dazu führte, dass das Buch „Mode wird“ und infolgedessen auch

¹⁴ So stellt etwa KOKTANEK 1968, 214 fest: „Psychologisch verdankt das Buch freilich seinen Erfolg einem Mißverständnis: der Sorge jener aus dem Krieg enttäuscht zurückgekehrten Generation, die seinerzeit buchstäblich mit dem *Faust* und Hölderlins Gedichten im Tornister ausgezogen war, daß der politische Untergang des kaiserlichen Deutschlands der Anfang vom Ende Europas sei.“

¹⁵ „Jede Kultur durchläuft die Altersstufen des einzelnen Menschen. Jede hat ihre Kindheit, ihre Jugend, ihre Männlichkeit und ihr Greisentum.“ SPENGLER 1972, 144.

außerhalb des Fachpublikums gelesen und rezipiert wird, wobei vor allem die „verneinende Seite“ zur Geltung kam¹⁶. Auch der Titel, der keine Reaktion Spenglers auf den verlorenen Krieg war, sondern für ihn bereits seit Jahren feststand, führte wohl dazu, dass sich Spengler dem Pessimismus-Vorwurf stellen musste:

„Das Verständnis wurde endlich erschwert durch die bestürzende Aufschrift des Buches, obwohl ich ausdrücklich betont hatte, daß sie bereits vor Jahren feststand und die strenge historische Bezeichnung einer Tatsache ist, deren Seitenstücke zu den bekanntesten Erscheinungen der Geschichte gehören. Aber es gibt Menschen, welche den Untergang der Antike mit dem Untergang eines Ozeandampfers verwechseln. Der Begriff einer Katastrophe ist in dem Worte nicht enthalten“¹⁷.

Spengler sieht sich also bemüht seinen reißerisch wirkenden Titel etwas zurückzunehmen und schlägt nun eine Art Alternativtitel vor, der Absicht und Inhalt seines Werkes vielleicht besser entsprochen hätte:

„Sagt man statt Untergang Vollendung, ein Ausdruck, der im Denken Goethes mit einem ganz bestimmten Sinn verbunden ist, so ist die 'pessimistische' Seite einstweilen ausgeschaltet, ohne daß der eigentliche Sinn des Begriffs verändert worden wäre“¹⁸.

„Die Vollendung des Abendlandes“ wäre also ein möglicher Titel für Spenglers Hauptwerk gewesen, der seine geschichtsphilosophischen Ansichten besser beschrieben hätte. Tatsächlich schwankte Spengler selbst in seinen Ansichten gelegentlich zwischen einer – mit Spinoza gesprochen – Einsicht in die Notwendigkeit der Tatsache einer verfallenden Kultur¹⁹ und dem aktiven Bemühen die Folgen dieses Verfalls zu mildern oder zumindest zu verzögern, denn ihm ging es immer auch um

¹⁶ SPENGLER 1951, 63.

¹⁷ SPENGLER 1951, 63.

¹⁸ SPENGLER 1951, 63-64

¹⁹ Diese pessimistische, aber doch im Sinne Nietzsches bejahende, nicht nach Erlösung suchende, Haltung Spenglers findet etwa in „Der Mensch und die Technik“ Ausdruck: „Die Zeit läßt sich nicht anhalten; es gibt keine weise Umkehr, keinen klugen Verzicht. Nur Träumer glauben an Auswege. Optimismus ist Feigheit.“ SPENGLER 1931, 88.

Handlungsempfehlungen für den tätigen Menschen²⁰. So stellt er fest, dass er sein Werk „an tätige und nicht an kritische Menschen“ wendet und es immer als Grundlage für ein „Weltbild, in dem man leben, und nicht ein Weltsystem, in dem man grübeln kann“²¹ gedacht war. Für Spengler befinden wir uns nun schon seit mehr als 100 Jahren in der Phase einer verfallenden Kultur, die ihren Höhepunkt überschritten hat und sich bereits tief in der Phase der Zivilisation, der erstarrenden Kultur befindet, die entweder von einer neuen Kultur – Spengler hielt eine neunte, wahrscheinlich russische Kultur für möglich – abgelöst wird oder zu einem Fellachentum erstarrt, worunter Spengler – ganz im Stil der Nietzeschen Verachtung der Massen – die dumpf vor sich dahinlebende Masse ansieht, die keiner kulturellen Neuerung mehr fähig ist. Spenglers berühmter Satz „Zu einem Goethe werden wir Deutschen es nicht wieder bringen, aber zu einem Cäsar.“²² soll zeigen, dass auch im Stadium der Zivilisation große Aufgaben warten. Es ist nicht mehr die in sich ruhende, sich vollendende Kultur des Rokoko, deren Symbol der dichtende Staatsmann Goethe wurde, sondern ein römisches Zeitalter, geprägt von harten Tatsachenmenschen, die politische und wirtschaftliche Imperien errichten.

Die zunächst nicht weiter kommentierte Tatsache, dass die russische Kultur die neunte sein wird, liegt an Spenglers System der Kulturen. Für Spengler gab es bisher acht große Kulturen, die, bis auf die in Vollendung begriffene abendländische, alle untergegangen sind oder

²⁰ So schreibt Spengler über seine Auffassung der sich im Endstadium der Zivilisation befindlichen abendländischen Kultur „Ich betrachte diese Lehre als eine Wohltat für die kommenden Generationen, weil sie ihnen zeigt, was möglich und also notwendig ist und was nicht zu den inneren Möglichkeiten der Zeit gehört. Es ist bisher eine Unsumme von Geist und Kraft auf falschen Wegen verschwendet worden. [...] Hier endlich hat die Arbeit von Jahrhunderten ihm [dem westeuropäischen Menschen – S.F.] die Möglichkeit gegeben, die Lage seines Lebens im Zusammenhang mit der Gesamtkultur zu übersehen und zu prüfen, was er kann und soll. Wenn unter dem Eindruck dieses Buches sich Menschen der neuen Generation der Technik statt der Lyrik, der Marine statt der Malerei, der Politik statt der Erkenntniskritik zuwenden, so tun sie, was ich wünsche, und man kann ihnen nichts Besseres wünschen.“ SPENGLER 1972, 56-57.

²¹ SPENGLER 1951, 64.

²² SPENGLER 1951, 79.

erstarrt, im Zustand der Zivilisation weiterexistieren. Dies sind:

- die ägyptische,
- die babylonische,
- die indische,
- die chinesische,
- die antike (griechisch-römische),
- die mexikanische,
- die arabische und
- die abendländische Kultur²³.

Alle diese Kulturen zeichnen sich durch eine, wie sich Spengler ausdrückt, ihnen eigene Seele, eine Uridee aus, die sich innerhalb dieser Kultur zu entfalten versucht²⁴. Spengler vergleicht diese Kulturen nun mit dem Leben eines Menschen. Was dieser Mensch in seinem Leben tun wird, welche Entwicklung er einschlagen wird, kann man mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit erraten, aber nicht sicher vorhersagen, dass dieser Mensch jedoch einen gewissen Handlungsspielraum, der etwa durch die Lebensumstände seiner Zeit vorgegeben ist, und eine gewisse Lebensspanne hat, kann man mit Sicherheit sagen. Genauso kann man nach Spengler auch Geschichte vorhersagen²⁵. Es kann, wie im Falle der mexikanischen Kultur, zu einem „vorzeitigen Köpfen“ kommen und die Kultur verlischt, ohne sich vollendet zu haben oder die Kultur vollendet sich und geht in die Phase der Zivilisation über, die mehr oder weniger unbestimmt lange dauern kann.

Die Rede von der Seele einer Kultur wirkt auf den ersten Blick befremdlich und verführt dazu in Spengler einen abgehobenen Metaphysiker zu sehen, der nach Belieben Wesenheiten einführt, um seine Metaphysik zu spinnen. Wenn Spengler vor Nietzsche gelebt hätte, könnte man ihm dies unterstellen. Die Annahme, dass ein derart von Nietzsche geprägter Denker eine dogmatische Metaphysik einführt, die dazu noch Seelen von Kulturen als quasi biologische Lebewesen einführt, erscheint

²³ SPENGLER 1972, 24.

²⁴ SPENGLER 1972, 210ff.

²⁵ Die Möglichkeit zur Vorhersage beruht auf dem Phänomen der Gleichzeitigkeit, siehe dazu weiter unten.

absurd. Wenn man diesen Widerspruch auflösen will, muss man dazu übergehen, Spenglers Geschichtsphilosophie als Metaphysik im Sinne Nietzsches zu verstehen, nämlich als Begriffsdichtung, als eine Art Kunstwerk:

„Daß sich die meisten Denker einbilden, ›die‹ Wahrheit gefunden zu haben, die alle richtig finden sollten, ist grotesk. Ich begnüge mich, meine Metaphysik zu schildern in der Hoffnung, verwandten Seelen zur Bildung der ihrigen zu helfen“²⁶.

Was bedeutet dies nun für unseren Umgang mit Spengler – ist Spengler nur ein Literat, der die Weltgeschichte in eine neue Form gießt? Ein Künstler, der in seiner Morphologie der Weltgeschichte die adäquate Ausdrucksform gefunden hat? Zum Teil. Spengler ist überzeugt, dass die Zeit der Hochkultur vorüber ist und er in einer Zeit lebt, in der die meisten Künste schon gestorben sind, was übrigbleibt ist Kunstgewerbe²⁷. Die Geschichtswissenschaft nimmt er explizit davon aus. Geschichtswissenschaft ist für Spengler mehr als die von ihm kritisierte positivistische Quellen- und Archivwissenschaft. Echte Geschichtswissenschaft hat für Spengler immer etwas mit Einfühlung und Dichtung zu tun. Seiner Ansicht nach kann man das Bild einer Epoche erst dann überzeugend entwerfen, wenn man sie für sich selbst zum Leben erweckt hat. Die Geschichtswissenschaft ist etwas spezifisch westeuropäisches, sie ist die künstlerische Ausdrucksform einer Spätzeit, einer intellektuell abgeklärten Großstadtelite, einer alten Kultur²⁸:

²⁶ SPENGLER 1966, 13.

²⁷ SPENGLER 1951, 77.

²⁸ Man muss hier fast Platon erwähnen, der die Ägypter als ein altes, weises, die ganze Geschichte überblickendes Volk darstellt, das den geschichtslosen Griechen milde lächelnd gegenübersteht und ihnen klar macht, dass die Geschichte zyklisch abläuft und dass sie in ihrer Jugend nur den geringsten Teil davon überblicken, da die Erde immer wieder von Katastrophen heimgesucht wird, die den größten Teil der Menschheit vernichten (Timaios 22b-23c). Genau dieses zyklische Denken finden wir auch bei Spengler wieder. Allerdings nicht wie bei Platon durch kosmische Katastrophen – Weltenbrände und Fluten – ausgelöst, die nur von wenigen Hirten in den Bergen – sowie den von der Natur besonders bevorzugten Ägyptern – überlebt werden, sondern durch einen inneren Verfall, einen Ablauf der Lebenszeit der Kulturen.

„Wir Menschen der westeuropäischen Kultur sind mit unserem historischen Sinn eine Ausnahme und nicht die Regel, ‚Weltgeschichte‘ ist *unser* Weltbild, nicht das ‚der Menschheit‘. Für den indischen und den antiken Menschen gab es kein Bild der werdenden Welt und vielleicht wird es, wenn die Zivilisation des Abendlandes einmal erloschen ist, nie wieder einen menschlichen Typus geben, für den ‚Weltgeschichte‘ eine so mächtige Form des Wachseins ist“²⁹.

Spengler nimmt für sich nicht in Anspruch alle geschichtlichen Tatsachen erklären zu wollen. Er ist vielmehr der Meinung, dass kausale Erklärungen oft fehl am Platz sind, da manches spontan, chaotisch entstehe. Dennoch ist er davon überzeugt, dass er mit der im Untergang des Abendlandes beschriebenen Geschichtsmorphologie, die Geschichtsschreibung auf eine neue Basis gestellt hat. Eine berühmte Kantsche Wendung nützend, zieht Spengler auch Kopernikus heran, um den Verdienst seiner Philosophie herauszustellen:

„Es ist jetzt endlich möglich, den entscheidenden Schritt zu tun und ein Bild der Geschichte zu entwerfen, das nicht mehr vom zufälligen Standort des Betrachters in irgendeiner – seiner – ‚Gegenwart‘ und von seiner Eigenschaft als interessiertem Gliede einer einzelnen Kultur abhängig ist [...]. Hier war noch einmal eine Tat wie die des Kopernikus zu vollbringen, eine Befreiung vom Augenschein im Namen des unendlichen Raumes, wie sie der abendländische Geist der Natur gegenüber längst vollzogen hatte, als er vom ptolemäischen Weltsystem zu dem für ihn heute allein gültigen überging und damit den zufälligen Standort des Betrachters auf einem einzelnen Planeten als formbestimmend ausschaltete. Die Weltgeschichte ist derselben Ablösung von einem zufälligen Beobachtungsort – der jeweiligen ‚Neuzeit‘ – fähig und bedürftig“³⁰.

Was Spengler also erreichen will, ist die Aufhebung der perspektivischen Bedingtheit aller Geschichtsbetrachtung. Wenn man so

²⁹ SPENGLER 1972, 20-21.

³⁰ SPENGLER 1972, 125-126.

will versucht Spengler den ägyptischen Standpunkt Platons einzunehmen. Dies versucht er durch die Aufhebung der Idee einer Menschheitsgeschichte zu erreichen und spricht jeder seiner acht Kulturen eine eigenen Wert unabhängig von ihrem Zusammenhang oder ihrem Beitrag zu unserer Zeit zu. Jede Kultur soll für sich stehen, muss aus sich heraus, von ihrer Uridee her, verstanden werden³¹.

Diese Betrachtungsweise der Geschichte, als eine Abfolge von für sich stehenden Kulturen, die zwar alle unterschiedlich sind, deren Entwicklung jedoch einem vorgegebenen Verlauf unterliegt, führt zu Spenglers Begriff der Gleichzeitigkeit. Phänomene verschiedener Kulturen können nur dann sinnvoll verglichen werden, wenn sie „gleichzeitig“, das heißt im gleichen Entwicklungsstadium der zu vergleichenden Kulturen zu verorten sind³².

Doch zurück zu Spenglers Aktivitäten nach seinem Berühmtwerden. Spengler engagierte sich für einige Zeit ohne rechten Erfolg in der Politik um sich ab dem Jahr 1924 wieder vermehrt der Wissenschaft zuzuwenden³³. Es war aber nicht so, dass sich Spengler in den Jahren 1919-1924 wissenschaftlich nicht betätigt hätte, er überarbeitet den ersten Band des Untergangs und 1922 erschien der zweite Band. Nach 1924 widmete sich Spengler vielen historischen Detailfragen und kündigte große Werke an, die jedoch niemals erschienen.

Mit dem Erscheinen seines letzten Buches „Jahre der Entscheidung“ im August 1933 das die Nationalsozialisten an mehreren Stellen scharf angreift und abermals die sinkende politische Bedeutung des Abendlandes thematisiert und vor einer Unterschätzung Russlands warnte, machte sich Spengler bei den neuen Machthabern unbeliebt, deren Werben um seine Mitarbeit an nationalsozialistischen Publikationen er immer abgelehnt hatte³⁴. Auch eine ihm in Leipzig im Juni 1933 durch den

³¹ SPENGLER 1972, 28-29. Siehe hierzu auch weiter unten.

³² SPENGLER 1971, 151.

³³ Zu Spenglers politischen Aktivitäten siehe KOKTANEK 1968, 269-309.

³⁴ KOKTANEK 1968, 306-309. Selbst eine Aufforderung durch Goebbels zur Mitarbeit an der nationalsozialistischen Propaganda lehnte Spengler ab und zog sich somit den Zorn des mächtigen Ministers zu. Kuktanek 454.

damaligen sächsischen Bildungsminister Wilhelm Hartnacke, angetragene Professur lehnte Spengler ab³⁵.

Die „Jahre der Entscheidung“ wurden zu einem ungeheuren Erfolg, der – gemessen nach Publikationszahlen – sogar noch den Erfolg des Spenglerschen Hauptwerkes übertraf. Das Buch gilt nach KOKTANEK als „das einzige während des Dritten Reiches in Deutschland erschiene Manifest des inneren konservativen Widerstandes“³⁶. Den angekündigten zweiten Teil schrieb Spengler nie, da ihm durch seinen Freund August Albers bald mitgeteilt wurde, dass sein Name im Rundfunk nicht mehr genannt werden dürfe. Spengler war nun klar, dass er bei jeder Neuerscheinung mit Zensur zu rechnen hätte³⁷. Nach anfänglicher Hoffnung durch die Schrift noch im konservativen Sinne auf die Nationalsozialisten einwirken zu können, ließ Spengler spätestens seit dem Röhmputsch alle Illusionen fahren und brach die Kontakte zu den Verehrern des Führers, zu denen etwa auch Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche gehörte, die das Nietzsche-Archiv in Weimar leitete und mit der er lange einen freundschaftlichen Umgang gepflegt hatte, ab³⁸. In seinen letzten zwei Lebensjahren wandte sich Spengler wieder verstärkt historischen Fragestellungen zu. Er publizierte eine Aufsatzreihe monographischen Ausmaßes „Zur Weltgeschichte des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends“ in der von Hans-Erich Stier herausgegebenen Zeitschrift „Die Welt als Geschichte“³⁹ und hielt noch vereinzelt Vorträge, wie etwa jenen über „Den Streitwagen und seine Bedeutung für den Gang der Weltgeschichte“ auf den ich weiter unten noch eingehen werde. In der Nacht vom 7. auf den 8. Mai 1936 starb Spengler im Alter von 56 Jahren an Herzversagen⁴⁰.

Spengler ist berühmt für seine Analyse des Untergangs der griechisch-römischen Antike, wobei diese Analyse der Vergangenheit, wie oben bereits erwähnt, uns zugleich auch helfen soll unsere eigene Zeit und

³⁵ KOKTANEK 1968, 451.

³⁶ KOKTANEK 1968, 446.

³⁷ KOKTANEK 1968, 453.

³⁸ KOKTANEK 1968, 456-460.

³⁹ Wieder abgedruckt in SPENGLER 1937, 158-291.

⁴⁰ KOKTANEK 1968, 462.

unserer Zukunft zu verstehen. Spengler wollte die Bedeutung der griechisch-römische Antike jedoch keineswegs aus den über die der anderen sieben, von ihm genannten Kulturen hervorheben, wie ich im folgenden Abschnitt zu zeigen suchen.

Spenglers Kopernikanische Wende und die Überwindung des Eurozentrismus

Dass alle Wahrnehmung vom Standpunkt des Betrachters abhängig ist und es somit die Standpunktabhängigkeit des Menschen ist, die ihn zu unterschiedlichen Ansichten über die Welt kommen lässt, ist zumindest seit Leibniz ein Gemeinplatz in der Philosophie⁴¹. Diese Standortgebundenheit des Menschen führt dazu, dass er die ihn direkt betreffenden Ereignisse seiner Zeit und Umgebung, naturgemäß als wichtiger betrachtet, als jene längst vergangener Zeiten und weit entfernter Orte:

„Daß für die Kultur des Abendlandes das Dasein von Athen, Florenz, Paris wichtiger ist als das von Lo-yang und Pataliputra, versteht sich von selbst. Aber darf man solche Wertschätzungen zur Grundlage eines Schemas der Weltgeschichte machen?“⁴²

Im Rahmen der sogenannten Globalisierung, für die Marshall McLuhan in vor fünfzig Jahren das Schlagwort des „Global Village“ geprägt hat, löst sich jedoch zumindest die räumliche Distanz auf und führt zu der Vorstellung einer vernetzten Welt, in der alles mit allem in einem Zusammenhang steht⁴³. In den historischen Fächern entstand im

⁴¹ „Und wie eine und dieselbe Stadt, die von verschiedenen Seiten betrachtet wird, als eine ganz andere erscheint und gleichsam auf perspektivische Weise vervielfacht ist, so geschieht es in gleicher Weise, daß es durch die unendliche Vielheit der einfachen Substanzen gleichsam ebenso viele unterschiedliche Universen gibt, die jedoch nur die Perspektive des einen einzigen gemäß der verschiedenen Gesichtspunkte jeder Monade sind.“ *Monadologie* § 57. LEIBNIZ 1996, 465.

⁴² SPENGLER 1972, 23.

⁴³ Ein Faktum, das auch Spengler, angesichts der „nationalen Revolution“ durch die Nationalsozialisten nicht müde wurde zu betonen: „Aber ich rede hier von Deutschland,

Zuge der Globalisierung und des politischen Bedeutungsverlusts Europas nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg auch der Wunsch nach einer Weltgeschichte, die, gerade im Zuge der Entkolonialisierung, Geschichte nicht nur aus dem Standpunkt der Kolonialherren, sondern auch aus dem Standpunkt der Kolonisierten schreibt, die also eine Gegenperspektive einnehmen sollte – „*The Empire writes back*“⁴⁴.

Neben dieser Einnahme einer neuen, außereuropäischen Perspektive der Geschichtsschreibung durch Autoren aus den ehemaligen europäischen Kolonien, gewannen auch die außereuropäischen Gebiete – gleichzeitig mit einer Zunahme ihrer wirtschaftlichen und politischen Bedeutung – größere Berücksichtigung in den von Europäern geschriebenen Welt- und Universalgeschichten⁴⁵.

Das Schema *Antike – Mittelalter – Neuzeit*, das vom Philosophen Joachim von Fiore (ca. 1130-1202) aus der Trias Vater, Sohn und Heiliger Geist abgeleitet wurde und das seine Auffassung der Geschichte als Heilsgeschichte zum Ausdruck bringen sollte, ist jedoch – man denke nur an die üblichen Bezeichnungen der historischen Fächer – bis heute wirksam. Spengler sieht in Joachim den „ersten Denker vom Schlage Hegels, der das dualistische Weltbild Augustins zertrümmert und mit dem Vollgefühl des echten Gotikers das neue Christentum seiner Zeit als etwas Drittes der Religion des Alten und Neuen Testaments gegenüberstellt

das im Sturm der Tatsachen tiefer bedroht ist als irgendein anderes Land, dessen Existenz im erschreckenden Sinne des Wortes in Frage steht. Welche Kurzsichtigkeit und geräuschvolle Flachheit herrscht hier, was für provinzielle Standpunkte tauchen auf, wenn von den größten Problemen die Rede ist! Man gründet innerhalb unserer Grenzpfähle das Dritte Reich oder den Sowjetstaat, schaffe das Herr ab oder das Eigentum, die Wirtschaftsführer oder die Landwirtschaft, [...] oder endlich, man mache eine Revolution, proklamiere die Diktatur, zu der sich dann ein Diktator schon finden wird – vier Dutzend Leute fühlen sich dem schon längst gewachsen – und alles ist schön und gut. Aber Deutschland ist keine Insel. [...] Alles was in der Ferne geschieht, zieht seine Kreise bis ins Innere Deutschlands.“ SPENGLER 1961, 22-23.

⁴⁴ Diese Wendung geht auf den Buchtitel eines Werks zur Literatur in den ehemaligen Kolonien zurück. ASHCROFT, GRIFFITHS, TIFFIN 1989.

⁴⁵ Als Beispiel sei hier die von 1960-1964 erschienene Propyläen Weltgeschichte genannt, deren Untertitel *Eine Universalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Nachkriegszeit* lautet und die versucht das eurozentristische, lineare Geschichtsbild zu überwinden.

[...]“⁴⁶. Varianten dieser Auffassung, die nach Spengler dem mystischen Denken entstammt und jeden Sinn verliert „sobald sie wissenschaftlich gefaßt und zur Voraussetzung wissenschaftlichen Denkens gemacht wird“⁴⁷, wurden von Hegelianern, Marxisten und anderen Fortschrittsoptimisten eingenommen, die den Geschichtsverlauf ebenfalls als eine Art Heilsgeschichte ansehen, die im Zu-sich-Kommen des Weltgeistes oder in der Diktatur des Proletariats ihren Abschluss findet – auf alle Fälle ist man auf dem Weg zu einer besseren Welt und die Weltgeschichte kann als ein einheitliches Geschehen angesehen werden. Wenn man von solchen Geschichtsentwürfen ausgeht, gibt es eine klare Wertung des historischen Geschehens. Man geht vor allem auf die geistigen wie historischen Entwicklungen ein, die nach der eigenen Ansicht dazu beitragen, beziehungsweise beigetragen haben die Welt dem gewünschten Endzustand etwas näher zu bringen. Kurz zusammengefasst: oft wird Geschichte als „Geschichte auf uns zu“ geschrieben, also als die Vorgeschichte und Entfaltung der Verfasstheit unserer Gegenwart:

„Aber es ist eine völlig unhaltbare Methode, Weltgeschichte zu deuten, wenn man seiner politischen, religiösen oder sozialen Überzeugung die Zügel schießen und den drei Phasen, an denen man nicht zu rütteln wagt, eine Richtung angedeihen läßt, die genau dem eigenen Standort zuführt und, je nachdem, die Herrschaft des Verstandes, die Humanität, das Glück der Meisten, die wirtschaftliche Evolution, die Aufklärung, die Freiheit der Völker, die Unterwerfung der Natur, den Weltfrieden oder dergleichen als absoluten Maßstab an Jahrtausende angelegt, von denen man beweist, daß sie das Richtige nicht begriffen oder nicht erreicht haben, während sie in Wirklichkeit nur etwas anderes wollten als wir“⁴⁸.

Spengler lehnt diese Art der Geschichtsschreibung und die mit ihr

⁴⁶ SPENGLER 1972, 26.

⁴⁷ SPENGLER 1972, 27.

⁴⁸ SPENGLER 1972, 27.

einhergehende Epochen-Konzeption radikal ab:

„*Altertum – Mittelalter – Neuzeit*: das ist das unglaublich dürftige und *sinnlose* Schema, dessen unbedingte Herrschaft über unser geschichtliches Denken uns immer wieder gehindert hat, die eigentlich Stellung der kleinen Teilwelt, wie sie sich seit der deutschen Kaiserzeit auf dem Boden des westlichen Europas entfaltet, in ihrem Verhältnis zur Gesamtgeschichte des höheren Menschentums nach ihrem Range, ihrer Gestalt, ihrer Lebensdauer vor allem richtig aufzufassen“⁴⁹.

Das Beibehalten dieses Schemas – wenn es auch von Historikern kritisiert und die einzelnen Epochen je nach Auffassung verschoben werden⁵⁰ – führt nach Spengler dazu, dass man nicht zu einem Geschichtsbild gelangt, „in dem China und Mexiko, das Reich von Axum und das der Sassaniden einen organischen Platz finden“⁵¹. Das Fatale an dieser Art der Geschichtsauffassung ist nach Spengler ihre räumliche Beschränkung:

„Hier bildet die Landschaft des westlichen Europa den ruhenden Pol (mathematisch gesprochen, einen singulären Punkt auf der Kugeloberfläche) – man weiß nicht warum, wenn nicht dies der Grund ist, daß wir, die Urheber dieses Geschichtsbild gerade hier zu Hause sind –, um den sich Jahrtausende gewaltigster Geschichte und fernab gelagerte ungeheure Kulturen in aller Bescheidenheit drehen. Das ist ein Planetensystem von höchst eigenartiger Erfindung“⁵².

Den Eurozentrismus hält Spengler für den Ausdruck der

⁴⁹ SPENGLER 1972, 21.

⁵⁰ Zur Problematik der Bildung historischer Epochen siehe BICHLER 1983, 145-157.

⁵¹ SPENGLER 1972, 22.

⁵² SPENGLER 1972, 22-23.

ungezügelter Eitelkeit des westeuropäischen Menschen, der alle Ereignisse danach beurteilt, welche Bedeutung sie für ihn haben. Dies führt auch zu der „ungeheuren optischen Täuschung, wonach in der Ferne die Geschichte von Jahrtausenden wie die Chinas und Ägyptens episodenhaft zusammenschrumpft, während in der Nähe des eigenen Standortes, seit Luther und besonders seit Napoleon, die Jahrzehnte gespensterhaft anschwellen“⁵³. Diese perspektivische Täuschung und der Wunsch das alte Schema Antike – Mittelalter – Neuzeit beizubehalten, führten dazu, dass man die neu im Laufe der politischen wie wissenschaftlichen Welteroberung neu hinzugekommenen Kulturen marginalisiert:

„Hat man nicht, um das verjährte Schema zu retten, Ägypten und Babylon, deren in sich geschlossene Historien, jede für sich, allein die angebliche ‚Weltgeschichte‘ von Karl dem Großen bis zum Weltkrieg und weit darüber hinaus aufwiegt, als Vorspiel zur Antike abgetan, die mächtigen Komplexe der indischen und chinesischen Kultur mit einer Miene der Verlegenheit in eine Anmerkung verwiesen und die großen amerikanischen Kulturen, weil ihnen der ‚Zusammenhang‘ (womit?) fehlt, überhaupt ignoriert“⁵⁴.

Oswald Spengler ging es jedoch nicht wie den Autoren der Post-Colonial-Bewegung darum eine Gegenperspektive einzunehmen und eine Geschichte aus der Sicht der Arbeiter, der kolonialisierten Völker, der Frau oder einer anderen Spezialperspektive zu schreiben. Spengler wollte eine kopernikanische Revolution in den Geschichtswissenschaften herbeiführen und dem Historiker durch sein System die Möglichkeit zu geben eine „neutrale Position“ einzunehmen. Was Spengler anstrebte, ist die Aufhebung der perspektivischen Bedingtheit aller Geschichtsbetrachtung:

„Ich nenne dies dem heutigen Westeuropäer geläufige Schema

⁵³ SPENGLER 1972, 23.

⁵⁴ SPENGLER 1972, 23-24.

[Antike – Mittelalter – Neuzeit], in dem die hohen Kulturen ihre Bahnen *um uns* als den vermeintlichen Mittelpunkt alles Weltgeschehens ziehen, das *ptolemäische System* der Geschichte und nicht betrachte es als die *kopernikanische Entdeckung* im Bereich der Historie, daß in diesem Buche ein System an seine Stelle tritt, in dem Antike und Abendland neben Indien, Babylonien, China, Ägypten, der arabischen und mexikanischen Kultur – Einzelwelten des Werdens, die im Gesamtbilde der Geschichte ebenso schwer wiegen, die an Großartigkeit der seelischen Konzeption, an Gewalt des Aufstiegs die Antike vielfach übertreffen – eine in keiner Weise bevorzugte Stellung einnehmen“⁵⁵.

Diese kopernikanische Wendung soll die zufällige Position des Historikers aufheben und es ihm ermöglichen das geschichtliche Geschehen angemessen zu beurteilen. Spengler beschreibt dies folgendermaßen:

„Es ist jetzt endlich möglich, den entscheidenden Schritt zu tun und ein Bild der Geschichte zu entwerfen, das nicht mehr vom zufälligen Standort des Betrachters in irgendeiner – seiner – 'Gegenwart' und von seiner Eigenschaft als interessiertem Gliede einer einzelnen Kultur abhängig ist [...]. Hier war nocheinmal eine Tat wie die des Kopernikus zu vollbringen, eine Befreiung vom Augenschein im Namen des unendlichen Raumes, wie sie der abendländische Geist der Natur gegenüber längst vollzogen hatte, als er vom ptolemäischen Weltsystem zu dem für ihn heute allein gültigen übergang und damit den zufälligen Standort des Betrachters auf einem einzelnen Planeten als formbestimmend ausschaltete. Die Weltgeschichte ist derselben Ablösung von einem zufälligen Beobachtungsort – der jeweiligen 'Neuzeit' – fähig und bedürftig“⁵⁶.

Das „geläufige Schema“ *Antike – Mittelalter – Neuzeit* sucht

⁵⁵ SPENGLER 1972, 24.

⁵⁶ SPENGLER 1972, 125-126.

Spengler durch die Aufhebung der Idee *einer* Menschheitsgeschichte aufzuheben und spricht jeder seiner acht Kulturen einen eigenen Wert unabhängig von ihrem Zusammenhang oder ihrem Beitrag zu unserer Zeit zu. Jede Kultur soll für sich stehen, muss aus sich heraus, von ihrer Uridee her, verstanden werden.

„Aber 'die Menschheit' hat kein Ziel, keine Idee, keinen Plan, so wenig wie die Gattung Schmetterling oder der Orchideen ein Ziel hat. [...] Ich sehe statt jenes öden Bildes einer linienförmigen Weltgeschichte, das man nur aufrecht erhält, wenn man von der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Tatsachen das Auge schließt, das Schauspiel einer Vielzahl mächtiger Kulturen, die mit urweltlicher Kraft aus dem Schoß einer mütterlichen Landschaft, an die jede von ihnen im ganzen Verlauf ihres Daseins streng gebunden ist, aufblühen, von denen jede ihrem Stoff, dem Menschentum, ihre *eigene* Form aufprägt, von denen jede ihre *eigene* Idee, ihre *eigenen* Leidenschaften, ihr *eignes* Leben, Wollen, Fühlen, ihren *eigenen* Tod hat“⁵⁷.

Diese Betrachtungsweise der Geschichte, als eine Abfolge von eigenständigen Kulturen, die zwar alle unterschiedlich sind, deren Entwicklung jedoch einem vorgegebenen Verlauf unterliegt, führt zu Spenglers Begriff der Gleichzeitigkeit⁵⁸. Phänomene verschiedener Kulturen können nur dann sinnvoll verglichen werden, wenn sie „gleichzeitig“, das heißt im gleichen Entwicklungsstadium der zu vergleichenden Kulturen zu verorten sind. Die Entdeckung der Gleichzeitigkeit gibt dem Historiker nach Spengler erstmals die Möglichkeit an die Hand historische Vergleiche nach einer wissenschaftlich strengen Methode durchzuführen, nämlich durch den Vergleich „gleichzeitiger“ Phänomene und somit auch anhand des

⁵⁷ SPENGLER 1972, 28-29.

⁵⁸ „Ich nenne ‚gleichzeitig‘ zwei geschichtliche Tatsachen, die, jede in ihrer Kultur, in genau derselben – relativen – Lage auftreten und also eine genau entsprechende Bedeutung haben.“ SPENGLER 1972, 151.

Entwicklungsstands einer gegebenen Kultur Voraussagen über ihre weitere Entwicklung zu treffen⁵⁹. In Spenglers System sind alle Kulturen gleich bedeutend, da jede von ihnen eine Möglichkeit der menschlichen Entwicklung darstellt, die für sich einen Wert darstellt, und deren Studium es dem Historiker ermöglichen soll „das Schicksal einer Kultur, und zwar der einzigen, die heute auf diesem Planeten in Vollendung begriffen ist, der westeuropäisch-amerikanischen, in den noch nicht abgelaufenen Stadien zu verfolgen“⁶⁰.

Nachdem ich nun Spenglers Versuch der Überwindung des Eurozentrismus dargelegt habe, möchte ich anhand eines kleinen Beispiels Spenglers Vorstellung einer kopernikanischen Geschichtsschreibung darstellen. Dazu werde ich auf einen kurzen Vortrag Spenglers eingehen, der 16 Jahre nach der Fertigstellung des Untergangs des Abendlandes entstanden ist und in dem er ein historisches Phänomen – den Streitwagen – „interdisziplinär“ untersucht und uns als Technikhistoriker entgegentritt. Hier, wie auch an andern Orten, demonstriert uns Spengler, dass man historische Phänomene oft nur richtig erfassen kann, wenn man die ganze Alte Welt im Blick hat, wenn man also auf die engen Fächergrenzen verzichtet, die nur allzu oft ein treffsicheres historisches

⁵⁹ So beginnt Spengler sein Hauptwerk mit dem Satz: „In diesem Buche wird zum erstenmal der Versuch gewagt, Geschichte vorauszubestimmen.“ SPENGLER 1973, 3.

⁶⁰ SPENGLER 1972, 3. Spengler sieht in seiner morphologischen Methode allerdings auch die Möglichkeit enthalten vergangenes Geschehen auch bei Mangel an historischem Material besser zu rekonstruieren: „Aus diesem Aspekt ergibt sich die Möglichkeit, die weit über den Ehrgeiz der bisherigen Geschichtsforschung hinausgeht, welcher sich im wesentlichen darauf beschränkt, Vergangenes, soweit man es kannte zu ordnen, und zwar nach einem einreihigen Schema: die Möglichkeit nämlich, die Gegenwart als Grenze der Untersuchung zu überschreiten und auch die *noch nicht* abgelaufenen Zeitalter abendländischer Geschichte nach innerer Form, Dauer, Tempo, Sinn, Ergebnis vorauszubestimmen, aber auch längst verschollene und unbekannte Epochen, ja ganze Kulturen der Vergangenheit an der Hand morphologischer Zusammenhänge zu rekonstruieren (ein Verfahren nicht unähnlich dem der Paläontologie, die heute fähig ist, aus einem einzigen aufgefundenen Schädelfragment weitgehende und sichere Angaben über das Skelett und die Zugehörigkeit des Stücks zu einer bestimmten Art zu machen).“ SPENGLER 1972, 151-152.

Urteil unmöglich machen.

Der Streitwagen und seine Bedeutung für den Gang der Weltgeschichte

Spengler stellte sich immer wieder die Frage nach dem Einfluss der technischen Errungenschaften auf den Menschen und dessen Geschichte. Seine Gedanken zu diesem Themenkomplex legte er in seiner Schrift „Der Mensch und die Technik“⁶¹ vor. In einem am 6. Februar 1934 in der Gesellschaft der Freunde asiatischer Kunst und Kultur zu München gehaltenen Vortrag analysierte er den Einfluss des Streitwagens auf die Geschichte. In einem am 21. März 1935 in Bremen gehaltenen, aber leider nie publizierte Vortrag ging Spengler auf „Die Schifffahrt und ihr Einfluss auf die Weltgeschichte“ ein⁶². Spenglers Thesen zum Streitwagen sollen hier dargestellt und mit dem aktuellen Forschungsstand verglichen werden.

Zunächst skizziert Spengler die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft, die sich zunächst ausschließlich auf Literatur als Quelle verlassen habe, was Ranke zu der Äußerung veranlasst habe, „daß die Geschichte erst dort beginne, wo für uns geschichtliche Quellen anfangen“⁶³. Allmählich wurden die Ergebnisse der archäologischen Forschung jedoch zu einer immer wichtigeren Quelle für unser historisches Wissen, wobei Spengler hier jedoch kritisch anmerkt, „daß die Feststellung von Schichten und die Ordnung von Funden nach formalen Zusammenhängen die Gefahr in sich birgt, vom Wesen der Geschichte abzulenken“⁶⁴. Hier, wie auch an anderer Stelle, polemisiert Spengler gegen das Leitfossil der Archäologen, die Keramik⁶⁵, und lenkt das Augenmerk auf eine Gruppe der Bodenfunde, dessen Bedeutung oft übersehen werde – die Waffen:

⁶¹ SPENGLER 1931.

⁶² Die Vortragsankündigung ist publiziert in SPENGLER 1966, 500.

⁶³ SPENGLER 1951, 148.

⁶⁴ SPENGLER 1951, 148.

⁶⁵ Die Bemerkungen in Spenglers Aufsatzreihe „Zur Weltgeschichte des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends“ (zunächst in der Zeitschrift *Die Welt als Geschichte*, später abgedruckt in Spengler 1951, 158-291) über die Keramik veranlassten eine Entgegnung Hermann Trimborns mit dem Titel „Spengler contra Keramik“. TRIMBORN 1936.

„Es fehlt an einer Psychologie der Waffen. Jede Waffe redet auch von dem Stil des Kämpfens und damit von der Lebensanschauung der Träger. In der Verbindung, Verbreitung oder Ablehnung bestimmter Waffen liegt ein Ethos“⁶⁶.

Spengler geht hier jedoch nicht auf das Schwert oder den Bogen ein, sondern wendet sich dem Streitwagen zu, dessen Bedeutung seiner Ansicht nach bisher nicht ausreichend gewürdigt wurde:

„Keine Waffe ist so weltverwandelnd geworden wie der Streitwagen, auch die Feuerwaffen nicht. Er bildet den Schlüssel zur Weltgeschichte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr, das in der gesamten Geschichte die Welt am meisten verändert hat. Er ist die erste komplizierte Waffe: Der Wagen, das Lenken eines gezähmten Tieres, die lange Schulung von Berufskriegern, deren Lebensinhalt dieser Kampf von oben herab war, kommen zusammen“⁶⁷.

Neben dieser Komplexität des Streitwagens, die eine gezielte und langwierige Ausbildung von Mensch und Tier notwendig machen und so fast notwendig zu einem Berufskriegertum führen muss, tritt nach Spenglers Ansicht mit dem Streitwagen „das Tempo als taktisches Mittel“ in die Weltgeschichte ein. Die Entwicklung der Reiterei sieht Spengler als eine Konsequenz aus dem Streitwagenkampf.

Doch zurück zu dem Streitwagen. Wie hat man sich seine Entwicklung vorzustellen? Zunächst betont Spengler, dass es sich beim Streitwagen um eine „einmalige Erfindung, die aus dem innersten Lebensdrang von einer bis dahin völlig neuen Art Menschen“⁶⁸ handle. Auch die Technik ist bei Spengler ein Ausdrucksmittel einer Kultur, die sich in der Technik, genau wie in Malerei, Musik und Literatur selbst verwirklicht. Die materiell-technischen Voraussetzungen reichen nach Spengler nicht aus, um das Auftauchen des Streitwagens zu erklären:

„Naive Begriffe, wie ‚Erfindung des Wagens‘ und ‚Kenntnis des Pferdes‘ rühren nicht entfernt an das Problem. Es handelt sich um drei Dinge: Das Schnellfahren, die Heranbildung des Pferdes zu

⁶⁶ SPENGLER 1951, 148.

⁶⁷ SPENGLER 1951, 149.

⁶⁸ SPENGLER 1951, 149.

diesem Zweck und der Kampf mit der Handwaffe unter diesen Voraussetzung. Erst alle drei zusammen bilden den taktischen Gedanken“⁶⁹.

Die Idee des Schnellfahrens hebt den leichten, zweirädrigen Streitwagen von seinem Vorgänger, dem eher langsamen und tragfähigen vierrädrigen Wagen, der sich nach Spengler aus dem Ackerbau oder dem Kult entwickelt hat, ab. Die Fahrbahn sei für den vierrädrigen Wagen von großer Bedeutung, da er zumindest einen geebneten Fahrdamm, wenn nicht gar eine gepflasterte Straße benötigt, um effizient genutzt werden zu können. Der Kampfwagen setze jedoch nur ein „freies, trockenes, ebenes Gelände voraus, wo seine Möglichkeiten sich jederzeit entfalten können“⁷⁰. Spengler schließt daraus, dass der Streitwagen nicht in Europa und Vorderasien – Spengler meint damit wohl Anatolien – entstanden sein könne, da die zahlreichen Gebirge, Wälder und Sümpfe ein ungeeignetes Gelände für den Streitwagen seien.

Das Ablösen des Esels durch das Pferd dient ebenfalls der Entfaltung einer höheren Geschwindigkeit des Streitwagens, die als dessen hervorragendes Merkmal erkannt wurde, und setzt einen großen Aufwand in der Pferdezucht und Dressur voraus. Mit dem Streitwagen tritt „das Tempo als Waffe“ in die Kriegsgeschichte ein, was die bereits oben betonte Konsequenz hat, dass die komplizierte Handhabung dieses Kriegsgeräts Berufskrieger notwendig macht und diese zu einem neuen Stand werden. Das Auftauchen des Streitwagens datiert Spengler in das 16. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Als Konsequenz aus der Erfindung des Streitwagens und der sich durch ihn bietenden Möglichkeiten kommt es zu großen Eroberungszügen. Die Kassiten erobern Babylon, die Hyksos fallen über Ägypten her, die Arier erobern Indien und mit Streitwagen ausgerüstete Kriegervölker eroberten China⁷¹. Ausgehend von diesem Befund schließt Spengler, dass der „Streitwagen und die Gruppe der Streitwagenvölker in der großen Ebene entstanden“ sind, „die von Südrußland bis zur Mongolei reicht“. Aus diesem Gebiet heraus fanden die Vorstöße der

⁶⁹ SPENGLER 1951, 149.

⁷⁰ SPENGLER 1951, 149.

⁷¹ SPENGLER 1951, 150-151.

Streitwagenvölker statt, von denen Spengler festhielt, dass man von ihrer Sprache und Rasse nichts wisse. Entscheidend an diesen Eroberungen ist für Spengler jedoch, dass es sich hier nicht „um Völkerverschiebung durch Wegnahme von Bauerland und Weideland handelt, sondern um die Überschichtung höher kultivierter Völker durch ein heldenhaftes Barbarentum“⁷², das seinerseits jedoch von den zahlenmäßig überlegenen eroberten Völkern assimiliert wird.

Die aktuelle Forschung stimmt mit Spenglers Darstellung in vielen Punkten überein. So kann es als gängige Forschungsmeinung angesehen werden, dass der Streitwagen und die mit ihm verbundenen taktischen Möglichkeiten das 2. Jahrtausend militärisch prägten⁷³. Auch Spenglers Darstellung des Streitwagens als erste komplizierte Waffe und die damit verbundene Professionalisierung findet ihre Bestätigung. So stellt etwa Hannes Galter fest, dass die zahlreichen für den Streitwagen benötigten Materialien – „verschiedene Hölzer (Ulme, Ahorn, Weide, Esche, Akazie, Zwetschke), Leder, Birkenbast, Rohhaut, Bronze“⁷⁴ teuer und teilweise schwer zu bearbeiten waren. Die Herstellung eines Streitwagens kostete ein kleines Vermögen und führte dazu, dass ein Bedarf an hochgradig spezialisierten Handwerkern entstand, die solche Wagen konstruieren und verbessern konnten. Doch neben der Herstellung des Wagens ist die Beschaffung und das Abrichten der Zugtiere eine Aufgabe, die ebenfalls einen beträchtlichen Aufwand und Fachwissen voraussetzt. So waren etwa Pferde für die assyrische Armee so wichtig, dass zur Sicherstellung eines entsprechenden Nachschubs Feldzüge in Gebiete unternommen wurden, die bekannt für ihre Pferdezucht waren. Hier wurde also ein Krieg um die Ressource „Pferd“ geführt, was allerdings schon damals nicht offen zugegeben werden konnte und, etwa im Falle der berühmten achten Kampagne Sargons, mit einer Verschwörung gegen Assyrien gerechtfertigt

⁷² SPENGLER 1951, 151.

⁷³ So etwa GALTER 2010, 81: „Militärhistorisch betrachtet, war die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. die große Zeit der Streitwagentruppe. Durch ihre Schnelligkeit und den damit verbundenen Überraschungseffekt erwies sie sich in vielen Fällen als kampfentscheidend.“

⁷⁴ GALTER 2010, 81.

wurde⁷⁵.

Die frisch beschafften Pferde galt es nun für den Militärdienst zu trainieren und einsatzfähig zu erhalten. Dazu waren sowohl Pferdetrainer als auch Pferdeärzte notwendig. Das Wissen dieser Personengruppen wurde als so wesentlich erachtet, dass es bei den Hethitern, den Urartäern und in Mesopotamien schriftlich fixiert wurde⁷⁶. Um die wertvollen und für die Schlagkraft des assyrischen Heeres ausschlaggebenden Pferde vor Seuchen zu schützen, wurden eigene Beschwörungen verfasst, die Krankheiten von den Pferden fernhalten sollten⁷⁷. Der Streitwagen und in späterer Folge die Reiterei führten also dazu, dass eine ganze Reihe von Spezialisten notwendig wurden, um das reibungslose Funktionieren dieser Waffengattung sicherzustellen.

Die Frage nach der Entstehung des Streitwagens ist durchaus komplex, da vierrädrige, zu Kriegszwecken genutzte Wagen schon aus dem dritten Jahrtausend bekannt sind. Die Texte, die nur beiläufig Bezug auf Wagen nehmen und deren Verwendung nicht genauer beschreiben, sind schwer auszuwerten, da es sowohl im Sumerischen, als auch im Akkadischen kein eigenes Wort für den Streitwagen gibt. Akkadisch *narkabtu*⁷⁸ als auch sumerisch *g^ešgigir*⁷⁹ bezeichnen wohl alle Arten von Wagen, egal zu welchem Zweck sie genutzt werden. Einen bedeutenden Beleg für die militärische Verwendung von Wagen bildet die darstellende Kunst Mesopotamiens, wie etwa die sogenannte Standarte aus dem Königsfriedhof von Ur, die ins 27. Jahrhundert vor Christus datiert werden kann. Hier findet sich die Darstellung vierrädriger Wagen mit Scheibenrädern, Brustwehr, einem Lenker und einem Speerwerfer⁸⁰.

In altbabylonischer Zeit, also im frühen zweiten Jahrtausend

⁷⁵ WESZLI 2004, 472.

⁷⁶ Editionen von Texten über das Training der Pferde bieten etwa EBELING 1951, KAMMENHUBER 1961 und LORETZ 2011.

⁷⁷ Eine Edition eines solchen Textes bietet MAUL 2013.

⁷⁸ Chicago Assyrian Dictionary N1, 353-359, s.v. *narkabtu*.

⁷⁹ Siehe FARBER 1980, 336-337.

⁸⁰ Eine gute Abbildung findet sich etwa bei Strommenger, Hirmer 1962, Abbildung 72 mit zwei Detailabbildungen. Eine Übersicht über die archäologische Evidenz geben LITTAUER, CROUWEL 1980.

tauchen vereinzelte Textbelege für die militärische Verwendung von Wagen – welcher Art auch immer – auf. Farber hält die militärische Verwendung, d.h. die Verwendung des Wagens als Waffe und nicht als Transportmittel, in dieser Zeit noch für die große Ausnahme⁸¹. Erst ab der mittelbabylonischen Zeit, also ab dem 16. Jahrhundert, finden sich vermehrt Belege für Streitwagen. Die technologischen Neuerungen, die zu ihrem vermehrten Einsatz führten, sind in den Texten nur sehr schwer nachzuvollziehen, hier sind wir fast vollständig auf archäologische Evidenz angewiesen. Es ist allerdings klar, dass aufgrund dieser Innovationen, die allesamt der Erhöhung der Geschwindigkeit und Manövrierbarkeit dienten, der Streitwagen innerhalb kürzester Zeit „zum beherrschenden Instrument der Kriegsführung“⁸² wurde. Von mittelbabylonischer Zeit an spielt der Streitwagen eine große Rolle in den mesopotamischen Heeren, bis er im ersten Jahrtausend zusehends durch die Reiterei verdrängt wird.

Farber ist der Meinung, dass die Entwicklung des leichten Streitwagens bei den nördlichen Nachbarn Mesopotamiens – im „Mittanni-Reich bzw. dessen vielleicht indo-iranischer Herrscherschicht“ zu suchen ist, wobei auch mit wichtigen Beiträgen im Süden, vor allem durch die Kassiten zu rechnen ist, wie sich durch die ins Akkadische übernommene kassitische Fachterminologie des Streitwagens zeigen lässt⁸³. Die Besatzung des Streitwagens bestand, wie schon bei den Wagen aus sumerischer Zeit, meist aus zwei Mann, von denen einer den Wagen lenkte und der andere Pfeile oder Lanzen abfeuerte. Eine spätere Entwicklung scheint die Aufstockung der Besatzung um einen dritten Mann, der nach Auskunft der Reliefs ein Schildträger war. Teilweise sind sogar vier Männer auf einem Wagen belegt⁸⁴. Die Bewaffnung des Streitwagens bestand normalerweise aus einem Bogen, einem Köcher mit etwa 30 bis 50 Pfeilen, einem Schild und Schwertern für den Nahkampf.

Die Art des Einsatzes des leichten Streitwagens wird in den

⁸¹ FARBER 1980, 337.

⁸² FARBER 1980, 337.

⁸³ FARBER 1980, 337-338.

⁸⁴ FARBER 1980, 341.

Textquellen nicht genau geschildert, sondern kann nur indirekt, aus dem berichteten Schlachtverlauf, erschlossen werden. Das von Spengler in den Vordergrund gestellte Tempo der Streitwagentruppe spielte hier jedoch sicherlich eine wesentliche Rolle⁸⁵. So konnte man mit den Streitwagen Überraschungsangriffe und Umgehungsmanöver durchführen, die feindlichen Linien durch Dauerbeschuss von den Streitwagen aus zermürben, den fliehenden Feind verfolgen und an einer Wiederherstellung der Schlachtordnung hindern⁸⁶. Mit zunehmender Panzerung von Zugtieren und Wagenbesatzung ist auch ein Aufreißen der feindlichen Linien durch die Streitwagentruppe denkbar. Der leichte Streitwagen war jedoch kein Panzer, der mitten ins feindliche Heer einbrechen konnte, sondern eine schnelle, mobile Plattform für den Abschuss von Fernwaffen⁸⁷. Erst die wohl letzte große Innovation im Bereich des Streitwagenbaus, der schwer gepanzerte persische Sichelwagen, der von mehreren antiken Autoren erwähnt wird, von dem sich jedoch keine gesicherte archäologische oder bildliche Evidenz erhalten hat, machte den Streitwagen zu einer Waffe, die, zumindest nach Absicht seiner Erfinder, imstande sein sollte, die feindlichen Linien zu durchbrechen und Panik und Tod ins feindliche Heer zu tragen⁸⁸. Wie genau der Sichelwagen aussah, ist aufgrund der mangelnden archäologischen Evidenz leider unbekannt. Der Sichelwagen war an den Radachsen mit scharfen Sichel versehen, und sein Zweck war es, mit hoher Geschwindigkeit in die feindlichen Schlachtreihen zu fahren und sie aufzubrechen. Nach Auskunft Xenophons waren die Sichelwagen gegen die griechischen Formationen jedoch nicht sehr erfolgreich und richteten auf ihrem Rückzug eher Verheerung im persischen Heer an, als dass sie den griechischen Söldnern des Kyros geschadet hätten. Den wenigen unbemannten Sichelwagen, die gegen die Phalanx anrannten, wichen die

⁸⁵ So etwa ANTHONY 2009, 57: „The chariot was the first wheeled vehicle built for speed“, 62: “The whole point of the chariot was its lightness and speed”.

⁸⁶ Siehe hierzu.

⁸⁷ MOOREY 1986, 203-204.

⁸⁸ Überlegungen zum Ursprung und zur Verwendung des Sichelwagens bietet NEFIDOKIN 2004.

Griechen einfach durch Öffnen der Formation aus⁸⁹. Auch gegen Alexander scheint der Sichelwagen nicht sehr erfolgreich gewesen zu sein und so scheint mit dem Perserreich auch die große Zeit des Streitwagens untergegangen zu sein.

Spenglers Feststellung, dass die Verwendung des Streitwagens zur Herausbildung einer Kriegerkaste führte, wird etwa auch von Moorey – allem Anschein nach in Unkenntnis der Spenglerschen Schrift – vertreten⁹⁰. Spenglers Ansicht scheint sich heute fast allgemein durchgesetzt zu haben.

In Ägypten wurde der Streitwagen erst durch die Hyksos eingeführt, eine Entstehung in Ägypten ist also dezidiert auszuschließen und wurde in der Literatur auch nie vertreten⁹¹. Nachdem Ägypten also ausscheidet, kommen zwei Varianten in Frage. Die erste Variante ist in groben Zügen die Spenglersche, die heute wohl als Mehrheitsmeinung bezeichnet werden kann, die Entstehung des Streitwagens in der großen Ebene „von Südrußland bis in die Mongolei“. Die zweite Variante ist die Entstehung des Streitwagens im östlichen Mittelmeerraum, wie sie etwa von Moorey vertreten wird. Moorey argumentiert, dass die ständig zunehmenden Konflikte zwischen den prosperierenden Stadtstaaten in Anatolien und Syrien eine Weiterentwicklung der Waffentechnik vorangetrieben haben. Im Falle des Streitwagens sind dies die Verwendung von Biegeholz für den Bau der Räder, das Abrichten der Pferde für den Streitwagen und die Entwicklung von Taktiken, die den Streitwagen erst zu einer effektiven Waffe machten⁹². Dieser Durchbruch der Streitwagentechnologie fand wohl erst im 17-16 Jahrhundert statt. Das Konzept einer Wagentruppe, nicht der Streitwagen selbst, verbreitete sich nach Ansicht dieser Autoren ab dem 16. Jahrhundert von Syrien ausgehend über den Vorderen Orient⁹³.

⁸⁹ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, XIII.

⁹⁰ MOOREY 1986, 211: „Once the Amorites, the Hittites, the Hurrians and others had demonstrated their effectiveness by the end of the seventeenth century B.C., the rate of diffusion increased and a critical change at the outset of the Late Bronze Age saw the emergence of a social group whose status derived from prowess with chariot in war.“

⁹¹ LITTAUER, CROUWEL 1980, 346.

⁹² MOOREY 1986, 211.

⁹³ GALTER 2010, 81. Siehe auch MOOREY 1986, 211, der die langsame Verbreitung dieses

Die älteste archäologische Evidenz für den zweirädrigen Streitwagen ist in Südrußland gefunden worden und kann aufgrund von Radiocarbonatierungen in die Zeit um 1900 v. Chr. datiert werden. Da es eher unwahrscheinlich ist, dass zufällig die ältesten Exemplare eines Speichenrades gefunden wurden, scheint eine Entstehung um 2000 v. Chr. durchaus möglich. Die hier gefundenen Überreste von Wagen, lassen darauf schließen, dass es sich bereits um Streitwagen handelte, da sie Speichenräder aus gebogenem Holz besaßen – die Biegeholztechnik ist also bereits um 1900 in Südrußland belegt⁹⁴. Der große Vorteil dieses frühen Streitwagens besteht nach Anthony darin, dass der auf dem Wagen stehende Speerwerfer den Speer mit mehr Kraft werfen konnte, als von einem Pferderücken aus, da ein Reiter ja bis zur Erfindung der Steigeisen im Sitzen werfen musste⁹⁵.

Wenn man beide Standpunkte vereinigt, kommt man zu einer recht überzeugenden Hypothese. Der leichte, zweirädrige Streitwagen mit Speichenrädern aus gebogenem Holz wurde um 2000 in Südrussland entwickelt und verbreitete sich von dort recht schnell in den Vorderen Orient. Die ältesten Darstellungen von echten Streitwagen auf altsyrischen Siegeln datieren in die Zeit um 1800.⁹⁶ Im Vorderen Orient wurde der Streitwagen auf alle Fälle weiterentwickelt, so ist die Bemannung des Streitwagens mit zwei Mann wahrscheinlich im Vorderen Orient eingeführt worden und auch Trensens aus Metall, die zu einer besseren Lenkbarkeit des Streitwagens führen, sind zuerst im Vorderen Orient

Konzepts auf seine Kompliziertheit zurückführt. Ein Faktor, den beide Autoren nicht in Erwägung ziehen, ist die Geheimhaltung fortschrittlicher Militärtechnik, die zu einem länger währenden Vorteil durch die technische Innovation führt. Daraus resultiert wohl auch, dass man die entsprechenden Experten wohl behütete und dafür sorgte, dass sie nicht bei feindlichen Mächten tätig wurden.

⁹⁴ ANTHONY 2009, 57- 62. Auf Seite 62 stellt ANTHONY fest: „Chariots were invented in the southern Ural steppes.“

⁹⁵ ANTHONY 2009, 58.

⁹⁶ ANTHONY 2009, 61. Die zeitliche Differenz zwischen den Funden aus Südrussland und den Belegen aus dem Vorderen Orient ist somit relativ gering. Dies führt dazu, dass eine Entstehung des Streitwagens im Alten Orient nicht völlig ausgeschlossen werden kann, was auch das Weiterbestehen der These einer Entstehung im Vorderen Orient angesichts des südrussischen Befundes erklärt.

belegt⁹⁷. Relativ sicher scheint zu sein, dass erst hier eine eigene Streitwagentruppe ausgebildet wurde, wie sie dann rund 500 Jahre später, bei der Schlacht von Qadesch in großer Zahl in Erscheinung tritt⁹⁸.

In China taucht der Streitwagen – in einer bereits voll entwickelten Form – im 13. Jahrhundert vor Chr. auf⁹⁹. Die aus dem Alten Orient bekannten und oben besprochenen Vorstufen fehlen in der archäologischen Evidenz völlig¹⁰⁰. Der Hauptunterschied zwischen den aus dem alten Orient bekannten Streitwagen und den chinesischen ist die Anzahl der Speichen. Während im Alten Orient die meisten Räder vier bis acht Speichen haben, weisen die chinesischen Räder 18 bis 24 Speichen auf¹⁰¹. Dieser Unterschied geht jedoch nicht auf eine eigenständige Entwicklung zurück, sondern kann mit der Wagentechnik in der zentralasiatischen Steppe in Einklang gebracht werden¹⁰². Spenglers These von einer Eroberung Chinas durch ein von außen kommendes Streitwagenvolk wird von der aktuellen Forschung wohl weitgehend abgelehnt, allerdings rechnet Spengler die Dschou / Zhou zu den Streitwagenvölkern, womit seine These wieder mit der modernen Forschung übereinstimmt¹⁰³.

Abschließend möchte ich noch auf Spenglers These, die er die „Tragik dieser geschichtlichen Abläufe“ nennt, eingehen. Die Tragik dieser Entwicklung sieht er darin, dass die militärisch erfolgreichen Streitwagenvölker innerhalb einiger Generationen in denen von ihnen eroberten Völkern aufgegangen sind und ihre eigene Kultur verloren haben. Eines dieser Streitwagenvölker waren die Hyksos, die Ägypten

⁹⁷ LITTAUER, CROUWEL 2004.

⁹⁸ Zur Schlacht von Qadesch siehe GALTER 2010, 82-83.

⁹⁹ SHAUGHNESSY 1988, 191.

¹⁰⁰ SHAUGHNESSY 1988, 192.

¹⁰¹ SHAUGHNESSY 1988, 193-194.

¹⁰² SHAUGHNESSY 1988, 192: „The cheek pieces in particular have been systematically studied, with the Chinese examples clearly fitting into a continuum that extends from Eastern Europe all the way across Siberia and Central Asia.“

¹⁰³ So SHAUGHNESSY 1988, 228: „While there is certainly no evidence to suggest a chariot-driven ‚foreign‘ invasion of China, I do believe that the chariot may have played a decisive role in the Zhou conquest of Shang.“

eroberten. Die Herkunft und der ethnische Hintergrund der Hyksos – der Name bedeutet nur „Herrscher fremder Länder“ – ist bis heute Gegenstand von Kontroversen. Während man früher eher von einem hurritischen Ursprung der Hyksos überzeugt war¹⁰⁴, vermutet man heute überwiegend eine Herkunft aus dem westsemitischen Bereich. Die Hyksos eroberten Ägypten und errichteten eine Dynastie, die von etwa 1650-1540 herrschte und zunehmend ägyptisiert wurde, sodass am Ende ihrer Dynastie keine ethnische Gruppe mehr greifbar ist, die als Hyksos bezeichnet werden kann¹⁰⁵.

Die Herrschaft in Babylonien wurde von den Kassiten einige Zeit nach der Eroberung Babylons durch die Hethiter (die man, je nach verwendeter Chronologie, 1595 oder 1531 datiert) ergriffen, da die Hethiter nicht versuchten Babylon in ihr Reich einzugliedern, sondern nach dessen Plünderung wieder abzogen und ein Machtvakuum hinterließen. Die Herrschaft der Kassiten in Babylonien, das seit etwa 1300 zunehmend vom erstarkenden Assyrien im Norden und von Elam im Osten bedroht wurde, endete 1155. Ob die Kassiten an dieser Eroberung Babylons überhaupt beteiligt waren ist umstritten. Gesichert ist allerdings, dass erste kassitische Personennamen schon im 18. Jahrhundert auftauchen und es auch zu militärischen Problemen mit den aus dem Nordosten kommenden Kassiten gab. Zur Zeit der Eroberung Babylons durch die Hethiter war wohl schon eine große Gruppe von Kassiten in Babylon ansässig. Die Kassiten nutzten das Machtvakuum nach der Beseitigung der ersten Dynastie von Babylon, deren bekanntester Vertreter Hammurabi war, und errichteten die am längsten andauernde Dynastie in Babylonien und regierten für beinahe 400 Jahre¹⁰⁶.

Über die Kultur der Kassiten weiß man nicht sehr viel, da sie

¹⁰⁴ So auch SPENGLER 1951, 150: „Sie [die Hyksos] kamen von Norden her, nicht aus Syrien, sondern von Armenien und aus noch ferneren Gegenden, dahinter kein einheitliches Volk, sondern erobernde Schwärme, miteinander verbündet oder einander bekämpfend, die Herrschen und Beutemachen als Lebenszwecke empfanden und die Unterworfenen für sich arbeiten ließen.“

¹⁰⁵ Siehe SEIDELMAYER 2013.

¹⁰⁶ VAN DE MIEROOP 2004, 163-165.

ursprünglich schriftlos waren und ihre Sprache auch nie verschriftlich wurde, was angesichts der erfolgreichen Anpassung der Keilschrift für die verschiedensten Sprachen (Akkadisch, Hethitisch, Urartäisch, Elamisch, ...) kein grundsätzliches Problem dargestellt hätte. Die einzigen Quelle für die kassitische Sprache sind Personennamen und einige Lehnwörter im Akkadischen. Ein etwa 12.000 Keilschrifttafeln umfassendes Archiv aus der Zeit der Kassiten, das in Nippur gefunden wurde, könnte unsere Kenntnisse über diese Zeit bedeutend erweitern, die Keilschrifttafeln harren aber noch zum größten Teil ihrer Veröffentlichung¹⁰⁷. Aufgrund der bekannten Sprachdaten, kann festgestellt werden, dass das Kassitische – im Gegensatz zu der oftmals geäußerten Vermutung, dass es indogermanisch sei – keine indogermanische Sprache ist, sondern, nach derzeitiger Erkenntnis einer anderen, bisher nicht bekannten Sprachgruppe zuzuordnen sein¹⁰⁸.

Um ihre Herrschaft zu sichern, übernahmen die Kassiten sicherlich zu einem großen Teil die etablierten Strukturen, inklusive der Bürokratie, die sich der Keilschrift bediente. Die Frage wie viel sich von einer kassitischen Kultur durch die Jahrhunderte halten konnte und in welchem Maße die Kassiten Babylonien mit ihrer Kultur prägten, ist bei unserem derzeitigen Wissensstand kaum sicher zu beantworten. Sicherlich kann die Eroberung Babyloniens durch die Kassiten, zumindest was die Etablierung ihrer Herrschaft angeht, als eine Erfolgsgeschichte angesehen werden.

Nach diesem Vergleich der Spenglerschen Thesen mit dem aktuellen Forschungsstand kann festgestellt werden, dass Spengler achtzig Jahre alte Thesen zum Streitwagen heute noch erstaunlich aktuell erscheinen, wenngleich auch die moderne Forschung – zumindest in der von mir durchgesehenen Literatur – keinen Bezug auf Spengler nimmt.

Ausblick

Oswald Spengler war einer der wenigen Geschichtsphilosophen, die sich ernsthaft mit der antiken Welt jenseits Griechenlands und Roms auseinandersetzten. Vor allem in seinem Spätwerk, das hier nicht

¹⁰⁷ VAN DE MIEROOP 2004, 165.

¹⁰⁸ VAN DE MIEROOP 2004, 163.

besprochen wurde, auf das ich jedoch an einem anderen Ort eingehen werde, zeigt sich eine intensive Auseinandersetzung mit Ägypten und Mesopotamien, die er als die großen Vorbereiter der späteren Kulturen ansieht. China und Indien zieht Spengler ebenfalls immer wieder heran, um uns die Standortabhängigkeit unserer Geschichtsschreibung vor Augen zu führen. Seine Kritik der eurozentristischen Geschichtswissenschaft erscheint mir von bleibendem Wert und warnt uns davor, in unserer eigene Zeit den Gipfel der menschlichen Entwicklung zu erblicken und alle Geschichte als Vorgeschichte unserer Zeit zu deuten. In der Altorientalistik wurde von Benno Landsberger im Jahr 1926, womöglich in Anschluss an Oswald Spengler, der Versuch unternommen, die „Eigenbegrifflichkeit“ des Alten Orients zu erschließen und ihn nicht nur, wie damals durchaus üblich, als eine immer noch recht primitive Vorstufe der klassischen Antike und somit der linearen Entwicklung zu sehen, an deren Ende wir selbst stehen¹⁰⁹. So sollte eine Geschichtswissenschaft, die Spenglers Kritik ernst nimmt zwei Dinge im Auge behalten. Einerseits hat jede Kultur (die Schwierigkeiten dieses unscharfen Begriffs sind mir durchaus bewusst) ihr eigene Ansprüche an Wissenschaft und Kunst, die wir als den ihr gemäßen Ausdruck eines Weltgefühls anerkennen sollten und sie nicht nur als eine Vorstufe der Entwicklung unser oder der so oft als Maßstab geltenden griechischen Wissenschaft und Kunst sehen sollten. Andererseits kann man Geschichte nur schreiben, wenn man die gesamte Umgebung im Auge behält, da mit zahlreichen gegenseitigen Beeinflussungen – anhand der Streitwagenschrift zeigt sich, dass Spengler hier seine frühere, die Kulturen eher isolierende Position überarbeitet hat – zu rechnen ist. Ein beliebtes Beispiel Spenglers für den Zusammenhang der Geschichte der Alten Welt – Amerika und Australien spielen aufgrund mangelnder Verbindung zur zusammenhängenden Landmasse Eurasiens und Afrikas erst in der Neuzeit eine Rolle - ist der Fall von Rom, der seiner Ansicht nach dadurch zu erklären ist, dass die Hunnen an der chinesischen Mauer abgewiesen wurden, sich nach Westen wandten und später „mit einen

¹⁰⁹ Eine englische Übersetzung bietet LANDSBERGER 1976.

Schwarm germanischer Stämme vor sich her, vor dem römischen Grenzwall“ erschienen¹¹⁰.

Dass sich ein Historiker vom Range Eduard Meyers von Spenglers Thesen aufs stärkste angezogen fühlte, scheint nicht verwunderlich, war es doch auch Meyers Programm Fächergrenzen zu überwinden, die imaginären Mauern um die klassische Antike niederzureißen und als sein Hauptwerk eine Geschichte des Altertums, nicht der Antik zu verfassen, das für ihn auch Ägypten und den Vorderen Orient umfasste¹¹¹.

Spenglers Anforderungen an den Historiker erfordern allerdings auch eine Gelehrtenpersönlichkeit vom Range Meyers, die sich der Durchdringung des Quellenmaterials in verschiedenen Fachbereichen rühmen kann – ein für den Universalhistoriker von heute unerreichbarer Idealzustand, da selbst in der Altorientalistik der Gesamtbestand an Quellen für einen einzelnen Menschen nicht mehr bewältigbar ist, was naturgemäß zu einem Spezialistentum und der damit einhergehenden Einengung des Blicks führt. Dennoch kann auch dem heutigen Historiker die Erfassung sämtlicher Quellen zumindest als Ideal vorschweben und er kann – zumindest im Falle Ägyptens, der Hethiter und des Alten Orients, inzwischen auf verlässliche Wörterbücher, Lexika, Literatursammlungen in Übersetzung und Geschichtsdarstellungen zurückgreifen und sich bei Bedarf bei den Fachgelehrten aus den entsprechenden Gebieten informieren – ein Unternehmen, das uns in letzter Zeit auch immer mehr Sammelbände dokumentieren, die verschiedene Fragestellungen aus Sicht der verschiedenen Fächer beleuchten und so versuchen aus der hochspezialisierten Fachwissenschaft wieder zu einem universellen Blick zu gelangen. Vielleicht ist es diese vermehrte Zusammenarbeit der Fachwissenschaftler, die uns eines Tages einen kopernikanischen Blick auf historische Phänomene ermöglicht – nicht im Sinne des absoluten Beobachters, der sein Ego ausschaltet und die ganze Geschichte überblickt, sondern, um zum oben zitierten Leibnizschen Beispiel der von vielen Seiten betrachteten Stadt zurückzukehren, Eindrücke von möglichst vielen Standorten, also möglichst viele Einzelperspektiven auf ein Phänomen zur

¹¹⁰ SPENGLER 1972, 604.

¹¹¹ Zu Meyer und Spengler siehe DEMANDT 1990.

berücksichtigen, um so zu einem konsistenteren Gesamtbild zu gelangen. Wenngleich dies vielleicht auch eine recht bescheidene Interpretation der im hohen Ton vorgetragenen Spenglerschen Thesen ist, so erscheint sie mir als ein praktikabler Weg die von Spengler deutlich angesprochenen Probleme der Geschichtsschreibung zu überwinden.

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A CUCUTENI A₃ SETTLEMENT AT POCREACA, IAȘI

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Keywords: Neolithic settlement, Cucuteni A₃ culture, painted ceramics, flint tools, idols.

Abstract: *We present the results of the archaeological investigations carried out in the Neolithic Cucuteni A₃ settlement from Pocreaca–Cetățuia site, Schitu Duca commune, Iași county. The excavations unearthed a house platform of fired clay, alongside flint and polished stone tools, tri-chromatic painted and unpainted pottery, and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic idols.*

Rezumat: *Sunt prezentate rezultatele cercetărilor arheologice din așezarea neolitică Cucuteni A₃ de la Pocreaca, punctul „Cetățuia”, comuna Schitu Duca, județul Iași. În cursul săpăturilor a fost descoperită o platformă de locuință din lut ars, unele de silex și piatră șlefuită, ceramică pictată tricromă și nepictată, idoli antropomorfi și zoomorfi.*

Between 1991 and 1994, during four excavation campaigns, archaeological investigations were carried out in the village of Pocreaca, commune of Schitu-Duca, Iași County, at the site called ‘Cetățuia’, in order to study the existent fortification with earth walls. This archaeological site had been signalled since the 1950s, when the archaeologists conducted surface investigations in this area collected ceramic fragments belonging to the A phase of the Cucuteni culture, as well as to the first Iron Age². In 1966 Adrian and Marilena Florescu carried out a survey whose results remained unpublished. The site was later registered in the Archaeological Repertory of the Iasi County³, in A. Laszlo’s work dedicated to the beginning of the first Iron Age on Moldavian territory⁴, and in the Repertory of Cucuteni Settlements⁵. Because my investigations concerned the fortress belonging to the first

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² NESTOR et alii 1952, 45, fig. 5.

³ CHIRICA, TANASACHI 1985, 357-358.

⁴ LASZLO 1976, 73.

⁵ MONAH, CUCOȘ 1985, 130, nr. 783.

Iron Age, the Cucuteni material discovered remained unpublished; I hereby present it for English-speaking readers ⁶.

The Neolithic settlement is located at the north-western edge of the Pocreaca village, on a 40-meters high promontory, oriented S-SE and N-NW, delimited in the lower section by the Pocreçuța brook to the West and the Nemțoaica lake to the East. The promontory, flat on its upper part, has a length of 200 meters and a width varying between 70 and 100 meters. At the S-SE end of the plateau, there are the earth walls and ditches belonging to the Cozia-culture fortress. The fortification of the Neolithic settlement could not be observed during the surface investigations or during the diggings, because it was destroyed by the settlement from the first Iron Age. The promontory on which the two sites are found, as well as the surrounding area, has been constantly affected by land slides, which changed the terrain configuration and affected the Neolithic settlement as well.

The archaeological investigations carried out during the four campaigns were intended to examine the first Iron Age fortress, but identified compounds belonging to the Cucuteni culture. On this occasion it could be noticed that the adobe platforms of the Neolithic houses were dismantled by the members of the Cozia culture, who used the debris as reinforcement for the earth walls, situation best observed in wall no. 2, dismantled during the modern age.

The 1993 campaign partially uncovered the platform of a house, while in 1991 a refuse pit was emptied. It had 3 meters in diameter at the mouth and was 1.40 m deep, full of Cucuteni ceramic fragments. The Neolithic archaeological material was collected both from the layer of the Cucuteni settlement and from other few smaller pits.

In the above mentioned compounds, a house with earth platform was revealed between wall 1 and wall 2 of the Hallstattian fortress, in the V-SV corner of the station, at a depth of 0.85 meters under the vegetation and Cozia layers. The platform, of irregular shape, oriented S-SE and N-

⁶ For the fortress of the first Iron Age, cf. ICONOMU 1996, 21-56. We have also published in Romanian a first extended version about the Neolithic settlement: ICONOMU 2012, 191-219.

NW on its longer axis, has the maximum dimensions of 2.60 / 2.30 m, without being completely uncovered. Because the earth platform has not been dismantled, we do not know whether it was built directly on the ground or on a substructure of tree trunks, as it is customary for Cucuteni houses. We should however mention that the remains of burnt adobe and of wall pasting discovered in the reinforcement of wall 2 of the fortress from the first Iron Age bears the print of wooden trunks and straws, which proves their use in the infrastructure of the platforms and of the walls of the houses. Moreover, several garbage ditches were identified and they contained painted and unpainted pottery fragments, animal bones, idols and tools.

The Pocreaca site, due to the small dimensions of the settlement and the limited investigations, produced few carved and polished stone tools; from among them, we mention first the carved flint tools, the blades which are not retouched, the blades retouched on one or both sides, the scrapers, the piercers, and the spearheads. Among the carved stone tools, we mention two polished sandstone axes and a fragmentary double-edged sandstone axe.

The flint tools found in Pocreaca belong to the category of small and medium pieces, obtained from the raw material coming from the middle Prut River area or the Carpathian piedmont, namely the area between the Eastern Carpathians and the Siret River⁷. Among the group of 52 flint pieces, there are: 31 blades, 3 arrowheads, a spearhead, 3 piercers, and 14 grinders. The blades used for cutting and scraping are the most numerous and they were processed in the very settlement (fig. 1-2). As for polished stone tools, their number is limited: there are only two trapezoidal axes and a fragmentary double-edged axe, used as rubber (fig. 3).

In the Cucuteni settlement of Pocreaca, pottery fragments, from which only few vessels could be reconstructed, are present both on the layer and in the pits. Ceramic fragments with tri-chromatic painting or with no painting at all came to light, both categories being affected by the

⁷ ȚURCANU 2009, 198.

acid soil on the Cetățuia hill. All ceramics are characterized by a good quality paste of well selected and kneaded clay with oxidizing firing at high temperatures, thus turning to a brick or yellowish colour, rarely grey.

From the category of painted ceramics, there are only tri-chromatic vessels, with negative painting, while the deepened, incised and grooved decoration of Precucuteni III tradition is completely absent. We will present the types of vessels that could be completely or partially reintegrated and which form a relatively rich repertory of shapes and decorations.

A first category consists of jars, from among which two almost complete pieces stand out, with tri-chromatic decoration of spirals, heart-shaped motifs and engravings (fig. 4/4-5). Other types of vessels, of which only fragments have been preserved, are: pear-shaped vessels with tri-chromatic decorations consisting of spiral stripes with convoluted ends, plus a fragmentary frustoconical vessel with flared rims decorated with spiral strips with convoluted ends, with the interspaces filled with short lines and incisions. The pots and the bowls are represented by a few fragments with tri-chromatic painting of spirals applied both to the outside and the inside.

Several fragments from the category of support vessels have been preserved. One of them stands out, which was successfully reconstructed; it has a conical base and mouth, and a cylindrical body, convex in the upper part. The tri-chromatic painted decoration covers the entire surface of the vessel, being composed of angular spirals separated by vertical white stripes (fig. 5/2).

Another type of vessel, a combination between a support vessel and a bowl, has tri-chromatic painted decoration on the outside and on the inside, the main motif being the spiral, sometimes the angular spiral (fig. 5/1a-b).

Another vessel with high stem is represented by a bi-frustoconical piece with flared rim. The tri-chromatic decoration consists of spirals that are distributed over the entire surface of the vessel, on five registers separated by horizontal black lines (fig. 5/3).

In the category of painted pottery we should also mention a knobbed lid and a protome fragment in the shape of a horned animal head with pointed snout and stark eyes (fig. 6). Many such protomes are found in all phases of the Cucuteni culture; the most representative ones for the Cucuteni A₃ sub-phase are the pieces from Trusești, Hăbășești and Hoisești⁸.

The unpainted pottery is the most numerous at Pocreaca, but the vessels are highly fragmented, so that only very few of them could be reconstructed. From among these we mention a medium-sized fragmentary jug with large lip and circular bottom, having in the upper part a row of large flattened pellets, alongside a small bowl (fig. 4/2) and a small conical vessel (fig. 4/3).

From the category of unpainted pottery, an *askos*-type vessel stands out (fig. 4/1); made from porous paste, it's coarse reddish in colour. The vessel has a vertical mouth and a wide handle located on its back. The artefact from Pocreaca shows similarities with a double *askos* from Ulmeni-*Tăușanca* belonging to the Cernavoda I culture⁹. So far it has been assumed that the latter exerted its influence on the Cucuteni culture starting with the A₄ sub-phase¹⁰, but the Pocreaca find allows establishing this presence as early as the Cucuteni A₃ sub-phase.

Only 43 anthropomorphic idols have been found at Pocreaca-*Cetățuia*, because of the Neolithic settlement has been little investigated. Only two of them are complete, the rest being in a fragmentary condition. Of the 43 specimens, 4 idols are upright, 15 horizontal and 7 are too fragmented to determine their position.

According to Dan Monah's classification, the idols can be divided, according to their position, into upright or seated¹¹. Of the 4 fragments of upright idols, 3 represent feminine deities with decoration of incised parallel lines arranged in diamonds, plus groups of oblique parallel lines

⁸ PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA et alii 1999, 417; DUMITRESCU et alii 1954, pl. CXIII, CXIV; BODI 2010, 201-203, pl. 57-64; 204-211.

⁹ MORINTZ, ROMAN 1968, 66, pl. 15/4; 65.

¹⁰ HASOTI 1988-198, 20.

¹¹ MONAH 1997, 55-76; MONAH 2012, 87-90.

(fig. 7/1,3). The second category, of seated idols, is the most numerous one, with 15 pieces of which 8 are decorated with incisions while the remaining 7 artefacts do not have any decoration at all. The ornament of the decorated ones is similar to the upright idols, consisting in diamonds and groups of incised parallel lines (fig. 7/5). A great artefact is represented by an undecorated torso lacking its head (fig. 8/5), which belong to the mobile-head figurine type that represent an influence of the Cernavoda I culture¹², together with the *askos*-type vessel found in the settlement¹³.

Another category is represented by anthropomorphic male idols. Only two fragmentary specimens of this kind are attested at Pocreaca, both in a sitting position and without decoration (fig. 10/2-3).

A special category includes conical sexless idols of which two complete pieces have been found. The first has a cylindrical-conical shape which narrows towards the head, while the body is slightly curved forwards. The face features and the back, coarsely rendered, were made by pressing the clay between the fingers. The idol rests on a flat circular base (fig. 8). The second piece, complete and undecorated, is represented by a yellow-paste idol sitting on a conical base that extends and narrows towards the elongated head made by pressing the clay between the fingers in such a way that the idol has three faces¹⁴. This artefact, as the previous one, does not have any elements to represent the sex (fig. 9/1).

A special category of pieces is represented by cones of clay, artefacts whose use is a controversial topic among archaeologists. Only four pieces have been found at Pocreaca. They are made of yellowish-grey paste, with flat or slightly concave base and have a diameter ranging between 1.5 cm and 2 cm, and a height between 0.6 and 1.7 cm (fig. 7/2,4; 9/3-4).

To conclude the section on the idols from Pocreaca, most of them are female and of the seated type, this position meaning that their trunk is leaning slightly backwards. Also, more than half of the female idols are

¹² BERCIU 1966, 156.

¹³ HAȘOTTI 1988-1989, 20.

¹⁴ MONAH 1997, 91-92, fig. 22/3; MONAH 2012, 115, fig. 23/1-5, 8; MANTU 1993, 62, pl. 61, fig. 6/7-10.

decorated with incised motifs, the rest being undecorated, a peculiarity that can be observed in male idols as well. More than once it has been noted that the number of female idols found is overwhelmingly higher than that of male idols, since the former are related to the cult of fecundity and fertility¹⁵. Like in other Cucuteni settlements, the statues of Pocreaca were ritually broken, discarded and found in various places without any significance¹⁶. It should also be noticed that most of the idols are missing the upper part of the body or only the neck and head. This could mean either a ritual peculiarity, or that these thinner parts deteriorated easier.

From among the figurines from Pocreaca, the cylindrical-conical shape vertical pieces stand out. They have only one anatomic detail, the head, rudimentarily represented, while the sex is not suggested by any anatomical element. These idols were found complete, which leads us to the interpretation that they were used in religious practices in which the idea of sacrifice does not exist.

It should also be noticed that the vertical cone-shaped asexual idols remind of clay cones discovered in large numbers in Cucutenian settlements. These cones, in the opinion of the late M. Petrescu-Dimbovita, could schematically represent anthropomorphic statuettes¹⁷. In accordance with the findings from Trușești, Scânteia, Vermești, Pocreaca it is possible to establish the origin of the clay cones as developing from conical asexual idols of high shape¹⁸ (fig. 11).

From the category of fired clay idols, the zoomorphic idols could not be overlooked. They are stylized bovine, ovine and canine representation, in a smaller number than the anthropomorphic idols¹⁹. As far as we could establish, among the zoomorphic idols from Pocreaca only

¹⁵ MONAH 1997, 92; MONAH 2012, 116.

¹⁶ MONAH 1997, 69; MONAH 2012, 91; LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2008, 7-15.

¹⁷ PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA et alii 1999, 539.

¹⁸ MONAH 1997, fig. 23/1-3; MONAH 2012, 297, fig. 23/1-3; PETRESCU-DIMBOVITA ET ALL 1999, fig. 377/1-2; MANTU 1993, pl. 6/7-10, 61; POPUȘOI 2008, 16-24.

¹⁹ PETRESCU-DIMBOVITA & ALL 1999, 533-534.

domestic animals are represented, connected to the cult of fecundity and fertility²⁰ (fig. 12).

Under the category of cultic representations also falls the model of a log boat, reflecting the interest of the inhabitants of the Neolithic settlement of Pocreaca in sailing and fishing²¹ (fig. 10/1).

The settlement of Pocreaca-Cetățuia, with a single level of Neolithic occupancy, belongs to the Cucuteni A₃ sub-phase and shows strong analogies with the settlements of this culture attested and archaeologically investigated east of the Siret River. We have to point out that in the Cetățuia settlement there were not found ceramics with incised grooved and deepen decoration of Precucuteni III tradition, which illustrates here the end of the Cucuteni A₃ stage with similarities in the settlements of Scanteia, Dumesti and Hoișești²².

The Neolithic settlement of Pocreaca, although it has not been subject to extensive research, has provided interesting archaeological material consisting of stone tools, pottery and idols specific to the Cucuteni A₃ sub-phase from the Central Moldavian Plateau.

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²⁰ PETRESCU-DIMBOVITA & ALL 1999, 534-538.

²¹ ICONOMU 2006, 199-201; HOCKMANN 2007, 41-47; SCHUSTER, MORINTZ 2006, 34-36.

²² MAXIM ALAIBA 1983-1984, 99-148; ALAIBA 2007, 81-113; BODI 2010, 225-227.

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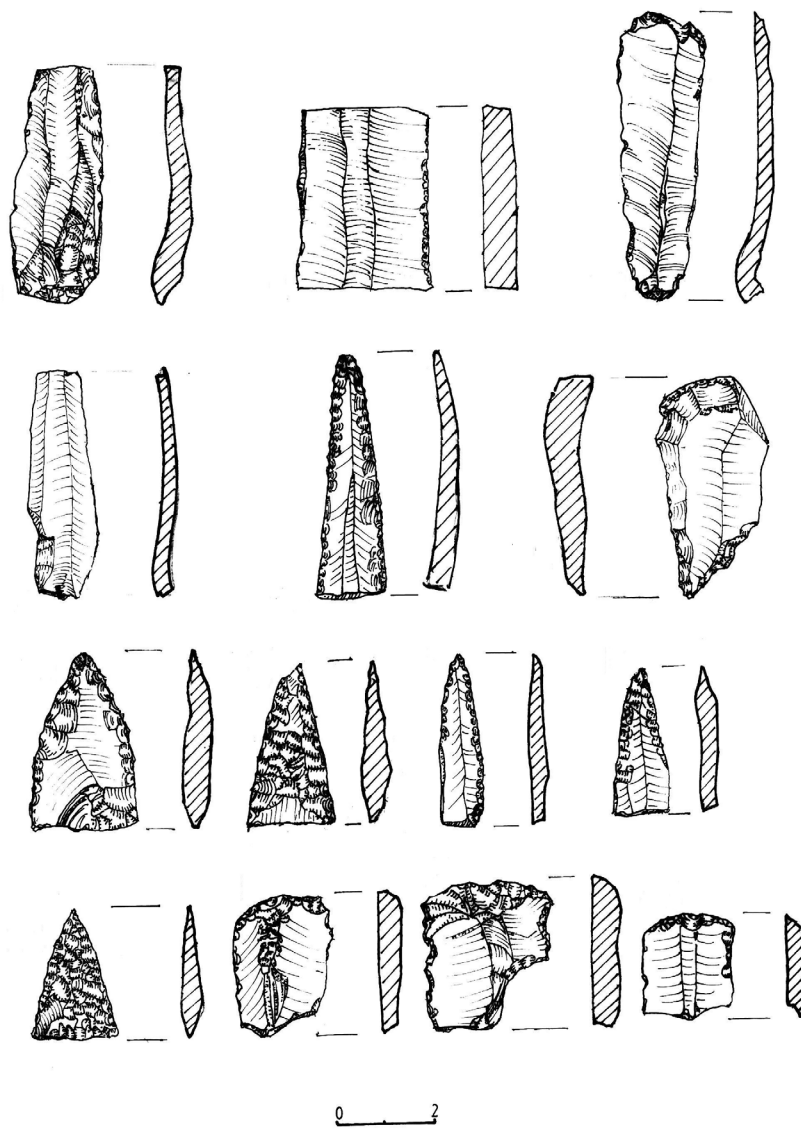


Fig. 1. Knapped flint tools

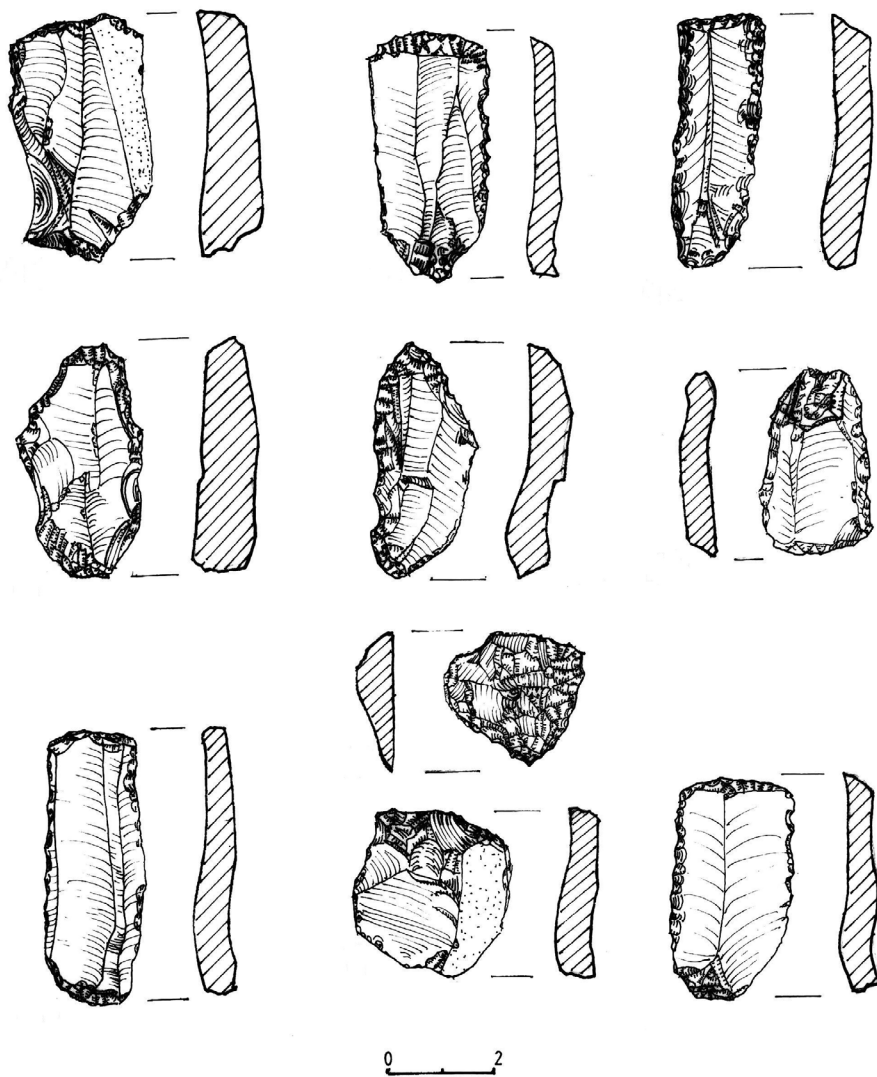


Fig. 2. Knapped flint tools

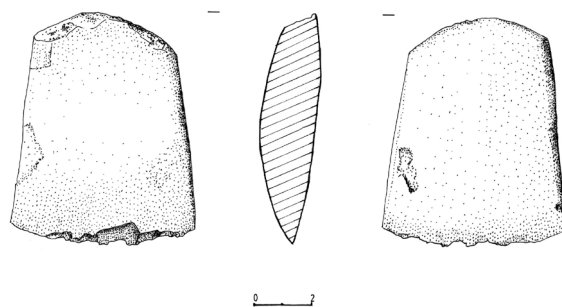


Fig. 3. Polished gritstone trapezoidal ax

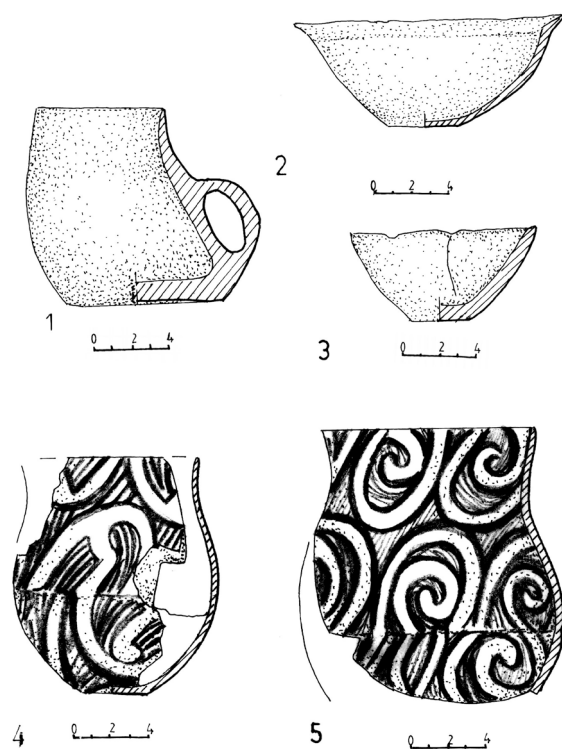


Fig. 4. Cucuteni A3 ceramics. 1. Askos. 2-3. Small bowls. 4-5. Glasses

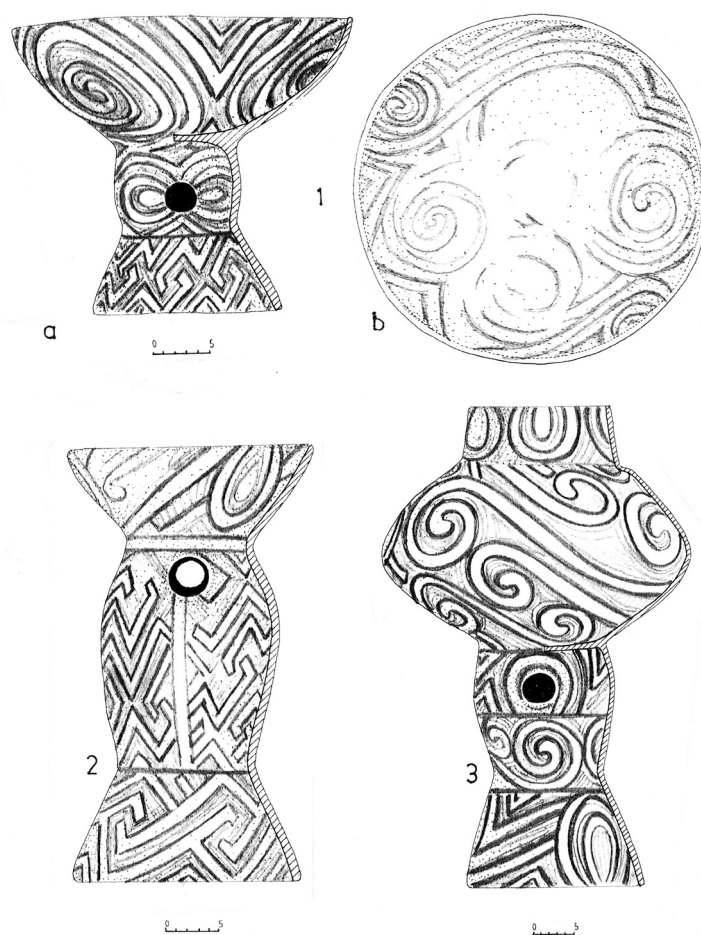


Fig. 5. 1a-b. Bowl with high foot. 2. Support vessel. 3. Bi-truncated cone-shaped vessel with high foot



Fig. 6. Fragmentary painted vessel with zoomorphic protome

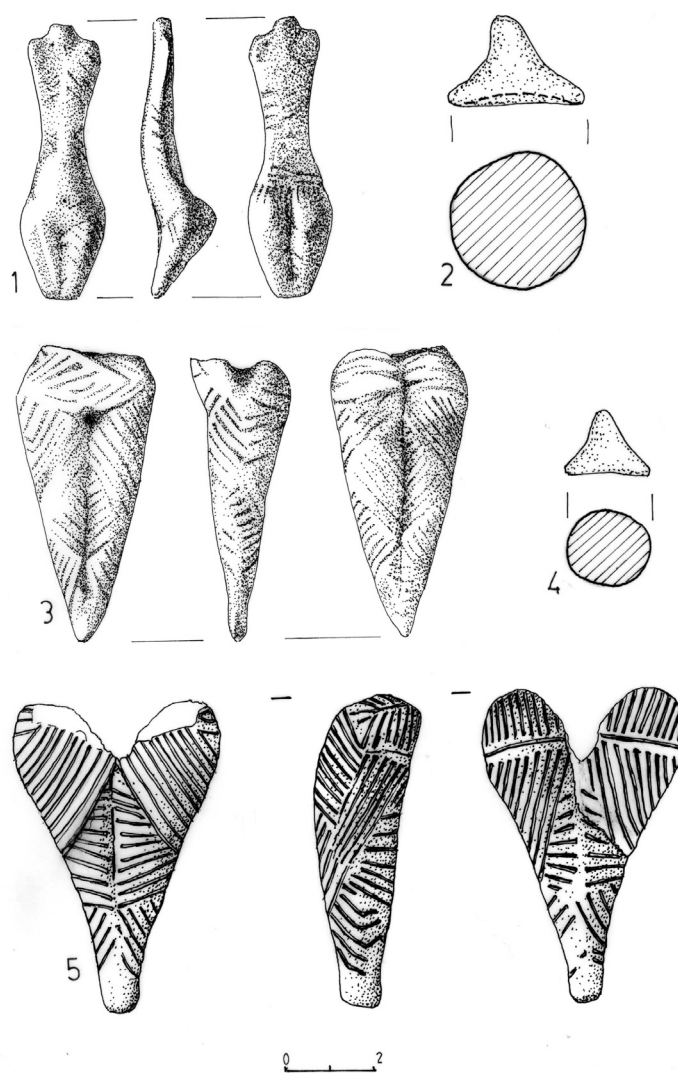


Fig. 7. 1, 3. Vertical anthropomorphic feminine idols. 5. Seated anthropomorphic feminine idol. 2, 4. Clay cones.

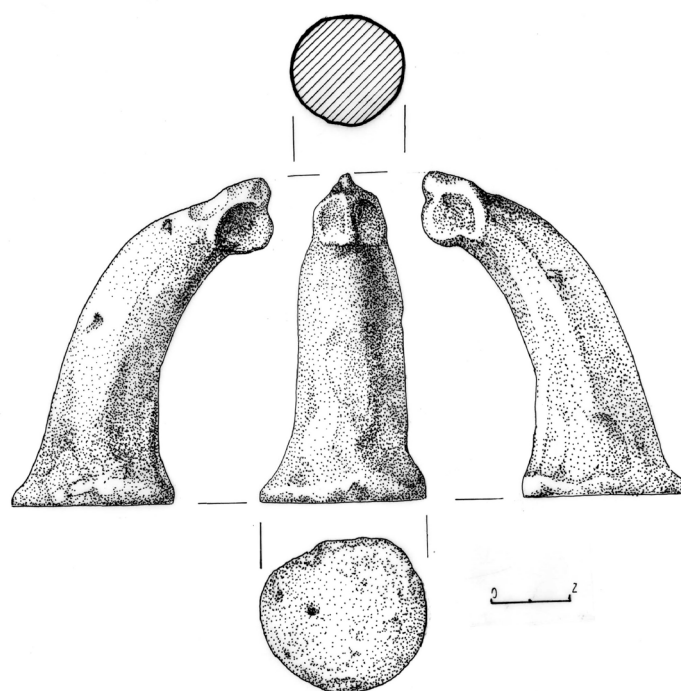


Fig. 8. Anthropomorphic asexual idol

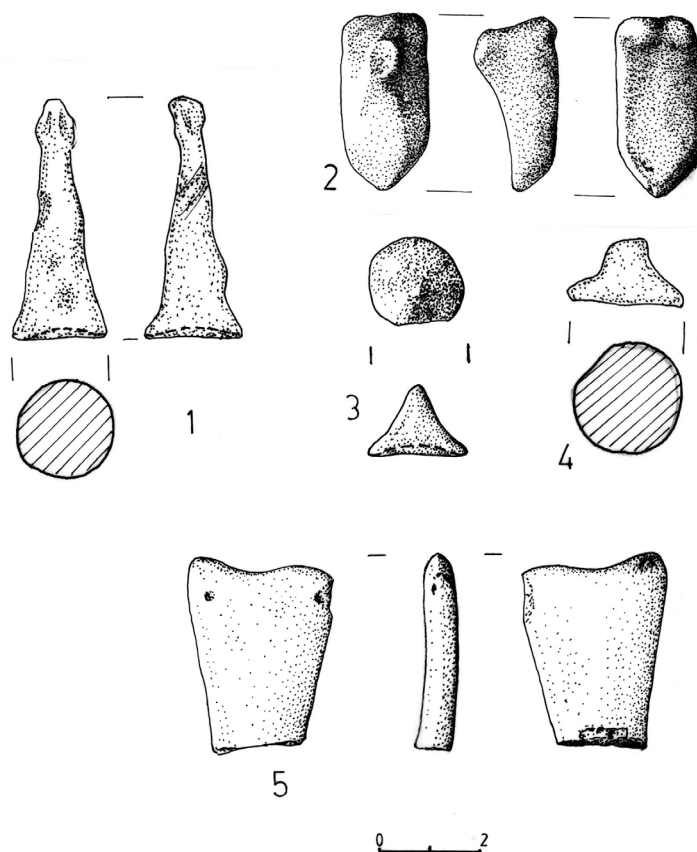


Fig. 9. Cone-shaped asexual idol. Idol foot with footwear. 3-4. Clay Cones.
5. Idol with mobil head

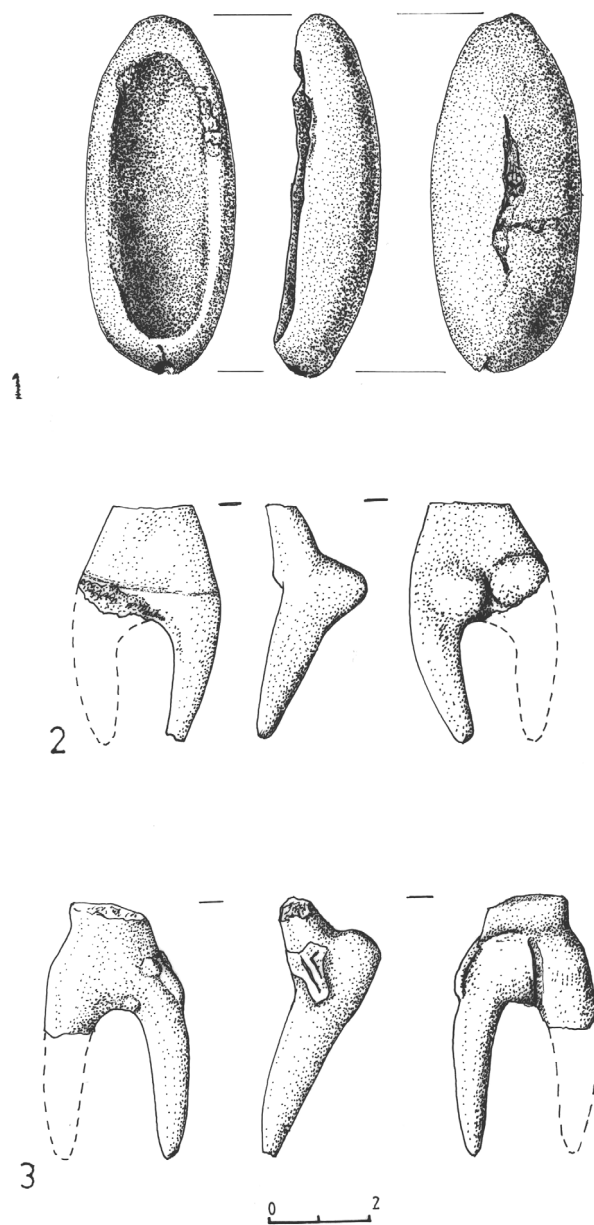


Fig. 10. 1. Boat model. 2-3. Anthropomorphic masculine idols

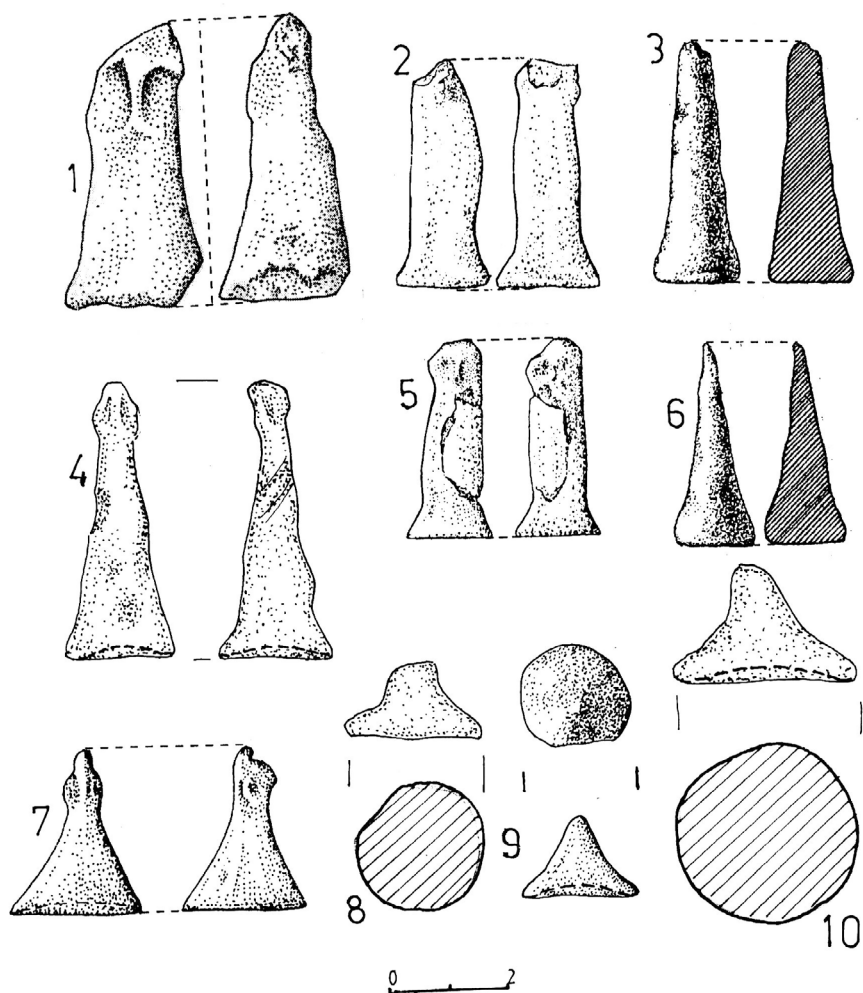


Fig. 11. Evolution scheme of the cone-shaped asexual idols

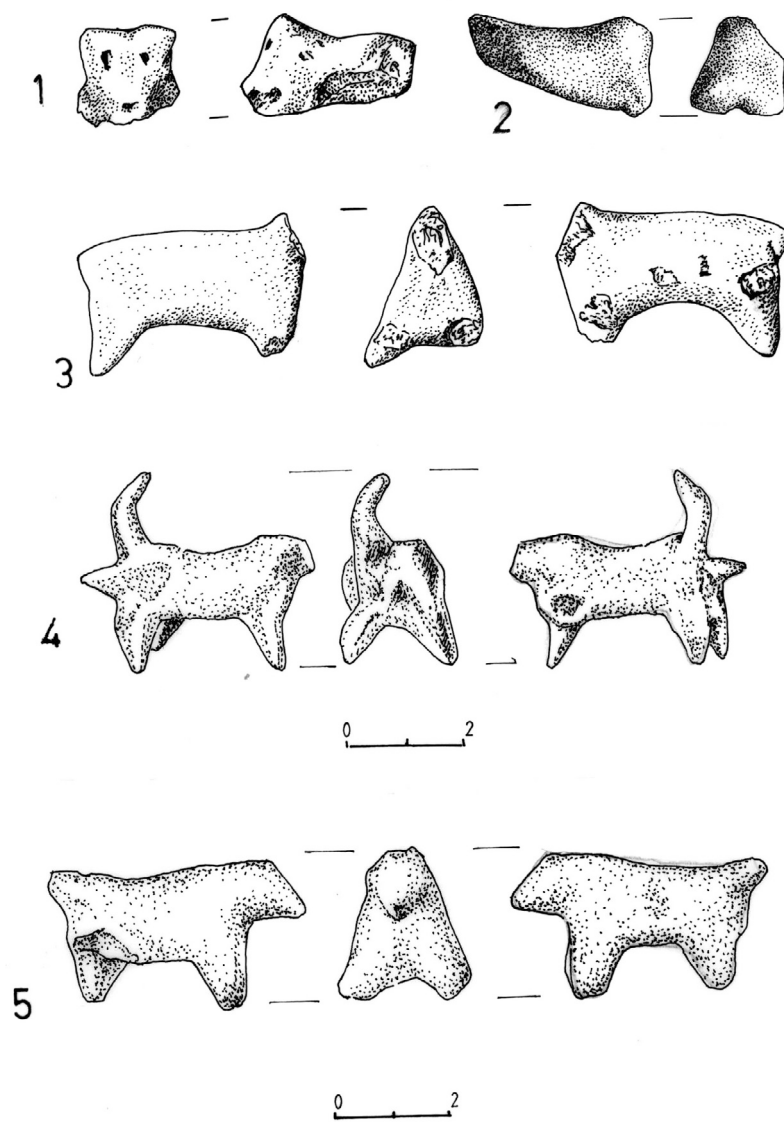


Fig. 12. Zoomorphic idols

ABRÉVIATIONS

Toutes les abréviations de sources littéraires, juridiques, papyrologiques et patristiques, ainsi que celles des *corpora* contenant ce type de sources, sont selon les systèmes utilisés par le *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* et par H. G. Liddel, R. Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon*⁹, Oxford, 1940.

AAAd	Antichità alto adriatiche, Udine
Acta Ant. Hung	Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
AE	L'Année Epigraphique, Paris
AJ	V. Hoffiler, B. Saria, <i>Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien</i> , Zagreb, 1938.
AqN	Aquileia nostra. Rivista dell'Associazione Nazionale per Aquileia, Aquileia
Amer. Joor. Phil.	The American Journal of Philology, Baltimore
Anthropos	Anthropos. Internationale Zeitschrift für Völker- und Sprachenkunde, Sankt Augustin.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Institut d'Archéologie de Iași
Archeologia Bulgarica	Archeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
ASNSP	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Pisa
Athenaeum	Athenaeum. Studi di letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità pubblicati sotto gli auspici dell'Università di Pavia, Pavia

AV	Arheološki vestnik Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, razred za zgodovinske in družbene vede. Sekcija za arheologijo, Ljubljana
Balcanica Posnaniensia	Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia, Poznan
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des DAI, Frankfurt am Main
Carpica	Carpica, Muzeul Județean de Istorie „Iulian Antonescu”, Bacău
CCAR	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din Romania, Commission Nationale d'Archéologie, Bucarest
CCDJ	Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Musée du Bas-Danube, Călărași
Chiron	Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München
CI	Cercetări Istorice, Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei, Iași.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin
Ce.S.D.I.R	Centro Studi e Documentazione sull'Italia Romana
Classica Christiana	et Classica et Christiana. Anuar al Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine
CNCS	Consiliul Național al Cercetării Științifice

Dacia, N.S.	Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Nouvelle Série, Bucarest
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, Paris
Danubius	Danubius, Muzeul Județean de Istorie, Galați
Eirene	Eirene. Studia Graeca et Latina, Prague
Epigraphica	Epigraphica, Università di Bologna.
ESA	Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua, Helsinki
Histria antiqua	Histria antiqua, Zagreb
HTR	The Harvard Theological Review, Harvard
IA	J. B. Brusin, Inscriptiones Aquileiae, Udine
IDR	Inscripțiile Daciei romane, București
IGLNovae	Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae, Bordeaux
IJCS	International Journal of Conservation Science, Iași
ILB	Inscriptiones latinae in Bulgaria repertae, Sofia
ILJug	Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia repertae et editae sunt, Ljubljana
ILLPRON	Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV, Berlin
ILLRP	A. Degrassi, Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae ² , Florence 1965

ISM	Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor, București
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology, Boston Mss.
JRGZ	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
MBAH	Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte, St. Katharinen
MCA	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, Institut d'Archéologie de Bucarest
MemAnt	Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Complexul Muzeal Neamț, Piatra Neamț
OLP	Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica, Leuven
PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin-München-Kiel
Peuce N. S.	Peuce. Serie nouă, Tulcea
Pontica	Pontica. Musée d'Histoire Nationale et d'Archéologie, Constanța
PSB	Părinți și scriitori bisericești, Bucarest
PZ	Praehistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin, New York
RIDA	Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité, Liège
RIS	E. Weber, Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften der

	Steiermark, Graz 1969
RIU	Die römische Inschriften Ungarns, Budapest
Römisches Österreich	Römisches Österreich, Wien
RNMS	M. Šašel Kos, The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia, Ljubljana 1997
SAA	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Université "Al. I. Cuza" de Iași
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie), Institut d'Archéologie, Bucarest
SDHI	Studia et documenta historiae et iuris, Vatican
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Baltimore
Živa antika	Živa antika. Antiquité vivante, Skopje
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn