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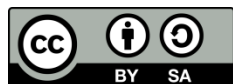
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Table of Contents

ARTICLES

Alina BINȚINȚAN, Mihai GLIGOR, <i>Pottery kiln: A technological approach to Early Eneolithic black-topped production in Transylvania</i>	5
Alexandru BERZOVAN, Cătălin BORANGIC, <i>At the borders of Ancient Dacia. The Danube Gorge sector</i>	19
Alexandr LOGINOV, <i>Le système de la vengeance dans les poèmes d'Homère</i>	29
Arina BRAGOVA, <i>The concept cum dignitate otium in Cicero's writings</i>	45
Lucrețiu MIHAILESCU-BIRLIBA, <i>Les salines en Dacie romaine : remarques sur le personnel administratif</i>	51
Larisa PECHATNOVA, <i>Democratic elements in the Spartan political structure</i>	59
Rada VARGA, <i>Notes on the funerary epigraphy of soldiers from Roman Dacia</i>	77
Michal HABAJ, <i>Herodotus' Renaissance return to Western-European culture</i>	83

REVIEWS

Droit de réplique Dan DANA	95
Bernard Moinier & Olivier Weller, <i>Le sel dans l'Antiquité ou les cristaux d'Aphrodite</i> (Mihaela ASĂNDULESEI)	103
Ionuț Cristi Nicu, <i>Hydrogeomorphic Risk Analysis Affecting Chalcolithic Archaeological Sites from Valea Oii (Bahlui) Watershed, Northeastern Romania. An Interdisciplinary Approach</i> (Radu-Ștefan BALAUR)	107

Pottery kiln: A technological approach to Early Eneolithic black-topped production in Transylvania

Alina BINȚINȚAN¹, Mihai GLIGOR²

Abstract. *The present paper uses the parameters revealed by archaeometric investigations of the Foeni group Early Eneolithic pottery from Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă site, in order to make possible the experimental reconstruction of the black-topped pottery local firing technique. The distinctive features of this fineware category are the well burnished red body, with black (sometimes metallic) look on the rim, as well as on the pot interior. The results indicate the chromatic effect is due to the controlled mixed firing, oxidation and reduction atmosphere, in one step operation technique. This process was carried out using an updraught kiln with a circular base having 0.80 m in diameter and a height of 0.90 m. During firings the temperatures reached did not exceed the temperature indicated by the analyses (700–850°C), and both firing atmospheres had been achieved simultaneously. The experimental samples resembled Foeni vessels completely. The most important aspect of the firing method which we used is the fact that the results are controllable and repeatable.*

Rezumat. *În acest articol se utilizează parametrii investigației arheometrice a ceramicii din așezarea de la Alba Iulia-Lumea Nouă, aparținând grupului cultural Foeni din eneoliticul timpuriu, cu scopul de a face posibilă reconstituirea experimentală a tehnicii de ardere a ceramicii cu glazură neagră. Aspectul cel mai important al acestui experiment îl reprezintă faptul că rezultatele sunt controlabile și repetabile.*

Keywords: kiln, pottery, black-topped, mixed firing, Early Eneolithic, Transylvania.

1. Introduction

Archaeological research conducted in the last few decades has contributed to important changes in our understanding of the Transylvanian Neolithic and Eneolithic periods. The emergence of the Neolithic lifestyle, together with the sedentarisation process, led to the development of skills in pottery production.

Certain Late Neolithic communities related to the Foeni cultural group and originating from the area today known as Greek Macedonia are considered to be responsible for the

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emergence of this culture in the Banat region. At the end of the Late Neolithic period, Foeni communities spread from Banat to Transylvania,³ this migration corresponding to the beginning of the Transylvanian Eneolithic.⁴ In the present-day territory of Romania, we have so far identified no fewer than 28 Foeni sites,⁵ from which the most consistent and well-represented habitation in Transylvania is Alba Iulia–*Lumea Nouă*.⁶

The *Lumea Nouă* settlement is situated in the northeast area of Alba Iulia city (Transylvania, Romania), and is one of a chain of Neolithic and Eneolithic sites through the middle of the Mureș Valley⁷. Previous research at the *Lumea Nouă* settlement has shown that the area was most intensively settled by the Foeni group (Early Eneolithic, 4750–4400 BC)⁸ to which we attribute a distinctive style of pottery production known as the black-topped technique.⁹

The main features of this category of fine ware are a well-burnished red body with a black, sometime metallic appearance on the rim and in the interior of the pot¹⁰ (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Foeni black-topped pottery from Alba Iulia–*Lumea Nouă* site (Gligor 2007).

³ DRAȘOVEAN 2004, 32–34; 2005, 22.

⁴ GLIGOR 2009; 2014, 95–97.

⁵ GLIGOR 2008, 11–12, fig. 1; 2014, 92–93.

⁶ GLIGOR 2009, 25–58, 71–86.

⁷ GLIGOR 2009, 21–24, Pl. I.

⁸ GLIGOR 2009, 141–144; 2014, Tab. 1, fig. 2, 6a–6b.

⁹ GLIGOR 2009, 72.

¹⁰ GLIGOR 2007, 52, 55–61.

Archaeometric analyses of the chemical composition of Foeni black-topped pottery and the local clay have led to the observation that, as far as current research can ascertain, the black-topped pottery was produced locally, using clay obtained from natural deposits.¹¹ The majority of the investigated pottery samples were fired at an estimated temperature of 700–850°C.¹²

Black-topped pottery represents a significant percentage of the archaeological discoveries from the Early Eneolithic stratum of this site. Besides the potters' control of firing conditions, the variety of shapes, the refined polishing of the surface and the advanced stage of fragmentation of the ceramic artefacts discovered in most varied contexts continue to amaze.

Ceramic pots which were destined to cover practical socio-economic, aesthetic or even spiritual needs, embody the considerable technical efforts which went into making them,¹³ thus evidencing on-going endeavour and improvement. Through the production techniques it reveals, pottery expresses the technical development of the society which produced it. Black-topped pottery can thus be considered proof of the existence of local ceramic production based on experience, tradition and the cultural options of this community.

However, the lack of discoveries of pottery kilns, which could help to clearly identify analogies with ceramic production processes elsewhere, greatly hampers efforts to decipher the significance of these ceramic artefacts.

The structure, dimensions and functioning principles of kilns from archaeological excavations offer key information on the chemical and physical transformation of the clay at the particular temperature reached. Experimental archaeology has proven to be an excellent way to explore this through rebuilding and testing the technology,¹⁴ especially with regards to the firing process.¹⁵ In the absence of actual discoveries of such installations, this experimental approach can help determine correlations between the characteristics of locally found ceramics and existing functioning models of known kilns from the relevant chronological period. The present study adopts this type of experimental approach.

Experimental studies on other variants of Neolithic ceramic decoration from Predynastic Egypt have been conducted on several occasions.¹⁶ As well as exploring the utility of such objects and the meaning of their chromatic decoration, these studies have raised many questions regarding the pyro-technological aspect of production. From the early experiments

¹¹ FABBRI *et alii*, 2008, 136.

¹² FABBRI *et alii*, 2009, 136, 138.

¹³ MANIATIS 2009, 2–3; BUKO 2008, 26.

¹⁴ PAARDEKOOPER, FLORES 2014; COLE 2014; HARRY 2010, 13–46; MILLSON 2010.

¹⁵ BORREGAARD 2005, 23–33; TENCARIU 2004, 85–92; 2009, 175–198, 2010, 120; ANGHEL 2011, 339–350; THÉR 2004, 35–82; DAWSON, KENT 1984, 13–17; 1985, 70–79; 1987, 34–41.

¹⁶ HENDRICKX *et alii* 2000, 171–187; BABA, SAITO 2004, 575–589.

of Alfred Lucas¹⁷ to the present time, this approach has proven very useful; however, it appears that there is still much to disentangle in terms of the nature and number of steps involved in production.

Our goal is to examine the firing conditions that lead to the spectacular black-topped chromatic effect in this type of fine ware. The starting point of our experimental research is to identify an optimal kiln design that is able to create the necessary internal conditions, and then use this hypothetical model to identify the main features of the local historical working processes.

2. Materials and methods

The theoretical foundation of our project is based not so much on hypotheses and suppositions as on what we actually know about the manufacturing of black-topped pottery, based on chemical analysis and observations from archaeological excavations, as well as previous experimental approaches.

First we took into consideration Eissa *et al.*'s 1974 study, which established that the black surface on the rim was the result of a reduction atmosphere when firing, combined with incomplete firing and carbon smudging.¹⁸ Previous experiments, both in kiln¹⁹ and open air firing²⁰ have shown that the colour difference is also due to differences in the temperature to which various parts of the vessel are exposed, and the positioning of the vessel upside-down in the chamber.

Archaeometric analysis has indicated a maximum firing temperature of 700–850°C²¹ for black-topped artefacts. Furthermore, based on archaeometric analysis of Foeni culture black-topped pottery samples from the Alba Iulia-*Lumea Nouă* site, the existence of local ceramic production has been confirmed.²²

As mentioned above, the analysis of technical objects associated with the production process is of major importance in reconstructing the steps involved in creating such artefacts. In the Alba Iulia-*Lumea Nouă* site, the lack of discoveries of ceramic kilns from the period to which we refer continues to feed hypotheses regarding various possible methods of controlling the mixed firing atmosphere. It should be noted that this lack of kilns also seems to be an ascertained feature of the early Predynastic Egyptian period, of which the black-topped ceramic type was also characteristic.²³

¹⁷ LUCAS 1929, 113–129; 1932, 93–96.

¹⁸ EISSA *et alii* 1974, 85–98.

¹⁹ HENDRICKX *et alii* 2000, 178–184.

²⁰ BINȚINȚAN 2013, 10–14.

²¹ FABBRI *et alii* 2009, 136, 138.

²² GLIGOR 2009, 96; FABBRI *et alii* 2008, 136; 2009, 138.

²³ HENDRICKX *et alii* 2000, 177–178.

2.1. The Neolithic pottery kiln: a hypothetical model

Starting with a disputed subject which is both interpreted as a shortcoming and a potential trace of the techniques used—namely, the lack of discoveries of kilns in archaeological excavations—, we proceeded with the identification of an analogy in the specialised literature dealing with how to hypothetically ascertain the reach of the technical parameters imposed by the studied type of artefact.²⁴

The identification both of a proper functioning principle and a model kiln, to align to the imposed requirements of the studied artefact characteristics, was made in the area of Cucuteni-Tripolye culture, well known for its extensive production of top quality ceramics, mainly in Late Eneolithic period.²⁵

The bicameral kiln with vertical disposal is considered the most advanced type of Neolithic and Eneolithic ceramic kiln in the present-day territory of Romania,²⁶ and was used intensively by the Cucuteni-Tripolye communities.²⁷ In order to gain the most accurate reference for the proposed experiment, we also drew upon technical details of discoveries belonging to the Trypillian complex which lay beyond Romanian territory.²⁸

The goal of the experiment was to construct a kiln which could replicate the conditions needed to create the black-topped chromatic effect on the surface of test pieces made of local clay and manually formed according to Foeni typology. Our primary concerns were that the procedure should be efficient, and should not require special laboratory conditions or involve materials or actions which were technically beyond the studied period. The results were registered and measured with modern equipment, this being the only intrusion of today's technology in the experimental work.

The installation was of the bicameral type, with vertical disposal, equipped with a fuelling tunnel, two lateral ventilations and a smoke evacuation opening. This opening, in the upper part, guarantees the circulation of hot air from the combustion chamber to the chamber where vessels are placed and closes the kiln in the shape of a clay arch. The first element to be constructed was the hearth, sunk in the ground at a depth of 20 cm, in the shape of a circle with a diameter of 80 cm (Figure 2.1). The wall of the firing chamber was raised above the ground to approximately 30 cm, and was 12 cm thick at the lower point (Figure 2.2).

From the firing chamber's wall, sustaining holders were made for the clay perforated plate which separates the two chambers of the kiln. The wall's thickness gradually reduced with height, reaching approximately 10 cm at the perforated plate and 8 cm in the upper part

²⁴ MILLSON 2010, 1–6; OUTRAM 2008, 2.

²⁵ ALAIBA 2007, 67–78.

²⁶ DUMITRESCU *et alii* 1954, 189–198; COMȘA 1976, 24–25.

²⁷ TENCARIU 2009, 99–110; 2010, 124, 138, fig. 4/2.

²⁸ MARKEVIĆ 1981, 131; TENCARIU 2009, 102, fig. 55/2.

of the arch. The construction of the kiln's wall up to the cover was made in a single day (Figure 3.1).

In experimental conditions, we chose to build a bicameral type kiln, because its operating principles allow fine-grained control of temperature and of air combustion. Therefore, we used partially the space for vessels arrangement as a combustion chamber, to obtain reducing atmosphere. This made our installation to not function as a typical bicameral kiln.



Figure 2.1. Hearth sunk in the ground at a depth of 20 cm.



Figure 2.2. The wall of the firing chamber raised above the ground.



1



2



3

Figure 3.1–3.3. Different stages during the construction of the kiln.

The clay, obtained from a local natural deposit, was mixed with water, river sand and gravel, and added through beating. At the front the kiln was lengthened by the fuelling tunnel, 35 cm in length and 40 cm in width; the thickness of its wall was similar to that of the kiln's base, i.e. 12 cm. On the second day of construction the kiln's wall was still wet, but it was rigid enough to allow the construction of the cover, which was designed from the beginning as a mobile piece, easy to remove for loading vessels into the superior chamber (Figure 3.2). The cover was designed to allow the evacuation of gas and smoke during the firing, but also to facilitate the obturation of circulation for the control of both the firing atmosphere and the temperature (Figure 3.3). Designed as a mobile piece of the vessel-baking chamber, it allowed the experimental kiln to be used to fire vessels of varied diameters and heights. The kiln was dried gradually over a fortnight, kept away from inappropriate atmospheric conditions such as direct sunlight and rain. Superficial flaws or splits which appeared as the additional water evaporated did not require reconstructive interventions.

2.2. Moulding the vessels

As mentioned above, the distinctive features of this type of fine ware is a well-burnished red body with a black, sometime metallic appearance on the rim and the interior of the pot. Another notable feature of the local black-topped pottery is that some artefacts indicate a production process involving pressing the clay into pre-shaped (concave) moulds,²⁹ whilst others were made using the coiling technique.

Therefore, in our experiment, some pots were made by mixing the techniques of hand moulding for the bottom of the pot and coiling for their upper part, while other vessels were built using the pressing method. All the pieces complied dimensionally and typologically with the original vessels, namely biconical bowls and amphoras.³⁰

The surfaces of the experimental pots were treated in various ways. Mainly, they were smoothed using water then polished intensely with a stone, a well-burnished surface being considered a characteristic aspect of Foeni decorative techniques. For the surface of other vessels, wooden tools were used to remove imperfections and the surfaces were smoothed with water, using circular movements (Figure 4).

2.3. Experimental firing

After drying, the vessels were placed bottom-up on a layer of combustion material composed of thick oak wood (Figure 5).

Once a temperature of 250°C was reached, the wood consumed from around the vessel rims made the pot sink in the ember. In time, the ember turned into ash, which had an insulating role and allowed the reducing of oxygen.

The firing took place over four and a half hours; the rise in temperature was made gradually and it was constantly registered by an electronic thermoregulator (Pixys ATR236).

²⁹ BINȚINȚAN 2015, 89–100.

³⁰ GLIGOR 2007, fig. 33–36, 43–44.

During the first hour, the temperature rose slowly and did not exceed 250°C. After another hour and a half, the continually rising temperature inside the kiln doubled and the vessels, which had blackened until that moment, started to change colour. At the exterior of the kiln, more profound cracks appeared, mainly in the area of plate's sustaining holders. These were caused not only by contraction, which appears with internal vitrification, but also by the weight the sustaining holders have to bear (the vessels). The exterior of the firing chamber and the cover changed colour to brick-red. From time to time, between fuelling times, the smoke evacuation opening, as well as the fuelling tunnel, were partially obturated. Immediately after each loading, these were opened wide again in order to help raise the temperature. After three hours, a temperature of 640°C was reached (Figure 6).



Figure 4. The surface of experimental pots treated in various ways.



Figure 5. Placing the dried pots bottom-up on the layer of combustion.



Figure 6. The kiln during firing (640°C).

During the last hour of firing, after continuous feeding, the desired temperature of 780°C was reached and was maintained for another 30 minutes (soaking time) before fuelling was stopped. In fact, the installation could have reached temperatures in excess of 800°C, as it was very efficient, but the parameters of the experiment demanded this lower limit. Slow and prolonged cooling of the kiln over a period of 12 hours guaranteed the recuperation of the vessels to an almost perfect state.

3. Results and discussions

The experimental results obtained can be used to establish some general principles regarding black-topped pottery production in Transylvania.

The experiment indicated that black-topped pottery does not require a firing temperature in excess of 780°C, with a firing duration of 4–5 hours. As some researchers have already noted, a higher temperature and a firing time prolonged excessively can have negative effects on the intensity of the black on the rim and interior of the pot.³¹ The relatively low temperature is also confirmed by positive results previously obtained in open air firings.³²

As regards the surface of the experimentally created vessels, it can be asserted that any treatment of the vessels did not have any influence on the appearance of the black-topped effect. On the other hand, the upside-down placement of the vessels and the composition of the firing wood layer decisively influenced the effects of the reducing atmosphere and conferred the desired appearance to the objects. The insulating layer of ash separating the two firing atmospheres brought about the presence of the two specific colours in the same chamber and on the body of the same pot. At the same time, as a good insulator, the ash layer prevented the vessels' surfaces from being exposed to uniform temperatures. As a result, surfaces exposed to oxygen reduction were fired at a lower temperature, at least with 200°C. The unconsumed wood from the combustion layer can be reclaimed after the cooling in the form of charcoal, and it is responsible for the oxygen consummation. The best results in terms of the intensity of the black-topped effect were obtained using oak wood and intense polishing before firing, which heightens the nuances of the black surface and makes the vessels impermeable.

As expected, for a reducing firing under 800°C, even if the raw material comes from different sources, there are no visible colour differences from one sample to another.³³ The different red nuances were the result of the raw materials used, because it is known that the clay used in the ceramic production has varied qualities, depending on its composition and

³¹ HENDRICKX *et alii* 2000, 174, 183.

³² BINȚINȚAN 2013, 14.

³³ MANIATIS 2009, 9.

mineralogical characteristics.³⁴ It should be mentioned that the surfaces of the pots exposed to oxidation firing did not obtain a uniform brick-red nuance. This aspect was linked to the positioning of the vessels in the firing chamber and their direct contact with the flame.

The method used in this study for manufacturing black-topped pottery produced experimental pieces very similar to the original discoveries (Figure 7). As with previous studies based on open air firings, this manufacturing procedure also contradicted the hypothesis of a two-phase production³⁵ which has been proposed in the past.



Figure 7. Black-topped replicas obtained from the experiment.

³⁴ BUKO 2008, 17–25; MANIATIS 2009, 7.

³⁵ BINȚINȚAN 2013, 10–13; 2014, 7–16.

The graphical representation both of the firing atmosphere and the temperature distribution in the firing chamber during the four and a half hours offers insight into the way in which the operation progressed in reality. In particular, it suggests that there is no point in building a bicameral vertical firing installation with a structure designed to separate the fuel in the firing chamber, given that the creation of the chromatic effect depends on contact between the vessels and the combustive material.

There is evidence of such kilns being used in the production of painted pottery since the Early Neolithic in the area inhabited by Starčevo-Criș communities in what is now Hungarian³⁶ and Croatian territory.³⁷ In fact, in the territory of Romania, there is evidence of three types of monocameral kiln being used during the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods, where they existed in parallel with both simpler and more sophisticated installations.³⁸ In Transylvania, the use of monocameral kilns has been documented in Tărtăria (Alba County), from the Middle Neolithic in the area inhabited by the Vinča culture³⁹ and in Ariușd (Covasna County).⁴⁰

4. Conclusions

The experimental kiln turned out to be a great tool for understanding conditions during the whole firing process and for identifying a suitable installation.

1. Black-topped pottery production is a one-step operation and can be considered strong evidence of a high degree of specialization in the craft of pottery, based on the large amount of fine ceramics found in archaeological excavations.

2. As intended, the experimental pots produced in several sessions for this study resemble Foeni black-topped vessels, showing that the results of this method are entirely controllable and repeatable.

3. Due to the bicameral structure of the kiln, in the terms of experimental work presented in this study, we had full control over the temperature and the reducing atmosphere; those two are the main factors in obtaining the black colour on the upper part and inside of the pots.

4. Based on this experiment, it is possible to draw other possible conclusions about the firing technique and to identify the main procedures involved in prehistoric practices. It should be noted that at least some of the fuel must have been intentionally located together

³⁶ MAKKAY 2007, 176, fig. 111/1-5.

³⁷ MINICHREITER 2007, 27-28, fig. 3; 2010, 112, Fig 5a-b, 115, fig. 8-9a-c, 116, fig. 10a-b.

³⁸ TENCARIU 2010, 122-127.

³⁹ HOREDȚ 1949, 50-51.

⁴⁰ LÁSZLÓ 1914, 313; SZÉKELY, BARTÓK 1979, 56-57; ZAHARIA *et alii* 1981, 3-4.

with the vessel. This suggests the possibility that a type of kiln with a simpler structure but using the same controlled air-draft principle might have been used as well.

5. The experiment results indicate that a monocameral horizontal structure would be sufficient enough to obtain similar results. The kiln dimensions, in particular its diameter, can be established only in relation to the number of vessels which are to be fired and to the quantity of fuel needed. The single chamber of kiln would fulfil all the functions and fired conditions controlled precisely by the potter. We intend to check this working hypothesis in terms of a new experiment in further research.

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At the borders of Ancient Dacia. The Danube Gorge sector

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Abstract. *The construction of the Dacian Kingdom in the Transylvanian area would not have been possible without the favourable combination between the military and political infrastructure and the exceptional military capacities of certain warlords. The Roman Empire managed to install itself on the entire right bank of the Danube, as part of an Imperial policy. Thus, the Danube became, after lengthy efforts, an important natural obstacle between the Roman world and the “Barbarians”. In our view, a special interest zone for understanding the said phenomena is the Danube Gorge as here, for over a century, the armies of Rome and those of the Dacian kings were in direct and permanent contact, separated only by the great European river. A series of four Dacian forts defended this area, the most important being the one from Divici-Grad, where two curved weapons, typical to Dacian professional warriors were found. It is likely that the garrison stationed here, obviously related to the power centre from the Şureanu Mountains, was composed of elite soldiers, as the weapons, type of fortification tower itself, and geographical position converge towards this hypothesis.*

Rezumat. *Autorii analizează modul în care au interacționat armatele romane și cele ale regilor daci în sectorul Porților de Fier de la Dunăre. Fortificațiile făceau parte dintr-un sistem defensiv mai amplu, menit să oprească înaintarea romană la Dunărea de Jos.*

Keywords: Pre-Roman Dacia, Danube Gorge, Divici-Grad fortress, Dacian kingdom.

I. Introduction

The construction of the Dacian Kingdom in the Transylvanian area would not have been possible without the favourable combination between the military and political infrastructure that existed on the Middle and Lower Danube during the 2nd century BC and the exceptional military capacities of certain warlords. The existing social structures during this period were dominated by numerous warrior clans, characterized by a strong identity and ideology but also by a certain degree of martial ferocity. The eventual results of all these evolutions was the apparition of the pan-Dacian religious and political centre of Sarmizegetusa Regia, and also the build-up of a series of impressive forts and fortresses out of which these warlords were securing and projecting their power and authority. Overcoming the internal crisis after the instauration of the Principate, the

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Roman Empire managed to install itself on the shores of the Black Sea³ and afterwards, on the entire right bank of Danube, as part of an Imperial policy. Thus, the Danube became, after lengthy efforts, an important natural obstacle between the Roman world and the “barbarians”. The dissatisfaction of the later was obvious, and thus the new frontier was attacked with frenzy by various local tribal factions, either alone or in larger coalitions with other “barbarians”, as well as by the Dacian Kingdom. These clashes that took place on both banks of the river are well documented by ancient writers⁴.

The need for an efficient response to the new military and political challenges brought on by ever increasing Roman threat, determined the consolidation of existing fortifications, as well as the creation of a veritable defensive network meant to protect the hitherto fluctuating borders of the Dacian kingdom. Existing forts, previously built by various rival warlords, had come to be integrated into larger systems⁵ and supplemented sometimes with linear defences⁶, just like in other areas of “barbarian” Late Iron Age Europe⁷, depending on specific geographical and economic conditions.

In our view, a special interest zone for understanding the said phenomena is the Danube Gorge as here, for over a century, the armies of Rome and those of the Dacian kings were in direct and permanent contact, separated only by the great European river (Figure 1, left). The present paper aims at making a short presentation of the four existing fortresses located on the Gorge (Figure 1, right), presenting also an inroad into the life and weapons of the warriors that defended them.

II. Fortifications on the Danube Gorge

During the entire Late Iron Age, the Danube Gorge represented more or less a contact area between various ethno-cultural entities⁸. During the middle or late 2nd century BC, a number of forts and settlements had been erected on the northern bank of the Gorge. It was a period when the power of the Balkan Celts had slowly started to fade into obscurity; only their late offspring, the Scordisci, located on the south-western banks of the Gorge remained somewhat strong, although slowly weakened in their turn by internecine conflict with the Thracian Triballi, located to their east, and with the rising Dacians, located on the north. The rather obscure political and military history of this “dark period” of Ancient Dacia⁹, marked by many others by the appearance of new warriors and elites with new identities, cannot permit us to discern too precisely who were the initial builders of these forts. They must have been, almost for sure, part in the broader phenomenon that happened on both sides of the Danube bringing the emergence of new military

³ PETOLESCU 2010, 79–88.

⁴ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (V, 30); Florus (II, 26–29); D.C. LI, 23–27); Suet. *Augustus*, XXI; Tacitus, *Historia*, III, 46, 2–3); J. AJ. 4,3, 90–95).

⁵ BORANGIC, BERZOVAN 2014, 133.

⁶ BORANGIC, BERZOVAN 2014, 90–95; BERZOVAN 2013, 161–183.

⁷ BORANGIC, BERZOVAN 2014, 90–91.

⁸ See EGRI 2011, 178–180.

⁹ SÎRBU, FLOREA 1997, 91; PUPEZĂ 2012.

elites with a distinct ideology¹⁰. Later, in the middle of the 1st cent. BC, during the reign of Burebista, these fortresses, whatever their state and owners, were incorporated into the Dacian Kingdom.

From west to east, the first fortress to be found is that of Socol–*Palanački Breg*. It is located on one of the last western peaks of the Almăjului Mountains, thus having a good strategic position that offered it a good viewshed to the west and south allowing it to control the approach into the Danube Gorge. Its closeness to the Banat Plain, as well as the lower course of the Nera provides abundant farmlands—the lack of major excavations do not allow us to say to what extent the point was ascribed to trade routes of the time—but the presence of stone architecture and monetary findings inside its control zone as well as the surrounding areas constitute evidence of the strength and prosperity of the inhabitants of this fortress during the Dacian Kingdoms period. The chronology of the finds suggests that the fortress was active until the later parts of the 1st cent. AD¹¹.

The Divici–*Grad* fort is situated on the Danube Gorge, between kilometres 1065 and 1066 of the river, on the last peaks of the Almăjului Mountains, occupying a triangular plateau, with an area of 7000 square meters, that dominates with around 100 m the river's flow. Surrounded on three sides by steep slopes, it is only accessible from a narrow path on the northern side, which in ancient times was barred by two defence ditches, with an opening of 6 and 10 m respectively, separated by what seems to have been an earth wall. In the immediate vicinity of the fort, on a series of anthropic terraces located on the eastern slopes of the promontory, numerous signs of habitation have been observed — at the base, on the banks of the Danube a contemporary civilian settlement existed, currently submerged due to the building of the Iron Gates dam¹². A series of fortification works, consisting of three successive earth walls, were observed on the peak north-west of the site¹³. Late archaeologist Liviu Măruia pointed out the existence of linear fortifications meant to bar access to the west of the Almăjului Mountains¹⁴ believed to be from the Dacian period due to similarities existing to those found in the Șureanu Mountains¹⁵.

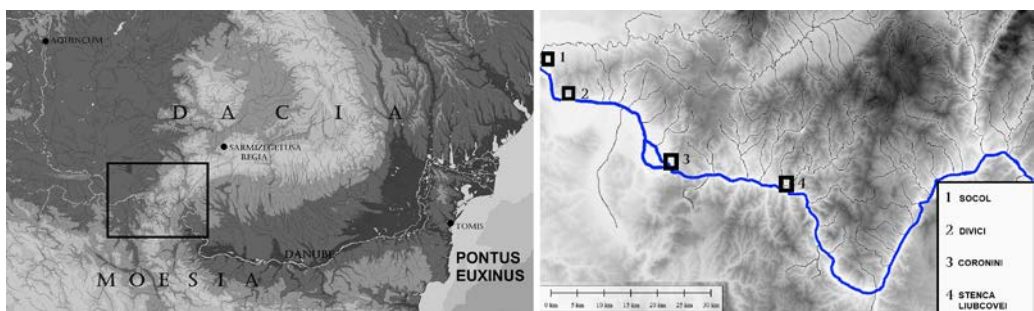


Figure 1. Ancient Dacia in the 1st cent. BC–1st cent. AD (left), and the Dacian forts of the Danube Gorge area (right).

¹⁰ RUSTOIU 2002, 33–40; RUSTOIU 2008, 142–153.

¹¹ RUSTOIU 2006–2007, 22–23.

¹² GUMĂ *et al.* 1987, 201; GUMĂ *et al.* 1995, 402.

¹³ GUMĂ *et al.* 1995, 402.

¹⁴ SĂCĂRIN *et al.* 2013, 59.

¹⁵ TEODOR *et al.* 2013, 1–98.

Excavations at “Grad” in 1985–1998 unearthed three separate phases of said fortifications, which seem to be linked to three phases of habitation. During the first of these phases, less known (dated between the late 2nd century BC–the first half of the 1st century BC), the plateau was defended by a simple rampart with palisade. The second phase, much better substantiated by findings, is dated in general during the 1st BC to early 1st century AD, when the fort suffers significant damage. During this period, the slopes of the early earth wall were removed by the addition of large amounts of compacted clay, thus achieving a terracing that had a stone wall built on top. This has partly shaped facings made of stone, bound with clay, the wall filling being made of crushed stone and clay, apparently also having, on the outside, a series of support beams stuck down, with perhaps a supporting role. This phase corresponds, apparently, to the T2 keep, that has a stone base and a story probably made of brick¹⁶ (Figure 2). The last phase lasts throughout the 1st century AD and marks the peak of the fortification’s development¹⁷. During this time, time the T1 keep was built in the northwest plateau, which, considering its position, acted as a curtain wall tower.

Divici-Grad has the most extensive visibility range of all analysed fortifications, controlling access to the Danube for a distance of approx. 25 km. It has a good view of plains that climb the slopes of the Almăjului Mountains, but also of the right bank of the river. The area where it was located is an area of expansion of the canyon, where the Danube waters could be crossed in relative safety – more than that, in wintertime there is a tendency for ice bridges to appear in this area. Merchant caravans and roaming bands of warriors, once on the south bank, could head to the wide valley of the river Pek, from where they could easily reach one of the most important trade and military routes of its time – the Morava Valley. To the east, wide valleys offered sufficient farm land, the proximity of the mountains also offered plentiful wood and stone, which have actually been used to build the fortification in its second and third phase of existence, and fishing or hunting could become at any time additional sources of food¹⁸.

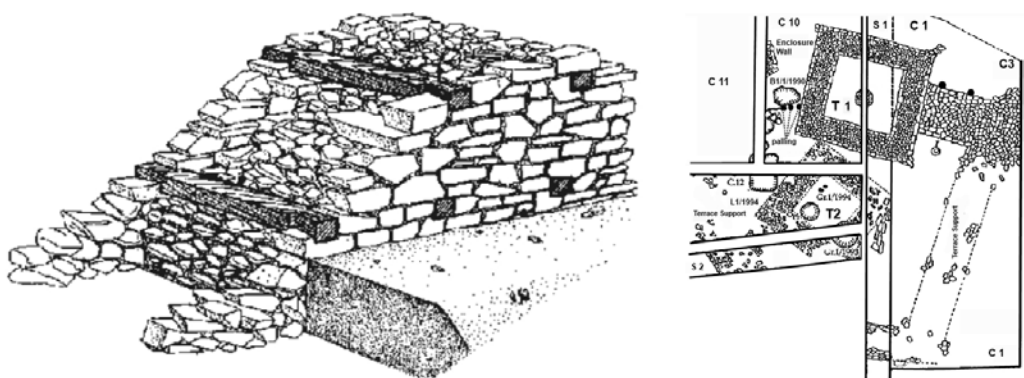


Figure 2. The archaeological situation at Divici-Grad. Plan of the towers (right) and manner of construction (left).

¹⁶ GUMĂ *et al.* 1995, 403, 406.

¹⁷ GUMĂ *et al.* 1995, 403; RUSTOIU 2006–2007, 18.

¹⁸ SĂCĂRIN *et al.* 2013, 67–69.

Monumental stone architecture, keeps with stories made of plastered brick, present in two overlapping chronological phases of fortification, corresponding to 1st century BC–1st century AD, the hierarchy of habitat in a “fortified acropolis” and a number of adjacent civilian settlements and not least, the ability to change the natural environment by massive terracing, is evidence of an ideology of design and expression of power that is found in the same shapes in the area of Dacian fortresses in Transylvania. The analogies do not stop there: the presence of painted pottery¹⁹, imported parts (acquired by robbery or trade), some true luxury items²⁰ attest undoubtedly a level and a way of living comparable to that of the area of the capital of Dacian kingdom. The myriad of hoards and stray finds from the area Divici– Moldova Noua–Coronini, is further evidence of the prosperity of the area. Besides the warrior nobles, with their related bands, the fortress, permanently inhabited, certainly housed skilled craftsmen²¹, judging by specific items discovered: cast pewter spoon, file, jeweller chisel and anvil, pattern for cast rings, etc.²². Other findings, such as clay spindle whorls, bronze mirrors and various household objects reveal an interesting fresco on the lives of those who were the wives, the daughters or the mothers of the settlements residents.

Less known, stirred up by building a medieval stone fortress, the fortification of Coronini/Pescari–*La Culă*²³ has a special strategic position, being located right at the beginning of one of the narrow areas of the Danube Gorge. It provides excellent visibility to the north-east, with the fortification of Divici–*Grad* in its line of sight, but does not have a good angle of view to the east. Its role seems to have been similar to that of Divici – one of the fords used for crossing the Danube was located in this area during the Middle Ages, probably used and known in Antiquity as well²⁴. Lacking, as far as we know, elements of stone architecture²⁵, it is likely to have played a secondary role to the much more powerful fortress of Divici. In regard to its chronology, the last phase seems to be probably in the late 1st century AD.

Located in an area of widening on a small hillock, the fortress of the Stenca Liubcova has an area of restricted visibility, which is reduced to only the areas immediately adjacent, having no other fortified point in its line of sight. Very likely, the main role of this fortress was to control access from the south bank of the river, in an area predisposed to the formation of ice bridges. The findings inside the fortress²⁶ revealed a fairly prosperous centre, defended, during the second Dacian Phase, by a wall with a stone and earth filling; the fort seems to be destroyed and abandoned somewhere in the beginning of the 1st century AD²⁷.

¹⁹ Of La Tène type (DRĂGAN 2013, 111–112).

²⁰ GUMĂ *et al.* 1995, 403–404; RUSTOIU 2006–2007, 19–20.

²¹ MEDELEȚ 1995, 95–101.

²² GUMĂ *et al.* 1995, 410.

²³ MEDELEȚ *et al.* 1971, 465–475.

²⁴ RUSTOIU 2006–2007, 20.

²⁵ RUSTOIU, 2006–2007, 20.

²⁶ GUMĂ 1977, 69–104.

²⁷ RUSTOIU 2006–2007, 20–21.

Downstream along the Danube, despite monetary discoveries and signs of cave dwelling, Dacian fortresses are missing so far; it is likely that this lack indicates merely a stage of research, but the analysis of geomorphological features can provide other explanations: here, the valley narrows very much, with very large height differences – before the construction of the dam, navigation in this area, as is well known, was highly problematic, crossing the river with large armies being out of the question.

Living on the border had multiple advantages and disadvantages for the warrior nobles that resided in such places. Indeed there was always prospect for good trade, but there was also place for war and plunder and in case of a large scale military conflict, these nobles residing here on the Gorge where among the first to receive the brunt of the enemy attack. Professional core soldiers supplemented probably by mercenaries and contingents of semi-professional warriors must have been present in significant numbers in these forts.

Two archaeological finds coming from the fortress of Divici-*Grad*²⁸ offer us an interesting glimpse into the tactics and weapons used by the ancient Dacian warriors. Situated in a turbulent and quite bellicose relationship with Rome, the warrior tribes of the northern Balkans developed specific weapons and tactics meant to counter the superiority of the otherwise impenetrable Roman Legion; among them, the most feared ones were the curved weapons, as the Roman writers attest. For example, P. Papinius Statius, Latin poet and protégée of Emperor Domitian (therefore we assume that he knew the Dacians well) remarks the sinister fame of these curved weapons: *Quo Paeones arma rotatu, quo Macetae sua gaessa citent, quo turbine contum Sauromates falcemque Getes arcumque Gelonus tenderet et flexae Balearicus actor habenae [...]* (Statius, *Achilleis*, II, verses 131–134 of the II part). M. Cornelius Fronto, important rhetor and Roman lawyer, also speaks of this terrible sword, which the Dacians used to oppose Roman expansion: *[...] in bellum profectus est cum cognitis militibus hostem Parthum contemnentibus, saggitarum ictus post ingentia Dacorum falcibus inlata volnera despiciatui habentibus* (Fronto, *Principia Historiae*).

Both of the weapons were discovered inside the T1 keep and were probably lost during the final moments of the siege. The first is a *falx dacica*, type III, registered as A2B3 (Figure 3, left) – sword with medium sized blade, with only a bent²⁹. The weapon belonged, most likely, to an infantryman, the relatively average length being an impediment to a rider, therefore it was used in close combat, the pronounced curvature and tip shape giving it the advantage of high penetration power, very likely, able to penetrate light armour. Due to the specific shape, the whole force of penetration is concentrated in the tip, thus not suitable to stabbing, the maximum effectiveness achieved just in the case by slashing and shearing. This makes it especially dangerous, even if the enemy was protected by armour, shield and helmet. Potential injuries (penetrating blows, cuts, splits) depended largely on striking power, the experience of the weapon wielder, the angle of incidence as well as the portion of the body affected. In the case high amplitude hits, also involved

²⁸ For an extensive discussion, see SĂCĂRIN *et al.* 2013.

²⁹ BORANGIC 2013, 125–128 (with the bibliography of the subject).

was the inertia force conferred by the weight of the weapon and arm³⁰, aggravated by the action of tearing.

The other curved weapon is represented by a solid pruning knife (Figure 4, right), found in the same context. The piece is made of iron, hot forged, strongly curved at the tip, like a beak, with the edge on the inside. Presents gloving tube and rivet hole. It was mounted on quite massive a wooden tail, judging by sleeve size. Given the specific shape it can be assumed that those who wielded them acted as support troops in other units.

No less effective than actual swords, these pruning knives were a tactical solution resorted to by both professional warriors, and especially ordinary fighters. Attached to a tail made of strong wood (see Figure 5, left), whose optimal length is between 1 and 1.5 m, these weapons could produce disarmament, serious head injuries, by direct hits or fatal cuts to the legs or neck area. The long tail allowed a fight at a safe distance from the short swords of legionnaires and applying two-handed strikes with the sickle turned this ordinary tool in a terrible, extremely efficient weapon. No less effective were shorter tailed war hooks handled in tandem with a shield. Relatively inexpensive, the cost of performing such a war hook estimated at approx. three hours of work, pruning knives must have been highly prized and their number high enough for them to become visible in Roman art

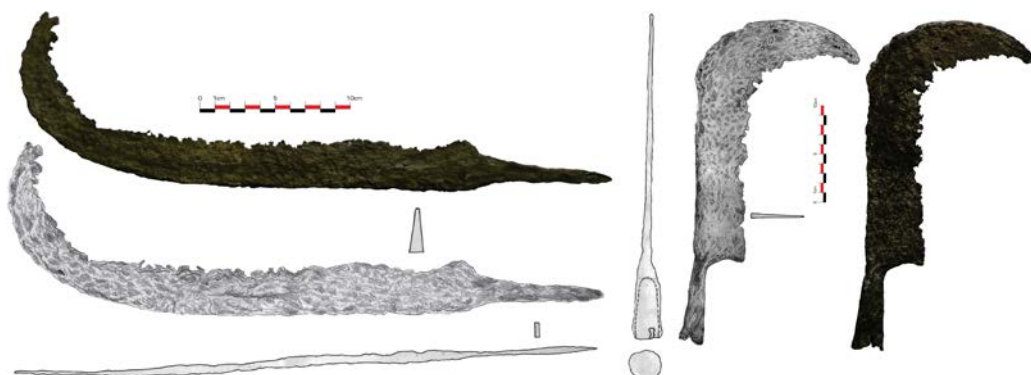


Figure 4. Falx Dacica (left) and pruning knife from Divici (right) (photos and drawings).



Figure 5. Reenactor with a pruning knife (left) and detail from scene XXIV of Trajan's Column (right).

³⁰ BORANGIC 2007-2008, 55-57.

and now in archaeological finds. The spread and frequent findings of pruning knives, dated especially in the 1st century BC–1st century AD across the entire area of Dacian influence and their use, even occasionally, as weapons, allows the inclusion of this category of artefacts among those *Dacorum falcibus* mentioned by Cornelius Fronto³¹.

Most likely part of a single system, termed “Limes dacicus” by A. Rustoiu³², the fortifications around the Danube Gorge know relatively similar chronological phases, linked to, in our opinion, a number of well-documented historical events. As stated in the introductory part of the study, the turn of the 1st century B.C. and 1st A.D. is characterized by a series of violent confrontations between Dacians and Romans throughout the Danube region, becoming more pronounced. Historical sources of the period mention the armies of the Dacian king Cotiso that come down from the mountains, crossing the frozen Danube raiding south of the river – the only area where the mountain borders on the great river is the one we are talking about. Faced with these challenges, Augustus responds promptly, sending Lentulus in the area, which brought peace to the region, driving out the Dacians and placing several Roman garrisons on the southern bank of the river. We tie the destruction that happened at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. to all fortifications on the Gorge, to this historical event.

Enthusiastic following this successful military action, the poet Horace speaks of the destruction of Cotiso's army; more realistic, the Roman historian Aeneas L. Florus says that the Dacians “have not been defeated, but repulsed and scattered”³³ which is fully confirmed by archaeological findings showing a restoration of fortifications in the area. The very rugged topography, clearly favouring defenders, and the closeness to the powerful Transylvanian nucleus of the Dacian kingdom—it is less than a three day trip on the mountain trail roads that start at the mouths of the Cerna river across the Țarcu-Godeanu massif—would have caused serious logistical and military problems for the Romans if they had wanted to start pacification and resettlement operations like those conducted against the tribal factions of the Wallachian Plain. Thus we think that this might explain why this area has fared distinctly from other areas along the Danube, the decisive confrontation between the Dacians and Romans in the sector being postponed until the time of the great wars during the reigns of emperors Domitian and Trajan.

Whether these fortifications were neutralized during the wars in the time of Domitian or during the first Dacian war, they seem to have ended in a violent way, being stormed by the Roman legions. Archaeological evidence for the fortification of Divici-Grad are quite eloquent, fully illustrating the dramatic confrontations. The northwest side of the fortification wall was destroyed, and arrowheads and roman catapult projectiles were discovered in the debris and burned layer behind the defence. Fragments of *lorica squamata* were discovered in the same place³⁴. Regarding

³¹ BORANGIC 2010, 20.

³² RUSTOIU 2006-2007, 24; ȘTEFAN 2005, 262-263.

³³ DAICOVICIU 1965, 107-110.

³⁴ RUSTOIU, 2006-2007, 20.

the weapons we discussed, it seems natural to believe that they were lost by defenders who took refuge in the tower, trying, perhaps, a last resistance.

The coin from Trajan's time, dated between AD 112–117 and a crossbow-type brooch discovered in the topsoil during archaeological excavations³⁵, are no longer bound to the existence of the fort; their presence may indicate, however, a discreet surveillance of this point by the Romans, during a time when the kingdom and the old centres of authority were still alive in the consciousness of the locals.

III. Final considerations

Located at the meeting point of two worlds, the warriors on the Danube Gorge built solid fortifications, integrated into a coherent system, which aimed at controlling access to key crossing points across the Danube. Consolidating its power through trade, but also through plunder, they found themselves at the forefront of the advance of Roman armies towards the Danube, managing to successfully resist until the era of the large Dacian-Roman confrontation.

In this picture, curved weapons discovered in the ruins of the Dacian fortress Divici, an important border fort, throws a bright light on the importance of this border strongholds. It is likely that the garrison stationed here during the 1st century AD, obviously related to the power centre from Şureanu Mountains, was composed of elite soldiers, as weapons, type of fortification tower itself, the geographical position converge towards this hypothesis.

The hypothesis that among the residents of these forts where professional soldiers is strengthened by the presence on the reliefs of Trajan's Column, in scenes depicting the first Dacian-Roman clashes that took place, obviously in the Danubian area, of Dacian warriors armed with Roman weapons. Thus, in the scene XXIV (Figure 5, right) appear two Dacian *comati* that attack the Roman soldiers with characteristic Roman short swords. These *gladii* where effective only in compact units that acted in a disciplined manner, thus confirming the sayings of Dio Cassius regarding the significant presence of specialized military personnel in the army of Decebal³⁶. It is logical to suppose that the first Dacian groups that opposed the Roman forces where the ones of the warriors residing in the fortresses of the Danube Gorge, whose experience in the lengthy conflicts and clashes against Rome could not have been ignored.³⁷ The presence in the first line of these professional warriors, hardened in battles fought throughout the Balkans and their presence in these border forts helped to slow down the Roman advance towards the interior of the Dacian Kingdom, thus giving time to further fortify its central part.

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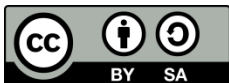
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Le système de la vengeance dans les poèmes d'Homère

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Abstract. *The article deals with terms connected to revenge in Homeric poems. The examination puts into attention seven ways of revenge: (1) the penal composition; (2) the exile; (3) the setting of chains; (4) the divine punishment; (6) the revenge of a friend in a battle; and (7) the oppression of an individual belonging to a lower social status. The interactions between the tribunals and revenge of private persons are also studied. The judgement court and the revenge of individuals are described by different terms. In the society contemporary to Homer, the court does not interfere in individual revenge.*

Résumé. *L'article est consacré aux termes liés à la vengeance dans les poèmes d'Homère. L'examen porte sur sept moyens de vengeance: (1) la composition pénale; (2) l'exil; (3) l'imposition des chaînes; (4) la vengeance de sang; (5) le châtement divin; (6) la vengeance d'un ami au combat; et (7) l'oppression sur un individu d'un statut social plus bas. Les interactions entre les cours de jugement et la vengeance des personnes privées sont aussi examinées. La cour et la vengeance des individus sont décrits par de différents termes. Dans la société contemporaine à Homère la cour n'intervienne pas dans la vengeance des individus.*

Rezumat. *Articolul de față este consacrat termenilor legați de răzbunare în poemele homerice. Examinarea acestora tratează șapte mijloace de răzbunare: (1) compoziția penală; (2) exilul; (3) înlănțuirea; (4) răzbunarea sângelui; (5) pedeapsa divină; (6) răzbunarea unui prieten în luptă; și (7) oprimarea unui individ având un statut social inferior. Sunt de asemenea examinate interacțiunile dintre curțile de judecată și răzbunarea persoanelor private. Curtea și răzbunarea sunt descrise în termeni diferiți. În societatea contemporană lui Homer, curtea nu intervine în cazul unei răzbunări individuale.*

Keywords: Homer, vengeance, judgement court, punishment.

La recherche sur la vengeance dans les poèmes d'Homère a une importance tout à fait particulière, compte tenu du fait que l'on peut y voir les procédés de la vengeance avant l'apparition du droit pénal et le monopole de l'état sur ces procédés. Ainsi peut-on observer le développement de la justice pénale en s'appuyant sur l'étude des traits caractéristiques de sa genèse. Cet examen ne peut pas se produire sans l'étude des modèles de la vengeance dans une société antérieure à l'établissement de l'état.

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L'étude sur la vengeance² dans les poèmes d'Homère attire l'attention des chercheurs³ depuis longtemps. Mais des controverses subsistent toujours. Elles se portent surtout sur le nombre de types de la vengeance dans les poèmes. Les uns supposaient que plusieurs formes de vengeance coexistaient⁴ (le plus souvent, la vengeance de sang⁵, la composition pénale⁶, l'exil). Les autres croyaient qu'il n'y avait qu'une seule forme de vengeance, c'est à dire, la composition pénale ou l'exil⁷.

Tels chercheurs que J. Thonissen, J.H. Lipsius, H.J. Treston, A.W.H. Adkins, E. Cantarella, E. Benveniste, D. Linden, I. Dvoretzkaya, G. Zalubovina et d'autres⁸ ont consacré leurs travaux à ce sujet. Ce ne sont que G. Glotz et G. Zalyubovina qui ont étudié les rapports entre différentes formes de vengeance⁹.

On ne peut pas étudier les poèmes où se superposent les souvenirs de la civilisation mycénienne et l'état des choses contemporain à Homère sans se demander à quel point leur récit correspond à la réalité historique. Voilà pourquoi la localisation des réalités dans le temps provoque de vives disputes.

On admet que l'idéologie et la pratique sociale de l'aristocratie de l'époque archaïque et les poèmes subissaient l'influence réciproque. Cela veut dire que les modèles de vengeance décrits dans les poèmes devaient toucher les percepteurs de l'art, des aèdes et des rhapsodes et leur servir d'exemple. D'autre côté, les destinataires déterminaient le choix des thèmes. Ces conditions nous permettent d'examiner les poèmes d'Homère de point de vue historique.

Pour étudier la vengeance dans les textes d'Homère il nous faut dresser une liste de sujets qui la décrivent. Dans ce but, nous devons nous fonder sur un critère objectif. L'idée de vengeance d'un chercheur peut ne pas coïncider avec celle qui est présente dans les poèmes. Celui qui étudie les poèmes peut interpréter comme vengeance les cas qui, en vérité, ne la sont pas¹⁰. Les termes qui dénotent la vengeance peuvent servir de ce critère¹¹.

² L'existence de la justice dans la société d'Homère est une matière de controverse. C'est pourquoi on doit utiliser avec précaution tels mots que "le criminel", "la culpabilité", "l'intention", etc.

³ En 1873 est paru peut être le premier article sur ce sujet.

⁴ THONISSEN 1873, 29, 31, 39, 44/45; BUCHHOLZ 1881, 74; GLOTZ 1904, 68-69, 118-119; LIPSIUS 1905, 7; TRESTON 1923, 23, 27, 65, 48/50, 55, 77; BENVENISTE 1969, 52; CANTARELLA 1979, 231-237, 245-247, 251-257; DVORETSKAYA, ZALUBOVINA, SHERVUD 1995, 20-27; PORELLO 2008, 142-162.

⁵ A. Perchitz détermine la vengeance de sang comme "la tradition de se venger pour un meurtre, une blessure, un outrage ou des dégâts, qui se rencontre dans les sociétés préhistoriques en fonction de protection mutuelle et qui est indispensable avant la formation de l'état" (PERSHITS 1986, 83).

⁶ La composition pénale — la compensation pour un meurtre ou une blessure qui remplace la vengeance de sang.

⁷ BONNER 1911, 17/18.

⁸ THONISSEN 1873, 31, 39; LEIST 1894, 322-323; GLOTZ 1904, 106-111; LIPSIUS 1907, 7; TRESTON 1923, 28-33; ADKINS 1972; CANTARELLA 1979, 231-237; LINDEN 1992, 111-112; DVORETSKAYA, ZALUBOVINA, SHERVUD 1995, 21-22; ALLAN 2006, 11-12; SCHMIDT 2004, 1325-1327; NORDHEIDER 2008, 540; LONEY 2009, 8, 27-32, 39, 44-45, 170, 226, 267.

⁹ GLOTZ 1904, 106-107; DVORETSKAYA, ZALUBOVINA, SHERVUD 1995, 20-27.

¹⁰ Par exemple, la colère d'Achille et outrage au corps d'Hector.

C'est pourquoi en premier lieu on va faire un échantillon de termes liés à la vengeance. En second lieu, on va étudier la signification de ces mots, y compris au niveau de la mentalité. En troisième lieu, on va observer les rapports entre ces termes.

On va aussi observer les procédés de la vengeance chez Homère. Finalement, on essaiera d'apprendre les rapports entre la vengeance des individus et les cours à l'époque d'Homère.

I. Le système de termes liés à la vengeance dans les poèmes d'Homère

Dans "L'Iliade" et "L'Odyssée" se font remarquer quelques termes liés à la vengeance: *τίνω/τίνομαι, τίσις, τιμή, ποινή, ἄποινα, δίκη, ὕβρις, λώβη*.

1.1. Les verbes le plus répandus qui se rapprochent à l'idée de vengeance et qui expriment presque la même idée sont *ἀποτίνω/ἀποτίνομαι, τίνυμαι, ἐξαποτίνω, ἀποτίνομαι*¹². Afin de comprendre ce qui veut dire *τίνω/τίνομαι, ἀποτίνω/ἀποτίνομαι, τίνυμαι, ἐξαποτίνω, ἀποτίνομαι* de point de vue sociale, il faut examiner premièrement, ce qui provoque ces actions, secondement, leur résultat, troisièmement, sous quelle forme se réalise cette action.

Maintenant nous allons énumérer les causes des actions appelées *τίνω/τίνομαι, ἀποτίνω/ἀποτίνομαι, τίνυμαι, ἐξαποτίνω, ἀποτίνομαι*.

a) Le meurtre d'un parent¹³. Par exemple, Euphorbe dit à Ménélas :

*νῦν μὲν δὴ Μενέλαε διοτρεφὲς ἦ μάλα τίσις
γνωτὸν ἔμὸν τὸν ἔπεφνες*¹⁴(Il. 17. 34-35)

"Maintenant Ménélas, nourri par Zeus, tu me payeras vraiment cher mon parent que tu avais tué".

b) Le meurtre d'un ami¹⁵. Ainsi Achille s'adresse-t-il aux Troyens :

...πάντες τίσετε Πατρόκλοιο φόνον καὶ λοιγὸν Ἀχαιῶν (Il. 21. 133-134).

"Vous tous me payerez le meurtre de Patrocle et la mort des akhaiens".

c) Un outrage (Il. 22. 8-20, Il. 1. 508). Par exemple, Achille veut se venger d'Apolon qui l'a trompé:

ἦ σ' ἂν τισαίμην, εἴ μοι δύναμις γε παρείη (Il. 22. 20).

"Je me serais vengé de toi si j'en avais eu le moyen".

d) Une offense envers la famille ou mariage¹⁶. C'est pourquoi Ulysse

¹¹ On analyse les épisodes où les termes de vengeance ne s'emploient pas dans le cas où il y a un évident parallélisme avec les scènes où ces termes se rencontrent.

¹² NORDHEIDER 2008; LOGINOV 2013, 29/38.

¹³ Il. 15. 115-116, Od. 24. 470, Od. 3. 195, Od. 3. 203-206, Od. 3. 196-197, Il. 17. 34-35, Il. 11. 142, Il. 4. 161-162.

¹⁴ Les textes d'Homère sont cités par: THIEL 1991; THIEL 2010.

¹⁵ Il. 18. 93, Il. 21.133-134, Il. 22. 271-272, Il. 16. 398, Od. 23. 312-313, Od. 9. 479.

¹⁶ Il. 3. 366, Il. 3. 351, Il. 3. 28, Il. 15. 177, Od. 14. 163, Il. 22. 317, Od. 23. 31, Od. 23. 57, Od. 3. 216, Od. 24. 352, Od. 5. 24, Od. 13. 386, Od. 13. 193, Od. 17. 540, Od. 16. 255, Od. 11. 118, Od. 22. 61-64, Od. 1. 268, Il. 1. 42, Od. 15. 236.

...τίσεται, ὅς τις ἐκείνου

ἐνθάδ' ἀτιμάζει ἄλοχον καὶ φαίδιμον υἷον (Od. 14. 163)

“Se vengera de celui qui déshonore sa femme et son glorieux fils”.

e) L'infidélité des esclaves. Eumée demande à Ulysse s'il doit amener le traître, l'esclave Mélanthios:

...ἴν' ὑπερβασίας ἀποτίση

πολλάς, ὅσας οὗτος ἐμήσατο σῶ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ (Od. 22. 168–169)

“Pour que tu te venges de nombreuses injustices qu'il a conçues dans ta maison”.

f) L'infraction aux normes d'hospitalité. Ulysse veut que Zeus châtie les Phéaciens qui l'ont trompé et qui ne l'ont pas amené sur la bonne île:

Ζεὺς σφέας τίσαιτο ἰκετήσιος... (Od. 13. 213)

“Que Zeus, le patron des voyageurs, les châtie”.

g) Le viol de serment. Agamemnon en faisant l'immolation, prononce la prière suivante:

Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἐρινύες, αἴ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν

ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσση (Il. 19. 259–260)

“Gaïa, Hélios et Erinyes châtient les hommes qui parjurent sous la terre”.

h) Blessure. Arès dit à Athéna:

τὼ σ' αὖ νῦν ὀίω ἀποτισέμεν ὅσα μ' ἔοργας (Il. 21. 399)

“Maintenant tu payeras ce que tu as fait”.

1.2. Les actions appelées τίνω/τίνομαι, ἀποτίνω/ἀποτίνομαι, τίνυμαι, ἀποτίνυμαι, ἐξαποτίνω, dans la plupart des cas mènent à la mort de l'offenseur¹⁷. Selon Euriclée, Thélémaque savait que c'était Ulysse qui s'était travesti en pauvre, mais le premier dissimule ce fait

ἔφρ' ἀνδρῶν τίσαιτο βίην ὑπερηγορέοντων (Od. 23. 31)

“Pour qu'il se venge de la violence des hommes audacieux”.

Ce n'est que dans Od. 23. 312–313 que Ulysse renonce à tuer Polyphème qui peut laisser le voyageur partir de l'ancre.

1.3. Les actions τίνω/τίνομαι, ἀποτίνω/ἀποτίνομαι, τίνυμαι, ἀποτίνυμαι, ἐξαποτίνω peuvent se dérouler sous forme de duel¹⁸. Ménélas prie Zeus avant le duel avec Pâris:

¹⁷ Il. 15. 115; Il. 21. 134; Il. 18. 93; Il. 3. 28; Il. 4. 161–162; Il. 15. 177; Il. 22. 270; Il. 11. 142; Il. 16. 398; Od. 12. 378; Od. 12. 383–384; Od. 3. 195; Od. 3. 203–206; Od. 14. 163; Od. 15. 236; Od. 317; Od. 23. 31; Od. 23. 57; Od. 3. 216; Od. 24. 352; Od. 5. 24; Od. 13. 386; Od. 13. 193; Od. 17. 540; Od. 16. 255; Od. 22. 168–169; Od. 11. 118; Od. 22. 60–64; Od. 1. 268; Il. 1. 508; Il. 1. 42; Il. 3. 366; Il. 3. 351; Od. 9. 479; Il. 22. 18–20; Il. 21. 399; Od. 22. 218; Od. 24. 470; Il. 18. 34–35; Od. 13. 213–214; Il. 19. 259–260.

¹⁸ Il. 21. 399; Il. 15. 177; Il. 15. 115; Il. 18. 34–35; Il. 18. 93; Il. 21. 134; Il. 22. 270; Il. 16. 398; Il. 11. 142; Il. 22. 18–20; Il. 3. 366; Il. 3. 351; Il. 317; Il. 3. 216; Il. 24. 352; Od. 23. 312–313; Od. 3. 28; Od. 14. 163; Od. 23. 31; Od. 23. 57; Od. 3. 203–206; Od. 3. 195; Od. 24. 470; Od. 5. 24; Od. 13. 386; Od. 13. 193; Od. 17. 540; Od. 16. 255; Od. 11. 118; Od. 22. 60–64; Od. 1. 268; Od. 15. 236; Od. 22. 218; Od. 22. 168–169.

Ζεῦ ἄνα, δὸς τίσασθαι, ὃ με πρότερος κάκ' ἔοργε,
δῖον Ἀλέξανδρον... (Il. 3. 351–353)

“Zeus, laisse-moi me venger sur celui qui m'avait causé du mal, le divin Alexandre”.

Les verbes *τίνω/τίνομαι*, *ἀποτίνω/ἀποτίνομαι*, *τίνυμαι*, *ἀποτίνυμαι*, *ἐξαποτίνω* peuvent vouloir dire le châtement par les dieux comme dans Od. 9. 479, Il. 1. 508, Il. 1. 42, Od. 12. 378, Od. 12. 383–384, Od. 13. 213, Il. 19. 259–260. Chrysès demande Apollon de châtier les grecs:

τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν (Il. 1. 42)

“Que les Dananéens à l'aide de tes flèches payront mes larmes”

1.4. En somme, on peut dire que les actions *τίνω/τίνομαι*, *ἀποτίνω/ἀποτίνομαι*, *τίνυμαι*, *ἀποτίνυμαι*, *ἐξαποτίνω* chez Homère déterminent un recours à la violence et peuvent être causées par un meurtre (14 cas), une violence à un membre de famille (20 cas), un outrage (2 contextes), une infraction aux normes de l'hospitalité, un parjure, une blessure ou bien une trahison par un esclave (un contexte à chacun des cas). Les actions ont pour résultat la mort de l'offenseur dans la plupart des cas (41 fois). D'habitude, les actions se traduisent en duel (35 fois), dans 7 cas en châtement des dieux.

2. Le nom *τίσις* a la même racine que *τίνω*. Dans les poèmes d'Homère ce nom peut aussi désigner la vengeance. Zeus prédit la mort d'Egisthe:

ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταιο τίσις ἔσσεται Ἀτρεΐδαο (Od. 1. 40)

“C'est par Oreste Atride que se produira la vengeance”.

Télémachos, qui s'adresse aux habitants d'Ithaque, comprend sous *τίσις* la compensation qui doit être payé pour la dévastation de la maison d'Ulysse.

εἴ χ' ὑμεῖς γε φάγοιτε, τάχ' ἂν ποτε καὶ τίσις εἴη·
τόφρα γὰρ ἂν κατὰ ἄστυ ποτιπτυσοίμεθα μύθῳ
χρήματ' ἀπαιτίζοντες, ἕως κ' ἀπὸ πάντα δοθείη (Od. 2. 76–78)

“Si vous nous tuez, que vous soyez punis; nous allons traverser et retraverser la ville jusqu'à ce que tout soit récompensé”.

Zeus rassure Poséidon disant que celui-ci aura toujours la possibilité de se venger sur les mortels:

...σοὶ δ' ἔστι καὶ ἐξοπίσω τίσις αἰεὶ (Od. 13. 144)

“Tu auras toujours la possibilité de te venger”.

Malheureusement, nous n'avons que trois exemples avec *τίσις* qui ne suffisent pas pour juger sur la signification de ce mot. La traduction “vengeance de sang” proposée par Loney¹⁹ ne peut pas être acceptée pour tous les contextes. Par exemple, dans Od. 13. 143–144 ce mot signifie le châtement des dieux et dans Od. 2. 76 etc. — la récupération du bien par Télémachos.

¹⁹ LONEY 2009, 27–28, 170, 226, 267.

3. Τιμή²⁰ aurait dû être lié à la vengeance²¹. Τιμή peut désigner: l'hommage, le respect, l'honneur, le pouvoir, la gloire. Τιμή comme "pouvoir" se rencontre dans: Il. 2. 196–197, Il. 1. 278–279, Il. 17. 251, Il. 6. 193, Il. 15. 189, Il. 9. 616, Od. 11. 495, Od. 11. 503, Od. 24. 30. Τιμή peut être traduit comme "gloire" dans: Il. 1. 353, Il. 16. 84–85, Il. 24. 57. Τιμή comme "honneur" dans Il. 4. 410, Il. 9. 319, Il. 17. 92. Comme "hommage": Il. 9. 605, Il. 9. 608, Il. 23. 649, Od. 5. 335, Od. 8. 479–480, Od. 11. 302–304. On peut conclure du contexte Od. 11. 338 que τιμή peut signifier "l'obligation de rendre honneur".

La différence entre ce groupe de significations et τιμή comme compensation pour offense se fait remarquer dans Il. 3. 286, Il. 3. 459, Od. 22. 56–58. Par exemple, Eurimaque supplie Ulysse de faire grâce aux fiancés:

ὄσσα τοι ἐκπέποται καὶ ἐδήδοται ἐν μεγάροισι,
τιμὴν ἀμφὶς ἄγοντες ἔεικοσάβοιον ἕκαστος,
χαλκὸν τε χρυσόν τ' ἀποδώσομεν... (Od. 22. 56–58)

"Conformément à la quantité de ce qui a été bu et mangé dans ta maison, chacun de nous, ayant rassemblé partout te payera la compensation de vingt bœufs en or et en argent".

Τιμή dans les poèmes d'Homère comprend, d'une côté, l'honneur d'héros et d'autre côté, les insignes de son haut statut social. C'est pourquoi τιμή fait le héros se venger pour protéger l'honneur de celui-ci ou de son groupe social. Dans Il. 3. 286, Il. 3. 459, Od. 22. 56–58 τιμή est étroitement lié à la vengeance.

4. La notion πωινή est plus étroitement liée à la vengeance. J. J. Thonissen croyait que πωινή désignait la compensation qui libérait le malfaiteur de châtement²². Pour G. Glotz, πωινή n'était pas une compensation, c'est-à-dire, un moyen d'échapper à la poursuite ou à la mort, mais une réparation — un paiement selon un accord entre deux côtés, quand personne n'a pas peur de mort²³. B. Leist relevait trois composants dans πωινή qui se sont distingués au cours de temps: la vengeance d'un individu (*Rache*), la vengeance de la société (*Strafe*) et la récompense de dégât (*Büße*)²⁴. H. G. Treston croyait que πωινή dans les poèmes d'Homère veut dire "vengeance de sang"²⁵. Il contredit aux chercheurs qui considéraient que πωινή était une récompense en relevant les contextes où ce mot ne peut pas avoir cette signification. J. H.

²⁰ La littérature sur τιμή est immense. Les travaux les plus importants sont: GLOTZ 1904, 106–107, 109; BENVENISTE 1969, 52; ADKINS 1972, 14–15; ADKINS 1971, 9–10; RIEDINGER 1976, 245–263; MACLACHLAN 1993, 16–17; GAGARIN 1987, 287; YAMAGATA 1994, 121–138; FINKELBERG 1998, 1619; PATZER 1996, 218; NORDHEIDER 2008, 518–519.

²¹ Il faut dire que τίνω, τίσις, τιμή, τιμάω, πωινή, ἄποινα, probablement dérivent de la racine indoeuropéenne *kwei: CURTIUS 1866, 429; BOISACQ 1916, 973–974, 801; POKORNY 1959, 636–637; FRISK 1960, 903; RIX 2001, S. 380. Mais certains croient que τίνω, τίσις, τιμή, τιμάω, d'une côté et πωινή, ἄποινα d'autre dérivent de deux racines différentes: SCHULZE 1892, 356, 366; FRAENKEL 1910, 184; SCHWYZER 1939, 697; BENVENISTE 1969, 52; CHANTRAINE 1977, 1123.

²² THONISSEN 1873, 31, 39.

²³ GLOTZ 1904, 106–107.

²⁴ LEIST 1894, 322–323.

²⁵ TRESTON 1923, 28–33.

Lipsius aussi voulait voir sous ce terme la vengeance²⁶. E. Cantarella était du même avis que Glotz²⁷. G.T. Zalyubovina a conclu que Homère fait différence entre les termes qui désignent “la récompense, Wergeld” et “la vengeance, le châtement”²⁸. Selon elle, ποιινή désigne “la récompense” et τίσις – “la vengeance”²⁹.

Considérant l’usage de ποιινή, on voit que cela signifie la mort du malfaiteur dans Il. 14. 483–484, Il. 21. 27–28, Il. 13. 659, Il. 16. 398, Od. 23. 312–313. Par exemple, Acamas qui se venge de son frère, utilise le mot ποιινή:

φράζεσθ' ὡς ὑμῖν Πρόμαχος δεδμημένος εὔδει
ἔγχει ἔμῳ, ἵνα μή τι κασιγνήτοιο γέ ποιινή
δηρὸν ἄτιτος ἔη... (Il. 14. 482–485)

“Sachez que votre Promakhos est tué par ma lance. Que chaque fois la vengeance pour un frère ne se fasse pas attendre”.

Pοινή est une compensation morale dans Il. 17. 206–208. Zeus veut rendre Hector invisible en bataille en guise de compensation pour sa future mort:

...ἀτάρ τοι νῦν γέ μέγα κράτος ἐγγυαλίξω,
τῶν ποιινήν, ὃ τοι οὔ τι μάχης ἐκνοστήσαντι
δέξεται Ἀνδρομάχη κλυτὰ τεύχεα Πηλείωνος (Il. 17. 206–208)

“Je te donnerai une grande force en guise de compensation pour ce que Andromaque ne te dépouillera de ton armure quand tu seras revenu de bataille”.

Pοινή peut être traduit comme rançon dans Il. 18. 498–499, Il. 9. 633. Ainsi sur le bouclier d’Achille on voit deux hommes se disputer sur la rançon pour un meurtre devant la cour:

...δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα ποιινής
ἄνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου... (Il. 18. 498–499)

“Deux hommes se disputaient à propos de la rançon pour un homme tué”.

On ne peut pas être d’accord ni avec J. J. Thonissen ni avec G. Glotz, qui croyaient que ποιινή n’était qu’une récompense matérielle, ni avec E. Cantarella et G. Zalyubovina qui pensaient que cette notion désignait une rançon, ignorant le fait qu’elle implique parfois le meurtre.

L’hypothèse de J. Lipsius et H. J. Treston, selon laquelle ποιινή égale la vengeance de sang est aussi peu vraisemblable, parce qu’il y a pas beaucoup d’épisodes où ce mot signifie la rançon. Dans Il. 17. 207 ce mot a le sens de “compensation” de Zeus à Hector pour sa prochaine mort.

²⁶ LIPSIVS 1907, 7.

²⁷ CANTARELLA 1979, 231–237.

²⁸ DVORETSKAYA, ZALUBOVINA, SHERVUD 1995, 21.

²⁹ DVORETSKAYA, ZALUBOVINA, SHERVUD 1995, 21|22.

En somme on peut admettre que *ποινή* chez Homère a le sens générique de récompense, qui peut se traduire en meurtre du malfaiteur ou en récompense. Il est à noter que *τίσις* désigne le processus, *ποινή* – le résultat.

Ποινή et *τίσις* résultent de l'honneur qui est propre à l'héros (*τιμή*).

5. Maintenant on va examiner le mot *ἄποινα* qui est aussi lié à la vengeance.

Ce mot peut désigner la rançon pour un corps³⁰. Par exemple, Achille en s'adressant à Hector dit qu'il n'acceptera la rançon pour le corps de ce dernier même si

οὐδ' εἴ κεν δεκάκις τε καὶ εἰκοσινήριτ' ἄποινα
στήσωσ' ἐνθάδ' ἄγοντες... (Il. 22. 349–350).

“on apportera une rançon dix ou vingt fois plus grande”.

Ἄποινα peut signifier la rançon pour un prisonnier³¹. Chrysès est venu aux vaisseaux des grecs pour racheter sa fille *φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα* “chargé de nombreux dons” (Il. 1. 13).

Ἄποινα peut être la compensation pour une offense³². Dans Il. 19. 138 Agamemnon est prêt à faire un cadeau important pour se réconcilier avec Achille (*δόμηναι τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα* – “de riches cadeaux”).

Ποινή sert à désigner différentes formes de récompense (le meurtre du malfaiteur, la rançon, la réparation morale), *ἄποινα* est un don qu'on apporte pour se réconcilier avec quelqu'un ou pour faire celui-ci prendre telle ou telle décision. Chrysès n'a fait aucun outrage aux achaines, mais ces derniers retiennent sa fille. A l'aide de *ἄποινα* il cherche à les persuader de lui rendre Chrysis.

En dressant le bilan, on peut dire que *ἄποινα* ne représente pas la vengeance, mais il existe une liaison très subtile entre ces notions³³.

6. Ὑβρις, un crime commis contre les dieux mène souvent à la vengeance dans les poèmes d'Homère³⁴. Les fiancés sont nommés ὕβριν ἔχοντες (e.g., Od. 17. 169). Ὑβρις s'oppose à εὐνομίη – “la juste loi” (Od. 17.486–487). Δίκαιοι s'oppose à ὕβρισται et ἄγριοι³⁵.

7. La cause de vengeance dans les poèmes est souvent nommée *λώβη*³⁶. *Λώβη* peut se traduire comme “deshonneur”. Athéna provoque les fiancés à outrager Ulysse davantage:

³⁰ Il. 22. 349, Il. 24. 555–556, Il. 24. 137, Il. 24. 276, Il. 24. 578.

³¹ Il. 21. 99, Il. 1. 13, Il. 1. 20, Il. 11. 134.

³² Il. 19. 138, Il. 9. 120.

³³ C'est pourquoi il est possible de tomber d'accord avec G. Glotz (GLOTZ 1904, 106–107, 109). Ἄποινα n'est pas une rançon qui a pour but d'échapper à la vengeance de sang (*ποινή*). Rüter dit avec raison qu'il y a polysémie dans “ἄποινα” mais la liaison de ce mot avec l'idée de vengeance n'est pas claire (RÜTER 1973, 1091–1094). D'autre côté, ἄποινα n'est pas seulement une rançon pour un corps ou pour un esclave comme le croit D. Wilson (WILSON 2002, 9, 26–29).

³⁴ Il. 1. 203, Il. 1. 214, Od. 17. 169, Od. 16. 410, Od. 16. 418, Od. 17. 564–565, Od. 17. 588, Od. 1. 227, Od. 1. 368, Od. 17. 581, Od. 20. 170, Od. 18. 381, Od. 3. 207, Od. 17. 245, Od. 17. 431.

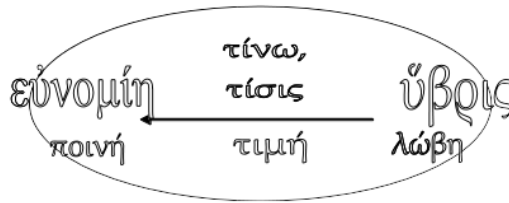
³⁵ Od. 8. 575, Od. 6. 120, Od. 13. 201, Od. 9. 175.

³⁶ Od. 18. 346–348, Od. 20. 284–286, Il. 11. 142, Od. 20. 169, Od. 24. 325–326.

μνηστῆρας δ' οὐ πάμπαν ἀγήνορας εἶα Ἀθήνη
 λώβης ἴσχεσθαι θυμαλγέος, ὄφρ' ἔτι μάλλον
 δύη ἄχος κραδίην Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος (Od. 18. 346-348)

“Athéna laissait les fiancés orgueilleux de ne pas s’empêcher de sentir une rancune pour que la colère s’enracine dans le cœur d’Ulysse”.

8. On peut représenter le système de termes de vengeance d’une manière approximative à l’aide du schéma suivant (Dessin 1).



Dessin 1. Le système de termes de vengeance.

La vengeance a pour but d’atteindre εὐνομίη et de déraciner ὑβρις³⁷. Mais c’est λώβη qui provoque la vengeance. L’honneur (τιμή) oblige le héros à se venger. Le processus de la vengeance peut être désigné comme τίνω/τίνομαι, ἀποτίνω/ἀποτίνομαι, τίνυμαι, ἐξαποτίνω, ἀποτίνομαι et τίσις. Ποινή est ce qui en résulte.

II. Les moyens de vengeance dans les poèmes d’Homère

L’étude sur les interactions liées à la vengeance ne peut pas se borner à la reconstruction des signifiés. Les mots peuvent désigner de différentes actions. Notamment, on peut entendre sous une telle ou formule plusieurs types d’actions³⁸. C’est pourquoi il est indispensable d’étudier les actions qui se cachent sous un tel ou tel signifiant.

On peut diviser en quelques groupes les sujets qui, d’après le créateur des poèmes, se rapportent à la vengeance. Chaque groupe correspond à un type de vengeance bien défini 1) composition pénale, 2) l’exil, 3) l’enchaînement, 4) la vengeance de sang, 5) la vengeance par les dieux (qui reflète les normes sociales), 6) l’action de venger un ami ou un parent tué au combat, 7) l’oppression d’un malfaiteur qui a un statut sociale plus bas.

Il est à noter qu’il existe une forme spéciale de vengeance sur celui qui a un niveau sociale plus bas.

³⁷ La vengeance est approuvée par la société. L’absolution n’y existe pas. C’est pourquoi on ne doit pas s’abstenir de se venger.

³⁸ Par exemple, ποινή peut vouloir dire la composition pénale, la vengeance de sang et la compensation morale.

La composition pénale, l'exil, l'enchaînement peuvent être considérés comme moyens de vengeance³⁹. La vengeance de sang et le châtement divin mènent à la mort et ne peuvent pas y être rapportés.

Passons en revue les procédés de vengeance dans les poèmes d'Homère.

1. Les compositions pénales se rencontrent assez souvent⁴⁰. Ajax dit à Achille qu'on peut admettre la rançon même après un meurtre d'un parent:

...καὶ μὲν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο
ποινήν ἢ οὐ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνηῶτος·
καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ πόλλ' ἀποτίσας,
τοῦ δέ τ' ἐρητύεται κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
ποινήν δεξαμένω...

(Il. 9. 632–636)

“Quelqu'un a admis d'un meurtrier une rançon pour son fils tué. Le malfaiteur, ayant beaucoup payé, reste en société. Le cœur et l'esprit fort de celui qui a admis la rançon sont apaisés”.

2. Les exemples d'exil sont assez nombreux. Dans la plupart des cas l'exil est causé par un meurtre⁴¹. Théoclymène adresse une demande à Télémakhos:

...οἱ ἦλυθεν ἀνήρ
τηλεδαπός, φεύγων ἐξ Ἄργεος ἄνδρα κατακτάς
(Od. 15. 223–225)

“Un homme d'un pays lointain s'est approché de lui. Il a commis un meurtre et venait de quitter Argos”.

3. L'enchaînement⁴² (δέσμα, δεσμός), si l'on juge d'après l'usage des mots, se rapporte à la vengeance. Ainsi se rappelle-t-on que la rançon peut être payée (τίσειν) pour Arès (dans l'épisode de l'enchaînement d'Aphrodite et Arès par Héphaïstos): Od. 8. 348, Od. 8. 356.

Didone raconte à Aphrodite comment Arès a été enchaîné

τλή μὲν Ἄρης, ὅτε μιν Ἔτος κρατερός τ' Ἐφιάλτης,
παῖδες Ἄλωῆος, δῆσαν κρατερῶ ἐνὶ δεσμῶ·
χαλκῆς δ' ἐν κεράμῳ δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας,
καὶ νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο,
εἰ μὴ μητρυιή περικαλλῆς Ἑριβόια

³⁹ Pas toutes les formes de vengeance représentent une punition. La punition a pour but de changer l'offenseur et faire la répétition du crime impossible (MALTSEV 2012, 504–507, 522, 528).

⁴⁰ Il. 18. 496–508, Il. 9. 632–636, Il. 3. 284–290, Il. 3. 459–461, Od. 8. 347–348, Od. 8. 355–356, Od. 22. 54–59, Od. 22. 61–66, Od. 2. 76–78.

⁴¹ Il. 23. 85–90, Il. 16. 570–576, Il. 15. 429–432, Il. 2. 661–666, Il. 24. 480–482, Od. 13. 257–274, Od. 15. 223–225, Od. 14. 379–381, Od. 23. 118–120.

⁴² Voir aussi: Il. 5. 386–391, Od. 1. 204, Od. 8. 348–60.

Ἑρμῆα ἐξήγγειλεν· ὃ δ' ἐξέκλεψεν Ἄρηα
ἤδη τειρόμενον, χαλεπὸς δέ ἐ δεσμὸς ἐδάμνα
(Il. 5. 385–391)

“Arès résistait aux chaînes imposées par Ephialtès et Otos les fils d’Aloée. Il restait enfermé dans un récipient de fer pendant treize mois. Arès, combattant passionné, y serait mort si la belle-mère, la belle Euribée, ne l’avait pas fait savoir à Hermes. Ce dernier a volé Arès qui était déjà exténué par les lourdes chaînes”.

L’exil, la composition pénale, les chaînes peuvent être considérées comme des mesures plus légères que la vengeance de sang. Si les parents du tué ne sont pas satisfaits par ces premières, le châtement peut se transformer en vengeance de sang, qui suppose le meurtre du malfaiteur⁴³.

4. La vengeance de sang peut être causé par le meurtre d’un parent⁴⁴. Hermès persuade Egisthe de renoncer à son intention de tuer Agamemnon

ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταιο τίσις ἔσσειται Ἀτρείδαο,
ὀππὸτ’ ἂν ἠβήσῃ τε καὶ ἧς ἱμείρεται αἴης (Od. 1. 40–41)

“Quand Oreste aura mûri il voudra récupérer sa terre et se vengera”

La destruction de biens et outrage à la famille peuvent aussi provoquer la vengeance de sang⁴⁵.

Ulysse s’adressant à Amphinomos énumère les suivants prétextes pour la vengeance:

οἷ ὀρόω μνηστῆρας ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωντας,
κτῆματα κείροντας καὶ ἀτιμάζοντας ἄκοιτιν
(Od. 18. 143–144)

“Je vois les fiancés concevoir des malfaits, dévaster mon bien et porter atteinte à ma femme”

Si l’on juge d’après l’usage des mots, la guerre de Troie est considérée comme vengeance du vol d’Hélène⁴⁶. De la même manière est traité l’aveuglement de Polyphème⁴⁷.

5. Les pratiques sociales se superposent sur les relations avec les dieux. Voilà pourquoi on ne peut pas distinguer la vengeance de sang du châtement divin⁴⁸. Hélios exige qu’Ulysse et

⁴³ Sur la vengeance dans les sociétés actuelles où l’état n’est pas encore formé: R. Verdier, *Le système vindicative, esquisse théorique*. Dans : *La vengeance: études d’ethnologie, d’histoire et de philosophie*, vol. 1, 14–16. Paris, 1980.

⁴⁴ Od. 24. 430–437, Od. 24. 470, Od. 1. 40–41, Od. 3. 308–310, Od. 3. 203–204, Od. 3. 196–197.

⁴⁵ Od. 14. 82–83, Od. 14. 90–91, Od. 16. 431–432, Od. 18. 143–144, Od. 21. 332, Od. 13. 396, Od. 24. 458–459, Od. 23. 356–358, Od. 16. 107–109, Od. 18. 143–144, Od. 24. 458–459, Od. 14. 164, Od. 22. 39–40, Od. 16.107–109, Od. 18.143–144, Od. 24.458–459, Od. 14.164, Od. 22.39–40, Od. 18.346–348, Od. 20.284–285, Od. 21.427, Od. 24.325–326.

⁴⁶ Il. 17. 93–94, Od. 14. 70, Od. 14. 117, Il. 1. 159, Il. 3. 28–29, Il. 1. 152–154, Il. 13. 622–624, Il. 4. 161–162.

⁴⁷ Od. 9. 317, Od. 23. 312–313.

⁴⁸ Il. 1. 42, Il. 1. 94–95, Il. 1. 453, Il. 1. 505, Il. 1. 559, Il. 2. 3–4, Il. 1. 354, Il. 15. 76, Il. 16. 237, Od. 13. 144, Il. 15. 115–116, Od. 12. 378, Od. 12. 382, Od. 13. 213, Od. 9. 269–271, Od. 9. 479, Od. 22. 414–415, Il. 19. 259–260, Od. 2. 66, Od. 17. 60, Od. 20. 169–170, Od. 17. 565, Od. 22. 39, Od. 22. 414–415.

ses compagnons qui ont tué ses vaches τίσοισι βοῶν ἐπιεικέ' ἀμειβήν – “soient punis équitablement des vaches” (Od. 12. 382).

6. La vengeance de sang ne se distinguait pas clairement de celle pour un ami ou un parent tué au combat⁴⁹. Achille menace les troyens :

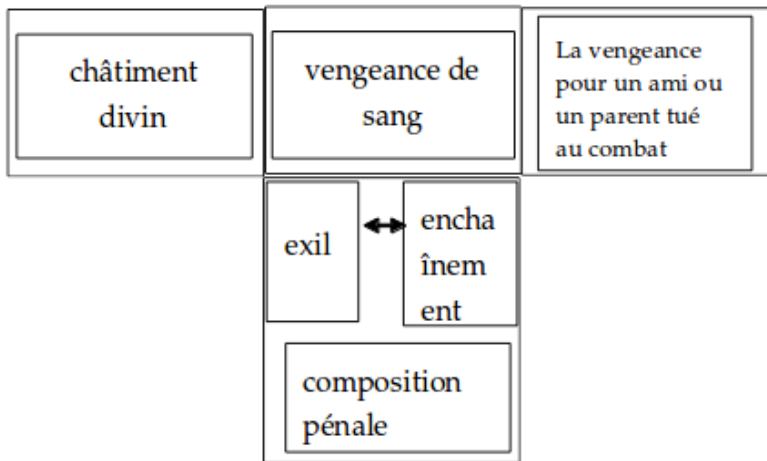
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὀλέεσθε κακὸν μόνον, εἰς ὃ κε πάντες
τίσετε Πατρόκλοιο φόνον καὶ λοιγὸν Ἀχαιῶν (Il. 21. 133–134).

“Vous mourrez d’une mort atroce, ainsi vous payerez le meurtre de Patrocle et la mort des achéens”.

Cependant, la vengeance au combat se distingue par l’acteur (un ami qui n’est pas en relation de parenté avec le tué, peut se venger) et aussi par les conditions de sa réalisation.

7. Il existe aussi des répressions sur une personne de niveau sociale moins élevé⁵⁰. Eumée demande Ulysse s’il doit amener l’esclave Mélanthios ἴν’ ὑπερβασίας ἀποτίση πολλάς – “pour qu’il soit acquitté de ses mal faits” (Od. 22. 167–168).

On peut représenter la vengeance sur le schéma suivant (Dessin 2). La vengeance se compose de deux parties: la partie inférieure – les moyens de punir ; la supérieure – les espèces de châtement (la vengeance de sang, le châtement divin, la vengeance au combat pour un ami ou parent tué⁵¹). L’oppression qui ne peut pas être considérée comme vengeance, n’est pas incluse dans ce schéma.



Dessin 2. Schéma de la vengeance.

⁴⁹ Il. 18. 336–337, Il. 21. 134–135, Il. 21. 26–27, Il. 15. 68, Il. 22. 271–272, Il. 22. 333, Il. 18. 93, Il. 16. 398, Il. 22. 18–20, Od. 22. 216–223.

⁵⁰ Od. 22. 167–169, Od. 22. 172–177, 192–193, Od. 22. 475–477, Od. 18. 339, Od. 22. 443, 465–473.

⁵¹ Le châtement divin et la vengeance au combat mènent à la mort et pour cette raison ne peuvent pas être considérés comme punition.

Il semble très difficile de juger laquelle des trois peines (l'exil, la composition pénale ou les chaînes) était la plus dure, c'est pourquoi je ne trace pas de frontières entre eux.

Il est à noter que la vengeance contient trois dimensions: les dieux, la paix et la guerre sur la terre.

III. La vengeance et la justice dans le monde d'Homère

Bien que la cour soit évoquée dans les poèmes d'Homère, la reconstruction du système pénal de son époque pose beaucoup de difficultés⁵².

On va se pencher sur la question d'interaction de la cour avec la vengeance des particuliers. Dans ce but, on va examiner certains termes de la justice, tels que δίκη, δικάζω, δίκαιος, θέμις, θεμιστεύω⁵³, dont on a étudié tous les contextes dans les poèmes d'Homère⁵⁴. Δίκη, δίκη et les dérivés sont très fréquents dans les textes en question, mais ne se rapportent pas toujours à la cour. Cependant δίκη, δικάζω, δίκαιος, θέμις, θεμιστεύω, à l'exception d'un seul cas, sur lequel on se concentrera plus tard, ne détermine jamais la vengeance individuelle. On pourrait expliquer ce phénomène à l'aide de la théorie des "analystes" qui croyaient que le texte des poèmes consiste des chants disparates mal ajustés l'un à l'autre. D'ailleurs, cette théorie était sévèrement critiquée au XXème siècle et les tentatives actuelles de la ressusciter semblent peu convaincantes.

La plupart des chercheurs considèrent les poèmes d'Homère comme des textes intégraux. Ainsi, le fait que les mots liés à la justice ne se rencontrent pas dans le contexte de la vengeance des individus ne peut pas être expliqué par l'histoire du texte. Il est probable que la justice des individus et la cour se trouvent dans les sphères différentes. Les cours ne s'occupent pas de la vengeance des individus et tracent d'autres conflits.

La description du bouclier d'Achille est le seul cas où le lexique de la cour et celui de la vengeance se rencontrent dans le même contexte. Cet extrait est difficile à interpréter et il serait impossible de le faire dans cet article⁵⁵, mais on va noter quelques moments.

⁵² Il y a quelques points de vue sur les cours dans l'historiographie. Les uns croient que le processus se basait sur le consentement mutuel et les décisions n'étaient pas obligatoirement exécutées (GAGARIN 1973, 81/94, WESTBROOK 1992, 67–75). Les autres croient que la cour obligeait les parties à prononcer le serment. L'accusé devait prononcer son serment sous peine de châtement divin. Les juges devaient formuler ce serment (TÜR 2014, 316). D'autres, encore croient que la cour aidait les parties de conflit à trouver un compromis (PELLOSO 2013, 234–244).

⁵³ Sur δίκη, θέμις et les dérivés: SCHMIDT 1982a, 300; SCHMIDT 1982b, 303; SCHMIDT 1989, 990–993.

⁵⁴ Les contextes dans: GEHRING 1891.

⁵⁵ Sur cette scène: EDWARDS 1991, 214/216; BENVENISTE 1969; PALTSEVA 2002, 25–28; NAGY 2003, 77 ff; CANTARELLA 2005, 342–346; MUELLNER 2008, 100.

Dans cette scène on voit le tribunal qui examine la rançon pour un tué. Les chercheurs interprètent le processus de deux manières: une partie de conflit affirme avoir payé la rançon, l'autre nie l'avoir reçue, ou bien une partie exige le droit de payer la rançon pour échapper à la persécution et l'autre partie refuse de l'accepter⁵⁶. Pour nous cela n'a pas d'importance. Ce qui est à noter, c'est la nomination de la cause du conflit:

λαοὶ δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ ἔσαν ἀθροοὶ ἔνθα δὲ νεῖκος
ὠρώρει, δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνεΐκεον εἵνεκα ποινῆς
ἄνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου...

“Les gens se sont rassemblés sur Agora. Deux hommes s’y disputent sur la rançon pour un mort” (Il. 18. 497–499).

On voit que le conflit est causé par ποινή pour un tué. La justice s’occupe de la rançon et pas de la vengeance. La vengeance des particuliers devait avoir lieu avant le procès ou plutôt sans ce dernier⁵⁷: le malfaiteur devait être tué ou il devait payer la rançon. On ne peut pas en conclure que les juges n’acceptent pas la vengeance des particuliers. La cour semble ne pas participer dans la vengeance des particuliers, elle trace les conflits liés à l’infraction aux accords ou à l’interprétation des traditions. C’est pourquoi ce contexte ne contredit pas aux constatations que, premièrement, les mots qui dénotent la vengeance des particuliers ne se rencontrent pas dans le même contexte que le lexique de la cour et, secondement, la vengeance des particuliers n’avait rien de commun avec la justice de l’Etat à l’époque d’Homère.

La vengeance des particuliers à l’époque d’Homère est un système très élaboré qui se compose de plusieurs parties ce qui témoigne d’assez haut niveau de développement de la société. On y voit se former les institutions qui vont intervenir dans la vengeance à l’époque de polis. Le système de vengeance du temps d’Homère, quelque élaboré qu’il soit, va périr à l’époque archaïque.

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⁵⁶ Cela dépend du temps des actions ἀποδοῦναι et ἐλέσθαι. Les formes d’aoristes peuvent se rapporter au présent et au passé. Voir: EDWARDS 1991, 214–216; CANTARELLA 2005, 342.

⁵⁷ Sur la coexistence de la justice et la vengeance de sang en Syrie moderne: HIVERNEL 2004, 147–166.

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The concept *cum dignitate otium* in Cicero's writings

Arina BRAGOVA¹

Abstract. *The paper investigates the social and political concept 'cum dignitate otium' in Cicero's writings. The concept is commonly translated as "leisure with dignity". The meaning is not so simple. The concept can be either a political or a social category. As a political category, 'cum dignitate otium' means "peace with dignity" that the best citizens, optimates, wealthy and powerful statesmen had in the Roman society of Cicero's times. It was optimates' activity contrasted to other people's activities. Cicero also used the concept 'cum dignitate otium' in a social sense. It meant "peaceful leisure full of studies" or "peace in private affairs".*

Rezumat. *Autoarea investighează conceptul social și politic ,cum dignitate otium' în scrierile lui Cicero. Conceptul este adesea tradus ca „plăcere cu demnitate”. Înțelesul acestuia nu este totuși așa de simplu. El poate fi perceput ca o categorie politică sau socială. În primul caz (categorie politică), ,cum dignitate otium' înseamnă „pacea cu demnitate”, pe care o aveau cei mai buni cetățeni, optimates, cei mai puternici politic și financiar din statul roman în acea vreme. Era vorba despre activitatea acelor optimates în contrast cu activitățile poporului. Cicero utilizează de asemenea conceptul ,cum dignitate otium' într-un sens social. În acest caz însemna „plăcere liniștită a studiilor” sau „pace în afacerile private”.*

Keywords: Cicero, Rome, otium cum dignitate, social, political, optimates.

The paper investigates the social and political concept *cum dignitate otium*. We have chosen this concept mainly because it helps to understand the attitude to *otium* in the Roman society of the Late Roman Republic. Besides, the concept *otium cum dignitate* is worth considering because, on the one hand, it has many meanings² and, on the other hand, it is rather a debatable issue in the scientific literature.³

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² As RADFORD 2002, 36 has rightly pointed out, “This phrase *cum dignitate otium* is intentionally ambiguous. It has been translated variously as ‘peace with dignity’, ‘tranquillity with honour’, or ‘peace with worthiness’”. Cf. LEONHARDT 2013, 68.

³ About *cum dignitate otium* we can read in the works of RÈMY 1928, 113–27; BOYANCÈ 1941, 172–91; WIRSZUBSKI 1954, 1–13; WIRSZUBSKI 1968, 92–3; BALSDON 1960, 43–50; FUHRMANN 1960, 483–99; PETERSSON 1963 12 and 291; MITCHELL 1979, 198–9; WOOD 1988, 193–9; COLISH 1990, 77–8; DE STE. CROIX 1998, 370; RADFORD 2002, 35–6; BRAGOVA 2005, 83–7; KASTER 2006, 32; STROUP 2010, 34–42 and 48–9; LEONHARDT 2013, 68; JENKYN 2013, 70–1; ZARECKI 2014, 57–8; MCCONNELL 2014, 33–4; ALTMAN 2016, 18 and other works.

Cicero used the concept *cum dignitate otium* in three of his works: in the oration *Pro Sestio* (98), in the rhetoric treatise *De oratore* (1.1) and in the letter to Lentulus (Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.21). Cicero wrote about *otium* and *dignitas* in the 10th Philippic (10.3) as well.⁴ As far as the mentioned works are functionally different, it can be concluded that Cicero used the concept systematically, as an element of his outlook. One more conclusion can be made on the basis of the time when Cicero used the concept: he wrote about *cum dignitate otium* in the period between 56 BC and 54 BC.⁵ It was the time when Cicero came back to Rome from the exile: he was to be grateful to Pompey for his return but he could not share Pompey's line of conduct because he still cherished the ideals of the Roman Republic. The ambiguity of Cicero's political position was reflected in his social and political writings in general and in his reflections about *cum dignitate otium* in particular. In *Pro Sestio* (98) Cicero wrote: *quid est igitur propositum his rei publicae gubernatoribus quod intueri et quo cursum suum derigere debeant? id quod est praestantissimum maximeque optabile omnibus sanis et bonis et beatis, cum dignitate otium.*⁶ Basing on the context of the passage we can translate the word *otium* as 'peace' or 'tranquillity': it is not 'leisure' as a social category, it is obviously a political category because it means 'peace between classes in the state'.⁷ In this passage of the oration Cicero described a certain *modus vivendi* of *optimates* which included *cum dignitate otium*. He specified the meaning of the term *optimates*. Earlier in the oration *Pro Sestio* (96–7) Cicero showed the difference between *optimates* and *populares*, characterizing the first category of people as *neque nocentes ... nec natura improbi nec furiosi nec malis domesticis impediti ... et integri ... et sani et bene de rebus domesticis constituti ... clarissimi et gravissimi cives ... et principes civitatis.*⁸ We can judge from Cicero's words that *optimates* were wealthy and powerful people. So it means that only the best people (well-off and influential) could have *cum dignitate otium*.⁹ The term

⁴ We should note that in the 10th Philippic the concept did not appear in the same word combination. The words *otium* and *dignitas* were used together or alone now and then in the oration. Nevertheless, the usage of the concept can help us to throw light on the meaning of *cum dignitate otium*.

⁵ This conclusion is possible if we do not take into consideration the terms *otium* and *dignitas* in the 10th Philippic which Cicero wrote more than ten years later, in 43 BC.

⁶ We can translate it this way: 'What is therefore prescribed for those statesmen of the Republic, what do they have to bear in mind and where do they have to make their way? Peace with dignity is the most important and desirable thing for all sensible, good and happy people'.

⁷ RÈMY 1928, 113–27 has assessed *cum dignitate otium* in the same way thinking that *otium* meant 'peace' and *dignitas* – 'the duties of the ruling class'. WIRSZUBSKI 1968, 93 has clearly shown that 'in the *Pro Sestio otium cum dignitate* means peace for all and distinction for some'. About the political meaning of *cum dignitate otium* see: WIRSZUBSKI 1954, 12; FUHRMANN 1960, 483–99; MITCHELL 1979, 198–9; WOOD 1988, 197; DE STE. CROIX 1998, 370; BRAGOVA 2005, 83; LEONHARDT 2013, 68.

⁸ Literally: 'not committing crimes ... not dishonest by nature, not uncontrollable, not having difficulties with domestic affairs ... and incorruptible, and reasonable, and taking a good care of domestic affairs ... the most famous and influential citizens ... and rulers in the state'.

⁹ As KASTER 2006, 32 has put it, 'These good people (*optimates*) are guided by their leaders (i.e. the senate: *Pro Sest.* 137) toward the common goal of tranquillity joined with worthy standing' (*cum dignitate otium: Pro Sest.* 98), a personal

dignitas in this passage also needs interpreting. In the *Pro Sestio* (98) Cicero mentioned the word combination *rerum gerendarum dignitate*.¹⁰ He meant to say that those *rerum gerendarum* were some actions for the sake of the Roman Republic.¹¹ To sum up, Cicero suggested that *otium* and *dignitas* in the Roman state should not be supposed for everyone. They were associated in the best citizens who were wealthy, powerful people, who took an active part in governing the Republic.

The next passage with *cum dignitate otium* runs as follows: *mihi ... perbeati ... illi videri solent, qui in optima re publica ... eum vitae cursum tenere potuerunt, ut vel in negotio sine periculo vel in otio cum dignitate esse possent* (Cic. *De orat.* 1.1).¹² The meaning of the concept is quite different from the one in the previous passage. The antithesis *negotium - otium*¹³ makes us think that Cicero used *otium* in the meaning of 'leisure' which is 'full of studies'. He elaborated further and wrote that he could have *initium requiescendi atque animum ... praeclara studia referendi* (*ibidem*).¹⁴ The quotation again proves the use of *otium* in the meaning of 'leisure'. If we carefully look at the opposition *in negotio sine periculo* versus *in otio cum dignitate*, we understand that *dignitas* is opposed to *periculum*, therefore the concept *cum dignitate otium* signifies 'peaceful leisure full of studies in absence of danger' having no political sense.

In the letter to Lentulus written in December 54 BC (Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.21) Cicero remarked that *in administranda re publica propositum esse debeat ... cum dignitate otium*.¹⁵ It is clear that Cicero used the concept in a political sense. When we read the whole letter, we realise that the concept has two major meanings: a political and a social one. The political connotation of *cum dignitate otium* is concerned with an ability to adapt to political circumstances: in the letter Cicero wrote about his aptitude for making peace with the triumvirs—Caesar, Pompey and Crassus—, as well as for serving his own interests and defending the form of Republican government. On the contrary, the social sense of the concept is somehow linked with Cicero's private affairs: his peace with Caesar could help (at least he thought so) his brother Quintus in his career as Caesar's legate.

Cicero also discoursed on *otium* combined with *dignitas* in the 10th Philippic. Although we do not find the exact word combination *cum dignitate otium* in the oration, we think that the

and communal state in which the best men serve the public interest and enjoy the appropriate reward of personal prestige'. Also see ZARECKI 2014, 57.

¹⁰ 'dignity thanks to fulfilled deeds'.

¹¹ Also see Cic. *Pro Sest.* 99.

¹² 'Those usually seem to me the happiest who were able to lead such a way of life in the best Republic as they could either work without any danger or rest with dignity'.

¹³ About the opposition *otium - negotium* see STROUP 2010, 49; JENKYNs 2013, 70.

¹⁴ 'A starting point for a rest and nice studies'. Here we agree with ALTMAN 2016, 18 who has written that Cicero's *otium cum dignitate* is 'a happy sunset of philosophical research'. About *cum dignitate otium* as time to private pursuits see PETERSSON 1963, 12. Cf. MCCONNELL 2014, 33.

¹⁵ 'Peace with dignity must be suggested in governing the Republic'.

context is important for our research. Cicero wrote: *Cur ... cum te et vita et fortuna tua ad otium, ad dignitatem invitet, ea probas, ea decernis, ea sentis, quae sint inimica et otio communi et dignitati tuae?* (Cic. Phil. 10.3).¹⁶ The main idea of this passage correlates with the concept *cum dignitate otium* signifying 'peace with dignity' and thus having a political sense.

To sum up, the translation of *cum dignitate otium* as 'leisure with dignity' does not fully correspond to the meaning of the concept. In some passages of Cicero's writings it has a political meaning ('peace in the Roman Republic'), in others it is a social category ('peaceful leisure full of studies' or 'peace in private affairs'). The concept *dignitas* adds an important connotation to the meaning of Cicero's *otium*. It means that only the best citizens, *optimates*, wealthy and powerful statesmen, could have *cum dignitate otium* in the Roman society of Cicero's times.

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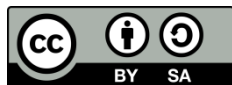
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¹⁶ 'Why do you approve, do you defend, do you feel something hostile to the universal peace and your dignity when your life and your fortune call you for peace and dignity?'

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Les salines en Dacie romaine : remarques sur le personnel administratif

Lucrețiu MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA¹

Abstract. *The author put into discussion the inscriptions which mention the administrative staff of the salt exploitation in Roman Dacia. The attention is drawn towards the lower rank of the administration, most of them being directly involved on the field work, which proves a rigorous organization of this economic branch.*

Résumé. *L'auteur discute les inscriptions mentionnant le personnel administratif de l'exploitation du sel en Dacie romaine. L'attention est attirée par les postes inférieures de cette administration, la plupart de ces fonctionnaires étant impliqués directement dans l'activité de terrain, ce qui montre une organisation rigoureuse de ce domaine économique.*

Rezumat. *Autorul aduce în discuție inscripțiile care menționează personalul administrativ al exploatării sării în Dacia romană. Atenția este îndreptată către rangurile inferioare ale acestei administrații, majoritatea acestor funcționari fiind implicați direct în activitatea de teren, ceea ce presupune o organizare riguroasă a acestui domeniu economic.*

Keywords: salt, saltworks, Roman Dacia, saltwork administration.

L'exploitation du sel en Dacie romaine a attiré en quelque sorte l'attention des historiens, qui ont suivi soit une approche d'ordre technique, économique et historique², ou bien du point de vue de l'administration romaine³. Je me suis penché sur les questions d'administration en traitant l'activité des esclaves ou des affranchis privés impliqués dans l'administration de l'exploitation du sel⁴. D. Benea a récemment dressé un tableau concernant l'administration des salines: elle met en liaison les points d'exploitation du sel (salines ou sources d'eau salé) avec la présence militaire, destinée de protéger la ressource, et réalise un inventaire épigraphique des inscriptions qui mentionnent les *conductores* de telles exploitations et leurs employés. L'auteur souligne que trois *conductores* ont déroulé leur activité sous Septime Sévère et pense que l'empereur a commencé une organisation

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² WOLLMANN 1996.

³ BENEA 2007, 41-46.

⁴ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2006, 294; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 307-316.

rigoureuse des districts de sel, en suivant le ravitaillement des troupes avec cette ressource alimentaire⁵. Elle affirme, toutefois, que le chef-lieu de l'administration des *salinae* était Apulum et que les employés de l'administration sont les adjoints des *conductores*⁶. L'affirmation concernant le chef-lieu de l'administration est correcte, car un des fermiers (P. Aelius Strenuus) est attesté dans la capitale de la province⁷. Quant au personnel administratif de ce type d'exploitation, les textes disponibles me permettent de reprendre la discussion sur leur statut, leur rôle, leur rapport avec le *conductor* et leur lieu de travail.

Reprenons en bref la documentation épigraphique.

La seule inscription qui est érigée dans la capitale de la Dacie (Apulum) doit être mise en liaison avec le personnage et non avec une exploitation du sel aux environnements de la cité. Il s'agit d'une inscription honorifique élevée par Rufinus, esclave de P. Aelius Strenuus, pour son maître, chevalier romain et chargé de plusieurs honneurs (*sacerdos arae Augusti, augur et duumviralis* à Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, augur de la colonie d'Apulum et décurion à Drobeta, patron de plusieurs collègues et *conductor* des pâturages, des salines et des activités commerciales).⁸ La présence de l'esclave est directement liée aux services de l'administration, mais avec la partie bureaucratique de cette administration: comme Apulum était le chef-lieu de l'administration des salines, l'activité de Rufinus était sans doute liée aux registres concernant les finances et le personnel de ce domaine. L'usage par les fermiers des propres esclaves est commun aux autres domaines (surtout les douanes, mais aussi l'exploitation de certains métaux), non seulement en Dacie⁹, mais aussi dans autres provinces¹⁰. Le texte date certainement du temps de Sévère Alexandre, voir la qualité de *colonia* des cités d'Apulum et de Drobeta et surtout la charge de *sacerdos arae Augusti*¹¹. M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni pense que P. Aelius Strenuus est un fermier qui s'occupe surtout du commerce du sel, voir son titre de *conductor pascui, salinarum et commerciorum*, parce qu'il est un chevalier Romain et un notable qui déroule surtout des affaires financières et parce qu'il réside à Apulum¹². Il réside à Apulum puisque le chef-lieu de l'administration minière était là et, bien sûr, puisque ses charges l'obligeait se rendre dans la capitale de la province. Il coordonnait, sans doute, l'activité commerciale liée du sel, mais je pense que sa qualité de *conductor* visait également l'exploitation minière des salines.

⁵ BENEÀ 2007, 45.

⁶ BENEÀ 2007, 44.

⁷ IDR III/5, 443.

⁸ IDR III/5, 443; voir aussi BENEÀ 2007, 44.

⁹ IDR III/1, 60 (voir aussi MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2010, 145-152); IDR III/1, 281; IDR III/5, 702.

¹⁰ ILJug 779, 920 (Dalmatie); CIL III 5121, 5146; AE 2008, 1020 (Norique), CIL V 810 (Regio X, mais il s'agit d'un *conductor ferrariarum* de Norique); CIL III 4015; AE 1986, 571 (Pannonie); CIL III 751; AE 1996, 1341; IGLN 35 (Mésie Inférieure).

¹¹ IDR III/5, 443, *sub numero*.

¹² CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI, MORELLI 2014.

Les autres textes ont été trouvés en dehors du chef-lieu de l'administration de l'exploitation du sel. Une série d'inscriptions atteste un *conductor salinarum* en trois localités différentes. Il s'agit de P. Aelius Marius. À Micia, son affranchi, P. Aelius Euphorus fait ériger un autel pour Silvanus Domesticus¹³. À Domnești (départ. de Bistrița-Năsăud), Atticus, son *actor*, fait ériger une inscription pour Jupiter le très bon et grand et pour la Terre Mère¹⁴. À Tibiscum, Hermadio, *actor* de M. Turranius Dius, fait élever un autel pour Mithra, pour le salut du même fermier¹⁵. Enfin, à Porolissum, un employé dont on ignore le nom voue un autel pour salut de P. Aelius Marius¹⁶. Voyons dans ce cas qui sont les personnages qui vouent les inscriptions. P. Aelius Euphorus ne mentionne pas son statut, mais il est sûr, d'après son surnom, qu'il est l'affranchi de P. Aelius Marius. Il est aussi sûr qu'il s'occupe en quelque sorte de l'administration des salines, mais en tenant compte qu'une inscription votive est une inscription privée, il ne mentionne aucune charge administrative. Euphorus est de tout façon un personnage aisé, car il fait ériger à ses frais en temple pour Mithra¹⁷. Micia et Tibiscum ne sont pas centres d'exploitation du sel. D. Benea¹⁸ et I. A. Oltean¹⁹ pensent pourtant qu'il peut s'agir de dépôts de sel situés dans des centres militaires importants, dont le ravitaillement se faisait surtout de l'extraction de Salinae (aujourd'hui Ocna Mureș), exploitation située sur le cours moyen du Mureș. En effet, à Micia²⁰ et à Tibiscum²¹ sont mentionnés des unités militaires et l'existence des dépôts est plus probable que l'hypothèse de l'existence de certaines exploitations, existence qui n'a pas été encore prouvée. Porolissum n'est pas, non plus, un centre de l'exploitation du sel, mais il y a une station douanière importante et une garnison militaire. D. Dana et R. Zăgreanu pensent qu'il s'agit d'une activité commerciale orientée vers l'échange de produits avec Barbaricum²². Il n'est pas exclu, non plus, qu'il s'agit également des dépôts de sel pour le ravitaillement des troupes. P. Aelius Euphorus travaillait ainsi comme employé de l'administration, ayant été probablement affranchi après avoir servi

¹³ IDR III/3, 119; voir aussi BENEA 2007, 43, PISO 2004-2005, 182; BENEA 2010, 45-74; ODOCHICIUC, MIHAILESCU-BIRLIBA 2014, 236.

¹⁴ ILD 804; voir BENEA 2007, 43.

¹⁵ IDR III/1, 145; voir BENEA 2007, 44.

¹⁶ DANA, ZĂGREANU 2013, 27-35.

¹⁷ IDR III/3, 49.

¹⁸ BENEA 2007, 44.

¹⁹ OLTEAN 2007, 39.

²⁰ *Ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* (IDR III/3, 56-57, 59-60, 172, 183, 196), *numerus Maurorum Miciensium* (IDR III/3, 47, 166, 176), *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* (IDR III/3, 45-46, 51-53, 58, 60, 63 etc.). Voir surtout ȚENȚEA 2011a, 45-48), avec bibliographie. Voir aussi MATEI-POPESCU 2015, 414.

²¹ *Cohors I Vindellicorum* (IDR III/1, 137, 253-355), *cohors I Sagittaria* (IDR III/1, 130, 251-252), *numerus Maurorum Tibiscensium* (IDR III/1, 147, 156 etc.), *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium* (IDR III/1, 134, 147, 164, 167, 256 etc.). Voir surtout ȚENȚEA (2011a, 60-63, 71-73), avec bibliographie. Voir aussi ȚENȚEA, MATEI-POPESCU 2004, 291-292; ȚENȚEA 2011b, 371-377, MATEI-POPESCU 2015, 414.

²² DANA, ZĂGREANU 2013, 31.

son maître dans le même domaine. Hermadio est *actor* (agent) de M. Turranius Dius, mais il érige un autel toujours pour le salut de P. Aelius Marius. Ce qui signifie que M. Turranius Dius était à son tour quelqu'un en connexion avec l'exploitation du sel. Il est attesté aussi dans une inscription votive de Tibiscum, érigée par son affranchi²³. Les Turranii sont assez nombreux en Dacie romaine, trois membres de cette famille étant décurions à Sarmizegetusa sous Sévère Alexandre²⁴. Un autre Turranius, nommé Marcellinus, est *conductor armamentarium* pour la XIII^{ème} légion Gemina²⁵. Il semble que les Turranii forment une famille assez puissante du point de vue financier, famille dont les activités se sont déroulées dans toute la province. M. Turranius Dius s'occupe probablement de problèmes des dépôts de sel de Micia: on ignore lesquels, mais il a certainement d'autres affaires, ce qui explique qu'il agit parfois par l'intermédiaire de ses agents, comme dans ce cas. Peut-être M. Turranius Dius est un des administrateurs des dépôts: il est citoyen romain et il semble assez aisé, voir les esclaves et les affranchis attestés par les textes que je viens de rappeler.

Il reste le texte de Domnești. Atticus est aussi *actor*, mais il agit directement au nom de son maître. Domnești était une exploitation de sel à l'époque romaine en Dacie. Atticus, esclave du fermier, déroule son activité même au lieu de l'exploitation. En tant qu'*actor*, il était chargé des aspects financiers de l'activité minière, mais il était souvent présent où il y avait cette activité. Le vœu envers Terra Mater a une importance particulière, car dans les régions balkano-danubiennes, cette divinité est adorée dans le milieu minier. Ainsi, dans le district minier de Rudnik (Mésie Supérieure), le temple de Terra Mater, délabré par vétusté, est refait sous Septime Sévère²⁶. Dans le district minier de Ljubija (Dalmatie), Terra Mater reçoit cinq dédicaces: deux de la part des *vilici* anonymes (sous Caracalla et sous un empereur dont on ignore le nom)²⁷, une toujours s'un *vilicus* en 201,²⁸ trois sous Sévère Alexandre (d'un esclave impérial, employé probablement dans l'activité minière²⁹), deux de la part de *vilici officinae ferrariae*³⁰, en 224 et 228, 229, la dernière d'un *vilicus* travaillant dans le même domaine, sous Philippe l'Arabe³¹. En Dacie, dans la région des mines d'or d'Alburnus Maior, trois inscriptions font preuve de l'existence du culte de Terra Mater: une est voué par Batonianus³², l'autre par Surio, fils de Sumelis³³ et la troisième par Dasius, fils de Sta[---] et par

²³ IDR III/1, 141.

²⁴ IDR III/2, 445.

²⁵ IDR III/5, 285.

²⁶ ILJug 71; voir aussi HORSTER 2001, 411.

²⁷ ILJug 159, 778.

²⁸ ILJug 779.

²⁹ ILJug 780; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2006, 162-163.

³⁰ ILJug 158, 781; vois aussi MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2006, 153-154.

³¹ ILJug 161.

³² ILD 378.

³³ ILD 397.

Durius³⁴, tous ouvriers d'origine illyrienne dans les mines d'or. Ce qui est plus important c'est que deux dédicaces pour Terra Mater proviennent des régions connues pour les ressources de sel (Salinae, aujourd'hui Ocna Mureș³⁵, et Potaissa³⁶). Ces inscriptions, corroborées au texte de Domnești, suggèrent un processus d'extraction des gisements de sel dans ces régions. Atticus est, par conséquent, présent dans l'endroit où il y avait ces exploitations. Les textes concernant P. Aelius Marius ont été datés par D. Dana et R. Zăgreanu au II^e siècle, par raison de l'onomastique et par des particularités de l'écriture. Je suis d'accord avec la datation, mais je propose une datation de la deuxième moitié, même le dernier quart du II^e siècle, par raison de la diffusion du culte mithraïque en Dacie.

Une autre inscription de Micia atteste Ursio, *actor* et *verna* de [---]tilius Rufinus, *conductor salinarum*³⁷. On a déjà discuté les raisons de la présence à Micia des fonctionnaires employés dans l'administration du sel. Il s'agit des dépôts pour le ravitaillement de l'armée. L'inscription date du II^e siècle (à notre avis, sous les derniers Antonins) et constitue encore une preuve de l'activité d'un agent du fermier où il était nécessaire.

Un texte datant du début du règne de Septime Sévère (peu après 197) mentionne Iulius Omucio, affranchi et agent (*actor*) de C. Iulius Valentinus, *conductor* des *salinae*, qui voue un autel pour Sol Invictus³⁸. L'inscription a été trouvée à Sânpaul, où il y avait de gisements de sel³⁹. La présence de l'*actor* est liée sans doute de cette exploitation. Il faut observer que l'affranchi agit juste dans l'endroit de l'exploitation. On ignore si le fermier a été présent dans cet endroit, car il résidait à Apulum, mais ses employés y étaient. Omucio était un agent financier de C. Iulius Valentinus, ayant probablement comme tâche les aspects financiers de l'exploitation dans la zone. Le fermier est attesté d'abord à Apulum, en tant que *IIIvir primus annualis municipii Septimi Apulensis* et *patronus collegii fabrum*, alors un personnage important et aisé de l'élite locale⁴⁰. Un Iulius Valentinus est également mentionné à Tibiscum comme *flamen municipii*⁴¹; les apparences indiquent la même personne, même si le surnom de Valentinus est assez fréquent. Par conséquent, on remarque que le fermier des salines était un notable municipal, mais ce qui est plus important, une personne aisée. Son employé travaille directement dans l'endroit de l'exploitation. En tant qu'affranchi et agent du fermier, il s'agissait d'une personne de confiance, capable de suivre et d'accomplir les intérêts de son ancien maître.

³⁴ ILD 409.

³⁵ IDR III/4, 57.

³⁶ ILD 500.

³⁷ PISO 2004-2005, 179-182.

³⁸ IDR III/4, 248; BENEÀ 2007, 43; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 312; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, ODOCHICIUC 2014, 236.

³⁹ PETICĂ 1999, 205-215.

⁴⁰ IDR III/5, 204; AE 2007, 1205.

⁴¹ IDR III/1, 139.

Les textes disponibles font aussi preuve d'une organisation rigoureuse de l'exploitation du sel. L'État romain concédait aux fermiers l'exploitation, mais ceux-ci, comme on l'a vu, appartenaient à l'élite locale. Ce processus d'affermage a eu lieu probablement vers le dernier quart du II^e siècle (les derniers Antonins ou Septime Sévère). La Dacie est sa seule province où il y a des mentions sur les *conductores salinarum* ou *conductores pascui et salinarum*. Récemment a été publiée une inscription datant de 135, qui fait preuve de l'existence des *conductores* du *Campus Salinarum Romanarum*, c'est-à-dire les salines de la rive droite du Tibre, qui appartenaient à l'*Urbs*⁴². En tous cas, en Dacie, certainement sous Septime Sévère il y a déjà un *conductor*. Les fermiers résidaient à Apulum, le chef-lieu de la province, mais ses employés agissaient, on peut le dire, sur le terrain. Ils étaient, à une exception, au moins selon les informations des sources, leurs esclaves ou affranchis. Ils étaient leurs *actores* (comme Atticus, Ursio et Iulius Omucio) ou remplissaient d'autres charges. Il y a un seul personnage qui l'*actor* d'un intermédiaire, sans doute un administrateur de l'exploitation. La présence du personnel employé dans l'administration du sel est soit dans le lieu où il y avait des dépôts de sel pour l'armée (à Micia et à Tibiscum), ou bien dans les zones d'exploitation (Domnești et Sânpaul). Le seul esclave qui n'est pas attesté sur terrain est Rufinus, mais il avait sans doute des charges financières qu'il attachait au bureau central d'Apulum. On remarque ainsi que le contrôle de l'exploitation était exercé, au moins du point de vue financier, par le personnel inférieur de l'administration du sel, mais il était réalisé d'une manière ferme et rigoureuse.

Supplementum epigraphicum

Micia

1. Piso 2004-2005, 179–182.

]tili Ru/[fi]ni cond(uctoris) / [s]alinarum / Ursio ser(vus) / act(or) ver(na)

2. IDR III/3, 119.

Silvano Do/mestico / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Euph[o]/rus pro / salute P(ubli) Ael(i) / Mari con/ductoris / pascui et sa/linar(um) l(ibens) v(otum) v(ovit)

3. IDR III/3, 49.

Deo / Invicto / [P(ublius)] Ael(ius) Eupho/rus pro / salute sua / et suroum / templum a solo / fecit

Tibiscum

4. IDR III/1, 145.

S(oli) I(nvicto) N(umini) M(ithrae) / pro salute / P(ubli) Ael(i) Mari / Hermadio / act(or) Turran(i) / Dii / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

⁴² CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI, MORELLI 2014.

Sânpaul

5. IDR III/4, 248.

Soli Inv/icto pro / salute{m} / C(ai) Iuli Valen/tini c(onductoris) salinar(um) / Iulius Omucio / libertus actor / posuit

Domnești

6. ILD 804. Lecture de DANA, ZĂGREANU 2013, 31, plus plausible que chez BENEÀ 2007, 43 et de RUSSU 1956, 7–13.

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) et T(errae) M(atri) / [p]ro sal(u)t(e) Ael(i) / Mari fl(aminis) col(oniae) / conduc(toris) pas(cui) / et salina(rum) At/ticus act(or) eius / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

Porolissum

7. DANA, ZĂGREANU 2013, 28–32.

]AR[---] / [---] P(ubli) Ael(i) Ma[ri conductoris(?)] / salinaru[m ---] / [---]tati FE[---] / [---]um e[

Apulum

8. IDR III/5, 443.

P(ublio) Ael(io) P(ubli) fil(io) Pap(iria) / Strenuo eq(uo) / p(ublico) sacerd(oti) arae / Aug(usti) auguri et / Iviral(i) col(oniae) / Sarm(izegetusae) augur(i) / col(oniae) Apul(ensis) dec(urioni) / col(oniae) Drob(etensis) pat/ron(o) collegior(um) / fabr(um) cento/nar(iorum) et naut/ar(um) conduc(tori) pas/cui salinar(um) / et commer/cior(um) Rufinus / eius

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- ILD. *Inscriptii latine din Dacia*. Bucharest.
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Democratic elements in the Spartan political structure

Larisa PECHATNOVA¹

Abstract. *The article deals with the dynamics of the Spartan statehood. We argue that this development was going in a different direction than, for example, in Athens. In Sparta, where the initial elements of democracy were quite strong, gradually went a process of strengthening of oligarchic principles. Even the Ephorate, which initially functioned as an organ of the Spartan democracy, had lost all of its democratic features by the end of the classical period. We believe that at this time the board of ephors had already become an integral part of the ruling oligarchs. Sources' analysis shows that in the classic period the state system of Sparta gradually evolved from the traditional "hoplite politeia" to the clanish oligarchy. As a result, the ruling elite became less dependent and accountable to the common people than it was before. If the late Sparta can be called democratic polis, it is only in comparison with the oriental despotism.*

Rezumat: *Autoarea discută dinamica organizării statale a Spartei. Ea argumentează faptul că dezvoltarea acestuia mergea într-o altă direcție decât în Atena, bunăoară. În Sparta, unde elementele inițiale ale democrației erau destul de puternice, principiile oligarhice s-au întărit în mod gradual. Chiar și Eforatul, care funcționa la început ca un organ al democrației spartane, și-a pierdut toate trăsăturile democratice la sfârșitul perioadei clasice. Autoarea consideră că în acel moment consiliul eforilor a devenit o parte integrantă a oligarhiei conducătoare. Analiza izvoarelor demonstrează că în perioada clasică sistemul statal al Spartei se schimbă din tradiționala „hoplite politeia” într-o oligarhie de clan. Drept urmare, elita conducătoare a devenit mai puțin dependentă și responsabilă față de demos decât era înainte. Dacă Sparta târzie poate fi numită o polis democratică, acest lucru se poate face doar în comparație cu despotismul de tip oriental.*

Keywords: Sparta, democracy, oligarchy, Aristotle, Lycurgus, historiography of modern time.

Introduction

Even in ancient times there was no unanimous opinion about classification of Sparta as a type of state. Sparta was the symbol and the model for imitation to the adherents of the oligarchy at Athens as well as for other Greek poleis. They had no doubts that Spartans invented the best political system possible. A different conclusion could not be made in relation to the state that supported oligarchies and repressed democracies (Xen. Hell. II. 2. 5–9;

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Diod. XII. 11; XIII. 104; Plut. Lyc. 13). There is a good reason for Critias to say that “the constitution of the Lacedaemonians is, we know, deemed the best of all constitutions” (translated by C. L. Brownson) (Xen. Hell. II. 3. 34: Καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων). When Critias became the leader of the most odious collective tyranny—The Thirty at Athens—he, at least for brief period, was able to establish in Athens an oligarchy with “Spartan face”. Some features of Sparta’s political system were imitated by Critias with perfect accuracy: the members of the committee that prepared the coup were named ephors; and just like the Spartan gerousia the ruling council consisted of 30 members. Moreover, the number of citizens with full rights (within three thousand) practically coincided with the number of Spartiates that time; the persecution of the well-off *metoikoi* probably had its model in the Spartan expulsion of foreigners (Xenelasia: Lys. XII. 6–7; Diod. XIV. 5. 5). Critias made an attempt to embody the theoretical provisions in practice, apparently imitating the oligarchic Sparta. The successes of Sparta in the Peloponnesian war demonstrated the exceptional efficiency of its political system and of the Spartan way of life in general. But the Greek political thought certainly considered Sparta as an oligarchic state, and such perception is fixed by Greek historians; on the contrary, the works of ancient philosophers show a somewhat different picture.

Even at the ancient times the uniqueness of Sparta confused theorists of polis and made it especially difficult to identify its political system as any known “simple” political form. Say Plato using Sparta as an example more or less accurately formulated a new position and a new opinion about pure political forms. According to him, the prevalence of the democracy or the aristocracy is equally disastrous for a state; and only the mixture of the best elements taken from all known political systems can give a state the necessary long life and stability. Plato and Isocrates, the theorists of polis, using Sparta as a prototype for their ideal political constructions analysed the Spartan system to make it an amalgam of almost all known pure political forms. However, ancient sociologists could perfectly well distinguish between the real Sparta and its ideal model that they invented. The best evidence is the example of Aristotle. His *Politics* contain quite different statements concerning the political system of the Spartan state. Fr. Ollier, the author of “*Le Mirage Spartiate*”, regarded alternation of positive and negative estimates in Aristotle’s views on Sparta as incoherence and contradiction. According to Fr. Ollier, when one reads *Politics* it seems that Aristotle speaks of “two Spartas”, that are in opposition to each other². This statement reflects the main issue — the impossibility to make accurate formulations when Spartan pattern is mentioned.

In his *Politics*, Aristotle usually considers Lycurgan Sparta as a purely aristocratic state (V. 1316a 29–35). As A.I. Dovatur correctly noticed, for Aristotle “all evolution of Spartan life was going on within the aristocratic system, although it mostly was the strengthening of

² OLLIER 1933, 315 ff.

oligarchical features”³. Apparently, Aristotle considered all the political development of Sparta as a number of deviations from Lycurgus’ strictly aristocratic constitution. From A.I. Dovatur’s point of view, Aristotle never described Sparta as a “pure” oligarchy, because for Aristotle even Sparta of his own times still remained aristocracy, despite the concentration of lands in the hands of a few people and the corruption of power⁴.

All these did not prevent Aristotle to use a dual system when he regards Sparta from the point of view of the political theory. He considered Sparta as an oligarchical state that deviates towards democracy (Pol. IV. 1293b; 1294b). For him Sparta is “the model... of a good mixture of democracy and oligarchy...” (IV. 1294b)⁵. According to Aristotle all public life in Sparta was based on the democratic principles: a common meal (syssitia) for adults and equal education for children and teenagers. These aspects of social life of the Spartans were controlled only by the state. According to Aristotle, in Sparta “the sons of the rich are brought up in the same way as those of the poor, and are educated in the manner in which the sons of the poor also could be educated...” (Pol. IV. 1294b 23–25). For Aristotle it is the first and the main democratic feature of the Spartan polity.

The concept of Sparta as a mixed polity that was first articulated by Plato⁶ and then developed by Aristotle (Pol. IV. 1294b), is more than once repeated in ancient literature (Isocr. Panath. 153; Polyb. VI. 10; Archyt. Tarent. ap. Stob. Flor. IV. 1. 138). So Polybius considered Sparta and Rome as the examples of the mixed polity, where political balance was provided with a “happy” combination of three simple forms: in Sparta the monarchic element was represented by two kings, the aristocratic element by gerousia (the council of elders), and the democratic one by the board of ephors; respectively there were consuls, the senate and the popular together with plebeian tribunes in Rome (Polyb. VI. 10–18).

I.E. Surikov perfectly expressed the way in which the ancient Greeks perceived the Spartan polity and their life-style: “All in all it is easy to notice that Sparta actually confused the Greek authors. It did not belong within their accurate schemes due to the fact that in the Greek world Sparta was an unique phenomenon and was not like any other city states”⁷.

³ DOVATUR 1965, 249.

⁴ DOVATUR 1965, 249.

⁵ Hereinafter it translated by H. Rackham.

⁶ Let’s quote this fragment for it taken as an example, will be spread widely around further by ancient political scientists: “In truth, Stranger, when I reflect on the Lacedaemonian polity, I am at a loss to tell you by what name one should describe it. It seems to me to resemble a tyranny, since the board of ephors it contains is a marvelously tyrannical feature; yet sometimes it strikes me as, of all States, the nearest to a democracy. Still, it would be totally absurd to deny that it is an aristocracy; while it includes, moreover, a life monarchy, and that the most ancient of monarchies, as is affirmed, not only by ourselves, but by the entire world” (Plat. Legg. IV. 712d–e / translated by R.G. Bury).

⁷ SURIKOV 2005, 228.

However, except for the theoretical developments of Greek philosophers who used Sparta as the model for their theory of the mixed rule, it can be noticed that since the ancient times Sparta has been considered as the mainly oligarchical state. And that is generally true. Sparta was not an oligarchic polis from the beginning; it only became so in Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Despite the idea that Sparta was a state where nothing changed for ages, the closer examination shows that Spartan political system did not remain invariable throughout the centuries, but in fact evolved into the direction that at first glance seems to be unforeseen. In this respect, as well as in so many others, Sparta does not fit the typical development of a classical Greek polis. Sparta is quite unique, differing from the other Greek states by a number of parameters: starting with the vast territory and ending with the unique social structure. The political organization of Sparta was also unusual. The city, second for its significance in Greece, was ruled by a very small elite, consisting of only 35 people (2 kings, 28 gerontes and 5 ephors). This number of highest “managers” remained invariable practically throughout all the time of the existence of independent Sparta. This fact, of course, testifies to the extreme backwardness and conservatism of its social organization. Only at the end of the Peloponnesian war a new highest military magistracy was added to the ruling corporation—*nauarchia* (the supreme command of the Spartan navy)—, but its value after the collapse of the Spartan power became negligible.

Two of the three basic structural elements of the Spartan political system—the double kingship (*diarchia*) and the board of ephors—were typical for neither democratic nor oligarchic traditional poleis. Classical Greece did not know such magistrates. Spartan *gerousia* strongly differed from usual council of popular assembly too. It is not without reason that it is usually compared to *Areopagus*, the oldest judicial board of Athens (Isocr. *Panath.* 154). Both institutes were exclusive due to two factors: firstly, members of these chambers had their chairs for life, secondly, their activity was not accountable to any other authority. Of all ruling structures of Sparta perhaps only *apella* is typologically close to similar popular assemblies in other Greek poleis. Partly because of this ordinariness in ancient tradition, Spartan *apella* (assembly consisting of all the citizens) always remained in the shadow. A number of intractable problems connected with the activity of Spartan *apella* emerge due to the almost complete lack of the information in the sources. It is still open for discussion how the Spartan government cooperated with the assembly and to what degree actions of *apella* were formalized and subordinated to the highest authorities. In any case, at the beginning of the 4th century BC along with the usual “large assembly” there was a so-called “small assembly”, a mysterious structure mentioned only by Xenophon (*Hell.* III. 3. 8). The creation

of duplicating structure which apparently had acquired some powers of apella is an indirect evidence that the Spartan society was moving towards the rigid oligarchy.

For centuries Sparta did practically nothing in order to change its social policy and reached a phenomenal result: it ended up with very few full citizens. The circle of so-called equals (*homoioi*) was reduced to several hundreds of families. At the second half of the 3rd century BC the form of government in Sparta can be described as the clan oligarchy. It was not much better in Aristotle's time. The philosopher believed that the reason for the sharp decrease in the number of full citizens lays in the wrong social policy of the great legislator Lycurgus. Yet Lycurgus was hardly responsible for the regeneration of the Spartan state, whose political system was not originally like a narrow oligarchy and even had some democratic features.

The Spartan constitution, the authorship of which is attributed to Lycurgus, had a very archaic origin. The Great Rhetra, the most important Spartan constitutional document, which briefly stated the new political structure, dates back to 8th or 7th centuries BC. In any case, Rhetra is the first document of this kind which is known to us. Let us remember that Solon's legislation belongs to as late as the beginning of the 6th century BC. This presents another paradox: the backward Sparta adopted the new constitution one and a half or two centuries earlier than other Greek states and made it in a written form. The content of the Great Rhetra is even more surprising: it names apella as the ultimate authority which all other bodies should obey. At least this is how commentators usually understand the short phrase at the end of the Great Rhetra (Plut. Lyc. 6. 2). This political act had some democratic features, although it was written in lapidary style and not quite clear language.

The second step in this direction was made with the creation of the new collegial magistracy: the ephorate. In the state where the ruling clique consisted of two kings, descendants of Heracles, and gerousia, the aristocratic Council of Elders, emerged a new democratically elected authority, which also was democratic in respect of the type of members and their term of service. It was an actual republican magistracy. As well as the Great Rhetra, the ephorate appeared quite early, possibly in the second half of the 8th century BC. In any case, whichever date we take (various scientists' opinions fluctuate from the beginning of the 8th century to the middle of the 6th century BC) the ephorate as an institute emerged as early as the archaic period.

Thus, some innovations in the political system of archaic Sparta can, with some reservations, be regarded as basically democratic. Let's consider in more details two major events for our subject: creation of the Great Rhetra and foundation of the board of ephors. In fact, ancient authors considered the ephorate as the only really democratic element among other ruling institutes of Sparta.

Lycurgus's legislation and Great Rhetra

Despite the different attitude both to chronology and to the perception of separate items of the Great Rhetra, practically all researchers agree on one thing: Rhetra reflects the political decision which changed the vector of development of the Spartan state and gave it the chance to avoid a stage of early tyranny. As I.V. Andreev noticed, "Here we can see the first definition of the power of the people in the Greek legal history"⁸. Indeed, "the first hoplite constitution of Greek history"⁹, where it was written down that "the people must have the decisive voice and power" (Plut. Lyc. 6. 1)¹⁰, seemed to be if not democratic, but at least, liberal and progressive. Thus, as J. Huxley wrote, "Apollo of Delphi gave to Sparta a government on the Cretan model more liberal than any in mainland Greece before the time of Solon"¹¹. It was often noted in historiography that the inclusion of all Spartan citizens into the military elite and their provisioning with sufficient land was the result of direct legislative activity of one or several legislators. In this context the Great Rhetra is traditionally considered as the first-ever written constitution which became the initial push that brought about a quality change of the whole Spartan society¹².

Legal and partly even economic equality of all citizens was reflected in the new informal term "equals", or in the Greek version *homoioi* (ὅμοιοι) (Xen. Lac. pol. 13. 1 and 7). This word arose among Spartiates themselves and was used by members of civil corporation for honourable accentuation of their specific aristocratic equality. Its emergence shows the triumph of new ideology according to which all citizens began to recognize themselves as members of aristocratic corporation. Isocrates, as well as many of his contemporaries, looking with envy on the civil peace in Sparta, extremely rare for Greece, traditionally considered it as the result of the ancient legislation. According to Isocrates, the preservation of corporate unity was the main goal of the legislator: "They themselves ... set up amongst their own class the only kind of equality and democracy which is possible if men are to be at all times in complete accord..." (Panath. 178 / translated by G. Norlin). Isocrates, not being an admirer of Sparta, nevertheless recognizes the high qualities of Spartan state system. In "*Areopagiticus*" he writes: "For I know that ... the Lacedaemonians are the best governed of peoples because they are the most democratic; for in their selection of magistrates, in their daily life, and in their habits in general, we may see that the principles of equity and equality have greater influence than elsewhere in the world..." (Areopag. 61 / translated by G. Norlin). As O. Shultess correctly noticed, "nur ist das, was dem in der Demokratie aufgewachsenen

⁸ ANDREEV 1998, 94.

⁹ ANDREWES 1956, 74.

¹⁰ Hereinafter it translated by B. Perrin.

¹¹ HUXLEY 1962, 47.

¹² See, for example: CARTLEDGE 1979, 131; HODKINSON 2005, 46; RAAFLAUB, WALLACE 2007, 37.

Isokrates als demokratische erscheint, tatsächlich alte, echt aristokratische Gleichheit, in der Demokratie dagegen Kopie”¹³. Not without reason Aristotle, keeping in mind Sparta and Carthage, say that “in some states there is no body of common citizens (Ενίαις [πολιτείαις] γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι δῆμος) and they do not have the custom of a popular assembly but councils of specially convened members...” (Pol. 1275b 6–8).

This is a very important Aristotle's point. We shall take a risk, although with some limitations, to argue that in the Spartan civil collective there was no *demos* in ancient understanding of this word¹⁴. This observation was made more than once. So, according to M.T. Arnheim, the aim of Lycurgus' legislation was to move apart the borders of aristocracy and to include, at least *de jure*, in its structure all full citizens under the uniform name “equals”, or “spartiates”¹⁵. The term “equals” (*homoioi*) as no one other shows nature of a compromise between Spartan “patricians” and “plebs”, a compromise that brought about the political structure that was unique for the Greek world. By the time of Tyrtaeus all citizens of Sparta were the military elite which gradually developed its particular life-style and special scale of values. That is not to understand that in the post-Lycurgan Sparta the clannish aristocracy completely merged with the rest of the citizens and disappeared entirely, as some scholars believe¹⁶. The entire corpus of ancient sources attests that Sparta actually had the rich land aristocracy and, despite strongest egalitarian tendencies in the field of economics, politics and especially ideology, the complete unification of the people with the aristocracy never happened¹⁷. To a certain extent the equality of *homoioi* was formal even at the moment of culmination of the very idea of “equals”. However specifics of the Spartan “democracy” was that the *demos*, on one hand, saw aristocratic institutes as their own¹⁸, while the aristocracy, on the other hand, made a number of concessions for the sake of the civil peace: in particular, they avoided public demonstration of wealth and established the life-style that did not cause social envy. Speaking about it (I. 6. 4) Thucydides uses the word *ισοδιαίτοι* (verbatim “equal life-style”). During the archaic period the so-called Small Rhetrαι, the Spartan version of laws against luxury (Arist. ap. Plut. Cleom. 9 = fr. 539 Rose³; Plut. Lyc. 13; Ages. 26), were introduced, which created a favorable climate for emergence of really close-

¹³ SCHULTHESS 1913, 2254.

¹⁴ As a matter of fact, it was *perioeci*, who really became “people” for Spartans. On the other hand, their position did not coincide at all with the position of *demos* in other Greek *poleis*. *Perioeci*, apparently, were citizens of their own Laconian communities subordinated to Sparta, and were legally considered as foreigners.

¹⁵ ARNHEIM 1977, 109.

¹⁶ Presence of the nobility among the “equals” denied, for example, Ed. MEYER (1892, 255), V. EHRENBERG (1933, 290) and G. MICHELL (1952, 43). Certainly they are right in the sense that the ancestral aristocracy ceased to be ruling class, but it did not disappear completely.

¹⁷ M. Arnheim drew attention that vestigial traces of an inequality in Sparta were shown mainly in exclusive access of the aristocracy to *gerousia*. The aristocratic council of Elders was a counterbalance to “democratic” dictatorship of the board of *ephors* (ARNHEIM 1977, 88).

¹⁸ SURIKOV 2004, 20.

knit political organism. The whole ideological apparatus, aimed at formation of stable stereotypes, supported such a pleasant illusion of equality among ordinary Spartans. Egalitarian trends, though partly formal, got into all spheres of Spartans' life. It became the basis of Sparta's ideology and the main national idea.

Lycurgus's legislation and the Great Rhetra are testimonies of the Spartan aristocracy's ability and resolve to make the compromise, which brought about the inevitable diminution of their clan interests for the sake of the whole society. Creation of the first and the only army in Greece that completely consisted of citizens-hoplites was for Sparta the most important result of the legal acts adopted at the right time. That is how the elite class of homoioi began its existence.

We don't know how the Spartans themselves called the political system created by Lycurgus. Bearing in mind their usual inclination to make even revolutionary innovations sound archaic, it is possible that they kept word "eunomia" (εὐνομία), i.e. good legislation¹⁹, to describe the politeia created by Lycurgus. This was the title of Tyrtaeus' poem, which glorified the political system of Sparta (this name was witnessed by Aristotle (V. Pol. 1306b), Strabo (VIII. 4. 10) and Solon (Sol. 3 Diehl³)). The same term or derivatives from it was used by Herodotus (I. 65. 2–66. 1) in his story about Lycurgus' political reforms, and by Thucydides (III. 18. 1), who described the same events although he did not mention Lycurgus' name. The word εὐνομία successfully combined two important points: the idea of an isonomia (ἰσονομία)²⁰, i.e. equality of all citizens before the law, and the idea of good laws, as opposed to bad ones (kakonomia) or even anarchy (disnomia). Spartans probably did not use any other name to describe their political system.

The Great Rhetra was a too democratic document for its time. At the first chance—prolonged state of war—some changes were introduced into the Rhetra that were definitely reactionary. Movement began in the opposite direction — from the liberal constitution which had granted the considerable rights to the demos towards the oligarchic one. The well-known modification, or addition to the Great Rhetra that, as a rule, is deemed to be accepted under the kings Theopompos and Polydoros²¹, corrected original Lycurgan constitution towards the diminution of democratic potential (Plut. Lyc. 6. 7–8). Apparently, too many rights given to the people's assembly by the Great Rhetra caused a response from traditional aristocratic structures. As a result the freedom of speech in the apella was limited and the kings and

¹⁹ Meaning of this term is widely discussed in literature. See, in particular, comments to words εὐνομία and εὐνομείσθαι at A. GOMME (1945, 128) and N. HAMMOND (1973, 71–72, n. 1).

²⁰ Here it means here the aristocratic isonomia. Herodotus first used this word as a synonym of democracy (III. 82. 6). About isonomia, see: EHRENBERG 1950, 526, 530–532.

²¹ Some scholars, contrary to Plutarch's explanation, consider the addition as an integrated part of the Great Rhetra. For more literature on this problem and its discussion, see: WEES 1999, 20–22.

gerontes, possibly, got the right of veto²². M.T.W. Arnheim, who assessed the importance of this amendment, argued that it apparently shifted the balance back in favor of the aristocratic gerousia²³. The important restriction of apella's sovereignty, apparently did not cause serious objections from the people: during the long Messenian wars Spartans lived under wartime laws, which only strengthened the "political infantilism", so typical for Spartan society as a whole. But adoption of the amendment did not mean that Spartan citizens became passive participants of apella from now on. We do not exclude that hypothetical possibility of discussion nevertheless remained in classical Sparta, but it is not known how often the ordinary citizens used it. The establishment of a new polis magistracy—the board of ephors—apparently was in retaliation for the adoption of the amendment. It is not important, whose initiative it was to create this post and what were their original goals. As soon as ephors replaced kings as chairmen of apella (it occurred, most likely, in the middle of the 6th century BC), the amendment to the Great Rhetra lost its power.

Board of ephors as democratic element in governmental structure

Due to the ephorate, it was not only ancient authors who spoke about Sparta as a democratic state (Isocr. Panath. 178; Arist. Pol. II. 1270b 17), but some modern researchers also consider Sparta as the democratic polis. In many respects such view concerning the political structure of Sparta derives from Aristotle. In his brief remark about ephorate, Aristotle makes a statement, which at first sight seems to be paradoxical, that it is a democratic institute. As we can see from the context, Aristotle meant only the method of selection of ephors which he called "too childish" (παιδαριώδης – Pol. II. 1270b 28). Probably decisions were made according to the strength of shouting²⁴. Of course, this method of voting is apt to manipulation, though at the first sight it seems quite democratic (Pol. II. 1265b 35–40; 1270b 16–26; IV. 1294b 19–31). According to Aristotle, this most important magistracy operated as a counterbalance to purely aristocratic institutes and guaranteed Sparta its political stability so valuable in times of Stagirite. "Thus this office does, it is true, hold together the constitution – for the common people keep quiet because they have a share in the highest office of state..." (Pol. II. 1270b 18–19). Aristotle believed that the board of ephors brought significant changes to the political system of Sparta just by the mere fact of its existence. According to him, "... for out of an aristocracy came to be evolved a democracy" (δημοκρατία ἐξ ἀριστοκρατίας συνέβαινεν – II. Pol. 1270b 16–17). However, one should not

²² The innovation consisted in removal of the common folk's right for free and unlimited discussion. Now only gerontes had the right to decide, whether to continue the discussion or to stop it and dissolve the meeting.

²³ ARNHEIM 1977, 90.

²⁴ We will dare to point out a possible parallel. From the word's etymology *suffragium* (*fragor* – noise, loud applause), the vote in *comitia* during the roman regal period could also occur via screaming.

exaggerate the significance of this short formulation, because it allows different interpretations. Let's pay attention that the predicate *συνέβαινε* in this phrase stands in the imperfect. This imperfect transfers us from the area of unique specific actions to the area of possible iterative situations. In general it can be understood in a way that from time to time some democratic elements which did not change the essence of the political system itself were introduced into the aristocratic constitution of Sparta. The sense of the phrase of Aristotle, *literatim* means that "the aristocracy came to be evolved into the democracy", apparently means, that the aristocratic regime in Sparta was gaining some democratic features with the strengthening of the board of ephors.

For further explanation let's turn to Plutarch who also wrote about the nature of the ephorate, but in a somewhat different way: in "*Lycurgus' Life*" we find Plutarch's comment to the above mentioned Aristotle's phrase. He describes the inherent essence of this highest office as follows: "For the institution of the ephors did not weaken, but rather strengthened the civil polity, and although it was thought to have been done in the interests of the people, it really made the aristocracy more powerful" (Plut. Lyc. 29. 11). It is necessary to remind here that "*The Lacedaemonian constitution*" by Aristotle was the main source for Plutarch when he wrote "*Lycurgus' Life*". It is this book that Plutarch quoted Great from the Rhetra's text. And Plutarch's assessment of the ephorate also, most likely, has this treatise as its source. Aristotle, apparently, considered the board of ephors as a quasi-democratic institute. In fact, the ephors reinforced the existing system by providing the stability of the ruling aristocratic class. Though formally common people could be elected as ephors, the Spartan aristocrats and plutocrats, of course, had more chances to be elected²⁵. They tried to "push" only their own people into the body of the ephors. At the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century BC rich and noble Spartiates were apparently more and more often becoming ephors. For Spartan notables it was extremely important, because only ephors could initiate the adoption of the laws that they needed (Plut. Agis 5).

By the time of Aristotle, the board of ephors had already completely entered into the hierarchy of the highest polis officials and lost its original quality of the magistracy being in opposition to kings and gerontes. Later, in the second half of the 3rd century BC, the ephorate became an "aristocracy reservation" and nothing remained of its former democratic and opposite character. The most tell-tale evidence of degradation of this institute was the ephors' behaviour in the course of Agis and Cleomenes' reforms. All Spartan kings who were involved in this conflict used the board of ephors as a trouble-free tool in their fight against each other²⁶.

²⁵ RAHE 1980, 387.

²⁶ Ephorate stopped the existence in 227 BC. Though Spartan kings-reformers, using violence or bribery, with extraordinary ease eliminated any disagreeable ephor and appointed to his post of their own protégé, but, eventually, even such "pocket" ephorate seemed to Cleomenes a burden, and he got rid of it (Plut. Cleom. 10. 1).

Due to Aristotle's indisputable authority the ephorate is quite often represented as a democratic element of the constitution of Sparta in the historiography of the 19th and 20th centuries. It became an almost obligatory stamp each time when this office is mentioned. The very existence of this quasi-democratic authority continues to confuse scholars and does not allow them to come to a consensus on the political structure of Sparta. As far back as the 19th century, some scholars expressed the opinion that since ephorate was a democratic institution, the Spartan political system cannot be unconditionally attributed to the oligarchy. Thus, for example, N.I. Kareev, in his well-known manual on the ancient state and law, wrote: "It should be noted that this institute (ephorate – *L.P.*) also grew in Sparta on democratic basis if, of course, it is possible to speak about democratic basis when we discuss Sparta"²⁷. The author of the article on ephors in *RE* followed the same point of view. According to him, "zweifellos vertritt in historischer Zeit das Ephorat die Macht des Volkes gegenüber dem Königtum und lässt sich in gewissem Sinne als ein demokratisches Element auffassen..."²⁸. While Bertrand Russell, the author of the classical work on history of the Western philosophy, unconditionally describes the board of ephors as a democratic organ in the state system of Sparta: "They were a 'democratic' element in the constitution, apparently intended to balance the kings"²⁹.

Assessment of Spartan political system in modern and contemporary historiography

But while in representation of modern scholars the board of ephors contained some democratic potential at certain stages of its development, Sparta as a whole was seldom considered to be a democratic state. This view can usually be found in general descriptions, which as a rule contain certain political undertones. Thus, Ed. Meyer wrote about Sparta as a democratic state. He believed that in Sparta the aristocratic families did not have any additional political rights and were completely equal with the common people. According to him, all ancient authors without any exception reported that the Spartiates were absolutely equal among themselves and, therefore, Sparta was a democracy³⁰. Johannes Hasebroek, the author of several general works on the Greek economy, considers Sparta as a democratic state³¹. But, as I.V. Andreev fairly noted, some of Hasebroek's statements were highly politicized and made absurd in their straightforwardness. According to I.V. Andreev, "Hasebroek's statement that only in Sparta during the reforms of the 6th century the ancient

²⁷ КАПЕЕВ 1903, 122.

²⁸ SZANTO 1905, 2861.

²⁹ RUSSELL 1945, 97.

³⁰ MEYER 1892, 255.

³¹ HASEBROEK 1931, 202.

democracy developed in its most radical form, for only in Sparta and in Crete the absolute political and social equality of all citizens was achieved sounds absolutely paradoxical”³².

In the 1990s some European and American scholars, enthusiastic about the indisputable (according to their believes) victory of the Western democracy over “the empire of evil”, were inclined to perceive Sparta as a democracy, because it possessed advantage which was the most important for them — it was a polis of the European type³³. Let’s give the most typical examples. Thus, British scholar S. Hornblower in his article which was published in the collection dedicated to the development of the Western democracy, asserted that the history of the European democracy began in Sparta³⁴. M. Hansen, the well-known Danish scholar, also in a festschrift dedicated to the development of democracy in the ancient time, noted that if the Great Rhetra is an original document of the 7th century BC, there is no need to trust Aristotle and all the other sources of the 4th century that considered Solon responsible for introduction of the democracy in Athens in the beginning of the 6th century³⁵. Sometimes scholars even saw the fact that there were two Spartan kings instead of one as a step towards democracy. Nicholas Jones in particular adheres to such an opinion: “True, despite the general regressive trend of Spartan arrangements, collegial kings did admittedly mark a kind of advance toward democracy. One of the kings might serve to check an otherwise unbridled authority of the other...”³⁶.

Yet, the studies which are less politically bias assess Sparta’s constitution with a certain caution. As a rule, modern scholars tend to see only some elements of democracy in the Spartan state system. In any case, historians always speak about Sparta as the democratic state very cautiously and with multiple exceptions and conditions. It is typical for both western and Russian historiography. Thus, P. Cartledge, the author of a number of works devoted to Sparta, believes that the political system of Sparta, of course, cannot be equated to such democracies as Athens. But, on the other hand, according to him, the Spartan oligarchy—such as it was—was to some extent more open and “popular” than oligarchies of other states, even in the classical period³⁷. Oswyn Murray saw signs of the democracy in the fact that “the Spartans were always remarkably free in criticism of their kings (...) and were

³² ANDREEV 2004, 31–32.

³³ The well-known Western political scholar Karl Popper also had a point on view that was determined by contemporary realities. He contrasted the Western democracies with the Eastern totalitarianism, the main example of which was Soviet Union. In his famous work “*The Open Society and Its Enemies*” Karl Popper characterizes Spartan political system as the stagnant oligarchical tribal regime that was exclusively hostile towards the human rights. He accuses Plato for his admiration for Sparta (like other militarists) and for copying the institutions of Spartan totalitarian polis in his “*Laws*” (ΠΟΠΠΕΡ 1992, 141, 223).

³⁴ HORNBLOWER 1993, 1.

³⁵ HANSEN 1994, 33.

³⁶ JONES 2008, 45.

³⁷ CARTLEDGE 2001, 33, n. 63.

able to depose or exile them”³⁸. Curt Raaflaub was more careful and spoke only about “protodemocratic” features of Sparta’s system³⁹.

Russian scholars are also very careful when they speak about Sparta as the state where there were only a few democratic features. Let us quote the words of Igor Surikov: “In this rigid, militarized state there were some elements of democracy (very moderate, rather than radical), but they were pushed into background by principles of discipline and hierarchy...”⁴⁰. The fact that “the Spartan policy looks more democratic, than a typical oligarchy”, he explains by a too serious role of Spartan apella in the terms of a classic oligarchy: “we are talking in particular about the role of people’s assembly. That role was quite significant, moreover, and this is the most important point, it was institutionally established at a very early stage...”⁴¹.

As a rule, scholars distinguish between the political systems of Sparta before and after the Peloponnesian war. Hence, Jury Andreev, an indisputable authority in the field of Spartan studies, regularly pointed out a somewhat democratic character of the Laws of Lycurgus embodied in the Great Rhetra. According to him, “Lycurgan Sparta from a certain point of view might seem to be an even more radical form of democracy, than Athens in the time of Pericles. Here, not in Athens, the most important slogan of the Greek democratic movement—total redistribution of land—was implemented”⁴². In one of his earlier works I.V. Andreev not entirely correctly called Archaic Sparta “the peasant democracy”⁴³. He believed, and we agree with him, that before the turn of 5th–4th centuries BC Sparta was “a hoplite polity”, i.e. a moderate democracy⁴⁴. Eduard Frolov also wrote about the rapid formation of Dorian civil community and a possible existence of “a hoplite democracy” in early Sparta⁴⁵. However, every time when Spartan state is mentioned, elements of democracy are found only in the early period of its political history.

The traditional opinion in modern historiography is that Sparta initially was an aristocratic state which political system gradually degenerated into an oligarchy of the most rigid type. E.g. Anthony Andrews, the author of the article about administration system in

³⁸ MURRAY 1993, 162.

³⁹ RAAFLAUB, WALLACE 2007, 40.

⁴⁰ SURIKOV 2007, 110.

⁴¹ SURIKOV 2005, 227.

⁴² ANDREEV 1998, 94.

⁴³ That expression is not very good because the Spartan citizens were not peasants. They lived on a rent and did not cultivate land themselves.

⁴⁴ ANDREEV 1983, 209, 215.

⁴⁵ FROLOV 2004, 236.

Sparta, which became a classic long ago, assessed the Rhetra as the document which “exemplifies a form of government normal to Greece, but in an oligarchic rather than a democratic version”⁴⁶. As for Isocrates’ words that Sparta is a democratic state living in full harmony (Panath. 178), A. Andrews notices that representation of the inner structure of Spartan politeia as democratic must be a deliberate paradox⁴⁷. Let’s mention several similar opinions. According to A.W. Gomme, the politic constitution of the Spartans with the exception of the oddity of having two kings represented a usual aristocratic type⁴⁸. P. Cartledge, who is sometimes inclined to see some democratic features in the Spartan constitution, nevertheless, while analysing its legal system, deduced that “the Spartan demos, or citizen body as a whole, was not formally involved or consulted at all at any stage of the proceedings...”. Then P. Cartledge wrote: “In practice therefore it makes little or no sense to call Sparta a ‘democracy’, even if one were to have in mind the most moderate of Aristotle’ sub-species of democracy... Instead, all of those three entities—kings, Gerousia, Ephorate—should in my judgement be regarded as the forming part of the Spartan oligarchy, even if it was very much a *sui generis* oligarchy. The justice that it meted out was correspondingly oligarchic, that is, non-or rather anti-democratic”⁴⁹.

Such view about Sparta as a mainly oligarchical state is right in our opinion, as long as we consider the late Classical or the Hellenistic Sparta. The importance of differentiated approach to the Spartan political system was expressed among others by I.V. Andreev. “As to Sparta”, he wrote, “usual for our literature enrollment of this state to the category of oligarchies, and at that the most extreme ones, is based, from our point of view, on misunderstanding. In confirmation of this thesis, the modern scholars usually give the evidence of writers of the 4th century. But those ancient authors found Sparta in crisis and decline when the oligarchic elements in its constitution had already come to prevail over the democratic ones”⁵⁰. Like ancient authors who avoided to call Sparta an oligarchic state directly, modern scholars also find it difficult to characterize the political regime which had formed itself in late classical Sparta as undoubtedly oligarchic. As a rule, when Spartan oligarchy is discussed, scholars use a lot of clarifications and interpretations because the Spartan model of oligarchy was too different from its classical samples.

Thus, according to the American historian D. Dawson, the expert in an ancient utopia, Sparta was an oligarchy, although it had some special features⁵¹. P. Cartledge, calling Sparta an oligarchy, adds that it was a peculiar (*sui generis*) oligarchy. I.E. Surikov also pointed out

⁴⁶ ANDREWES 1956, 73.

⁴⁷ ANDREWES 1966, 16.

⁴⁸ GOMME 1945, 129.

⁴⁹ CARTLEDGE 2000, 21–22.

⁵⁰ ANDREEV 1979, 25.

⁵¹ DAWSON 1992, 27.

that Spartan oligarchy was non-typical for Greece: “In any case, if it is possible to consider Sparta as oligarchy, it is necessary to agree that it was a strange, indistinctive oligarchy, very different from typical oligarchic regimes such as existed in Corinth or Megara...”⁵². Apparently, both Sparta and Athens, despite their dissimilitude, show two models of the Greek poleis in their extreme manifestations. As a fine expert on Spartan realities Stephen Hodkinson stated, the Spartan “society which we may view as standing at one end of the spectrum of Greek *poleis*, somewhat extreme perhaps, but no more so than democratic Athens standing equally firmly at the other extremity”⁵³.

Sometimes the desire for definition as precise as possible leads to oxymorons. For example, the professor of Sorbonne N. Richet, the author of the most complete research about Spartan Ephorate, characterizes the political system of Sparta as “totalitarian democracy of oligarchs”⁵⁴. Of course, such a definition is unacceptable, but there are good reasons for it.

Conclusion

“Aristocracy? Oligarchy? Democracy? It is difficult to label the Spartan constitution of the 5th century”⁵⁵. Certainly, the reality is always more complicated than theories, and “pure” political forms never existed in real life. When Sparta just appeared on the historical arena, it probably was a mostly aristocratic state. Having made radical changes to its constitution, Lycurgus directed Sparta’s political development towards democracy, yet without destroying the previous social distinctions. We have to remember that the “democratizing” elements in the political system of Sparta did not survive early infancy⁵⁶. Even the board of ephors got gradually built into the oligarchic hierarchy and came to express interests not of the society as a whole, but only of its aristocratic-oligarchic elite, i.e. not really the interests of apella, but those of gerousia. As it has been repeatedly noticed, such a metamorphosis of the ephorate⁵⁷, corresponds to Sparta’s evolution towards an oligarchy. I.E. Surikov pointed out this uniqueness of Sparta’s development which is opposite to the mainstream. Indeed the Spartan state did not develop in the same direction as, for example, Athens. “In Sparta where the initial elements of the democracy were quite strong, on the contrary, the oligarchic principles were gradually getting stronger, and the later, the more pronounced it was”⁵⁸. By the end of the 5th century BC there was nothing left of the social balance which Spartans were so proud

⁵² SURIKOV 2005, 226.

⁵³ HODKINSON 2005, 51.

⁵⁴ RICHER 1998, 301.

⁵⁵ WILL 1972, 440.

⁵⁶ RAAFLAUB, WALLACE 2007, 41.

⁵⁷ See, for example: HAMMOND 1973, 55.

⁵⁸ SURIKOV 2007, 110.

about. By this time there were too many “errors” in the preserved sociopolitical structure of Sparta.

In the classical period the Spartan state system gradually evolved from traditional “hoplite politeia” into clannish or caste oligarchy, in which the ruling elite became much less dependent on and accountable to the common people than it had been before. The executive power in Sparta was given too much power that was not limited by any laws. It led to the actual usurpation of power by kings and gerontes, i.e. those who belonged to the most notable and rich citizens of Sparta. At the end of the 5th century the so-called small ecclesia was established (Xen. Hell. III. 3. 8), which was functioning alongside the usual popular assembly, and this fact probably is a symptom of the complete separation between the Spartan ruling class and the common people. This is exactly the process which Aristotle, possibly, had in mind when he said that “oligarchical governments break up when they create a second oligarchy within the oligarchy” (Pol. V. 1306a 13–16). At the turn of the 5th–4th centuries BC the division of the civil society into several unequal groups became quite obvious. So-called hypomeiones (ὑπομείονες – “younger”, “lower”, “fallen”) stopped being regarded as full citizens (Xen. Hell. III. 3. 6). What Aristotle spoke of and what modern scholars pointed out several times took place: “Aus der engen Oligarchie der Spartiaten wurde eine noch engere der Homoioi”⁵⁹. For the 4th–3rd centuries BC saw not all Spartans as the homoioi anymore, but only “the best”, i.e. the propertied class.

Such a result was brought about by the artificially frozen ancient legislation with its destructive idea of general equality for all the citizens. Aristotle noted that the obligation to make equal contributions for syssitia despite its apparent democracy was not actually a democratic measure: “Also the regulations for the public mess-tables called Phiditia have been badly laid down by their originator... among the Spartans everybody has to contribute, although some of them are very poor and unable to find money for this charge, so that the result is the opposite of what the lawgiver purposed. For he intends the organization of the common tables to be democratic, but when regulated by the law in this manner it works out as by no means democratic...” (Pol. II. 1271a 27–36). The cited remark shows that Aristotle understood the social essence of the Spartan state: where legal equality depends on economic equality, with the violation of the last the whole social system cracks too. In the conditions of economic inequality, which greatly increased by the end of Peloponnesian war, the retention of the archaic *census* for determination of the civil rights led to the fact that Sparta over one and a half century practically remained without full citizens, i.e. without those who could call themselves “equals”. Such situation, when no more than one percent of the total number of the free population had full civil rights, never existed in any Greek polis. As I.V. Andreev

⁵⁹ EHRENBURG 1929, 1402.

noticed, “such a state, in the opinion of the ancient world, could hardly aspire to be considered truly democratic”⁶⁰.

Sparta began with adopting the very liberal and to a certain degree even democratic constitution, but later it refused to move towards democracy. Even the ephorate, which originally functioned as the body representing Spartan common people and was in sharp opposition to traditional aristocratic institutes, by the end of the classical period had already lost all its democratic features and became an integrated part of the ruling hierarchy of oligarchs.

We can call the late Sparta a democracy only in comparison with east despotism. As Irina Shishova justly remarked, “There is no doubt that the Spartan community of equals was immeasurably more democratic than any ancient East society. However, the democracy in Sparta neither reached, nor even came close to the levels of democracy in those Greek poleis where the common people won a total victory over the nobility”⁶¹.

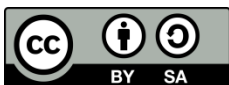
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⁶⁰ ANDREEV 1998, 95.

⁶¹ SHISHOVA 1991, 103.

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Notes on the funerary epigraphy of soldiers from Roman Dacia

Rada VARGA¹

Abstract. *The current paper constitutes an overview on the funerary epigraphy of soldiers from Roman Dacia. Without trying to be a complete and exhaustive analysis of all possible aspects, it aims at collecting all epitaphs regarding military personnel and offering a general image of the realities they present.*

Rezumat. *Studiul de față reprezintă o prezentare sintetică a epigrafiei funerare a militarilor din Dacia romană. Fără pretenția de a analiza în detaliu toate aspectele posibile, cercetarea a avut ca scop colectarea și centralizarea tuturor acestor monumente și prezentarea unei imagini generale a realităților despre care ele vorbesc.*

Keywords: epigraphic habit, age groups, identity, representation, self-representation.

The everyday life of the Roman soldier has been a quite popular theme of research during the last decades. This includes aspects of material culture, sociologically oriented analyses of the inter-human relations and ties, anthropological studies, etc. The main goal and stake of these undertakings is to reveal the Roman soldier besides and beyond the *Rangordnung* and to emphasize on the complex social role that the army played in all Roman provincial environments. The current study is more or less part of this trend, though our approach will be rather positivistic: thus, we will present a detailed overview on the military funerary inscriptions from province Dacia and stress upon the social and familial data which they bring forth.

Our database comprises 106 readable funerary monuments involving soldiers, either as deceased (seventy-six) or as commemorators (thirty). On these epitaphs, we will look for elements that speak of presentation and sometimes self-presentation, such as: name, family/social relations, indication of origin, age, stylistic details of the monument, etc. Focusing on soldiers, the first thing to note was the military troops attested on epitaphs; surprisingly enough, only a minority of monuments involve legionary soldiers (about 30%) and no more than 17% from the total of dedications were erected for commemorating soldiers from the legions. With few exceptions², we are of course dealing with militaries from the two

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² The IV Flavia Felix from *Drobeta*, for example (Iulius Stratus - CIL III 14484; Caius Titius Ianuarius - AE 1959, 314).

main legions of Dacia: XIII Gemina, stationed at *Apulum*, and V Macedonica, stationed at *Potaissa*. Most of the funerary stones of legionary soldiers come from the two urban centres hosting the troops, but there are also some exceptions, such as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus³, *librarius* of the XIII Gemina, buried by his parents at *Ampelum* and Lucius Aelius Candidinus⁴, *tesserarius* of the same legion, who dedicates a monument for his deceased sons at *Romula*.

Another element, present on two thirds of the analysed epitaphs, regards the military ranks and positions of the deceased, as well as of the commemorators; these are differently (and probably subjectively) presented: some only mention being a *miles* or an *eques*, others give more precise data on their military position/rank. About a quarter of the deceased soldiers have the service years mentioned (detail which was better known, in many cases, than the actual exact age of the man) and 20% of them have peregrine juridical status. But, nonetheless, the most present element on epitaphs, socially as well as individually relevant, is the relationship between deceased and commemorator, or between multiple deceased/commemorators (Graph 1). For clarifying the statistics, we must first mention that we know this relationship in about 77% cases. For comparison, we will present some already existing statistics regarding the commemoration habits of soldiers and their families⁵. Thus, during the 1st century, 56% of the funerary *stela*e for soldiers were set up by comrades and/or inheritors (here we include brothers as well⁶, as they are most often denominated not only as relatives, but also as *heredes*), the ones set up by the family (wife and children) represented only 5.2%, and the ones set up by the soldiers for their wives and children did not exceed 1.7%. For the 2nd century, the percentages are as follows: 16.8% of the funerary monuments for auxiliary soldiers were set up by their family, 36.5% by comrades/inheritors, and the soldiers set up for their families (wife and children) 4.4%. For the other chronological extreme (the 3rd century), the situation changes dramatically: 20.8% of the monuments were set up by wives or children, soldiers dedicated for family members 24.2% of the epitaphs, while the military pseudo-family (comrades/inheritors), set up only 16.5% of the total. Another study, conducted by S. E. Phang on the *auxilia* from the Danube provinces⁷, offers different statistical data compared to those obtained at the level of the whole Empire. Thus the percentage of soldiers commemorated by their wives increases in the 2nd century as compared to the 1st, from 16% to 39%, while that of epitaphs set up by the comrades decreases in the same period from 53% to 29%. One of the explanations for this increased commemoration of the family can be connected to the relative stability of the troops from the Danube region and to massive local recruitment.

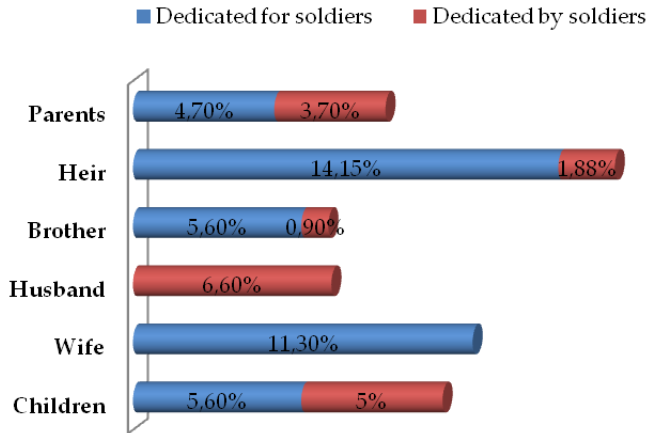
³ IDR III/3, 344.

⁴ CIL III 1592.

⁵ VARGA 2014, 89-90.

⁶ Equally, the term *frater* is used to designate a close comrade and friend, not necessarily a blood relative (see BIRLEY 2002).

⁷ PHANG 2001, 153.



Graph 1. Main relationships attested between deceased and commemorator, or between multiple deceased/commemorators.

More or less expectedly, in our case, most of the relationships are between comrades and peers: heirs and/or militaries from the same unit (16% of all monuments). Underlining the ramification of certain relationships, we also have cases when the heir (explicitly stated as such) also identifies himself as brother⁸ (Aurelius Maximus from *Arcobadara*⁹), freedman¹⁰ (Caius Titius Epipodius from *Drobeta*) or even son (names illegible, from *Apulum*)¹¹. The second numerically attested tie is the one between spouses. In the civilian environment, this is usually the best represented relationship group, along with the dedications for children. Thus, 11% from all epitaphs are dedicated by wives for their husbands, soldiers from legions or auxiliary troops. We stress upon the lax usage of the term *coniux* and *uxor*: *coniux* implies, within the boundaries of Roman law, the existence of a *conubium*, a marriage between two Roman citizens¹². Thus, in the case of soldiers from the pre-Severan era, this type of marriage is out of question; true enough, we are most dealing with Roman citizens, but still their military status excluded the contracting of a Roman, full-rights marriage. Even so, in funerary epigraphy, a certain liberty in the employment of this term (along with *maritus*) is noticed, as it frequently appears on the epitaph of soldiers, peregrines or slaves. The detail is rather important for the shaping of an identity constructing image, as a liaison only accepted *de facto* by society metamorphosed, *post mortem*, into a fully endorsed marriage. Children dedicate and are dedicated for as well, but their proportion is of only 10%, with the epitaphs for and by present in almost equal numbers. Though not extremely explicit, we can also intuit the

⁸ CIL III 803; CIL III 8048; CIL III 807.

⁹ Or **Arkobara*, a more plausible, probably Dacian, form of the name (DANA, NEMETI 2012)

¹⁰ AE 1959, 314.

¹¹ IDR III/5, 598.

¹² ULPIANUS 5.4.

phenomenon of military families, detected not only at the level of the same generation (brothers)¹³, but also at a trans-generational level¹⁴. Other groups of dedicators include sole dedications, as is the case of a maternal grandson¹⁵ dedicating a common monument for his father and grandfather.

Expectedly, the feminine dedications, besides expressions of matrimonial relations, are scarce, though not completely lacking: two of his daughters dedicate for Aurelius Cl(unius)¹⁶, a woman about which we don't know details dedicates for Aelius Borafas Zabdiboli¹⁷, a sister for Areatinus (?)¹⁸, Aurelius De... dedicates for his mother¹⁹, etc.

Graph 2 shows the network of all characters attested on military funerary stones. The militaries are represented with red and the civilians with blue. One can see the familial/social clusters clearly on this graphic representation.

Dealing with funerary monuments, the recorded ages constitute an important and relevant factor. Approximately 65% of the soldiers' ages and 75% of their relations are conserved; in absolute figures, this means a total of about 100 records. The number is actually quite high, as the total of known ages from province Dacia is of about 500²⁰. The medium age of death is of 32.48 years, with the minimum for the ages of soldiers of 20 years²¹ and the eldest of 60²². The life hope at birth, calculated for Dacia, is of 33.027 years. Regarding the tendency to round the age of death—identifiable through an unnaturally high number of ages divisible to 5 and 10—we can identify it in more than half the cases. The habit can be connected with a “looser” mourning (as exact ages are usually recorded for young wives and children, whose death is usually harsh), as well as regarded as a consequence of not knowing exactly when the deceased was born.

The onomastics reflects well the realities of the general Dacian military onomastics. Thus, most of the names are Roman, with certain exceptions: Thracian names (Mucatra Brasi, Mucapor Mucatralis)²³, Semitic names (Aelius Guras Iidei, Aelius Habibis)²⁴, etc. The *nomina*, where there is the case, are dominated by the imperial Aurelius, followed by Aelius. In most of the cases, the same imperial names are born by both deceased and commemorator, as it is normal in the case of family relations.

¹³ IDR III/1, 167.

¹⁴ CIL III 837.

¹⁵ CIL 03 908.

¹⁶ CIL III 1603.

¹⁷ IDR III/1, 152.

¹⁸ CIL III 13766.

¹⁹ CIL III 802.

²⁰ See MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2004, 27-41 for an overview on Dacia's age structures.

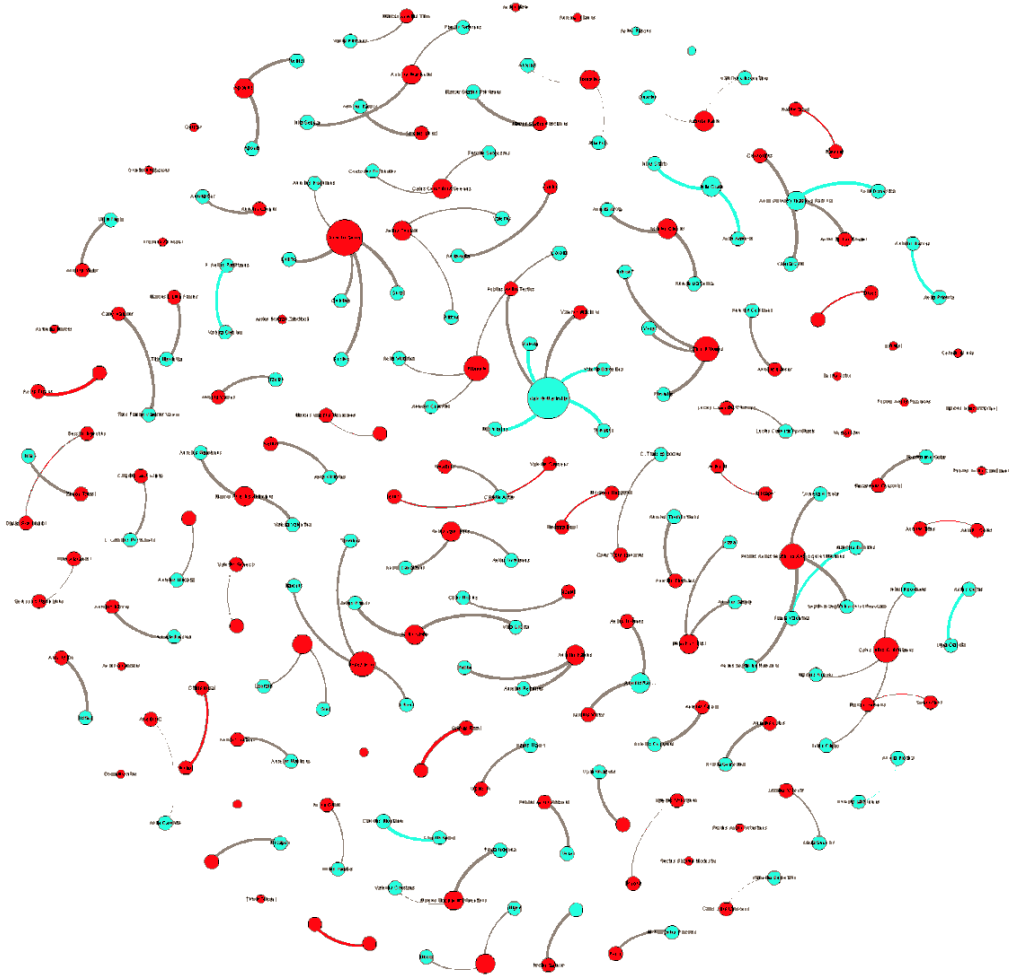
²¹ IDR III/5, 558.

²² IDR III/4, 188.

²³ IDR III/5, 559.

²⁴ IDR III/1, 154.

Linguistically, Latin predominates almost absolutely. A notable exception is the monument form *Tibiscum*²⁵, erected by a Palmyrean *pontifex* and which writes the name of the deceased in both Latin and Palmyrean. The absence of Greek mirrors a social group with no cultural meanders. The same feature is underlined by the typicalness of the individualizing details on the deceased and the small number of exceptions. Regarding the balance deceased—commemorator, which reflects the balance religious—social, we record far more details on the deceased, thus inclining towards respectful commemoration more than social promotion.



Graph 2. The network resulted from the military funerary monuments.

²⁵ IDR III/1, 154.

Artistically, the monuments are simple and of low value. Very few have figurative representations (the banquet scene)²⁶ or other notable decorations²⁷. The predominant materials are limestone and grit stone, with few exceptions manufactured of marble²⁸ and andesite²⁹.

The funerary monuments of the soldiers from Dacia bring forth data about an important segment of the province's population. Expectedly enough, it reveals a more austere and artistically/linguistically poor environment, compared to the general, civilian, realities. As well, the social and familial relations are rather stern and without excessive ramifications, being almost exclusively limited to comrades/heirs and first-degree relatives. The patronage relationships, rather present in the civilian funerary epigraphy from Dacia, are extremely scarce. In the future, for a complete image, research should go towards collecting and analysing the votive inscriptions as well, and towards comparison with the realities of other provinces.

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²⁶ CIL III 847a=7651; CIL III 13766.

²⁷ ILD 511; AE 2007, 1191; CIL III 12542.

²⁸ IDR III/2, 437; IDR III/2, 366.

²⁹ IDR III/1, 160; IDR III/1, 154.

Herodotus' Renaissance return to Western-European culture

Michal HABAJ¹

Abstract. *Herodotus can be counted among the most important ancient historians. Indeed, his Histories represent the main source for the Graeco-Persian wars. However, the reception of his work has undergone many changes since the time it was written. The following study deals with Herodotus' reception in the time of the Renaissance. The author tries to answer and explain two basic questions that are narrowly connected with his name. The first problem relates to his veracity. The study addresses the question of how he was accepted by humanists — was he considered a faithful historian or a less trustworthy storyteller? The second problem relates to him as a pagan author being accepted by Christians. The author focuses on the mechanism which enabled this unusual combination.*

Rezumat. *Herodot poate fi considerat unul dintre cei mai importanți istorici ai lumii antice. Într-adevăr, Istoriile sale reprezintă sursa principală a relatării războaielor medice. Totuși, receptarea operei sale a cunoscut mai multe schimbări de când a fost scrisă. Studiul de față tratează receptarea lui Herodot în timpul Renașterii. Autorul încearcă să răspundă la două întrebări fundamentale care sunt strâns legate de numele său. Prima problemă este legată de veridicitatea sa. În articol se pune întrebarea despre modul în care a fost acceptat de umaniști — a fost considerat un istoric conștiincios sau un povestitor vrednic de crezare? A doua problemă vizează calitatea lui de autor păgân acceptat de creștini. Autorul își concentrează analiza pe mecanismele care au făcut posibilă această combinație neobișnuită.*

Keywords: Herodotus, reception, Renaissance, rehabilitation, Bible.

It is a well-known fact that the Greek historian Herodotus emerged twice in Western-European culture — once in Antiquity, and again during the Renaissance period, when his “rediscovery” was reinforced by the spreading humanism. The present paper focuses on how well Herodotus was accepted in the humanistic environment.

In this context, the study intends to solve several fundamental problems. Firstly, we will concentrate on how Herodotus' work made a comeback in the West; however, this issue is not central for us, and we will review it only briefly, especially since many aspects of this subject have been addressed in other works². Two questions are more important for us; the first

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² For the extension of manuscripts from Byzantium to Italy, as well as the search for manuscripts in the West, see SABBADINI 1905. For the manuscripts themselves, see HEMMERDINGER 1981. For Herodotus' extension in print, see BURKE 1966.

concerns the attitude of humanists to Herodotus as a historian. We will focus on the extent to which humanist authors recognized Herodotus as a historian, and viewed Herodotus' *Histories* as a reliable source. On the other hand, we will consider the role of entertainer that was often attributed to him, even in the ancient tradition. The second of our more pressing questions regards the mechanism which permitted and legitimized the acceptance of Herodotus as a pagan historian in the Christian world.

Herodotus' Comeback

Herodotus' work disappeared for a time from the medieval culture of the West, partly due to a decline in the knowledge of Greek language during the period of Late Antiquity. Migration of peoples caused the Greek language to disappear almost entirely, surviving only in the Greek-speaking East³. The corpus of Greek literature, including the works of Herodotus, was preserved thanks to Byzantine scholars. Historians approached him as their model, for instance Procopius (ca. 500–565 AD)⁴, or Agathias (532–580/594 AD)⁵.

In the West, knowledge of the classical Greek language and literature was restored at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. The Byzantine Manuel Chrysoloras (1315–1415), along with his disciples, were of merit in this regard, in the environment of the Italian humanists. Not only did Chrysoloras' followers in Italy teach Greek, but they often travelled to Byzantium and actively searched for Greek authors, whom they commonly only knew by their names in Roman literature.

Two more factors played a role in the further propagation of Herodotus: (1) translations, which allowed people who did not speak Greek to read Herodotus; this included the vast majority of scholars in the middle of the 15th century, and (2) the introduction of the printing press. Thanks to dissemination by print, a much larger number of readers had access to Herodotus. Previously, only the extremely rich, or those who counted themselves among the top humanists, could obtain Herodotus' work, as there were only a few dozen manuscripts. Indeed, today we only have about sixty handwritten copies of them⁶. In short, only a small number of people had the chance to reach Herodotus. Letterpress changed this situation, making Herodotus' work available to a whole new spectrum of readers.

³ Cf. BERSCHIN 1980, 120. Also LEMERLE 1971, 9. Wilson and Reynolds characterized the hiatus of the Greek language in the West as follows: "if indeed it was spoken at all, a knowledge became an attainment of exceptional rarity throughout the Middle Ages. Even diplomatic correspondence was sometimes delayed for lack of suitably qualified translators and interpreters." Quoted according to WILSON-REYNOLDS 1991, 118. A similar view can be found in CICCOLLELA 2008, 84.

⁴ See BRAUN 1893/94.

⁵ See CAMERON 1964.

⁶ ASHERI 1989, LXXXI.

In this way, a total of 44 editions of his works were published in Europe before 1700⁷. In the context of Greek works, this is a relatively high number. By comparison, Josephus (who was the most published historian of antiquity who wrote in Greek) was issued 73 times before 1700. This small number clearly shows that the Renaissance in Europe was linked mainly to Roman antiquity rather than Greek, even in terms of historiography. To illustrate, Sallust's *The Conspiracy of Catalina* was issued 282 times, and Livius was issued 160 times⁸. Nevertheless, 44 editions are not a small number; there were even fewer editions of Thucydides.

On this basis, Peter Burke tried to estimate how many copies existed in Europe at that time⁹. He made assumptions on the basis that editions of over 500 copies rarely appeared before the year 1500, whereas in the following centuries, there were more such issues. For example, as many as 1225 copies of Thucydides were issued by Badius in 1527. Therefore, Burke estimated the average number of copies to be 1000. Based on a calculation using this number, the number of copies of Herodotus in Europe before 1700 could have been more than 44,000. As is the case for the bulk of Greek works, most editions of Herodotus were issued in the 16th century. Specifically, 16 editions of Herodotus were issued during that period. Of the 44 editions that were published before 1700, 31 were in the Greek or Latin languages; five were in Italian, four in French, three in German, and one in English¹⁰.

Father of History or Father of Lies

If historians are to know the standing and acceptance of Herodotus in any period, including the Renaissance, it is important that they establish the degree to which he was accepted as a historical and trustworthy source in those periods. In this regard, according to a tradition that had been spreading from ancient times together with Herodotus' works, Herodotus was simply trying to entertain using history, and that is the reason he lied¹¹.

Indeed, Francesco Petrarca was well aware that antiquity treated Herodotus ambiguously—he noticed that, in the same sentence, Cicero labels Herodotus the father of history and a narrator of myths (*De leg.* I, 5). At another point Cicero even suggests Herodotus

⁷ BURKE 1966, 136. Based on the data in *Handbuch der classischen Bibliographie* that had been issued by F. L. A. Schweiger in 1830–34 in Leipzig. Volume I is focused to Greek literature.

⁸ BURKE 1966, 136.

⁹ BURKE 1966, 136.

¹⁰ BURKE 1966, 138.

¹¹ Criticism of Herodotus was already common in antiquity, beginning with Thucydides (I, 22), who criticized not only Herodotus' methodology, which he saw as untrustworthy, but also the goal itself, which in his opinion was limited to entertainment. Ctesias claimed that Herodotus was a liar, and Aristotle called him the narrator of myths. Nonetheless, they both drew from him. Cf. MARINCOLA 2007, 123. Cicero expressed his esteem for Herodotus as the "father of history", but on the other hand, he was aware of the historian's shortcomings, referring to his "innumerabilia fabulae": "quamquam et apud Herodotum, patrem historiae, et apud Theopompum sunt innumerabilia fabulae." (*De leg.* I, 5). Herodotus' work was flatly refused by Plutarch in his work *De Herodoti malignitate*.

was a liar who fabricated a backhanded Delphic prophecy for Croesus¹².

Lorenzo Valla was the first humanist we know of in the West who reinterpreted Herodotus' histories. In his translations of Herodotus, he made notes¹³ on all three of the manuscripts he used. These reveal his attitude not only to Herodotus, but also to Thucydides. He preferred Thucydides as a historian, deeming Herodotus “*dulcis*”, but also unreliable—“*fabulosus*”¹⁴. In Valla's opinion, Thucydides documented and corrected Herodotus' errors in describing the details of the Spartan institutions¹⁵. Valla also assumed that when Thucydides' criticized the methodology of some historians at the beginning of his work, he was addressing Herodotus¹⁶. Conversely, in an unpublished introduction to a translation by Giovanni Pontano, we can read a defence of Herodotus. This in itself is significant, as it illustrates an atmosphere in which critical awareness was not lacking. Furthermore, even scholars who did not have access to Herodotus' works knew, on the basis of ancient tradition, that part of his work may be untrue. Therefore, Pontano warned readers of Herodotus not to forget that historical works of antiquity did not emphasize truth¹⁷.

Venetian printer Aldo Manuzio (1449–1515) did much to revive Herodotus as a historian in the humanistic world¹⁸. In 1502, Manuzio published the *editio princeps* of Herodotus' works. He did so on expensive, quality paper, with a correspondingly high price for prints¹⁹. In the conclusion of *Histories*, Manuzio added a letter addressed to Joanna Calpurnia, where he rejected the traditional concept of Herodotus as a liar²⁰. According to Manuzio, critics condemn Herodotus unjustly, because he “*Quandoquidem pure et simpliciter ut accepit, posteritati tradidit*”²¹. Manuzio's defence was of immense importance to Herodotus' revival, although not immediately. Manuzio's books were bought and read by the most important humanists of the

¹² A similar prophecy was recorded by Ennius in the case of Pyrrha's attack on Rome. However, while Petrarca accepted Ennius' fiction, feeling that, as a poet, Ennius was legitimately using the fiction, he could not accept Herodotus doing the same. „*Itaque satis potest hoc ab Ennio suo quodam iure fictum esse. De Herodoto autem, quem Cicero ipse patrem historiae vocat, quod superioris oraculi fitor extiterit, non tam facile crediderim.*“ *Rerum memorandum* IV, 25–26. Quoted according to MOMIGLIANO 1984, 30

¹³ FRYDE 1983, 29. Edmund Fryde assumed that the notes were made by Vallo, based on their style and content. FRYDE 1983, 98. For details of the use of one of the manuscripts refer to ALBERTI 1960, 287–290.

¹⁴ This is based on Fryde's assumption that the note “*Hic Notar Herodotum dulce que eundem fabulosum.*” from ms. Laur. 63.32. comes from Valle. In his opinion, this had also been the “*general belief of his contemporaries*” FRYDE 1983, 95.

¹⁵ FRYDE 1983, 95.

¹⁶ FRYDE 1983, 95.

¹⁷ HARTOG 1988, 307.

¹⁸ See DAVIES 1999 for a detailed biography.

¹⁹ RENOARD 1803, 55.

²⁰ “*Nec puto apud te apud te integerrimum, ac summa aequitate visum ideo munus autoritatis habituras, quod mendaces in historia nostris habeantur, atque ita, ut propter Herodotum, vel ipsa Graecia virtutum omnium parens, ita alumnia disciplinarum mendax a nonnullis dicitur. Quando id errore potius factum, cum quod ita fit, cum accurate musas ipsas perlegeris, facile cognosces. Nam quoties indignum quid creditu scribit Herodotus, se feré semper excusat.*” HERODOTUS (ed. 1502), no numbering.

²¹ HERODOTUS (ed. 1502), no numbering.

times, such as Erasmus, Thomas More, Johann Reuchlin, and others. More editors of Herodotus, such as Joachim Camerarius in 1541, continued in the historian's defence.

In any case, Manuzio's defence did not mean that Herodotus was immediately accepted as a historian. Even the printer's friend, Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), defended Herodotus more from an ethical perspective than from a historiographical one. He included several historical examples from Herodotus in his educational document *Institutio principii christiani* (1516). Therein, we can read Herodotus' dialogue between the Lydian King Croesus and the Persian King Cyrus shortly after the Persians conquered Sardis²². In the dialog, Croesus asks Cyrus whether he knew what his troops were doing. Cyrus replied that they were looting Croesus' city; Croesus then retorted that it was Cyrus' city they were looting rather than his. In this way, Erasmus illustrated several lessons for future rulers, to act in such a way that they can give an account of their actions at any time. In this way, he used Herodotus for moral instruction, but he also warned young readers to be very careful when reading the works of ancient historians²³, because they often celebrated monarchs and military commanders, who were nothing but wild robbers²⁴. According to Erasmus, Herodotus resorted to this distortion of the truth because he was a pagan and wanted to entertain his readers. However, Erasmus was willing to pardon this, because he understood Herodotus primarily as an artist, rather than a historian²⁵. Indeed, he rejected Herodotus as a historian, because he placed truth above all else in the work of historians, and truth was a principle that Herodotus obviously did not comply with, in his opinion²⁶.

We can read similar arguments, although more sharply articulated, in the works of Erasmus' friend Juan Vives (1493–1540). He mentioned Herodotus in his work *De disciplinis libri XX* (1531), where he dubbed Herodotus the father of lies rather than of history²⁷. That said, Vives considered inventiveness a general attribute of Greek historiography. In his opinion, the Greeks lied out of love for their homeland, to make their history more glorious and their works more interesting for readers²⁸. He also believed that Herodotus was justified by the fact that he named his nine books after the Muses²⁹. In this way, he qualified his histories as embellished, rather than as simply adhering to truth, to make them more engaging for readers.

²² ERASMUS (ed. 1965), 181.

²³ ERASMUS (ed. 1965), 201.

²⁴ IJSEWIJN-MATHEEUSSEN 1972, 41.

²⁵ IJSEWIJN-MATHEEUSSEN 1972, 41.

²⁶ In Erasmus' words "...id quod in primis exigitur in historiographo, nempe fidem." Quoted according to IJSEWIJN - MATHEEUSSEN 1972, 41.

²⁷ "Herodotus, quem verius mendaciorum patrem dixeris, quam quomodo illum vocant nonnulli, parentem historiae." VIVES 1532, 89.

²⁸ VIVES 1532, 89.

²⁹ VIVES 1532, 89.

Subsequent generations of humanists grew closer to accepting the concept of a truthful Herodotus that was postulated by Aldo Manuzio. Several important defenders of the veracity of the historian's work grew in Europe. To begin, we shall mention David Chytraeus (1530–1600), who began to spread Herodotus' name in German-speaking countries, while introducing him as the best historian: "*Ut autem inter omnes Historicos, quorum extant monumenta, primus est Herodotus, ita caeteros omnes Graecos & Latinos, & antiquitate rerum ac regnorum, & exemplorum multitudine, & eloquentia vincit.*"³⁰

A new edition, in Greek, of Herodotus was issued by Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574) in 1546. He appreciated the historian's precise expression, exact evidence, and (most importantly considering Herodotus was a historian), his truthfulness³¹.

The Renaissance defence of Herodotus culminated in the work of Henri Estienne (1531–1598). He introduced Greek at the beginning of the French language revival, as a tool for liberation from the influence of Italian culture. Herodotus played an important role in Estienne's argumentation, especially in his most widespread paper, which was published in 1566 under the title "*L'introduction au traité des merveilles anciennes avec les modernes ou Traité préparatif à l'Apologie pour Herodote.*" In his defence, Estienne appealed to readers to develop their own view of Herodotus rather than accepting those of others³². He rejected *a priori* any criticism of Herodotus, based on the simple argument that no man of the 16th century had lived in the times of Herodotus, and therefore it was not possible to determine whether Herodotus was a liar or not. Estienne's defence reveals information to us that would be otherwise undetectable; that is, for what reason were Herodotus' critics of the 16th century accusing him? The answer is twofold: "*la desmesuré meschanceté qui se soit en quelques acets décrits par Herodote*", and "*voyans qu'une grand part de ce que nous y lisons, ne se rapporte aucunement aux coustume et façons de faire qui sont aujourd'huy.*"³³ More specifically, Frenchmen were allegedly consternated by Egyptian habits: "*O le grans fols qu' estoient ces Egyptiens d'Hérodote (dira quelcun) en ce qu'ils adoroient les bestes*"³⁴. However, this was far from being the only critical point. Estienne said that the following issues also evoked doubt in the works of Herodotus: the size of Babylon, the power of the Persian monarch, the government of the Medes mages in Persia, and the manner of dressing³⁵. Nonetheless, we do not know whether Herodotus had been reproached by anyone for these points specifically, or whether Estienne was simply buttressing the weak points of Herodotus' works against possible attacks in the

³⁰ CHYTRAEUS 1562, B 4.

³¹ "*Narrationes sunt disertae: iudicationes expressae&speciosae: Explicationes accuratae&evidentes: Collectiones certae atque plenae in his rerum gestarum, hominum, temporum fides. Accurata compertorum relatio, dubiorum coniectura fagax.*" HERODOTUS (ed. 1541), *Prooemium*.

³² ESTIENNE 1879, Vol. I, 10.

³³ ESTIENNE 1879, Vol. I, 11.

³⁴ ESTIENNE 1879, Vol. I, 12.

³⁵ ESTIENNE 1879, Vol. I, 21–26.

future³⁶. In addition, Estienne referred to the fact that, even in the 16th century, there were still major differences between nations and their habits, thereby introducing to history the principle of cultural relativism. After all, in his Latin defence, which he published in the same year as a preface to an edition of Herodotus' work, he denied that such a pious man as Herodotus could have been a liar³⁷.

The revival of Herodotus through the endeavours of Estienne is documented in the historical work of Loys Le Roy (1510–1577, Ludovic Regius), who was a disciple and biographer of Budé. In 1576, he published the work *De la vicissitude ou la variété des choses en l'Univers*, where he not only recognized Herodotus, together with Thucydides, as the most accomplished historians, but he also used him extensively to describe the Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Persian, and Greek histories³⁸.

Meanwhile, the attitude of Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), one of the greatest scholars of the age, to Herodotus was basically positive. In his work *Animadversiones in Chronologica Eusebii* (1572) he referred to Herodotus many times. However, he often compared Herodotus' information with that of other authors, and commonly rejected it³⁹ or recognized its boundaries. Importantly, however, Scaliger does not call Herodotus a liar. In any case, he was criticizing not only Herodotus, but the whole tradition that had grown up around the historian in ancient times. For example, when he rejected Herodotus' interpretation of Egyptian history, his rejection was not based on the premise that Herodotus was a liar, but on the fact that Herodotus was a foreigner who did not even know the language. These objective reasons prevented him from properly describing events⁴⁰.

It can therefore be concluded that it was Estienne's generation of humanists, rather than Manuzio's, who revived Herodotus. Furthermore, this increased acknowledgement of Herodotus led to the expansion of the Greek language itself. When such critics as Valla, Erasmus, and Vives received their education, the Greek language was just beginning its recultivation. For this reason, they could not access some areas of Greek literature, especially in the case of Herodotus. As a result, their assessment tended to be based mainly on tradition and, like Cicero, they emphasized that *fabulae* had been added to his *Histories*. Naturally, this reduced Herodotus' credibility. Conversely, for Estienne's generation, Greek language and

³⁶ At least in German-speaking countries of the 16th century, Herodotus was not reproached for these points, as we know from the translator of Herodotus, Schwartzkopff: "Dieweil ich auch noch zur Zeit nicht gesehen/dass eiener in Teutscher Sprach wider Herodotum geschrieben/unnd die angedichte Fabeln namhaftig gemacht hette/Als achte ichs unnötig/weitläuffiger darvon wort zumachen/und lasse mich an dieser kurtzen vertheidigung dissmals genügen." SCHWARTZKOPFF 1593, *Prooemium*.

³⁷ ESTIENNE 1566, 16.

³⁸ MOMIGLIANO 1984, 42.

³⁹ See, for example, SCALIGER 1658, 111.

⁴⁰ "Herodoto homini peregrino, & cui per malitiam vaterrimi Aegyptii imponere potuerunt, aut qui per lingue Aegyptiace inscitiam verum ex illorum relatu asequi non potuit." SCALIGER 1658, 279.

literature were integral parts of humanistic culture. Hence, scholars of that time had more freedom and independence, as well as enthusiasm in their assessments.

According to Arnaldo Momigliano⁴¹, maritime discoveries also played an important role in the historiographical revival of Herodotus, as they enabled Europeans to contact previously unknown ethnic groups. For example, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera and Francisco López de Gómara described the first voyages of Europeans to the New World. Their ethnographic descriptions and new knowledge of unknown countries brought new and shocking images of life to Europeans. Momigliano saw this as the main reason for Herodotus' revival as a credible historian⁴². However, we believe that his revival is related more to other developments of that time: the aforementioned re-establishment of the study of Greek, as well as the acceptance of Greek as the language of the New Testament and as a source to supplement the Bible and world history. These processes will be detailed in the next section. In any case, they revived Herodotus not only from an ethical point of view, but also from a historiographical one. After all, any author that could be used to supplement the Bible could hardly be considered a liar. On a larger scale, it was only Henri Estienne who defended Herodotus with regards to cultural relativism, appealing to his contemporaries not to assess the habits of other nations by referring to those of their own culture; this concept had been described by Herodotus. Nonetheless, even in this case, Estienne was not referring to newly found cultures. Rather, he was comparing habits in France with those in Italy. Momigliano's argument can also be challenged by the fact that Europe had been confronted with neighbouring civilizations long before the peoples of the new world were discovered. Therefore, we believe that these discoveries cannot be considered the sole reason for Herodotus' revival as a historian, and they are strongly exaggerated in this respect.

Herodotus and the Bible

Even in Italy, where humanism emerged, it was not always easy to study Greek. For example, Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) and Leonardo Bruni (approx. 1370–1444) had to defend the study of Greek literature in Florence against the rebukes of the clerics Giovanni di San Miniato and Giovanni Dominici, who saw in the study of Greek ancient literature a return to paganism.⁴³ That said, the study of Greek literature had influential supporters in Italy from the outset. After all, it was the Pope himself who had ordered a translation of Herodotus by Lorenzo Valla. Regardless, in some cases, the situation was much more extreme north of the Alps.

⁴¹ MOMIGLIANO 1984, 43.

⁴² This attitude has been adopted in other works that focus on the reception of Herodotus in Renaissance culture, such as OLIVIERI 2004; BICHLER – ROLLINGER 2000; or also GRAFTON - MOST - SETTIS 2010.

⁴³ CICCOLLELA 2008, 139

Initially, both the Church and academics at the Sorbonne were against the study of Greek in France, as it was the language of pagan literature. Therefore, it was a manifestation of courage when students turned their attentions to the language. This difficulty in studying Greek was described by one of the main supporters of the language in France, Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), as follows: “...cum quidam homines factiosi, literarum Graecorum nomen apertis coitionibus circumvenire, decuriatis et allegatis declamatoribus obterere, decretis inconsultis praecipitibus et crebris pessundare competerentur, ad extremumque proscibere. Nunc vero exhibita a pueris eorum temeritate et audacia, ob libros maxime Graecos tabernae et officinae bibliopolarum visuntur et frequentatur. Ludi scholastici conventusque studiosorum, vocibus praelegantium Graecorum personant.”⁴⁴ Another example comes from François Rabelais (ca. 1494–1553), who studied Greek works despite the restrictions and retributions he experienced in the Franciscan monastery in Fontanay-le-Comte⁴⁵. Eventually, after they searched his room and found Herodotus, Homer, and Lucian, he had to leave the monastery and move to the Benedictines, who were more tolerant.

Meanwhile, Erasmus of Rotterdam had done great work in spreading the Greek language and Greek pagan works in the Christian world north of the Alps, yet he received his passion for Greek indirectly. During his stay in England (1499–1500) he became acquainted with the reformist theologian John Colet in Oxford, who preferred to use the Bible and the church fathers in his theology lectures. As such, he tended in his teaching to refer to the very origins of Christianity. Erasmus adopted this method and developed it more. However, while Colet adhered to the Vulgate, Erasmus turned to an even more authentic form of the New Testament, returning to the very language in which it was written, *i.e.* Greek⁴⁶. According to Erasmus, only publications in the original language contain the undistorted content of the work⁴⁷. Therefore, a return to origins is necessary for people to properly understand. In this way, he established the principle of studying documents in their original language⁴⁸, and Greek was inevitable in this context. He subsequently contributed immensely to the expansion of the Greek language by issuing his edition of the New Testament in Greek in 1516. In this way he turned the language of pagan literature into a tool for the undistorted understanding of the Bible.

Erasmus’ argumentation was further developed by Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560). According to this educator and thinker, the Greek language was the most important of all,

⁴⁴ *De philologia libri II* (Paris 1532), quoted according to STEVENS 1950, 241.

⁴⁵ According to Budé, who corresponded with Rabelais, the Franciscans guarded Rabelais and other youngsters against contact with “pagan” literature. He described the environment of the monastery as follows: “Furthermore we know that those theologians, haters of the Greeks, have spent their utmost zeal and diligence that they might blot out the Greek tongue, as nothing else to be sure than the trial and test of their own ignorance.” Quoted according to WHIBLEY 1904, 10.

⁴⁶ See DIBBELT 1950, 55–70.

⁴⁷ MYNORS–THOMSON 1976, Vol. III, 32.

⁴⁸ WILSON–REYNOLDS 1991, 181.

because it was the very language in which God choose to reveal the New Testament to humankind. In his opinion, Greek history is important, too, because it begins where the Bible ends, and it contributes significantly towards an overview of history from the beginning until now⁴⁹. According to Melanchthon, the Greek language generally, and Herodotus in particular, ceased to be intolerable sources of paganism in the Christian world. In fact, they were just the opposite, contributing to a complete image of the world and thus moving man closer to God.

Melanchthon's view of Herodotus as a source to supplement the Bible was embraced by the German Reformers. For instance, we can find a similar view in *Chronik Kärntens* by Michael Gothard Christalnik (†1595). He states that Herodotus “*mit grossem Nutz neben der heyligen Biblia mag gebracht werden.*”⁵⁰ Thanks to Herodotus, elements of biblical history could be complemented, such as the information regarding the tower of Babel⁵¹.

This concept was received quite smoothly by Melanchthon's disciples. Among them, David Chytraeus (already mentioned) was the most important in the context of Herodotus. His teaching of history was largely based on the study of ancient historians, particularly Herodotus. In fact, he ran two lecture series about the Greek writer: one from 1559 to 1562, and one in 1572⁵². Later, he wrote *Chronologia Historiae Herodoti & Thucydidis* on the basis of these lectures; the core of this work comprises comments on the individual books of Herodotus, while the appendix contains a chronology of history, depicting events from Creation to the start of the *Histories* of Herodotus. Based on Chytraeus' interpretation, the Greek historian became the logical continuation of the Bible, as postulated by Chytraeus' teacher Melanchthon. When writing the history, Chytraeus did not distinguish between the Bible and ancient sources. As such, Herodotus complemented the Bible rather than opposed it⁵³.

In England, even such an ardent Catholic as Thomas More (1478–1535) saw no reason to reject Herodotus from the perspective of Christian morality. In his youth, Thomas More was even considering joining a monastery⁵⁴; later he was willingly executed for his devotion to Catholicism. Yet we learn from his most famous work *Utopia* (1516) that he respected and recommended Herodotus⁵⁵.

We can conclude that the humanists succeeded to some extent in tucking the work of Herodotus into the Christian culture. The historian gradually became a source for world

⁴⁹ BEN-TOV 2009, 40.

⁵⁰ Quoted according to NEUMANN 1999, 66.

⁵¹ BICHLER – ROLLINGER 2000, 126.

⁵² See DETLOFF 1908, 31–32 for details.

⁵³ In the wording of Chytraeus: “Herodoti lectio sacras Historias multis in locis illustret, ut inter enarrandum pluris indicabo: garat nobis huius authoris cognitio esse debet. Praesertim cum in eo ipso momento fére, ubi Biblia desinum Herodotus suam Historiam incipiat.” CHYTRAEUS 1562, B 2.

⁵⁴ This was mentioned by More's friend Erasmus of Rotterdam in his letter to Ulrich Hutten. See ADAMS 1992, 125.

⁵⁵ See MORE 2005, 78.

history and to supplement biblical motifs. Erasmus of Rotterdam played a decisive role in the acceptance of Herodotus in Christian culture; he himself used Herodotus, and his enthusiasm for the Greek language influenced humanists throughout Europe. The subsequent work of Philipp Melanchthon was also an important element in the acceptance of Herodotus—Melanchthon accepted Herodotus as a continuation of the Bible; thanks to him, Herodotus was later accepted, regardless of whether he was reproached for deficiencies. This acceptance became universal.

The acceptance of Herodotus was facilitated by the spirit of those times, in which even so severe a critic of Herodotus as Juan Vives defended him. This demonstrates the belief of humanists in the importance of Greek literature. Because they were finding new knowledge, they were even willing to forgive the errors of the Greek authors. Herein we can see the key to the positive acceptance of Herodotus, despite his paganism and his reputation as a liar, which had accompanied him since antiquity.

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Droit de réplique

Dans une précédente livraison de la revue (SAA 21(2), 259–271), Dragoș Hălmagi a publié un très long compte rendu en anglais de mon livre *Onomasticon Thracicum* (OnomThrac). *Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie*, Athènes, 2014 (Μελετήματα 70). Je dois avouer que, tout en appréciant l'ampleur de l'effort fourni, la riche bibliographie citée et certaines observations constructives, le ton de la recension est excessivement critique, dénature systématiquement mes propos — voire m'attribue à bon escient le contraire de mes pensées ou convictions —, trahit des méconnaissances onomastiques et historiques dont le résultat, pour un lecteur qui pourrait difficilement avoir accès à mon livre (comme c'est malheureusement le cas dans mon pays d'origine), serait qu'il s'agirait, pour citer D.H., d'un « book of contrasts », voire « a dangerous book » (p. 268)¹. Mon intention ici est de démontrer brièvement certaines des critiques, de restituer la discussion sur le terrain épigraphique et onomastique, et de protester au passage contre une mauvaise foi évidente.

D.H. consacre des pages entières à la question de la diversité linguistique dans l'Europe préhistorique, sans préciser que mon introduction insistait longuement sur la diversité linguistique dans les Balkans et l'Asie Mineure, de même que sur la diversité interne de l'espace thrace. Il « oublie » de mentionner mes attaques répétées à l'encontre de la thracologie et des tenants de la vision d'un monde thrace immuable et uniforme. Ce n'est ni le premier, ni le dernier oubli de sa présentation qui s'éloigne si manifestement de mes propos que cela devient attristant, sinon révoltant. Il est étonnant de trouver chez D.H. la présentation des premiers chapitres de mon ouvrage comme une « small introduction », alors qu'il s'agit, en excluant les remerciements et la bibliographie, de 109 pages grand format !

L'auteur du compte rendu prend un certain plaisir à m'accuser de présenter les historiens est-européens comme ayant « alleged nationalistic accents in their writings » (p. 260), sans qu'il se donne la peine de prouver le contraire². D.H. a-t-il jamais lu les nombreux passages chez I. I. Russu qui parle de l'excellence biologique des Thraces, excellence héritée, selon ce savant par ailleurs mille fois plus érudit que les nationalistes de service, par les Roumains³ ?

¹ Même s'il présente au passage l'*OnomThrac* comme « a monumental book, the fruit of years of sedulous work » (p. 259).

² On peut à présent consulter avec beaucoup de profit l'enquête très contextuelle des historiographies balkaniques publiée par Tchavdar Marinov, *Nos ancêtres les Thraces. Usages idéologiques de l'Antiquité en Europe du Sud-Est*, Paris, 2016.

³ À titre d'exemple, I. I. Russu, *Etnogeneza românilor. Fondul autohton traco-dacic și componenta latino-romanică*, Bucarest, 1981, p. 211 (sur « l'héritité biologique autochtone ») et 238 : « Romanicii (neolatini) din acest spațiu au dus totuși cu succes luptele seculare de rezistență spre salvarea limbii, a numelui etnic și a culturii proprii expusă permanent la puternice presiuni, influențe și interpenetrări cu elemente alogene și aloglote dominante, în acea „insulă a romanității”

Quant au fait d'accorder dans mon introduction « little attention » aux sources littéraires et numismatiques ou à l'Antiquité Tardive, je laisse au lecteur le soin de vérifier le pourcentage de cette documentation par rapport aux données épigraphiques ou d'époque impériale. Mais c'est pour le moins étonnant de trouver ces critiques « méthodologiques » qui font semblant d'ignorer les contours de la documentation disponible. Qu'il m'accuse de ne pas utiliser pour mon sujet un livre de K. B. Stern (*Inscribing Devotion and Death. Archaeological Evidence for Jewish Populations of North Africa*, Leyde–Boston, 2008) est ahurissant !

Si j'apprends avec stupeur que j'ai des penchants essentialistes (« It is clear that the author prefers the traditional, essentialist approach, depicting the Thracians as an ethnocultural group divided into numerous branches, displaying some cultural and dialectal variation », p. 260), cela montre soit que D.H. ignore mon livre sur Zalmoxis⁴, soit qu'il n'a pas lu avec attention mon introduction et certains de mes articles, soit qu'il invente des accusations de toute pièces. Je laisse le lecteur avisé en juger. D.H. montre qu'il a bien assimilé les cours d'Alexandru Niculescu à l'Université de Bucarest ; en revanche, sa manière de critiquer et de se positionner est pour le moins inhabituelle.

S'il écrit « What is in a Thracian name and how can it be distinguished from other names are, in my opinion, questions of crucial importance, considering the author collects data from the entire oikumene » (p. 261), D.H. « oublie » encore de préciser que j'ai quand même exposé mes principes (pp. CXV–CXIX), qu'il ignore superbement dans son compte rendu par ailleurs très étendu.

Mon choix de suivre, dans le répertoire onomastique, l'ordre commode de l'alphabet latin — d'autant plus que les nouvelles découvertes, dont les diplômes militaires, ont peu à peu équilibré la documentation *utraque lingua* —, à la place de l'alphabet grec, suivi par Dimităr Dečev en raison de la documentation majoritairement grecque à l'époque, fait sourciller D.H. Cette critique me laisse à vrai dire perplexe, sauf si je m'évertue à trouver une cohérence à ses

(mereu mai restrînsă și pe alocuri slăbită pînă aproape de totală dispariție), în oceanul popoarelor imigrate și stabilite *vremelnic* ori definitiv alături sau printre și peste *oamenii pămîntului*, traco-daco-romanii *autohtoni* ai sud-estului european (...) *rezistența românilor* (...) unui popor care a străbătut vicisitudini ca puține altele, biruite numai prin *forța etnică, vitalitatea și unitatea social-culturală și lingvistică* a unui *viguros fond social-etnic și biologic* traco-dacic romanizat » (c'est moi qui souligne).

⁴ *Zalmoxis de la Herodot la Mircea Eliade. Istoria despre un zeu al pretextului*, Iași, 2008. Ce livre, paradoxalement (ou peut-être non) mieux reçu à l'étranger que dans une Roumanie minée par les compilations et la dacomanie, n'a bénéficié que d'un seul compte rendu roumain, passablement arrogant (Alexandru Berzovan, *Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesensis*, 1, 2009, pp. 403–407), de la part d'un auteur certes prolifique, mais engagé dans plusieurs projets avec Aurora Pețan, philologue illuminée qui a réussi avec un certain succès son entrisme de « cheval de Troie » dans le domaine de l'archéologie dace. Entre autre, A. Berzovan me reproche une présentation partielle de la thracomanie (ce qui est tout simplement faux, mais j'ai du mal à comprendre sa logique, similaire à celle de D.H.), étant très affecté par ma dénonciation du caractère creux des théories de Mircea Eliade (ce qui passer pour une hérésie en Roumanie, je l'accorde), l'exemple de Zalmoxis fournissant le sujet idéal pour une vérification.

présupposés sinueux. C'est pourtant, que je sache, l'ordre de l'alphabet « PIE » tant affectionné par D.H., qui aime affirmer le contraire par principe.

Puisque mon livre est avant tout un répertoire onomastique, c'est sur ce terrain que j'attendais avec intérêt les jugements, fussent-ils critiques. Or, sur ce point, ma déception a été plus grande que celle de mon censeur qui s'est trop attardé sur des points (pseudo)-théoriques. En vérité, j'ai été heureux de constater qu'*aucune* des critiques onomastiques de D.H. n'a pas raison d'être, trahissant des connaissances superficielles et des spéculations plus téméraires que les « erreurs » qu'il aime tant me reprocher (je donne ici une liste sélective) :

– D.H. écrit, à propos de *Buraido*, que « the desinences are sometimes mistaken for derivational suffixes » (p. 261 ; nom auquel il nie par ailleurs le caractère thrace, p. 264), comme s'il s'agirait d'une désinence de *Buraides*. En réalité, ces deux noms sont différents (*OnomThrac* 71–72), étant différemment suffixés⁵ !

– p. 262 : sur les traces de Sorin Olteanu⁶, il soutient la lecture Αυλοζανις dans l'épithaphe *I. Byz.* 370A = *ISM* II 165⁷, avec un « reverse Z as in ζή » . Ce *zêta*, qui par ailleurs n'est pas « reverse » mais présenterait une forme « archaïque », n'existe ni sur la pierre ni dans ce nom thrace, qui se lit, sur toutes les photos, Αυλοσανις .

– p. 262 : « The reading Ποιμεζενεος on *IGB* III.1 1293 (p. 296) is dubious as there's not enough space between the two epsilons and a ligature is impossible due to their round shape. Detschew opted for Ποιμεζενεος , but I believe the most probable reading is Ποιμεζερεος (cf. *zer-* on p. 391) ». Je me vois obligé d'ajouter le détail, qui n'est pas des moindres, que cette suggestion n'appartient pas à D.H., qui se l'est appropriée — sans aucune mention⁸ — d'un très long article *inédit* de Sorin Olteanu⁹, avec précisément les mêmes arguments ; il se trouve que j'avais été sollicité pour en faire un rapport. S. Olteanu semble avoir été en réalité trompé par

⁵ Voir mon article « Onomastique et recrutement de l'armée byzantine d'Afrique : l'épithaphe du soldat *Buraido* révisée (*ILAlg* 181) », *AntAfr*, 49, 2013, pp. 151–160

⁶ Article assez confus « Din nou despre *ISM* II 165 = *IByz* 370A », *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie*, 63 (1–2), 2012, pp. 141–152. D.H. semble par ailleurs se considérer l'héritier du linguiste Sorin Olteanu, qui n'est plus de ce monde (cf. p. 263, sur Δρομιατήης), qui se proposait de refaire le répertoire de D. Dečev – alors que je me limite, dans *OnomThrac*, uniquement à l'anthroponymie. C'est peut-être en raison de ce projet d'Olteanu entamé par un site Internet, entre temps disparu (et que je critique au passage pour son maximalisme et son obsession pour les étymologies) que D.H. a été si véhément dans sa lecture de mon livre. J'avais brièvement discuté la lecture et la provenance de la stèle dans mon article « Les noms de facture thrace dans *LGPN* IV : les noms fantômes et d'autres corrections », *ZPE*, 157, 2006, p. 130.

⁷ Stèle funéraire récemment « republiée » dans le style qui caractérise la plupart de la production roumaine contemporaine, et donnée à tort comme provenant de Tomis, alors que son origine de Byzance est indubitable (A. Băltăc, Chr. Țirbulescu, A. Ștefan, *Muzeul Național de istorie a României. Catalogul colecției Lapidarium. I. Piese greco-romane*, Bucarest, 2015, p. 169, n° 166).

⁸ Si l'on veut éviter le mot « plagiat », terme qui n'est pas aimé, en Roumanie, par nombre d'universitaires et d'intellectuels pour lesquels les intérêts liés au pouvoir et à l'argent passent devant leur conscience.

⁹ L'exemplaire du corpus de Mihailov conservé à l'Institut d'Archéologie de Bucarest comporte par ailleurs une annotation au crayon en marge de l'inscription discutée : « este mai probabil Ποιμεζερεος (Olteanu) ».

les ombres qui apparaissent sur la photo de l'inscription ; par conséquent, je préfère conserver la lecture de Georgi Mihailov.

– p. 262 : « Having in mind inflections such as Νεσβαις, Νεσβαι and Καις, Και, documented in several inscriptions from Cilicia, I also suggest the nominatives Δαρδιολαίς on *O. Claud.* II 402 and 403 (p. 112), Διτουλαίς on *O. Claud.* II 402, if the separation is indeed correct (p. 142), and Ναισουλαίς on *O. Claud.* II 404 and inv. 8362 (p. 258, cf. Ναισουλις on *O. Claud.* inv. 6361) ». Cela est erroné : l'exemple « cilicien » est en réalité un génitif asigmatique, que l'on peut trouver dans nombre de régions du monde hellénophone, y compris dans l'espace thrace. Quant aux noms daces attestés dans les ostraca du désert Oriental d'Égypte, il s'agit dans tous les cas d'un génitif en -αι, qui trahit, comme souvent dans cette documentation particulière des *praesidia* romains d'Égypte¹⁰, un modèle latin (cf. *OnomThrac*, p. LXXIII). Il faut supposer l'existence de listes en latin avec les génitifs ou les datifs **Dardiolae*, **Ditulae*, **Naisulae*.

– p. 263, D.H. n'accepte pas de voir en *Mucianus* un « nom d'assonance », et son raisonnement montre qu'il ignore tout simplement l'explication de cette catégorie de noms¹¹. C'est pourtant un exemple éclatant et massivement attesté dans l'espace thraces et dans le milieu militaire du III^e s. !

– p. 263 : « *Thiadices* (p. 363) is not a Dacian name, but the Greek Θεαδίκης (cf. Θεάφιλος on *I. Kalchedon* 7) ». Cette proposition est aberrante, non seulement parce que *Θεαδίκης n'est jamais attesté, mais tout simplement parce qu'un nom masculin grec en -δίκης est impossible comme formation (la famille est en -δικος)¹². *Thiadices* est bel et bien un nom dace (cf. la série des noms daces en *thia-*), un autre de plus parmi les soldats auxiliaires daces d'Égypte.

– p. 264, quant au premier exemple pour lequel D.H. écrit « The Thracian origin is also doubtful for many *hapax legomena*: *Blicities* (p. 63) », le hasard arrange bien les choses. Predrag Pejić vient de republier dans *Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva* (30, 2014, pp. 189–206) une inscription de Gradište à Veliki Suvodol, dans le territoire de *Serdica* (publiée auparavant par Nikola Vulić, avec un dessin). Dans, cette dédicace, à la place des monstres onomastiques Σαικελ(?)εήους (Vulić) et Σαικει(?)εήους (Pejić), je lis en toute confiance Βλικεισηους¹³, génitif de Βλικ(ε)ισης, qui est donc une variante de [*Blicithies*] !

– p. 264–265, D.H. nie le caractère dace de l'anthroponyme *Blegissa/Blecissa*, sous prétexte qu'il n'est pas attesté dans l'espace daco-mésien (comme la plupart des noms daces ! faut-il

¹⁰ Sur ces phénomènes d'interférence, voir, à titre d'exemple, J.-L. Fournet, « Langue, écritures et culture dans les *praesidia* », dans H. Cuvigny (éd.), *La route de Myos Hormos : l'armée dans le désert Oriental d'Égypte*, II, Le Caire, 2006² (*Fouilles de l'IFAO* 48), pp. 427–500, en partic. 439–446.

¹¹ Voir, entre autres, l'article programmatique de M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, « Réflexions sur les anthroponymes "à double entrée" dans le monde romain », *L'antiquité classique*, 74, 2005, pp. 225–231.

¹² Pour cette famille de noms, voir I. Arnaoutoglou, « Onomastics and Law. *Dike* and *-dike* Names », dans R. W. V. Catling, F. Marchand (éds.), *Onomatologos. Studies in Greek Personal Names Presented to Elaine Matthews*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 582–600.

¹³ Lecture confirmée par Nikolaj Šarankov (Sofia), qui a pu inspecter la pierre.

encore le préciser ?), mais « oublie » le caractère dace de la série des noms en *-gissa* ou veut l'expliquer autrement (p. 266), ce qui est impossible. Il voit en *Disdosis* un nom dalmato-pannonien, faisant fi des occurrences et des contextes qui montrent, à chaque fois, un lien avec l'espace daco-mésien : deux attestations en Mésie Inférieure ; une en Pannonie (mais onomastique dace dans la famille d'un possible militaire, car il est fils d'un *Damaneus*, l'un des noms daces les plus populaires) ; une autre en Dalmatie, où il s'agit en réalité de soldats de la *legio I Italica* — il convient donc de penser à une recrue de Mésie Inférieure ! ; enfin, une cinquième en Égypte¹⁴. D.H. se trompe lourdement quand il essaie de trouver une onomastique dalmato-pannonienne dans une dédicace à une divinité locale de la partie orientale de la Mésie Inférieure (Dobropodno, *CCET* II.1 365 = *IGB* V 5328)¹⁵ : « Indeed, another Moesian inscription mentions Δεισδαζις, the father of Βατος (*IGB* V 5328). The latter is a *hapax* in Dana's corpus, but *Bato* is a quite popular name in Pannonia and Dalmatia » (p. 265). En réalité, le nom est au génitif, Βατου, ce qui nous oriente vers un nominatif Βατους (voire Βατος), alors que D.H., qui se soucie tant de la linguistique et de l'exactitude des formes, aurait du savoir que le nom de facture illyrienne *Bato* présente, en grec, la forme Βατων (gén. Βατωνος)¹⁶ !

– p. 266, il m'impute d'avoir parlé d'une « concentration » de noms attestés dans deux inscriptions non-contemporaines (p. 275), alors qu'il s'agit en réalité de trois noms attestés précisément dans la même région (Thrace Égéeenne) et jamais dans le domaine grec.

– p. 267, D.H. explique les noms féminins *Bendina* et *Diurpina* comme étant bâtis avec le suffixe latin *-inus* « and not an otherwise undocumented Thracian suffix, inherited from PIE (p. lxxxix) ». Il omet tout simplement de prendre en compte le nom féminin thrace Παιβινη (*OnomThrac* 267), attesté dans une épitaphe d'époque classique d'Apollonia du Pont, avec la désinence ionienne attendue (*IGB* I² 430), qui s'insère dans la famille des noms thraces en *paib-*.

– p. 267, « As it is customary in this field of work, the attribution of meanings is an exercise in imagination. Using a gloss mentioned by Hesychius and Photius, σκάρκη = ἀργύρια, Dana explains the feminine names Σκαρκη and Σκαρκεζαις through “trésor, chérie” (!) (pp. lxxxix, cx, 306). Much is made of the corrupted Dacian plant names extracted from the herbals of antiquity, but the analogies usually fall outside the reach of Daco-Moesian onomastics. The Dacian **dila* (reconstructed from plant names ending in *-διλα*, *-zila*) is connected to Bithynian and Thracian feminine names (pp. 138, 396–397) ». Ce sont pourtant les seules deux étymologies que je propose, et que je tiens pour très vraisemblables. Quant au nom Σκαρκη, il est attesté 3 ou 4 fois ; il convient d'ajouter son hypocoristique Σκαρκεζαις,

¹⁴ Je renvoie à l'entrée dans *OnomThrac* 154 et à mes explications dans « Notes onomastiques daco-mésiennes », *Il Mar Nero*, 5, 2001–2003, pp. 80–83. En plus, ce nom suffixé s'explique parfaitement en contexte daco-mésien, à la fois par le radical (l'existence du nom simple Διζδων, à *Dionysopolis*) et le suffixe très fréquent *-zis*.

¹⁵ Les trois dédicants portent tous des noms et des patronymes daces.

¹⁶ À titre d'exemple, voir quelques occurrences dans *LGPN* III.A 89.

attesté par deux fois, toujours en Macédoine Orientale. Il est rare de trouver une glose thrace qui puisse expliquer un nom, mais l'exemple σάρκη des deux lexiques me paraît indubitable, de même que l'association entre la notion de « trésor » et l'affection, en particulier pour les filles ; cette association est attestée dans tant de domaines linguistiques (cf. it. *tesoro*, roum. *scump/-ă*), dont en grec, tel le nom de femme Γάζα, « trésor », que je cite p. CX. Comme d'habitude — et non seulement dans cet endroit de son compte-rendu — D.H. ne se donne pas la peine d'expliquer pourquoi il n'est pas d'accord avec cette explication.

Tout en mentionnant mon scepticisme à propos des explications étymologiques, D.H. ose écrire que je suis souvent (« often follows », p. 366) Dečev, Georgiev, Russu ou Duridanov « to the letter ». Cela est amèrement (pour moi) faux et totalement inacceptable comme pratique scientifique ! En réalité, je cite environ à peine une vingtaine de propositions étymologiques des autres, pour un total de plus de 1500 noms : j'en approuve trois¹⁷ ; **dans tous les autres cas, il s'agit de critiques**¹⁸ ou de **réserves** que j'exprime¹⁹, ou tout simplement de **mentions bibliographiques**, sans donner aucune étymologie. C'est donc **tout le contraire** de mes propos, mais les signes d'exclamation manquent toutes les fois quand D.H. critique sans se soucier de la vérité.

D.H. critique ma présentation « uncritical » selon laquelle je suivrais « the traditional view that the Getae and the Dacians have the same native language » (p. 267), mais j'attends avec intérêt son éventuelle étude qui puisse prouver le contraire, avec une analyse contextuelle de la documentation que j'ai eu l'occasion de fréquenter plus longtemps et de plus près que certains historiens roumains contemporains qui se contentent d'acrobaties verbales²⁰. La documentation dont nous disposons est certes très fragmentaire et fragmentée ; elle montre toutefois, et je vois difficilement D.H. pouvoir prouver le contraire, que la toponymie et l'anthroponymie des « Daces » et des « Gètes » font partie du même ensemble.

¹⁷ P. 174, s.v. *ebr-*, sans doute le correspondant thrace du grec εἶβυ-, et je cite un recueil récent (*NominaIndoGermLexikon* 250–253) ; p. 185, s.v. *Ezbenus*, en rapport « assez probable » avec le nom indo-européen du cheval ; p. 390, s.v. -ζενις, en rapport manifeste avec le nom indo-européen de la famille ; p. 114, s.v. δεββα-, je présente les propositions étymologiques ; p. 380, s.v. *Trerisius*, j'évoque vaguement un « rapport étymologique ».

¹⁸ Exemples : p. 34 (*Bessus*), « spéculations étymologiques » de T. Sarafov ; p. 58 (*Bithus*), le même T. Sarafov, « confus » ; p. 120, où j'accepte l'étymologie grecque évidente de Δηλόπτης ; p. 296 (*Roimetalca*), R. Coates, « peu convaincant » ; p. 335 (*-sucu*), « étymologies douteuses » de I. Duridanov ; p. 398 (I. I. Russu et quelques confusions à propos du nom *Zimarcus*).

¹⁹ P. 97 (*Cotys*), p. 146 (*diza-*), p. 200 (*-la*), p. 274 (*-por*), p. 332 ([*Spartocus*]), p. 373 (*-tocus*), p. 393 (*Zia*).

²⁰ Je me permets de renvoyer à certaines de mes présentations de la question : D. Dana, F. Matei-Popescu, « Soldats d'origine dace dans les diplômes militaires », *Chiron*, 39, 2009, pp. 243–248 ; mon introduction dans *Fontes ad Zalmoxin pertinentes. Accedunt fontes alii historiam religionum Thracum Getarum Dacorumque spectantes. Izvoare privitoare la Zalmoxis și alte pasaje referitoare la religie tracicilor, geților și dacilor*, Iași, 2011 (*Bibliotheca Patristica Iassensis* 3), pp. 10–25 ; « Possibles témoignages sur des cultes daces : la documentation épigraphique de la Mésie Inférieure », dans M. Tauffer (éd.), *Sguardi interdisciplinari sulla religiosità dei Geto-Daci*, Fribourg-en-Brisgau–Berlin–Vienne, 2013 (*Paradeigmata* 23), pp. 157–176 ; *OnomThrac*, pp. LXX–LXXII.

Si un historien ou un linguiste du futur n'avait à sa disposition que des bribes sur la toponymie et l'anthroponymie de la Bulgarie et de la République de Macédoine, oserait-il affirmer qu'il s'agit de deux langues très différentes ?

P. 267, D.H. écrit avec raison : « Many scholars denounced the practice of deriving languages from names, which, in my opinion, is one of the main reasons Thracology fails to convince ». Mon intention était pourtant de proposer un répertoire onomastique, et jamais une reconstruction des idiomes de l'espace thrace à partir de l'anthroponymie. Mais pour cela, D.H. aurait dû lire mon ouvrage avec plus d'attention et, surtout, d'honnêteté. Ses attentes étant différentes, il avait le droit de justifier ses positions ou d'offrir des propositions alternatives, mais de là à dénaturer sans vergogne presque tous mes propos constitue un point de non-retour.

Dans son compte rendu, D.H. se montre certes plus intéressé par des questions purement linguistiques, et beaucoup moins par les critères d'un répertoire onomastiques, les méthodes, les principes, les parallèles, les choix, l'utilisation et tant d'aspects pratiques. Il semble en effet leur prêter moins d'attention qu'aux sophismes et au verbiage agaçant d'une bibliographie anglo-saxonne nombriliste qui ignore souvent la documentation qu'elle prétend analyser. À la fin du compte rendu, D.H. écrit avec la même supériorité (p. 268) : « The general impression left by this chapter is that Thracian is eventually treated as a single language. Its internal differentiation is meagre and inconsistent. Superficial similarities in names prove too little, forming an unstable ground to discuss the barbarian languages from these regions. Cultural interactions between Bithynians and Phrygians, or between Dacians and Scordisci, are not explored and not questioned at all. They may have had much more in common than Bithynians and Dacians ». Je crois rêver ! J'ai toujours insisté sur la forte diversité interne du complexe thrace, et sur la diversité régionales à l'intérieur des quatre grands domaines que j'ai appelés, de manière *conventionnelle* (comme je l'ai écrit en toute lettres), « thrace », « thrace occidentale », « dace » (ou « daco-mésien ») et « bithynien »²¹. Quant aux Phrygiens, Mysiens et Scordisques, j'invite D.H. à regarder mes pages LXXXII–LXXXIV ainsi que la note 335 de l'Introduction. Il l'a peut-être fait, mais qui se soucie de ces détails quand on peut

²¹ Je cite, entre autres, ce que j'écrivais à la p. LXV : « Une diversité au moins dialectale à l'intérieur de l'espace thrace est désormais amplement prouvée par l'anthroponymie, en plus des toponymes et des gloses – mais il est plus vraisemblable d'envisager la coexistence de langues (étroitement) apparentées sur ce vaste territoire, appartenant à un fonds commun, "proto-thrace", un *Urthrakische* sur lequel il n'existe aucune documentation ». Je me permet d'ajouter la fin d'un message que j'avais envoyé à Sorin Olteanu, le 12 oct. 2011, comme réponse à une étude qu'il avait préparée sur les noms en *-zenis* : « Aceste considerații vi se vor părea cu siguranță prea dure, sau poate nelalocul lor, mai ales ținând seama de diferența de vîrstă. Sînt însă mai încrezător în datele pe care le-am verificat pentru repertoriul onomastic, pentru explicarea acestora în contextul lor documentar și istoric, iar mai puțin în stabilirea unor reguli fonetico-lingvistice pornind de la o documentație extrem de insuficientă, pentru o limbă, sau mai multe, aproape necunoscute. Din etimologiile propuse de antecesorii, o proporție infimă mi se par plauzibile. La ce servește să continuăm pe aceeași pistă, atunci cînd verificarea materialului referitor la limba/limbile tracilor este o prioritate absolută ? ». Le lecteur pourra facilement constater l'abîme entre mes propos et les « critiques » de D.H.

affirmer tout et n'importe quoi ? D.H. semble en effet appliquer, sur un autre terrain et avec des moyens intellectuels supérieurs, la méthode odieuse des chaînes de télévision de (dés)information de son pays. Pour citer Boris Souvarine, qui écrivait en 1938, dans un contexte terrible : « Staline et ses sujets mentent toujours, à tout instant, en toute circonstance et à force de mentir ne savent même plus qu'ils mentent. Et quand chacun ment, personne ne ment plus en mentant »²².

D.H. trouve, d'une part, mon catalogue trop long (plus de 1500 noms différents), mais, d'autre part, pense que « few entries have distribution maps » (p. 262). En cela, il ignore la l'impossibilité (et l'inutilité) de donner des cartes pour tous les 1500 noms, du moins si l'on se situe du point de vue d'une maison d'édition. Pense-t-il aisément consultable un répertoire avec des centaines de cartes qui n'auraient fait qu'alourdir un volume déjà bien épais (624 pages), d'autant plus que presque deux tiers de ces noms (à savoir, 990) ne sont attestés qu'une seule fois, et qu'une partie considérable des attestations sont ailleurs que dans les Balkans ? Je trouve pourtant que les 51 cartes que j'ai créées pour le répertoire sont un bon compromis.

Finalement, j'utiliserais les mots mêmes de D.H., jugeant mon introduction, pour définir son compte rendu : « While undoubtedly informative, the exposition is uneven and overall unconvincing. Dana offers a sketchy portrait of each author, occasionally tainted with exaggerations and inconsistent appreciations » (p. 260). Il est triste de constater à quel point même les esprits les plus curieux et les plus ouverts d'une nouvelle génération d'historiens roumains, parmi lesquels D.H. a toute sa place, font perdurer, fût-il en anglais, les idiosyncrasies de l'*homo valachicus*.

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²² Parallèle signalé à Danilo Kiš après la publication de son texte sur le gnostique Siméon le Faiseur de Miracles, dans l'*Encyclopédie des Morts*.

Bernard Moinier & Olivier Weller, *Le sel dans l'Antiquité ou les cristaux d'Aphrodite*, Les Belles Lettres — Collection Realia, 2015, Paris, 356 pages, ISBN 978-2-251-33842-2

The volume, issued recently (2015) by Les Belles Lettres, known for the quality and variety of works published, which have influenced for the better cultural progress across the world, is a work that meets the exigencies demanded by the prestigious French publisher, particularly on account of the expertise of the two co-authors.

Bernard Moinier is a specialist with an experience of more than twenty-five years in the field of salt research, and a former intendant of the *Comité des Salines de France*, a professional association that actively monitors for the salt producers of France the technical and scientific regulations. An admirable combination by this man-of-letters of a training in exact sciences with a full grasp of classical languages, allows him to have an advised understanding of the ancient texts, concurrently with the technical competence required by a specialist in the salt industry. This aptitude is visible from the countless participations at international scientific gatherings, and the appreciable number of studies and volumes on salt, one of which is *Sel et société*, published in 1997 by the prestigious Nathan publishing house.

The second co-author, Olivier Weller, is a French researcher with a vast experience in the archaeology of salt from multiple focal points across the globe (France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, New Guinea). The double specialisation, as an archaeologist and ethnologist, allowed him to tackle the problematics of the salt from a multi-faceted standpoint, focusing on the techniques of salt exploitation, the uses and the socio-economic dimensions during the Neolithic.

Relying on a vast and varied ancient bibliography, meticulously covered, the authors divide the information into coherent parts, from the technical aspect, represented by the salt exploitation methods, to the spiritual one, in a multi-faceted approach.

For the first section of the work, the authors structure the information in a very clear manner, highlighting the entire variety of saline manifestations revealed by the works of ancient Greek and Roman authors. Besides the origin of the salt and the present-day geographical correspondence of the places where this resource was exploited, emphasis is put on a number of details concerning the salinity, chemical composition, quantity of salt obtained, or the exploitation techniques used, with some stages accompanied by graphical representations. This approach is completed with the archaeological discoveries, which complete the overall image of the procedures to exploit salt not only in Antiquity, but since Prehistory. The world revealed by the ancient writings is presented by regions, with the characteristics of each being highlighted.

The solid expertise of one of the authors (B.M.) in the classical languages came to the fore with the analysis of a number of indicators for certain saline references, for which

contentious translations have been made throughout time have, in order to reason out the accurate meaning.

Even though the uses of the salt during various periods by human communities have arguably witnessed an increased attention in works of a scientific-academic and other nature, on account of representing the finality of salt exploitation, the chapter dedicated to this topic manages nevertheless to stir the interest of the reader by stressing the complexity and the variety of salt's domains of use. Emphasis is put on its use in human alimentation, making a full analysis of the presence of salt on the tables of the ancients, ranging from types to quantity and, by means of comparisons with other victuals and through inferences, to the price of this special mineral during certain historical periods. Particularly detailed are the descriptions of the salt-curing workshops and of the techniques for preparing fish- and meat-based products produced with the help of salt, with each category being presented separately. Medical remedies based on salt abound in ancient writings, while the procedures for processing hides being presented at large, accompanied by detailed calculations. Mummification, the uses of salt in metallurgy, in textile manufacturing for fixating colours, and illumination, are strikingly interesting aspects, adding to the existing body of knowledge.

The second part of the work, entitled *Les cristaux d'Aphrodite*, is fully justified by the last section, developed around the issue of behaviours and mentalities concerning salt among ancient peoples, with an emphasis on the myth of Aphrodite, the goddess born from the foam of the sea, a real of salt by excellence. The term *sales* was used as a metaphor by multiple ancient Latin authors to designate the psychological and temperamental traits of an individual, by reference to the qualities of salt. Salt, as a "gift of the gods", is upheld in the entire ancient literature, from the Homeric expression "divine salt", to the universal myth of Aphrodite, grown around a physiological effect observed by the ancients, namely the *aphrodisiac* effect of salt, its beneficial role during pregnancy, parturition and breastfeeding, both in humans and animals. The complex symbolism of salt during the Antiquity is analysed in detail by the authors, also by recourse to Biblical references, in order to complete the picture and inciting the reader to compare them with the more obvious aspects of the present-day collective or individual mindset.

For an exhaustive presentation, the authors supplemented the ancient sources, which were presented in footnotes, with opinions of specialists from the respective fields, which they adopted or only presented for information purposes, listed in the substantial bibliography at the end of the book. Similarly, a set of annexes presenting the totality of saline manifestations mentioned by the consulted writings, as well as several maps with certain types of salt from various regions of the Roman Empire, help to construct an overall image of the saline universe, at least from the geographical standpoint. Of real use for understanding the historical period addressed by the authors is the chronological table. In

the same vein, the indexes of personal, people and place names point the reader to their topic of interest.

The importance of *Le sel dans l'Antiquité ou les cristaux d'Aphrodite* can be demonstrated foremost by the accessibility it reveals, both at the level of language, appropriate for both the specialised and wider public, and of the scientific information contained by it, establishing it into a seminal work of the novel field of anthropology of salt. Benefiting, as already stated, from the expertise of the specialist in salt from the technical and classical-studies point of view (B. Moinier), successfully completed by the training in the humanities of ethno-archaeologist (O. Weller), the volume could emerge in the scholarly world as a valuable monograph, probably the first of such a scale in the field that analyses the entire problematics of salt in Antiquity. This is, I believe, contingent on the appearance of an English-language edition, which would ensure international visibility, facilitating access, in an analytical and all-encompassing manner, to the entire ancient body of writings referring to salt, which is not accessible to all readers.

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Ionuț Cristi Nicu, *Hydrogeomorphic Risk Analysis Affecting Chalcolithic Archaeological Sites from Valea Oii (Bahlui) Watershed, Northeastern Romania. An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Springer, 2016, New York–Dordrecht–London, 87 pages, 34 colour illustrations, ISBN 978-3-319-25707-5

Published in 2016 by Springer in its *SpringerBriefs in Earth System Sciences* series, the volume authored by Ionuț Cristi Nicu, a young researcher from the Department of Interdisciplinary Research of the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași, constitutes an essential work for understanding the anthropic and geomorphologic factors and their impact on archaeological sites. The author addresses the topic in a twofold way: the risks posed by natural phenomena to archaeological sites, and the population dynamics and implicit human-environment interaction in the study area, the Valea Oii watershed in northeastern Romania.

The volume consists of 11 chapters, each with between two and four subchapters. The first two chapters contain the presentation of the geographical setting and administrative-territorial status of the study area (Chapter 1. *Geographic Framework*, p. 1–4), and of the research methodology and techniques employed in carrying out the study (Chapter 2. *Methodology and Research Techniques*, p. 5–8).

The next six chapters are dedicated to the natural environment. Chapter 3, entitled *Geological Characterisation* (p. 9–10), focuses on the geological aspects of the area, with a brief presentation of the petrographic and tectonic elements underpinning the Valea Oii basin. Chapter 4, entitled *Relief* (p. 11–18), presents in the first two subchapters the morphographic and morphometric characterisation, and the types of landforms in the study area (structural, sculptural or depositional). The other subchapter provides a classification of the archaeological sites located in the study area according to the elevation at which they are found. Chapter 5, entitled *Hydrography* (p. 19–30), presents the hydrological characteristics and the evolution of the waterbodies from the basin, as well as the associated risks. The chapter ends with a presentation of the relation between the archaeological sites and the water sources, making detailed analyses for the sites from Bălțați–Iaz/Iazul 3/Dealul Mândra and Războieni–Dealul Boghiu/Dealul Mare. Chapter 6, entitled *Climate* (p. 31–34), provides information on the temperature, precipitations, and the effects of climate change on the archaeological sites. Chapter 7, entitled *Flora and Fauna* (p. 35–38), presents succinctly the evolution of the forest in the study area. Even though the last subchapter is purportedly dedicated to the distribution of archaeological sites in relation to the vegetation, only the existence of tree species that have been encountered in the area since the Eneolithic is mentioned, without being put into connection with the sites. Furthermore, the analysis lacks the data on the fauna, even though we have solid archaeozoological information for the Precucuteni and Cucuteni sites from the area. Chapter 8, *Soils* (p. 45–54), presents the types of

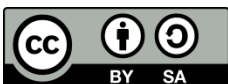
soils and their distribution in the study area, as well as the role they played in prehistoric human settling and occupation.

In the last three chapters we enter more deeply into the realm of Archaeology. Thus, Chapter 9, entitled *Geoarchaeology or Archaeogeomorphology? – Border Sciences* (p. 45–54), presents a brief history of the field of geoarchaeology. The chapter runs through the definitions, as accepted by the dedicated literature, the aims and scope (to reconstruct the evolution of past landscapes and to identify the relation between humans and the environment), and the main components of the discipline. Chapter 10, entitled *Archaeological Inventory* (p. 55–64), is dedicated to the main archaeological sites identified in the study area. After a short presentation of the evolution of the Precucuteni-Cucuteni cultural complex, the author introduces, in order to better understand the historical population dynamics, the theory of insular biogeography. Using it as a theoretical lens for the analysis of the population dynamics of the Precucutenian and Cucutenian communities, the author observes a distribution of settlements in two clusters, grouped around the settlement from Cucuteni–Cetățuia and, respectively, Războieni–Dealul Mare. Chapter 11, *Archaeological Sites Affected by Hydrogeomorphological Processes* (p. 65–84), presents in three case studies different geomorphological processes with a negative impact on the archaeological sites from the area under scrutiny. The first site analysed is from Cucuteni–Dealul Mânăstirii/La Dobrin/Dealul Gosanul, affected by gullying. The evolution of the gully was monitored for a period of seven years, revealing a rate of advancement of 2.8 m per year. The second case study is the settlement from Dealul Boghiu/Dealul Mare, affected on an extensive area by mass wasting and gullying, as well as by anthropic activities. The last case study is the settlement from Bălțați–La Iaz/Iazul 3/Dealul Mândra, which is affected by sedimentary processes and by the erection of a dam near it. This site also witnessed a series of GPR surveys carried out on the frozen dam lake, which revealed a series of anomalies that the author interpreted as Eneolithic vestiges.

The work is meant to present the effects of geomorphological processes on archaeological sites, and to draw attention to the necessity to implement rescue measures for protecting the cultural heritage affected by these processes. As such, the volume, of an interdisciplinary character, is a well-elaborated study, supported by a significant illustrative material, and with a comprehensive bibliography for the topics addressed in each chapter.

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