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A Chalcolithic Pottery Kiln from the Cucuteni-Cetățuie Settlement (Iași County, Romania)

Felix-Adrian TENCARIU^{*1}, Maria-Cristina CIOBANU², Andrei ASĂNDULESEI¹,
George BODI³, Bogdan-Ștefan NOVAC²

Abstract. *As a result of the magnetic survey on an area of more than five hectares, located south-west of Cetățuie, we are currently aware of an extension of the Cucutenian habitation, consisting of numerous burned and unburned structures, pits and two defensive ditches in the form of circular arcs. The magnetic map allowed, beginning with the 2017 campaign, the placement of smaller (test trenches) or larger excavation units for the verification of various types of anomalies (burnt houses, defence ditch, pits). In the last (2022) campaign, in addition to investigating a defensive ditch and a dwelling, it was decided to excavate also an anomaly initially considered a pit. The surprise was the identification of a pottery kiln, belonging to phase B of the Cucuteni culture, located in the immediate vicinity of the last defensive ditch (in the north-western part of the settlement). Its excavation revealed a quasi-unique type of pottery firing installation, partially buried, updraught, with two chambers (a lower, combustion chamber, and an upper firing chamber). Its unique feature is the absence of the usual stoking chamber and stoking pit for fuel supply in front of the kiln. Instead, the kiln had an elongated stoke hole, placed laterally, which communicated with just one channel, to the south. Being a rather rare discovery, at least in the Cucuteni area west of the Prut River, the presence of this kiln brings evidence of the specialized practice of the pottery craft in the eponymous settlement and nuances the known typology of pottery firing installations in the prehistory of south-eastern Europe.*

Rezumat. Ca urmare a realizării măsurătorilor magnetometrice pe o suprafață de peste cinci hectare, situată la SV de Cetățuie, ne este cunoscută în prezent o prelungire a locuirii cucuteniene, constând în numeroase structuri arse și nearse, gropi și două șanțuri sub forma unor arce de cerc. Harta magnetometrică a permis, începând cu 2017, amplasarea unor sondaje și casete de mai mari dimensiuni pe diverse tipuri de anomalii (locuințe incendiate, șanț de apărare, gropi). În campania anului 2022, pe lângă cercetarea primului șanț situat în afara celor două cunoscute anterior și a unui fragment de locuință, s-a dorit și sondarea unei anomalii considerată inițial groapă. Surpriza a fost identificarea unui cuptor de ardere a ceramicii, aparținând fazei B a culturii Cucuteni, amplasat în imediata apropiere a ultimului șanț de apărare (în partea de NV a așezării). Cercetarea lui a relevat un tip cvasi-inedit de instalație de ardere a ceramicii, foarte puțin adâncit, cu două camere (una de combustie, inferioară, și una superioară, a vaselor) și tiraj vertical. Caracterul inedit constă în absența unei gropi a fochistului pentru

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alimentarea cu combustibil din fața cuptorului. În schimb, cuptorul avea o gură de foc alungită, practică laterală, care comunica cu un singur canal, spre sud. Fiind o descoperire mai degrabă rară, cel puțin în arealul cucutenian de la vest de Prut, prezența acestui cuptor aduce dovezi despre practicarea specializată a meșteșugului olăritului în așezarea eponimă și nuanțează tipologia cunoscută a instalațiilor de ardere a ceramicii din preistoria Europei de sud-est.

Keywords: *Cucuteni-Trypillia culture, Chalcolithic pottery kiln, pyrotechnology, spread of technological innovation*

Introduction

The study of the pyrotechnology of the Cucuteni-Trypillia culture (especially regarding the pottery firing) has experienced, in recent years, a considerable boost, thanks both to the new discoveries of firing installations and their thorough documentation, as well as to advanced archaeometry techniques. The presence of pottery firing kilns within a settlement indicates, first of all, a local production; then, it provides clues to the intensity of production and the craft specialization. Until recently, pottery kilns were a rather discreet presence in the Cucuteni-Trypillia settlements, most of the time being accidental discoveries during archaeological excavations⁴. In recent years, however, the intensification of geophysical prospecting in larger or smaller settlements throughout the Cucuteni-Trypillia area has led to the identification and investigation of several such installations⁵, all of which belong to the dual-chambered, updraught type, differentiated by dimensions and various structural details. The kiln investigated in 2022 in the eponymous settlement of the Cucuteni culture, which is the subject of this article, was also identified following the magnetic survey made in 2016-2017; through its constructive characteristics, it resembles, but also, to the same extent differs from the contemporary discoveries, nuancing the known typology of ceramic firing installations from the prehistory of south-eastern Europe.

The site Cucuteni-Cetățuie (Figure 1) practically needs no introduction, since its investigation, begun almost 150 years ago, is a perfect reflection of the whole archaeological research in Romania, both chronologically and methodologically. Started at the end of the 19th century (1884-1896, researches undertaken by N. Beldiceanu, G. Buțureanu, G. Diamandy *et alii*), continued in 1909-1910 by the German scholar Hubert Schmidt and then in the second half of the 20th century (1961-1966) by M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița and others, the excavations of Cetățuie meant over the years the awareness of, the naming of, and establishing the chronology of the Cucuteni culture. On the Cetățuie all three main phases of the Cucuteni culture (A, A-B and B) were attested, to which sporadic traces of habitation from Horodiștea-Erbiceni culture, and later periods (Early bronze age, La Tène period) are added⁶. Recent magnetic surveys, pedological investigations and archaeological excavations have revealed that the Cucuteni

⁴ Ellis 1984; Tsvek 2004; Tencariu 2015.

⁵ Korvin-Piotrovskiy *et alii* 2016; Țerna *et alii* 2019; Rud *et alii* 2019 ; Diachenko & Sobkowiak-Tabaka 2020.

⁶ Petrescu-Dîmbovița & Văleanu 2004.

settlement has expanded considerably, opening a new chapter in the long history of research of the eponymous site⁷.

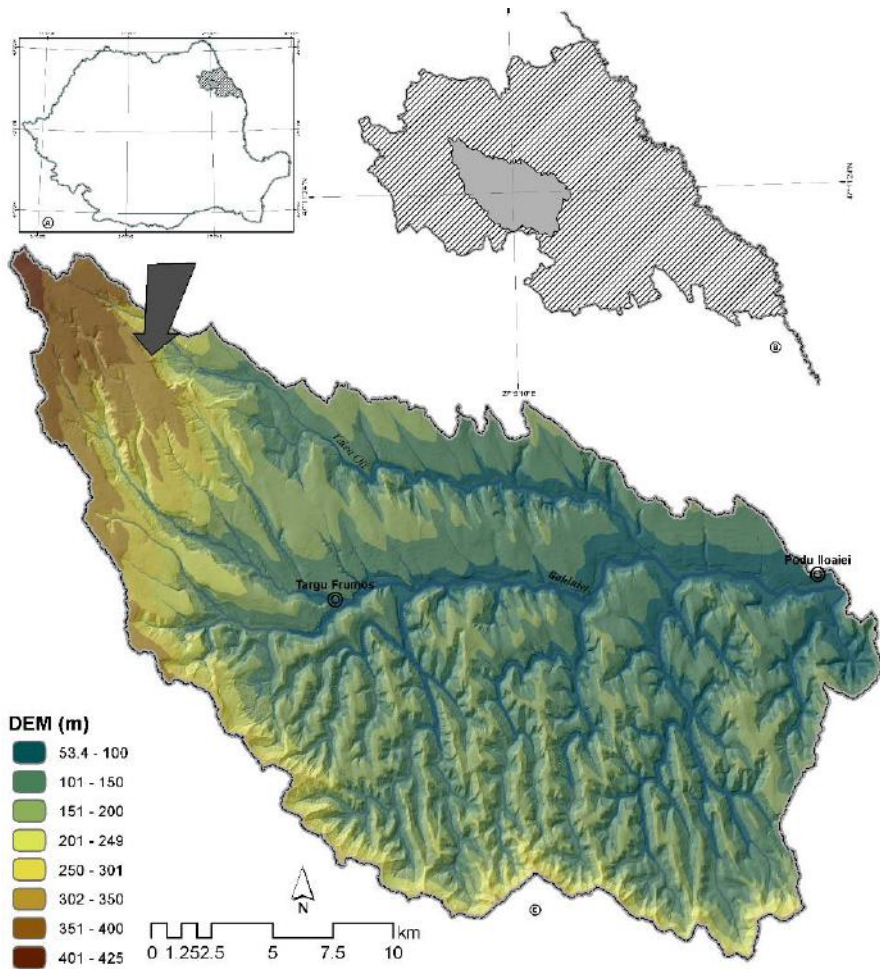


Figure 1. The location of the Cucuteni-Cetățuie in NE Romania (A), within Iași county (B), and Bahluieț river basin (C) (Map by A. Asăndulesei).

The kiln from Cucuteni-Cetățuie

The magnetic measurements from Cucuteni-Cetățuie were made to the west of the known settlement⁸, on an area of about 5 ha, using a Sensys gradiometer with five probes, connected to a Leica GNSS receiver. The resulting magnetic map revealed a significant extension of the

⁷ Tencariu *et alii* 2019; 2021a; 2022; Asăndulesei *et alii* 2022.

⁸ Petrescu-Dîmbovița & Văleanu 2004.

onymous settlement to the west, on the vast Laiu plateau (Figure 2/a). Broadly speaking, the interpretation of magnetic anomalies allows to estimate several types of archaeological features in this newly discovered area, as follows: two rows of dwellings separated by a free space (probably an access way to the settlement); two defensive/delimitation ditches in the form of circular arcs (one, intermediate, located about 40 m from the two nearby ditches, previously known, and the other almost 80 m from the first, practically closing the vestiges of the Cucutenian habitation); a fairly large number of pits containing burnt materials (daub, ceramics). In the sector outside the outer ditch, there are two circular anomalies, with thermoremanent magnetism (intensity of 35-55 nT), which lend themselves to be interpreted as kilns⁹ (Figure 2/b).

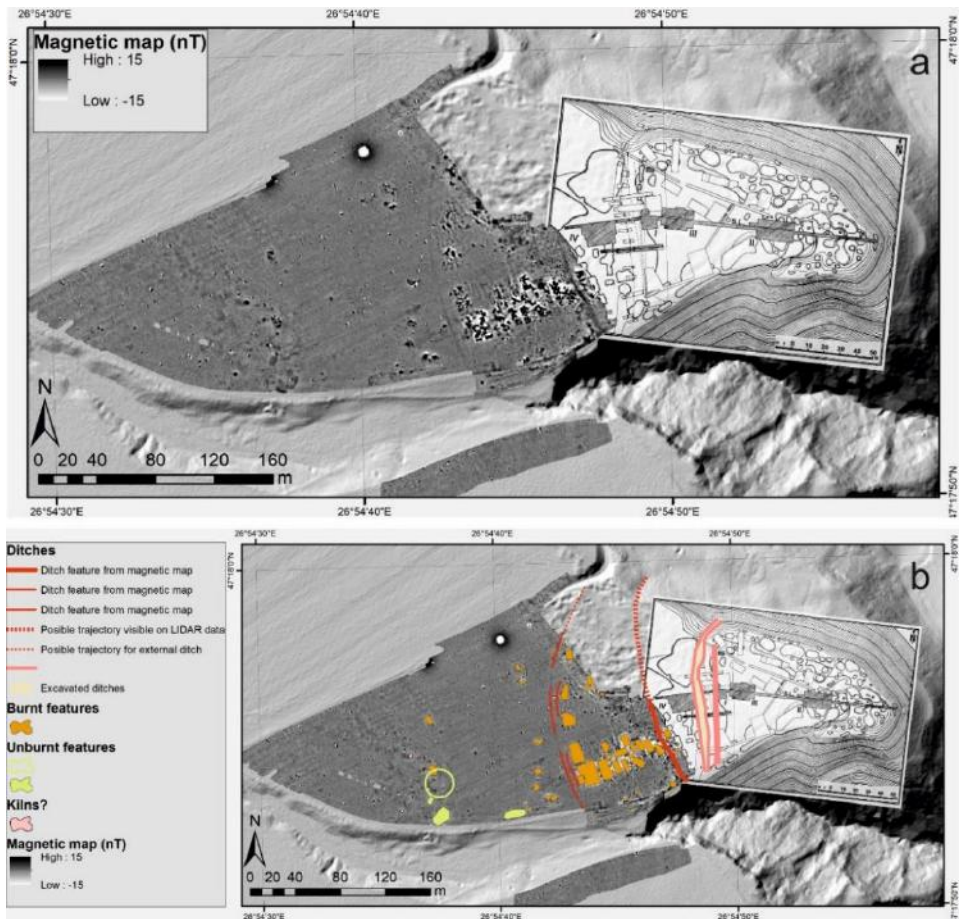


Figure 2. The magnetic map of the Cucuteni-Cetățuie settlement, together with older excavations (a); interpretation of the magnetic map (b) (Maps by A. Asăndulesei).

⁹ Asăndulesei *et alii* 2022.

Magnetic surveys in 2017 and 2020, as well as more consistent excavations in 2021¹⁰, have confirmed all initial interpretations of the magnetic anomalies. The archaeological excavations in 2022 aimed, in addition to investigating the first ditch and a dwelling in its vicinity, to test a circular anomaly located at the north-western extremity of the Cucutenian settlement, in the immediate vicinity of the outer ditch (Figure 3). The not very strong magnetic intensity (~30 nT) and the depth of the anomaly was not clear enough to indicate before excavation the nature of the feature (either a burnt structure or a pit containing burnt materials). It is worth mentioning that a similar but stronger anomaly (35-55 nT), investigated in 2020, revealed a pottery firing kiln belonging to the Sântana de Mureș culture¹¹.

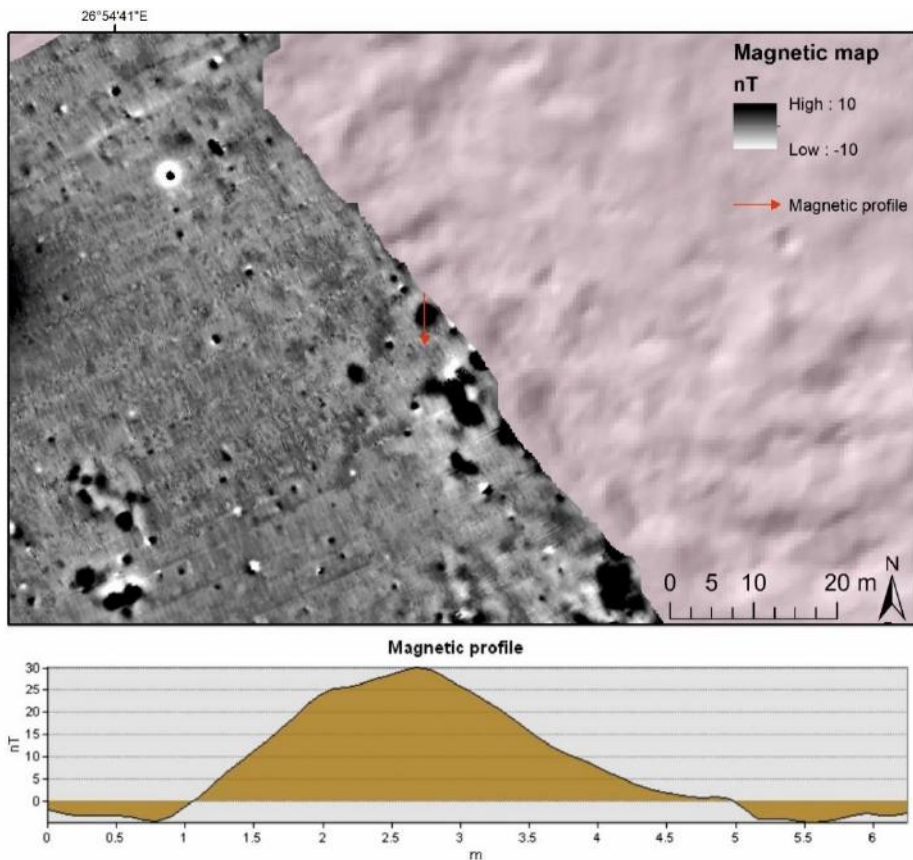


Figure 3. Detail of the magnetic map where the possible kilns can be observed; magnetic profile of the anomaly (by A. Asăndulesei).

¹⁰ Tencariu *et alii* 2019; 2021a; 2022.

¹¹ Tencariu *et alii* 2021a.

Our archaeological excavation (an area of 5 x 3 m) also brought to light a pottery kiln, this time unequivocally belonging to the Cucuteni culture, both on stratigraphic and typological basis, as well as based on the pottery discovered inside the complex. The feature has, broadly speaking, a structure similar to those known for the Cucuteni-Trypillia complex, being a bicameral kiln with vertical draught. It consists of a combustion (lower) chamber, a firing (upper) chamber and a stoke hole. Its approximate dimensions are 1.50 m on the N-S axis, and 1.40 m on the E-W axis, having a quasi-rectangular shape in plan, with slightly rounded corners (Figure 4).



Figure 4. General view of the pottery kiln (photo by R. A. Brunchi).

The upper room, built above the ancient ground, has not been preserved, being attested only by the presence of small and thin adobe fragments. Hypothetically, but logically, this chamber was built as a vault, made of clay on a skeleton of wooden twigs. Its state at the moment of the discovery suggests it collapsed or even that it was removed (completely or partially) at some point; the remaining fragments, burned incompletely, eroded over time under the action of moisture and acidity of the soil. The exception (Figure 5) is a fragment smoothed on one side (the outside of the vault), with clear prints of thick twigs (4 cm in diameter). The vault was built on a base, 10-12 cm wide, made also of clay. Four imprints of twigs, with the same diameter, were also observed on this base, only on the northern side of the kiln (Figure 6). So, given the thickness of the twigs, which are less flexible at this dimension, and their unidirectionality, we have reason to believe that the kiln's vault had, at least up to a certain height, relatively vertical walls, and not curved inwards, in order to optimize the volume of the enclosure.



Figure 5. Daub fragments with imprints of twigs, probably from the kiln's vault (photo by M.C. Ciobanu)

After removing the sediment containing small fragments of the vault, reaching the surface of the kiln (Figure 7) we noticed a thick coating of clay (mixed with chaff, strongly burned, to vitrification point in some parts) that constituted the base on which the vessels stood in the upper room. This coating, quite disturbed, seems to have been built together with the edge of the kiln (basis) on which the vault rested, partially covering the lower (combustion) chamber. The latter consisted of two parallel, quasi-oval fire channels, oriented east-west, shallow dug in the ancient soil (~15 cm). In addition to the two channels that were already relatively clear, being filled by the layer of daub, there was also an empty space between them, in the centre of the kiln.



Figure 6. The northern channel of the pottery kiln, with indication of the imprints of twigs on the northern edge (photo by V. D. Cioată).



Figure 7. The pottery kiln: the base of the upper chamber, the two channels of the lower chamber and the stoke hole (photos by R.A. Brunchi - up, V.D. Cioată - down).

This has somewhat misled us, initially assuming that there are three channels, as in the case of the kilns from Ștefănești¹², Majdanetske or Taljanky¹³. The cleaning and partial shallow excavation of this area showed that, in fact, it was an earth wall spared between the channels (Figure 7), from which the layer of clay that formed the surface of the kiln was removed at the time of its decommissioning. As for the channels, these had an oval, elongated shape, with lengths of 77 cm (N channel) and 90 cm (S channel), maximum width of 50 cm and U-shaped profile, with a depth of ca. 25 cm (15 cm dug in the ground and another 5-10 cm built, by adding the clay coating). On the walls and bottom of the channels the coating of clay identified above was absent (or not preserved); instead, a thermal impression of the surrounding soil, caused by high temperatures, was observed for about 5 cm in depth (Figure 8/a-b).



Figure 8. Construction details of the pottery kiln: section through the northern channel (a); section through the southern channel (b); section through the partition wall (c) (photos by V. D. Cioată).

¹² Țerna A. *et alii* 2021.

¹³ Korvin-Piotrovskiy *et alii* 2016.

A technical element not very common to the contemporary Cucutenian kilns (the only known case being the one from Glăvăneștii Vechi - Cucuteni B2¹⁴) is constituted by the two connecting tunnels passing through at the base of the partition wall between the two channels, intended to ensure the flow of the hot air. The tunnel from the east has a width and height of about 15 cm, and a strong thermal impression of the surrounding soil is also observed (about 7 cm in all directions); the tunnel from the west is smaller in size (about 10 cm wide x 8 cm high), showing the same thermal impression around it (Figure 8/c).

The presence of these tunnels is related to another unique feature of the kiln, namely the stoke hole. Contrary to all expectations, we have not identified, as in the case of all known kilns of this period, a stoke hole located in front of the furnace, with access to both channels, nor a pit to serve it. Of course, the kiln had a fire box, but it was atypical, built in the SE corner of the kiln and feeding only one channel – the southern one. It was elongated in the shape of a tunnel with a length of about 60 cm and a width of about 50 cm, in the extension of the channel, partially preserved in the form of collapsed small plates of clay of about 3 cm thick, with large amounts of vegetal admixtures (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Construction detail of the kiln: the southern channel and the stoke hole, prolonged as a tunnel (photo by R.A. Brunchi).

¹⁴ Comșa 1976; Tencariu 2015.

On the bottom of both channels, as well as on the bottom of the connecting tunnel from the east, several ceramic fragments, few unburned bones and a piece of local Sarmatian sandstone (also unburned) were discovered. The pottery, fragmented and without any painting, has typical characteristics of the Cucuteni B phase (a fragment of a pyriform vessel and several bowl fragments – Figure 10). The presence of these archaeological materials reinforces the idea of an intervention immediately after the decommissioning of the kiln.



Figure 10. Pottery fragments from the kiln's channels and from the tunnels between them (photos and drawings by M.C. Ciobanu and F.A. Tencariu).

Based on the characteristics captured in the excavation, we can propose, with a margin of uncertainty, a graphic reconstruction of the kiln from Cucuteni – *Cetățuie* (Figure 11), as well as a possible scenario regarding its manner of use. Most likely, the fire was built and maintained inside the stoke hole (fire tunnel), the circulation of hot air throughout the kiln being ensured through the two channels, from the southern one, through the connecting tunnels, to the northern one and simultaneously upwards, to the firing chamber, through the openings spared in the clay coating that covered the surface of the upper chamber. This type of draught apparently caused higher temperatures to the north (the "back" of the oven), in this area the clay being highly burnt, partially vitrified.



Figure 11. Graphic reconstruction proposal of the pottery kiln from Cucuteni-Cetățuie and its manner of use (drawings by B.Ș. Novac).

Discussion and conclusions

This kiln is the first attested for the *Cetățuie* site and one of the few of its kind investigated in Romania. In the general context of the pottery kilns discovered in the Cucuteni-Trypillia area, the installation investigated in the eponymous site falls within the "norms" of its era, as general principle of operation, namely the vertical draught and a separation of the two chambers. However, regarding the constructive details and the technical solutions chosen for the uniform circulation and distribution of flue gases, we have not identified exact analogies.

Based on these constituent elements, we observe a fairly large variety of variants of the bicameral kilns specific to the Cucuteni-Trypillia complex. If the basic principle is the same for all (two separate, overlapping chambers with side fuel supply and circulation of flue gases from the bottom up), there are however notable differences in the number of channels of the lower chamber, the way of separating the two chambers, the solutions for ensuring the efficiency of the circulation of warm air, and the location of the stoke hole. A relatively recent typology¹⁵, based on all the firing installations attested in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic from the territory of today's Romania and neighbouring areas, concludes that the bicameral, updraft kiln (type E) represents the most evolved form, without making a distinction between subtypes. In a more recent work¹⁶, an internal typology of the bicameral kilns from the Cucuteni-Trypillia area is made, based on the arrangement of the base of the upper chamber (elements of separation between the two chambers and other constructive details) that determine, in the authors' opinion, the technique of managing the circulation of flue gases inside the kiln. Thus, three types of furnaces are distinguished: A – the separation of the chambers consists in ovoid or discoidal clay plates, mobile, under which the fuel burned (in two or more channels), and which also constituted supports for the batch of pottery; B – the same type of separation of chambers, with plates, to which air holes are added, made on the kiln surface near the channels and communicating with them, intended to improve the draught (a more uniform and strong circulation of flue gases); C – the lower (combustion) chamber is covered by a clay grate with perforations, which allows the circulation of hot air and is also a stable support for the pottery batch. If we refer to this typology, then we can fit the kiln from *Cetățuie* within the A type, with some caution. In this kiln, no fragments of movable plates were discovered, the separation between the chambers being achieved, probably, by extending above the channels the coating of clay starting from the base of the kiln. Also, unlike all other known installations, where the stoke hole is located in front, feeding all the channels, here it is located laterally, prolonged as a tunnel, feeding only one channel; the circulation of flue gases throughout the kiln is provided by the openings at the base of the spared wall between the channels.

The novel technical details of the discovery are also very attractive from the perspective of experimental archaeology; given our team's background with experimental installations

¹⁵ Tencariu 2015.

¹⁶ Țerna *et alii* 2019.

inspired by Cucutenian bicameral kilns¹⁷, we are already planning the construction and use of a model with all the features documented in our recent research.

The kiln discovered at Cucuteni-Cetățuie is yet another proof of the circulation of ideas and of a uniform spread of technological innovations towards the end of the Cucuteni-Trypillia evolution, manifested, in this case, by the presence of bicameral kilns throughout the impressive area of the Chalcolithic civilisation. However, there are notable variations between the installations discovered in various settlements, and we are not yet fully clarified whether they are links of an evolutionary chain, visible in the effectiveness of kilns, or simply local innovations. Taking into account the chronology of the discoveries, the grate with perforations seems to be a later innovation, replacing mobile clay plates as a means of separating the two chambers and ensuring uniform and efficient circulation of flue gases. The future discoveries of kilns undoubtedly to appear soon (in both areas of the Cucuteni-Trypillia complex), accompanied by absolute dating, will probably clarify this aspect too. We are convinced, however, that the emergence, development and spread of technological innovations related to the pottery making craft (in this case the two-chambered kilns, but also others), which take place towards the end of the Cucuteni A-B phase and the beginning of the Cucuteni B phase (Trypillia B2C1 and C1 respectively) are in close connection with the accentuation of demographic growth and mobility, with the increasing social and economic stratification, and with the development of human settlements towards the circular mega-sites specific for the east of the Prut river.

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¹⁷ Tencariu *et alii* 2018; Tencariu *et alii* 2021b.

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Cucuteni C type pottery from the Chalcolithic settlement Băiceni-Dâmbul Morii (Iasi County, Romania)

Radu-Ștefan BALAUR¹

Abstract. *The archaeological research carried out in the Dâmbul Morii settlement led to the identification of 362 fragments of Cucuteni C type ceramic, either in the inventory of the dwellings or outside them. In the present study, we will discuss, based on these fragments, the manufacturing technology, the shapes and the decoration. Technologically, Cucuteni C type pottery was made from an inhomogeneous, coarse paste, which used crushed shells or crushed snails in the paste, mixed with large-grained sand, and less often crushed shards, pebbles or plant remains. In the Cucuteni A-B phase, there are also documented cases in which the pottery was made of a finer paste, without the crushed shell, of a reddish-brick color, with a mixture of sand, documented by the discoveries from Traian - Dealul Fântanilor.*

Rezumat. *Cercetările arheologice desfășurate la Dâmbul Morii au dus la identificarea unui număr de 362 fragmente de tip Cucuteni C, fie în inventarul locuințelor, fie în afara lor. În studiul de față vom discuta, pe baza acestor fragmente, tehnologia de confecționare, formele și decorul specific ceramicii de tip Cucuteni C. Din punct de vedere tehnologic, ceramica de tip Cucuteni C, era realizată dintr-o pastă neomogenă, zgrunțuroasă, ce folosea în pastă scoici sau melci pisați sau sfărâmați, în amestec cu nisip de granulație mare, și mai rar cioburi pisate, pietricele sau resturi vegetale. În faza Cucuteni A-B sunt documentate și cazuri în care ceramica era confecționată dintr-o pastă mai fină, lipsită de scoica pisată, de culoare cărămiziu-roșcată, cu amestec de nisip, documentată de descoperirile de la Traian - Dealul Fântanilor.*

Keywords: Cucuteni culture, phase A-B, Dâmbul Morii, type C ceramic.

Introduction

Researchers have been interested in the type C ceramic category since the first discoveries. Also known as "kitchenware", a series of studies have made important contributions regarding its origin and evolution in the environment of the Cucuteni civilization. It is characterized by a lower quality clay, less carefully prepared, with crushed shells and coarsely granulated sand, or vegetable remains in the ceramic paste, fired at low temperatures of 500°C. It also seems that in the Cucuteni A-B phase, the Cucuteni C-type pottery undergoes a series of transformations

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as a result of the interaction and mutual influences of two different environments, the Cucuteni one and that of the carriers of pottery with shells².

In the archaeological literature, the Cucuteni C type ceramics raised the question of its origin and evolution. The intrusive character of this ceramic type, with which most specialists agree, was mentioned for the first time by H. Schmidt, in the monograph dedicated to the eponymous site, in which he speaks of a so-called "culture with type C ceramic". In his opinion, this ceramic category is considered a cultural mixture of Nordic origin, with Arctic-Baltic influences from the east and North German and Scandinavian from the west³.

Disagreeing with the above opinion, of the northern origin, is the theory regarding the eastern origin of the Cucuteni C type ceramics, attributed to the migration of eastern steppe populations (or kurgans) in the Cucuteni-Tripolie area⁴. Thus, I. Nestor claims that this ceramic category appeared and developed between the lower courses of the Volga, Don and Dnieper rivers⁵. Adherent to the same theory, M. Gimbutas considers Srednyi Stog II communities to be responsible for the penetration of pottery with shells crushed into paste in the Cucuteni environment as early as the Cucuteni A₃₋₄ and A-B₁ phases⁶.

Although he accepts the influence of kurganic elements, Vl. Dumitrescu supports a new theory, of the cohabitation of steppe elements with the Cucutenian population. In his opinion, the presence of crushed shell ceramics is not the result of imports, but rather is attributed to the work of individuals of North Pontic origin established in Cucutenian settlements⁷.

Similar to Vladimir Dumitrescu's opinion is the point of view offered by Ann Dodd Oprețescu, who confutes the steppe origin of this ceramic category and denies its links with the Srednyi Stog culture, bringing as arguments the lack of straight-bottomed vessels as well as the lack of motivistic kinship with type C ceramics. In her opinion, starting from the analysis of the type C ceramic shapes and decoration, one can speak of a local evolution, specific to this ceramic category, due to the communities on the edge of the northern area of the Cucuteni-Tripolie civilization, pushed inwards by the wave of migratory populations⁸.

Ștefan Cucuș, based on the analysis of the type C ceramic materials available at that time, for the Cucuteni A, A-B and B phases, makes a description of this ceramic category, and considers its foreign character, but with a complex evolution of its own⁹.

In the analysis of this ceramic category, a subject of interest is related to the penetration of foreign elements into the Cucuteni culture. In the Romanian area, the first Cucuteni C type

² MELNICIUC 2011, 233-234; BOGHIAN 2004, 106; GÂȚA 2000, 126-127.

³ SCHMIDT 1932, 42-45, 80, 105; pl. 11/6 și 12/3; ALAIBA 2004, 230.

⁴ MELNICIUC 2011, 238.

⁵ NESTOR 1959, 252.

⁶ GIMBUTAS 1989, 201-210.

⁷ DUMITRESCU 1980, 27.

⁸ DODD-OPREȚESCU 1980, 552-554; MELNICIUC 2010, 26.

⁹ CUCUȘ 1985, 71; MELNICIUC 2011, 236.

pottery seems to have appeared at the Cucuteni A₃ (or A₄) phase¹⁰, hypothesis supported by the materials analyzed from the settlements of Fedeleşeni¹¹, Corlăteni¹², Drăgușeni¹³, Berești-Dealul Bulgarului¹⁴, and Chetrești¹⁵, and the beginning of the Cucuteni A-B phase, attested by the discoveries from Traian-Dealul Fântânilor¹⁶ and Calu - Piatra Șoimului¹⁷. A initial stage of intrusion of type C elements was proposed, followed by another stage of mixing them with Cernavodă I elements.¹⁸ The manner in which these foreign elements were introduced is considered to have been simultaneous, radial and interfering, in small groups,¹⁹ and was done gradually and continuously²⁰, sporadically and periodically²¹ or by successive migrations²².

During the research at *Dâmbul Morii*, Cucuteni C type ceramic fragments were discovered in the inventories of the houses or outside them. In the present article we will analyze a batch of 356 such fragments (Table 1) kept in the scientific fund of the Archeology Seminar from the Faculty of History, within „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași.

Geographical and archaeological background

The settlement from *Dâmbul Morii* is located north-east of Romania (Fig. 1/A), Iasi County (Fig. 1/B), on the territory of Cucuteni commune, Băiceni village (Fig. 1/C). It was on a promontory positioned between the Recea stream to the west and the Morii stream to the east, with steeper slopes to the south-east and smoother on the other sides²³.

¹⁰ BOGHIAN 2006, 166.

¹¹ BOGHIAN 2004, fig.129/14; CUCOȘ 1985, 63; NESTOR, ZAHARIA 1968, 18.

¹² NESTOR *et alii* 1951, 72; NESTOR 1959; NESTOR, ZAHARIA 1968, 21.

¹³ CUCOȘ 1985, 63; DUMITRESCU 1974, 33; CRÎȘMARU 1977, 271 fig. 5/2; MARINESCU-BÎLCU 2000, 108-110.

¹⁴ CUCOȘ 1985, 63; DRAGOMIR 1985, 101-102, fig. 20-21.

¹⁵ CUCOȘ 1985, 63; NIȚU 1977, 154.

¹⁶ CUCOȘ 1985, 63; DUMITRESCU 1945, 38.

¹⁷ CUCOȘ 1985, 63; VULPE 1941, 41.

¹⁸ CUCOȘ 1985, 74-75; BOGHIAN 2004, 135.

¹⁹ CUCOȘ 1985, 74; MELNICIUC 2010, 30.

²⁰ NESTOR 1959, 255; MELNICIUC 2010, 30.

²¹ NIȚU 1977, 147; MELNICIUC 2010, 30.

²² GIMBUTAS 1989, 197-221; MELNICIUC 2010, 30.

²³ DINU 2006, 31; 2009, 106; ASĂNDULESEI *et alii.* 2020, 320; BALAUR 2020, 170.

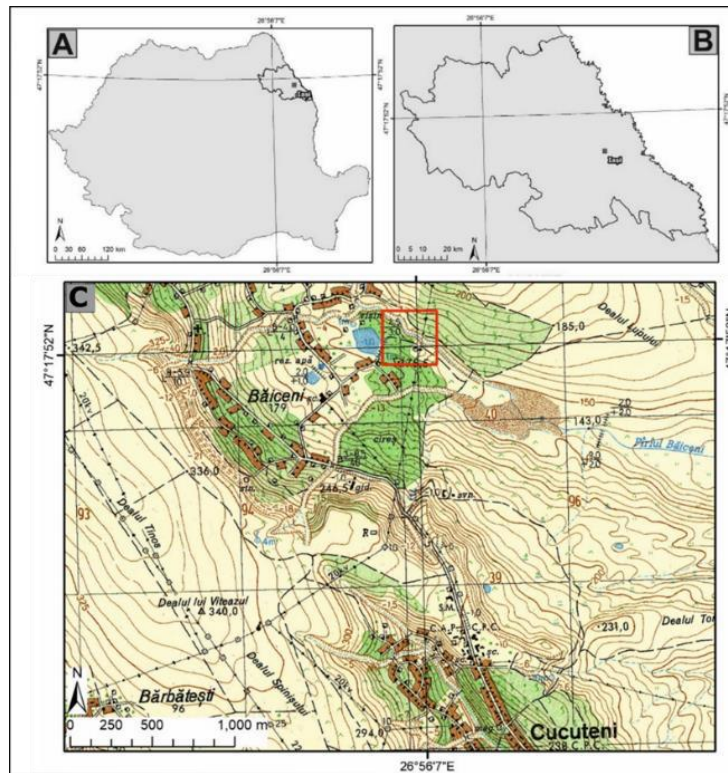


Figure 1. Location of the Dâmbul Morii settlement: A. Romania; B. Iasi county; C. on the topographic map 1:25000 according to Asăndulesei et alii, 2020, p. 321).

The first excavations at *Morii Dâmbul* were carried out by the German scientist Hubert Schmidt, in 1909 or 1910, by drawing a control ditch of 31x2 m in the western-north-western sector of the settlement, called by him “the settlement in the valley – *Talsiedlung*”, which led to the identification of some dwellings remains and ceramic fragments. It appears that he also dug two sections about 3x6 m in size, without making any significant discoveries²⁴.

The investigations were resumed later, in 1961, when, simultaneously with the excavations on the site of Cetăuia from Cucuteni, coordinated by Prof. Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița, excavations were carried out at *Dâmbul Morii*, under the direction of M. Dinu over eight campaigns: 1961-1966, 1977-1978 and 1989²⁵.

The excavations were carried out in three sectors (Fig. 2) as follows: sector A, the south-southeast part of the promontory, inside the defensive system; sector B, about 150 m north-

²⁴ SCHMIDT 1932, 12-13; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1966, 32; BALAUR 2020, 170.

²⁵ DINU 2006, 33.

west of the south-eastern edge of the promontory; and sector C, in the NNW area of the promontory, outside the defense ditch, probably an extension of the settlement²⁶.

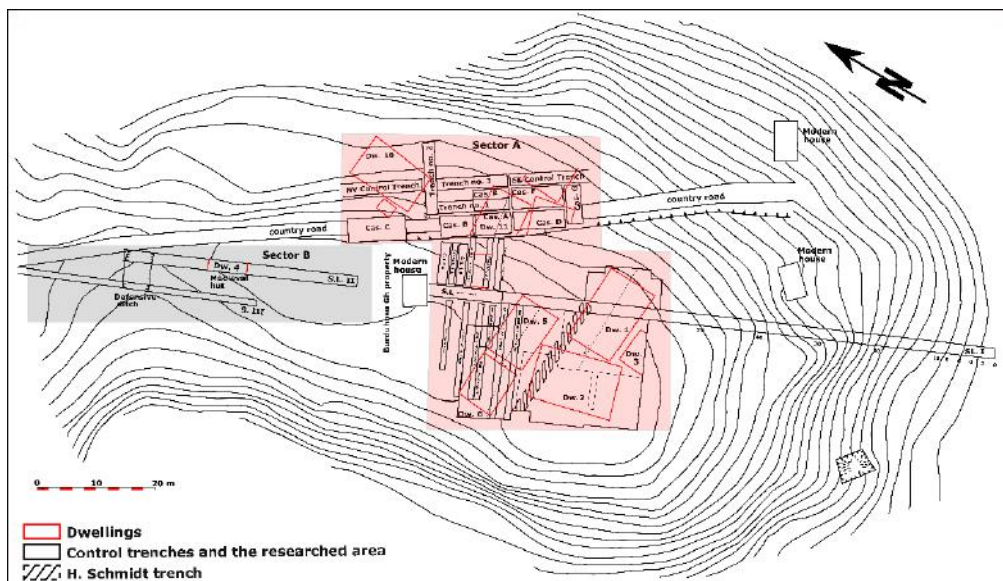


Fig. 2. Cucuteni – Băiceni – Dâmbul Morii. Excavations plan. Archaeological excavations from the years 1961-1966, 1977-1978 and 1989, sectors A and B (adapted after Dinu 2006, p. 43, with additions).

The settlement was inhabited in at least three stages. The oldest level belongs to the Cucuteni A₂ phase, attested by the presence of remains of houses and ceramic materials²⁷.

The next habitation stage was attributed to the Cucuteni A-B₁ subphase, also in sector A, where at least seven surface dwellings (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10 and 11) were investigated, of medium and large sizes (Fig. 2).

The last habitation stage was assigned to the Cucuteni A-B₂ subphase, in sector C, beyond the defensive system, where three dwellings (7, 8 and 9) were identified and investigated²⁸.

General features

The studies carried out so far on small batches of Cucuteni C type ceramics allowed to obtain some information regarding the manufacturing technique, the decorative manner and the functionality of this ceramic category. Discovered as early as the Cucuteni phases A₃-A₄ and A-B₁, the decorative motifs are made by printing, stamping with a toothed tool (comb), on the

²⁶ DINU 2006, 33-35, 43 (fig. 3); BALAUR 2020, 172.

²⁷ DINU 2006, 34; DINU 2009, 107.

²⁸ DINU 2006, 34; DINU 2009, 107.

neck or shoulder of the vessels. Later, the appearance of cord type decoration is attributed to the early penetration of the Cernavoda Ia-Ib communities into the Cucuteni area²⁹.

Technological process

In order to better understand the distinctive features of Cucuteni C-type pottery, it is necessary to know the manufacturing techniques, from the paste to the decorative motifs used. Starting from the establishment of these distinct features, based on the C-type ceramic material discovered at *Dâmbul Morii*, we wish to complete the information available to date.

In the Cucuteni A-B stage, type C pottery undergoes a series of changes regarding decoration. Some researchers support the periodization of the Cucuteni A-B phase into two subphases based on the decorative elements of the Cucuteni C-type ceramics. In the Cucuteni A-B₁ phase the decoration was composed of small notches, especially on the lip of the vessel, bands of incised lines (vertical, horizontal or oblique), punctures, horizontal, vertical or wavy striations drawn with a comb-type tool or with a jagged tool, or with a small broom type instrument, and plastic motifs in the form of knobs or protuberances. In the Cucuteni A-B₂ stage, under the influence of the Cernavodă Ic communities, the cord decoration makes his appearance, with angular zig-zag motifs, the string motif known as the caterpillar motif, and plastic motifs represented by buttons and protuberances, etc.³⁰.

From a technological point of view, Cucuteni C-type pottery, made from an inhomogeneous, coarse paste differs from the classic one by the use of crushed shells or snails in the paste, mixed with large-grained sand, and less often crushed shards, pebbles or plant debris. In the Cucuteni A-B phase, there are also documented cases in which the pottery was made of a finer paste, without the crushed shell, of a reddish-brick color, with a mixture of sand, documented by the discoveries from Traian - *Dealul Fântanilor*³¹.

The firing, carried out at lower temperatures, between 380 and 500° C, most likely in pits not in kilns, in a reducing, semi-oxidizing, rarely oxidizing manner, gives the paste a reddish, reddish-brown or brown color, rarely blackish. The non-carbonized organic materials gives the ceramic, on the inside part, a black color. The low firing temperature gives high porosity and friability, and depending on the heat penetration, the core area of the fragments is darker, black, dark brown or gray³².

Techniques and decorative motifs

Like the paste, the execution technique, shapes, decoration and ornaments are specific to this category. Based on the ceramic analyzed, three decoration techniques were identified. Mostly the fragments are decorated by the technique of incisions and the technique of

²⁹BOGHIAN 2004, 135; 2006, 166-167; MELNICIUC 2011, 235; MORINTZ, S., ROMAN 1968, 47.

³⁰BOGHIAN 2004, 135; 2006, 167; NIȚU 1977, 154.

³¹MARINESCU-BÎLCU 2000, 104; ALAIBA 2004, 231; MELNICIUC 2011, 244; CUCUȘ 1985, 66; BEM 2007, 58; DIACONESCU 2017, 37.

³²MARINESCU-BÎLCU 2000, 105; ALAIBA 2004, 232; GÂȚA 2000, 126-127; MELNICIUC 2011, 243.

impressions, made with the help of comb-type tool, with shell, bone or other tools. Among the documented decorative motifs we have the pectinate motif, rows of impressions or parallel horizontal and vertical bands, round etc. Specific to the A-B phase are the fir-type or rafter-type ornaments. In the Cucuteni A-B₂ phase, the decoration with short string impressions (the caterpillar motif) is encountered, made with the help of a wrapped or twisted cord. Mostly this decoration is done on the lip of the vessel or below, and in some cases above the shoulder. There are also cases where the lip of the vessels shows notches or impressions with the help of a tool³³.

Less used is the technique of plastic or relief decoration. It is manifested by the use of round, flattened protrusions or buttons, perforated or just mimicked handles, conical protrusions or au repoussé knobs, placed on the edge of the vessel's lip. Such decorative motifs were discovered on pieces from the settlements of Corlăteni, Traian - Dealul Fântânilor, Vorniceni, Calu-Piatra Șoimului³⁴.

In short, it seems that at the beginning of the Cucuteni A-B phase, in settlements such as those at Scutari-Mileanca, Vorniceni, Băiceni - *Dâmbul Morii* or Huși, the Cucuteni C-type pottery adopts decorative elements of the Cucuteni A₄ phase (rows on the shoulder of the vessel, suspended garlands doubled by horizontal, vertical oblique striations, made with a toothed or comb-type object, or triangles), similar to those discovered at Drăgușeni. Cucuteni A-B₂ phase appears to be characterized by the presence of cord decoration, either wrapped or twisted³⁵.

Typology of ceramics

Regarding the specific shapes of the Cucuteni C type ceramics, the high degree of fragmentation and friability made it difficult to create a typology. Since the first excavations at Cetățuia of Cucuteni, H. Schmidt identifies about eight to ten forms of vessels, supplemented by forms identified in subsequent research³⁶. In a larger study, R. Alaiba divides C-type ceramics into two distinct groups: vessels specific to Cucuteni C-type ceramics and vessels that took forms from Cucuteni ceramics³⁷.

The first category includes kraters, with wide mouth, and tronconic body³⁸, extremely rare short-necked vessels and globular body (tumblers or cups)³⁹, or wide-flared-edge vessels,

³³ ALAIBA 2006, 193; BEM 2007, 59; MELNICIUC 2010, 33; CUCOȘ 1985, 65; MARINESCU-BÎLCU 2000, 105; DIACONESCU 2017, 39.

³⁴ CUCOȘ 1985, 70; BEM 2007, 58; DIACONESCU 2017, 39.

³⁵ BOGHIAN 2006, 167.

³⁶ SCHMIDT 1932, 43-44.

³⁷ ALAIBA 2004, 232.

³⁸ SCHMIDT 1932, 43; DIACONESCU 2017, 38.

³⁹ ALAIBA 2006, 191; DIACONESCU 2017, 38; SCHMIDT 1932, 44.

similar to dishes⁴⁰, and rarely encountered rounded bowls and four-foot pots⁴¹. In the second group are placed vessels similar to the Cucuteni dishes, bowls and tumblers, complemented by high-neck and bulging vessels, pots, lids and miniature vessels⁴².

Discussions

The amount of Cucuteni C type ceramics in the settlement at *Dâmbul Morii* is relatively small compared to Cucuteni ceramics. A number of 362 ceramic fragments were found, of which 157 with different types of decoration and 205 with erased or unidentified decor (**Table 1**). The fragments discussed were found in dwellings, control ditches (S.C.2V, S.C.3 E) or even in the longitudinal ditch (S.L. II).

| | Context/year/sector | No. of fragments | Decorated | Undecorated / uncertain |
|----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | S.L. II, 1962, sector A, m. 20-24 | 22 | 7 | 15 |
| | S.L. II, 1964, Sector B | 14 | 2 | 12 |
| 2. | Dw. 2, 1962, sector A | 106 | 40 | 66 |
| 3. | Dw. 2, 1963, sector A | 109 | 49 | 60 |
| 4. | Dw. 3, 1964, Sector C | 11 | 8 | 3 |
| 5. | Dw. V, 1964, Sector A | 60 | 28 | 32 |
| 6. | Dw. VI, 1966, Sector A | 30 | 21 | 9 |
| 7 | S.C. 2 V, 1989, setor A | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | S.C. 3 E, 1989, setor A | 8 | 2 | 6 |
| | Total | 362 | 157 | 205 |

The ceramic fragments from the lot discovered at *Dâmbul Morii* were shaped, in most cases, from a paste with crushed shells and vegetable scraps as degreasers, in few cases only vegetable scraps or crushed shells, and in some cases only sand. Even the color of the vessels differs, depending on the degree and type of firing, from brown-gray on both sides, brown on the outside and black on the inside, or black-gray on both sides, sometimes with the black core. There are also cases where they have a brick color, reminiscent of Cucuteni ceramics.

The material in this settlement, although largely fragmentary, offers a diverse decorative range. Among the identified fragments, much of it comes from the upper part of the vessels

⁴⁰ BEM 2007, 59; DIACONESCU 2017, 38.

⁴¹ SCHMIDT 1932, 43; ALAIBA 2004, 232; DIACONESCU 2007, 38.

⁴² ALAIBA 2004, 232; 2006, 191; MELNICIUC 2011, 246-247; CUCOȘ 1985, 67, fig. 4/7; SCHMIDT 1932, 44; DIACONESCU 2017, 38.

(lip or shoulder). The decorative motifs identified were made, in an approximately equal manner, by incision technique, on a number of 56 fragments (Fig. 3/1, 4-5, 8, 10, 19-20) and the technique of impressions or punching on 58 fragments (Fig. 3/1, 4, 5, 7-8, 10-11, 13-15, 17-18, 20-22), and in a lower number by the technique of plastic or embossed decoration (Fig. 3/8, 12, 15-16, 21). The incisions are presented in the form of horizontal or wavy strips, in some cases made with a serrated instrument, or short and deep incisions arranged horizontally, vertically or oblique. Impressions or punches are made using sharp-pointed objects (Fig.3/1, 4-5, 13, 20-22) or even a comb-type object (Fig. 3/2-3, 6-8, 17-18), a nail or a shell (Fig. 3/10,20), also arranged in horizontal rows. With the help of the "comb" type tool, by printing or stamping, decorative motifs in the form of rows of points or holes are made (Fig. 3/, 6-8, 17-18). There are also cases where the impressions are made deeper with the help of a spatula, creating the impression of an embossed decor (Fig. 3/14). On some fragments, coming from the neck of the vessels, there is also a decoration on the inside, made with a brush-type instrument, most often arranged horizontally (Fig. 3/19).



Fig. 3. Cucuteni C type ceramic from Băiceni - Dâmbul Morii: 1-7, Dwelling II, campaign 1962; 8-12, Dwelling II, 1963 campaign; 13-14, Dwelling V; 15-16, Dwelling VI; 17-19, materials from the longitudinal trench II; 20-22, Dwelling III, from sector C.

The plastic or embossed decor is present on 15 ceramic fragments, represented by rows of conical pills (Fig. 3/16) or buttons (Fig. 3/8, 12), arranged on the shoulder of the vessels. In one case, we can speak of a protrusion made by pushing from the inside (Fig. 3/21), also a horizontally perforated handle (Fig. 3/11), and a wrapped belt applied to the vessel (Fig. 3/15).

Equally, diversified is the decor found on the lip of the vessels, identified on a number of 47 ceramic fragments. It ranges from incisions and notches (Fig. 4/1-5) arranged straight or

oblique, to punches of various shapes (Fig. 4/6) or punches made with a serrated instrument (Fig. 4/7-8). In one case, the decor found on the body of the vessel is similar to the one on the lip, made of short punches with a comb type object arranged zig zag (Fig. 3/17, 4/8).

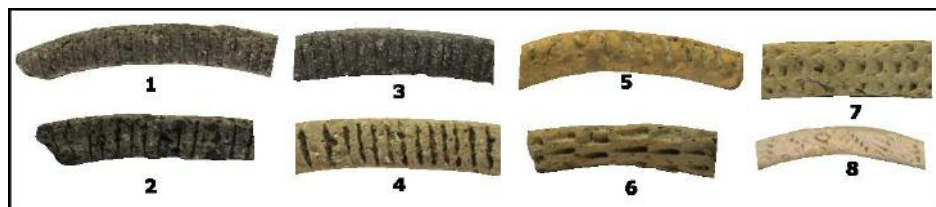


Fig. 4. Cucuteni C type ceramic from Băiceni – *Dâmbul Morii*.
The decoration of the vessel lip - details.

Among the types of vessels identified at *Dâmbul Morii* are kraters (Fig. 3/1, 6, 17, 20), wide-mouth vessels, tronconical vessels, short-necked vessels with globular bodies (Fig. 3/13), extremely rare tumblers or cups (Fig. 3/16, 21), or vessels with a wide flared edge, similar to dishes. We do not exclude the possibility that the typology of vessels would have been more diversified, unfortunately the material available was very fragmentary, and could not be classified in a specific category.

Conclusions

The present study complements the known information on Cucuteni C Ceramics in Cucuteni area. Unfortunately, the extremely fragmented state has not allowed more concrete information to be made.

The Cucuteni C type pottery from the settlement of *Dâmbul Morii*, mostly fragmentary, is characterized by a rough, porous paste, mixed with crushed shells and with an incomplete burning, which gave the fragments a gray or brown color. There are also a number of ceramic fragments of brown-yellowish paste, with a mixture of crushed shells. If we take into account the burning and capacity of these vessels, we can say that they were mostly used as cooking pots. The characteristic decoration is represented by incisions and punches, and less used, the plastic decoration.

Regarding the chronological value of type C ceramics, we cannot say much due to the fragmentary state of the material. Its evolution extended over a period of about 800 years, starting with the Cucuteni A₃ phase to Cucuteni B₂ (4300-3500 cal BC). The Cucuteni A-B₁ phase is characterized by a decor made of notches, especially on the lip, bands of incised lines (vertical, horizontal or oblique), horizontal or wave beams, punches, horizontal, vertical or wavy stripes drawn with a comb-type instrument or a serrated instrument, plastic motifs in the form of buttons or protrusions, while the Cucuteni A-B₂ phase is characterized by a string decor, angular motifs made in zigzag, the lanyard motif known as the caterpillar motif,

protrusions, buttons, etc.⁴³. Unfortunately, the ceramic material found in the sector assigned to the A-B₂ phase is very diminished and very fragmentary, and has not allowed us to obtain conclusive information on this issue.

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⁴³ BOGHIAN 2004, 135; 2006, 167; CUCOȘ 1985, 63–92; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1966, 28,34; SCHMIDT 1932, 77.

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Through Geometry Towards Functionality. Case Study: Noua pottery from Jijia catchment, NE Romania

Cassandra BRAȘOVEANU¹

Abstract. *During Late Bronze Age, the evolutions of previous archaeological cultures (from the Middle Bronze Age) are continued and completed, but there are also two important cultural complexes emerging, namely: Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni and Zimnicea-Plovdiv. The subject of interest in the present study is represented by Noua culture, attested in a vast area, from the middle and upper Dniester, to the east of Apuseni Mountains and from the Subcarpathian region of Ukraine to the south of the forest-steppe area between Siret and Prut Rivers. Although, over time, the specific communities of this cultural manifestation have been investigated in numerous specialized studies, the interdisciplinary methods used in recent years can offer new information that contribute to the obtaining of a much clearer picture regarding the behavior of the human groups in question. In this sense, in the present paper, special attention was paid to the ceramic material identified during the archaeological excavations of sites belonging to Noua culture which, unfortunately, in most situations, is still 'trapped' in the discourse from the middle of the 20th century. In this sense, there is a continuous perpetuation of the typology created by A.C. Florescu in the '60s, namely: jar-vessels, bag-vessels, bowls, cups, glasses, etc. Thus, using the volumetric typology, developed by Anne O. Shepard almost 70 years ago, and correlating the information obtained with those regarding decoration, context and dimensions, but also with data from the field of ethnoarchaeology, this study aims to identify the intended functions of the ceramic recipients used by Noua communities from Jijia River Basin.*

Rezumat. *În perioada târzie a Epocii Bronzului sunt continuate și încheiate evoluțiile culturilor arheologice anterioare (din perioada mijlocie a aceleiași epoci), dar apar și două complexe culturale importante și anume: Noua-Sabatinovka-Coslogeni și Zimnicea-Plovdiv. Subiectul de interes al studiului de față îl reprezintă cultura Noua, atestată într-un areal vast, de la Nistrul mijlociu și superior, până la est de Munții Apuseni și din regiunea Subcarpatică a Ucrainei până în sudul zonei de silvostepă dintre Siret și Prut. Deși, de-a lungul timpului, comunitățile specifice acestei manifestări culturale au fost investigate în numeroase studii de specialitate, metodele interdisciplinare folosite în ultimii ani pot oferi informații noi care contribuie la obținerea unei imagini mult mai clare cu privire la comportamentul grupurilor umane în cauză. În acest sens, în lucrarea propusă s-a acordat o atenție deosebită materialului ceramic identificat în săpăturile arheologice din siturile culturii Noua care, din păcate, în majoritatea situațiilor, este încă „închisat” în discursul de la mijlocul secolului trecut. În acest sens, se observă o perpetuare continuă a tipologiei create de A.C.Florescu în anii '60 și anume: vase-sac, vase-borcan, străchini, boluri, cești, pahare etc. Astfel, folosind tipologia volumetrică, elaborată de Anne O. Shepard acum aproape 70 de ani și corelând informațiile obținute cu cele privind contextul descoperirii, dimensiunile și decorul obiectului, dar și cu date*

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din domeniul etnoarheologiei, acest demers își propune să identifice funcțiile intenționate ale recipientelor ceramice folosite de comunitățile Noua, folosind drept studiu de caz bazinul hidrografic al Jijiei.

Keywords: Late Bronze Age, ceramic material, volumetric typology, functionality, spatial distributions.

Introduction

Clay recipients have been, over time, the main cultural marker, used by archaeologists to characterize and individualize various prehistoric communities. However, the full exploitation of the informational potential that these artifacts possess can only be achieved by detaching and overcoming serial and diffusionist references². A very important aspect, during the technological process of 'making' pottery, is represented by the functionality of the containers, as well as the possible reutilizations that occur, usually, after the destruction of the vessel³. Since functionality can undergo various changes throughout the 'life' of the artifact, relating the discovered recipients to the potential functionalities they possessed can provide important information regarding the behavior of the studied communities.

In this study the main focus is represented by the pottery of Noua human groups, specific for the Late Bronze Age in the territory located east of the Carpathians. Over the last 80 years, there have been various attempts to classify this ceramic material but, in most situations, we can see a perpetuation of the types identified in the second half of the last century⁴, namely: bag-vessels, jar-vessels, bowls, cups, glasses, etc. In this context, the aim of the present paper is to identify the intended functions of the ceramic containers used by the communities of Noua culture, starting from the volumetric typology and relating the information obtained with data regarding the archaeological context, dimensions and decoration. As a case study was selected Jijia River catchment (Fig. 1), due to the high population density existing in the chronological period of interest (362 settlements, 24 burials, 6 hoards and 29 isolated discoveries) (Fig. 2).

Such an analysis, in which the morphological characteristics of various recipients are related to ethnographic data, was first proposed in the comparative research of the ceramic material from two prehistoric sites of western Iran⁵. The approach was later adopted in the study of ceramic containers specific to Cucuteni culture, on various case studies from the eastern Carpathians⁶. With regard to similar studies undertaken for the chronological interval of interest, approaches of this type were carried out only for Bârlad River basin⁷ and for the

² BODI & SOLCAN 2010, 315.

³ RYE 1981, 3.

⁴ FLORESCU 1964.

⁵ HENRICKSON & MCDONALD 1983.

⁶ BODI & SOLCAN 2010; MUNTEANU 2015.

⁷ VIERU 2013.

microzone of Aroneanu (Iași County), the latter⁸ being included in the space analyzed in the present paper.

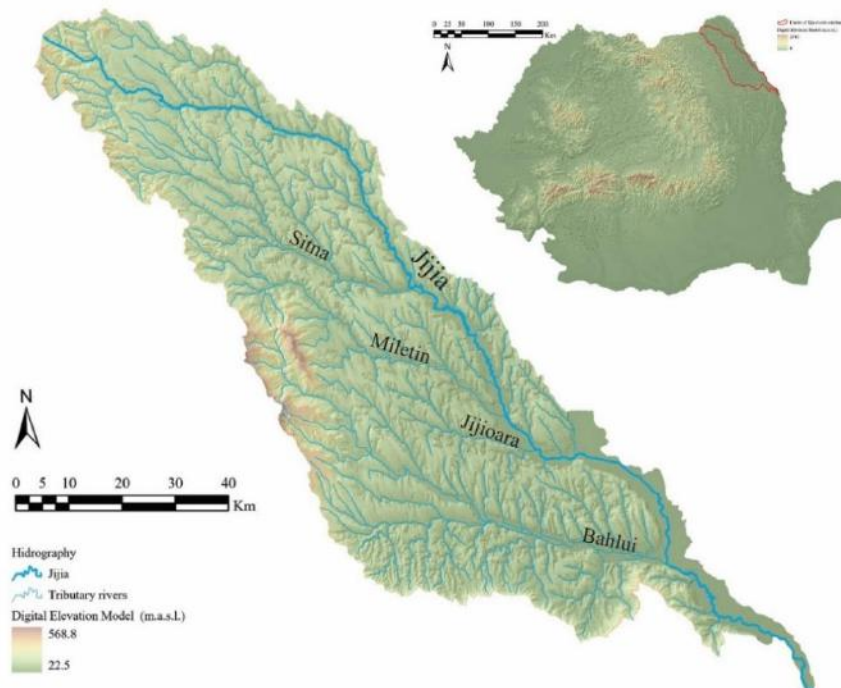


Fig.1. Jijia River's catchment and its location within the territory of Romania; source of DEM: LIDAR data from Romanian Water Administration, Prut-Bârlad branch, 10x10 m resolution.

Material and methods

In order to achieve the before-stated objective, the information existing in the specialized bibliography was used. Also, it should be noted that, in the proposed typology were included only the ceramic materials discovered during invasive archaeological research, for which I could also identify the illustrations. The main criteria used concerned the archaeological context, the dimensions, shape and decoration of the discovered artefacts, in order to obtain data regarding the morphology of the pots in question. Starting from the data set thus revealed, I tried to identify the potential uses of the recipients, establishing two main categories: utilitarian and special (ritual).

⁸ BOLOHAN & DROB 2020.

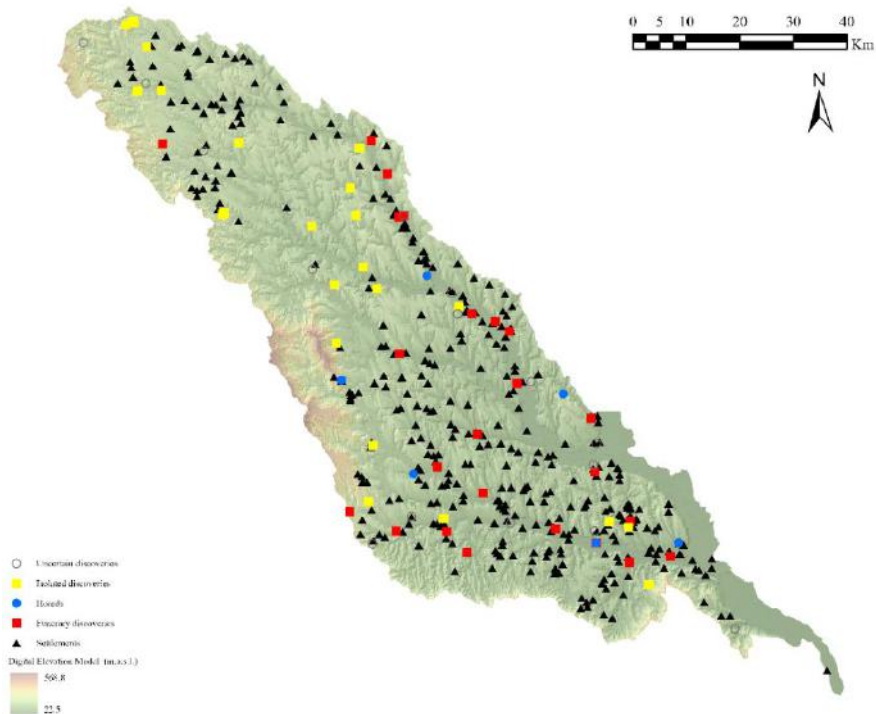


Fig.2. Spatial distribution of Noua discoveries on hypsometric map; source of DEM: LiDAR data from Romanian Water Administration, Prut-Bârlad branch, 10x10 m resolution.

The first method used was that of the volumetric typology, whose fundamental principle is represented by the description of the pot based on the number and characteristics of the volumes that compose it, as well as their sequence. In order to calculate the proportions of a vessel, were drawn tangents parallel to the 'wall' of the recipient, thus facilitating the identification of inflection points (points that mark the change, in direction and shape, of the vessel's outline)⁹. Another important aspect was represented by establishing the existing ratio between the vessels' dimensions and relating it to the data obtained from the volumetric typology, thus revealing essential information in establishing the functionality of the artifacts.

Consequently, the main functional categories identified, in the study of the pottery of Noua communities, are: cooking vessels, containers used for the preparation, serving and consumption of food, recipients for storing solid/liquid goods and pots with a utilitarian/special function.

The first type, that of *cooking ware*, is illustrated by short, sturdy containers with a large basal surface that allows the efficient transfer of the heat. They are 'restricted', having a narrow aperture, in order to prevent the fast evaporation, in case of boiling. Their dimensions suggest

⁹ SHEPARD 1954, 228-229.

that these recipients usually have relatively thick walls. There is not much data regarding the existence of grabbers/handles, as tilting, lifting and carrying them is thought to be optional rather than essential¹⁰.

The literature presents the category of vessels used for serving and consuming food. In the case of Noua ceramic materials, I also included the preparation function because I believe that some containers could have been used for this activity as well, especially since their morphological characteristics are similar to the ones specific to this category than to that of cooking ware. Thus, the predominant shape of the vessels used for the *preparation, serving and consumption of food* is that of the bowl with a flat basal surface. Containers of this type are unrestricted, being open vessels, with a maximum diameter equivalent to the aperture diameter. Most of the time, they are decorated, probably due to their frequent use and high visibility within the community. At the same time, decoration could be discouraged, in some situations, because of the relatively short life span of these recipients. The existing information suggests that the pots specific for this category are made for either individual or family use¹¹.

Regarding the vessels identified in the literature as having the function of *storing solid or liquid goods*, I preferred to include them in a single category since, in the case of Noua culture, there are no discoveries that fit the description of vessels used typically for storing liquids. It is hard to believe that the communities in question did not possess such containers, so I consider plausible that some finds that fit the requirements for storing solid goods were also used, by Noua communities, to store liquids, both on a short, as well as over a longer period of time. Thus, the recipients specific for this category are classified according to the duration of storage: long-term (weeks/months) or short-term (hours/days). The aperture of these containers has a tendency to be large enough in order to allow the use of a ladle. Regarding the covering of vessels, the presence of lids is attested rather rarely, which is why it was considered that the existence of an outward-facing upper-part would facilitate the binding of a flexible covering, that could protect the contents¹².

In addition to the above-mentioned functional categories, I have included a fourth class, consisting of the so-called cups with one or two high handles (*kantharos*), as well as a perforated bowl. Although these recipients were not found within the functional categories from the bibliographic material, they are clearly different from the categories presented previously.

Regarding the main methodological limitations encountered, it should be noted that most of the illustrations from the literature do not provide scales or other information regarding the dimensions of the recipients. Also, I believe that in some cases the scale was represented wrongly, as in the entire workspace not a single vessel with a maximum height or diameter greater than 30 cm has been identified, hence all the finds are consistent with the categories of

¹⁰ HENRICKSON & MCDONALD 1983, 631; BODI & SOLCAN 2010, 317.

¹¹ HENRICKSON & MCDONALD 1983, 632; BODI & SOLCAN 2010, 317.

¹² HENRICKSON & MCDONALD 1983, 622-623; BODI & SOLCAN 2010, 318-319.

small and medium-sized vessels. Thus, I believe that we should not exclude the possibility of erroneous representation of the scale, especially when talking about recipients that could have been used to store various solid/liquid products, for long periods of time. Last but not least, the proposed workspace is characterized by an accentuated fragmentation of the material, the number of whole or restorable pots being very low (most of which were identified in funerary contexts).

Results

Dependent on the position of the tangent on the outline of the vessel¹³, within the archaeological material from Jijia River watershed, were documented the following: simple open vessels, with one volume; open composite vessels, with two or three volumes; closed composite vessels, with two, three or four volumes.

Open recipients allow access to the interior, being suitable for various activities that involve using hands inside the container, exposing or drying the contents. The tangent corresponding to the aperture of the recipient is, in this case, either vertical or inclined outwards. In contrast, closed vessels have restricted access, retaining the contents and thus becoming useful for storing solid or liquid products. In this case, the tangent corresponding to the opening will be inclined inwards, the aperture diameter being smaller than the maximum diameter.

○ *Cooking vessels*

According to the ethnographic and archaeological data, containers of this type have various sizes (h: 6-41.5 cm; D_{max} : 12.7-56 cm), however, the constant is represented by the proportions. Thus, the ratio between height and maximum diameter is in the range of 0.8-3.4. In other words, the cooking vessels are about one-third wider than they are tall, being short and sturdy¹⁴. In the present context, the vessels used for cooking are composed of two or three volumes, being organized in three main types: *a-c* (Fig.3/a). Although some containers do not fit entirely into the descriptions above, their shape and proportions are suggesting this type of functionality.

Type a is represented by small pots, with two volumes, and is divided in two other subtypes, depending on the volumes and their merge place. Thus, *subtype a1* is represented by a small-sized recipient¹⁵, whose maximum diameter is equal to that of the aperture, being located towards the upper-part. Similar artefacts have been discovered in other areas of Romania, but also in the territory located east of Prut River¹⁶. *Subtype a2* is represented by several small and

¹³ SHEPARD 1954, 230.

¹⁴ HENRICKSON & MCDONALD 19883, 631; BODI & SOLCAN 2010, 317.

¹⁵ FLORESCU 1991, fig.207/1.

¹⁶ FLORESCU 1991, fig.199/2; SAVA 2002, taf.2/4-5, 3/2, 4/2, 31/3, 45/3, 82/4, 85/3, 145/5.

medium vessels, with heights between 9 and 21 cm, and maximum diameters between 11 and 21 cm. Usually, they present simple decorations, in relief, in the upper-part.

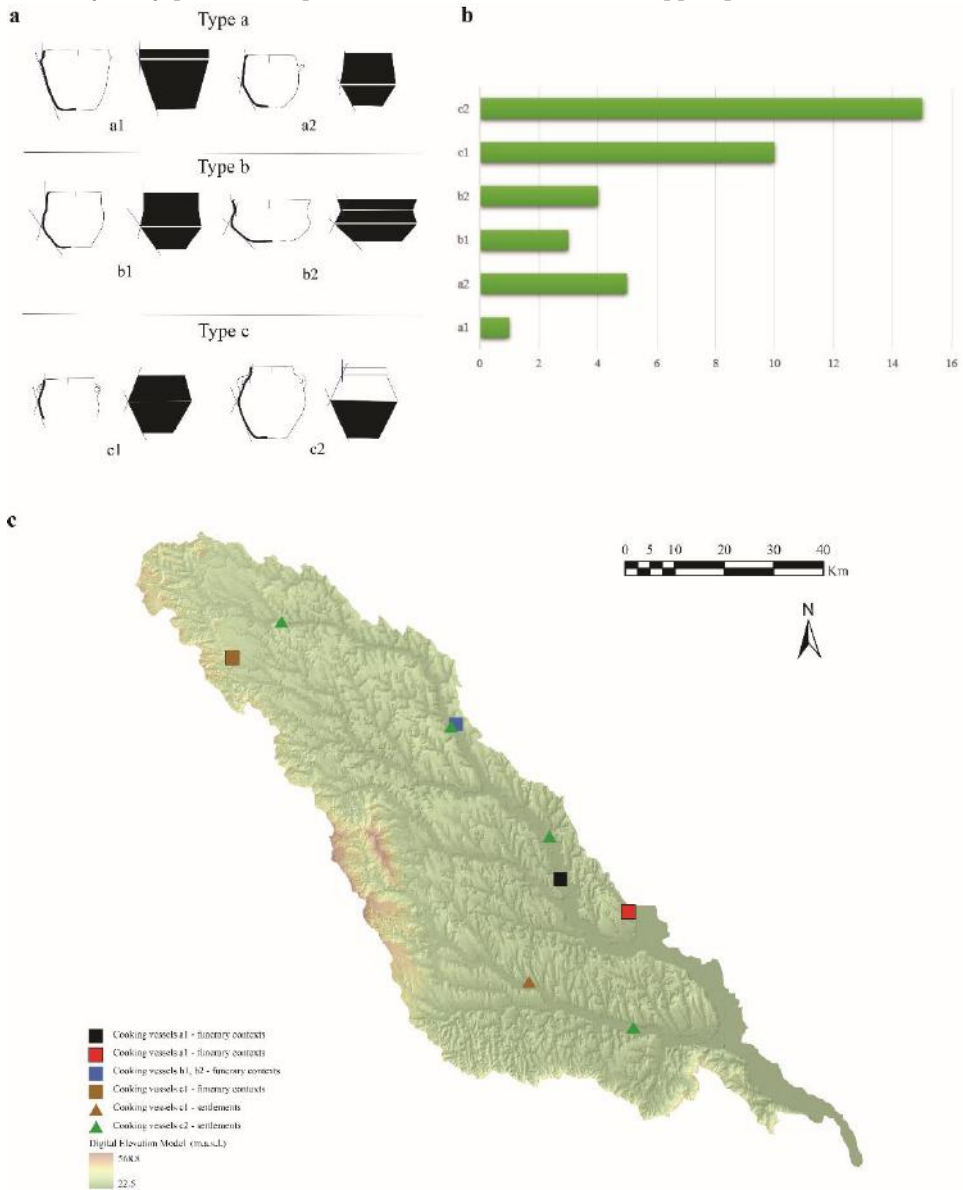


Fig.3. *Cooking ware*. **a.** Typology. **b.** Quantitative ratio of the discoveries from Jijia River catchment. **c.** Spatial distribution within Jijia River catchment

Type b is represented by small and medium-sized recipients, consisting of three volumes, with a relatively large basal surface. Next, the two sub-variants were set according to the

position of the tangent. *Subtype b1* is illustrated, mainly, by small pots, with heights between 9-11 cm and maximum diameters of 11-12 cm¹⁷.

Subtype b2 is characterized by medium-sized vessels (with heights between 8 and 10.6 cm and maximum diameters between 15.5 and 17.7 cm), compounded of three volumes and with the aperture diameter almost equal to the maximum diameter¹⁸. Volumetrically, they consist of two overlapped truncated cones, followed by either a cylinder or another truncated cone. These pots present analogies inside other funerary contexts specific to Noua culture, from Romania and Republic of Moldova¹⁹.

Type c is represented by recipients of larger dimensions, with two or three volumes (two overlapped truncated cones, to which a cylinder is sometimes added) and are, exclusively, restricted, the maximum diameter being larger than that of the aperture. However, they allow access to the contents of the vessel, which is why they have been included in the present category. The auxiliary elements specific to this type are represented by handles and simple strips of clay, placed in the upper-part. Analogies for these pieces can be established within the so-called *type IV vessels*, according to the typology of Vasile Diaconu²⁰, being discovered both in settlements and in necropolises²¹. They were structured in two sub-types, as follows: *c1* is represented by recipients with two volumes. Although no restorable recipients have been discovered, and the dimensions of the shards are not specified, the maximum diameter seems to be found, in all cases, in the middle area of the container, representing the merging line of the two volumes²². Similar containers were reported in Noua sites from Transylvania, as well as in the territory located east of the Carpathians²³. The *c2 subtype* is represented by medium vessels, with three volumes, this being the main difference from the previous sub-type. Maximum diameters are between 16-26.6 cm, and aperture diameters between 15.1-25.7 cm. In this case also, no complete pots were found in the workspace, the discoveries consisting only of a few ceramic fragments²⁴.

A brief statistical inquiry (Fig.3/b) demonstrates that Noua communities had a preference for using cooking pots of larger sizes than in other cases, usually with two or three volumes, restricted, but still allowing access to the contents. The artefacts specific to subtypes *c1* and *c2*, that were discovered in Jijia catchment, are usually made with handles, which ensure the efficient handling of the recipient, especially since it was used for cooking food, thus involving contact with fire. The spatial distribution of the various sub-types of cooking vessels (Fig.3/c)

¹⁷ SAVA 2002, taf.72/3-4; DASCĂLU 2007, pl.53/364.3.

¹⁸ SAVA 2002, taf.70/6, 75/2; DASCĂLU 2007, pl.53/364.1-2.

¹⁹ FLORESCU 1991, fig.167/6, 208/7; SAVA 2002, taf.50/5.

²⁰ DIACONU 2014, 121-122.

²¹ FLORESCU 1991, fig.14/6, 16/2; DIACONU 2014, fig.85/2-3,13.

²² FLORESCU 1991, fig.30/15,17, 31/30, 33/42-43,46, 41/8, 43/4; SAVA 2002, taf.74/3.

²³ FLORESCU 1991, fig.19/6, 20/6, 26/7, 57/24.

²⁴ FLORESCU 1991, fig.6/4-6, 7/1-2, 16/4, 24/9,12,14, 25/19, 37/6, 42/17.

provided information only in the case of *variant c2*, which also benefits from the highest number of discoveries. In the other cases, although the number of artefacts may have been quite large, the recipients belong only to a few investigated sites, which is why no clear conclusions could be drawn for now. Thus, the pots specific to *subtype c2* are found in the settlements of Noua culture throughout Jijia's catchment, the constant identified being linked to the presence of most of them in settlements along the main course of Jijia River. At the same time, a confirmation of the functionality of these recipients comes from the lack of discoveries identified in funerary contexts, at least for now. However, in the territory between the Carpathian Mountains and Prut River, such ceramic forms were identified in two necropolises²⁵.

○ *Recipients used for the preparation, serving and consumption of food*

The recipients for individual use have relatively small dimensions (h: 6-8 cm; D_{max}: 10-23 cm), the existing ratio between the maximum diameter and height being between 1.3-3.1. The vessels for family use have various sizes (h:4.4-23.4 cm; D_{max}:8.4-95 cm) and a ratio that varies between 1.7 and 5.8. Thus, it is observed that, in both cases, the maximum diameter is two or three times greater than the height²⁶. In the workspace, the pots corresponding to this functionality are consisting of one or two volumes, most being unrestricted. Four types specific to this functionality were identified, classified in turn into sub-types (Fig. 4/a).

Type a consists of small vessels, with a single volume²⁷. The heights of the vessels are between 5.3-10.5 cm, and the maximum diameters between 7.5-14.5 cm, representing, in fact, the aperture diameters. The basal surface of the recipients of this type, from the mentioned necropolises, is between 5.4 and 8.5 cm. The small dimensions of the pots, as well as their shape, suggest their manufacture for individual use. The decoration is present only very rarely and consists of a simple strip of clay, made in the upper-area. Similar recipients were discovered in contemporary sites from eastern Romania²⁸, being represented by vessels from the *type VIII* of ceramic forms, according to the typology of V. Diaconu²⁹.

Type b is also represented by pots with only one volume. This time, the aperture diameter is at least twice the diameter of the base. The vessels specific to this category are known in the literature as *bowls*³⁰, their characteristic decoration consisting in simple strips of clay. Such pieces were discovered in various Noua contexts³¹, corresponding to *type VI*, according to the

²⁵ FLORESCU 1991, fig.192/6, 197/14.

²⁶ HENRICKSON & MCDONALD 1983, 632; BODI & SOLCAN 2010, 317.

²⁷ FLORESCU 1964, fig.4/2; 1991, fig.191/1, 207/4-5; SAVA 2002, taf.71/4, 73/4, 74/4-7.

²⁸ FLORESCU 1991, fig.206/1; DIACONU 2014, fig.94/6-8.

²⁹ DIACONU 2014, 126.

³⁰ BOLOHAN 2016.

³¹ DIACONU 2014, fig.92/1-6,11-12.

typology of V. Diaconu³².

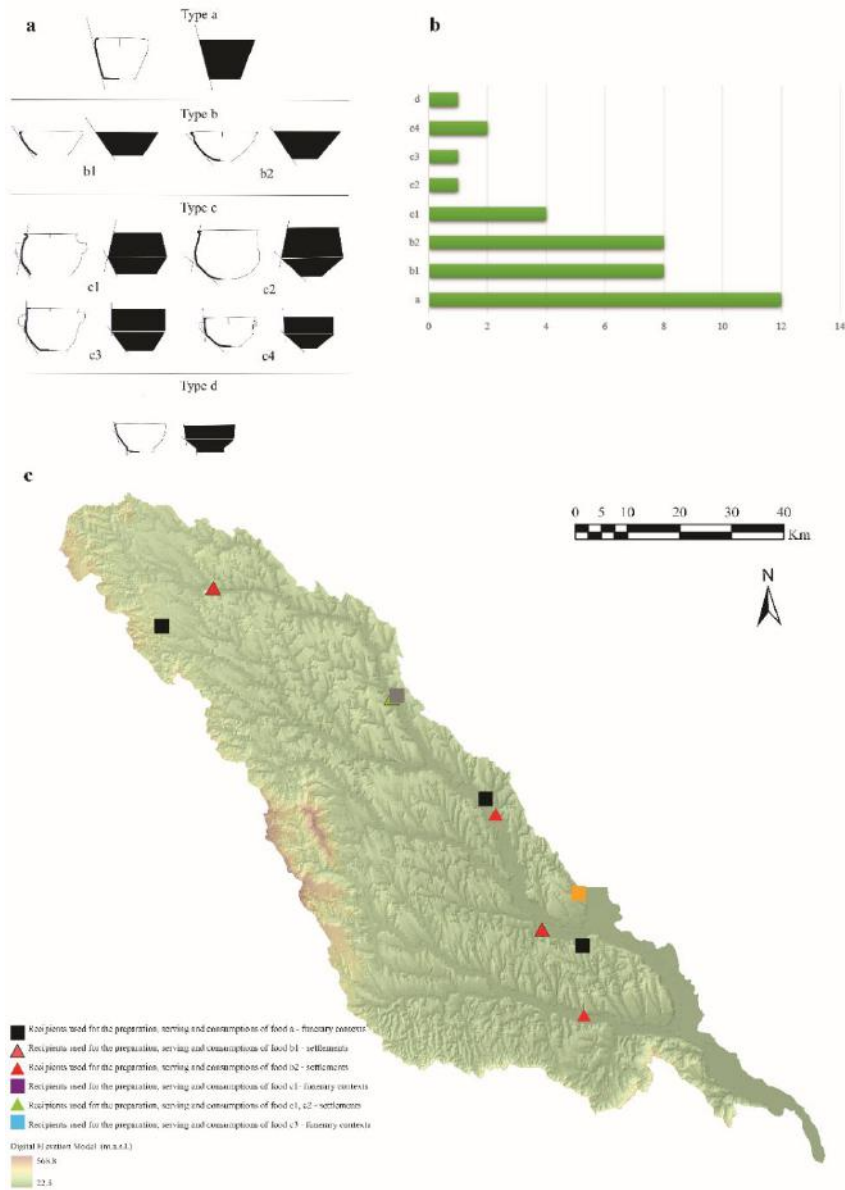


Fig.4. Recipients used for the *preparation, serving and consumption of food*. **a.** Typology. **b.** Quantitative ratio of the discoveries from Jijia River catchment. **c.** Spatial distribution within Jijia River catchment

³² DIACONU 2014, 123-124.

Type b1 containers have an aperture diameter between 15.5-18.2 cm and could be classified as being manufactured for individual use³³. It was not possible to analyze the relationship existing between the pots' dimensions and forms because, so far, in the workspace were not identified any whole vessels. The recipients in question have good analogies in Coslogeni cultural environment³⁴. The containers specific to *type b2*, unlike the previous type, have the aperture diameter (18.2-28.8 cm) approximately four times larger than the diameter of the base (4.4-6.6 cm), while the height (6.2-11.5 cm) is just over half the maximum diameter. This category seems to have been used by the whole family³⁵, most of the recipients having 'grabbers' in the upper-area. Also, containers of this type were reported in Coslogeni-type contexts³⁶.

Type c is represented by vessels with two volumes, both open and closed. Most of them were discovered in funerary contexts and present, as auxiliary elements, handles, placed above the maximum diameter. All finds in this category appear to have been used for personal use. Further, depending on size and volume, four sub-variants could be distinguished. Thus, *sub-type c1* is usually represented by recipients made up of two overlapping truncated cones, their merging line being represented by the maximum diameter, placed closer to the base³⁷. Vessels in this category usually feature handles or grabbers. For most of the discoveries, the literature does not include details regarding their dimensions. However, the range in which the aperture diameter could fit, based on the known information, is 7.2-18.2 cm. Similar discoveries were identified in Noua sites from the Republic of Moldova³⁸. *Sub-type c2* is represented by a single discovery³⁹. It is compound of two overlapping truncated cones, with the joining line placed near the base. The maximum diameter is about three times larger than the diameter of the base, the height being smaller than it. The specimen is decorated with wide, horizontal grooves, combined with narrow, obliquely arranged grooves, presenting analogies inside necropolises⁴⁰. The *c3 sub-type* differs from the others through the presence of auxiliary elements: horizontally, as well as vertically, perforated handles⁴¹. The recipient in question is 7.5 cm high, with a maximum diameter of 9.37 cm, thus being able to be classified in the category of small vessels, with analogies in the territory located east of Prut River⁴². In *variant c4* were included

³³ FLORESCU 1991, fig.25/18, 30/16,18, 39/3.

³⁴ BOLOHAN 2016, pl.16/1-3,5.

³⁵ FLORESCU 1964, fig.6/1, 7/4; 1991, fig.24/13, 32/31, 34/49, 37/4-5, 39/8, 42/18.

³⁶ BOLOHAN 2016, pl.16/4.

³⁷ FLORESCU 1991, fig.33/44, 35/1, 189/2, 190/11.

³⁸ FLORESCU 1991, fig.25/2; SAVA 2014, fig.130/15-16.

³⁹ DASCĂLU 2007, pl.6/166a.1.

⁴⁰ FLORESCU 1991, fig.202/30.

⁴¹ FLORESCU 1991, fig.188/27.

⁴² SAVA 2002, taf.33/6.

two finds from funerary contexts⁴³. Both vessels are open, being made up of a truncated cone and a cylinder, the maximum diameter being equal to that of the aperture (10.2-11.8 cm). The heights are 7.5 and 8.8 cm, while the base diameter is 4.2 and 4.4 cm, respectively. Note that the maximum diameter/aperture is at least twice that of the base and about one-third the height. One of the vessels presents four small handles, and the other one a simple strip of clay, in relief. Similar containers have been reported in Late Bronze Age contexts from eastern Romania and Transylvania⁴⁴.

Type d is represented by a three-volume vessel, open, consisting of two overlapping truncated cones, followed by a cylinder. The maximum diameter is the same as the aperture diameter and is about twice larger than the diameter of the base. Also, the height is almost half of the maximum diameter⁴⁵, showing similarities with the vessel from Brăilița, considered to be of the Srubno-Hvalinsk type⁴⁶.

The ratio of the various variants identified in this functional category (Fig.4/b) does not illustrate a clear preference due to the relatively low number of recipients discovered, for all subtypes. However, a higher number of recipients specific to *type a* can be observed, an explainable fact, given that this typological class involves the preparation, serving and consumption of certain foods. These actions are much easier when using vessels with one volume, of relatively low dimensions, but with an opening large enough to allow access to the contents of the container.

The spatial distribution (Fig. 4/c) revealed reliable results only regarding the *type b* recipients, which are found in various settlements, located on the main course of Jijia River and, in one case, of Bahlui River. The low presence of these finds within grave inventories suggests, as in the situation of cooking vessels, a possible proof of their functionality.

- *Recipients used for storing solid/liquid goods*

In general, these containers fall into two categories: for storing either solid or liquid goods. In the present case, the ceramic material, identified in the specialized literature, did not allow for a clear differentiation, which is why I preferred to include both types in one category. Vessels used to store liquids have, based on ethnographic observations, a high neck and a convex body. Such containers have not been reported during the archaeological research dedicated to Noua communities, from Jijia River catchment, but a few finds can be mentioned that could fit, from a morphological point of view, into this type. Thus, there have to be mentioned two Belozerka pots from the territory located east of Prut River⁴⁷, and also the

⁴³ FLORESCU 1991, fig.187/20, 189/5.

⁴⁴ FLORESCU 1991, fig.183/4, 184/7, 199/9.

⁴⁵ FLORESCU 1964, fig.8/5.

⁴⁶ FLORESCU 1991, fig. 208/2-3.

⁴⁷ SAVA 2014, taf.191/11,14.

Srubno-Hvalinsk discovery from the workspace⁴⁸. Since the absence of vessels with this functionality is not plausible, I have preferred to accept the possibility that some of the pots typical for storing solid goods were also used for liquids. The containers used for long-term storage are usually tall and slender, and are often fitted with handles. The latter do not necessarily serve to lift and handle the vessel but, rather, to tilt it or to tie lids or covers. These recipients are usually medium and large (h:11-150 cm; D_{max} :17.8-100 cm), the ratio between the maximum diameter and height being between 0.5-2, suggesting relatively short, stuffed forms⁴⁹. The vessels used for short-term storage are lower and stockier (h:19-25 cm; Dm:19-22 cm), as they do not involve pouring the contents. At the same time, a center of gravity closer to the base increases safety when filling the vessel. The ratio of maximum diameter to height varies between 0.8-1.6. In the workspace, the storage vessels are diverse, in terms of volumetric components. Thus, three main categories were identified, with multiple variants (Fig.5/a).

Type a is illustrated by vessels with one volume, open, whose maximum diameter is represented by the aperture diameter. No fully restorable recipients were discovered, which is why no clear conclusions can be drawn. However, the known dimensions suggest their use for short-term storage of solid/liquid goods⁵⁰. The discoveries have a maximum diameter between 18.3-26 cm, the decoration present on these containers consisting of a simple strip of clay. Such containers were also identified in Noua settlements from the Republic of Moldova⁵¹.

The recipients specific for *type b* consist of two volumes and were probably used for short-term storage. Containers of this type fall into the category of bag-vessels, according to the typology of Coslogeni pottery⁵², respectively of *type V vessels*, according to the typology made by V. Diaconu⁵³. They are classified into two sub-types, depending on their shapes. *Sub-type b1* is characterized by the presence of two overlapping truncated cones, so that the aperture diameter is narrower, being smaller than the maximum diameter. The specimens of this type are numerous and come, mostly, from settlements⁵⁴. Their maximum diameters are found between 10.6-24 cm, and heights between 13.6-20.8 cm. The diameter of the base is about half the aperture diameter, being two or three times smaller than the height. The decoration consists of a strip of clay, either simple or alveolate, and handles, placed in the upper part. Analogies for these pieces were reported in the settlements from the left side of Prut River, but also in the area occupied by Coslogeni communities⁵⁵.

⁴⁸ FLORESCU 1991, fig.207/8.

⁴⁹ HENRICKSON & MCDONALD 1983, 632-633; BODI & SOLCAN 2010, 318.

⁵⁰ FLORESCU 1964, fig.6/2,7; 1991, fig.29/10, 35/62, 39/11.

⁵¹ SAVA 2014, fig.47/8.

⁵² BOLOHAN 2016, 125-127.

⁵³ DIACONU 2014, 122-123.

⁵⁴ FLORESCU 1964, fig.7/6,9-10, 14/6; 1991, fig.24/11,16, 25/22, 29/10, 30/14, 31/29, 32/33-34,36, 33/40,45,47, 34/53, 35/61, 38/10-13,15, 39/2,4-5,7,9-10,12, 41/1,3-6, 42/19, 43/1-3,7-8, 191/4.

⁵⁵ SAVA 2014, fig.125/7, 130-131, 134, 149-152; BOLOHAN 2016, pl.10/1-8,10.

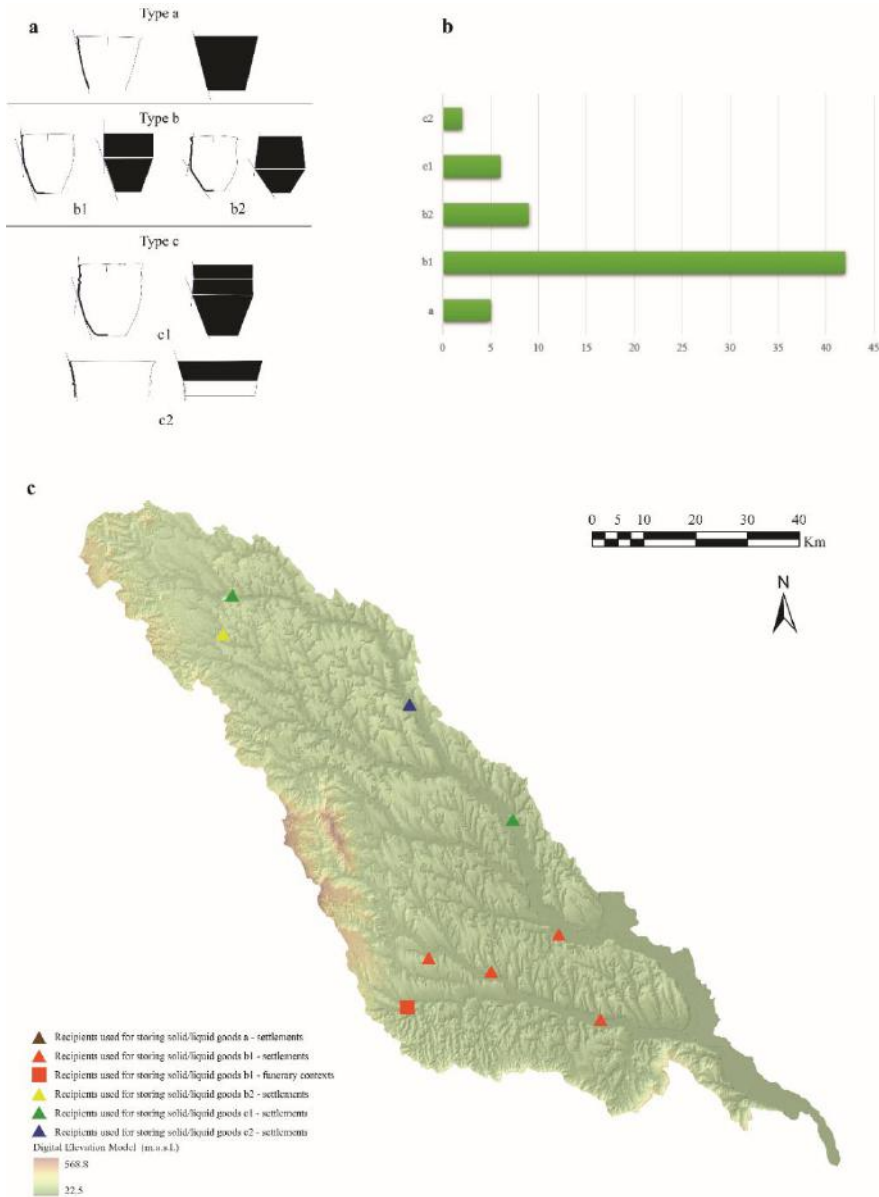


Fig.5. Recipients used for storing solid/liquid goods. **a.** Typology. **b.** Quantitative ratio of the discoveries from Jijia River catchment. **c.** Spatial distribution within Jijia River catchment

Sub-type b2 is composed of a truncated cone followed by a cylinder, the maximum diameter being equal to the aperture diameter. Discoveries of this type come, mostly, from settlements⁵⁶. The maximum diameter is found between 10.2-22.6 cm, and the height between 12-24.6 cm,

⁵⁶ FLORESCU 1964, fig.7/7; MOSCALU 1989, fig.10/9; FLORESCU 1991, fig.29/9, 30/20, 32/35,38, 34/51-52, 38/14.

thus being included in the category of small and medium vessels. As in the previous case, the decoration consists of a strip of clay but, for this category, we note the absence of handles or grabbers. Other specimens specific to *variant b2* were found inside necropolises from eastern Romania⁵⁷.

The containers of *type c* are made up of two or three volumes and were structured into two sub-types: the *sub-type c1* stands out for its larger dimensions than in the previous cases, the maximum diameter reaching 30 cm, and the height 26.4 cm. Thus, we can consider that the vessels in this category could have been used to store solid/liquid goods in the long term. They are generally decorated with simple strips of clay⁵⁸, with analogies in similar sites from the territory located east of the Carpathians⁵⁹. The *c2 variant* differs from the previous one by the angularity of the walls, first of all. The clay strips, which are alveolate, are located much lower than in the previous case⁶⁰, having an aperture diameter between 22.2-25.3 cm. Similar vessels were identified in the Coslogeni cultural environment⁶¹, being included in the category of *recipients used for storing supplies*.

Regarding these recipients, the preference for restricted ‘bag-vessels’, made up of two volumes, is clear, their number being much higher than in any other cases (Fig.5/b). The spatial distribution (Fig.5/c) revealed important results for the pots specific to *subvariant b1*, which were identified both in settlements and funerary contexts. There is a concentration of discoveries in the lower basin of Jijia River, more precisely in Bahlui River catchment. In the case of the other discoveries, from the middle and upper basins of Jijia, the constant is represented by the settlements found on the main course of Jijia River.

- *Recipients with utilitarian/special function*

This category includes the vessels that have had a special destination, discovered most often inside the graves. Their utilitarian function is given by the possibility of using them for storing liquids or for drinking, before the time of the ritual deposition.

Type a (Fig.6/a) is represented by the cups with a single raised handle. Although these are small in size ($h/D_{\max} < 15$ cm), I think they could have also been used for storing liquid products. Given the fact that a single vessel of this type was discovered inside a settlement, while all the others were found in funerary contexts, I believe they were most likely filled with liquids and deposited as an offering. The recipients thus acquired both a special (ritual) functionality and an utilitarian one, of ‘storing’. It is difficult to determine if these vessels were used before the moment of their ritualic deposition, their functionality being transformed only out of ‘necessity’. In order to establish this aspect, further should be performed chemical analyzes, at

⁵⁷ FLORESCU 1991, fig.203/40.

⁵⁸ FLORESCU 1964, FIG.7/5, 14/2; 1991, FIG.25/17,21, 32/37, 206/5.

⁵⁹ DIACONU 2014, fig.86/11.

⁶⁰ FLORESCU 1964, fig.6/3,8.

⁶¹ BOLOHAN 2016, pl. 9B/2.

least. Such containers have numerous analogies in Noua funerary contexts, being found, within the typology realized by V. Diaconu⁶², in the category of *type II vessels*. Depending on the number of volumes that compose the recipient, there were identified three sub-types: The *sub-type a1* is represented by two-volume vessels, open, made up of a truncated cone, overlapped by a cylinder. Thus, the maximum diameter is equal to that of the aperture, and from a proportionate point of view, the diameter of the base is three times smaller than the maximum diameter, while the height is larger than the latter. The specimens⁶³ have a single raised handle that, in some cases, presents a button, without other decorative elements. Similar containers were identified in numerous contemporary sites throughout Romania⁶⁴. *Sub-type a2* is represented by the same type of recipients, but made up of three volumes (truncated cones overlapped). These specimens⁶⁵ are restricted, because the aperture diameter is smaller than the maximum diameter, but they do allow access to the content. The available dimensions place the heights of the containers (without taking into account the auxiliary elements) in the range of 6.2-12.8 cm, while the maximum diameters are found between 7.5-19.1 cm. The heights seem to be almost equal to the aperture diameters, but smaller than the maximum diameters, so that the vessels are short and stocky. Similar specimens were also discovered in neighboring territories, as well as in the Coslogeni cultural environment⁶⁶. *Sub-type a3* is illustrated by a single discovery⁶⁷, made up of four volumes (truncated cones overlapped). Although the vessel is restricted, and the aperture diameter is smaller than the maximum one, the access to the content is allowed. Its dimensions are: 8.5 cm high, 9.2 cm maximum diameter and 7 cm the aperture diameter. The vessel is decorated with upside down triangles with double sides, while their base is delimited by a horizontal line, presenting, also, one raised handle with a button. Similar discoveries were identified within Noua sites from eastern Romania⁶⁸.

Type b is represented by the cups with two raised handles. They could be classified according to the number and type of component volumes, as well as according to the position of the tangent. *Sub-type b1* is represented by cups with two volumes (overlapping truncated cones), that present raised handles, simple or with buttons⁶⁹. The containers are small sized, with heights between 5.7-12.6 cm, and maximum diameters between 5.7-15.3 cm. It is noted that, in general, the height is equal to the aperture diameter.

⁶² DIACONU 2014, 119-120.

⁶³ FLORESCU 1991, fig.187/24.

⁶⁴ DIACONU 2014, fig.82/6-8,11-12.

⁶⁵ FLORESCU 1964, fig.2/2,4; 1991, fig.33/41, 35/60, 41/2, 42/14-16, 185/1, 186/1,4,11, 187/12-13, 188/28; SAVA 2002, taf.71/3, 72/5, 73/5; DASCĂLU 2007, pl.39/112.

⁶⁶ DIACONU 2014, fig.80/2,4-5,11; BOLOHAN 2016, pl.18b/1, 24a/2-3.

⁶⁷ FLORESCU 1991, fig.191/2.

⁶⁸ FLORESCU 1991, fig.200/10, 204/1.

⁶⁹ FLORESCU 1964, fig.2/1; 1991, fig.185/2,5, 187/13, 188/26,29,31, 189/1,8; SAVA 2002, taf.71/7.

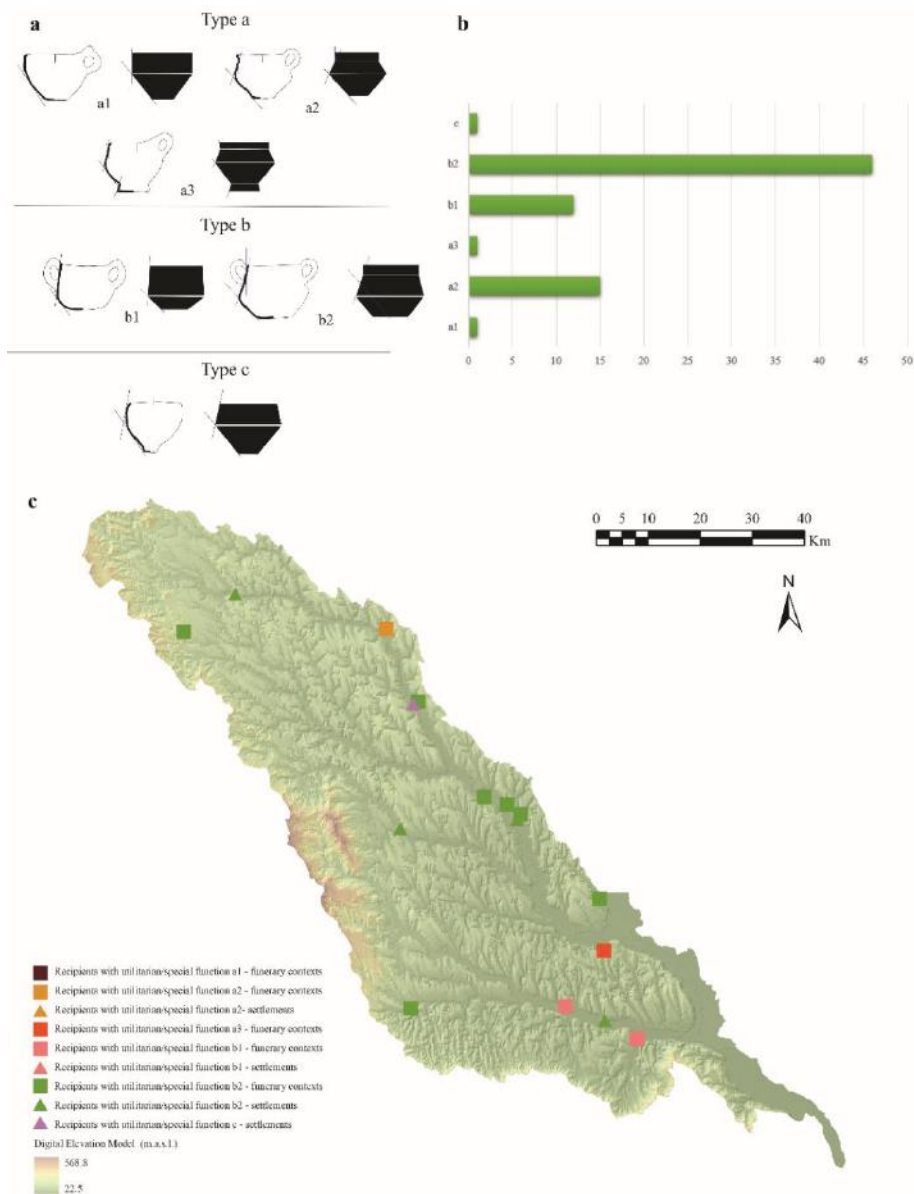


Fig.6. Recipients with a utilitarian/special function. **a.** Typology. **b.** Quantitative ratio of the discoveries from Jijia River catchment. **c.** Spatial distribution within Jijia River catchment

Among these discoveries, only one presents decoration, namely bands of horizontal and oblique grooves, made in the middle area of the vessel. Similar recipients were reported in numerous funerary contexts specific to both Noua and Coslogeni cultures⁷⁰, being known

⁷⁰ DIACONU 2014, fig.73/9, 75/10-11, 77/5,8, 79/4,6,9; BOLOHAN 2016, pl.23A/1,5-6.

within the specialized literature as *kantharos*⁷¹ or as *type I vessels*, according to the typology of V. Diaconu⁷².

Sub-type b2 is represented by cups with two raised handles made up of three volumes (two overlapping truncated cones, followed by a cylinder). This time there are slight differences compared to the previous category. Such containers appear in a much higher number inside settlements⁷³, although the preponderance remains within the funerary discoveries⁷⁴. The recipients' dimensions vary between 5.4-7.7 cm in height and between 7.2-24.4 cm regarding the maximum diameter. In this sub-type, the recipients' sizes are larger than before, belonging mostly to the medium-sized category. At the same time, another difference, in comparison with the previous version, is given by the much higher presence of the decorative motifs on the recipients. In this category were included also three other discoveries that are, in terms of shape, corresponding to the *b2 sub-type*, but which present either small handles, located in the upper-part of the vessel, or small grabbers, found in the area of the maximum diameter. Since the context of the discovery is the same, as in the previous cases, I consider that these recipients could also have had a utilitarian/special function. Last but not least, such specimens appear in almost all Noua contexts, from the Romanian territory⁷⁵, but also from the area located east of Prut River⁷⁶.

Type c was added to the present typology in order to be able to include a shard⁷⁷ that belongs to a perforated bowl with a height of 12.8 cm and a maximum diameter of 11.5 cm. Specimens of this type are usually considered either strainers or smoke-vessels. In this case, I took into account the relatively small dimensions of the object, which, from my point of view, leans more towards a possible usage in ritualic ceremonies. For this reason, I preferred to include the discovery in the category of recipients with a utilitarian/special function, remaining, however, at the level of a simple hypothesis. Similar discoveries were identified in numerous settlements⁷⁸, but also in during field-walks performed within the workspace⁷⁹.

The vessels with a utilitarian/special function are present in almost all the funerary contexts belonging to Noua communities, being represented, in particular, by *types a and b*. However, there is a predilection for the cups with two raised handles (*kantharos*), made up of three volumes and, most of the times, decorated (Fig.6/b). In the case of the cups with a single

⁷¹ BOLOHAN 2016, 129-130.

⁷² DIACONU 2014, 118-119.

⁷³ FLORESCU 1991, fig.29/8, 30/13, 34/48, 37/2; DASCĂLU 2007, pl.9/83.

⁷⁴ FLORESCU 1964, fig.2/1,5-6, 8/2; 1991, fig.186/5,9-10, 187/15-17,19,22-23, 188/25,27,30,32, 189/3-4,7, 190/9-10,12-13, 191/3,5, 207/7; SAVA 2002, Taf.70/1,4,8, 71/2, 73/2,6, 74/2, 75/3; DASCĂLU 2007, pl.39/295.1-2, 74/420/a-b.

⁷⁵ DIACONU 2014, fig.73/3,10, 75/13, 76-77, 79/5,7,10, 83/12-14.

⁷⁶ SAVA 2014, fig. 14/1-3.

⁷⁷ FLORESCU 1991, fig.35/2.

⁷⁸ DIACONU 2014, fig.94/17,19.

⁷⁹ BRAȘOVEANU 2021, pl.54/4-6.

raised handle, a predilection can be distinguished, as in the previous case, for the specimens made up of three volumes. Although the number of discoveries of ceramics with utilitarian/special function is quite high, regarding the spatial distribution (Fig.6/c) we obtained results only for pots specific to the *sub-type b2*, identified, mainly, in the necropolises from the eastern border of the current workspace, but also in other sites located on the main courses of some important hydrographic arteries, such as Bahlui or Miletin rivers.

The ceramic analysis could not be complete without highlighting, at least, some aspects regarding the decorative elements encountered. It is true that most recipients specific for Noua culture, from the workspace, are undecorated, however I will attempt a short presentation of the main decorative motifs identified. Depending on the manufacturing method, the decoration was made by incisions, in relief (plastic applications), impressions or grooves. Thus, the *incised decorations* generally consist of horizontal, vertical lines and triangles and appear alone, or combined. *Embossed decorations* are predominant in the pottery specific to Noua culture and, usually, consist of strips of clay, buttons or grabbers. It is possible that their positioning, in particular, in the upper half of the storage vessels was intended to strengthen that area of the recipient. Due to the high frequency, the simple, horizontal, continuous, strips of clay can be considered as a decorative element specific to coarse vessels⁸⁰. Also, the horizontal, continuous strip, indented both vertically and obliquely, occurs frequently in the settlements investigated from Jijia catchment, and beyond. This decoration appears, sometimes, associated with a row of perforations made at the top. As for the buttons or grabbers, these auxiliary elements are probably made through 'pinching' the soft paste of the vessel⁸¹ and are more or less conical. *The decoration through impression* was not very common within Noua pottery from Jijia catchment, being discovered only on some ceramic fragments. Last but not least, the *grooves* through their manner of distribution and arrangement on the pottery determined the existence of numerous variants. In the workspace, the communities belonging to Noua culture performed narrow or wide grooves, arranged horizontally, vertically or obliquely, both alone and in combination.

The pottery represents the main component used by archaeologists while defining a set of characteristics specific to a prehistoric community, and more. The ceramics specific to Noua culture, that were discovered in the sites from Jijia catchment are very diversified, summing 93 complete and 16 fragmentary vessels, to which are added 105 other typical ceramic fragments. Regarding the discovery contexts, the existing ratio (Fig.7), is, to some extent, the expected one, since cooking vessels, along with those used for the preparation, serving and consumption and those for storing liquid/solid goods are found, predominantly, within settlements, while the containers with special functions are found, in particular, in funerary contexts.

⁸⁰ DIACONU 2014, pp.130-131.

⁸¹ DIACONU 2014, p.132.

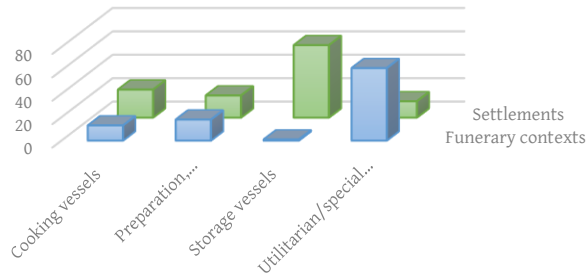


Fig.7. The existing ratio between the functional typology and the context of discoveries

Discussions

Although the number of discoveries is high, most ceramic fragments were found inside the main Noua settlements or necropolises investigated within the work-space, namely: Trușești – *Movila din sesul Jijiei/Puturosul*, Corlăteni – *Pe țarină*, Andrieseni – *Vatra satului II/Terenul Școlii Generale*, Trușești – *Țuguieța*, Probota – *În baie*, etc. Thus, the fact that the concentration area of the discoveries is found in the lower basin of Jijia (Bahlui River watershed) and on the eastern extremity of the workspace, especially on the main course of Jijia River, is not surprising, being, in reality, the result of the research undertaken. In this sense, the codependency relationship existing between the two components (the data obtained and the current stage of research) should not be overlooked. The number of invasive researches is very small, and their nature did not aim to carry out exhaustive research. Added to these aspects is the fact that the results of the excavations have not been fully published, in many cases being identified only mentions of some recipients, without illustrations.

Regarding the auxiliary elements present on the pottery under analysis, the main types consist of incisions, embossed decorations, impressions and grooves and perforations (Fig.8).

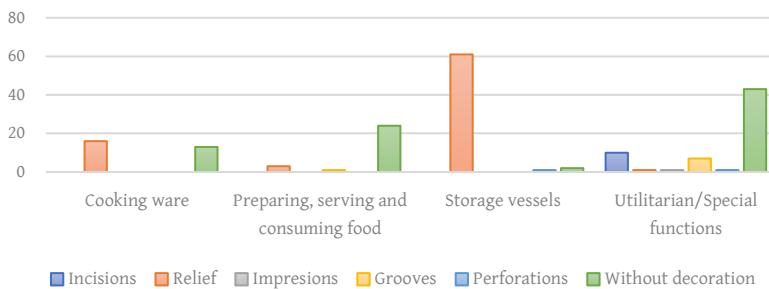


Fig.8. The existing ratio between type of decoration and the functional typology.

Thus, the cooking vessels are, in most cases, decorated with strips of clay in relief, just like the storage vessels. At the same time, the ceramic ware used for preparation, serving and consumption and also for special activities is not decorated. In the exceptional situations,

where decorative motifs are discovered, the vessels of the first category show strips of clay in relief or grooves, and those of the second category have incisions, grooves and, less often, impressions, strips of clay or perforations. The most common auxiliary elements are the handles, especially in the cases of the *type c* of cooking vessels and *kantharos*, followed by small grabbers.

Conclusions

In the present study, the typology relied on the combination of two different types of classification, depending on the component volumes and the possible functionality of the container. Thus, the vessels were divided into four categories: for cooking, for preparation, serving and consumption, for storing solid/liquid goods and with a utilitarian/special function, each of these presenting variants and sub-variants.

The typological analysis carried out demonstrated a preference for the usage of cooking vessels of relatively large sizes, closed and made up of two or three volumes, but without restricting the access to the contents, allowing the efficient heat transfer while preventing the rapid evaporation. Most common form, in the entire workspace, is the one specific to *sub-type c2*, the discoveries being found, mostly, in the eastern area of the workspace, although probably this is a consequence of the current stage of research since, certainly, these pots were needed in all settlements. Most of these ceramic forms feature handles, ensuring the efficient maneuvering of the vessel, especially if they were used for cooking food, thus involving direct contact with fire.

Regarding the recipients used for the preparation, serving and consumption of food, we can observe a predilection for the ones made for individual use, small-sized, consisting of one or two volumes, but which have an aperture diameter large enough to allow the access to the contents. Most forms are undecorated, which may happen because of their relatively short lifespan. Also, there is a pattern regarding the deposition of these recipients inside graves, being used, probably, for the ritualic deposition of offerings.

The pottery used for the storage of solid/liquid goods was, mostly, of medium size, consisting of two volumes, with an aperture large enough to allow the use of a scoop or ladle. The presence of the outward-facing superior part suggests, according to ethnographic and experimental data, the possibility of tying a flexible cover, in order to protect the contents of the container, since, until now, no lids have been reported. Also, the decoration specific to these vessels is the one made in relief, and its placement, in particular, in the upper half of the recipient, aims to strengthen that area of the vessel, being, moreover, a decorative element specific to coarse pottery. The spatial distribution of the discoveries illustrates as area of concentration Bahlui River catchment. Apart from this, another constant can be observed regarding the presence of this type of pottery in the settlements located on the main course of Jijia River.

The last category, of recipients with utilitarian/special functions, was realized in order to be able to include the numerous cups with one or two raised handles (consisting usually of three volumes) identified, over time, in almost all funerary contexts belonging to Noua culture. The utilitarian function is given by the possibility of using the pots for storing liquids or for drinking, prior to the moment of ritual deposition. With the inclusion of these vessels in the funerary inventory, they acquired both a special (ritualic) as well as a 'storage' functionality. The spatial distribution of the utilitarian/special vessels revealed a concentration of pottery in the funerary contexts from the eastern border of the studied territory, followed by a relatively high presence within the funerary discoveries located near the main streams of Bahlui and Miletin Rivers.

Most of the ceramic materials analyzed were discovered in the main sites investigated within the workspace, so it is somewhat predictable that their concentration is in the lower segment of Jijia River catchment, as well as on the eastern extremity of the study area, regions where the few large-scale excavations carried out.

Acknowledgements

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The Long-Armed Persian King: Disabled or Powerful Man?

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Abstract. *This article examines the evidence of ancient authors on the unofficial nicknames of Achaemenid Persian kings. It pays special attention to the interpretation of the nickname of Μακρόχειρ. Two variants are considered for its translation. In the first case, one must talk about the ancient authors' perceptions of this nickname as relating to a person who had one arm longer than the other. In the second case, the nickname is interpreted metaphorically: it is believed to be used for a ruler who is seeking an extension of his possessions. The possibility of applying the nickname of Μακρόχειρ to each of the three Persian kings – Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I – is investigated.*

Keywords: *Nicknames, Artaxerxes, Darius, Xerxes, Achaemenids.*

The issue of Greek nicknames of Persian kings remains virtually out of view of modern researchers. It is possible to find only a few remarks on this subject in the literature and, of course, only in relation to a few Persian monarchs, but even here the researchers' views diverge⁴. This work is dedicated to the examination of one nickname – Μακρόχειρ – and the question is raised regarding the possibility of interpreting it as 'Long-Armed.'

According to the most common version, the Persian king Artaxerxes I received the nickname Μακρόχειρ (that is, 'Long-Armed'). This, in particular, is discussed in Plutarch's two

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⁴ Giving Darius III the epithet *Codomannus*, for example, is causing for discussion. This is reported only by Justin (10. 3. 3), but his information is interpreted ambiguously. Rüdiger SCHMITT 1982, 90-1 + not. 34. referred to the report of the Babylonian astronomical diaries, from which it follows that Darius III's own name was Artašat; that suggests that *Codomannus* was his Persian nickname. Otherwise, Ernst BADIAN 2000, 247-8, who believed that *Codomannus* was a personal name, interpreted it as the Aramaic word *qdmwn*, meaning 'Eastern' or 'From the East.' However, *Codomannus* is, of course, a nickname or name known to the Greeks in its eastern version. Other nicknames of Persian kings, however, were of Greek origin: Μακρόχειρ ('Long-armed'), Νόθος ('Bastard') and Μνήμων ('Mindful'). As far as Μνήμων is concerned Said Amir ARJOMAND 1998, 245 argued that it can and should be taken as a Greek translation of the theophoric name, *Vahuman* (New Persian "Bahman"), which he assumed as a sign of his devotion to Vohu Manah ('Good Thought'), the second of the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas ('Holy Immortals'). Alternatively, Carsten BINDER 2008, 85 proposes that the epithet Μνήμων was a Greek literal translation of the same Persian nickname reported by Hesychius as ἀβιάτακα (Hesych. s. v. ἀβιάτακα μνήμονα. Πέρσα).

works: in the biography of the Persian king Artaxerxes II and in *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*. In his biography of the king the author reports that the first Artaxerxes, preeminent among the kings of Persia for gentleness and magnanimity, was surnamed “Long-Armed”, because his right hand was longer than his left, and was the son of Xerxes (Ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Ἄρτοξέρξης, τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις βασιλέων πραότητι καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ πρωτεύσας, Μακρόχειρ ἑπεκαλεῖτο, τὴν δεξιὰν μείζονα τῆς ἐτέρας ἔχων, Ξέρξου δ' ἦν υἱός) (Plut. *Artax.* 1.1). Taking the Greek text into consideration, one can see the ordinal πρῶτος as applied to Artaxerxes – not only designating him as the first king who bore that name but also emphasizing his superiority over other kings, his primacy, and thus consonant with the verb πρωτεύειν. However, the nickname Μακρόχειρ, as explained by a physical disability of the king (the right arm longer than the other), is left without further comment.

Plutarch’s information in his other work – *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* – is even more interesting since it metaphorically explains the nickname of the king. According to him, Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, called ‘Long-Armed’ because of his having one hand longer than the other, used to say that it is more kingly to give to one who has than to take away (Ἄρτοξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξου, ὁ μακρόχειρ προσαγορευθεὶς διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐτέραν χεῖρα μακροτέραν ἔχειν, ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ προσθεῖναι τοῦ ἀφελεῖν βασιλικώτερόν ἐστι) (Plut. *Mor.* 173d). And thus, in this passage the ‘long-armedness’ of the king corresponds not only to the physical disability but also to his generosity (as indicated, apparently, according to Plutarch, as the longer arm of this king).

However, even earlier than Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos wrote about this nickname of Artaxerxes I in his work *Of Kings: (Artaxerxes) Macrochir* was greatly celebrated for a most noble and handsome person, which he rendered still more remarkable by extraordinary bravery in the field because for no one of the Persians was more valorous in action than he (*Macrochir praecipuam habet laudem amplissimae pulcherrimaeque corporis formae, quam incredibili ornauit uirtute belli: namque illo Perses nemo manu fuit fortiori*) (Nep. *De reg.* 1).

It is also noteworthy that Nepos uses the word ‘long-armed’ through its Greek analog *Macrochir*, and not the Latin translation *Longimanus* (under which he appears, for example, in the Latin text of the chronicle of Hieronimus: *Artaxerxes qui Longimanus cognominobatur* – Hieron. *Chron.* 192f). However, the concluding part of the characterization of Artaxerxes in Nepos’s exposition uses the phrase, *namque illo Perses nemo manu fuit fortiori*.

It is also interesting that Nepos decided to use the Greek version of *Macrochir*, whereas the word *Longimanus* undoubtedly provides the necessary play on words, correlating with the noun *manus* (in the usual translation – ‘hand’ – but other meanings of the word are strength, might, courage, hand-to-hand combat, the fight, battle). The use of the epithet *Macrochir* undoubtedly speaks of the fact that Nepos used a Greek source. In general, the epithet ‘long-armed’ (Μακρόχειρ, *Macrochir*) is used in relation to Artaxerxes I by most Greek and Latin authors. This is mentioned, for example, by the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* (P. 304), George the Monk

(Chron. P. 284), the *Suda*'s lexicon (s. v. Ἔσδρας), Ammianus Marcellinus (30. 8. 4), and some others. They all undoubtedly go back to the same source, but the earliest obviously was Cornelius Nepos, who used the *Persian History* of Deinon of Colophon (*Con.* 5) in his work.

Meanwhile, originally there could have existed several versions of which of the Persian kings was called 'Long-Armed.' Strabo was obviously familiar with this tradition. In his *Geographica* he cites the historian Polyclitus,⁵ who assigns the epithet 'Long-Armed' to Darius I (15.3.21. Translation by H.L. Jones):

Perhaps also the following, mentioned by Polycritus, is one of their customs. He says that in Susa each one of the kings built for himself on the acropolis a separate habitation, treasure-houses, and storage places for what tributes they each exacted, as memorials of his administration; and that they exacted silver from the people on the seaboard, and from the people in the interior such things as each country produced, so that they also received dyes, drugs, hair, or wool, or something else of the kind, and likewise cattle; and that the king who arranged the separate tributes was Dareius, called the Long-armed, and the most handsome of men, except for the length of his arms, for they reached even to his knees (τὸν μακρόχειρα, καὶ κάλλιστον ἀνθρώπων πλὴν τοῦ μήκους τῶν βραχιόνων καὶ τῶν πήχεων: ἄπτεσθαι γὰρ καὶ τῶν γονάτων).

We note that in some editions of Strabo's *Geographica* the last sentence is excluded as a later interpolation, though there are no immediate reasons for such an exception.⁶ In this passage Strabo, when explaining the nickname Μακρόχειρ as attributed to Darius, gives it a rationalistic interpretation. But Herodotus, who, as we know, had a special interest in this question, says nothing about such a nickname for Darius, son of Hystaspes.

Especially interesting in this context is mention of nicknames that, in the words of Herodotus, were given to the first three kings in Persia: '... the Persians say that Darius was a merchant, Cambyses was the Lord, and Cyrus was the father, because Darius arranged all his power in a tradesman's way; Cambyses – because he was cruel and arrogant; and Cyrus – because he was merciful and they owe him all the benefits' (λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὡς Δαρεῖος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κῦρος δὲ πατήρ, ὁ μὲν ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, ὁ δὲ

⁵ In this passage Strabo uses the name Polycritus, however, publishers have corrected it to Polyclitus due to the fact that the latter is mentioned elsewhere (15. 3. 21).

⁶ See, for example, the critical commentary on this passage in the well-known Loeb edition of Strabo's *Geographica*: 'Various publishers believe that this is an interpolation. Plutarch (Artaxerxes I) refers to Artaxerxes, that he had the nickname 'Long-Armed,' since his right arm was longer than the left; but the above-stated in relation to Darius lacks confirmation' (JONES 1930, 185, note 2). In the most recent edition of Strabo's *Geographica* the text includes lines about Darius the Long-Armed (RADT 2005, 269).

ὅτι χαλεπός τε ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος, ὁ δὲ ὅτι ἥπιός τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ σφι πάντα ἐμηχανήσατο).⁷ In another place the historian focuses on an interpretation of the Persian kings' own names (6. 98): 'Now as touching the names of those three kings, Darius signifies the Doer, Xerxes the Warrior, Artaxerxes the Great Warrior; and such the Greeks would rightly call them in their language' (δύναιται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρεῖος ἐρξίης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἄρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος. Τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ὧδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἑλληνες καλέοιεν).⁸

Thus, we emphasize that Herodotus, who was interested in all that concerned the epithets of Darius, does not report the nickname the 'Long-Armed' for him. However, the fact that Strabo correctly understood Polyclitus's evidence is confirmed by Pollux's statement in the *Onomasticon* (2. 151) as an attempt to explain the word Μακρόχειρ: 'either according to Polyclitus, it is Darius the son of Hystaspes, or Xerxes, according to Antileon; either, according to most, Artaxerxes, called Ochus, or having a right arm longer than the left, or both' (εἴτε κατὰ Πολύκλειτον ὁ Ὑστάσπου Δαρεῖος, εἴτε κατὰ Ἀντιλέοντα Ξέρξης, εἴτε κατὰ τοὺς πλείστους Ὡχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἄρταξέρξης, ἤτοι τὴν δεξιὰν ἔχων προμηκεστέραν ἢ τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἢ ἀμφοτέρως). We immediately note that Pollux undoubtedly confused Artaxerxes I and Artaxerxes III Ochus, citing the 'majority opinion' – κατὰ τοὺς πλείστους. But the author confirms that Polyclitus called Darius 'long-armed,' and Antileon called Xerxes this. Pollux's last phrase deserves close attention: 'and also because each spread his power as far as possible' (οἱ δὲ ὅτι τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξέτεινεν).⁹

⁷ Raymond DESCAT 1994 believes that the nickname κάπηλος was given to Darius I in connection with his coinage and currency-based economy. However, in the opinion of other researchers, this nickname should have had a pejorative character. Christopher TUPLIN 1997, 379–381 believes that in the view of the Greeks the καπηλοὶ were completely vicious people. Leslie KURKE 1999, 65–100 suggests that with the use of the word κάπηλος in relation to Darius, Herodotus hints at the desire of this Persian king to be adventurous, as befits a merchant.

⁸ Arthur COOK 1907, 169 suggested that according to Herodotus, the correspondence between the names of Persian kings and Greek words, perceived as their equivalents, should have been different from the beginning. In the opinion of the researcher ἀρήιος should refer to Δαρεῖος, ἐρξίης to Ξέρξης, and κάρτα ("very" is a more appropriate word than μέγας) ἐρξίης to Ἄρτοξέρξης. One of the arguments was the following: why did Herodotus have to use the very rare word ἐρξίης unless he wanted to do so to establish the obvious etymology of the name Xerxes? Lionel SCOTT 2005, 349 believed that the name of Darius in the text of Herodotus should not correspond to ἐρξίης, but rather to *ἐξίης, derived from the verb ἔχω and meaning "possessor," which thus bringing the explanation closer to the actual meaning of the name Darius. It is commonly accepted that the name "Darius" (ancient Persian *Dārayavauš*) is a composite and comes from a combination of two ancient Persian words: *dāraya-* "the one who possesses" and the adjective *vau-* "good"; consequently, the name should mean: "possessing good." The name "Xerxes" (ancient Persian *Xšayārša*) is composed of the two words *xšaya-* "reigning" and **ršan-* "hero"; it is translated as "reigning over heroes," while the name "Artaxerxes" (ancient Persian *Artaxšaça*)—as "the one who reigns in justice" (about the meaning of the names of Persian kings, see for more details see: SCHMITT 1977, 424–425; 1982, 93–94).

⁹ Carsten BINDER 2008, 83 finds confirmation of this statement of Pollux in the following lines of the ancient Persian inscription on the Naqsh-e Rostam tomb of Darius I: "When you think how many countries were ruled by Darius the king, then look at the image [of the subjects] supporting the throne. Then you will learn and you will know that the

With regard to the relationship of ‘long-armedness’ and power, there is, among other things, the rather interesting statement in Herodotus (8.140) that Alexander I – sent by Mardonius as ambassador to Athens after the battle of Salamis in 480 BC – cites one of the arguments in favour of reconciliation of the Athenians with the Persians: ‘for the king’s might is greater than human, and his arm is very long’ (καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἢ βασιλέος ἐστὶ καὶ χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης).

It is interesting that the various derivations of the word τὸ μήκος – length, in connection with long-armedness of the Persian kings – are mentioned in the above-cited excerpts: the expression μήκοι τῶν βραχιόνων καὶ τῶν πῆχεων by Strabo (15. 3. 21) and προμηκεστέρα by Pollux (2. 151). In the text cited by Herodotus, ὑπερμήκης acts as a superlative adjective. In the opinion of Thomas Harrison, the nickname ‘long-armed’ (μακρόχειρ), which is assigned by various ancient authors either to Darius or to Xerxes (Pollux. 2. 151), or to Artaxerxes I (Plut. *Artax.* 1. 1; *Mor.* 173d), in fact originates from Alexander’s misunderstood statement in Athens, that king Xerxes has χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης – ‘a very long arm.’¹⁰ One can conclude that despite the nickname “Long-Armed” was used for Artaxerxes I by the most of ancient authors it seems to have been an opinion in the sources that this nickname was used for Darius I and Xerxes as well. Meanwhile the sources do not exclude also some metaphorical meaning of Μακρόχειρ as relating to the spreading power as far as possible.

In a recent article, Aleksey Vigasin particularly focuses on the meaning of the term μακρόχειρ in ancient authors. He concludes that the epithet had an eastern origin and, moreover, was used in a metaphorical sense, that is, in what Pollux ultimately points to, saying that the nickname comes from the fact that the power of each of the kings spread as far as possible. Vigasin reinforces his conclusion with references to eastern cases of the use of this kind of epithet, including Indian material very familiar to him.¹¹ In addition, eastern connotations of the nickname Μακρόχειρ with involvement of Persian material, which Vigasin in fact omitted, were specially studied by the Iranian scholar Ahmad Tafazzolī. He referred to the Iranian ‘national epic,’ which tells the story of Bachmann or Ardashir, king of the mythical Kayanian dynasty, nicknamed ‘Long-Armed’ (*Darāz-Dast*), whom we believe is a prototype of Artaxerxes I. From this, Tafazzolī derives a possible ancient Persian form of the word ‘long-armed’ – *darga dasta*.¹² It is worth noting that we, like Vigasin, give preference to the metaphorical meaning of the nickname, stating that the word *dast* is used in a number of Iranian languages in the meaning of ‘power.’ But this is not surprising considering the common Indo-European base of all these languages; both the Greek χεῖρ and the Latin *manus* have the

spear of the Persian warrior penetrated far; then you will know that the Persian warrior struck the enemies far from Persia” (DNa. 39–47).

¹⁰ HARRISON 2011, 65–66.

¹¹ VIGASIN 2015.

¹² TAFAZZOLĪ 1994.

added meanings of 'power,' 'force,' 'might.' It would seem that everything is true in this interpretation, except for one thing: the historical aspect. Artaxerxes I, to whom most ancient and modern historians assign the nickname Μακρόχειρ, was a much less suitable candidate for the bearer of the nickname 'Long-Armed' in its metaphorical meaning while Xerxes would have been the most suitable, as in fact Herodotus intuitively understood. And in this case, another interpretation seems more probable: the ancient authors' reference to the king by the nickname Μακρόχειρ did not proceed from his 'imperious characteristics' but rather precisely from physical disability (that is, one arm longer than the other). In fact, this could be quite visible to both the Greeks and the Persians, who were present at an audience of this king and who noticed this disability, which would have been very difficult to conceal. And only then they interpreted the word Μακρόχειρ in relation to a specific king metaphorically, as this appears only in the report of Pollux (2. 151).¹³ It is worth here to cite Ammianus Marcellinus who combines both characteristics of Artaxerxes I, physical and powerful: the author reports of him as *rex potentissimus* and continues: *Macrochira membri unius longitudo commemoravit* (30.8.4. Translation by J.C. Rolfe):

Artaxerxes, that mighty king of the Persians (*rex potentissimus*), whom the length of one of his limbs made known as Macrochir (*quem Macrochira membri unius longitudo commemoravit*), with inborn mildness corrected various punishments which that cruel nation had always practised, by sometimes cutting off the turbans of the guilty, in lieu of their heads; and instead of cutting off men's ears for various offences, as was the habit of the kings, he sheared off threads hanging from their head-coverings. This moderation of character so won for him the contentment and respect of his subjects, that through their unanimous support he accomplished many noteworthy deeds, which are celebrated by the Greek writers.

Yet there is a medical approach to the topic of long-armedness. Of course, our constructions on this topic can only have a tentative character since we, not having the possibility of obtaining the analysis of the remains or absolutely accurate images of the ruler¹⁴, must rely primarily on data of the narrative tradition. With regard to some rulers of the ancient world, numismatic data can help us, namely their portrait images. Incidentally, even here, while proposing a hypothesis, one should maintain a certain (or even significant) share of hesitation.

¹³ About representation of physical characteristics of the dynasty of the Achaemenids, who appear as perfect rulers in every way, see BINDER 2008, 84; LLEWELLYN-JONES 2015.

¹⁴ There are many depictions of Persian kings on reliefs, cylindric seals and coins, but the difficulties with identification of each king in these images as well as the stereotyping features in royal figures make almost impossible to use this material for reconstructing of physical appearance of every monarch in Persia.

Scholars have advanced various hypotheses regarding the kind of disease that could give Artaxerxes I the nickname 'Long-Armed.' Hutan Ashrafian proposed that the monarch could have had a *unilateral upper limb gigantism*.¹⁵ Also, the author singles out the presence of macrodactyly in the king (which has not been recorded in the sources), saying its probable cause was *neurofibromatosis*.¹⁶ The researcher relies on the opinion of Don Todman and point to the monetary image of the Parthian king Phraates IV, which displays an image of presumed *neurofibromatous* lesions on the forehead. Ashrafian expressed the opinion that if a kinship connection in fact existed between the Parthian and Achaemenid ruling dynasties, then *neurofibromatosis* could have afflicted Artaxerxes I as well.¹⁷ We note, however, that characteristics for this disease with lesions that could be on the body of the Persian king are not mentioned in the sources.

Alternatively, it can be supposed that the king suffered from Marfan syndrome, which incidentally is transmitted most often through the male line and has a genetic etiology. In this case, all three famous representatives of the Achaemenid dynasty could be long-armed.¹⁸ At the same time, as a cautious supposition, other medical versions of the origin of the 'long-armedness' of the Persian monarch should be considered. We can presume another alternative version, namely that Artaxerxes I could have suffered from *acromegaly*.¹⁹ This disease, judging by extant sources, also occurred in the ancient world, and not just in the Persian monarchs: thus, they note enlarged facial features with elongation of the mandible and increase in nose, lips, and ears in images of Pharaoh Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV)..²⁰ There is the example of the Roman Emperor Maximinus Thrax (Maximinus I), who, according to written sources (Hist. Aug. *Maxim.* 12.1–4), was of tall stature and great physical strength. In addition, there are probable

¹⁵ ASHRAFIAN 2011, 557.

¹⁶ "Neurofibromatosis is a hereditary disease. Manifested by tumors and pigmentation of the skin combined with tumors along nerve trunks. The disease is inherited autosomal dominantly; its frequency is 3–5:10,000" (BADALYAN 1987, 227).

¹⁷ ASHRAFIAN 2011.

¹⁸ 'Marfan syndrome is an inherited connective tissue disease characterized by pathological changes in the heart and blood vessels, musculoskeletal system, and eyes. Marfan syndrome is detected in 1 in 3,000-5,000 people, but several other inherited connective tissue diseases have similar clinical manifestations and similar dangerous complications. ... Marfan syndrome can be inherited from one of the parents or (in about a quarter of cases) be the result of spontaneous mutation. There are said to be spontaneous mutations in cases where no one in the family has previously suffered from this disease. The probability of inheritance of Marfan syndrome from an afflicted parent is 50:50.' One of the signs of the disease may be tall stature and long limbs. (http://www.almazovcentre.ru/?page_id=9733).

¹⁹ "Acromegaly is a severe neuroendocrine disease caused by chronic hyperproduction of a growth hormone (somatotropin, STH) in individuals with complete physiological growth and characterized by pathological disproportionate periosteal growth of bones, cartilage, soft tissues, and internal organs, as well as impairment of the morpho-functional state of the cardiovascular, pulmonary system, peripheral endocrine glands, and various types of metabolism. Most often those with acromegaly fall ill between 20 and 40 years of age, but sometimes it occurs after the age of 50." See DEDOV 2014, 6.

²⁰ PRONIN and MOLITVOSLOVOVA 2009: 103–104;

signs of *acromegaly* on coins of Maximinus: protruding brow and enlarged lower jaw and nose.²¹ It is noteworthy that various ancient authors assign a similar characteristic either to Darius I (Strabo. 15.3.21) or to Artaxerxes I (Nep. *De reg.* 1), while Herodotus (7.187) assigns it to Xerxes: 'Of all those tens of thousands of men, for goodliness and stature there was not one worthier than Xerxes himself to hold that command' (κάλλεός τε εἴνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος). *Acromegaly* can also be due in some cases to heredity.

Therefore, it is also impossible to exclude here the proposition of supposed inheritance of the disease through the male line of the Achaemenids. We note that *acromegaly*, as a rule, does not occur in a patient unilaterally but rather with symmetrical lengthening of extremities. Therefore, this description of the disease does not fit the evidence that says one arm is longer than the other, but corresponds to the testimony of Strabo's *Geography* (15. 3. 21) and Pollux's *Onomasticon* (2. 151) that the Kings (at least possibly in the cases of Darius and Xerxes) might have both arms very long. It is attractive to conclude that ancient authors' reports of physical abilities of Darius I (Strabo. 15. 3. 21), Xerxes (Hdt. 7.87) and Artaxerxes I (Nep. *De reg.*1) reflected not only images of these Persian monarchs in Greek imagination but resulted from some hereditary disease.

Recently Omar Coloru skeptically viewed the medical interpretation of the 'long-armedness' of Artaxerxes, given the state of our sources, and preferred a symbolic interpretation for the nickname 'Long-Armed,' citing Tafazzoli and supporting his arguments with reference to the *Yashts*. In one fragment Zarathustra is being praised for physical abilities, namely his strong legs and long arms.²² However, based on the above references to descriptions of the diseases and considering the state of the sources, we can say that the Greeks gave the nickname Μακρόχειρ most likely to each of three Persian kings of the Achaemenid dynasty (Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes I) very probably due to their physical disability. Moreover, the first Achaemenids could have suffered from some hereditary disease (either *neurofibromatosis* or from *Marfan syndrome* or *acromegaly*). In this case we only cautiously touched on the medical versions of why they could have had the nickname 'Long-Armed.' However, their striving to interpret the nickname metaphorically led to the fact that they were unable to determine which of the Achaemenids was more worthy of it.

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²¹ With references to earlier literature, we notice that an image of a coin of Maximinus I was placed on the front of the dust jacket of the cited book, in which only one chapter of eight is dedicated to the history of the study of *acromegaly*.

²² COLORU 2017, 68–69.

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The Funeral Rite of the Spartan Kings

Larisa PECHATNOVA¹

Abstract. *This article is a historical commentary on Herodotus' account of the funerals of the Spartan kings. It is an attempt on the author's part to explain why for centuries the royal funerary ritual continued unchanged despite its being too lavish for ascetic Sparta. The study focuses on the socio-economic composition of the funeral attendees. In the author's opinion, the participation of representatives of the lower classes - the helots and perioikoi - in the ceremony facilitated the evolvement of elites from both categories of the Spartan subordinate population. The funeral ceremony performed an important ideological and propaganda function serving as a unifying factor for all the social classes and indoctrinating the masses with the belief in the eternal and immutable nature of the royal authority and, by extension, of the Spartan state.*

Rezumat. *Articolul de față reprezintă un comentariu asupra informațiilor oferite de către Herodot asupra funeraliilor regilor Spartei. Mai concret, este vorba despre o încercare a autoarei de a explica motivul pentru care ritualul funerar a continuat să persiste sub aceeași formă, deși era mult prea lasciv raportat la ascetismul spartan. Studiul este concentrat pe coordonatele socio-economice ale participanților la astfel de ritualuri. Conform opiniei autoarei, participarea unor reprezentanți ai claselor inferioare - hiloși și perioikoi - la ceremonie a facilitat dezvoltarea unor elite în rândul ambelor categorii ale populației aflate pe treptele inferioare ale societății. Ceremonialul funerar a avut o importantă funcție ideologică, servind ca liant pentru toate clasele sociale. De asemenea, acesta avea rolul de a îndoctrina masele pentru a crede în natura eternă și de neclintit ale autorității regale și, prin extensie, a statului spartan.*

Keywords: *Herodotus, Plutarch, Spartiates, helots, perioikoi, Spartan kings, Sparta.*

Not so much is known about the funerary customs in Sparta, however, it may safely be said that the burial rituals there were far more modest than in other Greek states. The Spartans, at least in the Classical period, were known for burying their dead in unmarked graves lacking the names of the deceased. That was done in accordance with the idea of equality central to the Spartan culture, the introduction of which idea they connected with the legislation of Lycurgus. Apparently, as early as the Archaic period the Spartans had already called themselves *homoioi* (ὄμοιοι), i.e., 'alike', 'equal' (Xen. Lac. pol. 13. 1 and 7; Arist. Pol. V. 6. 1. 1306 b 30), and in many respects full citizens were equal indeed. They received the same type of education in military boarding schools; they were given the same food in the so-called *syssitia*,

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i.e., mess-companies; they paid the same dues for their upkeep; all of them without exception were liable for military service and started their military careers on equal footing. Outside of Sparta historians and philosophers, such as Xenophon or Plato, also emphasized the egalitarian trends in the Spartan politics and economy while deliberately understating the extent of economic, social and political stratification in Spartan society².

Being the central national idea of the Spartans, the idea of citizen equality was actively promoted by the state propaganda. The constitutional changes enshrined in the *Great Rhetra* (Plut. Lyc. 6) altered not only the political system – eventually, the whole mode of life and, if we may say so, death in Sparta was transformed. The new developments affected the burial rituals which became an essential part of the existing legislation; they were integrated into the general propaganda trend of citizen equality. The rules pertaining to the royal funerary ritual, traditionally associated with the legislation of Lycurgus³, might have been established at the same time, i.e., in the early Archaic period.

In this article, we undertake a specific task which is the evaluation of an important aspect of Spartan civil life – the royal funerary ritual. It should be noted that in any society burial rites are an integral part of the nation's cultural code and speak volumes about their creators, thus, it is entirely true for Sparta as well. By carefully examining different facets of the ritual we will be able to discover possible reasons why the Spartans insisted on upholding kingship over the whole period of Sparta's existence as an independent state.

The concept of equality, carried to its logical conclusion in Sparta, resulted in the depersonalization of ordinary graves which did not bear the names of the deceased. It is unclear when the practice was introduced, but the reason for it was probably the intention of the authorities to deny the Spartan aristocracy the opportunity to erect magnificent tombs in order to flaunt their wealth and high rank. According to Margaret Alexiou, 'by taking such a step in good time, along with other social and economic measures, Lykourgos was able to forestall the rise of all-powerful noble families who might challenge both the position of the kings and the limitations imposed on economic and political developments'⁴. No other Greek *polis* adopted a similar practice of anonymization of ordinary graves, although in the Archaic period the burial rites underwent simplification in many cities, as evidenced by both epigraphic (Keos: SIG 1218; Delphi: Rhodes and Osborne 2–7) and literary sources (Dem. XLIII. 62–63; Plut. Sol. 12. 8; 21. 5; Cic. De Leg. II. 59; 64–66; cf. Plat. Leg. XII. 958d–960a)⁵. For instance,

² CHRISTESEN 2010, 51.

³ GARLAND 1989, 14.

⁴ ALEXIOU 2002, 17.

⁵ For instance, in Mytilene Pittacus (650–570 BC) limited the number of funeral attendees to the relatives of the deceased (Cic. De Leg. II. 66); in Syracuse the law enacted even before Gelon (540–478 BC) stipulated that funeral costs had to be reduced (Diod. XI. 38. 2); the lawgiver Charondas from Catana (6th century BC) simplified the funerary ritual (Stob. XLIV. 40). R. Garland enumerates the nine *poleis* which possibly implemented the laws regulating and simplifying

this happened in Athens in the time of Solon, who, according to Plutarch, cancelled 'the harsh and barbaric practices in which their women had usually indulged up to that time' (Plut. Sol. 12. 8, translated by B. Perrin)⁶. Apparently, singling out women as a specific group in need of being held in check reflects their previous status at funerals which Solon found unacceptable⁷.

In Archaic Sparta the burial rituals were also significantly curtailed, which apparently dealt a severe blow to the aristocratic clans and, on the other hand, alleviated the plight of ordinary citizens. Plutarch gives a list of the implemented measures standardizing and simplifying the burial practices: 'Lycurgus did away with all superstitious fear connected with burials, granting the right to bury the dead within the city, and to have the tombs near the shrines. He also abolished the pollutions associated with death and burial. He permitted the people to bury nothing with their dead, but only to enfold the body in a red robe and olive leaves, and all to treat their dead alike⁸. He also did away with the inscriptions on tombs, except of those who had met their end in war, and also did away with mourning and lamentation' (Plut. Mor. 238 d = Inst. Lac. 18, hereinafter translated by Fr. C. Babbitt; see also: Plut. Lyc. 27. 1–2). The tradition ascribes the burial laws to Lycurgus (Xen. Lac. pol. 15. 9). However, the Spartans associated any reforms introduced in the Archaic period with the name of Lycurgus⁹.

It is entirely possible that the burial laws simplifying the funerals of ordinary citizens were not included in the legislation of Lycurgus, but were in fact implemented sometime later – at the beginning¹⁰ or in the middle¹¹ of the 6th century BC – as part of sumptuary laws. We should note that it was precisely during this period that similar restrictions were introduced in other Greek *poleis*. It cannot be ruled out that the *ephor* Chilon¹² – the only major political figure of that epoch known to us besides the kings – had a hand in formulating the law¹³. It is possible that the prohibition on excessive displays of grief and sorrow was issued in his day¹⁴.

the funeral ceremony (Garland 1989, 1–15). For more information on the legislative measures curtailing the burial rites in certain Greek *poleis* and the reasons for their implementation, see: ALEXIOU 2002, 14 – 23. As a rule, such restrictions were imposed in the *poleis* that achieved greater success in fighting against the aristocracy (ALEXIOU 2002, 17, 22). Similar regulations existed in Rome. *Leges duodecim tabularum* already contained provisions restricting the lavishness of funerals. Cicero noted that these provisions were almost an exact copy of Greek statutes, including those of Solon (De Leg. II. 64).

⁶ These are the earliest burial laws which we have relatively detailed information about. It appears that we can see the genuine tradition here (GARLAND 1989, 3–8).

⁷ ALEXIOU 2002, 18.

⁸ Plutarch raises a crucial point – the funeral ceremony was the same for everybody.

⁹ On initial reforms in Sparta, see: PECHATNOVA 2020, 25–95.

¹⁰ WEES 2018, 222.

¹¹ Henceforth, all dates are BC.

¹² NAFISSI 1991, 430.

¹³ After his death Chilon, like Lycurgus, was venerated as a hero (Paus. III. 16. 6) and even had a shrine in Sparta (III. 16. 4).

¹⁴ PETROPOULOU 2009, 593.

Therefore, the Spartans, having lost the right to retain their names on tombstones, found themselves more equal in death than they had been in life; although an exception was made for two categories of *Spartiates*. The first category comprised those who fell in battle (Plut. Lyc. 27. 2; Mor. 238 d = Inst. Lac. 18). Their names survived on tombstones, but the stones themselves were most commonly located outside of Sparta and were plain in the extreme. This provision is mentioned by Plutarch: 'It was Spartan custom, when men of ordinary rank died in a foreign country, to give their bodies funeral rites and burial there, but to carry the bodies of their kings home' (Ages. 40. 3, translated by B. Perrin). At that time burying the fallen either on the battlefields (Paus. IX. 2. 5) or in the territory of the allied communities in the vicinity (Her. IX. 85; Xen. Hell. II. 4. 33) was common practice starting at least as early as mid-6th century BC. The second category consisted of the Spartan kings or, more precisely, those of them who managed to either die in battle or pass away peacefully in bed. Not only did they retain their names on the tombstones, they were also honoured with a funeral ceremony that was uncommonly lavish for ascetic Sparta. In this aspect again Sparta was the exception rather than the rule. In other *poleis* the restrictions applied to all citizens without exception, which was indicative of increasing democratization of society. In Sparta, on the other hand, the law was administered selectively and did not affect the royal funerary ritual in the slightest. The oriental splendour typical of the ancient funeral ceremony which amazed Herodotus remained intact there. According to R. Parker, '... royal funerals were surely among the most spectacular pageants that the Peloponnese ever saw'¹⁵.

Since royal funerals in Sparta are a peculiar phenomenon contrasting starkly with the modest burial rituals the rest of the Spartans observed, we should examine it in more detail. The first step is to consult the literary sources. Although non-Spartan in origin, all of them were authored by the historians very familiar with the situation in Sparta – first and foremost by Herodotus, Xenophon and Plutarch. Herodotus left the most comprehensive description of the royal funerary ceremony (VI. 58). This description is part of his excursus on the royal authority in Sparta (VI. 52–59). Since the Greeks, the Athenians in particular, knew but little about the inner workings of Spartan society due to state-implemented secrecy, as Thucydides puts it (Thuc. V. 68. 2), Herodotus attempts to fill this lacuna to a certain extent. As Nino Luraghi notes, the information about Sparta which Herodotus gives has 'a distinctly ethnographic tone, comparing the Spartans with the Persians and the Egyptians'¹⁶. This holds true for his account of the Spartan royal funerals which he definitely finds exotic. This explains why he says that 'the Lacedaemonians have the same custom at the deaths of their kings as the foreigners in Asia...' (VI. 58. 2, hereinafter translated by A. D. Godley). He also compares the heir's conduct to the Persian customs – 'this successor releases from debt any Spartan who

¹⁵ PARKER 1989, 153.

¹⁶ LURAGHI 2002, 156.

owes a debt to the king or to the commonwealth' (τῷ βασιλείῃ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ)¹⁷. Herodotus notes that 'among the Persians the king at the beginning of his reign forgives all cities their arrears of tribute' (VI. 59). Apparently, according to Herodotus, in this aspect the Spartans resembled the Persians whom the historian knew well, being a native of Halicarnassus¹⁸ (V. 80). He underscores the frenzy the Spartans worked themselves into at the royal funerals¹⁹ and the heir's generosity unusual for a poor country. Both these aspects were uncommon for Herodotus' contemporaries in other Greek states.

Naturally, the royal funerary ritual as described by Herodotus was not exclusive to Sparta. At one point similar rituals existed in many Greek *poleis*, yet, they disappeared with the collapse of the royal authority. It should be noted that certain changes the Spartans made to the royal funeral ceremony proceeded from the circumstances unique to Sparta. The bond between the lower classes and the Spartan kings stipulated the presence of the former's representatives at the funerals. Herodotus notes that the royal funerals had to be attended not only by *Spartiates*, but also by the *perioikoi*²⁰ and *helots*: 'When a king of the Lacedaemonians dies, a fixed number of their subject neighbors must come to the funeral from all Lacedaemon, besides the Spartans (χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων). ... these and the *helots* and the Spartans themselves have assembled in one place to the number of many thousands (πολλὰ χιλιάδες), together with the women' (VI. 58. 2).

¹⁷ This might be an ancient legal formula that had no substance due to the diminishing authority of the Spartan kings. We know little about the Spartan treasury. It is seldom mentioned in the sources and when it is mentioned, it is generally to lament its emptiness (Thuc. I. 80. 4). H.W. Stubbs even suggests that there was no treasury in Sparta (STUBBS 1950, 34).

¹⁸ SCOTT 2005, 248.

¹⁹ In Herodotus' day excessive displays of emotions when reacting to misfortune or death were considered typical of oriental practices. For instance, in Aeschylus' *Persae* Xerxes, on witnessing the destruction of his fleet in the Battle of Salamis, tears his clothes and screams shrilly (464–469). By the end of the tragedy Xerxes' (and the chorus') emotions become even more uncontrollable and exaggerated – excessive weeping and groaning, beating their breast and tearing out the beard (910–917, 946, 1030–1033, 1040–1080). As Edith Hall notes, 'it is these features, along with the references to Mariandynian and Mysian styles of mourning (937, 1054), which ensure that the atmosphere created is distinctively 'un-Greek'' (HALL 1989, 84).

²⁰ The Spartan kings acted as intermediaries between the center and the world of the peripheral *poleis*. The *perioikoi* considered themselves members of the League of the Lacedaemonians headed by Sparta. They even shared shrines with the Spartans, e.g., the Apollo's temple on the promontory of Tenarum (SHIPLEY 2006, 68–69). On the status of the *perioikoi*, see: SHIPLEY 1997, esp. 201–206; Idem 2006, esp. 67– 1. The kings owned estates (τεμένη) in the *perioikoi*'s territories (Xen. Lac. pol. 15. 3); and their main source of income was probably the tribute (βασιλικὸς φόρος), that the *perioikoi* paid directly to them. According to Plato, this tribute was quite substantial (Alc. I. 123a). But first and foremost, the kings owed high prestige they enjoyed among the Spartan population to the fact that they were the main, if not the only, representatives of the gods and the high priests for the whole community (Xen. Lac. pol. 15. 1–2). The royal monopoly in the sphere of religion stems from the responsibility to the gods for the fates of the troops and the country that the kings had as the supreme commanders. Both the *perioikoi* and the *Spartiates* as their military leaders fell under the royal authority. The religious privilege was one of the most important indicators of the kings' prestige in Sparta.

It is noteworthy that Herodotus treats both the *perioikoi* and *helots* as the population categories well-known to his readers. He gives no explanation of their status. According to the commentary of L. Scott, ‘for Herodotus, the *helots* are just part of the Spartan landscape’²¹. Herodotus lists the three main categories of the Spartan population whose representatives had to attend royal funerals. Firstly, he mentions *Spartiates* but does not elaborate if all adult full citizens were to put on mourning and attend the ceremony. Most likely, that was the duty of the *Spartiates* who were then in the city²². In Herodotus’ day their numbers were not large, since the phenomenon of *oliganthropia* (ὀλιγανθρωπία – literally, ‘fewness of persons’)²³ had already manifested itself. In any case, the *perioikoi* and *helots* outnumbered full citizens²⁴.

Herodotus does not give the exact figures; however, his words about obligatory, and most likely, enforced attendance of the funerals by a certain number of the *perioikoi* (ἀριθμῶ τῶν περιόικων ἀναγκαστοῦς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναι) are a clear indication that a certain quota – at least for the *perioikoi* – existed. This quota was probably not a constant and could change depending on the time and circumstances of the funeral of this or that king. Taking the context into account, we may assume that a similar quote existed for the *helots* as well. The following observation by A. Petropoulou seems to be correct: ‘In fact, those participating in the royal funeral represented all sections of the population, their numbers being seemingly in proportion to their social status: a couple from every Spartan household, a smaller number of couples of *perioikoi*, and even fewer *helots*’²⁵. But any, however small, congregation of lower class representatives in one place must have been viewed by the Spartans as a real threat²⁶. It can be safely assumed that most of the time the only *perioikoi* and *helots* that could be found in the city proper were those used as domestics and artisans. Besides, it is entirely possible that the funeral attendees from among the *perioikoi* were limited to the *perioikoi* nobility – those who were building their careers in the Spartan army (Xen. Hell. V. 3. 9; Plut. Cleom. 11. 2). Apart from them, the representatives of prosperous families that were not uncommon among the *perioikoi*²⁷ could also attend royal funerals. The *perioikoi* themselves probably viewed the invitation to arrive in Sparta accompanied by their wives and to take part in the grand ceremony as a sign of belonging to the elites. For them such a trip to the capital and

²¹ SCOTT 2005, 249.

²² PETROPOULOU 2009, 591.

²³ By *oliganthropia* we mean a catastrophic decline in the number of full citizens that Xenophon commented on (Lac. pol. 1. 1). For more recent research into *oliganthropia*, see: DORAN 2018, 1–106.

²⁴ On the number of the *helots*, see: FIGUEIRA 2003, 193–239; SCHEIDEL 2003, 240–247.

²⁵ PETROPOULOU 2009, 592. See also: PARKER 1989, 153.

²⁶ The Spartans perceived all the *helots*, especially after the Third Messenian War, as a menace. They did not feel safe even in their own homes (Critias ap. Liban. Or. XXV. 63). The fear and distrust of this class were ever-present. For instance, in 369 BC it was only out of despair that the Spartans conscripted six thousand *helots* into the army (Xen. Hell. VI. 5. 29).

²⁷ On the socio-economic stratification among the *perioikoi*, see: ZAYKOV 2005, 69–85.

participation in a splendid pageant so untypical of ascetic Sparta could become a source of pride and something to remember for years to come.

What surprises the most about Herodotus' list of attendees is the presence of the *helots* as mandatory participants²⁸. While the *perioikoi* were generally loyal to the Spartans, the *helots* always remained a potential and at times a real threat to the latter. Thus, the practice of gathering the *helots* in the very centre of the state seems odd²⁹. Apparently, the presence of the *perioikoi* and *helots* could primarily be ascribed to the religious factor. The Spartan kings were considered semidivine ancestors and patrons of all the Spartans and the joint participation of the representatives of all the social groups, especially the lower classes, in the funeral ceremony was to hammer the point home. Therefore, royal funerals served as a unifying factor for all the classes: full citizens, the *perioikoi* and *helots*. Involving the *perioikoi* and *helots* in the funerary rituals was done on purpose – the reason behind this lavish and expensive ceremony was to indoctrinate the masses with the belief in the eternal and immutable nature of the royal authority and, by extension, of the Spartan state. Therefore, the corpse of the king in the eyes of the lower classes turned into a symbol of power of Sparta and the Spartans³⁰.

It is unclear whether royal funerals had to be attended by both the Laconian and Messenian *helots* or by only one of these groups³¹. Although an unambiguous answer to this question does not exist due to the scarcity of sources, speculation is certainly possible. The Laconian *helots* would naturally have closer ties with the Spartans by virtue of their geographical location and their early enslavement³². Apparently, the Spartans were not so apprehensive about admitting them into Sparta during royal funerals. Still, the very presence of any number of the *helots* in the capital seems surprising, since oligarchies or similar regimes always feared, and rightly so, mass gatherings of free people, let alone the *helots*, in the city.

²⁸ To some degree it can be attributed to the ambivalent attitude free citizens had towards slaves. There are mentions of slaves changing places with their masters during festivals – the latter waited on their slaves and feasted together with them. For instance, that happened in Athens during the celebration of Kronia (Macrob. Sat. I. 7. 37). In Cydonia on Crete slaves could even flog free people (Ephor. FgrHist 70 F 29). According to the historian Polykrates, in Sparta during the Hyacinthia 'citizens feasted all their acquaintances and their own slaves' (Athen. IV. 17. 139 f – δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πολῖται πάντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους) (ALEXIOU 2002, 58)

²⁹ M. Alexiou argues that the *helots* were made to lament at the funeral of a king. Such a custom existed throughout Homeric Greece – in the Iliad, Trojan women, captives in the Greek camp, were forced to lament for Patroklos (XVIII. 339–342); but during the Classical period the custom gradually disappeared, so the main responsibility for lamentation rested with the next of kin (ALEXIOU 2002, 10).

³⁰ PARKER 1989, 153.

³¹ The commentaries on Herodotus known to us do not address this problem.

³² Fairly recent studies emphasize the difference in status between the two groups of the *helots* and assert that the Laconian *helots* were more privileged than their Messenian counterparts. See: WHITBY 1994, 99 and 109; BIRGALIAS 2002, 249–266; KENNEL 2003, 81–105; LURAGHI 2003, 109–141, PECHATNOVA 2020, 325–341.

(Arist. Pol. V. 1311a 13–14; [Arist.] Rhet. ad Alex. 1425b 8–10: μηδὲ [χρῆ] συνάγειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸν ὄχλον εἰς τὴν πόλιν)³³. In any case, since the *perioikoi* and *helots* were allowed to congregate in the city, the authorities must have tightly controlled the whole process. It is possible that the Laconian *helots* themselves had ambivalent feelings about the necessity to be present at the royal funerals, viewing it not only as an ignoble and forced duty but also as a sign of trust their *Spartiate* masters put in them. If it is true that only the Laconian *helots* had a right to attend royal funerals, for them it could be a distinguishing feature that set them apart from the Messenian *helots*. At least, Herodotus insists that horsemen carried the news of the king's death throughout the whole of Laconia (κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν – VI. 58. 1). This is the only part of Herodotus' narrative that may suggest that the *helots* the historian refers to are indeed Laconian.

The term 'Laconia' or 'Laconian land' is hardly ever used by Herodotus, only in case when the historian wants to identify the precise location of a certain place or to mention specific dishes or units of measure existing only in Laconia. For instance, while writing about Amompharetus, the leader of the battalion from the Pitonate, one of the five Spartan villages, Herodotus uses the phrase 'τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν' (Laconian army), since he refers exclusively to the troops recruited from the Spartan villages (*obai*) (IX. 53. 3). Mentioning a place called Thornax, the historian clarifies that it is situated in Laconia (τῆς Λακωνικῆς – I. 69. 4); likewise, the island of Cythera is located off the coast of Laconia (ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαιναν χώραν – VII. 235). The weight and size of the king's tribute is termed by Herodotus as 'a Laconian bushel of barley-meal and a Laconian quart of wine' (VI. 57. 2). A reader can also encounter the phrase 'a dinner in Laconian fashion' (Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον – IX. 82. 2). Therefore, it is obvious that by Laconia Herodotus does not mean the state *in toto*, but only its Laconian part. The few instances when Herodotus resorts to using this term or its derivatives leave little doubt that the historian was very clear on the difference between Lacedaemon, which was the official name of the Spartan state³⁴, and the part of its territory known as Laconia. But the hypothesis that only the Laconian *helots* were invited to attend royal funerals is contradicted by the evidence of Pausanias.

³³ SIMONTON 2018, 13 – 14.

³⁴ Herodotus generally calls the Spartan state Lacedaemon (e.g., VII. 220; 228; VIII. 124), less often Sparta (V. 75; VI. 71). The state included both the territory of Laconia and Messenia. In Herodotus' writing, the terms 'Spartans' and 'Lacedaemonians' are synonymous and often used interchangeably within a chapter or even within a sentence (e.g., I. 67; 82; 83; 153; V. 63; 65; 90; 91; VI. 60; 70; 77; 120; VII. 104; 134–136; 159; 211; VIII. 114; 124; IX. 33; 47–48). *Ephor* Chilon (I. 59), king Cleomenes (V. 49; 54; 70), king Leonidas (VII. 204) and regent Pausanias (V. 32) are termed by the historian as Lacedaemonians and Lyncurgus as a noble Spartan (I. 65). On the other hand, by the Spartans Herodotus always means full citizens, while Lacedaemonians sometimes include the *perioikoi* – mostly when he refers to the composition of the Spartan army (VI. 58; VII. 234; IX. 28).

The author of *Description of Greece* claims that the treaty Sparta and Messenia concluded after the end of the First Messenian War (late 8th century BC)³⁵ contained the following ‘ritual’ clause – ‘It was also ordained that for the funerals of the kings and other magistrates men should come from Messene with their wives in black garments’ (ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ἔσθῃτι ἤκειν μελαίνῃ... – IV. 14. 4–5, hereinafter translated by W.H.S. Jones and H.A. Ormerod). It should be noted that neither Pausanias, nor Tyrtaeus he quotes mention the *helots*³⁶. Judging from the political component of the treaty, the Messenians were given the same status as the Laconian *perioikoi* and were able to partly retain their autonomy. The clause about the presence of the Messenians at the funerals of the Spartan kings and *gerontes* was apparently quite typical of such treaties during the Archaic period. For instance, after Corinth defeated Megara during roughly the same time frame, the Megarians were obligated to send their mourners to attend the funerals of the Corinthian kings from the ruling family of the Bacchiadae (FgrHist 327 F 19). If Pausanias gives an accurate account of the official agreement forced by Sparta onto the Messenians as the losing side, then apparently in the late 8th century BC the Messenian *helots* did not yet exist as a legal object. Therefore, using Pausanias’ account as conclusive proof of the Messenian *helots*’ mandatory attendance of royal funerals in Sparta does not seem appropriate. It should also be reiterated that, according to Herodotus, the horsemen bearing the sad tidings travelled only throughout Laconia (VI. 58. 1).

It is also not quite clear what the phrase ‘two free persons from each house, a man and a woman, are required to wear mourning (καταμιαίνεσθαι)³⁷ in the excerpt under discussion means (VI. 58. 1). L. Scott, the author of a commentary on Herodotus, takes the sentence literally and understands the phrase ‘free people’ to denote solely the Laconian *perioikoi*³⁸. As an additional argument he quotes Herodotus’ words that disobedience to this order will result in ‘heavy penalties’ (ζημίαι μεγάλα). In L. Scott’s view, such a punishment could only befall the *perioikoi*. However, in this sentence Herodotus emphasizes the number of mourners and their gender rather than their social status. Similarly, the previous phrase merely refers to women ‘beating on cauldrons’. Therefore, ‘free persons’ should denote the *Spartiates* and the *perioikoi* together. As for corporal punishment, it could be inflicted on both the *perioikoi* and

³⁵ Apparently, 5th century historians showed no particular interest in the Spartan conquest of Messenia. Not only did they not know the details of the Messenian Wars, they were not aware there had been several conflicts. For instance, in his account of the foundation of Tarentum Antiochus of Syracuse writes that it happened ‘after the Messenian War’, apparently thinking there was only one such war (ap. Strab. VI. 3. 2. p. 278). Thucydides touches upon the matter in passing mentioning that ‘the *Helots* were mostly the descendants of the Messenians who had been enslaved long ago’ (I. 101. 2). N. Luraghi, the author of a relatively recent study on Messenia, is of the opinion that the orthodox version of the history of these conflicts did not appear, even if as a sketch, before 330 BC. (LURAGHI 2008, 78)

³⁶ LURAGHI 2008, 73–75. Judging by the excerpts from Tyrtaeus found in Pausanias, after the First Messenian War the population of Messenia was not yet turned into the *helots* (LURAGHI 2003, 129–132), since the Second Messenian war is called the fight between two *hoplite* armies (Tyrt. fr. 8 v. 31 sq. and 9 v. 21 Diehl3).

³⁷ Lit. ‘to defile oneself’. On the procedure of defilement, see: HORNBLOWER 1989, 166.

³⁸ SCOTT 2005, 248.

the *Spartiates*. The latter grew accustomed to physical abuse since childhood (Xen. Lac. pol. II. 8–9; Anab. IV. 6. 15; Plat. Leg. I. 633b).

Besides the male population, women also participated most actively in the funeral ceremony, which is mentioned by Herodotus more than once. It was women who signaled the beginning of the burial rites. According to the historian, ‘in the city women go about beating on cauldrons’ (VI. 58. 1). Together with their husbands they put on mourning and played an essential role in the proceedings (58. 3). As evidenced by the tradition, women typically had a significant part in performing funeral rites not only in Sparta but also in other Greek poleis. Apparently, before passing the law on simplification of the burial practices women carried out a prominent role in the funeral ceremony – lamentation for the departed was a duty imposed on them and an integral part of the ritual. Their weeping was by no means due to a sudden onslaught of grief. So the frenzied tearing of clothes, faces and hair, especially at the funerals of the rulers and the highest magistrates, was not a sign of overwhelming sorrow but rather an element of a sacred ritual³⁹. And while other *poleis*, such as Athens in Solon’s day, came to regard the leading role of women in the funeral ceremonies as inappropriate, in Sparta apparently their participation in the royal funeral rites was mandatory and as such had never been reassessed.

Describing the process of interment of the kings, Herodotus emphasizes the sheer number and the agitated emotions of the attendees whose exaggerated grief was not at all suppressed but rather encouraged as compulsory – ‘When these (the *perioikoi* – L. P.) and the *helots* and the Spartans themselves have assembled in one place to the number of many thousands, together with the women, they zealously beat their foreheads and make long and loud lamentation, calling that king that is most recently dead the best (*ἄριστον*) of all their kings’ (VI. 58. 3). Declaring the deceased the best of kings most likely was the obligatory refrain in the lament. It was an appeal to the new king to contend for the right to be buried to the accompaniment of the same refrain.

Obviously, in many cultures funerals went together with the extreme idealization of the departed, and Sparta was not an exception. It should be noted that the tradition traced the maxim that one should not speak ill of the dead back to the reformer Chilon in the 6th century BC (Diog. Laert. I. 3. 70)⁴⁰. Apparently, the crowd of mourners acted as a unified whole, disregarding the differences in age, gender and social status. It was a rare occurrence of

³⁹ See: ALEXIOU 2002, 4–7; 207, n. 27: references to the literary sources; n. 31: references to the images of funeral procession on vases in the Geometric style.

⁴⁰ In A. Powell’s opinion, such extreme glorification of the late Spartan kings was in a sense the lesser evil, since too often the kings and the members of the royal families were offenders against the state who were not entitled to any posthumous honours and whose names had to be expunged from memory. One may say, the civil landscape of Sparta was full of gaps. Thus, it became all the more important to honour those kings who managed to preserve their reputation. In this respect, according to A. Powell, Classical Sparta was one of the least stable Greek states of that period (POWELL 2018, 16).

inverted reality, when all things familiar and mundane appeared reversed. Undoubtedly, the laws of theatrical performance were in action then. As Plutarch notes in this regard, ‘the unusual is proper in mourning’ (Plut. Mor. 267 a = Quaest. Rom. 14) Such excessive displays of grief were probably the relics from the Homeric epoch (Il. XVIII. 23–35.), preserved in Sparta solely for the funeral ceremony of the kings and kings only. In this respect the rest of the royal family members were on equal terms with commoners.

For the Greeks of the Classical period, such magnificent ceremonies and complicated rituals enacted by a large number of people who were not related to the deceased by blood had already become exotic events with an oriental flavour. Even in Sparta public wailing and laments only accompanied the royal funerals. All other Spartans were laid to rest either in absolute silence or with their close kin showing self-restraint even in grief.

Herodotus does not provide the exact location where the royal funeral attendees gathered. It is assumed that their assembly point was at the royal tombs⁴¹. The tombs of the Agiads were in Pitane, while the Eurypontids were buried in Limnae (Paus. III. 12. 8; 14. 2). This arrangement of the royal tombs on opposite sides of the city could hardly be a coincidence. N. Richer was able to formulate a plausible hypothesis explaining the fact. In his opinion, the Spartans had a penchant for doubling the gods and heroes protecting them. As the examples of this phenomenon he mentions *Dioskouroi*, the Divine Twins, greatly venerated in Sparta, and the two different locations of the royal tombs. In his words, ‘Sparte est gardée à ses limites par les tombes des deux dynasties: celles des Eurypontides au sud et celles des Agiades au nord’⁴².

At the end of his account of royal funerals in Sparta Herodotus mentions the period of mourning which temporarily suspended all activities: ‘For ten days after the burial there are no assemblies or elections (οὐδ’ ἀρχαιρεσίη συνίξει), and they mourn during these days’ (VI. 58. 3). The historian’s remark about elections is slightly baffling since it is unclear what elections he refers to. There are speculations that Herodotus hints here at the election of a new king⁴³. Indeed, the transition of power was not fully automatic. Apparently, in the absence of disputes between the members of the royal family and objections from the *ephors* and the *gerontes* the new king was installed without discussion with *Apella*, i.e., ancient Spartan assembly. In case of any dispute the election of the new king was probably held in the form of a contest taking place in the *Apella*. At least, Xenophon’s words that ‘the state (ἡ πόλις) chose Agesilaus king’ (Hell. III. 3. 4, hereinafter translated by C. L. Brownson) ‘when the prescribed days of mourning had been religiously observed (ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι)’ (III. 3. 1), (i.e., after the mourning period was over) can be interpreted in this way⁴⁴.

⁴¹ PETROPOULOU 2009, 592 – 593.

⁴² RICHER 1994, 89.

⁴³ PETROPOULOU 2009, 594.

⁴⁴ In 399 BC Agesilaus was able to prove he had a better claim to the throne than the legitimate heir Leotychidas (Xen. Hell. III. 3. 1–3; Plut. Lys. 22. 6–13; Ages. 3; Paus. III. 8. 7–10).

Herodotus mentions another peculiarity of the royal burial practice: ‘Whenever a king dies in war, they make an image of him (εἶδωλον)⁴⁵ and carry it out on a well-spread bier’ (VI. 58. 3). M. Toher, who devoted an article to the analysis of what the tradition has to say about εἶδωλα, interprets Herodotus’ words as follows: εἶδωλον should have been present at the funeral of any Spartan king slain in battle, regardless of whether there was a corpse or not⁴⁶. According to the researcher, modern commentators do not have compelling reasons to suspect Herodotus of inaccuracies⁴⁷. However, it has long been an established opinion among scholars that the use of εἶδωλα at the funerals of the Spartan rulers could have been introduced specifically for king Leonidas⁴⁸, whose body and severed head apparently had fallen into the hands of the Persians (Her. VII. 238)⁴⁹. The cenotaph⁵⁰ of Leonidas is thought to have been erected among the royal tombs of the Agiads with the purpose of placing his εἶδωλον there. According to A. Petropoulou, interring εἶδωλα might have been a burial practice exclusive to Laconia⁵¹. A Spartan king’s εἶδωλον was probably a potent visual symbol representing an important transformation the king underwent posthumously, attaining the status of a hero⁵². However, Herodotus is silent on the issue of the Spartan kings being worshipped as heroes after death. Commentators consider it a significant flaw of Herodotus’ otherwise detailed account of the Spartan royal funerals⁵³.

This lacuna can be filled with the help of Xenophon. A passage from *Hellenica* reads that ‘...he (king Agis – L.P.) received a burial more splendid than belongs to man’ (Hell. III. 3. 1); while in *Polity of the Lacedaemonians* we find information that ‘Lycurgan laws demonstrate their (Spartans’ – L.P.) intention to honour the kings of Lakedaimonians not as men, but as heroes’ after their death (Lac. pol. 15. 9, translated by M. Lipka). But do these texts prove beyond doubt that those of the Spartan kings who received royal funerals were venerated as heroes *post mortem*? It would indeed seem that such a conclusion should be drawn from the above-

⁴⁵ It was a life-sized wooden figure which was a substitute for the corpse. For more information, see: PETROPOULOU 2009, 596 – 601.

⁴⁶ The use of the image of the deceased at the funeral was not a rare occurrence in ancient times. In Rome it was common practice bearing no relation to the heroization of the dead (Polyb. VI. 53. 4–10). For instance, along Julius Caesar there was a wax figure of him on the bier (Appian BC. II. 147). Later, wax images of the Roman emperors were also present at their funerals.

⁴⁷ TOHER 1999, 115.

⁴⁸ SCHAEFER 1965, 324–325; SCOTT 2005, 360; RICHER 2007, 249.

⁴⁹ In other cases the body of the king was brought back to Sparta as per tradition. See: Agesipolis I, who died from fever during the campaign of 381 BC in Macedon (Xen. Hell. V. 3. 19; Diod. XV. 93); also Agesilaus, who died in Libya in 360 BC (Plut. Ages. 40. 3). Both were brought back to Sparta to be given a royal funeral there.

⁵⁰ Cenotaphs were known in Greece back in Homer’s day (Od. I. 289–91; II. 220–223).

⁵¹ PETROPOULOU 2009, 598.

⁵² In the more recent commentaries there is speculation that εἶδωλα of the kings slain in battle do not automatically imply awarding special honours (HORNBLOWER, PELLING 2017, 165).

⁵³ HORNBLOWER, PELLING 2017, 165.

mentioned passages by Xenophon. Even Pleistoanax in 427/6 BC was reinstated solely at the Pythia's request, since she called the disgraced king 'the seed of the demigod son of Zeus' (Thuc. V. 16. 2, translated by M. Hammond; cp.: Plut. Mor. 403b = Pyth. or. 19). As M. Flower notes, 'the permeability of the categories of moral, hero, and god, and the easy slippage between them, is more pronounced than in other Greek communities of pre-Hellenistic Greece'⁵⁴.

Regarding king Leonidas, his supposed remains were buried in Sparta forty years after his death in the specially built tomb located not far from the theatre (Paus. III. 14. 1). It is unclear why Leonidas' bones were not interred among the other royal burials of the Agiads. Apparently, by mid-5th century BC king Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans were seen as undisputed heroes whose brave deeds served to educate the next generations of Spartan citizens. That, it would seem, was the reason for situating Leonidas' tomb in the city centre. The same location, according to Pausanias, was used to erect 'a slab with the names, and their fathers' names, of those who endured the fight at Thermopylae against the Persians' (III. 14. 1). The Spartans were well aware of the power of visual propaganda and adept at using it. According to the tradition, building tombs in the city centre was permitted, sanctioned even by Lycurgus himself (Plut. Mor. 238 d = Inst. Lac. 18). Leonidas might have been the first Spartan to be given this honour. Later, in addition to the tomb of Leonidas, memorials were erected close to it to pay homage to two more outstanding Spartan commanders – the regent Pausanias and Brasidas (Paus. III. 14. 1). Plutarch explains the tradition 'to bury their dead within the city, and to have memorials of them near the sacred places' (Lyc. 27. 1, translated by B. Perrin) by the necessity to spread visual propaganda more actively and make it more relatable for the young Spartans. Plutarch customarily ascribes this provision, just like any other innovation, to Lycurgus, although the practice is likely to have appeared relatively late. The memorial to Leonidas was probably the first among the tombs eventually built inside the city⁵⁵.

It is known that by the time of Herodotus the power of the Spartan kings had significantly diminished. They retained their position as supreme commanders, but the rest of their responsibilities had to be shared with or transferred to the *ephors* and the *gerontes*. However, after their death they were still buried and venerated in a way similar to Homeric heroes. It appears that the funerary ritual remained unchanged since the earliest times. On account of its oriental splendour and considerable complexity the ceremony was at odds with the other facets of life in Spartan society. Moreover, the ritual did not truly reflect the status of the

⁵⁴ FLOWER 2009, 214.

⁵⁵ In the Classical period burials within city limits were considered extraordinary occasions. Not many were found worthy of this singular honour: e.g., Brasidas in Amphipolis (Thuc. V. 11. 1), Euphron in Sycion (Xen. Hell. VII. 3. 12), Timoleon in Syracuse (Plut. Tim. 29).

Spartan rulers either. The royal authority was not characterized by any attributes typical of Near Eastern monarchies. Rather, the Spartan kings were first among equals and their citizens could freely approach them (Xen. Hell. V. 4. 28).

The royal funerary ritual in Sparta was artificially preserved in a pseudo-archaic form since it fulfilled a vital political function of transferring the sacred power from the late king to his legitimate heir⁵⁶. This funerary lavishness persevered in Sparta despite the fact that by the 5th century BC the kings had lost a large share of their political, military and judicial power. However, as sacred figures they had a high degree of importance to the community even after their death. If in his lifetime a king did not bring disgrace upon himself, he most probably acquired the status of a hero posthumously⁵⁷. For instance, in an attempt to justify the barbaric funerary excesses so untypical of Sparta, Xenophon mentions that the Lacedaemonian kings were venerated as heroes (Lac. pol. 15. 9).

It can be inferred from Xenophon's remark that technically all the Spartan kings were awarded heroic honours after their death, i.e., their heroization was tied to their 'office'⁵⁸. The sole exception was the kings who had committed a crime⁵⁹. As the heads of state, the rulers of Sparta were sacred and their posthumous heroic cult helped to maintain the stability of the whole community. Heroization was in essence the last step of the funerary ritual. The deference with which the Spartans treated their kings as head priests in their lifetime and recipients of heroic honours after their death at least partly stemmed from Sparta's exceptional conservatism and reluctance to change anything pertaining to ideology. Sparta's steadfast refusal to alter and simplify the royal funerary ritual could probably be attributed to the fact that the ceremony performed an important ideological and propaganda functions – it unified all the classes and stressed the importance of preserving the royal authority as the core component of Spartan statehood.

Performed in a 'barbaric' manner, the royal funerary ritual strikingly exemplifies the unique, one of a kind nature of the royal authority in Sparta as contrasted with the panhellenic context.

⁵⁶ The kings acted as priests of their divine ancestor Zeus; they were symbolically connected with the god's two sons – *Dioskouroi* (Thuc. V. 16. 2; Her. VI. 56) and exercised control over all public forms of divination. Against Greek standards, the Spartan kings wielded a huge amount of sacred power. In this respect 'their tight control over public forms of divination, has a much closer affinity to the religious-political power of Near Eastern monarchs than to that of magistrates in other Greek cities' (FLOWER 2009, 213).

⁵⁷ 'Heroization' of major political figures became almost commonplace in the Hellenistic period.

⁵⁸ This, however, is open to argument. The main argument against the hypothesis is that Herodotus does not mention posthumous heroization of the kings among their privileges. It is also entirely possible to split hairs over Xenophon's wording, which is not that the kings were heroized posthumously, but merely that the kings were honoured not as mortal men but as heroes (οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας).

⁵⁹ There are known examples of kings being dethroned for committing crimes, whether real or fictitious, so their posthumous heroization would be out of the question. For instance, the Spartans never attempted to retrieve and rebury the body of king Pausanias, who had been sentenced to death, escaped to Tegea and died there.

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Delius of Plutarch and Dias of Flavius Philostratus: On the Political Activities of Platonists in the Fourth Century BC

Maxim M. KHOLOD¹

Abstract. *The present paper evaluates from the point of view of historical credibility two passages, that of Plutarch (Adv. Colot., 32.1126d) and that of Flavius Philostratus (Vitae soph., 485-486), where respectively Delius and Dias appear. The first of the persons, as is claimed, especially influenced Alexander the Great and the second did Philip II in the matter of the war against Persia. The author argues that in contrast to Philostratus' report, Plutarch's account can well be accepted (albeit not without reservations) as credible.*

Rezumat. *Acest studiu evaluează, dintr-un punct de vedere istoric, credibilitatea a două pasaje literare: cel al lui Plutarh (Adv. Colot., 32.1126d) și cel al lui Flavius Philostratus (Vitae soph., 485-486). Mai exact, este vorba despre cele în care apar numele lui Delius și Dias. Primul dintre cei doi ar fi fost o influență importantă asupra lui Alexandru cel Mare, iar cel de-al doilea ar fi fost responsabil de sfătuirea lui Filip al II-lea în vederea războiului împotriva Persiei. Autorul sugerează că, spre deosebire de informațiile oferite de Philostratus, cele venite din partea lui Plutarh pot fi cu ușurință acceptate (deși nu fără anumite rezerve) ca fiind credibile.*

Keywords: Plutarch, Flavius Philostratus, Philip II, Alexander the Great, Greek cities in Asia Minor.

Both Plutarch and Flavius Philostratus write, each in a separate passage, about the special impact that those from the Academy, the Ephesians, had on the Macedonian kings' decisions to wage war against Persia.² Apart from several other details, these accounts differ from one another in that Plutarch states this representative of the Academy to have been Delius, while according to Philostratus, it was Dias. Besides, the Macedonian king mentioned by Plutarch is Alexander the Great, whereas Philostratus records that it was Philip II. The passages are as follows:

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² All dates are BC/BCE unless otherwise noted.

“And the emissary sent to Alexander by the Greeks of Asia, who more than any other kindled his ardour and spurred him on to take up the war against the barbarians, was Delius of Ephesus, a follower of Plato” (Plut. *Adv. Colot.*, 32.1126d).³

(transl. Ph.H. De Lacy, Loeb)

“Dias of Ephesus made fast the cable of his philosophy to the Academy, but he was held to be a sophist for the following reason. When he saw that Philip was treating the Greeks harshly, he persuaded him to lead an expedition against Asia, and went to and fro telling the Greeks that they ought to accompany Philip on his expedition, since it was no dishonour to endure slavery abroad in order to secure freedom at home” (Philostr. *Vitae soph.*, 485–486).⁴

(transl. W.C. Wright, Loeb)

In the present essay, I intend to assess these passages in terms of historical credibility.

To begin with, it should be pointed out that, apart from the information these two passages provide, we know nothing about either Delius or Dias, and this fact seems to give us a compelling reason to believe that the renown the two people enjoyed in their lifetime, if, of course, they existed at all (see below), was quite modest. That alone is already enough to regard as implausible the statement occurring in both passages that such persons were the instigators of the Macedonian kings' decisions to wage war on Persia. But the main point in this connection is the following. It is quite clear that influencing such decisions made by the Macedonian kings would prove impossible for anybody, even for Isocrates in the case of Philip. There is no doubt that both Philip's decision to start a war with Persia and Alexander's decision to continue this war were their fully independent decisions.⁵

Nevertheless, it does not follow from this that the Macedonian kings did not have any contacts, including personal meetings, with some Greek intellectuals and could not have discussed, *inter alia*, the issue of the war against Persia with them, because through Isocrates' efforts this issue had gained widespread popularity in the intellectual milieu, as well as in Greek society in general (Isocrates' letters to Philip are the best-known proof of the existence of such contacts). Therefore communication between Philip and Alexander and such people as Delius or Dias does not appear unlikely in and of itself. However, in our case it appears that these episodes should not be considered as both having really taken place. Indeed, while comparing the above-mentioned passages, one can notice some striking similarities which do not seem to have occurred by accident. Rather, they lead us to believe that what Plutarch and Philostratus

³ ὁ δὲ πεμφθεὶς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κατοικοῦντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ μάλιστα διακαύσας καὶ παροξύνας ἄψασθαι τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου Δῆλιος ἦν Ἐφέσιος, ἑταῖρος Πλάτωνος.

⁴ Δίας δὲ ὁ Ἐφέσιος τὸ μὲν πείσμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας ἐβέβλητο, σοφιστῆς δὲ ἐνομίθη διὰ τὸδε: τὸν Φίλιππον ὀρῶν χαλεπὸν ὄντα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατεῦειν ἔπεισε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας διεξῆλθε λέγων, ὡς δέον ἀκολουθεῖν στρατεύοντι, καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἕξω δουλεύειν ἐπὶ τῷ οἴκῳ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι.

⁵ FROLOV 2001, 522–527; cf. MARKLE 1976, 80–89; ISAYEVA 1994, 165–173.

write about is the same event and not two separate ones: in addition to the statement that both Delius and Dias attempted to persuade the Macedonian kings to start a war against Persia, it is said that they were both Platonists, both Ephesians, and even their names bear a certain similarity to each other (they are relatively short and starting with the same letter).⁶ If it is true, a legitimate question then arises: which of the two passages should be recognized as being the record of an event that actually happened?

In my opinion, preference should be given to Plutarch's account in this case. Along with the fact that Plutarch in general is much more trustworthy than Philostratus in terms of conveying historical information (although at times his narrative does contain inaccuracies), another thing should be noted as well. Philostratus' Dias, with his promotion of the idea of it being necessary to wage war on Persia in order for the Greeks to be free in their native land, in fact completely follows the Panhellenic program of Isocrates. And it is quite noteworthy that further on, in his account of Isocrates' life, Philostratus makes absolutely no mention of his efforts to enlist Philip's help to organize such a military campaign (*Vitae soph.*, 503–506). Taking this fact into account, one should raise the question whether Philostratus might have mistakenly ascribed the activities carried out by Isocrates to Dias, knowing from his source that Dias communicated with the Macedonian king regarding the war against Persia. Incidentally, if so, it becomes clear why this Macedonian king in Philostratus' passage is none other than Philip. At any rate, it is obvious that all this is not conducive to enhancing the credibility of Philostratus' account. Lastly, it is remarkable that in his narrative Philostratus confines himself to conveying general historical information, which serves as nothing more than the background to the sophistic position of Dias, while the passage of Plutarch contains a number of specific details. Moreover, due to the presence of such details, Plutarch's account may be put into a more particular historical context than what Philostratus writes, and this also argues for its preferability.⁷

Indeed, Plutarch's words that Delius was "sent to Alexander by the Greeks of Asia" attest to his connection with the Greek cities in Asia Minor. Besides, given Plutarch's reference to Delius as an Ephesian (Philostratus' description of Dias as an Ephesian is further confirmation of his origin), one may suggest that at that time Delius was active mainly in Ephesus. On the other hand, one can infer from the account of Plutarch that the meeting between Alexander and Delius should have taken place before the Macedonian king launched his campaign against Persia, i.e. between October 336, when he ascended the throne,⁸ and the spring 334. Therefore it is clear that Delius' visit to Alexander, as described by Plutarch, should be considered in the

⁶ Cf. NATORP 1901, 2446; BERVE 1926, 131, n. 251; TRAMPEDACH 1994, 101.

⁷ Cf. TRAMPEDACH 1994, 101.

⁸ On this date, see especially HATZOPOULOS 1982, 21–42.

context of events occurring in the Greek cities in western Asia Minor, and in Ephesus in particular, in that period of time.

These events were connected with the military operations conducted in western Asia Minor starting from the spring 336 by the Macedonian expeditionary corps – the advance-guard of the army which under Philip's command was supposed to invade Persia some time later. Although, as is well-known, Philip's plans were thwarted, the advance-guard was not withdrawn by the new king Alexander, but it remained in Asia Minor until he arrived there in 334.

During the first year of the campaign the Macedonian expeditionary corps managed to achieve considerable successes: if not all, then the majority of Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor from Cyzicus in the north to Ephesus (or even Magnesia-on-the-Maeander) in the south fell under Macedonian control. What happened in Ephesus at that time as well as in the following year, one can learn from Arrian (*Anab.*, I, 17, 9–12). According to him, the city's siding with the Macedonians was attended by overthrowing the rule of the pro-Persian oligarchs and establishing democracy. It is unclear whether Heropythus, one of the leaders of the Ephesian democrats, who was mentioned by Arrian, died in this struggle or soon after that. At any rate, it is known that he received from the winning democratic faction a tomb at the *agora* and possibly even honours paid to him as a hero. Besides, in the famous temple of Artemis the Ephesian democrats erected a statue of Philip II, which may be considered as a token of gratitude of the new government to the Macedonian king for some help in overthrowing the oligarchic regime and also as an attempt to solicit his favour and protection in the future. However, in 335 the situation on the west coast of Asia Minor changed dramatically. The Persians launched a successful counteroffensive there. As a result, all the Greek cities in Asia Minor, controlled by the Macedonians earlier, with the exception of Abydos (and maybe Rhoeteum), were brought back under the Great king's authority and thus, pro-Persian oligarchies and tyrannies were restored in them. The same Arrian speaks (see above) that at that time Ephesus surrendered to Memnon, a famous Rhodian mercenary general in the Persian service, who installed a garrison in the city and facilitated the establishment of an oligarchy run by Syrophax and his family. On having seized power, the oligarchs immediately plundered the temple of Artemis, threw down Philip's statue in it, profaned Heropythus' tomb at the *agora* and inflicted penalties on the pro-Macedonian democrats, forcing them into exile and possibly even executing some of them.⁹

It cannot be ruled out that at the time of Delius' meeting with Alexander the former was one of the Ephesian exiles. Indeed, it is highly improbable that Delius was officially sent to Alexander by the Greeks of Asia Minor collectively, as follows from the account of Plutarch, for

⁹ For a detailed account of the events, see KHOLOD 2018, 407–446. In addition, on the statue of Philip in the Artemisium, see KHOLOD 2016, 497, n. 7.

there is nothing to indicate that they could take any action jointly and in concert at that time. It is quite possible that Delius acted either on his own initiative or, which is more likely, on behalf of his pro-Macedonian fellow citizens while presenting himself as a spokesman for the whole Greek community in Asia Minor. It should not surprise us that in this case Delius would have acted as an adherent of democracy, a form of government which should not be able to command the respect of a disciple of Plato, or at least, should not be actively supported by him (cf. Plato *Resp.*, 557a–558c).¹⁰ Indeed, the crux of the matter seems to be not Delius' abstract sympathies or antipathies towards some form of government, but rather his implacable opposition, as a graduate of the Academy too, to the barbarians' dominion over the Greeks (cf. Plato *Resp.*, 469b–c; 470c–d; 471b) or, to be precise, to the Persians' dominion over the Greek cities in Asia Minor, including Ephesus. In my view, that alone was enough to compel Delius to side with the Ephesian democrats – the political force that was decidedly anti-Persian in his home city. On the other hand, there appears to be one more factor that should be taken into account in this context. The fact is that, regarding the representatives and graduates of the Academy, one has to distinguish between philosophers proper (such as Speusippus, Xenocrates, Aristotle and naturally Plato himself) and young elitist men, who, similar to Isocrates' disciples, joined Plato's school mainly to further their education. When the latter (those of the outer circle of the Academy, so to say) returned to their native cities, they could be involved in local politics, not acting as Platonists but rather as scions of their influential families, and as such they could support democracy if need be. For instance, Leo of Byzantium and Euphraeus of Oreus did exactly that, becoming pro-democracy politicians in their home cities.¹¹ That could be the case with Delius as well.

If Delius actually paid a visit to Alexander while already in exile, this meeting should have taken place sometime in the winter 335/4 or in early spring 334. But it cannot be ruled out that the visit was made earlier – either at the end of 336, when Philip's demise must have caused fear among the Ephesian democrats (whose representative Delius could have been) that the new young king would postpone or even abandon the war against Persia,¹² or in the autumn 335, when the defeats suffered by the Macedonian advance-guard put democracy in Ephesus at risk. At any rate, it is worth believing that the purpose of Delius' visit to Alexander was first and foremost to enlist the king's help to solve the Ephesian matters or, to be more exact, to determine the fate of the pro-Macedonian democratic regime – to support it if it still existed at that time, or to restore it later on if it had already been overthrown. However, it is likely that Delius was concurrently expressing the expectations common for a significant number of the

¹⁰ In more detail: SANTAS 2007, 70–89; MARSHALL 2009, 93–105; TOPALOĞLU 2014, 73–83.

¹¹ TRAMPEDACH 1994, 93–100.

¹² Cf. BERVE 1926, 131, n. 251; BOSWORTH 1980, 131; TRAMPEDACH 1994, 101; FLOWER 2000, 107, n. 50; HECKEL 2006, 106.

Greeks in Asia Minor – those of Alexander as *hegemon* of the Hellenic League to deliver them as soon as possible from the ignominy of being controlled by the Persian barbarians, which, as I suppose, is reflected in a rather garbled fashion in Plutarch's words of Delius' sending to the Macedonian king by these Greeks collectively.

In conclusion, it seems that the offered analysis of the two passages of Plutarch and Philostratus from a historical point of view allows one to think that, despite their apparent discrepancies, they describe the same event. However, in my opinion, preference should be given to Plutarch's passage since he provides a more credible report of the event (although not a completely accurate one). Thus, there is no need to agree with the scholars casting doubt on the veracity of Plutarch's account in general.¹³ On the contrary, it should be considered as supplying valuable information which, if viewed critically, gives us a better understanding of the processes taking place in the Greek cities in Asia Minor and especially in Ephesus shortly before the Asian expedition of Alexander.

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¹³ See e.g. GEHRKE 1985, 59, n. 22; BRUNT 1993, 291.

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Las últimas emperatrices julio-claudias: estudio de sus imágenes públicas

Helena LÓPEZ GÓMEZ¹

Abstract. *Despite the importance they had in their time, many of the women of the Roman imperial families share a bad image that continues to this day. The pejorative description, present in the accounts of ancient historians, has made these female characters largely unintelligible and it is practically impossible to reach an objective conclusion about their true role in history. The present article aims to offer an analysis of the images of the last empresses of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. We will focus on the wives of Caligula, Claudius and Nero by analyzing the literary evidence we possess about them in order to try to reach a conclusion free of the powerful misogynistic impressions about them that have been provided in the past. To this end, we have taken into account not only the life trajectories of the empresses, but also those of the main men in their lives, the emperors, to try to glimpse if their family relationships could have had some kind of impact on the way women were portrayed by the sources.*

Rezumat. *În ciuda importanței pe care au deținut-o, multe dintre femeile din familiile imperiale romane au fost prezentate mereu într-o lumină proastă. Descrierile peiorative, prezente în sursele istoricilor antici, au făcut ca aceste femei să fie în mare parte imposibil de înțeles pentru cine au fost ele de fapt și este practic imposibil să formulăm o concluzie obiectivă asupra adevăratului lor rol istoric. Articolul de față își propune să ofere o analiză asupra reprezentărilor ultimelor împărătese din dinastia iulio-claudiană. Ne vom concentra pe soțiile lui Caligula, Claudius și Nero și vom analiza mărturiile literare pe care le deținem în legătură cu acestea, pentru ca apoi să putem obține o concluzie lipsită de impresiile misogine ce au fost vehiculate în trecut. Pentru aceasta am luat în considerare nu doar viețile împărăteselor, ci și pe cele ale partenerilor lor, împărații, astfel încât să putem intui dacă relațiile lor familiale ar fi putut avea un impact asupra modului în care femeile erau portretizate în sursele literare.*

Resumen. *Pese a la importancia que tuvieron en su época, gran parte de las mujeres de las familias imperiales romanas comparten una mala imagen que llega hasta la actualidad. La descripción peyorativa, presente en los relatos de los historiadores de la antigüedad, ha llevado a que estos personajes femeninos sean, en gran medida, ininteligibles y que resulte prácticamente imposible llegar a una conclusión objetiva sobre su verdadero papel en la historia. El presente artículo se propone ofrecer un análisis de las imágenes de últimas emperatrices de la dinastía julio-claudia. Nos centraremos en las esposas de Calígula, Claudio y Nerón analizando las evidencias literarias que sobre ellas poseemos para intentar llegar a una conclusión libre de las potentes impresiones misóginas que sobre ellas se han aportado en el pasado. Para ello se han tenido en cuenta no solo los trayectos vitales de las emperatrices, sino también los de los principales hombres de su vida, los emperadores, para intentar vislumbrar si sus relaciones familiares pudieron tener algún tipo de incidencia sobre la forma en que las mujeres fueron retratadas por las fuentes.*

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Keywords: *Principate, Rome, women, empresses, Messalina, Agrippina.*

Introducción

Si hay algo que tienen en común las intervenciones femeninas en el poder dentro de los relatos de los autores clásicos es su mala prensa. Los retratos de Livia, Julia, Milonia Cesonia, Mesalina, Agripina *la Menor* o Popea Sabina comparten, en mayor o menor medida, el haber sido criticadas por parte de los autores del momento y posteriores. Esta imagen femenina, desgraciadamente, ha pervivido hasta la actualidad tanto en obras historiográficas como de ficción, provocando que tengamos una percepción distorsionada de las actividades de estas mujeres². La explicación más simple sobre esta parcialidad de las fuentes es la incapacidad de la sociedad para entender la nueva influencia que la *domus* imperial podía ejercer sobre el *princeps*. Si a la clase dirigente senatorial le costó aceptar la reducción de su estatus y su papel dentro del régimen, más difícil fue que se entendiese que las mujeres (casi siempre en la sombra) gozasen de una influencia que, en la práctica, las situaba por encima de muchos hombres³.

Podemos entender que, en mayor o menor medida, gracias a su proximidad con los emperadores y el círculo de poder, la mayoría de las mujeres de la *domus* imperial tuvieron la oportunidad de influir en el gobierno. Sin embargo, no todas las princesas comparten la imagen sumamente peyorativa de Mesalina y Agripina, por ejemplo. La observación de los episodios en los cuales la intervención femenina es más criticada me ha llevado a desarrollar una teoría al respecto. Esta influencia parece ser más intensa justo cuando el papel de otros miembros de “segunda” de la *domus*, como libertos y esclavos, aparece magnificado. La mayor crítica a la casa del *princeps* en su relación con la intervención política se da, por lo tanto, en los gobiernos de Calígula, Claudio y Nerón. Todo ello me ha llevado a preguntarme si la influencia de mujeres, esclavos y libertos es calificada como más intensa y dañina en aquellos casos en los cuales los emperadores eran demasiado jóvenes, poco preparados, volubles e influenciables. Lo cual tampoco quiere decir que se use la imagen femenina para justificar los defectos del régimen.

Hay que remontarse al gobierno de Augusto para ver los primeros ejemplos en que las mujeres de la casa imperial empezaron a tener un lugar destacado. Ya en el 35 a.C. y por motivos meramente circunstanciales, Octavia y Livia recibieron una serie de honores que las colocaban por encima de sus contemporáneas⁴. Tras la victoria en Accio, estas mujeres dieron

² Las mujeres imperiales son herederas de la tradición anterior. El estereotipo retórico de la mala mujer llevada por la ambición y la pasión aparece en el momento en que los personajes femeninos empiezan a tener actividad política, es decir, en la República tardía. Sobre este tema Garlick, Dixon & Allen 1992, pp. 37-64; Brennan 2012, pp. 354-366.

³ FISCHLER 1994, 121; BARRETT 1996, 5.

⁴ D.C. 49.38.1. Estos honores consistían en la erección de estatuas públicas, la liberación de *tutela* y cierto tipo de *sacrosanctitas*. Principales análisis sobre estos honores en SCARDIGLI 1982; BAUMAN 1992, 94; FLORY 1993; SEVERY 2010, 27; BARRETT 2004, 214.

un paso atrás y recuperaron la imagen propia de la tradición republicana. Sin embargo, el simple hecho de ser familiares del nuevo *princeps* las situaba en un lugar eminente⁵. La exaltación de la imagen de Livia se da a partir del 9 a.C., aproximadamente, cuando debido a la muerte de Druso se le conceden honores extraordinarios⁶. Pero ya antes otras mujeres de la familia habían desarrollado papeles públicos: Octavia construyó un pórtico junto a su hijo Marcelo, Julia dió a luz al heredero al régimen y el acontecimiento se celebró públicamente y, a la muerte de Octavia, se guardó luto público y se le concedió un esplendoroso funeral⁷. Aunque, aparentemente, las féminas de la casa de Augusto tenían un lugar secundario y modesto, ya se avanzaba hacia la fijación de su especial situación social. Y, sin embargo, estas no reciben un trato peyorativo en las fuentes⁸. Solo es en el momento en que mueren los posibles sucesores de Augusto, cuando se rumorea que Livia podría haber tenido algo que ver. Aun así, el propio Dion lo descarta rápidamente⁹. Su supuesta influencia sobre Augusto para que adoptase a Tiberio no parece recibir grandes críticas y estas se dirigen a exculpar al príncipe por haber elegido a un sucesor no muy apreciado¹⁰. Por eso es al final de la vida de Augusto cuando las críticas a Livia empiezan a aparecer¹¹.

Así pues, parece que las precursoras del rol de emperatriz romana no sufrieron la mala prensa que se cebará con las figuras femeninas en el poder a lo largo del Imperio. Las imágenes de Octavia y Antonia, por ejemplo, son especialmente positivas. En el caso de Octavia su posición como pobre mujer agraviada por un marido que prefirió a una reina bárbara se mantuvo el resto de su vida¹². En su época fue glorificada por haber continuado cuidando su casa y a sus hijos pese a la desidia de Antonio¹³. Su hija Antonia heredó la imagen de matrona tradicional, amante esposa y madre devota, ya que se dedicó en cuerpo y alma a

⁵ HALLET 2012, 374.

⁶ D.C. 55.2.4

⁷ *Porticus Octaviae*: Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.69-70; WOODHULL 2003, 24-25. Sobre la celebración del aniversario de Cayo, D.C. 54.8.5. El funeral de Octavia en D.C. 54.5.4. Como defiende CENERINI 2016, 30, el *funus* de un miembro de la familia tiene un lugar esencial en la definición de la *domus Augusta*, ya que es un momento ideal para la progresiva formación del consenso y aceptación de la casa gobernante.

⁸ La excepción es Julia tras ser exiliada por su padre debido a sus supuestos adulterios, Suet. *Tib.* 11.4; D.C. 55.10.12-14. Y, aun así, pese a haber sido condenada por su conducta impúdica, también es un recurso usado para ejemplificar la crueldad de Tiberio por no haberla ayudado tras la muerte de Augusto, Suet. *Tib.* 50.1-3. No obstante, antes de la caída en desgracia su imagen en las fuentes es secundaria y no se emiten juicios de valor sobre su persona y sus funciones en la casa imperial.

⁹ D.C. 53.33.4

¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 4.57.3; D.C. 55.13.2-3.

¹¹ Críticas a Livia: Tac. *Ann.* 4.5; 5.4; 6.2; 10.5. Algo similar, aunque más exagerado se da también en época antonina. Ante la mala gestión de Cómodo como emperador y con la intención de liberar a Marco Aurelio de toda responsabilidad sobre su crianza o la sucesión, los relatos achacan la culpa a *Faustina la Menor*. De esta se dice que habría tenido relaciones con un gladiador, cuyo resultado habría sido Cómodo. *HA Marc.* 19.1-2; 6-8.

¹² D.C. 50.20.1

¹³ D.C. 50.20.1; Plut. *Ant.* 54.

sus hijos, nietos y restantes niños que crio en su casa, tras la muerte de su marido¹⁴. Por tanto, Augusto quiso promover los ideales de la feminidad para las mujeres de su casa¹⁵. El *princeps* reintrodujo valores conservadores en la población y él mismo y su casa debían representarlos¹⁶. El perfecto papel desarrollado por Octavia y Livia justifica que las opiniones negativas en este momento sean minoritarias. También explica que en el momento en que Julia se salió del patrón fuese relegada¹⁷.

Probablemente la primera gran crítica a una mujer imperial se da con Julia Livia, hija de Antonia y esposa de Druso *el Menor* (hijo de Tiberio). De ella se dice que habría envenenado a su marido. Sin embargo, su protagonismo en la historia es breve, presentada como una pobre ilusa usada por Sejano para lograr acceso directo al poder¹⁸. En el momento en que esta había perdido su “honra” por su relación con Sejano, se la usó como vía de escape para justificar las condenas a otros notables de la ciudad a través del adulterio¹⁹.

Es ya en época de Calígula cuando empiezan a aparecer las verdaderas “malas mujeres”. Ese papel es desarrollado, sobre todo, por Milona Cesonia. A la cual se acusa de haber tenido unos vicios similares a los de su marido.

Milona Cesonia

Cesonia fue la tercera esposa de Calígula y la única con quien tuvo descendencia. La rápida sucesión de matrimonios nos informa de la búsqueda de hijos. Como avanzaba, a Cesonia se le achacan muchos de los vicios de su marido, entre ellos el exhibicionismo y la impudicia. Atentaba contra los valores tradicionales de la castidad femenina que defendían sus predecesoras, ya que, según Suetonio, habría mantenido relaciones con Calígula antes del matrimonio. Se critica, así mismo, la elección de Calígula, debido a que esta mujer ya había tenido tres hijas en un anterior matrimonio. No obstante, Augusto se casó con Livia cuando esta estaba embarazada por segunda vez de su primer marido y esa unión política fue muy loada²⁰. Después de sus anteriores enlaces sin descendencia, Calígula se habría sentido atraído por una mujer que tenía tres hijas por su probada fertilidad²¹.

No sabemos mucho más de Cesonia, además de que dio a luz a una niña llamada Julia Drusila y que pudo haber tenido ciertas responsabilidades sacerdotales²². Desde luego no se entiende la inquina de los autores antiguos, sobre todo porque estos la podrían haber

¹⁴ Suet. *Calig.*10; Val. Max. 4.3.3.

¹⁵ CENERINI 2016, 34.

¹⁶ SEVERY 2010.

¹⁷ CID LÓPEZ 2018, 138; *Autor apellido año*.

¹⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 3.3.3-4; 39; 4.60; D.C. 57.22.

¹⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 6.29.4; D.C. 58.24.5.

²⁰ Suet. *Calig.* 1.1.

²¹ Precisamente, la madre de Cesonia, Vistilia, se había casado seis veces y había sido loada por Plinio por su gran fertilidad. *NH* 7.39.

²² D.C. 59.28.5

presentado como una víctima más de las locuras de su esposo. No obstante, en ocasiones se la culpabiliza del comportamiento de Calígula. En un pasaje, Suetonio da pábulo a la idea de que pudo ser la intervención de su mujer, que, con una poción, lo habría vuelto loco²³, achacando a Cesonia un gran control sobre Calígula y la culpabilidad del mal gobierno de este²⁴. Sin embargo, Josefo se hace también eco de la historia de la poción, explicando que la excusa para ejecutar a la emperatriz fue que Cayo se habría doblegado a la voluntad de ella, cuyos caprichos habrían llevado la desgracia a Roma. Sin embargo, este autor no es partidario de culpabilizar a la emperatriz y entiende que Calígula se dejó guiar por su propio juicio y no por los designios de ella²⁵. Este testimonio es de los pocos que no la critican abiertamente ya que, en general, y aunque su historia es breve, es la esposa la que parece ser un reflejo de la locura de Calígula.

En todo caso, pese a los tintes negativos con que es caracterizado, los autores también describen un matrimonio llevado por el amor y Calígula habría dejado en ese periodo de tener relaciones con los pantomimos o con sus hermanas²⁶.

Sus hermanas, de igual modo, podrían haber sido retratadas de forma peyorativa. De Drusila se dice que Cayo llegó a hacerla depositaria del Imperio y, tras su muerte, fue deificada. Todo ello podría llevar a los autores de la antigüedad a presentarla como una mujer ávida de poder. Sin embargo, Drusila y sus hermanas siempre aparecen como las grandes víctimas del periodo. Los autores acusan a Calígula de incesto con las tres jóvenes (sobre todo con Drusila), pero parece una maniobra dirigida a plasmar la torcida naturaleza del emperador desde su juventud; después de todo, el incesto iba contra todos los preceptos de la vida civilizada²⁷.

²³ Suet. *Calig.* 50.2

²⁴ BALS DON 1983, 214.

²⁵ JOSEPH. *AJ* 19.2.4

²⁶ BALS DON 1983, 44, 95.

²⁷ Se ha llegado a afirmar que las relaciones con sus hermanas habrían sido la manera elegida por Calígula para imitar las costumbres faraónicas (KORNEMANN 1927, 14; 44; 1930, 51-53; PIPPIDI 1939, 105; L'ORANGE 1941, 115; LAMBRECHTS 1953; COLIN 1954, 408). En este sentido, también se ha dicho que la influencia oriental le habría llegado al emperador a través de su abuela Antonia, en cuya casa se crio, dado que esta era hija de Marco Antonio, esposo de Cleopatra y gobernador de la parte oriental del Imperio. Estos argumentos no tienen en cuenta que Antonia, hija de Octavia, se crio en Roma y tuvo poca relación con su padre. Son pocos los pasajes que hablan de tendencias egipcias en Calígula, BALS DON 1983, 220. Filón y Suetonio lo presentan como un rumor, Philo *Leg.* 250; Suet. *Calig.* 49.2. Además, las relaciones de Calígula con sus hermanas habrían empezado, según los autores antiguos, cuando este era un adolescente y no albergaba esperanzas de convertirse en príncipe, Suet. *Calig.* 8.5. WOOD 1995, p. 459 defiende la idea de que los rumores de incesto pudieron estar motivados por el hecho de que las hermanas desarrollaban un papel ceremonial similar al de la esposa del emperador. Así y todo, las relaciones incestuosas eran tenidas como bárbaras y contrarias a la naturaleza humana, un *topos* perfecto para las biografías de los malos gobernantes, VINSON 1989, 431-450; WOOD 1995, 458. Personalmente entiendo que fueron usadas como una exageración, un recurso retórico para poner de manifiesto la naturaleza antihumana de un emperador con muy mala prensa. Para una visión crítica de ciertos pasajes sobre la vida de Calígula: ALFARO 2012.

Más curioso es otro episodio en el que se acusa a Agripina y Livila de haber conspirado contra su hermana junto a Lépido, el viudo de Drusila. Se juzgó al cuñado del emperador de adulterio con las hermanas, pero parece que, de nuevo, cargos políticos habrían sido escondidos bajo acusaciones de relaciones sexuales impropias²⁸. Las fuentes parecen indicar que Lépido y las hermanas habrían conspirado contra Calígula y, sin embargo, y pese a la posterior fama de Agripina, las jóvenes no son culpadas, sino presentadas como las víctimas sexuales y políticas del emperador²⁹. Así pues, para el corto gobierno de Cayo, las hermanas son el elemento perfecto a través del cual se le da relieve a la crueldad y locura del emperador. Después de todo, la maldad de Calígula quedaba retratada si era capaz de maltratar a sus propias hermanas, sus únicos parientes cercanos.

Pese al carácter peyorativo de la biografía de Milona Cesonia, las verdaderas emperatrices “malas” aparecen con todo su peso durante el gobierno de Claudio y se mantienen en el de Nerón. Son Mesalina, Agripina y, en menor medida, Popen Sabina.

Mesalina

Claudio se casó con Mesalina poco antes de acceder al poder imperial. Ella era descendiente de Octavia por ambas partes de su familia. Valerio Mesala Barbato, su padre, era hijo de Marcela *la Menor*, hija de Octavia y Claudio Marcelo. La madre de Mesalina, Domicia Lépida, era hija de Antonia *la Mayor*, hija a su vez de Octavia y Marco Antonio. Al ser Claudio hijo de Antonia *la Menor* y Druso, podía presumir de retrotraerse a las dos grandes matriarcas julio-claudias, Octavia y Livia. Aunque no era descendiente directo de Augusto, su árbol familiar llegaba a las principales figuras de la dinastía. Mesalina, por su parte, reforzaba esta conexión. Octavia, la hija de ambos, era bisnieta de Octavia por tres veces. En la misma línea, Claudio se encargó de expresar sus vínculos familiares en cuanto accedió al gobierno, llevando a cabo la consagración de Livia y tributando honores fúnebres a su padre, su hermano e incluso a Marco Antonio y Tiberio³⁰.

Como adelantaba, Mesalina ponía de relieve su vínculo con la dinastía. No obstante, Claudio sin rechazó en su nombre el título de Augusta que se le ofreció con motivo del nacimiento de Británico³¹. En otros momentos sí se le permitió mayor protagonismo y, en el triunfo de Claudio sobre *Britania*, siguió al cortejo triunfal en *carpentum*³². Estos episodios evidencian la función institucional que habría desarrollado Mesalina.

Sin embargo, los comentarios negativos dominan el retrato que de ella elaboran los autores antiguos. Abundan relatos en los que hace gala de una gran impudicia, llegando a

²⁸ Suet. *Calig.* 24.3; 2 39.1; D.C. 59.22.6-8; Tac. *Ann.* 14.2.4; BALSDON 1983, 108.

²⁹ GINSBURG 2006, 14-15; BURNS 2007, 61-62.

³⁰ Suet. *Claud.* 11.3-2; D.C. 60. 5.2-4.

³¹ D.C. 60.12.5.

³² Suet. *Claud.* 17.3; D.C. 60.22.

prostituirse a sí misma³³. Mesalina representa, por lo tanto, lo contrario al ideal de mujer romana y, sobre todo, de emperatriz. La impudicia, el uso del cuerpo para el propio disfrute, es una de las características que se le achacan a las “malas mujeres” a lo largo de la historia³⁴. Ya destacó como, una vez que se introduce la idea de que Livila habría tenido relaciones con Sejano pese a estar casada, su impudicia fue usada como excusa para acusar a otros hombres de más crímenes. Mientras, Julia, la hija de Augusto, fue desterrada por haber mantenido relaciones con importantes nobles. En la actualidad, no se descarta que las acusaciones de adulterio escondiesen una pena por haber conspirado contra su padre³⁵.

En todo caso, desde Rhea Silvia, Herennia, Tulia o Lucrecia, el uso del cuerpo de las mujeres en el poder (voluntario o forzado) es empleado en los relatos históricos como manera de provocar el devenir de los hechos y, en muchos casos, de atacar la memoria de las mujeres³⁶. En el caso de Mesalina, no solo se la acusa de una sexualidad desaforada, sino también de practicar la bigamia, casándose con Silio sin estar divorciada de Claudio³⁷. Una vez más, en la actualidad se supone que tras dicho relato se podía esconder una maniobra política³⁸.

Por otro lado, también se acusa a Mesalina de Claudio a su antojo y, consecuentemente, influir sobre muchos actos de gobierno o manipularlo para cometer asesinatos³⁹. Así, por ejemplo, tenemos los casos del destierro de Julia Livila y la ejecución de Apio Silano. En primer lugar, habría que plantearse si fue Mesalina la verdadera impulsora del castigo a Livila. Al fin y al cabo, el marido de esta, Marco Vinicio, se había postulado como candidato al Imperio tras la muerte de Calígula y Livila era bisnieta de Augusto⁴⁰. Por mucho que Livila fuese sobrina de Claudio, no podemos descartar que supusiese un peligro para la estabilidad del nuevo gobierno. Sin olvidar que, en el pasado, ya había sido desterrada por conspirar contra otro emperador, en ese caso su hermano⁴¹. En época de Claudio Livila fue expulsada de la ciudad tras una acusación de adulterio con Séneca⁴². Curiosamente, el filósofo conseguiría retornar a Roma tras el matrimonio de Claudio con Agripina⁴³. Séneca fue uno de los grandes apoyos de Nerón (sobrino de Livila) tras su ascenso a la púrpura y, además, no ocultó su

³³ D.C. 60. 18; Plin. *NH* 10.172

³⁴ WOODHULL 2005, 75; CID LÓPEZ 1997.

³⁵ LEVICK 1972.

³⁶ CORBEILL 1996, 117-118.

³⁷ D.C. 60.31; Suet. *Claud.* 26.1; Tac. *Ann.* 11.26-29.

³⁸ LEVICK 1990; OSGOOD 2011.

³⁹ D.C. 60.8.4; 14.2; 18.4; 29.6a; 17.6-8; 22.5; Suet. *Claud.* 25.5.

⁴⁰ Suet. *Calig.* 10.

⁴¹ Suet. *Calig.* 24; D.C. 59.2.6-8.

⁴² Suet. *Claud.* 29.1; D.C. 60.8.5.

⁴³ Séneca fue juzgado por adulterio y condenado a muerte, aunque finalmente fue exiliado, (Sen. *Cons. Polyb.* 13.3; Schol. *Juv. Sat.* 5.109. Es extraña la condena a la pena capital por un adulterio, siendo el único precedente el de Julio Antonio en su relación con Julia, lo que parece indicar un crimen de tinte político.

desagrado por Claudio. Una vez más, no podemos descartar que bajo las acusaciones de adulterio latiese un asunto político.

Respecto a Silano, a Mesalina se la acusa de haber propiciado su ejecución porque este no quería tener relaciones sexuales con ella. El artífice habría sido también Narciso, quien le habría comunicado a Claudio que lo había visto muerto a manos de Silano en un sueño. Todo parece indicar que, pese a la crítica que se hace aquí a la intervención de mujeres y libertos, subyace otra cuestión. Es posible que la pareja imperial dudase de la lealtad de Silano, insigne senador, por lo que, inicialmente, intentaron “atarlo” haciendo que este se desposase con Lépida, madre de Mesalina y, posteriormente, fue ejecutado⁴⁴. Este tipo de acciones no extrañarían en una corte que ya se sentía inestable después del episodio de Livila y Séneca⁴⁵. Sin embargo, en el relato histórico se exonera a Claudio, o solo se le culpa por su personalidad débil, mientras que toda la responsabilidad recae en mujeres y libertos.

Hay que tener en cuenta que los autores ya preparan el terreno, destacando que Claudio había pasado demasiado tiempo entre mujeres debido a su misteriosa enfermedad, lo que lo llevaba a depender de ellas en demasía y a dejarse manipular⁴⁶. En todo caso, la participación política de Mesalina, si bien en la sombra, supone una inversión de roles en una sociedad profundamente patriarcal⁴⁷. La posición destacada de las mujeres iba en contra del pacto al cual Augusto había llegado con las clases altas. Pues solo en las monarquías las mujeres podían tener un lugar tan destacado⁴⁸.

Agripina la Menor

La tendencia a manipular al emperador y la capacidad para intervenir políticamente son rasgos compartidos por su sucesora, Agripina⁴⁹. De ella se llega a decir, incluso, que asistía a las audiencias con embajadores y que recibía visitas que se reflejaban en los registros públicos⁵⁰.

⁴⁴ Suet. *Claud.* 37.2; D.C. 60.14.2-15.1; Tac. *Ann.* 11.4.2; 29.1; Sen. *Apocol.* 11.5. De hecho, Barrett destaca que, las intervenciones de Mesalina y Agripina en el relato histórico deben entenderse como un intento de colaborar con el régimen. Las mujeres imperiales en esta época deben ser entendidas como cómplices del emperador y no como agentes negativos que solo intentaban derrocar el nuevo sistema, BARRETT 1996, 73. Bauman, por su parte, llegó a afirmar que, de alguna forma, Mesalina habría sido el Sejano de Claudio, encargada de perseguir a los enemigos del emperador y destruirlos, BAUMAN 1992, 171. Personalmente, entiendo que esta visión moderna del personaje femenino aparece profundamente influenciada por el carácter peyorativo que los autores dieron, en general, al gobierno de Claudio.

⁴⁵ EHRHARDT 1978, 61-62; LEVICK 1990, 57-59; OSGOOD 2011, 44.

⁴⁶ D.C. 60.2.4; Suet. *Claud.* 25.5. Interpretaciones modernas sobre la enfermedad de Claudio en: VALENTE 2002; OSGOOD 2011, 9., entre otros.

⁴⁷ CRINTINI 1999, 25.

⁴⁸ FISCHLER 1994.

⁴⁹ D.C. 60.32.1-5; 33.1; Suet. *Claud.* 29; Tac. *Ann.* 12.27.1; 42.2; 64.1.

⁵⁰ D.C. 60.29.4-6^a; 33.1; 33.7; Tac. *Ann.* 13.43.3.

Agripina *la Menor*, tal y como la presentan los testimonios antiguos, habría sido una digna heredera del legado de su madre, Agripina *la Mayor*, hija de Julia y Agripa y nieta de Augusto. El padre de Agripina, Germánico, había sido el gran general de Tiberio y su posible sucesor, de no ser por su temprana muerte, además de hijo de Druso y nieto de Livia. El pedigrí de la nueva novia de Claudio era, después de la sangría dinástica de los últimos años de Tiberio, inmejorable. De hecho, Agripina, junto a sus hermanas, recibió durante el gobierno de su hermano, un honor sin precedentes, el de ser mencionada en los juramentos de lealtad al emperador⁵¹.

Las fuentes nos transmiten una gran agitación en la corte tras la muerte de Mesalina, con camarillas que apoyaban a una u otra candidata⁵². De entre estas habría acabado por sobresalir Agripina, tanto por sus dotes personales como por su cercanía a Claudio y el apoyo de algunos libertos imperiales. Los autores clásicos presentan el acercamiento entre tío y sobrina como un movimiento deliberado de Agripina y a Claudio como su víctima⁵³. Claudio, una vez caído en la trampa, habría buscado la aprobación del Senado, bien directamente, o bien a través de Vitelio⁵⁴. Tácito presenta el matrimonio como el primer paso de Agripina para tener y ejercer el poder político, usando términos como *servitium*, *dominatio* y *regnum* para poner de manifiesto la usurpación femenina del poder⁵⁵. Aunque Tácito es el escritor más locuaz sobre este asunto, los restantes historiadores también dan detalles sobre la presión de los círculos de poder para fomentar la idea de que el matrimonio entre tío y sobrina era lo más deseable. No obstante, si nos fijamos en el contexto de la época, el que más salía ganando era el propio Claudio⁵⁶.

Claudio había llegado al poder a través de maniobras poco claras, si bien los autores lo presentan como un elemento pasivo que simplemente estaba en el lugar adecuado en el momento perfecto⁵⁷. Él no accedió a la púrpura por su propio prestigio y menos aún por ser el heredero directo de la dinastía. A finales del gobierno de Tiberio la casa imperial se vio enormemente mermada y como consecuencia, eran pocos aquellos que podían presumir de descendencia directa del divino Augusto y, con ello, de legitimidad a la púrpura. Las tres hijas de Germánico y Agripina, hermanas de Calígula, fueron las grandes supervivientes de la época. Drusila murió en época de Calígula, Mesalina se habría encargado del destierro de

⁵¹ Suet. *Calig.*15.3; D.C. 59.3.4; 9.2.

⁵² Suet. *Claud.* 26.2; Tac. *Ann.* 12.1.

⁵³ Tac. *Ann.* 12.3.1.

⁵⁴ D.C. 60.31.6-8; Suet. *Claud.* 26.3; Tac. *Ann.* 12.5-7.

⁵⁵ GINSBURG, 2006, 18.

⁵⁶ DRINKWATER 2019, 33-34; BURNS 2007, 64; CENERINI 2009, 64.

⁵⁷ MAJOR 1992; OSGOOD 2011, 30.

Livila, como ya se mencionó⁵⁸ y, de esta forma, en época de Claudio solo estaba en Roma Agripina⁵⁹.

En cuanto a los varones, tras el asesinato de Tiberio Gemelo y de Calígula, ya no quedaban más descendientes directos de Augusto de edad adulta, pues Nerón era solo un niño. No obstante, Calígula ya había demostrado que en momentos difíciles podía pensarse en la capacidad de las mujeres para transmitir el poder⁶⁰.

Según Suetonio, Calígula habría hecho a Drusila depositaria “de sus bienes y del Imperio” en un periodo de enfermedad durante el cual se temía su vida⁶¹. Sin embargo, el historiador no se extraña de ese tipo de reacción. Presenta el acto como una locura más de Calígula y como un modo de expresar el desaforado cariño que sentía por su hermana. Si tenemos en cuenta las leyes de Augusto, por las cuales estaba prohibido que las mujeres heredasen semejantes fortunas (excepto Livia que, por otro lado, contaba con la dispensa de la *Lex Voconia*) y que, aparentemente, Calígula había favorecido la carrera del marido de Drusila, podemos llegar otras conclusiones⁶². Sostengo, siguiendo a Barrett⁶³, que Calígula pretendía que, en caso de necesidad, el heredero fuese el marido de su hermana, Emilio Lépido⁶⁴. Bianchi⁶⁵ defiende una idea parecida, según la cual Drusila sería la depositaria de la herencia material del César, mientras que Lépido actuaría como regente. En mi opinión, todo debía conducir a que, una vez Drusila y Lépido tuviese un hijo, este heredase el Imperio. De esta forma, la púrpura volvería a la sangre de los Césares, aunque fuese a través de las mujeres,

⁵⁸ D.C. 60.8.4.

⁵⁹ D.C. 60.4.1.

⁶⁰ Este caso de Calígula es el primero donde se menciona claramente la posición de la mujer en la transmisión del poder imperial. Sin embargo, hemos de tener en cuenta que aquellos que fueron considerados como posibles sucesores de Augusto (Marcelo, Cayo y Lucio) eran parte de la línea femenina de su familia.

⁶¹ Suet. *Calig.* 24.1.

⁶² Se dice que se le habría permitido concurrir a las magistraturas cinco años antes de lo marcado por la ley, D.C. 59.22.6. Este privilegio que se solía conceder a los varones de la casa imperial desde época de Augusto. A Marcelo y Tiberio se les habría permitido un adelanto de diez y cinco años respectivamente y Cayo, hijo adoptivo del *princeps*, llegó a ser elegido cónsul a la edad de catorce años, Tac. *Ann.* 3.1; D.C. 53.28.2-4; RG 14.

⁶³ BARRETT 1990, 81-82.

⁶⁴ En el mismo sentido WOOD 1995, 458-459. También afirma BARRETT 1990, p.82 que la importancia de Lépido se puede apreciar en que es el único marido de las hermanas que se menciona en los relatos antiguos, pese a que las restantes esposas también eran bien conocidos en su época. En cualquier caso, las conexiones familiares del individuo eran destacadas. Uno de sus ascendentes era el Lucio Emilio Paulo que se había casado con Julia la Menor, su abuela paterna fue una Cornelia, hija de Escribonia, y su hermana se casó con Druso, hermano de Calígula y Drusila, BARRETT 1990, 82. Esta situación y el matrimonio con Drusila lo convertían en un personaje importante. Así se entiende que en el momento en que, aparentemente, se volvió contra Calígula, este no dudase en hacerlo desaparecer, D.C. 59.22.5-9; Suet. *Calig.* 24.3; *Clau.* 9.1.

⁶⁵ BIANCHI 2006, 509.

reforzándose la posibilidad de que las mujeres transmitiesen la sangre imperial y la legitimidad dinástica⁶⁶.

Si aceptamos el protagonismo dinástico de las mujeres, Agripina *la Menor* era el personaje adulto en una línea descendente más directa con Augusto. Al hablar de Mesalina ya destacué como Claudio buscaba expresar su legitimidad al poder a través de sus mujeres. La concesión de honores a la memoria de sus ascendientes también demuestra su continuo establecimiento de vínculos con la línea imperial. No podemos descartar que con Agripina sucediese lo mismo⁶⁷. Es más, tampoco podemos descartar que hubiese presiones para que ese matrimonio se llevase a cabo⁶⁸, después de todo, la posición de Claudio en sus primeros años como emperador no parece haber sido demasiado sólida ni haber estado exenta de amenazas⁶⁹.

Ya se mencionaron los extraños episodios de Julia Livila y también de Silano, que podrían entenderse como intentos de golpe a la autoridad de Claudio. Las fuentes parecen describir como guerra civil la tentativa de Viniciano y Escriboniano en el 42 de derrocar a Claudio⁷⁰. Este no triunfó por la falta de apoyo de los soldados y la revuelta se aplacó en solo unos días⁷¹. Como podemos ver en la siguiente tabla parece que, en general, el primer periodo de Claudio en el poder fue bastante convulso a tenor de aquellos acontecimientos que podrían definirse (siguiendo a las fuentes) como complots o intentos de golpe a su gobierno.

⁶⁶ CORBIER 1995; CENERINI 2009, 47; 66; 2016, 34.

⁶⁷ Esta influencia de Agripina como transmisora de la legitimidad al poder imperial (tanto a su marido como a su hijo) queda plasmado en el *Sebasteion* de *Afrodissias*. En uno de los relieves, en el que aparece con Claudio, este es coronado por la personificación del Senado como general victorioso tras Britania. Aunque es el Senado quien lo corona, su mujer está en primer plano, acompañándole de la mano. El vínculo imperial a través de lo femenino está aún más claro en el segundo relieve, pues en el que aparece Nerón, este es coronado por su propia madre. Cabe aquí destacar la diferencia entre el primero y el segundo, pues en el primero aún se da pie a cierta intervención del Senado, mientras que en la segunda es ya un asunto plenamente familiar en el cual la figura femenina lleva la iniciativa, DRINKWATER 2019, pp. 39-41.

⁶⁸ En este sentido: OSGOOD 2011, 23; DRINKWATER 2019, 33. No se debe olvidar que su madre, Agripina la Mayor, tuvo un poderoso grupo de apoyo en sus enfrentamientos contra Tiberio, Tac. *Ann.* 4.17.3. Es posible que, desaparecido Calígula, la heredera de los vínculos de clientela con dicho grupo fuese Agripina o, en todo caso, Nerón.

⁶⁹ Así, por ejemplo, lo podemos percibir al tener en cuenta que Claudio hizo tal cantidad de donativos a los soldados en su llegada al poder que las acuñaciones de ese momento suponen un tercio de las totales de su gobierno, VON KAENEL 1994, 54-55; BURGERS 2001, 106-108; BURNS 2007, 66-67; OSGOOD 2011, 34. Claramente Claudio estaba preocupado por asentar su gobierno ya fuese sobre la fuerza militar o, posteriormente, sobre la legitimidad dinástica. ⁷⁰ D.C. 60.15.

⁷¹ Pese a que los autores nos transmiten esta idea de que los conspiradores fueron rápidamente aplacados, parece que en Roma y en Dalmacia (de donde era gobernador Escriboniano) siguió una intensa purga, D.C. 60.15.5-16; Tac. *Ann.* 15. Claudio debió de estar preocupado a raíz del incidente por su falta de conexión con las legiones y de experiencia militar, ya que al año siguiente llevó a cabo en persona la invasión de Britania, EHRHARDT 1978, 64-65.

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|--|-------|
| Livila y Seneca (D.C. 60.8.5) | 41-42 |
| Apio Silano (D.C. 60.14.2-4) | 42 |
| Viniciano y Escriboniano (D.C. 60.15. 1-ss; Suet. <i>Clau.</i> 35.2) | 42 |
| Asinio Galo (<i>PIR</i> ² A1228) | 46 |
| T. Estatilio Corvino (<i>PIR</i> ¹ S595) | 46-47 |
| M. Licinio Craso Frugi y Pompeyo Magno (Suet. <i>Clau.</i> 29.2; <i>Ludus</i> 11.2) | 47 |
| Mesalina y C. Silio (D.C. 60.31; Suet. <i>Clau.</i> 26.1; Tac. <i>Ann.</i> 11.26-29) | 48 |

Tabla 1. Posibles complots contra Claudio y año en el que tuvieron lugar

Es posible que también el episodio final de la vida de Mesalina se pueda contar como tentativa de golpe contra Claudio, escondido bajo las acusaciones de adulterio y bigamia. Sobre este hecho, se nos cuenta que Mesalina fue condenada por casarse con Cayo Silio pese a estar su legítimo marido todavía con vida⁷². Esto habría sido interpretado por Claudio como un intento de golpe de estado por parte de Silio⁷³. Su comportamiento delata su nerviosismo y malestar ante la inseguridad de un posible complot para acabar con su vida. Más allá de los aspectos secundarios que las fuentes destacan sobre Mesalina, como su lujuria que la habría llevado a querer tener dos maridos al mismo tiempo⁷⁴, los investigadores actuales se inclinan por ver aquí un verdadero golpe al gobierno de Claudio para situar a Silio en su lugar⁷⁵. La diferencia de edad entre Claudio y Mesalina era notable, por lo que esta habría buscado un marido de una generación más próxima a la suya y que pudiese defender los intereses de Británico. No podemos descartar que la propia Mesalina estuviese preocupada por la mayor legitimidad dinástica de Nerón, acompañado de su madre Agripina, nieta de Augusto, o que la frágil salud de Claudio diese a entender que su muerte podría estar cerca⁷⁶.

A tenor de lo expuesto, la posición de Claudio sería precaria y se entendería su decisión de casarse con una descendiente en línea directa de Augusto, llegando incluso a adoptar al hijo de esta. La adopción de Nerón servía a los propios planes sucesorios de Claudio y, cuando este alcanzase la edad adulta, desde luego pocos podrían hacer competencia a su idoneidad

⁷² Tac. *Ann.* 11.26-31.

⁷³ Tac. *Ann.* 11.31.1.

⁷⁴ D.C. 60. 14.3; 18.1-2; 22.4-5; 27.4; 28. 2-5; 31.1-5; Tac. *Ann.* 11.26.1; 35.4-6; 36.1-5.

⁷⁵ MEISE 1969; EHRDARDT 1987, 68-69; CENERINI 2008; 2009, 60

⁷⁶ LEVICK 1990, pp. 56-66. En todo caso, este oscuro episodio no hizo sino contribuir a la mala reputación de Mesalina, que llega incluso hasta nuestros días, CENERINI 2009, p. 54.

hereditaria para el puesto⁷⁷. Es más, Tácito nos dice que uno de los motivos que lo llevó al matrimonio con Agripina era que esta llevaba consigo a un descendiente de Augusto y nieto de Germánico⁷⁸. En este sentido, parece que se orquestó un doble matrimonio, pues poco después se prometió a Octavia con Nerón⁷⁹, siendo este también esencial para Claudio pues aseguraba la sucesión. Así, dos generaciones de Julios y Claudios quedaban unidas para el futuro del Imperio.

Esta impresión parece confirmarse a través del análisis numismático. Hasta su matrimonio con Agripina, los reversos de las monedas de oro y plata acuñadas por Claudio estaban protagonizados por su propaganda política y militar. Tras su boda, el tema es profundamente familiar⁸⁰, con muchas monedas dominadas por imágenes de Nerón⁸¹. Wood interpreta este cambio en el sentido de que Claudio necesitaba separarse de la memoria de Mesalina y legitimar su matrimonio con Agripina⁸². Yo, personalmente, añadiría que, mientras que antes del enlace una de las fuentes de legitimidad de Claudio eran sus (limitadas) hazañas militares, en el momento en que se casa con Agripina y adopta a Nerón, este principio cambia de orientación⁸³.

Por lo tanto, es posible que haya que librar a la memoria de Agripina de la culpa de haber buscado un matrimonio incestuoso. Al fin y al cabo, cuando se casaron, dada la edad de Agripina, habría sido difícil que este hubiese tenido fruto. Tiberio, quien accedió a la púrpura siendo más joven que Claudio, decidió mantenerse célibe. Y, teniendo en cuenta que poco

⁷⁷ GINSBURG 2006, 24. De hecho, es posible que el complot de las hermanas contra Calígula se diese con la intención de favorecer la posición de Nerón de cara a heredar el poder, BALSDON 1983, 109. En todo caso, parece que Claudio estaba dispuesto a dejar los intereses de su hijo biológico de lado para poder asegurar una sucesión tranquila, BARRETT 1996, 111-112.

⁷⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 13.2.1.

⁷⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 12.3; 9.

⁸⁰ De hecho, en este momento se da la introducción del primer tipo en el cual aparecen juntas la imagen del emperador y la emperatriz como Augusto y Augusta en la misma cara de la moneda (BARRETT, 1996, 109).

⁸¹ TRILLMICH 1978, 55-63; 78-79.

⁸² WOOD 1988, 410.

⁸³ El cambio de orientación en la política de legitimación de Claudio lo podemos ver con su hijo Británico en un primer momento. El niño, nacido al poco tiempo del ascenso imperial de su padre, recibió el nombre de Germánico, que fue cambiado por el de Británico tras el triunfo de su padre, Suet. *Claud.* 27.1. Su primer sobrenombre parece debido a uno de los honores fúnebres concedido a Druso: el que él y sus descendientes llevasen el título de Germánico. En el momento del nacimiento del niño, Claudio debió de retomar este honor concedido a su padre, para que el niño recordase tanto a este como a su célebre tío, Germánico. Antes de conseguir la gloria militar, Claudio se habría buscado legitimación dinástica haciendo alusión a sus antepasados de más renombre (se puede ver también en la gran cantidad de honores concedidos a los miembros célebres y fallecidos de su *domus* en cuanto llegó al poder, Suet. *Claud.* 11.2-3). Cuando Claudio logra el triunfo, el niño pasa a representar los logros de su padre. Entonces ya no es tan necesaria la referencia a los grandes antepasados, sino que sus propias victorias dan valor a su posición y a la de su familia. Es posible que los conflictos que se generaron después en el núcleo de poder desequilibrasen la situación y llevasen a la búsqueda de una nueva legitimidad a través de los descendientes directos de Augusto.

después se concedió el título de Augusta a Agripina⁸⁴ (aunque Mesalina nunca pudo presumir de tenerlo), todo apunta a que estamos ante un matrimonio político.

Así pues, Claudio fue, mediante su boda primero con su prima y después con su sobrina, quien probablemente obtuvo, o buscó, más rédito en el estatus de las mujeres que lo acompañaban⁸⁵. Después de todo, aquellas que lo relacionaban directamente con el poder, su madre y su abuela, habían muerto muchos años atrás. Y, sin embargo, la mayor crítica por parte de los autores antiguos se la llevan las mujeres, quienes aparecen usurpando el poder masculino; de forma que se presenta a Claudio como un pobre ingenuo que se dejaba manipular, en un sistema imperial que era incapaz de controlar a sus esposas⁸⁶.

Desde mi punto de vista, lo expuesto hasta el momento demuestra que no solo las mujeres se aprovecharon de su posición. Ya fuese por iniciativa propia o por consejo de su círculo más cercano, Claudio sacó rédito de la relación con sus esposas y pasó de ser una práctica nulidad en época de Augusto, Tiberio y Calígula a gobernar el Imperio durante catorce años.

La influencia de Agripina se mantuvo más allá de la muerte de Claudio siendo, siempre según las fuentes, una fuerza arrolladora que dominó los primeros años de Nerón en el poder⁸⁷. Esta tomó un papel similar al de Livia durante el gobierno de Tiberio. Era la Augusta que establecía el vínculo entre el antiguo y el nuevo emperador, además de sacerdotisa de Claudio⁸⁸. Ella reforzaría su influencia política, llegándose a convocar a los senadores a Palacio para que ella escuchase las reuniones, si bien escondida⁸⁹. También seguiría recibiendo embajadas, como en el periodo anterior⁹⁰.

⁸⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 12.26.

⁸⁵ Además, cabe señalar que no se ocultó la ascendencia de Agripina con la intención de “blanquear” la imagen del matrimonio, sino que esta fue explotada conscientemente. En la “Gema Claudia” aparecen frente a frente los retratos de la pareja imperial y de los padres de Agripina, WOOD 1988, 422. A nadie debió de escapársele que el padre de Agripina era el mismo que el hermano del emperador.

⁸⁶ Santoro L'HOIR 1994, 17; GINSBURG 2006, 23; CID LÓPEZ 2014, 180

⁸⁷ Algunos autores, como BARRETT 2017, 64, sostienen que la influencia de Agripina se debió no solo a la personalidad de la madre de Nerón, sino a una supuesta necesidad psicológica de este por sentirse “dominado” o, en todo caso, mantenerse bajo la autoridad de una figura femenina.

⁸⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 13.2. A diferencia de Livia, a Agripina se le concedieron no uno sino dos *lictors*. Además, sabemos por Tácito (Tac. *Ann.* 13.18.1) y Dion (D.C. 61.8.4-6) que tuvo una escolta militar, primero como esposa y después como madre del emperador, a la que, además, se habían añadido guardias germanos. Desconocemos si fue una novedad introducida después del matrimonio de Claudio con Agripina o si su anterior esposa ya gozaría de esta escolta.

⁸⁹ Las primeras mujeres que accedieron abiertamente al Senado fueron la madre y la abuela de Heliogábalo, a inicios del siglo III. Hasta ese momento fue impensable la presencia femenina en la curia y los autores que hablan del cambio con Julia Mesa y Julia Soemia destacan el escándalo que supuso, *HA Hel.* 4.1-3.

⁹⁰ D.C. 61.3.2; Tac. *Ann.* 13.5; Suet. *Ner.* 9

Los autores antiguos nos transmiten que la influencia de Agripina era tal que llevó a Séneca y Burro a intentar minimizarla⁹¹. Entre las numerosas críticas que se hacen a Agripina se encuentra el que, precisamente por la intervención de aquellos que la quisieron separar de su hijo, este la fue dejando de lado, lo que la habría llevado a intentar seducirlo⁹². En todo caso, durante los primeros años de Nerón, se la presenta como el verdadero poder detrás del títere.

No sabemos si todo lo que se dice sobre Agripina son exageraciones propias de la crítica a los personajes femeninos⁹³. Pero sí parece clara su influencia en los círculos de poder más estrechos, pues cuando esta cayó en desgracia, también lo hicieron sus favoritos, mientras que aquellos a los que ella había castigado empezaron a relanzar sus carreras. Así, por ejemplo, Palante, quien había apoyado el matrimonio de Agripina con Claudio, fue relegado por Nerón, mientras que Vespasiano (en la sombra en los momentos de mayor poder de Agripina) recibió un comando en Judea⁹⁴.

Popea Sabina

Aun así, cuando Agripina queda en un segundo plano, su imagen negativa la hereda Popea Sabina⁹⁵. La historia de Popea aparece entremezclada con la de Agripina, pues la aparición de Popea en la historia se da cuando intenta convencer a Nerón para que se deshaga de su madre⁹⁶. Así pues, Nerón habría llegado al matricidio, una culpa que no se había llegado a achacar a ninguno de los emperadores anteriores. En este caso, independientemente de la veracidad del relato, es un elemento que se usa para poner de manifiesto la torcida naturaleza y locura de Nerón, pero también la forma de ser de su mujer, ya que suya habría sido la culpa

⁹¹ Tac. *Ann.* 13.2.1; 12.1; 13.1; D.C. 61.3.3. Curiosamente, es posible que la muerte de Agripina también llevase consigo el fin de la influencia de los dos hombres sobre Nerón, pasando este a depender de forma más directa de sus libertos, BATOMSKY 1962, 32-36.

⁹² Suet. *Ner.* 28.2; Tac. *Ann.* 13.13.1-2; 14.2.1. Al respecto de este particular, las calumnias pudieron reflejar un cierto ambiente de competitividad por el poder en la corte. Este episodio se encuadra en el contexto en que Séneca y Burro intentaban disminuir la influencia de Agripina, dirigiendo las atenciones de Nerón hacia la liberta Acte, D.C. 61.7.1; Tac. *Ann.* 13.12. Así pues, el episodio de la seducción de Nerón por parte de Agripina puede esconder la lucha entre esta y Séneca y Burro por decidir quién debía ser el principal consejero o quién debía guiar las acciones del joven emperador, Oller Guzmán 2017, pp. 148-149. Sin embargo, como algunos autores han señalado, lo cierto es que Séneca y Burro debían su posición a Agripina, por lo que es difícil entender que tuviesen algún motivo para atacarla, DRINKWATER 2019, p. 48. Además, en todo caso, es posible que la posición de Agripina fuese más firme que la de los dos hombres.

⁹³ CENERINI 2016, 23.

⁹⁴ Palante relegado por Nerón: Tac. *Ann.* 13.2.1; 14.1. Comando en Judea de Vespasiano: Suet. *Vesp.* 4.4-5.

⁹⁵ BARRETT 2017, 74, destaca que Tácito incluso usa un lenguaje muy parecido para describir a ambas mujeres. En general, se reconoce que las Agripinas de Tácito son un constructo literario, GINSBURG 2006, 9.

⁹⁶ D.C. 61.12; Tac. *Ann.* 14.1.1-2; 61.1.

de llevar al emperador al asesinato⁹⁷. A ella se la responsabiliza también de apartar a Nerón de todos los buenos consejos, pues habría llevado a que este se divorciase de Octavia, pese a las advertencias de su círculo más cercano y de que la “dote” de Octavia era el propio Imperio⁹⁸. En todo momento es Popea la que intenta seducir a Nerón y lo lleva por malos caminos⁹⁹, aunque los autores antiguos parecen coincidir en que esta fue la única mujer a la que Nerón realmente amó¹⁰⁰. En este sentido, los desproporcionados honores de Nerón tras la muerte tanto de su hija en común como de la propia Popea¹⁰¹ pueden evidenciar su verdadero afecto¹⁰².

La perversión de las épocas de Claudio y Nerón quedan patentes a través de las palabras que Dion pone en boca de Boudica¹⁰³. Pues esta, siendo una reina extranjera y bárbara, era la que criticaba que Roma hubiese sido gobernada primero por mujeres (Mesalina y Agripina) y luego por Nerón, que no era sino otra mujer. Así pues, describe que el gobierno de Claudio no habría sido de Claudio, sino de sus mujeres, mientras que el de Nerón habría estado corrompido por la incapacidad de este para comportarse como un hombre. En todo caso, destaca el hecho de que en las vidas de ambos emperadores se sucedan, de forma inmediata, figuras femeninas a las que se culpa tanto de los defectos de la personalidad de sus familiares masculinos como de algunos de los mayores vicios de sus gobiernos. De este modo, en el momento en que una de estas féminas muere o cae en desgracia, aparece una sucesora con una personalidad tan “torcida” como la anterior y que, curiosamente, presenta sus mismos o similares vicios. Mientras tanto, frente a estas figuras “malignas”, los autores colocan a Octavia, hija de Claudio como ejemplo de los valores ideales en una matrona romana¹⁰⁴. Como a las hermanas de Calígula, la figura de Octavia es presentada como la gran víctima, un elemento puesto de relieve para demostrar que, pese a sus grandes virtudes, la crueldad de Nerón era tal que no hizo sino maltratarla¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁷ Por el contrario, DAWSON 1969, 254 argumenta que la caída de Agripina se habría debido a un intento fallido de golpe a la posición de Nerón, una vez se vio privada de su posición de “regente”. En este contexto, Popea quedaría libre de las culpas que los autores antiguos le achacan. BARRETT 2017, 69-70 no apoya la tesis de la conspiración en contra de Nerón, pero sí defiende que Agripina habría tenido control incluso sobre los pretorianos. Desde mi punto de vista, si Agripina podía manejar dichos asuntos de gobierno, no habría sido descabellado que optase por una solución drástica en el momento en que se vio expulsada del poder y del lado de su hijo, o bien que se percibiese que su situación era demasiado potente y por ello se optase por eliminarla.

⁹⁸ D.C. 62.13.2-4; Tac. Ann. 14.1; 59.3.

⁹⁹ Tac. Ann. 13.46.2.

¹⁰⁰ Suet. Ner. 35.3; Tac. Ann. 16.6.1-2.

¹⁰¹ D.C. 63.26.3; Tac. Ann. 16.6.1.

¹⁰² OLLER GUZMÁN 2017, p. 159

¹⁰³ D.C. 62.6.3.

¹⁰⁴ Tac. Ann. 13.12.2.

¹⁰⁵ Suet. Ner. 35; D.C. 62.13.2-4; Tac. Ann. 14.60.

Relación con los emperadores

Teniendo en cuenta la imagen de Cesonia, Mesalina, Agripina y Popea a través de las fuentes, se plantea la duda de por qué esta es peor que la de otras mujeres imperiales con poder, como pudieron ser Octavia, Livia, Antonia o Agripina la Mayor e incluso, en una época posterior, Julia *Titi* o Domicia Longina.

Desde mi punto de vista, la respuesta se puede encontrar en las características compartidas por los emperadores que gobernaban en el momento en que estas mujeres tuvieron máximo protagonismo. Es decir, Calígula, Claudio y Nerón. Teniendo en cuenta sus biografías, es fácil darse cuenta de que eran individuos poco preparados para el cometido que desempeñaron y, en el caso de dos de ellos, especialmente jóvenes.

Calígula llegó al poder con solo veinticuatro años, después de haber acompañado a Tiberio en los últimos años de su retiro en Capri¹⁰⁶. Tras la muerte de sus hermanos, Nerón y Druso, recibió la cuestura, un sacerdocio y se le prometieron el resto de magistraturas con cinco años de adelanto¹⁰⁷. En todo caso, al estar fuera de la ciudad, es dudoso hasta qué punto pudo desempeñar las funciones encomendadas. Por otro lado, sabemos que Tiberio recibía embajadores en la isla y que Cayo debió de recibir una cierta formación en los asuntos de administración al encontrarse con su abuelo¹⁰⁸. La pasión de Tiberio por los estudios liberales y la compañía de eruditos podrían haber provocado que Calígula hubiese encontrado, al menos, un ambiente beneficioso para su formación intelectual¹⁰⁹.

Sin embargo, ya Tácito critica la elección de Calígula por parte de Tiberio, no solo por la naturaleza que revelaría una vez llegado al poder, sino por su juventud y falta de formación¹¹⁰. Queda claro que, además de ser muy joven, Calígula no estaba preparado para las labores de gobierno. Los años que pasó en Capri con Tiberio no podían suplir una vida entera de servicio como la de Tiberio antes de acceder al gobierno.

Por otro lado, es también posible que sus condiciones físicas no fuesen las más adecuadas. De Calígula sabemos que era enfermizo de pequeño, tanto que Augusto lo mandó acompañado de un médico de su personal cuando fue a reunirse con Agripina¹¹¹. Parece ser que sufrió de ataques epilépticos en su niñez y que las recaídas durante la adolescencia hacían que en ocasiones tuviese dificultades para estar de pie y caminar. Aunque no sabemos si este problema se mantuvo, en su corto gobierno también se dio un episodio en el que se temió por su vida¹¹².

¹⁰⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 6.20.

¹⁰⁷ D.C. 57.7.4; 58.8; 23.2.

¹⁰⁸ Suet. *Calig.* 11.

¹⁰⁹ BARRETT 1990, 47-48.

¹¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 6.48.2.

¹¹¹ Suet. *Calig.* 8.4.

¹¹² Suet. *Calig.* 27.2; BALSDON 1983, 213.

Deficitaria fue también la educación de Claudio¹¹³. Una supuesta enfermedad o condición de nacimiento habría hecho que se lo mantuviese al margen del camino típicamente seguido por los jóvenes de la casa imperial, como queda patente por las cartas de Augusto a Livia¹¹⁴. Ello habría provocado que se dedicase a otros pasatiempos como beber y jugar a los dados o (de forma más productiva) escribir historia. Los autores señalan que incluso el tutor que se encargó de él no estaba a la altura de lo esperado para una casa noble¹¹⁵. El avance de su carrera es prácticamente nulo entre Augusto y Tiberio; este último habría negado expresamente sus peticiones para desempeñar algún tipo de magistratura¹¹⁶. Tras la adopción de Germánico en la familia de Tiberio y Augusto, Claudio se convirtió en *paterfamilias* de los Neronos, por lo que se habría esperado un avance en su carrera. Sin embargo, este nunca llegó¹¹⁷. Aunque se le consideraba parte de la familia imperial y era reconocido como tal por parte de los *equites*¹¹⁸, no tuvo ningún cargo de responsabilidad hasta que Calígula se convirtió en emperador¹¹⁹. Aun así, es muy posible que su avance en ese momento fuese debido a que Calígula se vio solo a la llegada al poder, pues gran parte de sus familiares habían perecido en los últimos años de Tiberio. Al contrario que este, Cayo buscó rodearse de su familia y apoyarse en ella para gobernar, rescatando a Claudio del limbo en el que había sido dejado¹²⁰.

Así pues, Claudio no habría pasado tampoco por la formación necesaria para ser emperador. Su carrera se limitaba al desempeño de dos consulados y un sacerdocio en época de Calígula. Al igual que este último, heredó una casa que, a diferencia de la de Tiberio, carecía de Césares, siendo sus familiares más cercanos sus sobrinas Agripina y Livila. La búsqueda de apoyos de Claudio se puede ver claramente en el ascenso rápido que ofreció a sus yernos, aunque Octavia solo estaba prometida pues era todavía una niña¹²¹.

Y, en cuanto a Nerón, a diferencia de los dos anteriores, este sí fue considerado sucesor en vida de su predecesor. Las fuentes se escandalizan de que a este se le ofreciesen unos

¹¹³ BARRETT 1996, 71.

¹¹⁴ Suet. *Claud.* 3.2; 4.1-5; 4.6.

¹¹⁵ Suet. *Claud.* 2.2; 5; 41-42; Plin. *NH* 5.63: 6.27; 31; 128; 7.35; 12.78.

¹¹⁶ Suet. *Claud.* 5.1.

¹¹⁷ LEVICK 1990, 13.

¹¹⁸ Suet. *Claud.* 6.1.

¹¹⁹ Suet. *Calig.* 15; D.C. 59.6.5-6.

¹²⁰ LEVICK 1990, 25.

¹²¹ A Silano, el prometido de Octavia, le dio las insignias triunfales cuando aún era muy joven y le permitió conceder unos juegos durante su cuestura que fueron financiados por el propio emperador, Suet. *Claud.* 24.3; D.C. 61.31.7; Tac. *Ann.* 12.3.2. Además, tanto a este como al marido de Antonia, Cneo Pompeyo Magno, les permitió aspirar a las magistraturas cinco años antes de los estipulado; y cuando, tras sus hazañas en Britania, celebró su triunfo en Roma y ascendió de rodillas las escaleras del Capitolio, lo hizo ayudado por sus yernos, uno a cada lado, D.C. 60.5.7-8; 23.1; 61.31.7. Cuando Claudio ofreció un donativo a la plebe se preocupó de que estos jóvenes le ayudasen a repartir el dinero, D.C. 60.25.7-8. Al hermano de Silano se le permitió mantener el puesto de cónsul todo el año, un extraño honor que solo se concedía a miembros de la familia imperial, D.C. 60.27.1.

honoros que Británico no llegó a recibir¹²². De todos modos, hemos de entender que eran hermanos (aunque adoptivos) y separados por algo más de tres años. En los casos anteriores de hermanos imperiales, las carreras políticas van separadas por tantos años como distancian sus nacimientos y Británico aún era un niño cuando muere Claudio¹²³. Volviendo a la formación de Nerón, en el 51, emulando a Augusto, Claudio tomó el consulado para introducir en el foro a Nerón¹²⁴. Parte de los honores que este recibió fueron similares a los que habían recibido los hijos de Augusto. Entre estos se encontraban la posibilidad de presentarse al consulado a los veinte años, que se le denominase príncipe de la juventud o que se diese un donativo en su nombre a los soldados y el pueblo. Tuvo tintes más militares su participación en el desfile portando el escudo de los pretorianos. Poco después empezó su carrera oratoria y, de igual forma que Tiberio y Germánico, defendió las causas de diversos pueblos, ejerciendo después como prefecto de la ciudad durante las Ferias Latinas¹²⁵.

Tácito dice que se le concedió un *imperium proconsulare extra urbem*¹²⁶. Aunque resulte difícil discernir si pudo ponerlo en práctica. Sin embargo, la concesión de un *imperium proconsulare* fuera de Roma permitía que tuviese autoridad militar si acudía a visitar las legiones o a tratar con alguna emergencia bélica, presumiblemente siempre acompañado de Claudio. No era extraño que los emperadores se llevasen a sus hijos a las provincias para presentarlos ante las legiones¹²⁷. Con Nerón este *imperium* haría que los soldados le viesen como su futuro emperador, además de permitirle recibir saluciones imperiales. Podemos suponer también que Claudio, después de la caída de sus yernos¹²⁸, disponiendo de pocos familiares que asegurasen el poder para uno de sus hijos en caso de su fallecimiento prematuro y contando con que ya tenía sesenta años, aceleró la carrera de su hijo mayor¹²⁹.

¹²² D.C. 61.32.5; Tac. *Ann.* 12.26.2; 41.3.

¹²³ Tácito sostiene que Claudio fue engañado para adoptar a Nerón, pues se le habría dicho que serviría para afianzar la posición de Británico, Tac. *Ann.* 12.25. Parece poco probable teniendo en cuenta lo consciente que era Claudio sobre la legitimidad de su posición dinástica que le llevó a casarse con su sobrina. Más bien la adopción de Nerón sería abordada de manera consecuente y consciente de lo que implicaba.

¹²⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 12.41.1.

¹²⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 12.58; Suet. *Ner.* 7.2.

¹²⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 12.41.2. *Extra urbem* podría indicar que, a diferencia del *imperium* de los príncipes quienes, desde Augusto, no tenían que deponerlo al traspasar el *pomerium*, el de Nerón sí decaía cuando entraba en la ciudad, D.C. 53.32.5; Suet. *Aug.* 27.10; RG 10. La afirmación de Tácito (que no es compartida por más autores) ha dado lugar a un debate sin fin en el que se discute si, a diferencia de Nerón, Claudio sí podría utilizar su *imperium* dentro de la ciudad o solo portarlo. Más información en: HAMMOND 1933, 32; JONES 1951, 199; COTTON Y YAKOBSON 2002, 202; PANI 2008, 198, entre otros.

¹²⁷ Tiberio y Marcelo estuvieron presentes en parte de las guerras cántabras; Cayo acompañó a Augusto en su visita a las tropas cuando era solo un niño; Germánico se unió a Tiberio en sus campañas en cuanto tuvo la edad suficiente y Calígula protagonizó un famoso episodio relacionado con las legiones amotinadas cuando era muy pequeño (D.C. 55.6.4).

¹²⁸ Suet. *Claud.* 27.2.

¹²⁹ LEVICK 1990, 73.

Tampoco debe descartarse una posible presión de los grupos de apoyo del joven Nerón, ya que este presentaba una mayor legitimidad imperial que Claudio y sus descendientes, como ya se mencionó.

En todo caso, ha de subrayarse que Nerón no tuvo tiempo de usar sus poderes y su experiencia práctica brilla por su ausencia, sobre todo si lo comparamos con la de los príncipes anteriores. Ninguno de los tres casos tratados tuvo una buena preparación para desempeñar el cargo imperial. Nerón sería el que tuvo una situación más idónea para formarse y, aun así, su educación política fue deficitaria y no se pudo completar debido a que se convirtió en emperador con dieciocho años.

Aquellos que en algún momento fueron considerados como posibles sucesores de Augusto y Tiberio marcan las pautas seguidas para formar a los futuros emperadores. Una rápida comparación nos permite obtener conclusiones más claras sobre la inadecuación de Calígula, Claudio y Nerón para el puesto.

| | <i>Acceso a las magistraturas con 5-10 años de antelación</i> | <i>Princeps iuventutis</i> | <i>Primer comando militar entre 20-30 años</i> | <i>Triunfo (antes de convertirse en emperador)</i> | <i>Adopción</i> | <i>Trib. Potestas (antes de convertirse en emperador)</i> | <i>Imperium (antes de convertirse en emperador)</i> | <i>Sacerdocios</i> |
|------------------------|---|----------------------------|--|--|----------------------------|---|---|--------------------|
| <i>Marcelo</i> | ✓ | X | ¿? | X | X | X | X | ✓ |
| <i>Tiberio</i> | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Druso el Mayor</i> | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ | X | X | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Cayo</i> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ¿? | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Lucio</i> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Germánico</i> | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Druso el Menor</i> | ✓ | X | ✓ | X | Hijo natural del emperador | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| <i>Nero (Ger.fil)</i> | ✓ | X | X | X | X | X | X | ✓ |
| <i>Druso (Ger.fil)</i> | ✓ | X | X | X | X | X | X | ✓ |
| <i>Calígula</i> | ✓ | X | X | X | X | X | X | ✓ |
| <i>Claudio</i> | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | ✓ |
| <i>Nerón</i> | ✓ | ✓ | X | X | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ |

Tabla 2. Principales hitos vitales de los sucesores imperiales

La tabla muestra los principales hitos vitales de los posibles sucesores en comparación con las vidas de Calígula, Claudio y Nerón. Todos los sucesores en época de Augusto y Tiberio recibieron una formación completa civil y militar, así como la promoción de su imagen pública. La excepción se da con los hijos de Germánico, Druso y Nerón, quienes no fueron expuestos a los mismos honores y recorridos vitales de su padre, posiblemente por la

influencia de Sejano. Por lo demás, se puede concluir con rotundidad que ninguno de los individuos estudiados estaba preparado para ser emperador, en lo que a formación se refiere.

Otra característica en común de los tres individuos ya comentada, es la falta de un círculo familiar sólido. En este sentido, los últimos años de Tiberio que llevaron a la desaparición de gran parte de la restante familia julio-claudia son elementales. Así vemos a Calígula aferrándose a la imagen de su abuela Antonia y de sus hermanas y, posteriormente, a Cesonia. No parece haber depositado demasiada confianza en los maridos de sus hermanas, posiblemente porque estos habían sido elegidos por Tiberio entre su grupo de amigos más cercano (con la excepción de Lépido) y, al fin y al cabo, era el mismo Tiberio que había provocado la decadencia de la familia de Germánico. Claudio hizo volver del destierro a sus sobrinas, se apoyó en sus yernos y contrajo nupcias con familiares. Finalmente, Nerón es descrito comportándose de la misma forma primero con Agripina y después con Popea Sabina. Cabe destacar que, en los casos de Calígula y Nerón, llegó un momento en el cual los únicos familiares realmente cercanos que les quedaban eran sus esposas; situación que contrasta con el gobierno de Augusto y la primera década del de Tiberio. Si bien a los Julio-Claudios siempre les faltaron herederos varones, la casa solía estar llena de princesas que, gracias a los vínculos matrimoniales, también atraían a jóvenes *nobiles* que eran de gran ayuda para los asuntos de gobierno.

Es curioso que los casos de los emperadores que se encontraron con casas menos numerosas sean aquellos en los cuales la influencia de las mujeres se retrata como más intensa e incluso agobiante. En el mismo sentido, se puede añadir que, aunque aquí me centro en las mujeres, en los gobiernos de estos emperadores también tienen gran protagonismo bien los amigos del *ordo* senatorial, bien los esclavos y libertos de la casa. Así pues, los libertos eran los que ayudaban al emperador a ejecutar algunas de sus responsabilidades más importantes en la corte¹³⁰. Si el emperador no tenía gran experiencia, este personal, que llevaba en la corte varias décadas y, en algunos casos, se mantuvieron durante varios principados, podía ser de gran utilidad a la hora de aconsejarlo¹³¹. En el caso de Claudio, por ejemplo, su alejamiento de los círculos senatoriales durante los primeros años de su gobierno lo llevó a confiar, necesariamente, en los miembros de su casa¹³². Cuando estos ganaron poder e influencia, el proceso fue irreversible.

¹³⁰ OSGOOD 2011, 39; Suet. *Claud.* 28; D.C. 60.30.3b.

¹³¹ Calígula heredó libertos de Tiberio, Claudio de Calígula e incluso de su madre, Antonia, D.C. 60.4.5; Philo. *Leg.* 206; Joseph. *AJ* 19.64-69; y Nerón de Claudio, Tac. *Ann.* 14.65.1; Suet. *Ner.* 35.4. En un periodo posterior, Otón recibió a los libertos julio-claudios junto con otros bienes de la casa imperial, Suet. *Oto.* 7.1. Incluso podemos hablar del caso individual de Caenis. La célebre liberta de Antonia, fue la que ayudó a escalar a Vespasiano en la carrera senatorial, además de ser su amante incluso cuando este accedió al poder imperial, Suet. *Vesp.* 4. Mientras tanto, Epafrodito, el célebre liberto de Nerón, sobrevivió entre los sirvientes de la casa imperial, hasta época de Domiciano, Suet. *Dom.* 14.4; D.C. 67.14.

¹³² BARRETT 1995, 75.

En el mismo plano, el de la intervención a espaldas de la política oficial, se movían las mujeres de la familia quienes, como los libertos, en muchos casos contaban con la experiencia de haber visto pasar a varios emperadores. La cercanía al *princeps* les permitió acceder a cuotas de poder inusitadas para personas de su clase, lo que también provocó el enfado en la sociedad aristocrática por tener que relacionarse con libertos y mujeres para acceder al emperador¹³³. El descontento de las clases dirigentes fue tal que la inversión social fue breve, pues cuando los Flavios llegaron al poder se aseguraron de que mujeres, libertos y esclavos quedasen de puertas adentro de la *domus*.

Conclusiones

Personalmente entiendo que en este contexto es posible que las mujeres encontrasen un campo más amplio de actuación. Sobre todo, en el caso de las princesas julio-claudias, que habían estado en la corte durante el gobierno de varios emperadores y que, por lo tanto, podían contar con gran experiencia para aconsejar a sus familiares masculinos. Estos serían los casos de las hermanas de Calígula o, claramente, de Agripina¹³⁴. A esta última la podemos considerar una gran superviviente. Había pasado desapercibida durante el gobierno de Tiberio pese a la muerte de su padre, su madre y sus dos hermanos mayores; tuvo un breve momento de protagonismo con su hermano para después acabar desterrada por intentar conspirar contra él y, sin embargo, acabó siendo emperatriz, Augusta, esposa y madre de emperadores. No cabe duda de que a un Nerón de dieciocho años le habrían sido de gran ayuda los consejos de una madre que se había movido entre bambalinas durante tantos años. Quizás la gran experiencia de Agripina y la confianza que Nerón depositaba en ella que, al fin y al cabo, debía limitarse al interior de la *domus*, fue un elemento escandaloso que llevó a Séneca y Burro a redirigir la atención de Nerón. En este sentido, no hay que sumar datos exagerados o distorsionados como las ansias femeninas de poder o la intención de seducir al propio hijo.

No se puede descartar que las emperatrices gozasen de una mayor influencia política durante estos años finales de la dinastía julio-claudia. Hay que expurgar los relatos de los comentarios peyorativos y misóginos que denotan la incapacidad de comprender que una figura femenina tuviese un puesto público de protagonismo o influencia en el gobierno. Es curioso, en todo caso, que este tipo de descripciones femeninas estén presentes a lo largo de la historia romana. Así, como señala Barrett, llaman la atención los paralelismos entre la

¹³³ PANI 2003, 27; PATERSON 2007, 121.

¹³⁴ Con Agripina hay un ejemplo especialmente ilustrativo. Dion (D.C. 61.5.4) nos cuenta que Nerón estaba decidido a premiar al liberto Doriforo con diez millones de sestercios. Agripina habría colocado tal cantidad de dinero ante los ojos de su hijo para que se diese cuenta del enorme dispendio.

figura de Fulvia y Agripina, por ejemplo¹³⁵. Y ya Cicerón había presentado a Clodio subyugado ante las acciones de su mujer, de una forma similar a como se describirá a Claudio y Nerón con Agripina¹³⁶.

En la época en la que me centro, ante la disminución de miembros en la corte que podían aconsejar a los emperadores, su continua presencia siempre al lado de estos debió ser importante, sobre todo en aquellos casos en los que podían presumir de transmitir la sangre divina que venía de Augusto. Es decir, los autores antiguos siempre critican a aquellas mujeres que consideran que tuvieron demasiada influencia política pese a su género¹³⁷. Sucede así sobre todo con Livia, quien, pese a tener una imagen (a grandes rasgos) positiva, en ocasiones es censurada por (supuestamente) haber incitado a Augusto a adoptar a Tiberio o haber querido acumular demasiado poder cuando era mujer del emperador. Por lo tanto, no sería descabellado pensar las críticas más extremas, llegando a usar adjetivos como *Semper atrox* o *ferox*¹³⁸, coincidan con una mayor influencia de dichas mujeres. Aun así, se dejó espacio a que las intervenciones femeninas, tan cuestionadas en la época y que se solían mantener en la oscuridad, fuesen percibidas desde el exterior, probablemente generando relatos exagerados que derivaron en verdaderas leyendas negras. Se llegará de este modo a un punto en el que Suetonio pueda afirmar que todo lo que sucedía en el gobierno de Claudio era ordenado por sus mujeres o libertos¹³⁹. Una clara exageración, ya que sabemos que Claudio era responsable de sus logros y errores¹⁴⁰. Sería la incapacidad de los autores de la época para comprender que las relaciones sociales típicas de la República se habían invertido, lo que llevaría a la distorsión de la imagen de estas mujeres¹⁴¹. Así pues, las intervenciones de otras mujeres en beneficio de terceros, como en los casos de Octavia y Livia, retratados positivamente, desaparecerían a partir de Calígula para dejar paso a relatos donde la mujer pierde su naturaleza de casta matrona para convertirse en una caricatura de aquello a lo que los hombres romanos temían.

La mala prensa de estas mujeres también se puede entender de otra manera, en relación con la promoción de la imagen pública de las emperatrices. Ya se destacó que las familias de estos emperadores eran poco numerosas, sobre todo debido a la purga interna que siguió a las maniobras de Sejano. Mientras que las cortes de Augusto y Tiberio eran muy concurridas y el protagonismo se dividía entre los diversos familiares masculinos y femeninos, en los casos de Calígula, Claudio y Nerón el lugar central lo ocuparon sus esposas, tanto por el hecho de serlo como por ser los únicos familiares principales. En un contexto como este, obviamente, estas

¹³⁵ BARRETT 1996, 10.

¹³⁶ Cic. *Mil.* 28; 55.

¹³⁷ BARRETT 2017, 63.

¹³⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 13.13.1; 13.21.2.

¹³⁹ Suet. *Claud.* 25.5.

¹⁴⁰ OSGOOD 2011, 16.

¹⁴¹ CRINITI 1999, 25.

mujeres tuvieron que recibir un grado de atención del que no gozaron sus predecesoras. Esa atención del público fue, del mismo modo, alentada. Lo podemos ver, por ejemplo, cuando Agripina acompaña a Claudio en la recepción al bárbaro Carataco. Este presentó sus respetos no solo al emperador, sino también a su mujer, quien, junto a los dos hijos que compartían, era probablemente la única que lo podía acompañar. Es posible que Agripina ejerciese solo sus funciones representativas. La familia imperial solía estar presente en los momentos de celebración y ello complacía al pueblo, pero el contexto militar (con Agripina sentada frente a los estandartes) llevó a Tácito a entender que la emperatriz estaba reclamando parte del Imperio para sí misma¹⁴². Al no haber más miembros femeninos en la familia, las críticas siempre se centraron en la misma persona, siempre se la culpabilizó de los errores de su marido, de forma que la imagen de mala esposa creció como una bola de nieve. La influencia de y la atención a las féminas de la familia imperial se critica en las fuentes y se llevó al extremo con estas emperatrices.

Una vez expurgadas las figuras femeninas de culpas de las que fueron ajenas, su influencia en esta época deja traslucir su amplia formación y sus capacidades para moverse en un mundo político que hasta entonces era exclusivo de hombres. Si atendemos a otras fuentes como la estatuaria, la numismática o la gléptica, la información obtenida es mucho más favorable¹⁴³. Es más, se puede decir que es extraño que estas mujeres alcanzasen ciertos logros y apoyo, teniendo en cuenta la estructura patriarcal de la política y sociedad romanas. Pese a todo, si ocuparon un lugar central en sus familias, en ocasiones fue debido a que se plegaron a los deseos de sus parientes masculinos, que las usaron para sus pactos políticos¹⁴⁴. No obstante, aun accediendo a los deseos de los hombres, debido a esa estructura patriarcal, sus éxitos fueron tomados por los autores antiguos como resultado de malas artes, embustes y engaños ya que son descritas como cegadas por una ambición obsesiva¹⁴⁵.

Estas conclusiones son aún más claras si llevamos a cabo una comparativa con mujeres influyentes en gobiernos de emperadores que, si bien no tuvieron una imagen general pésima, tampoco fueron considerados de manera positiva. Así pues, deben tenerse en cuenta las imágenes de Agripina *la Mayor* en época de Tiberio, de las tres hermanas de Calígula, de Julia *Titi* y de Domicia Longina en época de Domiciano.

¹⁴² Tac. *Ann.* 12.37.5. Aquí Ginsburg considera que al hablar de que Agripina pretendía presentarse como *imperio socia*, no la está comparando con las féminas del pasado o con su propia madre, Agripina *la Mayor*, sino con un personaje más oscuro como fue Sejano, definido por Tiberio como *socius laborum*, GINSBURG 2006 p. 27; Tac. *Ann.* 4.2.3.

¹⁴³ Sobre las imágenes de las mujeres imperiales en el arte escultórico: WOOD 1988; ROSE 1992; WOOD 1999; GINSBURG 2006; KEEGAN 2007.

¹⁴⁴ En ese sentido, y pese a ser parte de la familia de los hombres más poderosos de la época, su función de elemento propiciatorio de pactos es una herencia de los roles jugados por las féminas aristocráticas en época republicana, HALLET 1984, 3; CORTÉS TOVAR 2005, 199.

¹⁴⁵ WOOD 1988, 424; GINSBURG 2006, 9; KEEGAN 2007, 158; OLLER GUZMÁN 2017, 145.

El propio Tácito dice que Agripina era una mujer con gran carácter pero que conseguía dominarlo gracias al amor que sentía por su marido, Germánico¹⁴⁶. Es una de las pocas princesas que, pese a aparecer en el relato histórico tomando decisiones que podían interpretarse como masculinas, no es criticada por ello¹⁴⁷. Así se presenta su intervención en Germania, donde su valentía fue superior a la de los hombres y su intervención ayudó a salvar muchas vidas¹⁴⁸. No se tiene en cuenta, tampoco, que afirmase ante el mismo Tiberio tener más legitimidad a la púrpura que él¹⁴⁹. Pese a que, como ya mencioné, los autores critican la presencia ante Carataco de Agripina la Menor y la relacionan con su obsesión por el poder, no sucede lo mismo con su madre. En su tour por Oriente, Germánico y Agripina la Mayor habrían recibido sendas coronas ofrecidas por un líder extranjero, pero dicho reconocimiento aparece con tintes positivos en las fuentes¹⁵⁰. En general, en lugar de criticarla los autores alaban su castidad y fecundidad y su lealtad a su marido¹⁵¹, aunque, muy probablemente, hubiese maquinado para promover la posición de sus hijos, llegando a ser juzgada y condenada por traición¹⁵². Si la comparamos con Agripina la Menor, no deja de sorprender que sea alabada por cosas que fueron arduamente criticadas con su hija¹⁵³.

Desde mi punto de vista, la imagen positiva de Agripina, pese a su protagonismo en el relato histórico, es debida a que aparece como una víctima¹⁵⁴. Es decir, los autores antiguos usan la historia de Agripina para poner de relieve la crueldad de Tiberio con su propia familia. El hecho de que descendiese del propio Augusto, pero que aun así nadie su familia llegase a gobernar y su triste destino final hacen que sea el recurso ideal.

Las hermanas de Calígula fueron las que recibieron un reconocimiento más abierto sobre su poder y relevancia dinástica¹⁵⁵. Entre los muchos honores que se les concedieron, es suficiente mencionar la inclusión de sus nombres en los juramentos de lealtad al emperador para darse cuenta de su extrema relevancia. Su influencia en su época debió de ser enorme, pues llegaron a ser capaces de dirigir un complot contra el emperador¹⁵⁶. Y, sin embargo, en las fuentes siempre son víctimas. De hecho, los autores que reflejan la época de Calígula no reservan demasiadas líneas para hablar de sus hermanas. Todo ello teniendo en cuenta que una de las tres mujeres es la posteriormente vituperada *Agripina la Menor*. Sin embargo,

¹⁴⁶ Tac. Ann. 1.33.

¹⁴⁷ SHOTTER 2000, 341-357.

¹⁴⁸ Tac. Ann. 1.69.3-4.

¹⁴⁹ Tac. Ann. 4.52.6; Suet. Tib. 53.

¹⁵⁰ Tac. Ann. 2.57.4.

¹⁵¹ Tac. Ann. 1.43.6.

¹⁵² ROGERS 1931, 141-168; WOOD 1988, 424; DELINE 2015, 769.

¹⁵³ BARRETT 1996, 27-30; MCHUGH 2012, 74.

¹⁵⁴ En este sentido: WALKER, 1952, 103; MELLOR, 1993, 75.

¹⁵⁵ WOOD 1995, 458.

¹⁵⁶ D.C. 59.22.6-9. Para un análisis detallado sobre este episodio: BARRETT 2017, 91-113.

ningún autor usa su presencia y sus privilegios durante el gobierno de su hermano para introducir su posterior personalidad. Como avanzaba, su imagen como víctima es lo único importante en un primer momento.

El caso de Julia también es claro, aunque su protagonismo sea menor ya que las mujeres Flavias aparecen en un segundo plano. De ella se nos dice que fue ofrecida en matrimonio a Domiciano, pero que este la rechazó. No podemos saber si ese rumor es cierto, pero, en todo caso, tras el precedente de Claudio y Agripina, no habría sido un movimiento sensato. Posteriormente las noticias que tenemos sobre ella son escasas. Se casó con otro miembro de la familia que pasó a ser uno de los apoyos de gobierno de Tito. Julia, siendo la hija única de un emperador que no tenía esposa, debió de ocupar, en cuanto a representación, el lugar de la emperatriz, con lo cual podemos suponer que su influencia en los círculos de la corte sería grande. El anterior protagonismo de las princesas julio-claudias provocó, no obstante, que los Flavios se esforzaran por mantener las formas (al menos cara al público) y minimizar el papel de sus mujeres. Así pues, por la posición de Julia le podemos suponer cierto poder, aunque este pasó inadvertido a los autores antiguos. Ya en época de Domiciano se dice que tuvo relaciones con su tío, llegando a quedar embarazada. Sin embargo, la culpa se achaca al emperador y se presenta, una vez más, a la mujer como víctima de un hombre que no tuvo buena prensa en su momento.

Se puede apreciar más o menos lo mismo con Domicia. Llama la atención la escasa atención que le dedicaron los autores antiguos, pese a que estuvo casada muchos años con Domiciano, desde la llegada al poder de los Flavios y hasta la muerte de su esposo¹⁵⁷. Fue testigo, por lo tanto, de los gobiernos de tres emperadores de su familia y le podemos suponer, como a Julia, gran influencia, sobre todo cuando su marido se convirtió en emperador. Su imagen es, teniendo en cuenta el descrédito de su esposo, bastante buena o, cuanto menos, neutra. Solo se la acusa en una ocasión de haber mantenido relaciones con un pantomimo. También se menciona que Domiciano se divorció de ella para luego volverla a desposar, pero, en todo momento, las opiniones que de ella se dan son comedidas. Es extraño, teniendo en cuenta que siempre se mantuvo como un apoyo de Domiciano, ya que se siguió presentando como su esposa incluso después de la muerte y *damnatio memoriae* de este. Nerva y Trajano le permitieron mantener el título de Augusta¹⁵⁸, por lo que entendemos que, pese a todo, siguió siendo respetada en la época posterior. De hecho, pese a la *damnatio memoriae* de

¹⁵⁷ Cabe señalar aquí que la madre de Domicia fue hija de Junia Lépidia, nieta de Julia la Menor, descendiente de Augusto mientras que, el padre de Domicia, Corbulón, era hermano de Milonia Cesonia, última esposa de Calígula, CHAUSSON 2003; CENERINI 2009, 91. La única esposa de Domiciano podía presumir, por lo tanto, de aportar sangre imperial a la familia y, desde luego, llevó nuevos apoyos a sus parientes políticos. Consecuentemente, su influencia debió ser enorme ya antes de entrar en la familia imperial y resulta complicado entender el silencio de las fuentes.

¹⁵⁸ CIL XIV, 2795.

su marido, ella tuvo una imagen entre las *summae mulieres* cuyos retratos adornaban el foro de Trajano¹⁵⁹.

La característica que comparten estas tres mujeres es que, hasta cierto punto, se las presentó como víctimas del emperador del momento y de su crueldad. Por otro lado, tanto de Tiberio como de Domiciano, pese a su mala imagen, se puede decir que estaban preparados para ejercer el cargo imperial. Tiberio se crio en la casa de Augusto y estuvo siempre a su disposición, desarrollando su carrera política y militar a sus órdenes. Domiciano pasó su juventud en la sombra, pero tras el pronunciamiento de su padre fue su mano derecha en Roma con solo diecinueve años y, cuando este y Tito regresaron de Judea siempre fue el tercero al mando, observando en primera línea los aciertos y errores en los gobiernos tanto de su padre como de su hermano. Así pues, de estos dos personajes podemos presuponer que no necesitaron de tanto apoyo y consejo dentro de la corte. De Domiciano se dijo incluso que llegó a deshacerse de algunos de los personajes principales de la corte de su hermano.

Así pues, podemos concluir que las imágenes de las últimas emperatrices julio-claudias están lejos de ser claras y que, pese a toda la tradición historiográfica que las ha estudiado, es necesario seguir la vía de la crítica de fuentes para poder darles un lugar digno en la historia. Los testimonios de los autores antiguos nos cuentan más sobre el que describe que sobre el descrito y estos se engranan en el contexto de una sociedad profundamente patriarcal que no entendía que las figuras femeninas pudiesen llegar a tener poder, aunque este fuese delegado¹⁶⁰. En el fondo, toda crítica a una mujer imperial es una crítica al *princeps* del momento, ya sea de forma directa o intentando quitarle, a través de la intervención femenina, parte de la culpa sobre un mal gobierno. Queda probado que, en estos casos, las imágenes de las mujeres que acompañaron a los emperadores están profundamente influenciadas por las características de estos. Así, las imágenes de unas mujeres que, tristemente, no tuvieron voz propia (al menos de forma oficial), parecen estar marcadas por las biografías de los hombres de sus vidas. Es necesario entenderlos también a ellos, intentando librarlos de la crítica de las fuentes, para discernir hasta qué punto las mujeres están deformadas en el relato histórico.

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¹⁵⁹ VARNER 1995. Al fin y al cabo, gran parte del ejército y de los pretorianos era contraria al magnicidio de Domiciano, por lo que no podemos descartar que mantener el estatus de su viuda fuese uno de los gestos que procuraban aflojar las tensiones entre los distintos bandos.

¹⁶⁰ WOODHULL 2005, 75. Así pues, por ejemplo, en Tácito estas suelen aparecer siempre como usurpadoras del poder masculino. En este sentido: SANTORO L'HOIR 1994, 5-25.

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Cohors I Pannoniorum Et Delmatarum: Brief Incursion Into The History Of An Ephemeral Auxiliary Unit

Ionuț ACRUDOAE¹

Abstract. *This study focuses on the brief history of a mixed auxiliary unit within the Roman army: cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum. Founded in the late first century AD, it had a short lifespan of around a century, and the prosopography of the soldiers within this unit mentioned only four persons. The cohort disappeared entirely from the sources after the year 197, in the civil war during the reign of Septimius Severus.*

Rezumat. *Acest studiu se va axa pe scurta istorie a unei unități auxiliare mixte a armatei romane: cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum. Constituită la finele secolului I p.Chr., a avut o viață scurtă, de aproximativ un secol, iar prosopografia militarilor din această unitate a surprins doar patru persoane. Cohorta a dispărut definitiv din surse după anul 197, în războiul civil din vremea lui Septimius Severus.*

Keywords: *mixed auxiliary cohort; Pannonians; Dalmatians; mobility; prosopography.*

HISTORY

Cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum (or *Dalmatarum*, as it is featured in the epigraphical sources) has a particular history given that it is a mixed unit comprising both infantry and cavalry and given its double ethnical composition (at least suggested by the name). In this respect, historians have provided two hypotheses: either, at a certain point, two units (or fragments within two units) under the same number but reduced staff merged – *cohors I Pannoniorum*² and *cohors I Delmatarum*³; or a *cohors I Pannoniorum* or a part of it welcomed recruits from among the Dalmatians, thus forming this unit. The Roman army included a multitude of auxiliary troops made of two populations of peregrines, among which the Pannonian units: *ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum*⁴, *ala II Gallorum et Pannoniorum*⁵, *cohors V Gallorum et Pannoniorum*⁶, or *cohors I Latobicorum et Varcianorum*⁷.

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² For the history of the *I Pannoniorum* infantry units (historians have discovered several under this number and name), see CHEESMAN 1914, 177; HOLDER 1980, 320-321; SPAUL 2000, 333-335; ACRUDOAE 2022, 45-65.

³ *Cohors I Delmatarum* was stationed in the province of Britannia (CHEESMAN 1914, 148, 177; HOLDER 1982, 115; SPAUL 2000, 302-303), and it is attested in over 20 epigraphical sources.

⁴ SPAUL 1994, 82; MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 185; ACRUDOAE 2012, 261-277.

⁵ WAGNER 1938, 39; KRAFT 1951, 27; DAICOVICIU, PROTASE 1961, 66; SPAUL 1994, 82-84.

⁶ HOLDER 1980, 23.

John Spaul argues that this mixed unit was constituted before Hadrian's reign, based on an inscription dated approximately 122-150 AD⁸, which attests to a *Titus Pontius Sabinus – praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum equitatae civium Romanorum*⁹. However, the *cursus honorum* of this equestrian is more peculiar (to be analysed later); he held the position of *praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum* before Trajan's Parthian wars (114-117) when he is mentioned as a *tribunus militum legionis VI Ferratae* and he was decorated by *Optimus princeps* in the aforementioned conflict (*donis donatus expeditione Parthica și hasta pura vexillo corona murali*)¹⁰. The unit is attested in the written sources earlier, i.e., in 95-96, when it is featured in a military diploma (station in Germania Inferior)¹¹. The diploma also notes the epithet *civium Romanorum*¹², which means the granting of Roman citizenship *en masse* for merits on the battlefield or other reasons (not mentioned here). Hence, the formation of the mixed unit occurred in 95-96, but it is impossible to provide a narrower dating.

The next military diplomas note the presence of the cohort in the same province of Germania Inferior: from the year 98 (preserving the epithet *civium Romanorum*)¹³; two sources from 101 AD (also including *civium Romanorum*)¹⁴, three diplomas (or a diploma and a copy) from 127 (without *civium Romanorum*)¹⁵, a diploma from 150 discovered at modern-day County Durham, Britannia (without *civium Romanorum*)¹⁶; two diplomas (or a diploma and a copy) from 152¹⁷, from an uncertain province, but which also mentions it in the army of Germania Inferior; the last source of this type from 158 AD, which features a *praefectus* of the troop – *Numisius*, and an *Ahuconni Leub(asni?) fili* is mentioned as discharged¹⁸. The last diploma shows that the unit was also *equitata* (confirmed by the inscription below, which includes a *Titus Pontius Sabinus*¹⁹), thus a *cohors quingenaria equitata*²⁰, ranking the first in the *militia quarta*²¹. However, the few sources available fail to mention any *eques* from this auxiliary unit.

⁷ HOLDER 1980, 313; SPAUL 2000, 328; CUFF 2010, 57, 64, 72, 79, 253, 267; ACRUDOAE 2017, 105-124.

⁸ According to other sources, it may date from 131-170 AD. (http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR155466&partId=1) [accessed on 03.07.2022], or around 130 (SPAUL 2000, 336).

⁹ CIL X, 5829 = ILS 2726 = IDRE I, 90; HOLDER 1980, 260-261; SPAUL 2000, 336.

¹⁰ CIL X, 5829 = ILS 2726 = IDRE I, 90.

¹¹ RMD V, 336 = AE 2003, 2055 = ZPE 143, 211; <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD055719> [accessed on 03.07.2022].

¹² See also MAXFIELD 1981 for this title.

¹³ RMD IV, 216; MATEI-POPESCU, ȚENEA 2006a, 57.

¹⁴ 1. RMM 9 = ZPE 187, 280; 2. ZPE 187, 279 = AE 2013, 2192; MATEI-POPESCU, ȚENEA 2006a, 57.

¹⁵ 1. RMD IV, 239 = IDRE II, 472 = AE 1997, 1314; 2. RMM 24; 3. AE 2010, 1865 (<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD055886> [accessed on 03.07.2022]).

¹⁶ ZPE 206, 207.

¹⁷ 1. RMM 35 = RMD V, p. 702 = AE 2006, 77; 2. AE 2004, 1911 = ZPE 148, 262 (<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD056056> [accessed on 03.07.2022]).

¹⁸ RMD I, 52 = AE 1968, 400.

¹⁹ CIL X, 5829 = ILS 2726 = IDRE I, 90.

Only two stone inscriptions complete the information related to this cohort. The first is the one mentioned above, dated to the first half of the second century, which features *Titus Pontius Sabinus – praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum equitatae civium Romanorum*²². The last epigraphical source attests both *Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus – (former) praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum* and *tribunus militum legionis I Minerviae*, and the divinity of the unit – *Matribus Pannoniorum et Delmatarum*²³. The votive monument dates from 197 AD, little before the battle between Clodius Albinus and Septimius Severus in the civil war of 193–197. J. Spaul argues that the inscription was set up hoping for military success, while the absence of the unit from the epigraphical sources after this date suggests that shortly after setting up the inscription, the cohort was lured to the side of Clodius Albinus²⁴. Hence, whereas the monument is also dedicated to Septimius Severus (*pro salute domini nostri Imperatoris Luci Septimi Severi Augusti*), while sources and historians posit that Albinus failed to attract to his side the legions on the Rhine, the inscription of 197 was set up at *Lugdunum, Gallia Lugdunensis*²⁵, where Clodius Albinus' army was based and where the battle leading to the victory of Septimius Severus and the demise of Albinus took place²⁶. Consequently, the unit decided to join Clodius Albinus after the erection of the monument; subsequently, it was defeated in the battle and then dissolved, and its remains were included in other auxiliary units.

Cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum was short-lived (it lasted for around a century), unlike most auxiliary troops of a Pannonian origin that had a history of two, three, or even four centuries²⁷. An exception in this respect is represented by another mixed Pannonian auxiliary unit, i.e., *ala II Gallorum et Pannoniorum*, attested in documents only 36 years: 128–164 AD²⁸. I

²⁰ It comprised around 600 soldiers, 480 of whom were infantry members, and 120 were equestrians (four *turmae* of 30 people) (SPEIDEL 1978, 31; COLOMBO 2009, 98).

²¹ DEVIJVER 1992, 67.

²² CIL X, 5829 = ILS 2726 = IDRE I, 90; HOLDER 1980, 260–261; SPAUL 2000, 336.

²³ CIL XIII, 1766 = ILS 4794 = CAG-69-2, p. 467 = AE 1961, 3 = AE 2005, +123; SPAUL 2000, 336.

²⁴ SPAUL 2000, 336.

²⁵ CIL XIII, 1766 = ILS 4794 = CAG-69-2, p. 467 = AE 1961, 3 = AE 2005, +123.

²⁶ SHA, Sev., 11.

²⁷ *Ala I Pannoniorum* (attested during the reign of Tiberius until at least the 2nd half of the third century); *ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana* (1st–3rd centuries); *ala I Pannoniorum Sabiniana* (1st–4th/5th centuries); *ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum* (2nd–3rd centuries); *ala II Pannniorum* (from the reign of Tiberius to the second half of the 3rd century); *cohors I Pannoniorum* (from the reign of Tiberius to the mid-3rd century); *cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum* (constituted by Trajan, attested to approximately 280 AD); *cohors I Latobicorum et Varcianorum* (1st century – early 3rd century); *cohors II Varcianorum* (1st century – mid-3rd century); *cohortes I-VIII Breucorum* (1st–3rd century AD).

²⁸ It was probably formed in the context of Trajan's Parthian war (114–117), but the first mentions date from 128: a military diploma from *Napoca, Dacia Porolissensis* (ZPE 170, 214). The last epigraphical sources are represented by several *constitutiones* in Dacia Porolissensis, from 164 (1. RMD I, 64 = AE 1957, 199 = IDR I, 18; 2. CIL XVI, 185 = IDR I, 19 = AE 1937, 113; 3. RMD I, 63 = IDR, 20 = AE 1959, 37; 4. RMD I, 65 = IDR I, 22 = RMD II, 115 = AE 1980, 761; 5. RMD II, 117).

assumed that – given its inclusion in the *exercitus Daciae Porolissensis* – it disappeared in the context of the Marcomannic Wars.

The mobility of this unit was equally reduced; military diplomas attest to it in Germania Inferior (95/96-158) and at *Lugdunum*, Gallia Lugdunensis (197 AD). I did not find the camp occupied by *cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum*, as sources are scarce from this standpoint, too. If we consider the troops within it, one of the *cohors I Pannoniorum*²⁹ was stationed in Germania Inferior in 95-101, as it was mentioned in several military diplomas of the aforementioned province³⁰. After 109 AD when the new province of Dacia emerged³¹, the cohort I Pannoniorum was transferred to Moesia Superior³². *Cohors I Delmatarum* was also stationed in Germania (probably Inferior), from where it was transferred to Britannia during Hadrian's reign³³. Hence, the new unit, *cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum*, may have remained in Germania Inferior instead of the two native units. Some historians have suggested that in the 2nd century, the unit occupied the camp of *Vetera* (modern-day Xanten)³⁴, a camp where several legions resided over time: *V Alaudae* (9-69), *XXI Rapax* (10-46), *XV Primigenia* (46-69), *XXII Primigenia* (70-102), *VI Victrix* (102-122), or *XXX Ulpia Victrix* (122-355)³⁵.

In what concerns the soldiers within this cohort, the few sources available have mentioned only four persons, the prosopography of whom shall be detailed as follows.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

1. **Ahucco**³⁶ *Leub(asni?)*³⁷ *filio – ex pedite cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmtatarum equitatae*, of Celtic³⁸ or Batavian origin³⁹.

RMD I, 52 = AE 1968, 400.

Localisation: *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Xanten), Germania Inferior.

Dating: 158 AD⁴⁰

Military diploma

[...]coh(ortis) I Pannon(iorum) et [Dal(matarum) e(quitatae) c(ui) pr(aeest)] / Numisius [---] ex pediti[bus] / Ahucconi Leub[asni? f(ilio) [...]

²⁹ There were two units under this number (see ACRUDOAE 2022, 45-65), not three, as J. Spaul argued (SPAUL 2000, 333-335).

³⁰ RMD V, 336 = AE 2003, 2055 = ZPE 143, 211 (the years 95-96); RMD IV, 216 (98 AD); RMM 9 (the year 101).

³¹ RMD III, 148 = IDRE II, 307 = AE 1987, 854 = AE 1990, 860. This confirms that it took part in Trajan's Dacian Wars (for the units participating in the conflict mentioned above, see MATEI-POPESCU, ȚENȚEA 2006b, 127-140).

³² Confirmed by several military diplomas from this province (see ACRUDOAE 2022, 47).

³³ SPAUL 2000, 303.

³⁴ See the discussion in AE 1968, 400, p. 117 and in ROSELAAR 2016, 154.

³⁵ FARNUM 2005, 19-31.

³⁶ The editors of OPEL I, 60-62 did not discover this name.

³⁷ For the various forms of this name (*Leubas*, *Leubasnius*, *Leubasianus*), see OPEL III, 24.

³⁸ AE 1968, 400 (p. 117).

³⁹ ROSELAAR 2016, 154.

⁴⁰ <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD014561> [accessed on 03.07.2022].

Commentaries: The military diploma dated from 158 and found at *Colonia Ulpia Traiana*, Germania Inferior (possibly the camp of this unit) features an *ex pedites cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum equitatae – Ahucco*, the son of *Leubas*, both of Celtic origin⁴¹ or, according to certain opinions, of Batavian origin⁴². Some authors have reconstructed the name of this soldier as *Aiiucco*⁴³, but recent research has determined that he was called *Ahucco*⁴⁴. There is no mention of his position but, given that he was a peregrine, he must have been a mere *miles cohortis*. If he served 25 years (the statutory period for the auxiliary troops), then he was recruited around 133 or even sooner. Upon his discharge, *Ahucco* received Roman citizenship alongside his wife and children, not mentioned in this diploma. If this soldier had a Celtic (or Batavian) origin, it would stand to show that the unit of Pannonians and Dalmatians had recruited for some while from the province where it was stationed, i.e., Germania Inferior. The diploma also features the prefect of the cohort, a *Numisius (...)* whose prosopographical chart shall be detailed below.

The name *Ahucco* (spelled *Ahucconis*) is also attested in a votive monument from approximately 151-250 AD, discovered in *Ganventa* (modern-day Colijnsplaat), the province of Gallia Belgica⁴⁵. Given the uniqueness of the name born by this character, the dating after 150 AD, and the vicinity of the two Roman provinces (Germania Inferior – the headquarter of *cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum* and Gallia Belgica, where the votive inscription was found and the province where *Ahucco* and his family settled after discharge), I assume it is the same person. The votive altar is dedicated to Goddess *Nehalennia* (a divinity of Celtic or Germanic origin⁴⁶) by *Varausius*⁴⁷, the son of *Ahucco*, most likely the son of the veteran analysed above. It means that three generations are featured which is a rare thing for epigraphical sources (*Leubas* → *Ahucco* → *Varausius*). Among the three, one was a peregrine, while his descendants were Roman citizens; however, only *Ahucco* definitely served in the Roman army.

2. Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus – *praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum*, probably from the Italian Peninsula.

CIL XIII, 1766 = ILS 4794 = CAG-69-2, p. 467 = AE 1961, 3 = AE 2005, +123.

⁴¹ RMD I, 52 (p. 75).

⁴² ROSELAAR 2016, 154.

⁴³ AE 1968, 400 (p. 117).

⁴⁴ RMD I, 52 (p. 75); <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD014561> [accessed on 03.07.2022].

⁴⁵ AE 1991, 1253. There are several votive altars found in Colijnsplaat dedicated to Goddess *Nehalennia*: AE 1973, 362-380; AE 1975, 641-656; AE 1980, 658; AE 1983, 720-722; AE 1985, 682 (see also the commentaries in AE, 1991, 1253, p. 332).

⁴⁶ <https://www.livius.org/articles/religion/nehalennia/> [accessed on 03.07.2022]. Goddess *Nehalennia* is attested in over 160 votive monuments of the 2nd-3rd centuries, most of them in Gallia Belgica.

⁴⁷ The editors of OPEL IV, 147-148 found only the forms *Varasius* (CIL V, 3710) and *Varusius* (CIL XIII, 4177).

Localisation: *Lugdunum* (Lyon), Gallia Lugdunensis.

Dating: 197 AD⁴⁸

Votive inscription

Pro salute dom(ini) / n(ostri) Imp(eratoris) L(uci) Sept(im)i Severi / Aug(usti) totiusq(ue) domus / eius Aufanis Ma/tronis et Matribus / Pannoniorum et / D<a=E>lmatarum / Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Pompeianus / trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Min(erviae) / loco exculito cum / discubitione et tabula / v(otum) s(olvit)

Commentaries: The votive was found at *Lugdunum*, Gallia Lugdunensis, and it dates from 197, the year of the battle between Clodius Albinus and Septimius Severus⁴⁹. It also features the unit's divinity, *Matribus Pannoniorum et Delmatarum*, and *Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus - tribunus legionis I Minerviae* (the legion was stationed at *Bonna*, Germania Inferior⁵⁰), the person who set up this votive monument. There is a discrepancy in the presence of the two units in this inscription: whereas legion I Minervia did not support Clodius Albinus, *cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum* shifted to his side⁵¹. The auxiliary unit may have joined legion I Minervia and Septimius Severus (as proven by the dedication *Pro salute domini nostri Imperatoris Luci Septimi Severi Augusti*), but immediately after setting up the votive monument and for unknown reasons, it decided to serve Clodius Albinus⁵².

Claudius Pompeianus may have been the *praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum* before serving in legion I Minervia, though he is not mentioned here explicitly, because the position in this type of unit was the first in the *militia quarta: praefectus cohortis quingenariae*⁵³. This officer – probably pertaining to the equestrian rank and a native of the Italian Peninsula – covered the following *cursus honorum*: 1. *praefectus cohortis quingenariae (praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum)*; 2. *tribunus militum legionis augusticlavii (tribunus militum legionis I Minerviae)*. The officer seems to be attested also in a votive monument of *Legio* (modern-day Leon), Hispania Citerior⁵⁴, the headquarters of legion VII Gemina⁵⁵. Here, *Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus* is featured as a *tribunus*, most probably within the unit mentioned above. If he is the same as our character, we do not know the context where he became a tribune in another legion; maybe it occurred after the conflict between Clodius Albinus and Septimius Severus.

⁴⁸ Dating argued by SPAUL 2000, 336.

⁴⁹ SHA, Sev., 11.

⁵⁰ Dio Cass., LV, 24; WEBSTER 1985, 104; COSME 1994, 172; HOLDER 1999, 238; LE BOHEC 2000, 83-85; ECK 2000, 87-93; WILKES 2000, 106; FARNUM 2005, 15; HASSALL 2007, 322.

⁵¹ SPAUL 2000, 336.

⁵² A fact confirmed by SPAUL 2000, 336.

⁵³ DEVIJVER 1992, 67.

⁵⁴ IRPLEon 20 = CasLeon 145 = Meseta 91 = ERPLEon 38 = GeA 6 = AE 1971, 208 = AE 1974, 411.

⁵⁵ Tac., *Hist.*, II, 86, III, 7, 21; WEBSTER 1985, 105; COSME 1994, 173; LE ROUX 2000, 383-396; WILKES 2000, 110; FARNUM 2005, 21; KEPPIE 2005, 184; HASSALL 2007, 321-322

However, he must have continued his career in the *militia quarta*, as the commander of an *ala quingenaria*⁵⁶.

The name *Claudius Pompeianus*, but without the *praenomen Tiberius*, is attested in two other epigraphical sources: one from Grosskrotzenburg, Germania Superior, dated from 221 (featuring a *Claudius Pompeianus – miles legionis VIII Antoniniana Augustae*)⁵⁷; the other dated from 131-170 and found in *Tibur, Latium et Campania, Regio I*⁵⁸. In this first source, it is impossible to identify him with the character analysed here, who was an officer, while *Claudius Pompeianus* was a mere *miles legionis VIII Augustae*. In the lack of additional information, one cannot identify even in the second epigraphical monument the character in this inscription.

3. **Numisius**⁵⁹ (...) – *praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum equitatae*, probably a native of the Italian Peninsula.

RMD I, 52 = AE 1968, 400.

Localisation: *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Xanten), Germania Inferior.

Dating: 158 AD⁶⁰

Military diploma

[...] *coh(ortis) I Pannon(iorum) et [Dal(matarum) e(quitatae) c(ui) pr(aeest)] Numisius [---] [...]*

Commentaries: The *Constitutio* of 158 features a *praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum equitatae*, a certain *Numisius* (...). Because the diploma is fragmentary, his full name is unknown. He was the prefect of this unit for three or four years⁶¹, but we do not know in which year of his service he was mentioned in the diploma. Given that the source did not preserve the full name of the officer, there is no way to know whether and when he continued his military career; he may have even obtained a position in the *militia secunda – tribunus cohortis milliariae* or as a *tribunus militum legionis augusticlavii*⁶².

4. **Titus Pontius**⁶³ *Titi filius Palatina (tribu) Sabinus*⁶⁴ – *praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum equitatae civium Romanorum*, probably from *Ferentinum*, Latium et Campania, Regio I.

⁵⁶ DEVIJVER 1992, 67.

⁵⁷ AE 1978, 551. In the 3rd century, legion VIII Augusta was stationed at *Argentoratum*, Germania Superior (FARNUM 2005, 21). It is worth noting here the epithet *Antoniniana*, granted to the legion from the Emperor Caracalla (212-217) or, more recently, from Elagabalus (218-222).

⁵⁸ AE 1991, 591.

⁵⁹ OPEL III, 106-107.

⁶⁰ <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD014561> [accessed on 03.07.2022].

⁶¹ See the discussion in KŁODZIŃSKI 2010, 2, concerning the period served in each position.

⁶² DEVIJVER 1992, 67.

⁶³ For this gentilicium, see OPEL III, 181.

⁶⁴ OPEL IV, 40-41.

CIL X, 5829 = ILS 2726 = IDRE I, 90.

Localisation: *Ferentinum* (Ferentino), Latium et Campania, Regio I.

Dating: approximately 140 AD⁶⁵

Honorary inscription

T(it) Pontio T(iti) f(ilio) Pal(atina) / Sabino / p(rimo) p(ilo) II proc(uratori) provinc(iae) / Narb(onensis) IIIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) quinq(uennali) / flamin(i) et patron(o) / municipi(i) / Valeria L(uci) f(ilia) Procula / uxor / l(ocus) d(at)us d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) // T(itus) Pontius T(iti) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Sabinus / praefectus coh(ortis) I Pann(oniorum) et Dalmat(arum) / eq(uitatae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Ferrat(ae) / donis donatus expeditione Par(thica) a divo Traiano hasta pura / vexillo corona murali [(centurio) leg(ionis) XXII / Primig(eniae) [(centurio) leg(ionis) XIII Gemin(ae) primus pi(lus) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) praepositus vexilla/tionibus milliari(i)s tribus expedi/tione Brittanica leg(ionis) VII Gemin(ae) / VIII Aug(ustae) XXII Primig(eniae) trib(unus) coh(ortis) III / vig(illum) coh(ortis) XIII urb(anae) coh(ortis) II praet(oriae) / p(rimus) p(ilus) II proc(urator) provinc(iae) Narbonens(is) / IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) quinq(uennalis) flamen patron(us) / municipi(i)

Commentaries: This honorary monument features an officer of the equestrian order who held an entire array of positions in the Roman army, not all of them necessarily in the order established by the regular *cursus honorum* for his rank: 1. *praefectus cohortis quingenariae/tribunus cohortis voluntariorum civium Romanorum*; 2. *tribunus cohortis milliariae/tribunus militum legionis augusticlavius*; 3. *praefectus alae quingenariae*; 4. *praefectus alae milliariae*⁶⁶.

Initially, *Pontius Sabinus* occupied, in a normal order, the first two positions in the *militia quarta*, as he was the *praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum equitatae civium Romanorum*, and the *tribunus legionis VI Ferratae*, respectively⁶⁷. Within this legion, the officer participated in Trajan's Parthian expeditions of 114-117 AD, and this emperor even decorated him: *donis donatus expeditione Parthica a divo Traiano hasta pura vexillo corona murali*. However, following these positions, the cavalry member was not appointed (or declined to be) the *praefectus alae quingenariae*, instead becoming a centurion in two consecutive legions, *legio XXII Primigenia* and *legio XIII Gemina*, then the *primus pilus legionis III Augustae*, the commander of a vexillation of three legions in a military expedition in Britannia (*praepositus vexillationibus milliariis tribus expeditione Brittanica: legio VII Gemina, legio VIII Augusta, and legio XXII Primigenia*⁶⁸), a *tribunus* in three units of Rome, i.e., *tribunus cohortis III vigilum, tribunus cohortis*

⁶⁵ According to other sources, it may date to 122-150, 131-170 AD (http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR155466&partId=1 [accessed on 03.07.2022]) or around 130 (SPAUL 2000, 336).

⁶⁶ DEVIJVER 1992, 67.

⁶⁷ In the 2nd-3rd centuries, the legion was stationed in the provinces of Arabia and Syria-Palaestina (FARNUM 2005, 20).

⁶⁸ For the mobility of these legions, see FARNUM 2005.

XIII urbanae, and *tribunus cohortis II praetoriae*, subsequently *primus pilus II* and finally, given his status within the equestrian order (but also due to the positions previously occupied, proving his military value and more), he became the *procurator provinciae Narbonensis*. Some historians have suggested that he may have enjoyed being on the battlefield⁶⁹, but the military context may have also represented a decisive factor in this case.

Some authors have argued that *Pontius Sabinus* became the governor of the province of Gallia Narbonensis in 140⁷⁰, around the dating of this inscription. Hence, the career of the cavalry officer spanned three decades⁷¹, even before 110 AD when he became the *praefectus cohortis I Pannoniorum et Dalmatarum equitatae civium Romanorum*. The honorary monument of *Ferentinum*, Latium et Campania, Regio I was set up at a decurions' order and it also featured his wife, *Valeria Procula*, the sister of the cavalry officer *Lucius Valerius Proculus*. The last held several military and civilian positions in the 2nd century, attested in several epigraphical monuments⁷².

| Name | Origin | Position | Dating | Sources |
|-------------------------------------|---|--------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Ahucco | Celtic/Batavian | <i>Miles (ex pedite)</i> | 158 AD | RMD I, 52 = AE 1968, 400 |
| Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus | The Italian Peninsula | <i>Praefectus</i> | 197 AD | CIL XIII, 1766 = ILS 4794 = CAG-69-2, p. 467 = AE 1961, 3 = AE 2005, +123 |
| Numisius | The Italian Peninsula | <i>Praefectus</i> | 158 AD | RMD I, 52 = AE 1968, 400 |
| Titus Pontius Sabinus | Probably from <i>Ferentinum</i> , Latium et Campania, Regio I | <i>Praefectus</i> | Approximately 140 AD | CIL X, 5829 = ILS 2726 = IDRE I, 90 |

Table 1: The militaries in the *cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum*

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⁶⁹ SPAUL 2000, 336.

⁷⁰ RIVET 1988, 89.

⁷¹ For the *cursus honorum* of this cavalry officer, see also PFLAUM 1950, 347.

⁷² 1. CIL II, 1970 (his entire career is featured here); 2. CIL II, 1971; 3. CIL VI, 1002.

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Poissonniers et Marchands de Poisson Salé dans l'Antiquité Classique

Iulia DUMITRACHE¹

Résumé. *L'ouvrage est une revue des sources littéraires, épigraphiques et papyrologiques qui mentionnent des personnages impliqués, d'une manière ou d'une autre, dans les activités liées à la transformation et à la distribution du poisson salé dans l'Antiquité classique. Si les sources littéraires proviennent majoritairement du milieu hellénophone et présentent notamment la manière dont ces activités ont été reçues dans l'esprit collectif, les autres sont des témoignages du mode de représentation de ces individus, seuls ou au sein d'associations professionnelles. De même, si pour l'ouest du bassin méditerranéen on parle davantage du commerce de poisson salé, les régions orientales, ainsi que le bassin pontique, montrent une plus grande propension aux activités halieutiques, donc liées à la pêche.*

Rezumat. *Lucrarea reprezintă o trecere în revistă a surselor literare, epigrafice și papirologice care menționează personaje implicate, într-un fel sau altul, în activități legate de prelucrarea și distribuția peștelui sărat în Antichitatea clasică. Dacă sursele literare provin mai ales din mediul helenofon și prezintă în special modul în care aceste activități erau receptate în mentalul colectiv, celelalte sunt mărturiile ale modului de reprezentare a acestor indivizi, singuri sau în cadrul unor asociații profesionale. De asemenea, dacă pentru occidentul bazinului mediteranean avem mai multe mențiuni ale comerțului cu pește sărat, regiunile orientale, precum și bazinul pontic dovedesc o aplecare mai mare pentru activități halieutice, deci legate de pescuit.*

Mots-clés : produits de la pêche, marchands, Antiquité classique, sources littéraires, même représentation.

Introduction

Dans l'Antiquité classique, la diète avait comme ingrédients principales « la triade méditerranéenne », ça veut dire le blé, les olives et la vigne. Mais il ne serait pas de tout exagéré si l'on ajoutait à ceux-ci un quatrième don de la nature, à savoir la ressource halieutique. Parmi les avantages qu'elle offre, on peut citer, tout d'abord, le fait que, même s'elle n'est pas infinie, elle est très difficile de s'épuiser ; elle est à la portée de la plupart des individus, si on ajoute aux bassins maritimes les fleuves, les lacs, les étangs ; elle ne dépend trop des caprices du temps; elle est une source importante de protéines; elle ne nécessite, si nous le poursuivons pour notre propre consommation, aucun effort particulier, aucune

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infrastructure hautement sophistiquée, et la liste pourrait s'allonger. En tant qu'inconvénients, le plus important serait celui de la périssabilité, mais, à son tour, il peut facilement être transformé en avantage : elle peut être conservé assez facilement et par des méthodes peu coûteuses : principalement par salage et/ou séchage, auxquels on ajoute le fumage ; une fois transformé, le poisson se conserve longtemps et peut être facilement transporté.

Au-delà de ces evidences primaires, il faut aussi prendre en compte le potentiel économique que la ressource ichtyologique peut générer. L'exploitation qui implique la formation de communautés entières, par exemple, ainsi que des moyens techniques élaborés se traduit par un surplus de produits, qui peut être capitalisé par une forme d'échange, soit avec d'autres biens, soit par la vente. Le traitement de la chair ajoute à ce scénario la possibilité d'un échange à longue distance, qui prévoit également des gains plus substantiels.

Ainsi, des communautés de pêcheurs, mieux décrites dans les épîtres d'Alciphron, qui, bien qu'elles luttent contre les dangers de la mer,² les pénuries matérielles,³ les tentations des actes illégaux,⁴ finissent par s'associer,⁵ étendre leurs activités⁶ et, dans le cas de certains, voire s'enrichissent,⁷ on assiste à l'émergence d'associations professionnelles étendues, certaines véritables corporations, qui conjuguent l'exploitation de la ressource avec sa transformation et/ou sa commercialisation.⁸

La plupart des sources, et les plus riches d'ailleurs, font référence aux personnages les plus visibles de tout le circuit parcouru par les poissons depuis le moment de la capture jusqu'au moment de la consommation : les marchands.

La projection du métier dans l'esprit collectif

Ainsi, qui étaient ceux qui s'occupaient de la vente des produits de la pêche sur le marché, et quel rôle jouaient-ils dans la société ancienne ? Malheureusement, les sources épigraphiques liées aux marchands de *salsamenta* ne sont pas très nombreuses, comme on va le voir, mais les informations fournies par celles-ci peuvent être complétées d'une part par la recherche de sources littéraires, et d'autre part en comparant les données relatives aux

² Alciphron 1.3.; 1.25.

³ Alciphron 1.2; 1.8; 1.9.

⁴ Alciphron 1.5; 1.8; 1.9.

⁵ Alciphron 1.1; 1.9.

⁶ Alciphron 1.1; 3.25.

⁷ Alciphron 1.5; 1.6; 3.25.

⁸ A propos des associations de pêcheurs attestées épigraphiquement, voir, par exemple, CIL 2.5929; CIL 6.9799; CIL 4.826 (*piscicapi*); 5.7850; 6.1872; 6.10229; 6.29700; 6.29702; 6.40638; 6.41382 (*caudicarii seu piscatores corporati*); 14.409 (*piscatorum propolarum*); I.Eph. Ia 20.; SEG 48.1363; I. Smyrna 715 etc. Voir aussi la littérature moderne, comme: HORSLEY 1989 avec la bibliographie; CURTIS 1991, sp. 149–158; PARMA 1995; PEURIÈRE 2003; MARZANO 2013; MARZANO 2018.

marchands de produits halieutiques avec celles relatives aux marchands d'autres produits très appréciés dans le monde romain, comme l'huile ou le vin.

Dans la littérature gréco-romaine, les producteurs, ainsi que les marchands de produits de la pêche, ne jouissaient pas d'une image très favorable. Pour la société grecque, les producteurs et les marchands de *salsamenta* étaient majoritairement des individus au statut social inférieur, immoraux (voleurs, menteurs, tricheurs) et à une condition matérielle précaire. Ce sont généralement des esclaves ou d'anciens esclaves, souvent des étrangers. Par exemple, Platon contredit Hésiode, en indiquant l'occupation de vendre des poissons salés (ταριχοπωλοῦντι)⁹ comme honteuse. « La fripouille » (ἀπονενομημένος) de Théophraste visite les vendeurs de poisson (ταριχοπολία), parmi autres victimes de son chantage et de ses actions usuraires, et partage leur profit avec eux ; les fils du poissonnier Chaerephilus, qui avait acquis la nationalité athénienne, sont « les amants d'une prostituée »¹⁰. Le philosophe Bion est le fils d'un affranchi qui « s'essuyait le nez avec sa manche ».¹¹ Il se trait d'un marchand de poisson salé, originaire de la région nord-pontique. La même image, du personnage qui utilise sa manche comme mouchoir, va être reprise par Horace¹² et Suétone¹³.

On trouve une avalanche d'invectives et de descriptions plastiques chez les auteurs grecs, cités dans le *Banquet* d'Athénée. L'interaction des clients avec les poissonniers est difficile, car ils sont plus difficiles à approcher que les commandants militaires, comme le rapporte Amphis¹⁴. Le marchand de poisson apparaît comme meurtrier (ἀνδροφόνος), maudit (κατάρατος ἰχθυοπώλης), mauvais, méchant, pervers (πονηρός), mais en même temps ingénieux (φιλοσόφως).¹⁵ Alexis¹⁶ les blâme pour leur arrogance excessive et leur mépris envers leurs clients : « Demandez-leur combien ils vendent deux muges : dix oboles répondent-ils. Mais c'est bien cher ! En voulez-vous huit ? Oui, si vous n'en prenez qu'un ». Les méthodes pour tromper les acheteurs sont parmi les plus variées : de l'indication erronée de la valeur monétaire¹⁷ aux astuces pour modifier l'apparence des marchandises. Ainsi, à Xénarque, une scène théâtrale est décrite, dans laquelle, pour déjouer la loi, qui interdit l'aspersion de viande, les poissonniers simulent un combat dans lequel ils s'évanouiraient et devraient être aspergés. Évidemment, avec eux, le poisson reçoit le même traitement, qui

⁹ Platon, Charm. 163b.

¹⁰ ap. Athénée 8.338-339.

¹¹ Diogène Laërce 4.46.

¹² Horace, *Od.* 2.20.

¹³ Suétone, *Vie du poète Horace*. Préface.

¹⁴ Athénée 6.224e.

¹⁵ Xénarque, ap. Athénée 6.225c.

¹⁶ Athénée 6.224f.

¹⁷ Athénée 6.225b: la confusion est créée par la parité : le marchand reçoit les oboles d'Aegine, mais donne le reste en oboles athéniens.

rafraîchit son apparence, l'ingéniosité de la pratique étant notée par l'auteur.¹⁸ Antiphane les accuse de garder le poisson à vendre même s'il est gâté, voire de le vendre aux aveugles,¹⁹ et prouvent la fausseté dans leur comportement: « N'est-il pas révoltant que celui qui vend du poisson bien frais fronce le sourcil, et ne vous parle que d'un thon bourru, tandis que celui qui en vend de pourri, se met à rire et à faire le plaisant ? Ils devraient justement l'un et l'autre faire le contraire ; le premier, rire ; le second, pleurer de son impudence. »

Il y a aussi des mentions, sinon favorables, du moins neutres, de marchands. Nicostrate appelle un d'eux *ταριχοπώλος καλος* et *κάγαθος*, pour la simple raison qu'il lui avait vendu un gros morceau de poisson salé avec des écailles - *τιλτὸν μέσιον* à un prix très convenable - 2 oboles au lieu d'une drachme et 2 oboles.²⁰

Un tarif sur le poisson datant du 3ème siècle avant J.Ch. d'Akraiphia²¹ renseigne sur les prix effectivement pratiqués sur le marché, mais aussi sur les devoirs des agoranomes, qui surveillaient les marchés et les prix pratiqués pour les différentes marchandises.²² Dans le contenu de l'inscription, trois catégories de produits obtenus par salaison de chair de thon sont établies. Le plus cher était l'*οὐπόγαστρια*, qui coûtait 2 oboles et 2 chalchoi pour une mine ; les autres morceaux de thon étaient vendus à des prix compris entre 1 et 1,5 oboles, tandis que le moins était payé pour le *θουννιδία* (thon coupé en quartiers) : 1 obole et une chalchos.²³ Ces prix semblent assez élevés, peut-être en raison du coût élevé des transports ou des commerçants essayant de gagner le plus possible grâce aux pèlerins visitant le sanctuaire voisin.²⁴

Quoi qu'il en soit, le commerce du poisson a dû être une activité rentable. Selon Alexis, les poissonniers « tirent presque la dîme de tous les biens », compte tenu des prix pratiqués.²⁵ Nicostrate mentionne un morceau de poisson salé de Byzance, qui coûtait autant qu'un morceau d'estomac de poisson gaditan.²⁶ Diphile estime que si seulement un dixième des bénéfices d'une journée de la vente du poisson est collecté, il s'ensuit que le bénéficiaire du gain est plus riche que les dieux.²⁷ Platon le Comique présente un personnage bien décidé à gaspiller toute sa fortune en poisson salé,²⁸ et Alexis présente les produits de la pêche comme la cause de la ruine. De toute évidence, les demandes des clients maintiennent les tendances

¹⁸ Athénée 6.225c-d.

¹⁹ Athénée 6.225e.

²⁰ Athénée 3.118e.

²¹ SALVIAT, VATIN 1971, 95-109.

²² ROESCH 1974, 7.

²³ Pour autres exemples des sources concernant le prix du poisson sale, voir DUMITRACHE 2012.

²⁴ Curtis 1991, 170.

²⁵ Athénée 6.226a.

²⁶ Nicostrate, fr. 4-5.

²⁷ Diphile, ap. Athénée 6.226e-f.

²⁸ Platon le Comique, fr. 49.

du marché.²⁹ Cependant, il n'y avait pas trop de gens qui pouvaient se permettre des produits réputés non seulement pour leur qualité, mais surtout pour leur prix.³⁰ Ainsi, des cas sont rapportés dans lesquels l'étalage d'achats halieutiques spectaculaires signalait en fait les activités illégales des acheteurs. Et la législation doit s'adapter : elle est mentionnée par Diphile, dans son ouvrage Ἐμπόρος - Marchand une loi de Corinthe, par laquelle les achats du marché de poisson déclenchent le contrôle fiscal³¹, en ce sens qu'un client qui ne pourrait justifier de revenus permettant extravagances culinaires, ses dépenses sont interdites, sous peine d'amende. La récidive le fait figurer parmi les suspects de divers crimes : braquages nocturnes, vandalisme, trahison, faux témoignage, etc. Les fonctionnaires semblent ainsi contrôler le commerce du poisson sur les marchés, comme les deux ou trois ὀψονόμοι athéniens mentionnés par Sophile. Le marchand béotien d'Aristophane est sollicité comme pot-de-vin pour obtenir le droit de vendre sur le marché privé de Dicéopolis, des anguilles du Copais.³²

Les abus des commerçants contre les clients ont même conduit à la rédaction d'un guide de l'acheteur, destiné notamment aux chineurs, attribué à Lyncée de Samos par Athénée.³³ Malheureusement, à l'exception des citations du Banquet des Sophistes, son œuvre n'a pas été conservée.

On peut imaginer comment ces correspondances fonctionnent dans l'esprit collectif et comment elles passent sans changement d'un âge à l'autre à l'exemple de Cybiosactes. De Strabon, nous apprenons que c'était le nom du mari de Bérénice IV, sœur de Cléopâtre VII, fille de Ptolémée XII. Il revendiquait une parenté avec la dynastie syrienne séleucide, offrant ainsi une alliance matrimoniale pratique. Quelques jours seulement après la cérémonie, Bérénice IV ordonna aux esclaves d'étrangler son mari³⁴. La raison en était sa nature vulgaire et non civilisée, dont il a également reçu le surnom. Cybiosactes vient de *cybion*, le nom du poisson salé en forme de cubes. Ainsi, le caractère du personnage était similaire au prototype du marchand de poisson salé.

Les sources latines ne sont pas beaucoup plus douces.

Macrobe déclare que c'est un affront de s'adresser à quelqu'un avec la formule « as-tu oublié que tu vendais des *salsamenta* ? ».³⁵ La même idée apparaît chez Suétone.³⁶ Persius mentionne un personnage si pauvre qu'il ne pouvait se permettre de manger de la muria, un

²⁹ Pour opsophagia, voir: DAVIDSON 1993; 1995; 1997.

³⁰ Les sources littéraires donnent des informations exagérées concernant les prix des poissons et des salaisons. Une analyse sur ce problème apparaît dans SCHEIDEL 1996, 226.

³¹ Diphile, ap. Athénée 6.227e-228b.

³² Aristophane, Acarniens, 94.

³³ Athénée 6.228c.

³⁴ Strabon 17.1.11; Suétone, *Vesp.* 19; Dion Cassius 39.57.

³⁵ Macrobe, *Saturnalia*, 7.3.6.

³⁶ Suétone, *Horatii Poetae Vita. Praefatio*.

produit de qualité inférieure, que le jour de son anniversaire.³⁷ Plaute nomme Hannon de Carthage *hallex viri*³⁸. Pétrone décrit le cuisinier de Trimalcion comme un individu qui sent comme *muria* et d'autres épices³⁹.

Martial, dans plusieurs épigrammes, utilise les produits de la pêche comme un moyen de critiquer quelqu'un en particulier ou la société en général.⁴⁰ Il « envie » un certain Flaccus, admirateur d'une femme qui peut, après avoir mangé six bâtonnets pleins de *garum* et de poisson salé (*cybium*), dévorer aussi l'*hallex* que l'esclave lui apporte.⁴¹ Dans une autre épigramme, Baeticus démontre son mauvais goût et son caractère douteux en mangeant des oignons qui « nagent » dans de l'*allex* pourri (*putri cepas allece natantis*), des petits poissons inutiles (*gerres*) et du poisson salé (*melandrya*).⁴²

Identité sociale et esprit associatif

L'identité sociale d'une certaine catégorie d'individus dans le monde antique repose, premièrement, sur des distinctions d'ordre économique : à la fois quantitatives (richesse et revenu), mais aussi qualitatives (source de richesse ou de revenu) et organisationnelles. L'identité sociale de la catégorie marchande dépend des aspects suivants : l'implication de ses membres dans des activités commerciales, qui leur procurent un profit ; l'implication personnelle des individus dans la réalisation de cet objectif ; la capacité et la volonté d'assumer certains risques ; la constitution du patrimoine principalement à partir du fonds de roulement et des liquidités, les investissements dans les biens non économiques (dans les magistratures politiques ou le capital social) restant secondaires.⁴³

Les marchands de *salsamenta* agissaient soit individuellement, soit plutôt regroupés en associations professionnelles. Cette catégorie comprend toute société dont les membres sont réunis par une profession commune, quels que soient son objet, sa nature, son origine ou son organisation, et qui tire son nom de la profession des membres ou du lieu où ils exercent leur activité. Ces associations visaient avant tout à assurer des prestations optimales d'un point de vue qualitatif. La possibilité d'essayer de protéger l'investissement n'est pas non plus exclue. Un voyage en mer peut être risqué, en raison d'éventuelles intempéries ou d'attaques de pirates. Si l'on ajoute le fait que les conteneurs dans lesquels les sauces étaient transportées, les amphores, étaient cassables, le risque d'une perte partielle voire totale du chargement

³⁷ Perse, 6, 20.

³⁸ Plaute, *Poenulus*, 1310.

³⁹ Pétrone, *Satyricon*, 70.

⁴⁰ DUMITRACHE 2007, p. 110.

⁴¹ Martial 11, 27.

⁴² Martial 3, 77.

⁴³ VERBOVEN 2007, 863.

devient évident. Les critères d'association sont les mêmes que pour les négociants en vin ou en huile : liens familiaux ou choix de partenaires étrangers.⁴⁴

Les associations avaient besoin d'agents aux principaux points de déplacement. Ces agents avaient un rôle important, principalement d'un point de vue financier, et leur contrôle était assez difficile à assurer. Dans ce cas, une solution simple consistait à former les membres de la famille à l'entreprise, en suivant la règle énoncée pendant l'une des festins de Trimalcion⁴⁵: *longe fuit quisquis suos fugit... Numquam autem recte faciet qui cito credit, utique homo negotians*. Aussi bien les citoyens roumains que les particuliers qui ne bénéficiaient pas de ce statut participaient aux activités liées à la commercialisation du poisson. Au début du 3eme siècle ap. J.-Ch., *negotiatores allecarii* fonctionnaient entre Britannia et Gallia.⁴⁶ Un *negotiator salsarius*, venant d'Hispanie, Publius Clodius Athenio, apparaît mentionné dans une inscription à Ostie,⁴⁷ et un *negotiator salsamentarius et vinarius* venant d'Afrique, Tiberius Claudius Docimus, est mort à Rome.⁴⁸ Un *sevir augustalis* qui vit à Lugdunum, Marcus Primus Secundianus, est intitulé *negotians muriarius*.⁴⁹

La production de poisson en conserve était entre les mains de particuliers ou de personnes travaillant dans des associations professionnelles. Si quelqu'un avait besoin d'acheter ces produits, il y avait aussi de petits marchands spécialisés : *bucones* (marchands de divers types de poissons),⁵⁰ *bolonae* (marchands de poisson importants),⁵¹ *cetarii* (marchands de thon),⁵² *liquaminarii*,⁵³ *salsarii*,⁵⁴ γαροπόλης,⁵⁵ attestés au 2eme siècle ap. J.-Ch., ταριχοπόλης ou τεμαχοπόλης. En 569 il y avait aussi une femme qui vendait du poisson salé, ταριχοπράτιστα. Au siècle III av. J.-C., il y avait même une rue à Arsinoe, à Crocodilopolis, où opéraient des marchands de poisson - ταριχοπόλων. Le nom des magasins où l'on pouvait acheter du poisson salé était ταριχοπόλεια.⁵⁶ (voir **Table 1**).

| Nom | Marcha | Source |
|-----|--------|--------|
|-----|--------|--------|

⁴⁴ Sur les associations professionnelles, voir WALTZING 1895–1900, I, 355–357 ; DE ROBERTIS 1971, 4–6 ; MEIGGS 1960, 313 ; FLAMBARD 1981, 154 ; VAN NIJF 2002, 308. De tels collègues de commerçants et/ou d'armateurs sont des exemples éloquentes (WALTZING 1895–1900, II, 397–408 ; WIERSCHOWSKI 2001 ; VERBOVEN 2004)

⁴⁵ Pétrone 43.6.

⁴⁶ AE 1973, 365 ; CURTIS 1984, 147.

⁴⁷ CIL 6.9677.

⁴⁸ CIL 6.9676.

⁴⁹ CIL 13.1966.

⁵⁰ WISSEMAN 1984, 118.

⁵¹ WISSEMAN 1984, 117.

⁵² Columelle 8, 7, 12.

⁵³ Columelle 8, 7, 12.

⁵⁴ CIL 6.9676.

⁵⁵ P. Bad. 2.42.

⁵⁶ P. Oxy. 3.520.

| | | |
|---|---------------|--|
| | ndise | |
| cetarii | thone salé | Columelle, 8, 7, 12. |
| γαροπώλης | garum | P. Bad. 2, 429-10; P. Oxy. 54, 37496-7; SEG 27, 995. |
| liquaminarii | liquamen | Manilius, 5, 24. |
| negotians muriarius | muria | CIL 13.1966. |
| negotians salsamentarius et vinarius | salsamentata | CIL 6.9676. |
| negotians salsarius | salsamentata | CIL 6.9677. |
| negotiator allecarius | hallex | AE 1973, 365. |
| σαλαμοκάπηλος | salsamentata | SB 12, 11077. |
| σαλαγάριος | salsamentata | ROBERT 1960, 39-40. |
| salgamarii | salsamentata | Collumelle, 12, 56, 1. |
| ταριχευταί | salsamentata | P. Fay. 13 _a . |
| ταριχηρός | salsamentata | P. Tebt. 3, 841; P. Fay. 15 _a . |
| ταριχοπώλης | salsamentata | SEG 18.36a, 510; SEG 19.660; SEG 25.180; SEG 42.850. |
| ταριχοπράτισσα | salsamentata | P. Coll. Youtie 2.92 _s . |
| τεμαχοπώλης | salsamentata | SB 10.10258, CURTIS 1991, 136-137. |

Table 1. La terminologie occupationnelle des marchands de poisson salé

Commerce locale ou à longue distance ?

Le système commercial qui fonctionnait sur de longues distances est présenté par Démosthène, dans son récit du procès intenté par l'Athénien Androclès à Lacrite, pour non-paiement d'un emprunt de 3000 drachmes contracté par son frère décédé. Au-delà de la lamentation de Lacrite, qui plaide non coupable, car il n'associe pas sa qualité d'héritier à celle de débiteur, le fragment apporte des informations intéressantes sur des aspects de la vie économique au IV^e siècle avant J.-C. Il s'agit des liens commerciaux entre Athènes et l'espace pontique, les biens échangés, le mode de financement des opérations et, last but not least, sur les risques et responsabilités assumés et finalement partagés entre le financier, le transporteur, le commerçant et le bénéficiaire. Ainsi, nous apprenons de Démosthène quelle

aurait été la séquence des événements (fictive ou non, elle reflète le déroulement de telles opérations à l'époque) : un individu originaire de Lycie et le frère mènent des affaires entre Athènes et la mer Noire. Le copropriétaire du navire est un armateur d'Halicarnasse, qui ne participe pas personnellement à l'expédition, mais a des représentants à bord.⁵⁷ La famille d'Artemon ne détient pas ou ne détient pas suffisamment de capital pour soutenir les activités commerciales. On ne sait pas par quelle conjoncture Artemon coopte Androclès dans ses plans, qui dispose de liquidités, mais ne dispose pas d'infrastructures. Il investit, sous forme de prêt, 3000 drachmes dans l'entreprise d'Artemon et de son frère. Le prêt portait un intérêt de 2,5% ou 30% si le retour était retardé d'une saison, était destiné à payer 3000 amphores de vin de Mendé et devait être payé dans les 20 jours suivant le retour du voyage. Les débiteurs pouvaient fixer leur propre destination, à savoir revenir des bouches du Pont ou naviguer vers le Dniepr, ainsi que diverses escales à utiliser pour l'échange des marchandises. L'utilisation d'un itinéraire particulier au détriment d'autres peut être imposée aussi bien par des raisons économiques que politiques. Les anciens commerçants pouvaient s'écarter d'un itinéraire particulier pour profiter d'un marché particulier sur le chemin de leur destination finale, ou faire plusieurs arrêts commerciaux le long d'un itinéraire prédéterminé.⁵⁸

De plus, les risques liés à un voyage d'une telle envergure ont été pris en compte, une partie des dépenses payées, par exemple « pour le cas où les marchandises auront été jetées à la mer, par décision des passagers délibérant en commun, et celle des rançons qui pourront être payées aux ennemis ».⁵⁹

L'itinéraire de voyage établi entre les parties était Athènes – Mendé ou Scioné – le Pont (Hiéron ?) – les bouches du Dniepr (Borysthène) et retour. Nous savons que le navire est arrivé sain et sauf à Participée. Sur le chemin du retour, cependant, il coule avec toute sa cargaison, quelque part entre Participée et Théodosie. Cette fois, nous savons qu'il y avait à bord du navire 80 amphores de vin de Cos, onze ou 12 tonneaux de poisson salé (ταρίχους κεράμια ἕνδεκα ἢ δώδεκα), de la laine et des peaux de chèvre. Un témoin déclare que la cargaison n'était pas destinée à atteindre Athènes, mais appartenait en réalité à un fermier, et devait être déchargée à Théodosie, étant destinée à approvisionner les ouvriers d'une de ses propriétés. Il n'aurait pas non plus été logique, d'ailleurs, que le vin de Kos soit destiné à Athènes. Le navire fait un détour pour transporter les marchandises du fermier sur une courte distance, ce qui ajoute considérablement au profit de l'expédition. Si les barils de tarichos étaient bien destinés aux ouvriers agricoles, ils n'étaient sans doute pas parmi les plus chers, et certainement plus rentables que de les acheter à Théodosie. Cratinus mentionne également le transport de poisson salé de la région du Pont dans des barils⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ voir supra, note 46.

⁵⁸ ARNAUD 2005.

⁵⁹ Démosthène, *Androclès contre Lacrite*, 11.

⁶⁰ Athénée 3.119b: ἐν σαργανίσιν ἄζω τὰρίχους Ποντικούς.

Panticapee apparaît ainsi sur la carte commerciale comme un débouché pour les produits à base de poisson du nord de la mer Noire. Pierre Lévêque nota d'ailleurs la correspondance entre l'opulence des monuments funéraires dans cette ville et le développement des salines, donc de l'industrie, suivi, sans doute, du développement du commerce du poisson salé.⁶¹ De telles expéditions commerciales au nord de la mer Noire sont décrites par Lucien de Samosate dans *Toxaris*: « les commerçants marchands, et en particulier les Phéniciens parmi eux, qui non seulement naviguent dans le Pont ou jusqu'au lac Maeotis et le Cimmérien Bosphore, mais croisière partout dans les eaux grecques et étrangères ; car ces gens passent chaque année au peigne fin chaque rivage et chaque rive, pourrait-on dire, avant de retourner à la fin de l'automne dans leur propre pays. Sur le même principe, vous devriez les considérer comme des dieux, même si la plupart d'entre eux sont des colporteurs et, peut-être, des poissonniers ».⁶²

Nous avons d'autres informations littéraires sur la production et le commerce du poisson salé en mer Noire, avant même le récit de Démosthène. Le sophiste athénien Euthydème cite Hésiode, qui aurait décrit le processus de salaison du poisson dans la région du Bosphore, qualifiant Byzance comme étant « la mère du thon salé et du maquereau, qui se tient au fond des eaux, et de l'ange très nourrissant ».⁶³ Hérodote souligne l'importance de la pêche à Borysthène, qui fournit du poisson de qualité supérieure et en quantité notable : « On y pêche abondamment toutes sortes de bons poissons (παρέχεται ἰχθύας) (...) Le sel se cristallise de lui-même à son embouchure et en grande quantité. Il produit de gros poissons sans arêtes, qu'on sale ; on les appelle antacées (μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευσιν).⁶⁴ Les antacées figurent également chez Antiphane (τάριχος ἀντακαῖον),⁶⁵ aux côtés d'autres produits célébrés en son temps : des salaisons de Cadix (τάριχος Γαδειρικόν) et le thon de Byzance (Βυζαντίας δὲ θυννίδος), la préférence pour l'un ou l'autre produit étant une question de goût. Archippe interrompt son énumération des poissons nilotiques pour déclarer qu'une certaine espèce de maeotes, appelée palus maeotis, est présente en grand nombre dans la région de la mer d'Azov.⁶⁶ Des orychthes sont également ajoutés à cette espèce, qu'on trouve à Héraclée, ou près de Tion, ville du Pont et colonie de Milet, selon le rapport de Théophraste.⁶⁷ Sophocle est crédité d'informations sur les pélamides, confirmées par Aristote, concernant la migration de ces poissons,⁶⁸ qui peuplent en grand nombre la

⁶¹ LÉVÊQUE 1986.

⁶² Lucien, *Toxaris*, 4.

⁶³ Athénée 3.116b-c: Θύννων δ' ὠραίων Βυζάντιον ἔπλετο μήτηρ [116c] καὶ σκόμβρων βυθίων τε καὶ εὐχόρτου λικιβάττεω.

⁶⁴ Hérodote, 4.53.

⁶⁵ Athénée 3.118d.

⁶⁶ Athénée 7, 312b.

⁶⁷ Democrite, ap. Athénée 7, 319b.

⁶⁸ Athénée 7, 319b.

région du Bosphore pendant la saison estivale. Hermippus inclut dans la liste des produits importés à Athènes les sardines et le poisson salé de l'Hellespont.⁶⁹

Le thon de Byzance était également très connu et apprécié à l'époque de Démosthène⁷⁰: Archestrata recommande ὠραίου τέμαχος - un morceau de thon salé,⁷¹ de préférence une koracine importée du Pont et de qualité supérieure à celle pêchée et préparée dans la région égéenne :⁷² « tâche de t'en procurer une de l'aimable Byzance, si tu la veux de bonne qualité ; car c'est dans les parages de cette mer que tu en trouveras d'exquises. Elles sont moins bonnes loin des ondes de l'Hellespont. Si tu quittes cette mer pour passer dans celle d'Egée, tu ne trouveras plus les pareilles, mais des amies indignes des louanges que je viens de donner aux autres ». Nicostrate fait l'éloge de la saline du thon (Βυζάντιόν τέμαχος)⁷³. Antiphane mentionne la moule du Pont⁷⁴, mais aussi l'excellente thynade de Byzance⁷⁵ (Θυννάδος Βυζαντίας τέμαχος).

Au premier siècle avant J.-Chr., Icésius note la singularité des salaisons de Byzance, faites non seulement de thon, mais de toutes sortes de poissons pêchés dans la région.⁷⁶ L'essentiel est que le poisson pontique (Τάρυχος παύπος) était de bonne qualité et vendu à des prix acceptables.⁷⁷ Des sources épigraphiques d'Olbia prouvent la présence d'un marché aux poissons dans la ville.⁷⁸

⁶⁹ ap. Athénée 1.27e; voir aussi THOMSON 1933; BRAUND 1994, sp. 44.

⁷⁰ Voir DUMONT 1977-1977 ; DAVIDSON 1987; GARNSEY 1989; BRAUND 1995.

⁷¹ Athénée 3.117b.

⁷² Athénée 7.278d. Voir aussi des recommandations d'Archestrata ap. Athénée 7.302a; 314e. L'auteur propose également une option de service pour cette délicatesse: des morceaux de queue de thon byzantin rôtis, légèrement salés, assaisonnés d'huile d'olive puis trempés dans de la saumure (303e-f).

⁷³ Athénée 3.118e.

⁷⁴ Athénée 7.295c.

⁷⁵ Athénée 7.303f.

⁷⁶ Athénée 3.116e-f.

⁷⁷ Voir aussi Polybe, 4, 38-42, qui parle sur les marchands des Byzance, qui vendait, parmi autres, des salaisons de viandes de toute espece.

⁷⁸ SEG 3, 1929, 587.

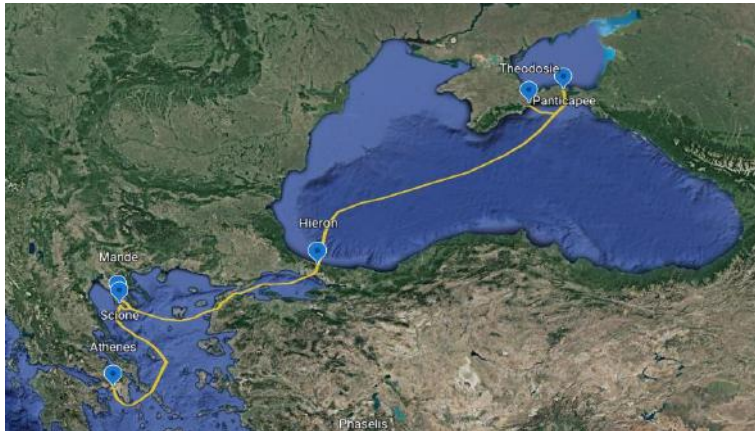


Table. 1. L'itinéraire d'Artemon

Le commerce à longue distance de poisson salé se confirme également à l'époque romaine, dans tout l'Empire. Des amphores contenant des sauces de poisson ont été découvertes sur de nombreux sites le long des limes en Gaule et en Allemagne, ou en Bretagne, dans le camp militaire de Vindolanda près du mur d'Hadrien, ou récupérées d'épaves. Bien que certaines cargaisons de produits hispaniques aient atteint le nord de l'Europe ou la Bretagne par la route de l'Atlantique, la plupart sont entrées à l'intérieur du continent via des ports méditerranéens situés dans le sud de la Gaule, tels que Narbo, Forum Iulii et Fos-sur-mer. Une étude menée sur un nombre relativement important de titres pictographiques sur des fragments d'amphores découverts à Saint-Gervais, dans le golfe de Fos, le site de l'ancien port romain Fossae Marianae, aujourd'hui immergé, montre que des navires avec des produits de poisson salé provenant de La Bétique et la Lusitanie, datant des Ier-IIe siècles av. J.-C., passaient par ce port pour se rendre aux marchés de Gaule et d'Allemagne, ou ayant pour destination le ravitaillement des légions stationnées le long du limes.⁷⁹ Les produits contenus dans ces récipients comprenaient *garum*, *liquamen* și *muria*.

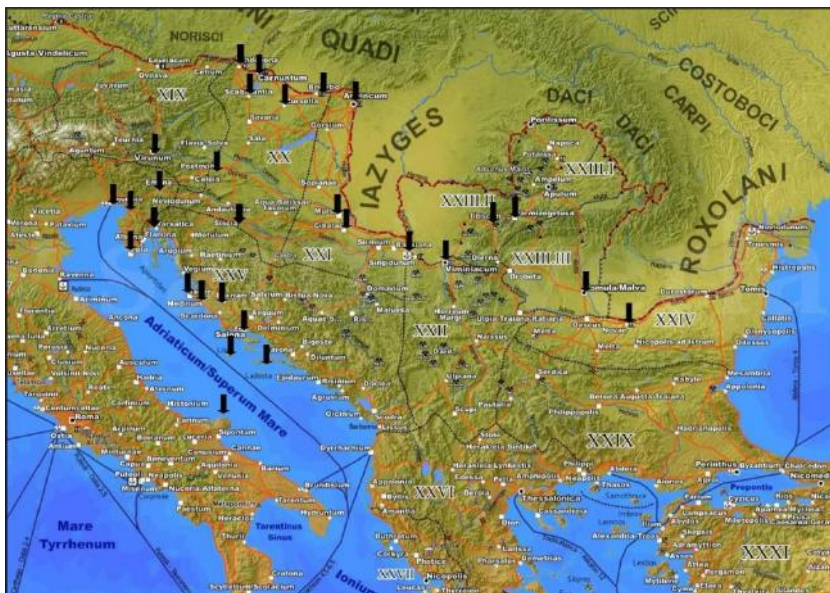
Des découvertes archéologiques sur des épaves avec des cargaisons d'origine hispanique indiquent l'existence d'une importante route commerciale depuis la Bétique, suivant les côtes hispaniques et gauloises jusqu'à Fos et les bouches du Rhône. Ici, les produits étaient transférés des navires de mer vers des embarcations fluviales plus petites, et transportés sur le Rhône, la Saône et le Rhin pour être distribués dans les provinces. On peut désormais fixer le lieu d'embarquement, dans la zone de Gibraltar, d'où la cargaison suit la route côtière jusqu'à Fos, puis jusqu'à Arles où elle est transférée sur un bateau fluvial, d'où elle est acheminée sur le Rhône, puis par voie terrestre jusqu'à Coire (Curia), Bregenz (Brigantium), Kempten (Cambodunum) – Augsburg. (**Carte 1**)

⁷⁹ LIOU, MARICHAL 1978, 177–179.



Carte 1. La diffusion de salaisons hispaniques vers les provinces du Haut-Danube

La carte 2 des découvertes dans les provinces du Haut-Danube indique une distribution possible des amphores hispaniques de *salsamenta* à travers la mer Adriatique jusqu'aux entrepôts de Salona et d'Aquincum, d'où elles ont été récupérées et ont continué leur voyage soit sur terre, soit, depuis les ports fluviaux, sur le Sava et Drava jusqu'au limes du Danube.



Carte 2. Salaisons hispaniques dans les provinces du Haut-Danube

Conclusions

Bien que les sources soient disproportionnées tant par leur nature, mais aussi par leur disposition chronologique et spatiale, on peut tout de même distinguer quelques conclusions.

Tout d'abord, les sources grecques sont, pour la plupart, littéraires, donc elles contiennent des informations moins véridiques que les épigraphes, et elles nous montrent, toujours à travers les yeux des autres, des personnages anonymes, petits, souvent hilarants.

L'époque romaine modifie considérablement la perception principalement de l'échelle à laquelle s'exercent les échanges. La scène passe de l'étal du marché à de véritables systèmes de vente en gros. Et leurs opérateurs commencent à se présenter, certes beaucoup moins pittoresquement, mais certainement beaucoup plus visibles, sinon individuellement, comme membres de puissants cartels commerciaux.

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Two Dacian soldiers in Numidia during the reign of Septimius Severus

Casian GĂMĂNUȚ¹

Abstract. Most of the inscriptions that mention soldiers with Dacian origin that served in the garrisons of the North African provinces were recruited in the first half of the 2nd century. Two of them, however, are attested in inscriptions that, despite the difficulties to restore and date the texts, most probably were set sometime at during the reign of Septimius Severus. Originating from Sarmizegetusa and Napoca, the two soldiers were contemporaries with an intense military and political activity in both Numidia and Africa Proconsularis. In this paper we try to show the historical circumstances of their military careers and, more precisely, to present the actions that the Roman army operated during those years. We would be able to better understand, in this way, what was the political and military environment in North Africa when these two soldiers were active and in what kind of events they witnessed or participated in.

Rezumat. Două inscripții descoperite pe teritoriul provinciei romane Numidia conțin numele militarilor Casius Aelius Iulianus, respectiv Fuscus Victorinus, ambii originari de pe teritoriul Daciei. Ambele texte epigrafice pot fi datate, în ciuda dificultăților, în timpul domniei lui Septimius Severus, ceea ce face ca cei doi să reprezinte excepții în rândul soldaților cu astfel de origini, întrucât cea mai mare parte a lor sunt active în prima jumătate a secolului al II-lea. Demersul acestui articol este concentrat pe încercarea de a determina care au fost circumstanțele în care acești soldați și-au desfășurat cariera militară și care ar fi putut fi evenimentele la care au luat parte pe parcursul anilor petrecuți ca soldați în garnizoana Numidiei romane.

Keywords: Numidia, Roman army, Dacia, Septimius Severus, territorial expansion.

Caius Aelius Iulianus.

An inscription written on a stone that was discovered on the jamb of the entrance door to a temple of Asclepius mentions numerous members of the Legio III Augusta, listed in descending order according to the status they had in the unit: *cornicularii*, *commentarienses*, *speculatores*, *beneficarii consulares*, *questionarii*, *sexmentris* and a *haruspex*². The one who supervised the construction was a centurion named Caius Memmius Victor. Most of the soldiers are *beneficarii consulares*, and among them we can see the name of *Caius Aelius Iulianus*, originating from *Sarmizegetusa*. The overwhelming majority of the soldiers mentioned here either come from African cities (Cirta, Hadrumetum, Cartagina), either are

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² CIL VIII 2586.

born *in castris*, both aspects indicating a relatively late period. Only two other legionaries are recruited from other provinces than Africa, one from Tharsus (in Cilicia), and the other from Siscia (in Pannonia Superior). The popularity of Asclepios is very well documented not only in North Africa as a geographical space, but in Lambaesis as a particular case also³. His responsibilities as a *beneficiarius consularis*, were especially of administrative and juridical and very rarely they were a matter of military tasks.

The soldier recruited from Sarmizegetusa was part of *officium consularis* and he was, therefore, a member of a closed group surrounding the governor of the province. His stay in the headquarters of the proconsul was not mandatory. Each legion present in a province provided, perhaps, around 60 soldiers for this function. The ones that were selected to occupy it were usually experienced militaries, so we can accept that Caius Aelius Iulianus was probably in the last years of his military career at the time when the inscription was settled⁴. As to the duration of such a function, the data for this aspect varies from province to province and we could not draw any general rules in this regard. Nevertheless, there are no sources that would indicate a term that would end before sooner than six months of service⁵.

The text could be made rather easy thank to the fact the three of the soldiers listed in the text are mentioned in other epigraphical texts. One of them is Lucius Considius Paulus whose name appears on an inscription discovered in Lambaesis and that can be dated during the mandate of Marcus Valerius Senecio⁶, whom we know for sure was in office in the times of Caracalla⁷. The name of Caius Calventius Ianuarius is known as well from a text in wich he is mentioned as *centurio legionis III Augustae Alexandrianae*⁸. Caius Iulius Verus, in his turn, was the one who took care of the epitaph of his brother, dated by the editors of *Corpus Inscriptiorum Latinarum* between the years 193 and 235, but they probably made some associations with the aforementioned texts⁹. More than this, a certain Caius Memmius Victor dies at the age of 50 and is buried at Theveste by his son¹⁰. Except for an extremely surprising coincidence of names, we could use these information to more clearly understand the military career of Caius Aelius Iulianus.

According to these epigraphical sources, we can deduce that the soldier originating from Sarmizegetusa was not recruited earlier than 186 (25 before the beginning of Caracalla's reign) and no later than 235 (the end of the reign of Severus Alexander). More than this, the mostly local origin of the soldiers confirms the dating towards the end of the 2nd century AD.

³ BENSEDDIK 2005, 275-276.

⁴ For an extensive study on the *beneficarii* see RANKOV 1986.

⁵ DISE JR 1997, 288-292.

⁶ CIL VIII 2750.

⁷ CIL VIII 2494, CIL VIII 2619.

⁸ CIL VIII 2747.

⁹ CIL VIII 2911.

¹⁰ ILA I 3324.

If we take into consideration the progressive slowing down of recruitments from far away provinces we should prefer a rather early date for the enrolment of Caius Aelius Iulianus. More than this, his *nomen* suggests, even if not mandatory, that he was born during or not very late after the reign of Hadrian. J. C. Mann and Constantin Petolescu place this event between 195 and 205¹¹. Árpád Dobó, too, dates the inscription of Lambaesis during the reigns of Elagabalus or Severus Alexander¹².

Even if it is not mandatory that Iulianus, Lucius Considius Paulus and Caius Calventius Ianuarius were recruited in the same exact year, the fact that all three of them possessed some ranks in the army (the two of them appear in the epigraphical text as *cornicularii*) proves that there wasn't a considerable difference of ages spent in the army between the three of them. Therefore we can admit that Caius Aelius Iulianus was definitely a member of Legio III Augusta in the interval 217-222. His recruitment most probably did not happen before 196. To choose a more safe estimation, it is better to admit that he became a soldier no sooner than the last years of the 2nd century AD and that his career spanned no later than the middle of the reign of Severus Alexander.

Even if we do not know exactly when and under what circumstances was Caius Aelius Iulianus recruited or what are the chronological limits of his career, we could safely assume that he was in North Africa at the time of the territorial expansion initiated by Septimius Severus and his governors in southern Numidia and Tripolitania. Therefore, this soldier was most probably a member of at least one *vexillatio* that operated in other regions than the one surrounding Lambaesis.

There is a possibility that he took part in the campaign initiated against the Garamantes at the beginning of the 3rd century in the Fezzan or in those in Syrte and Western Tripolitania in the context of the growing threat of Desert populations that we know about from Tertullian¹³. We do know, however, that legionaries were responsible of keeping under control the Christian communities from Africa during Septimius Severus' reign, as well as at the beginning of the reign of Caracalla¹⁴. There was a very prosperous municipal activity in the time of Quintus Anicius Faustus governorship, between 197 and 201¹⁵. There were a few forts built in the Fezzan too in the same period of time¹⁶. This sort of activity slowed down after Severus died and there are not many marks of it when Heliogabalus or Severus Alexander were in power. Caius Aelius Iulianus was, however, one of the few soldiers from

¹¹ MANN 1983, 69; PETOLESCU 2000 II, 471.

¹² DOBÓ 1975, 126.

¹³ Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, II, 8.

¹⁴ Tertullian, *De Fuga in Persecutione*, XIII. LOPUSZANSKI 1951, 5-46.

¹⁵ LE BOHEC 1989I, 398-401.

¹⁶ Ghadames, Gheriat el-Gharbia and Bu Njem.

Dacia who was active in North Africa after the end of the 2nd century. He was part of a family who was already Latin speaking and who bore Latin names.

Fuscus Victorinus, A Dacian Soldier at the limits of the Sahara?

A fragment of an epigraphical text discovered at Messad, Algeria, consists in a list of soldiers whose military unit is not mentioned¹⁷. Later, Eugene Albertini and Paul Massiera completed the inscription with another unedited fragment found in the museum of Algiers and originally published by Sebastian Gsell¹⁸, but without specific references to the text of the inscription. The complete text was published nine years later by Gilbert Charles Picard in an extensive study on Castellum Dimmidi, the fort that corresponds today with Messad¹⁹.

The text of the inscription is extremely confusing, being written in a rather chaotic way, while the letters are not very easily readable either, but it was, however, successfully edited, despite its incoherent and disorderly format. Therefore, the 11 rows written on a first column and another 4 at the beginning of the other mention, according to Eugene Albertini and Paul Massiera (followed by other specialists too), the names of pedestrian soldiers from Legio III Augusta.²⁰ At the right side of the second column there are another four soldiers whose names are placed right beside the word *eques*, most probably because this indicates their status in the same legion. More or less at the middle of the inscription it can be read the formula ITEM EQQ AL FL, completed by George Picard as *item eqq(uites) al(ae) Fl(aviae)*²¹. Under this there are another six names, four of them with the *origo* of the soldiers. Two of them are recruited in *cas(tris)*, another comes from Thuburbo (in Africa), while the fourth, named Fuscus Victorinus, is a native from N(a)p(o)ca. Contrary to other historiographical perspectives, Constantin Petolescu states that these six soldiers are not auxiliaries, but members of the Legio III Augusta too.²² We must notice, however, that there isn't just one legion attested at Castellum Dimmidi, but two. At some point, a detachment of Legio III Gallica, from Syria, is present in the same fort.²³ This *vexillatio* came in Numidia right from the founding of the fort, in 198, and probably stayed there until it was dissolved by Elagabalus in 218. Numerous former members of this legion are present in epigraphical texts from Lambaesis, some of them mentioning their transfer from one legion to another²⁴. We to

¹⁷ CIL VIII 18023.

¹⁸ ALBERTINI, MASSIERA 1939, no. 3 and no. 17, 240;

¹⁹ CHARLES-PICARD 1948, 202.

²⁰ ALBERTINI, MASSIERA 1939, 240.

²¹ CHARLES-PICARD 1948, 202.

²² PETOLESCU 2000, II, 497.

²³ CIL VIII 8796, a votive inscription dated in 198. See ALBERTINI 1938, 345-349.

²⁴ They were certainly transferred to Legio III Augusta after the Syrian legion was dissolved: AE 1898, 13, CIL VIII 2952, CIL VIII 2800.

believe, however, that the epigraphical text was rightly edited and we must consider Fuscus Victorinus an auxiliary soldier, member of *ala Flavia*.

About the unit in which he was a member we know that it appears in some inscriptions as *ala Flavia Numidica in Africa*²⁵. The *ala* is very well attested in epigraphical sources because numerous soldiers left various inscriptions²⁶ all over North Africa. It was created under the Flavian dynasty, but at the end of the 1st century it was already transferred to Africa²⁷. Even if we do not know the headquarters of it in that period, it most certainly occupied the fort of Zraia at the beginning of the 3rd century²⁸, most probably to replace the unit that was there up until that moment²⁹. During Severus Alexander's reign, there are some vexillationes bearing the epithet Severiana attested at *fauces Vazubi*³⁰, Ain Rich³¹ and El Gahra³². In 248, a *vexillatio* is present in Tripolitania, at Bu Njem, and the unit is named as Philippiana³³. The fact that the unit is not mentioned as *Severiana* at Castellum Dimmidi could indicate that the inscription was settled before the beginning of Severus Alexander's reign, so before the year 222³⁴.

Even if Constantin Petolescu mentions this inscription between the ones found in Mauretania Caesariensis³⁵, Castellum Dimmidi represents an outpost created by Septimius Severus in the context of the expansion in Southern Numidia. The fort was, in fact, under the authority of the legate of Legio III Augusta³⁶. It was created, without a doubt, in 198, during a very active mandate of Quintus Anicius Faustus, by a detachment formed of soldiers from the garrison of the province, as well as from Legio III Gallica and *ala I Pannoniorum*³⁷. The contribution of the Syrian legion was justified by the experience of its militaries in a desert environment³⁸. From the same perspective we can understand the presence, between 226 and 235, of the soldiers from of *numerus Palmyrenorum*³⁹. The fact that there are two cavalry troops must be connected, too, with the characteristics of this defensive military system, because it was a strong need of troops with a high mobility and a capacity to cover long distances. This fort was placed at extreme west point of the Severan defense system, at approximately

²⁵ CIL VI 3654.

²⁶ LE BOHEC 1989II, 29-33.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

²⁸ CIL VIII 4508.

²⁹ LE BOHEC 1989II, 28.

³⁰ AE 1942-1943, 77.

³¹ CIL VIII 8793.

³² CARCOPINO 1925, 129.

³³ AE 1985, 849.

³⁴ ALBERTINI, MASSIERA., 240.

³⁵ PETOLESCU 2001, II, 496-497, no. 467.

³⁶ CHARLES-PICARD, 45-82. BÉNABOU, 171-172.

³⁷ CIL VIII 8796, CIL VIII 8797.

³⁸ BÉNABOU, 1976, p. 172.

³⁹ ALBERTINI, MASSIERA, 234-235, no. 9.; CIL VIII 8795.

350 km distance from Lambaesis and was designed to defend de region of Oued Djedi valley and Ouled Nail hills⁴⁰. Even more, it was placed at the intersection of two important commercial routes that came from the south, one of them making the connection with Hodna, and the other with Moudjara and Djelfa⁴¹. Castellum Dimmidi was abandoned in 238⁴², when Rome gives up the territories occupied grace to the offensive actions made by Septimius Severus and partially his successors, event that was doubled with the dissolving of Legio III Augusta.

It is very difficult to find out the exact chronological limits of Fuscus Victorinus' military career. The only connection we can assume is with the case of Caius Aelius Iulianus from Legio III Augusta⁴³. The two cases would suggest, therefore, a possible *dilectus* in Dacia at the time when the new dynasty came in power. The inscription found at Castellum Dimmidi could have been written, probably, in the second half of Victorinus career, perhaps not long before his retirement from the Roman army.

Another important aspect is the fact that this soldier bore a roman name, meaning that he could have been already a roman citizen at the time of his recruitment. On the other hand, there is a strong possibility that the inscription comes from the years that followed *Constitutio Antoniniana*, something that might have had an impact on his onomastic⁴⁴, but we see that the soldier does not bear the *gentilicium* of Caracalla, like many new citizens from that period do, especially in the Eastern side of the empire⁴⁵.

The organization of two different recruitments in the Dacian provinces in a relatively narrow period of time is not very probable⁴⁶. Therefore, at the end of the 2nd century the Roman authorities probably made a new *dilectus* in the Dacian provinces and both Caius Aelius Iulianus and Fuscus Victorinus were enrolled in a group that had to be transferred to Numidia. The fact that the former was not a member of Legio III Augusta, but of an auxiliary unit, might suggest that he wasn't a citizen at the time of his enrollment and that he took his Latin name after the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

Historical context and military activity.

It must be assumed that Fuscus Victorinus and Caius Aelius Iulianus were witnesses to the same events that happened in this side of the Empire at the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd. Therefore, we must put their military careers under the same circumstances.

⁴⁰ LE BOHEC ,435.

⁴¹ BÉNABOU 1976, 171-172.

⁴² CHARLES-PICARD, 120.

⁴³ CIL VIII 2586.

⁴⁴ Myles Lavan, *The Spread of Roman Citizenship*, in „Past and Present”, nr. 230, p. 33.

⁴⁵ Athanase Rizakis, *La diffusion des processus d'adaptation onomastique : les Aurelii dans les provinces orientale de l'Empire*, in „Les noms de personnes dans l'Empire romain”, Monique Dondin-Payre (coord.), Bordeaux, 2011, pp. 253-262.

⁴⁶ Dana,, Matei-Popescu, *Soldats d'origine dace dans les diplômés militaires*, in „Chiron”, 39, 2009, pp. 234-243.

The new emperor adopts an offensive policy through expedition beyond the limits that were set by his predecessors and through the creation of a number of new military settlements at the limit of the desert, where the presence of the Roman army is attested for the first time. Although these actions had a purely offensive character, we find out from Tertullian that the *Maures* and the *Gaetulii* were not representing a threat anymore because they were stopped from overcrossing the limits imposed by Rome⁴⁷. This could refer to a situation that was previous to that of the times when Tertullian was writing his work, but most probably it can be tied with what the *Historia Augusta* mentions on the stability that Severus brought to Leptis Magna, his birthplace⁴⁸ and both of them may talk, in fact, about the actions of the army in the region at the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd. This expansionism was directed to three main areas: southern Numidia (beyond the *fossatum*), Western and Eastern Tripolitania. Marcel Bénabou justified these actions, especially those from Numidia, by a pressing need of economic growth caused by the decision of the Roman authorities (provincial or central) to take into possession new fertile lands in order to amplify the production of African wheat, because it suffered a depreciation as an effect of the apparition and development of important cultures of olives and vine⁴⁹. Maurice Euzennat, on the other hand, sees the origins of these actions less as a personal ambition of Septimius Severus and more through the influence of Caius Fluvius Plautianus, the prefect of the Praetorian Guard, himself an African native. This is why the assassination of the later in 204 or 205 coincided with the end of roman offensives beyond the administrative limits of the provinces⁵⁰.

At the same time when Castellum Dimmidi was built, the soldiers of Numidia's garrison were responsible of building more similar forts in the same area. Dimmidi represents, however, the most advanced settlement controlled by the Roman army in the Sahara. The entire defensive line stretched for approximately 1500 km, consisting in many military settlements of small dimensions and situated rather far from each other⁵¹. This aspect allows us to assume that this line was not meant to represent a real obstacle for a certain Saharan population, but only a tool to increase the control of the Roman army in these areas⁵². In any case, we could not think of any real threat to Rome's authority in the region, but only to minor problems caused by incursions and razzias made by natives⁵³. It is possible that some of

⁴⁷ Tertullian, *Adversus Iudaeos*, VII, 8. Marcel Bénabou, on the other hand, considers that there was another important rebellion of the native populations in those years and gives these military actions a more serious aura.: 170-171, 176-177.

⁴⁸ LASSÈRE 2014, 175.

⁴⁹ LASSÈRE 2014, 173.

⁵⁰ EUZENNAT 1990, 579.

⁵¹ LE BOHEC 1989, 430-437.

⁵² DANIELS 1990, 253-254.

⁵³ LASSÈRE 2014, 176-177.

the military settlements were subject to an imperial inspection during the visit of Septimius Severus in Africa⁵⁴. The simultaneous expansion of Roman territory towards the south in both Numidia and Mauretania Caesariensis caused a certain confusion of the two, because the south-western limit of the former was the same as the south-eastern border of the later, but without any real demarcation⁵⁵.

From the same perspective we can understand the actions that took place in the East, South and South-West of Africa Proconsularis. If up until this moment the imperial policy was limited to maintaining the prosperity of Africa Vetus in its original geographical and administrative limits, Septimius Severus adopts a more active approach in Tripolitania⁵⁶, where Legio III Augusta is attested numerous times in these years⁵⁷. Despite the fact that the literary sources tell us about external threats coming from native populations, it is still uncertain if the defensive system elaborated in this period had or had not a purely preventive role⁵⁸. The actions of the army were concentrated especially on creating new routes and *stationes* and consolidation of military presence in certain regions that until then escaped their control.

A very important military action was led by Quintus Anicius Faustus for the pacification of the Garamantes⁵⁹, organized in a kingdom to the south of Roman Tripolitania, in most of the modern day Fezzan. The infiltration of the Roman army in this Saharan region could be observed thanks to the discovery of the ruins of the forts from Bu Ndjem, Gheria el Garbia and Ghadames⁶⁰. There is a small possibility that Septimius Severus himself took part in this campaign, even if only in a passive way⁶¹. Despite the fact that written sources do not help us better understand those events that took place at the beginning of the 3rd century, the extensive archaeological research that was carried in the Fezzan and especially at the ancient site of Garama (named Jarma today), the ancient capital of the Garamantes⁶², resulted in important discoveries of footprints of the Roman presence consisting in a material culture that confirms, if not the effective occupation of the city by the army, at least a certain control

⁵⁴ BIRLEY 1999, 147; LE BOHEC 1999, 437-450.

⁵⁵ LASSÈRE 2014, p. 177.

⁵⁶ In Western Tripolitania there was already a military settlement built by Commodus at Tisavar: *CIL VIII* 11048.

⁵⁷ A few examples: *AE* 1967, 539; *AE* 1960, 264; *CIL VIII* 10992; *AE* 1950, 126.

⁵⁸ GOODCHILD, WARD-PERKINS consider that the threat was real and the campaign led at the beginning of the century was meant to stop an ongoing rebellion: 1949, 81-95

⁵⁹ Aurelius Victor probably thinks of them when he mentions the bellicose peoples that posed a threat to the safety of the Romans from Lepcis Magna: *De Caesaribus*, XX, 9., *HA, Vita Septimii Severi*, XVIII, 3.

⁶⁰ GOODCHILD 1954, 56-68.

⁶¹ BIRLEY 1999, 153, through a parallel with his participation, as an emperor, in the campaigns from Britannia and in the East. The same opinion is expressed by de MATTINGLY 1995, 93.

⁶² DANIELS 1970; DANIELS 1989, 45-61; MATTINGLY, 2003, 2007, 2010. Garama was described by Pliny the Elder (*HN V*, 36) and Ptolemy (*Geographia*, 4. 6. 12).

or a very strong commercial relations⁶³. Despite the fact that the presence of the Roman army in the interior of the Garamantian state could not be doubted, there are very few possibilities that their capital was actually occupied, even for a limited time⁶⁴. In any case, the Garamantes do not disappear from history during the 3rd century, their existence being confirmed up to the Arab invasion of North Africa⁶⁵.

All these events created a new politic and military situation in Numidia and Africa Proconsularis which led to a very strong fragmentation of the army and the spreading of its soldiers, especially those from Legio III Augusta, in numerous *vexillationes* that are attested epigraphically in various *castrum* and *castella* existent on all the territory of the two provinces⁶⁶. In the same period we can observe an intense activity in Lambaesis too, where the troops built two deposits for the archives⁶⁷ and a thermal complex⁶⁸ and repaired a temple of Silvanus⁶⁹. Lepcis Magna, the birth city of the emperor, is fastly developing in this times, and the dedications for the imperial family are extremely numerous⁷⁰.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Caius Aelius Iulianus and Fuscius Victorinus, two Dacian soldiers recruited at the end of the 2nd century and then sent to Numidia, had a very active military career that consisted in drawing new frontiers, occupying new ground, and building new edifices. The two could have been part of any of these actions, but is impossible to say if they participated in all or even none of them.

The territorial expansion initiated by Septimius Severus and his governors was a partial or at least temporary success and it was, of course, the work of the Roman army. Fuscius Victorinus is a relevant example of a Dacian soldier who was active in an advanced outpost at the limits of the Sahara. More than this, their cases suggest and might represent a proof of a *dilectus* that was organized at the end of the 2nd century in Dacia.

⁶³ On the Trans-Saharan trade see MATTINGLY 2017, 1-52. For a different view, even if previous to the research made by Mattingly, see SWANSON 1975, 582-600. BÉNABOU sees in the occupation of these forts mainly the consolidation of the control of the commercial routes that connected the profound Africa to Lepcis Magna: BÉNABOU 1976, 169-170.

⁶⁴ MATTINGLY 2001, 53. ROMANELLI does not take into consideration the possibility of a serious campaign and justifies these actions by a need to stop an endemic violence that was characteristic to Tripolitania during the Roman times: 1959, 398.

⁶⁵ El Bekri 1913, 32-35.

⁶⁶ LE BOHEC 1989, 394.

⁶⁷ *Tabularium legionis*, respectively *Tabularium principis*: CIL VIII 2555.

⁶⁸ CIL VIII 2671. HA, *Vita Severi*, 18, 3.

⁶⁹ CIL VIII 2671; HILALI, *L'impact de la legio III Augusta dans les provinces romaine d'Afrique. L'aspect religieux*, p. 484. Yann LE BOHEC considers that this is a new temple: 1989. Most probably it is just a consolidation of the one that was built in 161-162 and was dedicated not only to Silvanus Pegasianus, but to Asclepius, Salus and Jupiter Valens too: BENSEDDIK, 1995, 16-23.

⁷⁰ MATTINGLY 1995, 198-201. CORDOVANA 2012, 56-75.

Both Caius Aelius Iulianus and Fuscus Victorinus might have participated in multiple operations beyond the limits of Numidia. More than this, the Roman army was present in the Tripolitanian desert too during an expedition in the territory of the Garamantes. Unlike other Dacian soldiers from Numidia, they were active in a time when the Roman authorities sought territorial expansion of the province which materialized in important military expeditions.

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Funerary rite and ritual in the province of Scythia Minor. General characteristics.

Laura GHEORGHIU¹

Abstract. *The author makes an analysis of the funerary archeology in the province of Scythia Minor, in terms of the typology of the tombs, the position and orientation of the skeletons and the funerary inventory. In order to extract some general characteristics related to the funeral rite and ritual, was compiled a database that includes 1357 tombs from 19 necropolises.*

Rezumat. *Autoarea face o analiză asupra arheologiei funerare din provincia Scythia Minor din punct de vedere al tipologiei mormintelor, poziției și orientării scheletelor și al inventarului funerar. Pentru extragerea unor caracteristici generale legate de rit și ritual funerar a fost alcătuită o bază de date care cuprinde 1357 de morminte provenite din 19 necropole.*

Keywords: *funerary archaeology, tombs, funerary rites, Scythia Minor.*

Introduction

The province of Scythia covers an area of approx. 20,000 km.p, corresponding, for the most part, to the Romanian province of Dobrogea and the Dobrich region of Bulgaria. The boundaries of the province were: to the west and north, the Danube river; to the east, the Black Sea; to the south: the province of Moesia Secunda.

For the period of the 1st century BC-I century AC, the main burial rite among the population of the province of Lower Moesia (future Scythia Minor) was cremation. It first appeared in the cities on the west-Pontic coast and then spread within the province. With the spread of Eastern cults or Christianity there is a change in the funeral rite, the cremation being replaced by inhumation, practiced almost in general in the IV-VII centuries².

Objections against cremation are found in the writings of ancient authors, even before the advent of Christianity. Although the funeral rite of the Greeks was cremation, Herodotus says that according to Eastern beliefs, fire must not be contaminated by corpses, as this is a sacred element³. When he was on his deathbed, Cyrus said to his descendants, "*The body must*

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² CHERA-MĂRGINEANU, LUNGU, 1982, 175-199.

³ HERODOT, III, 6

be returned to the ground as soon as possible, for there is no greater joy than to become one with the ground that bears so much fruit⁴."

An important role in the adoption of inhumation is due to the oriental cults that generalized in the province of Scythia, primarily through very close trade relations with the Near-East but also with the help of auxiliary troops and legions of Rome.

The urban necropolises of Tomis, Callatis, Histria, Tropaeum Traiani or Beroe have a topographical continuity in terms of space dedicated to the dead. Thus, Christian cemeteries developed in the extension of the pagan ones, a phenomenon that led to the perpetuation of some typologies of tombs and funeral rituals in the Christian period, due to the preservation by the first Christians of some practices with pagan roots. For example, clay or glass vessels, coins or ornaments are still deposited as offerings, practice which is gradually disappearing. This custom that can be seen in the case of graves with multiple burials in which the objects appear at the first buried dead, the habit disappearing from the inventory of the latter.

The relation between pagans and Christians is also suggested by the similarity of the objects deposited as part of the funeral ritual. The difference between the graves of Christians and those of pagans can only be noticed in the orientation of the deceased, so the religious attribution for the early period of Christianity is very difficult to achieve, except for those in which clear elements of Christianity appear.

As for the burials, they had to be carried out *extra muros*, a rule stipulated in the Law of the 12 tablets⁵ and reconfirmed by the Senate in 260 BC during the consulship of Duilius⁶. An exception to this law was the deposition of Trajan's urn at the base of the column⁷. Hadrian faces a fine of 40 *aurei* for those who does not respect the law, confiscation of the place where the tomb was located and transfer of the remains *extra urbem*⁸

It is believed that the tombs inside the walls created the risk of fires and poor hygiene. In the case of rural residents, it was forbidden to bury someone at a distance of at most about 20 meters from a building⁹. The last law in which this provision on burial appears is that of Justinian¹⁰. There are some exceptions to this rule, such as the graves of children who enjoyed special treatment.

Until the classification drawn up by Andrei Soficaru¹¹, there was no unitary typology of the tombs from the province of Scythia Minor, except of those from Tomis, Callatis and Beroe.

⁴ XENOFON, *Cyrus*, VIII, 7, 25.

⁵ CICERO, *De Leg.*, II, 58.

⁶ CUMONT, 1949, 82.

⁷ BODEL, 2014, 177-195.

⁸ DAGRON, 1977, 1-26.

⁹ CICERO, *De Leg.*, II, 61.

¹⁰ DAGRON, 1977, 1-26.

¹¹ SOFICARU, 2007, 297-312.

For 500 tombs excavated between 1959-1964 in Tomis, Vasile Barbu¹² made a first typology of Roman and Roman-Byzantine tombs. The types of tombs for the 4th-6th centuries are as follows: a.) Simple tomb without coffin; b.) Simple tomb in wooden coffin; c.) Tiled tomb; d.) Niche tomb; e.) Brick tomb; f.) Tomb with a single room built of limestone slab; g.) Tomb with two rooms built of limestone slab; h.) Carved tomb from a limestone block; i.) Sarcophagus; j.) Brick tomb with sarcophagus lid; k.) Single-chambered tomb; l.) Single-chambered tomb with vestibule; m.) Two-chambered tomb and vestibule; n.) Arcosolium. As it can be seen, there were 14 types of graves and this generated a very hard classification to work with.

For Beroe, based on the 1139 tombs dated in the sec. II-XII, Aurelian Petre¹³ establishes four types of tombs, each with several subvariants: a.) Tomb in a simple pit; b.) Tomb with tiles; c.) Tomb with stones; d.) Tomb with wooden planks or coffin.

The 367 tombs discovered at Callatis between 1963 and 1975 were grouped by Constantin Preda¹⁴ into seven types. Subsequently, the research which was done in 2000 by Mihai Ionescu, Nicolae Alexandru and Robert Constantin led to the formulation of a typology with 12 types of graves, which does not differ much from the one established in 1980. These are: a.) Stone cist tomb built of blocks of limestone, uncoated; b.) Stone cist tomb made of limestone blocks plastered with mortar; c.) Stone cist tomb made of small limestone blocks; d.) Hypogeum tomb; e.) Simple pit tomb covered with limestone slabs; f.) Tomb in a single pit with limestone blocks on one side; g.) Tomb in *tegulae*; h.) Tomb in the pit, covered with *tegulae* placed two-ridged; i.) Tomb in a simple pit with *tegulae* placed horizontally; j.) Tomb in simple pit; k.) Tomb covered with *tegulae* and slabs of limestone; l.) Tomb surrounded by limestone blocks¹⁵.

Methods

In order to carry out this analytical approach, I used the archaeological reports of funeral discoveries from the Chronicle of Archaeological Research in Romania, specialized studies on necropolises found in Dobrogea, some of the special studies in the field of funerary archeology published abroad, the multitude of articles published in specialized magazines and the results of the archaeological excavations in which I participated.

For the general characteristics of the tombs in the province of Scythia Minor, we analyzed a batch of 1357 tombs distributed in 19 necropolises, as follows: Callatis-580 tombs, Tomis-269 tombs, Beroe-169 tombs, Ibida-153 tombs, Noviodunum- 40 tombs, Histria-35 tombs, Dinogetia-29 tombs, Bizone-21 tombs, Aegyssus-15 tombs, Argamum-10 tombs,

¹² BARBU, 1971, 47-68.

¹³ PETRE, 1987, 5-171.

¹⁴ PREDA, 1980, 32-46.

¹⁵ IONESCU, NICOLAE, RADU, 2002-2003, 225-277.

Nufăru- 8 tombs, Capidava- 7 tombs, Ulmetum- 5 tombs, Carsium- 5 tombs, Enisala- 4 tombs, Halmyris- 3 tombs, Şipote- 2 tombs, Tropaeum Traiani-1 tomb, Pietreni- 1 tomb (Figure 1).

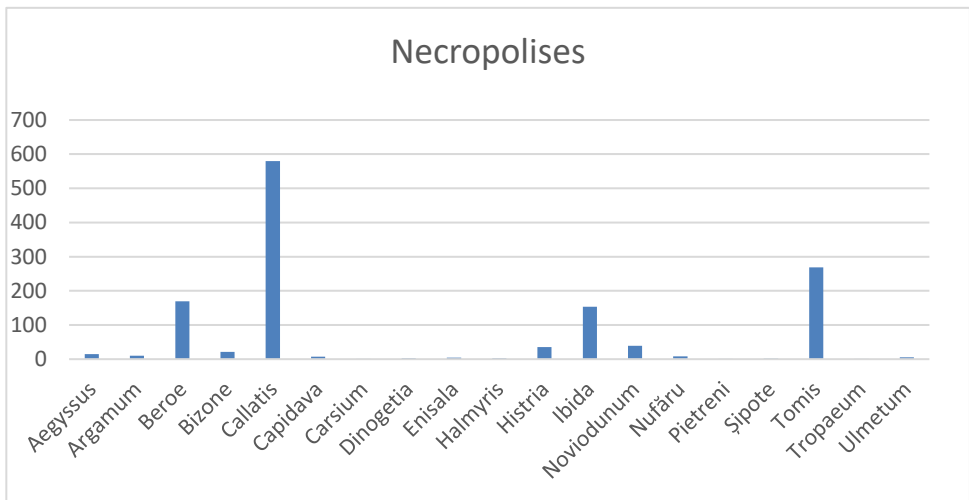


Figure 1. The distribution of the tombs in the necropolises

Results and discussion

Regarding the typology of the tombs, we followed the five types proposed by Andrei Soficaru¹⁶, each with related subtypes. Therefore, the general distribution of the graves, by typologies, was done as follows (Figure 2):

| | <i>Simple pit</i> | <i>External arrangements</i> | <i>Internal arrangements</i> | <i>Cists</i> | <i>Family tombs</i> |
|---------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Total | 560 | 262 | 242 | 256 | 33 |
| Coffin | 100 | 16 | 9 | 10 | 5 |
| Amphora | 4 | | | | |

Figure 2. The number of graves distributed by typologies

¹⁶ SOFICARU, 2007, 297-312.

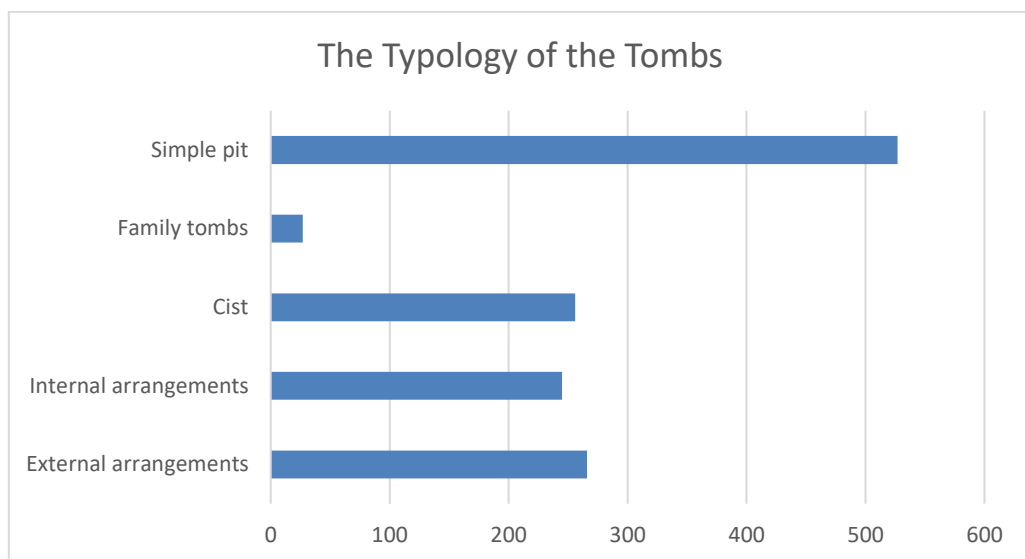


Figure 3. General typology of the tombs.

1. Burial tombs in a simple pit

This category is frequently found in the necropolises of the province, being practiced in Lower Moesia since the beginning of the 1st century AD and throughout the province of Scythia (4th-6th centuries).

In the database we have compiled, this type of funeral complex is found in the case of 560 graves distributed as follows (Figure 4):

| <i>Simple pit</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>Cof fin</i> | <i>Amphora</i> |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Beroe | 156 | 44 | |
| Callatis | 127 | 3 | 1 |
| Noviodunu m | 35 | 6 | |
| Tomis | 58 | 6 | |
| Ibida | 93 | 30 | 1 |
| Aegyssuss | 15 | 5 | |
| Dinogetia | 29 | 1 | |
| Histria | 20 | 5 | 2 |
| Nufăru | 8 | | |

| | | | |
|----------|---|---|--|
| Capidava | 6 | | |
| Argamum | 5 | | |
| Enisala | 3 | | |
| Ulmetum | 2 | | |
| Bizone | 2 | 1 | |
| Şipote | 1 | | |

Figure 4. The distribution in the necropolises of the tombs in a simple pit.

Amphora burials were performed exclusively for the burial of deceased children. Because the bones were fragile and could break down very quickly, the skeletons were never found intact.

This practice of burial in ceramic vessels is also found in the Greek period on the northern and western shores of the Black Sea but also in various Roman or Romanized populations of the Roman Empire, such as those from Africa or Dalmatia¹⁷.

In most cases, the shape of the pit is rectangular with rounded corners and the dimensions vary between 1-2.55 m long and 0.50-1.70 m wide.

The most common orientation is W-E followed by E-W, S-N and N-S.

Regarding the position in which the deceased were laid, in addition to the supine position, which is found in most cases, skeletons were also found placed on one side: M. 9 / Str. Church 98 from Nufăru¹⁸, M. 4, M. 23, M. 36 from Noviodunum¹⁹ and M. 16/1959 mound XVI from Histria²⁰, in a crouched position: M. 23 from Ibida²¹ and ventral decubitus: M. 2 / tumulus 8 from Capidava²² and M. 7 / Str. Church 98 from Nufăru²³.

2. Simple pit with external arrangements

This typology includes tombs whose pits have been marked with bricks, tiles, stones, terracotta or ceramic remains, deposited on the sides or at the ends of the pit.

In this group of graves, we have encountered the following situations: 98 graves signaled by one or more stones, 99 graves signaled by one or more tiles, 56 graves signaled by one or more limestone slabs, four tombs marked with one or more bricks, four tombs with fragments of *dolium*, and a tomb marked with a terracotta slab.

¹⁷ SONOC, 2006, 73-113.

¹⁸ DAMIAN et. al. 2007-2008, 305-392.

¹⁹ STĂNICĂ et. al. 2010, 203-222.

²⁰ CONDURACHI, 1957, 9-102.

²¹ IACOB, et. al. 2003, 178.

²² FLORESCU et. al. 1960, 571-581.

²³ DAMIAN et. al. 2007-2008, 305-392.

| <i>External arrangements</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>Coffin</i> |
|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Argamum | 4 | |
| Callatis | 167 | 2 |
| Ibida | 47 | 23 |
| Tomis | 25 | |
| Histria | 16 | |
| Beroe | 1 | |
| Enisala | 1 | |
| Capidava | 1 | |

Figure 5. The distribution in the necropolises of the tombs with external arrangements.

In terms of skeletal orientation, the most common is W-E, followed by E-W, N-S, S-N.

With the exception of M. 2/2005 from Enisala²⁴, in which the deceased was placed in a crouched position on the right side, in the rest of the graves, where the orientation of the deceased was specified, they were in a supine position.

3. Simple pit with internal arrangements

The interior arrangements include tiles, stones, bricks or ceramic fragments on which the deceased was placed or which were deposited on one of the inner sides of the pit. This type also includes niche tombs, most of which have a funerary chamber blocked at the entrance with tegulae, stone blocks or limestone.

²⁴ STĂNICĂ et. al. 2005-2006, 317 – 330.

| <i>Internal arrangements</i> | <i>T otal</i> | <i>Coffin</i> |
|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| Tomis | 189 | 38 |
| Callatis | 15 | 1 |
| Beroe | 8 | 1 |
| Histria | 13 | 1 |
| Ulmetum | 2 | |
| Ibida | 10 | 3 |
| Şipote | 1 | |
| Noviodunum | 3 | 1 |
| Bizone | | 1 |

Figure 6. The distribution in the necropolises of the tombs with internal arrangements.

According to Vasile Barbu²⁵, the niche tombs appeared within the evolution of the tombs into a simple pit, the pit originally dug being transformed into an access room to which is added, at one end or on one side, a niche in which the coffin was inserted. The entrance was usually blocked by stone slabs, tegulae, or large bricks. This typology is dated to the 4th-5th centuries.

One of the theories about the origin of this typology is that it has its roots in the eastern area. Due to the sandy soil in the East, it was possible to practice this type of burial, which also led to the appearance of several underground rooms. Most tombs of this type are found in the Tomitan necropolis, where there is also the type of tomb with two niches, arranged on either side of the access room²⁶.

Of the group of graves analyzed, most of them have a niche: 159 graves, 32 graves in which one or more tegulae were discovered on the sides of the pit, 12 graves in which the deceased was placed on one or more tegulae, six tombs with limestone slabs, eight tombs with stones on one side of the pit, five catacomb-type tombs, three tombs with a niche made

²⁵ BARBU, 1977, 203-214.

²⁶ BARBU, 1977, 203-214.

of *tegulae*, two with terracotta fragments on the sides of the pit, two tombs with a bed of stones discovered under the skeleton and a tomb with *tegulae* deposited over the skeleton, with a bed of bricks discovered under the skeleton, and with a skeleton on fragments of *dolium*.

Regarding the orientation of the deceased, most are W-E followed by S-N, N-S, E-W.

With the exception of M. 40 from Noviodunum²⁷, which was placed in a crouched position, the rest of the skeletons were found in a supine position.

4. Cist tombs

The cist was made of blocks of stone or bricks, with a roof made of limestone slabs. In the most common cases they were two on each side, less often three or four, and one at each end. This type of tomb is most common in the necropolis of Callatis, the reason being the proximity to the stone quarries on the shores of Lake Limanu, most of the limestone coming from its steep walls. At Tomis, this type of tombs has been known since the 2nd century, while in Callatis it has been found since the Hellenistic period until the 4th-5th centuries²⁸.

| <i>Cist</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>Coffin</i> |
|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| Callatis | 237 | 6 |
| Ibida | | 2 |
| Argamu m | 1 | |
| Pietreni | | 1 |
| Histria | | 1 |
| Bizone | 18 | |

Figure 7. The distribution in the necropolises of the cist tombs.

Regarding the orientation of the deceased, most of them were oriented W-E, 32 E-W and 2 N-S.

Apart from M. 98 from Callatis²⁹, which was discovered in a crouched position, the rest of the skeletons were laid down in supine position.

²⁷ STĂNICĂ et. al. 2010, 203-222.

²⁸ BARBU, 1977, 203-214.

²⁹ PREDA, 1980, 88.

Compared to the graves included in the other typologies, after those in the simple pit, cists have a large number of funerary inventory. Out of a total of 260 graves, in 119 inventory items were discovered.

5. Family tombs

Hypogeum tombs fall into this typology. These could consist of a *dromos* and burial chambers built of limestone or brick, or they could be cross-excavated constructions with four burial chambers each. Since they were used for the burial of several generations, the number of skeletons discovered in them ranges between 5 and 40. Also in this typology are included two crypts with martyrs³⁰.

| <i>Family tombs</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>Coffin</i> |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Callatis | 15 | 3 |
| Tomis | 7 | 3 |
| Noviodunum | 1 | |
| Ulmetum | 1 | |
| Halmyris | 1 | |
| Ibida | | 1 |
| Tropaeum Traiani | | 1 |
| Carsium | | 5 |
| Niculițel | | 1 |

Figure 8. The distribution in the necropolises of the family tombs.

Regarding the funeral inventory, out of the total of 33 graves of this type, in half of them were found objects of inventory. The cause of their small number is the looting of tombs since antiquity.

Conclusions

During the IV-VI centuries there is a diversity among the types of tombs. The rite is only the rite of inhumation, which replaced the cremation since the third century AD.

Both Christian and pagan burials are practiced in the Province of Scythia, observing a topographical continuity of the Christian tombs that developed in the extension of the pagan necropolises.

³⁰ SOFICARU, 297 – 312.

From the end of the 3-rd century AD, migrating populations began to reach in the territory of what would become the province of Scythia, their graves being often discovered among those of the natives. One of the evidences that of the migratories is the practice of artificial deformation of the skull, the first to bring with them this practice being the Sarmatians, then the related population of the Alans but also the Huns. This practice had the role of delimiting social territories by marking ethnicity. Among the graves in which skeletons with deformed skulls were discovered are M. 4/2000 (S13 section 3)³¹ and M. 46 SVI / 2004³² from Callatis, M. 80³³ and M. 60³⁴ from Ibida, B. 16, D 4, A. 80 from Beroe³⁵ and M. 1 / 1949-1952 from Histria³⁶.

Although single-skeletal graves predominate, there are also many multi-skeletal burials with up to 40 skeletons, most of which were found in cysts or in hypogeous-type graves where several family members were buried over time.

The cenotaph graves were divided into typologies according to their arrangement. These can be related to the period of the end of the 4th century when the migration of the Visigoths took place in the Empire. These graves are believed to belong to those who died in a battle that took place outside the province³⁷.

Out of the total number of graves, 12 of them were considered as cenotaph graves: M. 32/2009 from the Tomitan necropolis³⁸, M. 7/2000 (S3 section 1) and M. 7/2000 (S9 section 3) from Callatis³⁹, M 34 and M. 35 from Noviodunum⁴⁰, M. 4 from Ulmetum⁴¹ and M. 10/2009 from Histria⁴².

The most common orientation is W-E: 676 tombs, which leads us to assume that Christian graves predominate, at least, beginning with the end of the 4-th century; followed by: E-W: 283 tombs; N-S: 18 tombs; S-N: eight tombs (Figure 9). For many of the graves the orientation was not specified or could not be determined due to the poor condition of the skeleton.

³¹ IONESCU, NICOLAE, RADU, 2002-2003, 225-277.

³² UNGUREANU, RADU, 2006, 259-278.

³³ IACOB et. al. 2005, 154.

³⁴ Informații inedite.

³⁵ MIRIȚOIU, 2011, 539 – 574.

³⁶ CONDURACHI et. al. 1954, 186-187.

³⁷ LUNGU, CHERA-MĂRGINEANU, 1982, 175-199.

³⁸ BĂJENARU et. al. 2006, 65.

³⁹ IONESCU et. al. , 2002-2003, 225-277.

⁴⁰ STĂNICĂ et. al. 2010, 203-222.

⁴¹ BOBE, TĂNASE et. al., 2005, 251.

⁴² ACHIM, ANGELESCU, et. al, 2010, 28.

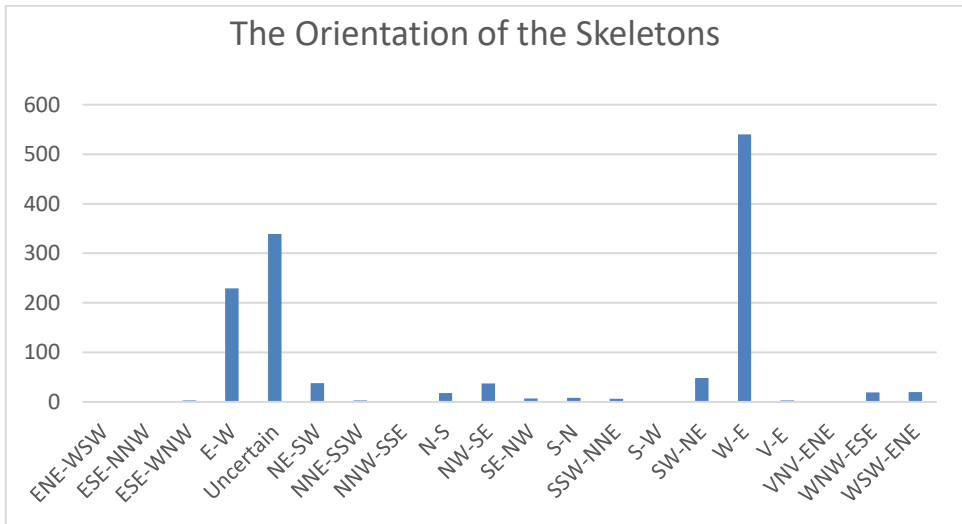


Figure 9. The orientation of the skeletons.

Most graves with funerary inventory fall into the typology of those with a simple pit: 237; followed by cists: 122; tombs with external arrangements: 63; those with internal arrangements: 89 and family ones: 14 (Figure 10).

The acceptance of the Christian religion throughout the Empire had a strong impact on this aspect of the funeral ritual as well, imposing austerity on funeral inventory items. Thus, if clothing accessories or ornaments are still present in some graves, offerings are becoming increasingly rare to the end of the period.

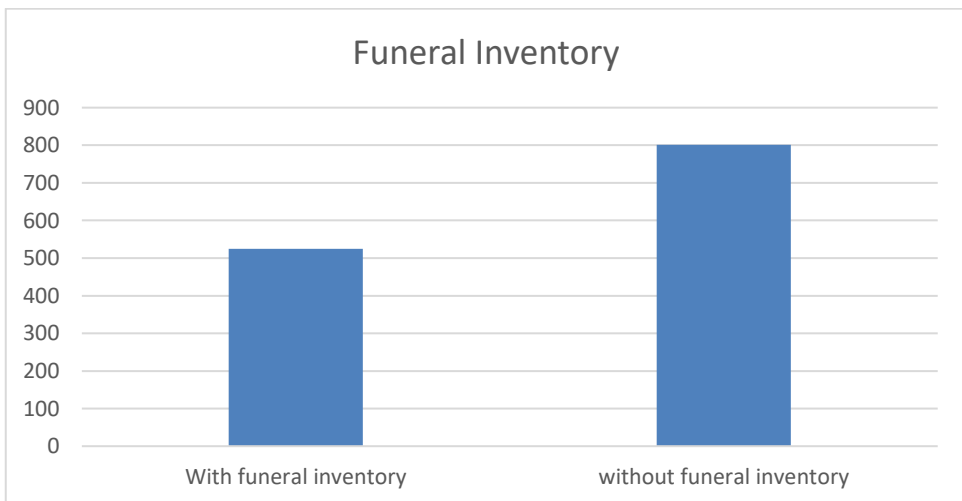


Figure 10. Funeral inventory of the tombs.

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Public Archaeology in Romania: a Review.

Radu-Alexandru BRUNCHI¹

Abstract. *The present paper aims to highlight the Public Archaeology endeavors that were conducted in Romania. Although, at the first glance we cannot identify many papers or platforms that promote Public Archaeology, we will focus our attention towards the archaeological research that was conducted by the public or by the specialists, but with the help of the community. The typology elaborated by Moshenska & Bonacchi in 2015 represents the backbone on which our study will be built upon, as it provides a clear distinction between all the categories that the vast domain of Public Archaeology reaches.*

Rezumat. *Lucrarea își propune să evidențieze stadiul actual al Arheologiei Publice în România. Deși, la prima vedere, nu putem identifica multe lucrări sau platforme care să promoveze Arheologia Publică, ne vom concentra atenția asupra cercetărilor arheologice care au fost efectuate de către public sau de către specialiști cu ajutorul comunității. Tipologia elaborată de Moshenska & Bonacchi în 2015 reprezintă baza studiului nostru, întrucât oferă o distincție clară între toate categoriile pe care vastul domeniu al Arheologiei Publice le atinge.*

Keywords: *Public Archaeology, Romania, amateur archaeology, open archaeology, community archaeology, Cultural Resource Management.*

Introduction

Public Archaeology has been developing, at a sustained pace, since the early 1970s. As a result, a large number of academic institutions abroad offer specialization courses in this field, and the number of publications is constantly growing, having also a journal dedicated to *Public Archaeology*. However, we can see that archaeologists have not yet found a middle ground in setting the domain's objectives, purpose and methodology. Most likely, this is due to the multitude of topics targeted by this "discipline".

The present scientific approach cannot start otherwise than by defining the field that constitutes the subject of the research. Unfortunately, this attempt lies in connection with perhaps the greatest reproach that *Public Archaeology* has received over time from the global scientific community, namely the lack of a clear and concise, widely accepted definition. Thus, starting from this shortcoming, I will present some of the definitions that were proposed by the specialists.

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First of all, it is worth mentioning the definitions offered by Tim Schadla-Hall (1999) and Akira Matsuda and Katsuyuki Okamura (2011). The first one presents the domain from a practical perspective, as "any area of archaeological activity that interacted or had the potential to interact with the public - the vast majority of whom, for a variety of reasons, know little about archaeology as an academic subject"². Twelve years later, Matsuda and Okamura define the same field but, from a theoretical perspective, "as a subject that examines the relationship between archaeology and the public and then seeks to improve it"³.

In addition to these two definitions, it is worth mentioning the journal *Public Archaeology*, which first appeared in England in 2000. The journal's website provides a brief description of the topics of interest, namely: "research on archaeological and heritage issues related to politics, ethics, government, social questions, education, management, economics and philosophy"⁴.

Short history of the domain

- **United States of America**

During the '60s-'70s, archaeology developed at an accelerated pace, which led to the creation of several subdisciplines. However, the emergence of public archaeology had a different route. Unlike other new disciplines related to archaeology, which were largely extensions of the field itself, *Public Archaeology* did not want to study the material past, but rather the relationship between the domain and modern society because archaeological study, as it is well-known, cannot be detached from the cultural, economic and political aspects of contemporary society. The power relations that exist within the society would inevitably influence the methods and objectives of archaeological activity. In this context, in the year 1972, the work of Charles R. McGimsey III is published, marking the field of *Public Archaeology* through citations and presentations in the preamble of most studies targeting this topic. Charles R. McGimsey III was an important figure in world archaeology, in general, and American archaeology, in particular. He was not only the pioneer of *Public Archaeology*, but he represented also the force that set in motion the legislative mechanism in the United States of America. Also at his initiative, was established the Society of Professional Archaeologists (currently the Register of Professional Archaeologists). At the same time, a large part of the laws and regulations aimed at protecting archaeological heritage and managing resources for this purpose. Charles R. McGimsey III laid the foundations of what we now call *Cultural Resource Management* (CRM), and his work aimed to highlight the importance of CRM in the context of a huge, burgeoning state structure with important infrastructure projects that could have endangered archaeological sites⁵.

² SCHADLA-HALL 1999, 147.

³ MATSUDA & OKAMURA 2011, 4.

⁴ <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/ypua20/current> (Accessed: October 2021).

⁵ https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-1-4419-0465-2_1236 (Accessed: 11.2021).

- **United Kingdom**

In the British area, what we call *Public Archaeology* today, is based on the concept of *community archaeology*. The term was first used by P. Liddle (1985) in his work *Community Archaeology. A Fieldworker's Handbook of Organisation and Technique*. At that time, P. Liddle was an archaeologist in the museum in Leicester, and the group he coordinated began to create the so-called "*local archaeological fieldwork groups*" (local archaeological groups)⁶, with the main purpose of researching large areas of land. These groups of volunteers were autonomous and generally carried out surface research with the help and guidance of specialists. Unauthorized excavations were not encouraged, and P. Liddle incorporated into his work all the steps that should be followed, from the different types of research to the documentation work.

- **Romania**

In the last ten years, the ideas promoted by *Public Archaeology* have begun to appear in the Romanian space as well. Thus, in 2013, Alexandra Ion publishes a study in which she tries to introduce "*the concept of public archaeology within the contemporary debates within the archaeology in Romania*"⁷. On this occasion, the author makes a review of the main topics addressed by the field of public archaeology, as well as of the reasons why the Romanian archaeology needs it. Subsequently, Sorin Nemeti publishes the article *Manifesto for the Romanian public archaeology*⁸, written from the perspective of a member of the National Commission of Archaeology. The author wanted, thus, to systematize the discussions that took place during the meetings of the National Commission of Archaeology, while also drawing attention to the need to introduce interdisciplinarity in the work of the archaeologist.

In the same year, T. Szabó Csaba, through his study on *Public Archaeology in Romania*, aims to identify the elements, from G. Moshenska's typology, existing for the Romanian space and also to establish the directions to be followed in the development of the field⁹.

Unfortunately, these are the only works that appeared in the Romanian space that deliberately target *Public Archaeology*, referring to theoretical aspects. At a first glance, the small number of publications could contribute to drawing hasty conclusions regarding the presence or importance that the researchers in Romania grant to the relationship between the public and archaeology. But on a closer look, we can identify articles, most of them case studies, which aim, among other things, at facilitating public access to archaeological information¹⁰.

⁶ LIDDLE 1989, 44.

⁷ ION 2013, 255.

⁸ NEMETI 2017, 5-7.

⁹ https://www.academia.edu/35321397/Arheologia_public%C4%83_%C3%AEn_Rom%C3%A2nia (Accessed: 12.2021).

¹⁰ COMES et al. 2019, 71-77.

In order to be able to follow more clearly the activity undertaken by the public or oriented towards it, within the territory of Romania, I will appeal to the model proposed by Moshenska¹¹. The motivation for the choice was represented by the fact that, although some projects are not an approach subscribed to the *Public Archaeology* domain, they "reach" important points regarding the relationship between the archaeologist and the public. Next, I will try to offer as many examples as possible, many of them coming from the archaeological activity undertaken by the staff of the Arheoinvest Research Center of the "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iasi of which I am a part of.

1. *Archaeologists working with the public.*

As mentioned before, this category refers to the possibility of participation of members of the community in projects carried out under the patronage of museums, universities or research institutes. It is worth mentioning the work of *reenactment* groups. An easy example is that of the Geto-Dacian Cultural Association of Moldova, with whose activity I have intersected many times: they were present at *reenactment* events, where they attracted a large number of people, but also responded to the invitation of archaeologists to actively participate in various archaeological excavations, in order to better understand and present as faithfully as possible the archaeological information, in *reenactment* camps¹².

In Romania, most of the archaeological excavations are coordinated by museums, universities or research institutes, and the human resources used are those available to each of the institutions, rarely making an appeal among students to carry out the specialized archaeological practice, or among the general public, interested in the field of archaeology. For now, I will focus on the activity coordinated by researchers dr. Felix-Adrian Tencariu and dr. Andrei Asăndulesei, in the summer of 2021, an activity in which I have taken part since the planning/organization stage. Thus, between June 21 and July 4, 2021, an archaeological survey was organized in the Chalcolithic settlement from Cucuteni – *Cetățuie*¹³. It was attended by both students of the Faculty of History in Iasi and people interested in archaeological activity. In march 2021, the announcement was launched, allowing the public passionate about archaeology to fill in a form and, depending on the available places (the number of places was limited to 15 participants for each series, due to pandemic conditions), to participate in the archaeological survey organized by the Arheoinvest Center and the Faculty of History, both entities being under the patronage of the "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași. The announcement generated a lot of interest among young people passionate about archaeology,

¹¹ BONACCHI & MOSHENSKA 2015, 2.

¹² The Association participated in the archaeological excavations coordinated by the Institute of Archaeology of the Romanian Academy, Iasi branch (<https://fb.watch/hj0eyICPn7/> accessed: 12.2022).

¹³ This represents the eponymous site of Cucuteni culture, considered exhausted, from an archaeological point of view. Non-invasive researches carried out by the Arheoinvest team revealed, however, a continuation of the settlement. <http://cronica.cimec.ro/detaliiu.asp?k=6053&d=Cucuteni-Iasi-Dealu-Laiu-2017> (accessed: 09.2021).

with people from Craiova, Bucharest and Iasi participating in the excavations, along with students during archaeological fieldwork from the Faculty of History in Iasi.

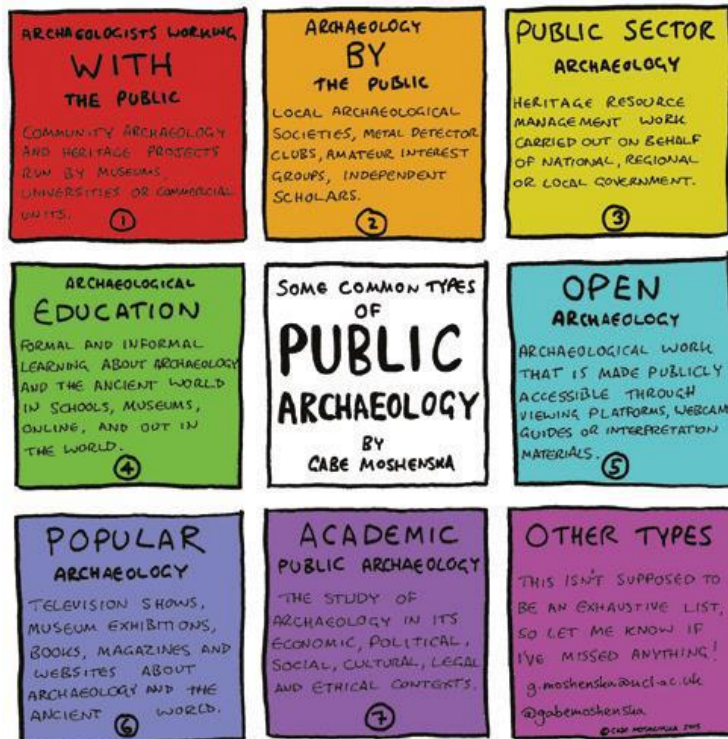


Fig. 1. Typology of the Public Archeology domain (Bonacchi & Moshenska 2015, 2, figure 1)

2. *Archaeology by the public* also known as *amateur archaeology*¹⁴.

For the Romanian space, this subject is an extremely controversial one, due to archaeological poaching. However, we have many positive examples that I will list below. Through *archaeology by the public*, we mean the archaeological activities started at the initiative of associations, amateur clubs or independent researchers. Also, in this category we fall into the activity of metal detectors users. Examples can be found since the end of the nineteenth century, one of the most outstanding figures being that of Zsófia Torma, one of the first archaeologists in the Romanian space. In 1868 she became a member of the "Society of Geography of the Hungarian Homeland", and shortly after, at the urging of the Secretary General of the "International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology", Flóris Rómer, she began the archaeological research (in the autumn of 1875 in Turdas), thus being

¹⁴ I mention that the term *amateur archaeology* does not refer to the quality of the archaeological activity performed, but to the fact that the person who performs this archaeological work does not have a certificate of archaeologist or academic training in the field, but had contact with the archaeological excavation in the past.

among the first researchers to turn her attention to the Turdaş-Vinča culture. Zsófia Torma is also one of the founding members of the "Society of History and Archaeology of Hunedoara County" and author of several scientific articles¹⁵. Being very active in archaeological conferences abroad, Zsófia Torma establishes links with researchers of prehistoric archaeology such as A. Voss, R. Virchow and H. Schliemann, and after discussing with them, she comes to the conclusion that the Neolithic populations had a writing system, proposing their deciphering¹⁶.

Another example worth mentioning is related to the activity of the Society of Physicians and Naturalists among whose members we find Nicolae Beldiceanu and Dimitrie C. Butculescu. The personality of Nicolae Beldiceanu, an amateur archaeologist, is also linked to the first attempts to research the eponymous site of the Cucuteni culture. He received from the Society of Physicians and Naturalists, on August 20, 1885, the sum of 300 lei to carry out archaeological research in Cucuteni, the objects that were discovered being exhibited at the Museum of Natural History in Iasi¹⁷, while the results of these researches were published in the same year¹⁸. Although the exact details regarding the manner in which the archaeological researches started from the point called *Cetățuie* still raise controversies, it is certain that the Society of Physicians and Naturalists¹⁹, along with its members (amateur archaeologists), was present in the first archaeological surveys, which it also subsidized.

Another amateur archaeologist, who positively marked the Romanian archaeology and who made many important contributions, is the priest Constantin Matasă. His work in this area is extensive. Thus, since 1935, the priest Matasă has conducted numerous systematic surveys or excavations, alone or in collaboration with professional archaeologists, in sites such as: *Piatra Șoimului (Calu)-Dealul Horodiștea*; *Traian-Dealul Fântânilor* and *Dealul Viei*; *Bodeștii de Jos-Frumușica*; *Ghigoiești-Trudești*; *Tg. Neamț-Pometea*; *Dobreni-Mătăhuia*; *Costișa-Cetățuia*; *Cândești - Dealul Varniței*; *Târpești - Râpa lui Bodai*; *Tg. Ocna - Podei*; *Piatra-Neamț - Văleni*, *Cozla*, *Curtea Domneasă*, *Bîtca Doamnei*, *Lutărie*, *Dărmănești* and *Izvoare - Dumbrava-Roșie*²⁰. He also published a series of scientific papers and articles²¹, and his name is also linked to the *Piatra-Neamț Regional Archaeological Museum*, founded in 1934. Thus, Constantin Matasă, through his activity, had a consistent contribution to the knowledge of the past of Neamț County, and not only, contributing with numerous archaeological researches and a consistent bibliography, facilitating public access by establishing the *Archaeological Museum in Piatra Neamț*.

¹⁵ TORMA 1879; 1880; 1882; 1886a; 1886b; 1896; 1897.

¹⁶ DRĂGHIA 1998, 162.

¹⁷ VĂLEANU 2006, 202.

¹⁸ BELDICEANU 1885.

¹⁹ The Society of Physicians and Naturalists is a scientific and medical society from Iasi founded in 1833, thus being the oldest scientific society in Romania.

²⁰ NICOLA et.al. 2014, 8.

²¹ MATASĂ 1938; 1940; 1946; 1955; 1959; 1964.

As Gabriel Moshenska stated, *amateur archaeology* is the first form of *Public Archaeology* but is currently increasingly difficult to practice due to restrictive legislation and the reluctance of professional archaeologists²². However, positive examples can still be identified. Thus, in 1998, Dr. Romeo Dumitrescu laid the foundations of the "Cucuteni for the Third Millennium" foundation, which had as main objective the financial support of archaeological projects dedicated to Cucuteni culture and Chalcolithic civilizations, on the territory of Romania. The association tried to solve a problem that archaeologists met more and more often in the field, namely the ownership of the land on which a potential archaeological site is located. In this regard, the foundation bought the lands on which there were sites of interest to archaeologists: the first step consisted in acquiring the land on which the site from Poduri-Dealul Ghindaru was located, which facilitated the resumption of archaeological excavations after a 4-year stagnation. Later on, he also bought the lands on which the sites Isaiia-Balta Popii (Precucuteni) and Crețești, jud. Vaslui (Cucuteni A) were located. With the same objective, of attracting the public to archaeological research, the foundation also made two film productions: *Adam's Grandchildren* (2004) and *Built to be burned* (2008), the latter representing, at the same time, an extensive archaeological experiment, carried out in order to determine the manner of arson of the Cucutenian dwellings. Also, a series of thematic exhibitions were organized, both in Romania (Targoviste, Piatra Neamt, Sibiu, Brasov, Tulcea, Timisoara) and abroad (British Museum, Vatican City, Beijing). Last but not least, in Iasi, a section dedicated exclusively to Cucuteni culture was built, within the Museum of the "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iasi, through the foundation's collaboration with the University, some of the most "valuable" exhibits being donated even by Dr. Romeo Dumitrescu. He has also published studies, which exemplify very well why the interpretations coming from the amateur public should not be ignored²³. Thus, R. Dumitrescu formulated hypotheses based on his knowledge, as a MD, without being influenced by previous archaeological interpretations.

3. *Public archaeology sector*

This vast category includes all research "controlled" or supported by the state or public institutions, with the aim of inventorying, conserving, studying and publishing the archaeological heritage. In the case of Romania, most archaeologists are employed in the public domain: universities, museums, research institutes, subsidized by the Romanian state, the number of archaeologists working exclusively in the private environment being very small. Being a developing country, especially in terms of infrastructure, the number of rescue excavations is increasing from year to year, providing jobs for many archaeologists, both amateurs and professionals. It is also important to mention the *National Program for financing systematic archaeological research*, with the help of which the "traditional" sites, in which

²² MOSHENSKA 2017, 7.

²³ DUMITRESCU 2008; 2011a; 2011b,

systematic excavations are carried out, can access research funds, granted by the Ministry of Culture.

At the same time, this category, of the rescue / preventive excavations, has "tarnished" the image of archaeology in Romania the most, the specialists being blamed for the delays produced in the case of major infrastructure works.

In 2019, I took part in such a project, namely the Bacau ring road. The project was carried out without delays from archaeologists, making important discoveries on its route, discoveries that were capitalized for scientific purposes²⁴. This is probably the most important result of such research, namely the number of unpublished sites, the huge amount of information and archaeological material that would not have been researched, in any other way, due to lack of funds.

4. *Archaeological Education*

This category arose as a result of the responsibility of the researcher to share the knowledge with those who can appreciate and use it. In this category we can fit special programs in schools, museums and various brochures or textbooks. Unfortunately, in the Romanian education system, in the primary, secondary or high school cycles, we do not find any course / subject / optional that would refer to archaeology, the only way in which a person could contact with archaeology, in an organized educational environment, being represented by enrollment in a Faculty of History. In recent years, however, with the introduction of the program "Școala Altfel" (*Different School*), many teachers have organized as an activity within this program, visits to museums, which brought students closer to the field in question. There are, however, also some programs organized in schools / high schools, where students can actually take part in archaeological excavations or lectures by professors / archaeologists from the university environment. An example of this is represented by the collaboration between the high school "Varlaam Mitropolitul" and the Arheoinvest Center, which allowed students to participate in archaeological excavation campaigns in the sites from Isaiia – *Balta Popii* (2018) and Stroești – "*Pietrarie*" (2021), on this occasion taking part in lectures of the coordinators of the two excavations: dr. Felix-Adrian Tencariu and dr. Andrei Asăndulesei (Fig.2).

²⁴ BRAȘOVEANU et al. 2020.



Fig.2. Details of the archaeological campaign from Stroiesti - Pietrărie, 2021.

5. *Open archaeology*

Unlike other sciences, archaeology has the opportunity to be "open to the public" and interact with it directly. A good example of this is the "Open Days" organized by the research teams from various archaeological sites, but also the online viewing platforms. In Romania, there are sites with tradition in organizing the days of free access for the general public (the sites from Sultana or Sarmizegetusa Regia), this type of manifestation benefiting, in general, also from a good promotion in the mass-media²⁵.

With the development of technologies for digitizing and three-dimensional transposition of objects, a series of free platforms have begun to be created, which can host 3D models and facilitate their viewing, in an intuitive way, by the public. Basically, in recent years, the idea of virtual interaction with archaeological artifacts has been intensively promoted, with the help of photogrammetry and LiDAR scans. The goal is to obtain digital models of artifacts, using virtual reality or augmented reality equipment as an interface for interaction. In the Romanian

²⁵ <https://www.replicahd.ro/ziua-portilor-deschise-la-sarmizegetusa-regia-4/> (Accessed: 11.2021); <https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/timp-liber/articol/ziua-portilor-deschise-pe-santierul-arheologic-de-epoca-dacica-cetatea-zanelor> (Accessed: 11.2021); <https://www.bistriteanul.ro/ziua-portilor-deschise-azi-la-situl-arheologic-figa-cel-mai-cel-mai-important-sit-din-europa-sud-estica-si-centrala/> (Accessed: 11.2021); <https://realitateadebuzau.net/ziua-portilor-deschise-pe-santierul-arheologic-pietroasa-mica-gruiu-darii/> (Accessed: 11.2021); <https://jurnalul.ro/cultura/arte-vizuale/ziua-portilor-deschise-pe-santierul-scoala-de-la-costesti-cetate-877399.html> (Accessed: 11.2021).

literature, the tendency to focus on 3D digital models is more than obvious, most of the scientific articles whose beneficiary would be the public / visitors based on the promotion of heritage in the virtual environment²⁶. It is also necessary to mention the section dedicated to *Public Archaeology*, on the website of the archaeological research journal, located under the aegis of the National Museum of History of Romania²⁷. This section appeared on June 30, 2021, with the aim of "*facilitating access to the scientific publications of the journal and understanding the importance that archaeological research has for society*" but, on a closer look, each entry represents an extract from extensive scientific articles, the information usually referring to the type of discovery, some technical data and a historical shield of the research. I believe that, although the initiative is one to be commended, the manner in which the information has been exposed is not much different from an extensive scientific article.

6. *Popular Archaeology*

This category has also been described as *media archaeology* or *pop-culture archaeology* and is represented by the dissemination of archaeological information through facile environments to the public, unlike detailed archaeological descriptions, which characterized the previous categories. Although this category produces the greatest impact within the archaeologist-public relationship, specialists avoid interacting with the media, this being perhaps the basis of the portrayal of the archaeologist as a treasure seeker. In general, sensational discoveries with a high material value are promoted in the media, without the emphasis being placed on the archaeological research itself.

However, in recent years, positive examples have also emerged in terms of promoting archaeology among the public. Thus, Cătălin Pavel started his activity of promoting archaeology in the daily environment through the columns held in newspapers, such as *Dilema Veche* or *Suplimentul de Cultură*. He is also the author of two important works, which have enjoyed the appreciation of the general public: *Arheologia iubirii. De la Neanderthal la Taj Mahal* and *Animalele care ne fac oameni. Blană, cozi și pene în arheologie*²⁸.

7. *Academic Public Archaeology*

This category was characterized by G. Moshenska as a disciplinary self-reflection: the study of archaeology in the economic, political, social, cultural, legal and ethical context in which it finds itself²⁹. As we could see from the previous examples, in the Romanian space one cannot talk about a systematic study of *Public Archaeology*. We do not find in the curriculum of any university courses aimed at *Public Archaeology*. The only articles I found to study the relationship between the public and the archaeologist, but also the economic, political and

²⁶ COMES et al. 2014; COMES 2016; NEAMTU et al. 2016; COMES et al. 2017; 2019; 2020. The most popular platform of this type is Sketchfab.

²⁷ <https://cercetari-arheologice.ro/cercetari-arheologice-arheologie-publica/> (Accessed: 12.2021).

²⁸ PAVEL 2019; 2021.

²⁹ MOSHENSKA 2017, 6.

social tensions that arise between investors, archaeologists, public bodies and the interests of the public, are related to the name of Nona Palincea³⁰.

Conclusions

Thus, following the model exposed above, we were able to identify some steps that, although not carried out with *Public Archaeology* as a starting point, have reached important points in what this field promotes. Nowadays, the archaeological work seems to focus on two coordinates: interdisciplinarity and data, which are beneficial to our efforts to promote the archaeological results to the general public³¹. The new methods of data gathering (3D Modelling, Photogrammetry) and non-invasive prospections (Magnetometry, Ground Penetrating Radar, Electrical-Resistivity Tomography, LiDAR scanning etc.) provide a more visual driven experience that attracts the public. Also, the recent development in technology led to the popularization of these equipments among the archaeological community due to the low cost of purchase, so more endeavors to promote archaeology to the public will appear in the next couple of years.

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³⁰ PALINCAȘ 2011; 2016.

³¹ MOSHENSKA 2017, 11.

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Salt Exploitation References in Plinius Maior's Work

Mihaela ASĂNDULESEI¹

Abstract. *This article aims to approach the work of Pliny the Elder, Naturalis Historia, from the perspective of salt exploitation, highlighting the forms of manifestation, its geographical distribution and briefly the main uses. The motivation of the present paper materialized after going through Pliny's text, which revealed a subject that lacks fluency to a certain extent. Pliny distinguishes two categories of salt, according to its state, natural and artificial. Thus, a first systematization of the references about salt identified in Naturalis Historia is based on these aspects, highlighting, in the case of the natural state of the explored mineral, the salt lakes, springs or salt mountains and sea water; regarding the artificial state of salt, mentions of salt pans have been documented. Along these, a short excursus regarding the medicinal uses of salt is added, in order to better portray the image of salt in the era.*

Rezumat. *Articolul de față își propune abordarea operei lui Pliniu cel Bătrân, Naturalis Historia, din perspectiva exploatarea sării, evidențiind formele de manifestare ale acesteia, distribuția geografică și, pe scurt, principalele utilizări ale acesteia. Motivația lucrării de față s-a concretizat în urma parcurgerii textului lui Pliniu, care a scos la iveală un subiect lipsit într-o oarecare măsură de fluență. Pliniu distinge două categorii de sare, după starea ei, naturală și artificială. Astfel, o primă sistematizare a referințelor despre sare identificate în Naturalis Historia se bazează pe aceste aspecte, evidențiind, în cazul stării naturale a mineralului exploatat, lacurile sărate, izvoarele sărate sau munții de sare și apa de mare; în ceea ce privește starea artificială, au fost documentate mențiuni de saline. Pe lângă acestea se adaugă un scurt excurs privind utilizările medicale ale sării, pentru a înfățișa mai bine imaginea sării în epocă.*

Keywords: salt exploitation, saltworks, Plinius Maior.

The ancient authors, both Greek and Roman, managed through their works to travel through time with extremely valuable information, which can be considered useful even today, not only for outlining the historical period they express, but also for the models they create, effective in studying current history. One of these authors is Gaius Plinius Secundus, known as Pliny the Elder or Plinius Maior, not to be confused with his nephew, whose tutor he was. He was born into a fairly influential family in the northern region of Italy, in Como, in 23 AD. He studied in Rome, which he left when he began his military career, being the leader of a cavalry squadron. He returned to Rome, specializing in law, but he goes, towards the end of Nero's principality, in Spain, where he held the position of procurator. He returns to the centre of the

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Roman world when Vespasian won the principality, right in the entourage of the emperor, whom he knew from the front in Germany. He died in 79 AD, near the Vesuvius volcano, after its eruption, because of the poisonous smoke released by it.

Pliny was an active career man, but always passionate about studying and recounting events, elaborating his works based on his own professional experience, but also consulting the works available at that time, many of which are now lost². The most extensive of his works, *Naturalis Historia*, was also the only one which survived. The work represents the last text written by Pliny, being dedicated to the emperor's son, Titus, probably completed two years before his ascension to the throne and the author's death, in 79 AD.

The work can be considered a true encyclopaedia, containing information on astronomy, meteorology, geography, mineralogy, zoology and botany, structured in thirty-seven books. It can be said that the work analysed in the present study also presents information of questionable veracity, but it should not be neglected that a large part of the displayed ideas is extremely valuable, offering a wide range of topics for study.

For the present study, Book XXXI is the one that has a special value, being dedicated to the *Cures obtained from underwater animals*. Pliny's excursus about salt is the only one in ancient Greek and Latin literature that has survived to this day³, providing an inventory of the production sites and uses of salt in the first century of our era⁴. To elaborate, the few chapters dedicated to the mineral considered indispensable also refer to salt water, how salt is obtained, the categories of salt, but also the remedies that use the saline substance in the treatment of some diseases.

The motivation of the present paper materialized after going through Pliny's text, which revealed a subject that lacks fluency to a certain extent. The main objective is to precisely identify the records related to salt and to structure these into different categories. The author, in Book XXXI, addresses, by sector, saline expressions, emphasizing the forms of manifestation of salt and its categories, but also the geographical distribution of the natural resource, the various methods of exploitation and the main uses, focusing on the medical ones. References related to the presence or exploitation of salt in various known areas found in other books of the encyclopaedia, disparate or fragmentary, will also be included in the present study.

The classification of the information about salt presented by Pliny was precisely inspired by the few directions drawn by the author itself on the analysed work. The information was not ordered in a well-defined system, causing quite often, like also Bernard Moinier points, confusions in the interpretation of the text⁵.

² CARUSI 2008, 354.

³ *Eadem*.

⁴ MOINIER 2015, 37.

⁵ MOINIER 1985, 75.

Before starting the exposition of a structured view regarding salt mentions gathered from *Naturalis Historia*, it must be clarified that Pliny brought under the term *salt* other substances too, obtained and used at that time as a substitute for sodium chloride⁶ – *halmyrax*⁷, *hammoniacus*⁸, *nitrum*⁹, etc. – but the most valued of all salts was the natural, white and pure mineral¹⁰. As I mentioned, since the present study aims to discuss the references about the different types of salt exploitation and uses, with the main role of spice and preservative, the records of the other kind of salts will be only shortly addressed.

Pliny distinguishes two categories of salt, according to its state, natural and artificial¹¹, being exploited according to the forms it takes and the geographical conditions characteristic of each area. Thus, a first systematization of the references about salt identified in *Naturalis Historia* is based on these aspects, highlighting, in the case of the natural state of the explored mineral, the salt lakes, springs or salt mountains and sea water, with which salt is in a connexion of obvious interdependence¹². Regarding the artificial state of salt, mentions of salt pans have been recorded.

The vast and varied territory of the Roman Empire, spread around the Mediterranean Sea, an important supplier of salt, which makes the difference between civilized and barbaric peoples, from the interior, without access to the sea or to the product obtained from its waters¹³, also reveals other forms of saline manifestations and types of salt.

One of these expressions of nature from which salt was obtained are the salt lakes. The most appreciated was the lake of Tarentum, located in the south of today Italy, from where the "most pleasant and whitest" salt was collected¹⁴, by evaporating the shallow water, which did not exceed "the height of a knee"¹⁵, turning it entirely into fine salt. Also, by drying the liquid from the lake, naturally, under the action of the sun, salt was also collected in Sicily, from two lakes, one near Gela, and the other known as Cocanieus. The salt harnessed from Lake Cocanieus was called *cocanicus* and considered of high quality, for the reason that the ancients used it to forge another type of salt, the so-called ammonia salt (*hammonicus*)¹⁶.

Other lakes that evaporated in great quantity, sometimes right to the centre, exposing the salt, were those of Phrygia, Cappadocia, and that of Aspendum¹⁷, on the banks of the river

⁶ CARUSI 2008, 361.

⁷ PLINIUS 31.46.

⁸ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁹ PLINIUS 31.46.

¹⁰ FATÁS CABEZA 2002, 185.

¹¹ PLINIUS 31.39.

¹² CARUSI 2008, 353.

¹³ CARUSI 2008, 353.

¹⁴ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹⁵ PLINIUS 31.39.

¹⁶ PLINIUS 31.39.

¹⁷ PLINIUS 31.39.

Eurimedon¹⁸. In Phrygia, Pliny mentions that the salt of Tatta is valued¹⁹, coming from the lake with the same name, the actual lake from the territory of modern Turkey, Tuz Gölü, which still locally provides an important amount of salt²⁰. Regarding the natural way of producing salt, Pliny highlights the action of the sun, which causes the evaporation of salty water, but also emphasizes the fact that the moon favours the regeneration of the amount of water transformed into salt²¹. The moon also plays an important role in other regions where salt is found, specifically in the "dry lands of Africa as far as the oracle of Ammon", causing, depending on its phases, an important natural production²².

Returning to the salt that comes spontaneously from the waters, Pliny indicates other lakes where salt was extracted and then left it to dry in the sun²³, such as the one from Citium²⁴, in Cyprus²⁵, and the one near Memphis²⁶, in Egypt²⁷. Along with the above references to lakes from which salt is collected, Pliny also in brief mentions salt lakes with turbid waters in the territory of Africa²⁸, but without specifying any names. He also gives indications that "in Bactria there are two extensive lakes, one towards the Scythians and one towards the Aryans, which evaporate, exhaling salt"²⁹, but he does not provide any other details, nor does he specify whether or not those natural sources are exploited. In the region of which they belong, probably the Caspian Sea basin, the author also indicates other exploitations of salt³⁰.

Relative to this region, Pliny also brings into discussion the rivers, relating them to salt, calling those at the Caspian gates "rivers of salt"³¹. The author calls these rivers so because of the extensive surfaces covered by salt, mentioning similar situations attested for the barbarian tribes³² of the Mardi and Armenian³³, located in the same area. Among the Bactrians, the rivers Oxus and Ochus are recorded as bringing salt flakes from the neighbouring mountains³⁴. The Ochus river is the river that flowed in Antiquity in the north of the Bactria region, and in the

¹⁸ MOINIER 1985, 81; PLINIUS 5.26.

¹⁹ PLINIUS 31.39, 45.

²⁰ SMITH 1854.

²¹ PLINIUS 31.39.

²² PLINIUS 31.39.

²³ PLINIUS 31.39.

²⁴ The influence of salt exploitation in this locality had an effect on the toponymy of the area, the port being called *Salinae*.

²⁵ PLINIUS 31.39.

²⁶ PLINIUS 31.39.

²⁷ MOINIER 1985, 81.

²⁸ PLINIUS 31.39.

²⁹ PLINIUS 31.39.

³⁰ MOINIER 1985, 81.

³¹ PLINIUS 31.39.

³² PLINIUS 6.18.

³³ PLINIUS 31.39.

³⁴ PLINIUS 31.39.

contemporary world it is known as the Darya-i Pandj³⁵, being a tributary of the first one, the Oxus. Its modern name is Amu Darya³⁶, preserved to this day since Pliny, who uses this name when he describes the tribes of the Caspian region: "the territory is crossed by the river Amu Darya, which flows into Lake Oaxus"³⁷. The Bactrians were a people who occupied the region opposite the Hindu Kush mountains bounded by the springs of the Indus River and the Ochus River³⁸.

In addition to lakes and rivers, from which salt comes spontaneously, Pliny also indicates springs, especially those with warm water, as a category that usually contains salt, offering as an example the springs of Pagasa³⁹, in the region of Thessaly⁴⁰, a city known for its salt springs⁴¹. About these springs he gives no other details, such as those relating to their exploitation or medicinal use, as he records in the case of other saline expressions.

According to the author, the saline manifestations exposed above express the types of salt spontaneously originating from the waters, under the action of the sun. Salt, both in Antiquity and today, is obtained, in a significant proportion, from the seas, but in addition to artificial exploitation, through salt pans, salt is also formed naturally, from the foam left by seawater on the shores and on the rocks⁴².

But, before dealing with artificial salt, meaning that obtained in salt pans, we must also mention the salt mountains, as a natural form of presentation. Such a mountain, says Pliny, is found in India, and is known as Oromenus⁴³, of which we are given no other geographical details, but it is possible that the author may be referring to the present deposit in the Punjab, still exploited⁴⁴. The text of the encyclopaedia adds that this type of exploitation was similar to that of stone quarries, signalling that the mineral was forming again once it was cut⁴⁵, a phenomenon also found in other regions⁴⁶. No further details are given about the physical characteristics of the mined product, instead the author mentions shortly its important economic value, as "kings get a greater tax from it than from gold or pearls"⁴⁷. The brief characterization provided by Pliny reveals an aspect of the economic context of ancient India, where the kings obtained a substantial tax from salt, a situation somewhat different from that

³⁵ Ancient History Encyclopedia

³⁶ Encyclopaedia Britannica

³⁷ PLINIUS 6.18.

³⁸ PLINIUS 6.18.

³⁹ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁴⁰ PLINIUS 4.8.

⁴¹ MOINIER 1985, 83.

⁴² PLINIUS 31.39.

⁴³ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁴⁴ MOINIER 1985, 82.

⁴⁵ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁴⁶ Cardona cf. MANGAS, ROSARIO HERNANDO 2011, 41.

⁴⁷ PLINIUS 31.39.

of the Empire, where salt obtained in the Mediterranean Sea basin, widespread and quite easy to obtain, was considered a product, to some extent, trivial, even having a rather low price, at a given time⁴⁸.

Pliny additionally records the existence of some walls, houses of salt lumps, or towers of square blocks of salt, built by welding with water, at Gerrae⁴⁹, in Arabia⁵⁰ or near Pelusius⁵¹, in Egypt⁵², discovered by King Ptolemy⁵³. The origins of these products, used apparently on a fairly large scale, are not revealed, but considering that the settlements were located in a coastal region, and Pliny records them in the continuation of the mentions of the salt mountains, it is possible that the provenance of the salt blocks to be closely related to these geographical forms. According to the ancient encyclopaedia, salt was cut into almost translucent lumps also at Egelesta, in Hispania Citerior⁵⁴, a locality difficult to locate on the current map of Spain⁵⁵.

Salt was used in Antiquity, naturally, and in other forms, which Pliny briefly explains. For example, in Cappadocia salt was extracted from the ground, by condensing water, being cut in the manner of mica sheets⁵⁶. It is obvious that the author is referring to rock salt mines, where the harvest of the product must be attributed to the condensation of underground water deposits⁵⁷. By "sand removal" from a weedy place, in between Egypt and Arabia, salt was exposed, like in the arid lands of Africa to the oracle of Amun, where salt was found under the same conditions, considered of being influenced by the phases of the moon⁵⁸. Pliny indicates the etymology of the name Ammon starting from the Greek *ammos*, which means "sand"⁵⁹. On the basis of this observation the author continues the description of the ammoniacal salt (*hammonicus*), from the regions of Cyrene, also discovered under the sands⁶⁰. Although it is obvious that the exposition does not refer to sodium chloride, the continuation of the text confirming this – "it is spurious with Sicilian salt and that of Cyprus"⁶¹ –, I opted for the presentation of the technique for extracting this type of salt, outlined by Pliny, making an analogy with the exploitation of halite in caves. The method used did not benefit from special

⁴⁸ CARUSI 2008, 353, 361.

⁴⁹ STRABON 16.3.3.

⁵⁰ PLINIUS 6.32; 31.39.

⁵¹ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁵² PLINIUS 6.33.

⁵³ It is probably Ptolemy XV or Caesarion (b. June 23, 46 BC - d. August, 30 BC), the last king of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt, whom Octavian's troops executed while he headed towards India.

⁵⁴ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁵⁵ MANGAS, ROSARIO HERNANDO 2011, 41.

⁵⁶ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁵⁷ CARUSI 2008, 354.

⁵⁸ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁵⁹ PLINIUS 12.49.

⁶⁰ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁶¹ PLINIUS 31.39.

attention in the encyclopaedia, the author only trying to justify the phenomenon by which the object in question gains weight when it is brought to the day light⁶². The ancient explanation is limited to specifying that the air in the galleries is more humid, causing a decrease in weight⁶³, but it seems that the air in the grotto is dry, the salt gaining weight in the open air due to its hygroscopic property, which causes the absorption of moisture from the air⁶⁴.

Pliny's references to natural salt, formed spontaneously, are limited to the geographical indications expressed above. Regarding artificial salt, it should be noted that it mainly refers to the salt obtained in salt pans, considered the most common and the most often met⁶⁵. The name artificial seems to originate from the anthropic catchment system, through which seawater is led into constructed basins⁶⁶.

The operating principle of the salt pans does not benefit from a detailed description in Pliny, who records only a few details about the fresh water courses necessary for this technique, which are either natural or in the form of pipes⁶⁷. By fresh water it is explained that rainwater⁶⁸ or dew drops⁶⁹ can also be understood, both being of real help in obtaining salt. Along with fresh water, the sun plays a very important role, because otherwise the salt could not dry⁷⁰. It seems that even the wind is not to be neglected in the process of exploiting salt in the salt pans, the *aquilon* producing an abundance of clean salt⁷¹. The image of an ancient salt pan can be outlined thanks to a poem, *De reditu suo*, by Rutilius Namatianus, from the beginning of the 5th century AD⁷². It describes how seawater entered through channels dug into the ground into tanks with multiple compartments. At the beginning of summer, the inflow of the sea was stopped with the help of locks, and the action of the sun evaporated the water already collected and turned it into a thick crust⁷³. Regarding this crust, Pliny mentions that in Africa, near Utica, the salt was collected in piles in the form of hills, which, under the action of the sun and the moon, acquired an extremely hard consistency, being impossible to melt under the action of a liquid and can only be cut with the iron⁷⁴.

⁶² PLINIUS 31.39.

⁶³ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁶⁴ MOINIER 1985, 76.

⁶⁵ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁶⁶ CARUSI 2008, 355.

⁶⁷ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁶⁸ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁶⁹ PLINIUS 31.40.

⁷⁰ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁷¹ PLINIUS 31.41.

⁷² CARUSI 2008, 355.

⁷³ CARUSI 2008, 356.

⁷⁴ PLINIUS 31.39.

The author is reserved in the technical descriptions of the salt pans, but indicates the name of the one who founded them, king Ancus Marcius⁷⁵, (also known as the founder of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber⁷⁶). In a brief enumeration of other centres where there were salt pans, Pliny mentions that in Crete, for example, salt is obtained without fresh water pipes, just by simply pouring sea water into the salt pans⁷⁷, and around Egypt, the seawater entering the wet soil determines a certain amount of salt⁷⁸, also obtained by bringing water from wells to the salt pans⁷⁹. Among the points of obtaining salt in salt pans, Salamis, on the coast of Cyprus, yields the most prized sea salt⁸⁰. Other salt pans, only rapidly mentioned by Pliny, are those in Tragasus⁸¹, Acanthus⁸² or Agrigent⁸³, about which we do not receive any other details than that they received their names after the cities to which they belonged, only their physical qualities in relation to water or fire being recorded. In Megara, near Attica or in Eubee⁸⁴ salt is also exploited, but the technique used is not mentioned; it is possible, due to the position of these cities, to talk about sea salt pans.

In areas where it was not possible to obtain salt from sea water, the inhabitants developed a type of salt pans where salt water is extracted from wells and springs⁸⁵, as in Cappadocia which provides salt prepared for transport, in the form of bricks⁸⁶. It is possible that this reference to reveal the dissolution of the salt by the injection of fresh water, to be then subjected to evaporation at day, in *briquetages* vessels⁸⁷. Similar situation is attested in the case of the territory of Chaonia, in Epirus⁸⁸, where the author records that the water from the well is boiled and cooled, obtaining an insipid and coloured salt⁸⁹, without indicating, however, what kind of well is the one from which the water is procured or the exact colour the finished product has.

⁷⁵ PLINIUS 31.41.

⁷⁶ CABEZA 2002, 185.

⁷⁷ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁷⁸ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁷⁹ PLINIUS 31.40.

⁸⁰ PLINIUS 31.41.

⁸¹ PLINIUS 31.41; STRABON 13.1.48.

⁸² PLINIUS 31.41; STRABON 7.7.32-36.

⁸³ PLINIUS 29.4; 31.41.

⁸⁴ PLINIUS 31.41.

⁸⁵ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁸⁶ PLINIUS 31.41.

⁸⁷ MOINIER 1985, 83.

⁸⁸ PLINIUS 4.1.

⁸⁹ PLINIUS 31.39.

In Babylon, bitumen and salt were probably jointly extracted⁹⁰, as Pliny reports that the first condensation forms a liquid pitch similar to oil, and after this is removed, the salt is revealed⁹¹.

For the territories far from the sea, the possibility of salt supplies was limited to trade or to alternative techniques for obtaining it⁹². One of these ways of obtaining artificial salt attested in Gaul and Germany consists in pouring salt water on burning wood⁹³, obtaining a black salt⁹⁴. Experimental research confirmed the indications recorded in the ancient encyclopaedia. Through this process, one obtains not only crystallized salt and residual coal, but also salt ash, with the same characteristics as salt⁹⁵, the tree itself turning into salt⁹⁶. Pliny mentions that in a region of Hispania, without being precisely indicated, the substance extracted from the wells to be poured over the wood is called *muria*, that is, brine⁹⁷, from well-maintained salt water springs. Pliny has also knowledge of the existence of some salt water springs, which come from the ground in some pits⁹⁸, but he does not record any geographical reference for them. Another mention is concerning the brine of superior quality from the cities of Antipolis, Thurii, and Delmatia⁹⁹. Salt was often kept in the form of brine, in ceramic containers¹⁰⁰, and the brine from the salty dishes was subjected to a new boiling process, producing salt again, in its "state"¹⁰¹, probably in its crystallized form.

Could represent a matter of interpretation the reference of Pliny regarding the practice of Umbers (considered to be the oldest tribe in Italy¹⁰²) from the Theophrastus writings, with respect to the cane or cane-ash boiling in water¹⁰³. B. Moinier believes that this practice may be an allusion to the salt obtained by burning a saliferous peat, a technique also practiced in northern Europe¹⁰⁴. Given that the author inserts this reference in the context of the exposition about obtaining salt from brine (*muria*), it is possible that the water in which these peoples boiled the respective plant was salty. C. Carusi, on the other hand, provides an ample description of the weight of salt water and its infiltration into the soil, in order to then extend

⁹⁰ MOINIER 1985, 83.

⁹¹ PLINIUS 31.40.

⁹² CARUSI 2008, 357.

⁹³ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁹⁴ PLINIUS 31.39.

⁹⁵ CARUSI 2008, 359.

⁹⁶ PLINIUS 31.40.

⁹⁷ PLINIUS 31.40.

⁹⁸ PLINIUS 35.25.

⁹⁹ PLINIUS 31.43.

¹⁰⁰ CABEZA 2002, 186.

¹⁰¹ PLINIUS 31.40.

¹⁰² PLINIUS 3.14.

¹⁰³ PLINIUS 31.40.

¹⁰⁴ MOINIER 1985, 83.

the explanation to the process set forth by Pliny and also Aristotle¹⁰⁵, by which Umbers obtained a substance with which they satisfied their need for salt, as a spice¹⁰⁶. The product obtained was probably not sodium chloride, but more certainly potassium chloride¹⁰⁷.

Each of the types of salt exposed above has different qualities. For some of them, Pliny highlighted the physical ones, expressed by colour, sometimes being the only mention of a centre where salt was exploited, naturally or artificially. I have already stated that the salt obtained by burning wood soaked in salt water was black. The whitest one, on the other hand, was considered the one from Tarentum, being also the most brittle¹⁰⁸, and the one from Sicily, near Gela, having such a brightness that it could blind¹⁰⁹. The salt of Cappadocia was saffron-coloured, transparent, and of a pleasant aroma¹¹⁰, and that obtained from the lake near Memphis was red¹¹¹, while near the Oxus it was reddish, and at Centuripe, purple¹¹². The last salt-producing locality is not mentioned by Pliny in another context, but the existence of some salt caves today can confirm such exploitation in Antiquity as well.

In addition to these qualities, the salt obtained in the Roman Empire revealed itself in all aspects of life, being much appreciated. I have already mentioned that lumps of salt were used in construction, and the fact that they were used in cooking is self-evident, "any easily melting salt" being preferred, more moist and therefore less bitter, such as that of Attica and Euboea¹¹³. For the preservation of meat, drier ones were preferred, like the one from Megara¹¹⁴. Pliny emphasizes the fact that salt, without specifying a specific type, was also useful in animal nutrition, especially for sheep, cattle and beasts of burden, stimulating milk production and increasing the quality of cheese, giving it a more pleasant taste¹¹⁵. Also, in relation to the food sector, salt was also used in the preparation of *garum*, Pliny providing quite a lot of details in this regard¹¹⁶. It can be determined that the places for preparing *garum* were in close connection with the salt pans, the marine one, at least¹¹⁷. In connection with this, the author mentions the ponds of Carthage, Mauretania, Carteia, Clazimena, Pompei or Leptis¹¹⁸. The importance of salt was also augmented by its use in obtaining pearls, the fished clams being

¹⁰⁵ ARISTOTLE II.3.

¹⁰⁶ CARUSI 2008, 361.

¹⁰⁷ CARUSI 2008, 361.

¹⁰⁸ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹⁰⁹ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹¹⁰ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹¹¹ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹¹² PLINIUS 31.41.

¹¹³ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹¹⁴ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹¹⁵ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹¹⁶ PLINIUS 31.43-44.

¹¹⁷ VARGAS, MAGANTO 2006, 257-258.

¹¹⁸ PLINIUS 31.43.

stored in clay pots under a thin layer of salt, the pearls then falling into the pot as the meat was disappearing¹¹⁹.

Along with different assets distinctive for different salt categories, Pliny refers in his work also to the effectiveness of medicinal use of salt, either for humans or animals.

For this approach, the author states that in ancient times, the most praised for its use as a medicine was the salt of Tarentum¹²⁰ the so-called "salt foam"¹²¹, collected from the shores of the sea or from the rocks that were washed by the sea water, leaving behind salt. Likewise, most of Pliny's contemporary physicians ranked the salt lumps from Egelesta, in Hispania Citerior, first among all kinds of salt¹²².

Naturalis Historia brings to light numerous medicinal uses of salt, some of which were expressed in treatments of the diseases known in Antiquity. Since the main objective of the present work is not to analyse the uses of salt, but only the types of exploitation, I'll only briefly frame the information about salt-based remedies in two tables. These correspond to human and animal diseases cured with the product obtained from salt mining, so appreciated by Pliny himself, dedicating a larger space than other facets, such as the segments of his market¹²³.

Table 1. Human diseases and their salt-based remedies indicated by Pliny the Elder in *Naturalis Historia*

| No. | DISEASES | REMEDIES | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|----------|---|
| | | Internal | External | Not specified |
| A. | Animal/insect bites | | | |
| 1. | Snake bite | | | Salt + marjoram + honey + hyssop ¹²⁴ |
| 2. | Horned viper bite | | | Salt + oregano + cedar resin/pitch/honey ¹²⁵ |
| 3. | Scolopendra ¹²⁶ bite | Salt drunk with vinegar ¹²⁷ | | |

¹¹⁹ PLINIUS 9.55.

¹²⁰ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹²¹ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹²² PLINIUS 31.39.

¹²³ MOINIER 1985, 86.

¹²⁴ PLINIUS 31.45.

¹²⁵ PLINIUS 31.45.

¹²⁶ Insectivorous myriapod, 10-12 cm long, with a body consisting of 21 rings, each with a pair of legs (*Scolopendra cingulata*). Because it is poisonous, the bite, especially of the tropical one, is dangerous and can even be fatal to humans.

¹²⁷ PLINIUS 31.45.

Salt Exploitation References in Plinius Maior's Work

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|----------------------------------|
| 4. | Crocodile bite | | Salt with vinegar in linen cloths with which the wounds are struck ¹²⁸ | |
| 5. | Scorpion sting | | Salt applied with one fourth of linseed and oil or vinegar ¹²⁹ | |
| 6. | Against bumblebees, wasps or similar insects | | | Salt with vinegar ¹³⁰ |
| B. | Dermatological conditions | Remedies with unspecified use, possibly external | | |
| 1. | Wounds Wounds with excrescences or rotting | Chewed salt ¹³¹ - internal remedy Salt crushed with barley flour, placed on a linen cloth and sprinkled with wine ¹³² Salt applied to the wound ¹³³ | | |
| 2. | Head injuries | Salt with beef tallow ¹³⁴ | | |
| 3. | Pustules/ pimples/ warts in early stage | Salt with beef tallow | | |
| 4. | Body growths/dead flesh | No specific treatment is specified, it is only mentioned that salt is used in such conditions. | | |

¹²⁸ PLINIUS 31.45.¹²⁹ PLINIUS 31.45.¹³⁰ PLINIUS 31.45.¹³¹ PLINIUS 31.45.¹³² PLINIUS 31.45.¹³³ PLINIUS 31.45.¹³⁴ PLINIUS 31.45.

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|--|
| 5. | Leprosy | Salt + wine from dried grapes (after the wood has been removed from it) + ox tallow + marjoram + yeast/ bread ¹³⁵ |
| 6. | Boil | Salt + wine from dried grapes (after the wood has been removed from it) + ox tallow + marjoram + yeast/ bread ¹³⁶ |
| 7. | Psoriasis | Salt + wine from dried grapes (after the wood has been removed from it) + ox tallow + marjoram + yeast/ bread |
| 8. | Burns | Salt + oil ¹³⁷ |
| 9. | Erysipelas ¹³⁸ | Salt + vinegar + hyssop ¹³⁹ Salt + oil + vinegar – mixture with which sick people sitting in front of the fire are rubbed, to sweat ¹⁴⁰ |
| 10. | Carcinomas | Salt + Tamini grapes |
| 11. | Weft ¹⁴¹ | No cure is specified, only that salt removes calluses and calluses from the feet. |
| 12. | Bruises | Wrap salt in linen cloth and apply often with hot water ¹⁴² . |
| 13. | Skin maintenance | Salt in cleansers to stretch the skin ¹⁴³ Citium salt stretches the skin best ¹⁴⁴ Cappadocia salt, in brick form, gives a glow to the skin ¹⁴⁵ |
| C. | Ophthalmological conditions | Remedies |
| 1. | Eye disease | No specific treatment is specified, it is only mentioned that salt is used in such conditions. Salt added to collars or patches ¹⁴⁶ – Tatta and Caunus salt are recommended ¹⁴⁷ . |

¹³⁵ PLINIUS 31.45.¹³⁶ The variety from Thebes is recommended, especially against itching cf. PLINIUS 31.45.¹³⁷ PLINIUS 31.45.¹³⁸ Infectious dermatitis.¹³⁹ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁴⁰ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁴¹ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁴² PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁴³ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁴⁴ PLINIUS 31.41.¹⁴⁵ PLINIUS 31.41.¹⁴⁶ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁴⁷ PLINIUS 31.45.

| | | | | |
|-----------|--|--|------------------------|----------------------|
| 2. | Blows to the eye that cause bleeding; bruises | Myrrh + honey/ hyssop + hot water + <i>salsugo</i> ¹⁴⁸ (salt water from a source other than the sea, with a higher concentration of salt ¹⁴⁹) – for compresses ¹⁵⁰ | | |
| 3. | Cataract | Crushed salt in mills, mixed with milk ¹⁵¹ | | |
| D. | Dental conditions | Remedies | | |
| 1. | Prevention of dental caries | Keep salt under the tongue, every morning on an empty stomach, until it melts ¹⁵² | | |
| 2. | Toothache | Salt heated with vinegar and applied with resin ¹⁵³ | | |
| 3. | Mouth wounds | Put salt in the linen strip ¹⁵⁴ | | |
| 4. | Swollen gums | It is rubbed with salt ¹⁵⁵ | | |
| 5. | Rough tongue | Fine crushed salt ¹⁵⁶ | | |
| E. | Rheumatic diseases | Remedies | | |
| 1. | Tendon pain, especially around the shoulders and kidneys | Sachets of salt heated frequently with hot water ¹⁵⁷ | | |
| 2. | Thigh pains | Sachets of heated salt ¹⁵⁸ | | |
| 3. | Podagra ¹⁵⁹ | Crushed salt + flour + honey + oil ¹⁶⁰ | | |
| 4. | Sciatica | Salt used in lavages ¹⁶¹ | | |
| 5. | Sprains | Salt + flour + honey ¹⁶² | | |
| F. | Diseases of the internal organs | Remedies | | |
| | | Internal | External | Not specified |
| 1. | Angina | | Salt + oil + vinegar + | |

¹⁴⁸ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁴⁹ PLINIUS 31.42.¹⁵⁰ *Salsugo* from Spain is preferred.¹⁵¹ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁵² PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁵³ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁵⁴ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁵⁵ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁵⁶ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁵⁷ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁵⁸ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁵⁹ Gout located in the lower limbs, especially affecting the big toe.¹⁶⁰ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁶¹ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁶² PLINIUS 31.45.

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|--|---|--|
| | | | liquid pitch (applied on the neck) ¹⁶³ | |
| 2. | Constipation | Salt + wine ¹⁶⁴ | | |
| 3. | Tapeworms | Salt + wine (no side effects) ¹⁶⁵ | | |
| 4. | Diseases of the colon | Salt is drunk ¹⁶⁶ | | |
| 5. | Cramps | Salt is drunk | | |
| 6. | Migraines | | | Salt with beef tallow |
| 7. | Hydropsy ¹⁶⁷ | | | No treatment is specified, but it is mentioned that some sick people were cured with salt. |
| G. | Otorhinolaryngol ogical conditions | Internal remedies | | |
| 1. | Tonsillitis | Any type of salt is swallowed ¹⁶⁸ | | |
| H. | Other types of conditions | Remedies | | |
| | | Internal | External | Not specified |
| 1. | Convalescence ¹⁶⁹ | Salt is held under the tongue ¹⁷⁰ | | |
| 2. | Fatigue | | | Salt + oil ¹⁷¹ |
| 3. | Fever chills | | Salt ointments with oil ¹⁷² | |

¹⁶³ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁶⁴ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁶⁵ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁶⁶ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁶⁷ Disease caused by the accumulation of serum in a natural body cavity (abdomen, chest, etc.).¹⁶⁸ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁶⁹ To be able to bear the heat of the thermal baths.¹⁷⁰ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁷¹ PLINIUS 31.45.¹⁷² PLINIUS 31.45.

| | | | | |
|----|-----------------|---|---|--|
| 4. | Chronic cough | Salt is drunk ¹⁷³ | | |
| 5. | Opium poisoning | Salt with vinegar and honey is drunk ¹⁷⁴ | | |
| 6. | Tumours | | Salt with flour and honey is applied ¹⁷⁵ | |

Table 2. Animal diseases and their salt-based remedies indicated by Pliny the Elder in *Naturalis Historia*

| No. | Disease | Remedy | |
|-----|--------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| | | Internal | External |
| 1. | Sheep and cattle scabies | Salt is given to lick ¹⁷⁶ | Salt is applied ¹⁷⁷ |
| 2. | - | Salt is spat into the eyes of the beasts of burden ¹⁷⁸ | |

Although through the present study we did not aim to explore the medical uses of salt in Antiquity, the two tables reveal the great appreciation and circulation and a comprehensive use of salt, obtained either naturally or through the various exploitation methods, exposed above. Pliny states about high-quality salt that "it is harsh, hot, upsets the stomach, causes sweating, has a laxative effect in wine and water, is useful in medicines and cleansing substances"¹⁷⁹. In addition to the information gathered in the two tables, Pliny reports that salt was used for its astringent effects on bodies, preventing even corpses from decomposing, thus lasting through the ages¹⁸⁰. Other actions of salt were manifested through chewing, highlighting the purifying and dissolving properties¹⁸¹ of the vital element. Although praised intensely, salt is also recognized as having a negative capacity, the author indicating that it is

¹⁷³ PLINIUS 31.45.

¹⁷⁴ PLINIUS 31.45.

¹⁷⁵ PLINIUS 31.45.

¹⁷⁶ PLINIUS 31.45.

¹⁷⁷ PLINIUS 31.45; It is not specified how the salt is applied to cure scabies, but it can be assumed topically.

¹⁷⁸ PLINIUS 31.45; It is not specified whether this custom is a cure for a specific disease, a practice with symbolic value or, considering the effect that salt has in contact with the organ of vision, a procedure that is difficult to decipher.

¹⁷⁹ PLINIUS 31.42.

¹⁸⁰ PLINIUS 31.45.

¹⁸¹ PLINIUS 31.45.

harmful to the stomach¹⁸², and consumed in excess, it retains water in the body¹⁸³, concluding in this sense that "any place where salt is found is sterile and does not give rise to nothing"¹⁸⁴.

According to the information provided by Pliny, salt can be considered a fifth element, along with water, earth, air and fire, since, at least for the health of bodies, "nothing is more useful than salt and the sun"¹⁸⁵. This connection between sun and salt has been captured over time by several ancient authors. For example, Pliny states that fresh water is related to the moon, while salt water has a certain relationship with the sun¹⁸⁶, and Pythagoras says that "Salt is born of the purest parents: the sun and the sea". In addition to the physical qualities attributed by human communities, salt has also benefited from a symbolic interpretation, because it is an extremely necessary element for human life, the meaning being transferred to another dimension, to express special spiritual pleasures¹⁸⁷.

Pliny highlights the meaning it has in Latin, the term *sales*; it expresses jokes, spiritual pleasures, "the charm of life, full joviality and the rest after labour"¹⁸⁸. Pliny emphasizes the value of this substance through the micro toponym *Via Salaria* which denoted the route on which salt was transported to the Sabines¹⁸⁹. Thus, we can mark an economic importance that salt enjoyed in the Roman Empire from the first century, and even before. This is amplified, according to Pliny, also by a proverb from which it follows that the Romans often ate salt with bread¹⁹⁰. The importance of salt is also emphasized by the behaviour of the society in the period described by Pliny, especially in certain regions of Egypt, on the seashore, which, despite the risk of some diseases, kneaded the flour with sea water, in order to save salt¹⁹¹. This custom can also reveal an economic importance, being under municipal or state monopoly, increasing its price greatly, depending on the season¹⁹².

Of all the symbolic uses attributed to salt, the most important is revealed in sacred ceremonies, when salt is the most powerful element, because nothing is accomplished without ground salt¹⁹³. Pliny sums up all the qualities of salt, of any level, in a single statement: "One cannot imagine a human life without salt!"¹⁹⁴, as he tried to highlight, by mentioning the centres where salt is exploited sustainably, resulting in a commercial product, known,

¹⁸² PLINIUS 31.45.

¹⁸³ PLINIUS 31.32.

¹⁸⁴ PLINIUS 31.39.

¹⁸⁵ PLINIUS 31.45.

¹⁸⁶ PLINIUS 2.104.

¹⁸⁷ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹⁸⁸ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹⁸⁹ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹⁹⁰ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹⁹¹ PLINIUS 18.12.

¹⁹² CABEZA 2002, 187.

¹⁹³ PLINIUS 31.41.

¹⁹⁴ PLINIUS 31.41.

appreciated and used in all regions of the known world. The barbarians are different from the Romans, not only through culture and other occupations, but also through the lack of openness to the sea and specific exploitation techniques.

The Mediterranean Sea basin offered favourable conditions for obtaining salt by evaporation: a high salinity, the climate or the position of the shore, which allowed the establishment of artificial salt pans, intended to support a large-scale exploitation¹⁹⁵.

It is noted that most of the cities where salt was exploited were coastal or located in regions with salt deposits, and most of them benefit from continuity, sometimes even in terms of methods used¹⁹⁶.

Summarising the references in Pliny's work regarding the salt exploitations, we must keep certain reservations about the fidelity of the information presented, relative to the places or production techniques¹⁹⁷. However, they constitute an important body of knowledge about salt from the period, which the author collected and handed back to humanity through his encyclopaedia. The presence of the salt mentions in the *Naturalis Historia* through other ancient Greek and Roman authors, too, makes the value of the work be once more demonstrated.

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¹⁹⁵ CARUSI 2008, 355.

¹⁹⁶ MOINIER 1985, 73.

¹⁹⁷ CARUSI 2008, 354.

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*** PITAGORA

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Barry Strauss, *Spartacus War*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2022, 290 p.

Alex – Marian CORNEA*

We mark the appearance of a publication that deals with a subject of interest to the general public, namely the story of the legendary Spartacus. We look at the issue of slaves in the ancient world, which has inspired novelists and filmmakers over the years. Barry Strauss is a professor at Cornell University and a renowned expert on ancient military history. He has written or edited several works in his sphere of influence: *The Fathers and Sons of Athens: Ideology and Society in the Age of Peloponnesian Warfare* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993), *The Battle of Salamis* (Simon&Schuster, New York, 2005), *The Trojan War* (Simon&Schuster, New York, 2007), *Masters of Command* (Simon&Schuster, New York, 2012), *The Death of Caesar* (Simon&Schuster, New York, 2015), and *Ten Caesars* (Simon&Schuster, New York, 2019).

This work, published in a special format, combines narrative with historical truth. In terms of structure, we note the first part, *Chronology* (p. 9-14), in which the author wishes to establish the temporal landmarks from the outset, followed by the *Introduction* (p. 17-28) in which B. Strauss begins an interesting preamble to the historical foray he wishes to relate. Here, too, the author justifies his approach: from his perspective, the Spartacus revolt was the most famous slave revolt of antiquity; an event that influenced the southern part of Italy, directly involving Rome. His good documentation can also be seen in the biographical account of the main protagonist of his work. We are pleased with the author's emphasis on archaeological sources and his honesty in discussing the shortcomings of his research.

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The book is divided into four parts, with titles specific to a work popularising a subject. The first part, *The Escape* (p. 27-68) consists of two chapters. The first chapter, *Gladiator* (p. 29-47), is intended to capture the image of the arena fighter, Spartacus, the state, and the beginning of the revolt he was to start. During the reading, I could notice certain confusions made by the translator, namely: "[...] the producer usually asked for the public's verdict." (p. 32) For the term editor, we consider that a happier translation would be that of the organizer, not the producer. We have in mind a person in charge of the smooth running of an event, not a producer; if we turn our attention to the Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language, we will notice that the term *producer* is defined as a person or economic entity that finances the film industry or economic unit that produces material goods. This chapter leaves some question marks, even by the author (p. 47): "To answer this question, I will have to ask his wife". This is an unfortunate expression, considering that in the second chapter, *The Thracian Woman* (p. 48-68) the author develops the subject, in particular, he adds information to what was presented in the previous chapter. It is necessary to mention a terminological deviation. The Latin *tyrs* is misspelled: 'usually wears a tirs [...]'].

The second part entitled, *Revenge* (p. 69-136) is composed of three chapters. The third chapter of this publication, *Praetors* (p. 71-91) deals largely with the socio-political situation in Rome and the first events of the revolt by Spartacus. Unfortunately, from the very first pages read of this chapter I could notice the use of a non-academic term: *sexy* - "And it was sexy." (p. 73). We believe that the author could have used a term more favorable to the situation. Even if we are dealing with a work of popularization of the subject, we believe that the author owed it to himself to remain true to his defining intellectual state. In this regard, we make a few suggestions for replacing this word, which is less felicitous for the context in which it was placed: attractive, tempting, seductive. The statement made by the author at the end of this chapter we consider to be the synthesis of what has been said: 'Rome could get rid of praetors. The rebels needed a leader.' (p. 91). The next two chapters, *The Hangmen* (p. 92-112) and *The*

Stoic (p. 113-136) are the dramatic accounts of this great rebellion initiated by Spartacus. This legendary figure managed to gather an army of about 60,000 soldiers, which, as we can see in these chapters, gains control of the countryside of southern Italy. An interesting aspect discussed interestingly by Barry Strauss is the role played by religion in the support that Spartacus received in his action.

The third part of Barry Strauss's work, entitled *Withdrawal* (p. 137-183) consists of three chapters. Unfortunately, in the sixth chapter, *The Decimator* (p. 139-154) we again notice a departure from the use of academic language: 'they accepted a kick in the butt' (p. 147). In this chapter, as in the next, *The Pirate* (p. 155-168), the author continues the itinerary of the journey of Spartacus and his acolytes, excelling in battle. We also note the author's good documentation through the use of writing as well as archaeological documents. Barry Strauss's travel experience to the places Spartacus once conquered gives him an advantage in his account of these events. The final chapter of this part, *The Fisherman* (p. 169-183) already recounts the decline Spartacus feels in his struggle with Rome. Spartacus's rebel army suffers two great ruptures that will influence the course of events.

The last part of this book, *Until Death* (pp. 185-232), seeks to capture the outcome of the revolt Spartacus started. The three chapters, *Celtic Women* (p. 187-190), *Spartacus* (p. 200-218), and *The Conquerors* (p. 219-231) paint a picture of the man who started one of the greatest and most remarkable revolts in the Empire has ever seen. He defeated Rome's armies nine times, managing to hold the Empire in check for about two years before being defeated by Crassus. Spartacus' great disadvantage was the indiscipline of the army he commanded. They often chose wealth over freedom.

At the end of the work, in the *Conclusion* section (p. 233-246), the author has chosen to set out some considerations on the effects of the Spartacus revolt, considering that these events put an end to the Republic. We also note that the author had the good inspiration to provide a *Glossary of important names* (p. 247-249), which is necessary, from our point of view, when it

comes to specialized work. We also appreciate the section *Notes on bibliographical sources* (p. 251-267), which helps the reader, through historiographical recommendations, in deepening the subject. Barry Strauss's serious documentation of his approach is highlighted by the extensive bibliography (p. 263-280) and *Indexes* (p. 283-290) set out to make his work easier to read, even for the uninitiated.

I am inclined to believe that the purpose of this work has been achieved, so we can only hope that the work by Barry Strauss and translated into Romanian by Dan Crăciun will bring benefits due to those who want to browse this current publication.



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