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**Banquets of Gods, Banquets of Men.  
Conviviality in the Ancient World**

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## Contributors

RADU ARDEVAN is a professor of Roman history and epigraphy at the Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

JOHN BAINES is a professor of Egyptology at the University of Oxford.

ANGUS BOWIE is Lobel Praelector in Classics at the University of Oxford.

JUÁN RAMÓN CARBÓ GARCÍA is an associate professor at the “San Antonio” Catholic University of Murcia, Spain.

VICTOR COJOCARU is a researcher at the Archaeological Institute Iaşi, Romania

CĂTĂLIN CRISTESCU is a researcher at the Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilization Deva, Romania

MADALINA DANA is an associate professor at the Panthéon-Sorbonne University Paris 1, France.

MARIANA EGRI, Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

MANUEL FIEDLER, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany

GELU FLOREA is an associate professor at the Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj, Romania.

FLORIN GOGĂLTAN is a researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Art History Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

CONSTANZE HÖPKEN is a researcher at the Archaeological Institute of the University of Cologne, Germany

DRAGOŞ MĂNDESCU is a researcher at the Argeş County Museum, Piteşti, Romania

FRITZ MITTHOF is a professor at the University of Vienna, Austria.

SILVIA MUSTAŢĂ is a researcher at the Mureş County Museum, Tîrgu Mureş.

NÉMETH GYÖRGY is a professor at the Eötvös Loránd University Budapest, Hungary.

IRINA NEMETI is a researcher at the National Museum for the History of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

SORIN NEMETI is an assistant professor at the Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

PANCZEL SZILAMÉR is a researcher at the Mureş County Museum, Tîrgu Mureş, Romania.

FRANCK PERRIN is an associate professor at the Université Lumière Lyon 2, Lyon, France.

PETRUŢ DÁVID is a researcher at the Mureş County Museum, Tîrgu Mureş, Romania.

AUREL RUSTOIU is a researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Art History Cluj, Romania.

VIORICA RUSU BOLINDEŢ is a researcher at the National Museum for the History of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

SIDÓ KATALIN is a researcher at the Mureş County Museum, Tîrgu Mureş, Romania.

LIVIO ZERBINI is a professor at the University of Ferrara, Italy.

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Conviviality in the Ancient World*

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SILVIA MUSTAȚĂ

This volume includes the proceedings of the sixteenth international colloquium of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj, on the subject of "Banquets of Gods, Banquets of Men. Conviviality in the Ancient World", held on November 23<sup>rd</sup>- 24<sup>th</sup>, 2012, in Cluj. Due to the diversity of subjects addressed by the participants, the two days of the conference were subdivided into morning sessions reserved for epigraphical and historical topics and afternoon sessions for the archaeological ones; which is reflected by the structure of this volume.

# Not only with the dead: banqueting in ancient Egypt

**John BAINES**

*University of Oxford*

**Abstract.** Convivial occasions among the living are not well attested from ancient Egypt. Scenes in tomb decoration, especially of the Old Kingdom (3<sup>rd</sup> millennium), that show a solitary figure before large quantities of food and drink involve participation of others and thus say something about practices of celebration. Patrons might also celebrate with their subordinates, but people of different status are not shown eating or drinking at the same time; these asymmetrical practices are depicted both for kings and for elites. Banquets and related entertainments would be set in tents or colonnaded spaces, the character of which was imitated notably in the decoration of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty tombs (ca. 1500-1350). These banquets could be held near the tomb and involved drinking wine, in particular, that would favour communication between the living and the dead. Another significant setting appears to be in the countryside. At banquets harpists might perform songs that emphasized the importance of eating and drinking while still alive, because one does not know what will happen after death, an idea that was probably voiced in counter-cultural laments during funerals. The funerary stelae of the couple Taimhotep and Psherenptah, who died in 42 and 41 BCE, expressed both the need to celebrate in life and the political character of banquets at which the king and his family were present, rounding off a tradition that had endured for millennia.

**Key words:** ancient Egypt, banquet, tomb decoration, tent, wine, funeral lament.

**Rezumat:** Nu numai cu cei morți: banchetele în Egiptul antic. Prilejurile de convivialitate între cei vii nu sunt bine atestate în Egiptul antic. Scene în decorația unor morminte, mai ales din timpul Regatului Vechi (mileniul III), care reprezintă o figură solitară aflată în fața unor mari cantități de mâncare și băutură, presupun implicarea altora și astfel spun ceva despre practicile celebrării. Patronii pot de asemenea celebra împreună cu subordonații lor, dar oameni de statut social diferit nu sunt arătați bînd și mîncînd la un loc; aceste practici asimetrice sunt reprezentate atît pentru regi cît și pentru elite. Banchetele și distracțiile legate de ele aveau loc în corturi sau spații cu colonade, care erau imitate mai cu seamă în decorația mormintelor dinastiei a XVIII-a (ca. 1500-1350). Aceste banchete puteau avea loc lîngă mormînt și participanții beau, vin mai ales, ceea ce favoriza comunicarea între cei vii și cei morți. Alt cadru important pentru banchete pare să se fi aflat la țară. La banchete, harpiștii interpretau cîntece care subliniau că e important să mîncîci și să bei cît te mai afli încă în viață, fiindcă după moarte nu se știe ce se va întîmpla, o idee probabil exprimată în lamentări contra-culturale în timpul înmormîntărilor. Stelele funerare ale cuplului Taimhotep și Psherenptah, care au murit în 42 și 41 a. Chr.,



exprimă atât nevoia de a sărbători în timpul vieții, cât și caracterul politic al banchetelor la care erau prezenți regele și familia sa, completând astfel o tradiție care dura de milenii.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Egiptul antic, banchet, decorația mormintelor, cort, vin, lamentație funebră.

Evidence for banqueting and conviviality in the ancient Mediterranean and Europe exists in many forms and for many contexts – secular, religious, this-worldly, mortuary – as is made clear by other articles in this volume. Scholars generally assume that these practices and institutions are necessary elements in social life: people eat and drink together not merely out of necessity but also to bring groups together in a suitable hierarchical order, to celebrate, and to communicate between spheres of existence, among which may be different levels within society, the living and the dead, and people and gods. In coming together and enhancing communication they very often consume or inhale psychotropic substances, of which by far the most widespread is alcohol. Celebrations very commonly involve music and dance. These usages are strongly hedged around with rules and conventions, but they also offer important contexts for moderating or inverting norms of behaviour that apply in other contexts. Psychotropic substances help in breaching those norms, as well as contributing to counter-norms, such as those of drunkenness, that can apply in the special setting of the banquet.

Ancient Egypt provides only modest amounts of material relating to comparable institutions. The most prominent body of relevant evidence dates to a span of just a couple of centuries in the New Kingdom (ca. 1500-1300 BCE). Yet people surely had communal celebrations in other periods. It is therefore desirable both to discuss the ancient setting and to ask why the distribution of examples is so uneven.

### **Images as sources**

The most familiar Egyptian images of people sitting with food, as against presenting offerings of food to the gods, show lone protagonists (Fig. 1) or a couple. They are there perpetually, for the next life as well as this life, and they aspire to receive food offerings in the hereafter, although that is often not stated explicitly. They are very seldom seen in the act of eating; rather, they sit in front of vast quantities of food, which may be presented either pictorially or in lists of offerings, with the latter also encompassing other types of material, such as vessels or clothing<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Barta 1963.

Even servants are absent, although details demonstrate that the person about to eat could not take his meal by himself (women are shown far less often than men, so that Fig. 1 is an exception). For example, without assistance one could not complete the necessary preliminary of washing one's hands, for which the required pair of vessels is represented, as well as monograms indicating water-pouring and washing. Indeed, before very recent times the same constraint applied to washing, in decorous forms of which one person would pour water over another's hands, with a recipient for the spent water beneath, at least in tidy indoor contexts. Because of overtones of preparation, sociality, and care, such practices could be laden with symbolic meanings, including sexual ones. In the Egyptian Tale of the Two Brothers (ca. 1250 BCE), the first hint the husband has of his wife's attempt at infidelity is that she is not present to pour water over his hands when he returns home in the evening from work in the fields<sup>2</sup>. From a different culture and context the Dutch painter Gabriel Metsu's *A man visiting a woman washing her hands* (ca. 1662-64) shows a handsome visitor greeting a young woman who is being attended to by a servant pouring water over her hands into a bowl, perhaps with similar implications to the Egyptian tale; the equipment used is comparable with that known from ancient Egypt<sup>3</sup>.

The chief exception to the dearth of Egyptian images of banqueting is where the living communicate with and honour the dead. Scenes of this type, which had limited forerunners in earlier periods, are widely attested in tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (ca. 1500-1300 BCE), but relatively little textual material elucidates their meaning. I discuss these later in this article. Here, I note only that they provide a significant point of departure for seeking relevant evidence from earlier periods, when much that related to religion and the dead was depicted a great deal less explicitly. The idea of drinking and eating together as a forum for communication originates among the living, so that – in addition to evoking mortuary practices metaphorically – images in which the dead are included almost certainly offer some guide to how the living connected with one another in such contexts. While the scenes should not be taken too literally, both details and the general configuration of these compositions are very suggestive for thinking about the social setting and meaning of being at table.

### **Third and early second millennium BCE**

While representations of group events are relatively rare in early Egyptian sources, quite apart from the point about service made above, the depiction of just one or two people does not mean that only they would partake. Some

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<sup>2</sup> E. g. Lichtheim 1976, 205.

<sup>3</sup> Private collection: Waiboer 2010, 67 fig. 51, cat. 41.

occasions are on a grander scale than even the richest might wish to keep to themselves. The 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty tomb owner Ti sits with his wife beside him while an orchestra and dancers perform for him (Fig. 2); only they are shown, but it does not follow either that only they would be present or that food and drink would not be served. But we face death alone, and scenes of people before tables are normally seen as relating only to the transition to the next world and presence there. Exceptions to this solitude are where a group of people below the highest status are shown together at tables – both seated and squatting on the ground – because they share a tomb or a memorial chapel (e. g. Fig. 3). Tables are individual or at most for two people: large dining tables did not exist in ancient Egypt.

Decorum, in the sense of proper manners and presenting oneself in a dignified fashion, is very important even in a context where licence can be accepted, as I discuss below. More broadly, decorum also limits the permitted range of occurrence of figures so that, for example, in earlier periods people were very rarely shown directly before deities. Where food is present in a formal context, hardly anyone is depicted drinking and eating, although exceptions can be found. Occasionally someone has his hand to his face, but even then mostly not actually putting something in his mouth<sup>4</sup>. Eating is not an elegant activity, and to this day many people try to avoid being shown with food in their mouths, a reticence that can be found across a range of cultures. Moreover, ancient Egyptians were rarely depicted with their mouths open, except when singing, lamenting, or sometimes shouting.

The archaeological record shows that water is important as well as food. Purification, or just hand-washing, when coming in to the house is basic to proper living. Washing sets are among the most prestigious objects from third millennium Egypt<sup>5</sup>. Their metal forms were imitated in a fine ceramic which is known also in bowls that were probably used for ceremonial serving, perhaps of dairy products<sup>6</sup>.

The clearest pointer to the fact that eating is not normally depicted is given, by exception, in a recently published scene of celebration of an expedition's successful return to Egypt, from the causeway of the early 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty mortuary complex of Sahure (ca. 2450 BCE; Fig. 4)<sup>7</sup>. This example is significant because the context is not funerary even though it comes from a mortuary complex: what is shown is an achievement commissioned by the

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<sup>4</sup> Lloyd/Spencer/el-Khouli 2008, pl. 22, both the tomb owner and the small figure of his wife before his knees; she is additionally holding a lotus flower to her nose.

<sup>5</sup> Radwan 1983.

<sup>6</sup> E. g. Anonymous 1978, nos 150 (pl. iii), 152; Hendrickx et al. 2002: forms suggested to be for dairy products.

<sup>7</sup> Full context: el-Awady 2009, pl. 6; Brinkmann 2010, 200.

king as an episode in his rule. The king, whose throne has been literally wheeled in for the occasion, sits with an incense tree, a token of the most prestigious product imported. Facing him are his highest officials and members of his family, simply seated and not doing anything. On the opposite side, in two lower sub-registers, is a group of men captioned as artists/sculptors, a category known from other sources as especially favoured mid-ranking people<sup>8</sup>. It is evidently their privilege to consume in the king's presence. Three appear to be eating and one drinking, and they have rich foods and drink before them. They do not, however, have their mouths open: the food is simply near their mouths, while the vessel – probably for wine – is pressed against the drinker's closed mouth. The scene as a whole is enhanced by a large-scale musical performance. The music is elaborately choreographed with hand gestures and probable rhythmic clapping, a form of 'chironomy' that is typically Egyptian and would have a strong visual effect, but on the preserved block there is no element of actual dance.

This idea of a privilege of eating before the king extended to some expedition leaders, that is, perhaps people equivalent to those standing in the registers above the eating sculptors in Fig. 4 (omitted from the figure for reasons of scale). A biographical inscription of a high official named Iny from about 2200 BCE states as much<sup>9</sup>:

I was seated eating bread in the (royal) daily round,  
and great was His Person's satisfaction  
at seeing me eat, more than any peer of mine.

Comparable practices are known in a number of European cultures, where kings would eat by themselves or might invite a few favoured people to their tables<sup>10</sup>. Eating would thus be in the same space of celebration or favour as the ruler, but it would very often not be simultaneous. In Egypt the subordinates might eat first or in a pattern unrelated to the king's eating, as is implied by the statement that Iny was seen 'eating bread in the (royal) daily round', when the king's entourage, and perhaps the king himself would process through the palace complex and view what was happening.

Such privileges are paralleled from less absolutely exalted social contexts, no doubt in emulation of royal practice. Some elite men were shown with their personal sculptors, in scenes completed by music, dance, and presentation of food (see n. 8). The sculptor in the tomb of Rashepses at Saqqara (ca. 2400 BCE) has his hand in a tray of fruit, while the tomb owner,

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<sup>8</sup> E. g. Junker 1959, 41 fig. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Marcolin/Diego Espinel 2011, 606-607.

<sup>10</sup> See e. g. Ottomeyer/Völkel 2002.

who is the patron, is not shown eating<sup>11</sup>. In another tomb an artist is given special treatment in a trip to the marshland, where he has meat barbecued for him on the spot, as well as going on his own little fish-spearing expedition (Fig. 5). He is the eminent member of the group and is shown by himself. Another, lower-ranking special person, perhaps just an elderly peasant, lolls and fishes with a line from a boat that contains vast amounts of food. Here, the privilege seems to be to appear with food that is provided by others, so that the protagonist can simply receive it. We need not assume that these people would take the food by themselves: they may have less highly favoured companions who are not shown.

The setting of these banquets is seldom indicated visually. Where were banquets or receptions located? One answer seems to be in a colonnaded space, as is shown in the image of the high-ranking man with his sculptor (see n. 8; see also below for New Kingdom evidence from about a millennium later). More often they might be in a tent, or the colonnade might be extended with a tent. Tents can accommodate far more people than most houses, and they offer the advantage that one does not have to have guests in one's private quarters. A widespread title of the third millennium, held by both high-ranking people and subordinates, is 'controller of the tent', the latter being set up for hospitality<sup>12</sup>. There is even a hierarchy of related titles. The Instruction for Kagemni, a text of the early second millennium that is set fictionally in the late third millennium, describes how one should behave in such places<sup>13</sup>:

The meek man prospers, and the honest man is favoured.  
The tent is open for the quiet man,  
and wide is access for the calm man.  
...

If you sit with many people, scorn the bread you love!  
Restraining the heart is a brief moment.  
Gluttony is wrongdoing; people point at it.

A cup of water quenches thirst.  
A mouthful of herbs makes the heart firm.

We need not take these joyless, moralistic, careerist prescriptions literally; rather, part of their purpose is to contrast with the realities of celebration. They are also significant in mentioning non-mortuary entertainment and thus confirming – as if it were needed – that what is shown in tombs relates to wider usages.

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<sup>11</sup> See n. 8; from Lepsius n. d., pl. 61a.

<sup>12</sup> Jones 2000, II, 736-737 (translates wrongly 'dining hall').

<sup>13</sup> After Parkinson 1997, 291.

Similarly, we should not be too literal in interpreting a pair of stelae from around 1800 BCE, one of which shows an extremely fat harpist performing before the owner of a stela and by implication his family, with a very brief text in a caption above<sup>14</sup>:

O tomb, you were built for festivals,  
you were founded for good times.

His song relates to the tomb, but its message is probably that ‘good times’ are what a celebration with a harpist should contribute to. Both in his person and in what he says, he reminds people that they should eat, drink, and enjoy themselves because they will die, as later texts from comparable contexts make clear (discussed below). The second stela is the harpist’s own, dedicated by friends, and it shows him reaching out his hand toward food, probably conveying a similar message.

### **The New Kingdom (ca. 1500-1300 BCE): other implications of banquets**

From about 1500 BCE for a couple of centuries images of banquets were relatively common<sup>15</sup>. Most attestations are in tombs at Thebes, the oldest significant one being in the tomb of Tetiky from early in the period (Fig. 7, see below)<sup>16</sup>, together with two very small chapels of similar date (discussed below). The best analysed is probably the banquet from the tomb of Nebamun (ca. 1400 BCE), fragments of which are in the British Museum and several other collections, which offers a particularly rich combination of guests, drink, food, music, and dancing<sup>17</sup>.

Some captions to details in scenes of this type state in no uncertain terms that one should in particular get drunk, as in the tomb of Paheri at Elkab (ca. 1480 BCE), upstream from Thebes. It seems, however, that one should not make a mess of oneself or behave in an unseemly manner. A servant addresses a woman to whom he offers drink in a bowl (Fig. 6)<sup>18</sup>:

For your ka<sup>19</sup>: imbibe to drunkenness.  
Celebrate. Hear what your companion says.

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<sup>14</sup> Simpson 1974, pl. 56; text: Sethe 1928, 87 no. 27a.

<sup>15</sup> Hartwig 2004, 12-13, 98-103; Harrington 2013, 113-121; Liao 2013, also citing possible forerunners.

<sup>16</sup> Davies 1925; Hofmann 2010.

<sup>17</sup> Parkinson 2008, 70-92.

<sup>18</sup> Naville/Tylor/Griffith 1894, pl. vii (overall context); detail presented here: Baines 2008, 107 with fig. 70.

<sup>19</sup> Vital force that takes the deceased into the next world and transmits heritage down the generations.

Do not pass out (?) wrongly.

Her companion, however, says:

Give me 18

jugs of wine!

What I want is to get drunk on the spot ...

The servant in the group to the left warns a woman who is pushing away the cup he proffers that she should not 'slosh' the wine. These humorous captions are confined to a register of women and are perhaps intended to enliven the superficially staid tone of the rest.

This banquet is not quite what it might seem at first glance. Some of those depicted are the renowned local deceased ('true of voice'), notably Ahmose son of Ebana, the owner of a nearby tomb who had been an actor in major historical events a couple of generations earlier. The composition displays a hierarchy: the most important deceased are shown at a larger scale and the privileged sit on chairs, with couples seated together, whereas the other guests are divided by gender and squat on mats, as most Egyptians probably did for their meals. Guests or pairs of guests generally have tables before them, low for those on the ground, higher for those on chairs. Among the corpus of scenes the pattern of use of chairs developed over the period, with chair forms being distinguished for status and gender; similar pieces of furniture have been found in tombs, where they could have been deposited after funeral banquets or as tokens of banquets among the living<sup>20</sup>.

A scene from about a century later, in the tomb of one – Djoserkareseneb – at Thebes, presents related content more explicitly<sup>21</sup>. The caption above the seated tomb owner says clearly that he is deceased: 'Sitting in the tent to delight the heart as when he was on earth, by TITLES, NAME', while women presenting a festive broad collar to him say: 'Join the perfect day (a term for a celebration), O TITLES'. Above a group of women who are showing respect through a gesture of pressing their hands together is another caption: 'A perfect day: One constantly recalls the perfection [of Amun] – how content is the heart! – and praise is given to the height of the sky before you, each one saying "our desire is to see them (?)" ... O [TITLE, NAME] perpetually'. A group of female musicians and dancers is also present.

The focus of this banquet, as of many others, is on drinking more than eating; this is made clear by an array of wine vessels, garlanded with vine tendrils, bearing bunches of grapes that bring to mind the source of

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<sup>20</sup> In a funeral procession: Lange/Hirmer 1968, pl. 171; from a tomb: Vassilika 2010. See in general Manuelian 1982.

<sup>21</sup> Theban Tomb 38: Davies 1963, pls. v-vi.

wine. One male guest displays effects of drink, vomiting into a vessel that has been set out in case of need, and the captions cited above show that drunkenness was expected. Vomiting, which is attested in a number of examples for both men and women, was evidently within accepted standards of behaviour for the occasion, but may also have been included in the scene as a piquant feature. To the modern viewer it contrasts markedly with the restrained poses of the figures – including the vomiting man – which is in keeping with the norms governing Egyptian images of elites. This contrast may not have been meant entirely seriously.

While wine drinking could break down barriers and encourage contact with relatives and associates in the next world – a contact that is documented explicitly in letters to the dead<sup>22</sup> – it was evidently valued for its own sake. One should not take the mortuary associations as showing that enjoyment was not a prime purpose of the occasion, as it would also be in banquets away from the tomb. The lesser emphasis on drink in the royal scene of Fig. 4, from about a millennium earlier, may suggest that more purely this-worldly occasions did not focus so much on breaking down barriers to communication, but conventions for representing celebrations may have changed without significant alteration in their character as events. The king's presence might also inhibit people's behaviour, although the name of a work crew on the Great Pyramid of Khufu, around a century earlier, was 'How drunk is Khufu!'<sup>23</sup>. Drunkenness was also valued in the cult of deities, as the attestation from around 1470 BCE of a 'porch of drunkenness' outside the temple of Mut in Thebes reminds us<sup>24</sup>. Much later, in the Graeco-Roman period, texts on ostraca probably from Hermopolis, midway between Memphis and Thebes, evoke celebrations involving eating, drinking, and sexual activity in relation to the cult of two goddesses<sup>25</sup>.

Tents set up for banquets can be imagined from the decor of tomb interiors. From the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1900 BCE) onward ceilings of some tombs bore designs that evoke patterned fabrics and perhaps matting<sup>26</sup>. They are as richly coloured as the technology of the period allowed. The decoration of tomb walls is often framed by motifs inspired by edges of fabrics or tasselling of rugs, suggesting a compromise between pictorial content and wall hangings or walls made of fabrics. Tents would be temporary structures consisting of a frame covered with patterned and

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<sup>22</sup> E.g. Wente 1990, 210-220.

<sup>23</sup> Brunner 1954; see more broadly Brunner 1986.

<sup>24</sup> Bryan 2005, 182-183.

<sup>25</sup> Depauw/Smith 2004, with valuable discussion and references to other material.

<sup>26</sup> E. g. Shedid 1994, 21 fig. 24, 44 fig. 72.



perhaps quilted fabrics or skins. An alternative would be to have a natural setting under a tree or a vine – the latter being known for example in Assyrian art<sup>27</sup> – and this too is represented in more than one way in the ceilings and images in Theban tombs<sup>28</sup>. Shade could also be set up next to columned porticos; any banquet that did not take place after sunset would require some protection from the sun. Images of reed shelters are also common; these are smaller in scale but could offer an alternative, especially if a number of them were assembled for a banquet.

Banquets for the living might happen anywhere suitable, whereas those which celebrated the dead were probably held within or near the necropolis. The former type of banquet may be suggested by the setting shown in the tomb of Tetiky (Fig. 7)<sup>29</sup>. The owner and his wife are in a columned portico, facing a row of seated men followed by standing women, with these different poses expressing a hierarchy of the sexes. A second sub-register beneath, now almost entirely lost, included a figure of a servant girl ministering to the needs of a probably drunken man. No structure is indicated except the portico, but one would be necessary, and it might be supplied in a sense by decoration of the chamber, whose vaulted roof has a fabric-derived pattern centring on a depiction of a plank of fine imported wood<sup>30</sup>. Further along the upper sub-register of banqueters is a tree, under which sits another figure of Tetiky with two women, observing country life while being offered food and drink (Fig. 8).

The layout of Tetiky's tomb complex and the decoration of another of its elements may suggest a setting in the necropolis for a banquet (Fig. 9). At right angles to the main painted chamber – possibly a cult chamber – is a court with a small chamber, perhaps a store room, leading off it. A shaft with a raised surround in the middle of the court leads to the burial chamber. Opposite the shaft is a miniature vaulted chamber, two metres deep, 80 cm wide, and not much over a metre high<sup>31</sup>. This uninscribed space is decorated on the west wall with a banquet scene of three men flanked by two couples (Fig. 10); on the east wall is a vine trellis with a man picking grapes; on the largely destroyed south wall are a row of wine jars and an

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<sup>27</sup> E. g. Collins 2008, 136-137.

<sup>28</sup> Notably the underground chamber in the tomb of Sennefer, where part of the ceiling uses a rug-like pattern and part a vine; see e. g. Anonymous (ed.) 1988. This chamber is thematically close to the tombs of Tetiky and others discussed below.

<sup>29</sup> Davies 1925, pl. iv, mid; Hofmann 2010, pl. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Hofmann 2010, pl. 16a.

<sup>31</sup> Hofmann 2010, 50, terming the space a niche, following the original publication. It is, however, deeper than it is wide, and so not niche-shaped. East and south walls at the time of excavation: Carnarvon/Carter 1905, pl. III 2.

offering figure. The chamber's decoration may point to what the adjacent court would be used for, as well as indicating that this small space was a storage place for wine.

The court, which is relatively large, would be a suitable place for a banquet. The shaft in the middle would create a link to the spirits of the dead buried beneath (these tombs typically contained several burials). Tents set up for the occasion would not leave any trace that would have been recovered when the court was excavated in 1905. Eva Hofmann (see n. 31) remarks that the decoration of the small chamber is not that of a tomb chapel, but this is slightly misleading: while the prime decoration of tomb chapels centres on the mortuary cult, it also often includes banquet scenes. Communication with the dead, which is solicited by banquets, is an aspect of the cult but is not the central presentation of offerings. Hofmann also points to a larger chamber in the Western Valley of the Kings that contained among other objects pottery suggestive of a banquet near the tomb of Amenhotep III (ca. 1355 BCE). Such a banquet might perhaps have been held in tents near the tomb, with the chamber being used for storage and for discarded material<sup>32</sup>. The presence of this chamber is significant, because the associated tomb was purely otherworldly and was in principle sealed permanently after the burial, so that it could not have been used for banquets.

The banqueting in the tomb of Tetiky is partly paralleled by two tomb chapels of similar date, those of Amenemhat (no. 340) and of an unknown owner (no. 354)<sup>33</sup>. These too have the form of mudbrick vaults and so are unlike most Theban tombs. At two metres in their longer dimension, they are too small to have been used for rituals, and only one of them has a suitable space outside; perhaps in this case the funeral was conducted further away. In both tombs the decoration is restricted to banqueting and the funeral procession, as well as scenes of the deceased before gods in the lunettes of the vaults that are quite exceptional for the period. Both have vaulted recesses with images of wine jars above them, making the association of that feature with wine as explicit as in the tomb of Tetiky, but within the chapel rather than next to the courtyard. The best interpretation of this range of images is that it shows the complementary episodes of funeral and mourning, on the one hand, and the funeral banquet on the other hand. The ceiling of the tomb of Amenemhat bears a vine trellis pattern very similar to that on the east wall of the miniature chamber of Tetiky, while the ceiling of Tomb 354 has a detail of a wooden plank that is close to that in Tetiky's larger vaulted chamber.

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<sup>32</sup> Kondo 1995, 30-32.

<sup>33</sup> Cherpion 1999.

These compositions, which are different in character from the scenes in later tombs of the period, associate banquets with the funeral and therefore with the living, as also seems plausible for the chamber in the Western Valley, rather than focusing around communication between the living and the dead and festivals (see below). Connection between banquets and the funeral is also given by the depicted furniture, as indicated above.

Archaeological evidence for the use of tomb courts for banquets comes from deposits found in them, such as one reported for the tomb of Tjanuny (ca. 1400 BCE), which contained traces of plants, matting, and pottery blackened by burning<sup>34</sup>. These finds fit with the implications of the layout of the tomb of Tetiky and Tomb 354, but banquets could have been celebrated during the 'Perfect Festival of the Wadi', an annual ritual that brought people to commemorate their dead in association with the cult of the goddess Hathor, the patroness of the Theban necropolis<sup>35</sup>.

The widespread assumption by scholars that banquets were set in the accessible chambers of tombs, which is somewhat implausible because many of the spaces are unsuitable, is argued against by the evidence of Tetiky and related tombs, as well as by the chamber in the Western Valley.

Other, probably non-funerary contexts for banquets are strongly suggested by the exceptional tomb of Amenemhat (no. 82, perhaps two generations after Tetiky); this includes a number of banquet scenes of varied character, one of them showing sculptors and thus perhaps looking back to models like the third millennium reliefs mentioned above<sup>36</sup>.

A banquet could have marked the end of the funeral, as seems plausible for the chamber in the Western Valley. A connection between banquets and the funeral is also suggested by the furniture shown in funerary processions, which includes some of the same chair types as are depicted in banquets, types that are also attested by largely uncontexted finds from the necropolis (see n. 20).

The images of banquets have a function that is normal for pictures, to depict in one context something that would happen in another. Their evocation of a tented environment in the spaces themselves takes the tomb chamber some way toward being a symbolic tent, one of whose purposes would be banqueting, but it does not make it into a banqueting place. And although tomb forecourts are a very plausible setting for celebrating the dead, such events might also have been held in quite different locations.

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<sup>34</sup> Hartwig 2004, 12-13, with references.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Bietak 2012; often termed the 'Festival of the Valley', but the 'valley' in question is not in the Nile valley but in the desert, and so a wadi.

<sup>36</sup> Davies/Gardiner 1915.

Despite these connections and implications of the images, one should beware of taking representations of banquets literally. The extreme instance of an idealized banquet is in the Theban tomb of Ramose, a contemporary of Amenhotep III and his successor Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (ca. 1360 BCE)<sup>37</sup>. The finely carved scene occupies the wall to the south (the premier side) as the visitor enters the tomb. A group of the highest-ranking officials in the land is shown, including some whose residence was Memphis, more than 600 kilometres to the north, and Amenhotep son of Hapu, the most prominent nonroyal individual of the period. Ramose and his wife sit among the others at the same scale, and he holds his hand up in a gesture of speech and perhaps of invitation to the feast. His wife and a number of the others are said to be 'in the necropolis', a rare extension to the normal designation 'true of voice' which signifies that a person is deceased or prospectively so. While many of the inscriptions are fragmentary and some were never carved, captions above two pairs contribute significant additional meaning:

Receiving gifts daily that come forth from the presence of [Amun], being very pure, for the *ka* of the overseer of the horses of the Lord of the Two Lands, the King's Messenger in all foreign lands, the effective confidant of the Sovereign, enduring in favour before the Lord of the Two Lands, May, true of voice; his 'sister', his beloved, the favoured one of the goddess Mut Lady of Ishru, mistress of the house, Werel, true of voice.

Being content with provisions daily from the offering-loaves of the Lord of the Gods, for the *ka* of the overseer of the seers? of [Amun], Kushy, true of voice.

This indicates that those depicted are to participate perpetually in the reversion of offerings, an institution in which what was presented to the gods, in this case Amun in the great temple of Karnak across the river from the Theban necropolis, was then offered to deceased elites, many of whom would possess statues in the temple, before being consumed by priestly personnel and others. This practice unifies the sacred landscape symbolically, but it is not known whether offerings themselves were brought to the necropolis, as seems to have happened with some consecrated floral bouquets<sup>38</sup>. Be that as it may, the captions show that this banquet scene does not signify any one occasion or context such as a festival. Rather, with all its

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<sup>37</sup> Davies 1941, pls. viii–xix; Lange/Hirmer 1968, pls. 171, 173–177 (selection of figures); text cited Davies pl. viii, Lange and Hirmer pl. 173.

<sup>38</sup> Dittmar 1986, 118–121.

this-worldly finery it represents the aspiration to a perpetual social and religious communing of leading elites from the whole country in the next world as, no doubt, in this world.

The Ramose composition shows the height of order and of connection with the next world. A few years later, in the revolutionary reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (ca. 1355-1338) with its profound innovations in religion, the conventions posited above, as perhaps explaining why we have few pictures of eating in banquets, were reversed. This reversal went together with many others, some of which seem to show primarily that things were different, probably in part to shock audiences (so far as audience is a relevant concept). A composition in the tomb of the high official Huya at the new capital of el-Amarna shows Akhenaten, his queen Nefertiti, and his mother sitting and drinking in one scene, while in the matching one the king gnaws on a leg joint of meat and the queen on a duck<sup>39</sup>. Even here, however, the queen mother is not eating; she perhaps belonged to an older generation that would not accept to be depicted in this way. It is difficult to believe that this scene was not created both to defy convention and perhaps, since no non-royal people apart from servants are included, to set royalty apart from others (the presence of servants itself differs from much traditional practice). Moreover, the art of the period placed very heavy emphasis on food, which is in keeping with the character of this pair of scenes<sup>40</sup>.

The setting of Akhenaten's intimate but hardly private banquet is given in the registers beneath, which show beneath each scene a retinue, food, vast amounts of wine, and musicians (see n. 41). Further beneath are very fragmentary landscapes of agriculture and countryside, including in the better preserved example a vine and a meal left for a subordinate – perhaps remotely comparable with the Old Kingdom example of Fig. 5. It seems thus that the feast is imagined as being either set in the country or connected with it in an idealized way – neither in the palace nor in the necropolis. Barry Kemp (see n. 40) suggests that feasts would be held in the palace complex and identifies a suitable location, but this is not incompatible with the rural ideal implied by the tomb relief. Other areas in the palace also celebrated the world of nature.

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<sup>39</sup> Davies 1905, pls. iv-vii.

<sup>40</sup> See Kemp 2012, 145-146, with brief discussion of banqueting. His figure does not reproduce the rural compositions beneath the scene of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. The parallel he cites in the decree of Akhenaten's fourth successor Horemheb is not as close as he implies. While the latter text is significant for relations between the king and his guards, who are to be fed well and rewarded, the very broken passage does not certainly refer to a banquet.

### Later periods (after ca. 1100 BCE)

In the period after Akhenaten, tomb art gradually moved its focus from this world to the next, and few banquets or related events were depicted. The chief relevant genre that proliferated in the late New Kingdom (ca. 1300-1100 BCE) was the harpist's song (mentioned above)<sup>41</sup>. Images of harpists are also known from later periods, but without associated songs.

The songs mobilized a discourse about the fleeting character of this life that could either promote the importance of the next world or assert that provision for it is vain, because no one has returned from there. One song thematizes this dissonance explicitly, saying that the message of the cynical songs should not be accepted<sup>42</sup>. Although banquet scenes were hardly included in tombs in the late New Kingdom, visual evidence from earlier in the period presents the setting of harpists' songs in banquets where love poems were probably also performed – banquets that no doubt related both to this world and to the next. People think about death while drinking, eating, and enjoying themselves, and in many cultures they are encouraged to engage more intensively in these activities by the prospect that in future they will no longer be able to indulge. The same idea is present even in the highly moralistic context of the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel (ca. 300 BCE), where a rather broken inscription states that one should drink to inebriation, contrasting this with the inevitability of death<sup>43</sup>.

Here, one can link Egyptian and much later classical views of the importance of enjoyment and its connection with confronting mortality. Herodotus (2, 78) says that at Egyptian parties model coffins and skeletons would be carried around to encourage the revellers to drink and celebrate<sup>44</sup>. Such a practice would fit with the themes of the harpist's songs, and Katherine M. D. Dunbabin has extended earlier discussions of small figures of skeletons, most of which appear to date to the Graeco-Roman period, to argue that these represent the kind of objects that would be circulated at parties, although extant examples almost certainly come from tombs<sup>45</sup>. Moreover, the context of death and funerals, which brings people together in unwonted groups, is itself a form of celebration, and it is often accompanied by drinking and feasting. Perhaps the skeleton figures could have been used then – but they could also relate to the notion of the

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<sup>41</sup> Assmann 1977; version in a collection on a literary papyrus: Fox 1985, 345-7.

<sup>42</sup> Kákosy/Fábián 1995, esp. 219.

<sup>43</sup> Lefebvre 1923-1924, I, 161, II, 90-1 (text 127).

<sup>44</sup> See e. g. Lloyd 1976, 335-357.

<sup>45</sup> Dunbabin 1986.

deceased's 'shadow' and its rebirth. Many New Kingdom funeral processions are depicted as lined by booths that shelter wine jars in particular. The jars are overturned as the coffin passes and the booths taken down, the whole process being accompanied by extravagant gestures of grief<sup>46</sup>. While actions of this sort have a specifically funerary meaning, notably in the destruction of value accompanying the end of a life, they probably also point to heavy consumption of wine as part of the funeral process.

A wide range of evidence for conviviality survives from the late second and first millennia, especially in texts<sup>47</sup>. It is not possible to treat that material here. Instead, my concluding examples come from two stelae from the reign of Cleopatra VII Philopator, shortly before the Roman conquest deprived the indigenous elite of wealth, restricting the display of traditional Egyptian culture. Taimhotep, the second wife of the high priest of Memphis, died in 42 BCE. Her funerary stela bears one of the best known ancient Egyptian texts (first published in the 1830s), the content of which is profoundly steeped in older Egyptian high culture. The following passage probably relates both to funerary laments and to the tradition of harpists' songs, but it is cast as a dirge from the next world addressed to the living, the latter being the setting for numerous Egyptian biographical texts<sup>48</sup>:

Oh my brother, my husband,  
my companion, great controller of craftsmen:

may your heart not tire in drinking and eating,  
drunkenness and sexual pleasure.

Have a good day and follow your heart all the time.  
Do not place care in your heart.

Years snatched upon earth are good.  
(But) as for the west<sup>49</sup>, (it is) a land ... darkness.  
It is miserable to dwell in for those who are there.

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<sup>46</sup> E. g. Priese 1991, 136-137 no. 82.

<sup>47</sup> See e. g. Kees 1938 (exhortation in a priestly biography to eat, drink, and enjoy life); Lichtheim 1980, 13-24 (the same text in translation and a comparable inscription); Caminos 1958, 97-104 (vast scale of celebratory offerings that would be recycled for the benefit of the living); Hoffmann/Quack 2007, 160-162 (tale of the drunken king Amasis as the setting for a cycle of stories).

<sup>48</sup> British Museum, EA 147. Photograph: Walker/Higgs 2001, 187 no. 193; translations e. g. Lichtheim 1980, 62-63; Panov 2010. My rendering here is based on a new facsimile by Richard Parkinson, for which I am very grateful.

<sup>49</sup> The realm of the necropolis and the dead.

Such a text, or an elaboration on its themes, might be performed in relation to the funeral, making explicit the paradoxes of death and its relation to the living group, in a form of licence that would temper the sense of grief. This particular piece was commissioned by the widower and is stated at the end to have been composed by a relative. Whether or not its content connected with normal funeral practices, one might say that Taimhotep's husband, Psherenptah, may have taken the advice attributed to his deceased wife too much to heart, because he died just eighteen months later. His biographer – the author of Taimhotep's text, this time aided by his son who carved the stela – attributed to Psherenptah a different, more pragmatic view of the good life as he looked back to the time of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos ('Auletes', 80-51 BCE; for the stela see Fig. 11)<sup>50</sup>:

When the king reached Memphis,  
 on every occasion that he travelled south  
 or travelled north to inspect the Two Lands –  
 when he stopped at the ? of Ankhtawy (?),  
 he went to my temple  
 together with his officials and his wives and royal children  
 and all his possessions, resting at leisure,  
 as well as passing by at the festivals of the gods and goddesses who are  
 in Khanefer,  
 inasmuch as love of me was in the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands.  
 He distinguished (me) before all his [officials, or similar].

This passage suggests that banquets and celebrations would happen also around the world of the temples, as has been mentioned above, surely among numerous settings in which such events could take place. The occasions mentioned in Psherenptah's text would have had a strongly political character. As the highest-ranking representative of indigenous culture in late Ptolemaic Egypt, he might have been responsible for entertainment in more traditional styles, although nothing is known of the character of such events or of how far they would have mixed Egyptian and Greek customs. In any case, his evocation of receiving the king and his entourage, although without close parallel from the dynastic period,

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<sup>50</sup> British Museum EA 886, from Saqqara. See Walker/Higgs 2001, 192. No modern edition available. On this passage, see Derchain 1998. The Ankhtawy and Khanefer mentioned in the text are two ancient names for Memphis, the latter extremely learned. My rendering is based on a study of the original.



complements the third millennium mentions and images of association with the king that were cited in an earlier section.

## **Conclusion**

Whereas in much of this article I have used visual evidence to suggest something of how banquets might be imagined, this is not possible for Taimhotep and Psherenptah: only the texts are available, although other biographies show that their preoccupations were by no means unique<sup>51</sup>. As is normal, on neither the wife's nor the husband's stela does the scene at the top, which is in a sense the focus of the whole, indicate anything about the two different styles of conviviality that are evoked in the texts inscribed underneath.

Egyptologists of an earlier generation argued correctly, against popular imagination of a death-obsessed society, that the ancient Egyptians loved life and for that reason represented much of it in their tombs, so that they could take it with them into the next world. While that approach has its problematic aspects, its premise that what is shown in tombs relates to institutions of this life is surely correct. In the near-absence of suitable archaeological sites, tombs constitute the core sources for understanding Egyptian institutions of conviviality, supported by some biographical and literary texts.

I have given only a very selective view of the material, focusing in particular on the issue of why some periods produce one style of evidence and others another. What may not have emerged but bears emphasis is how for ancient Egypt, as for other complex societies or indeed for so many social interactions of any type, who one eats and drinks with, what conventions surround these most fundamental human activities, and how one can escape from everyday conventions through what is consumed and how it is done – all these are essential questions for understanding ancient societies and what held them together. As with so much else, it is also essential to avoid taking these matters too earnestly. Although things can go badly awry, convivial occasions are meant to be enjoyed. And one thing the Egyptian sources convey especially well is the spirit of enjoyment, often laced with humour in its depiction and description. That is as it should be.

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<sup>51</sup> See e. g. Jansen-Winkel 1997; Depauw/Smith 2004.

made very valuable criticisms of drafts. Alison Wilkins most kindly worked on a number of illustrations at very short notice.

### Illustrations

1. Slab stela of Nefer, from Giza Mastaba G 1207. 4<sup>th</sup> dynasty (ca. 2500 BCE). Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, 6-19801. Epigraphic copy. Copyright Peter Der Manuelian, used with kind permission.

2. Tomb of Ti at Saqqara, south wall of corridor, above entrance into chapel. Late 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty (ca. 2350 BCE). After Epron/Daumas/Wild 1939-1966, I, pl. lvi.

3. Tomb of Nefer and Kahay at Saqqara, west wall, south section, scene above false door of Kahay. Late 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty (ca. 2350 BCE). After Moussa/Altenmüller 1971, pl. 32. Courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.

4. Causeway of Sahure at Abusir, blocks with scene of the king with his court receiving the expedition to Punt. Early 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty (ca. 2450 BCE). After el-Awady 2009, pl. 6.

5. Tomb of Pepyankh Henikem at Meir, room B, east wall, north scene, bottom sub-registers, left section. Mid-6<sup>th</sup> dynasty (ca. 2225 BCE). After Blackman 1953, pl. xxx.

6. Tomb of Paheri at Elkab, south ('east') wall, detail of female guests in banquet scene. Early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (ca. 1470 BCE). After Naville/Tylor et al. 1894, pl. vii.

7. Tomb of Tetiky at Thebes, main vaulted chamber, north wall, upper register, left section. Early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (ca. 1500 BCE). After Davies 1925, pl. iv.

8. Tomb of Tetiky at Thebes, main vaulted chamber, north wall, upper register, middle section. Early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (ca. 1500 BCE). After Davies 1925, pl. iv.

9. Tomb of Tetiky at Thebes, schematic plan. Redrawn by Alison Wilkins after Carnarvon/Carter 1912, pl. ii.

10. Tomb of Tetiky at Thebes, banqueting scene on west wall of miniature vaulted chamber. After Carnarvon/Carter 1912, pl. iii, 1.

11. Stela of Psherenptah, probably from a mortuary chapel at Saqqara. Reign of Cleopatra VII Philopator, 41 BCE. British Museum EA 886. Courtesy of museum.

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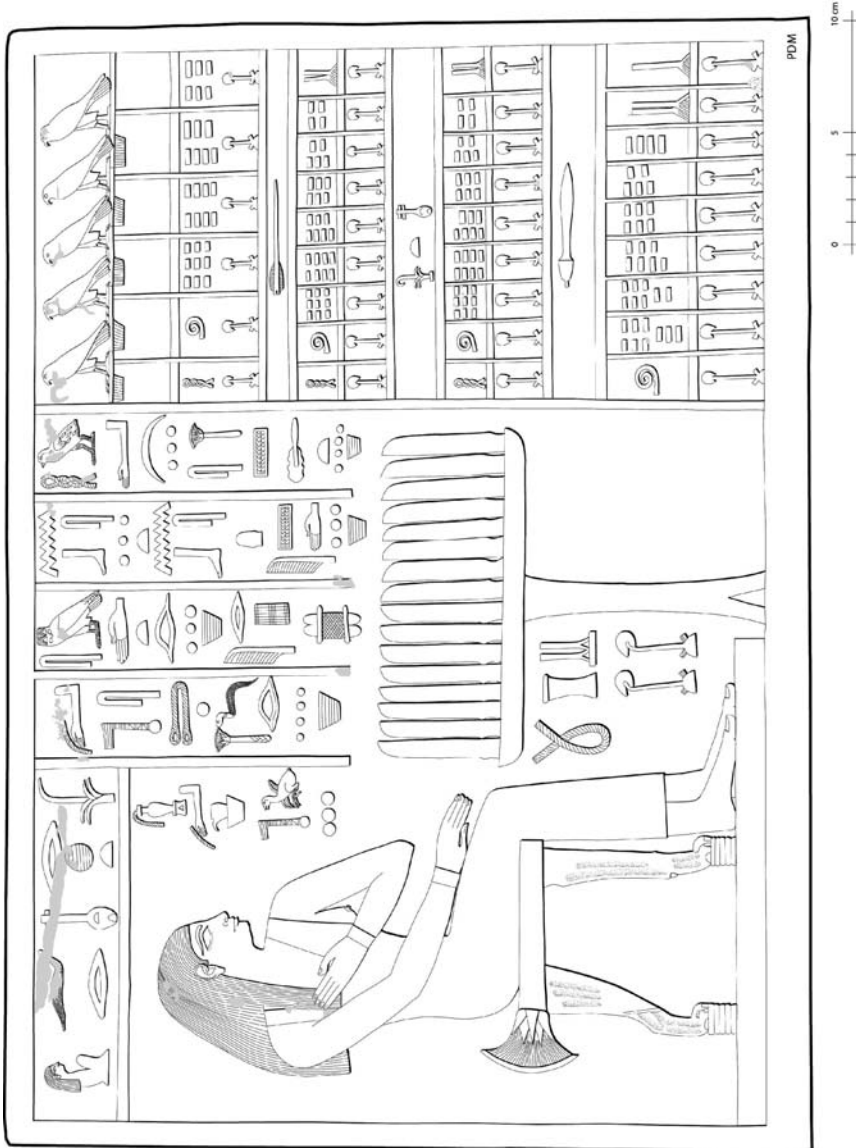


Fig.1.

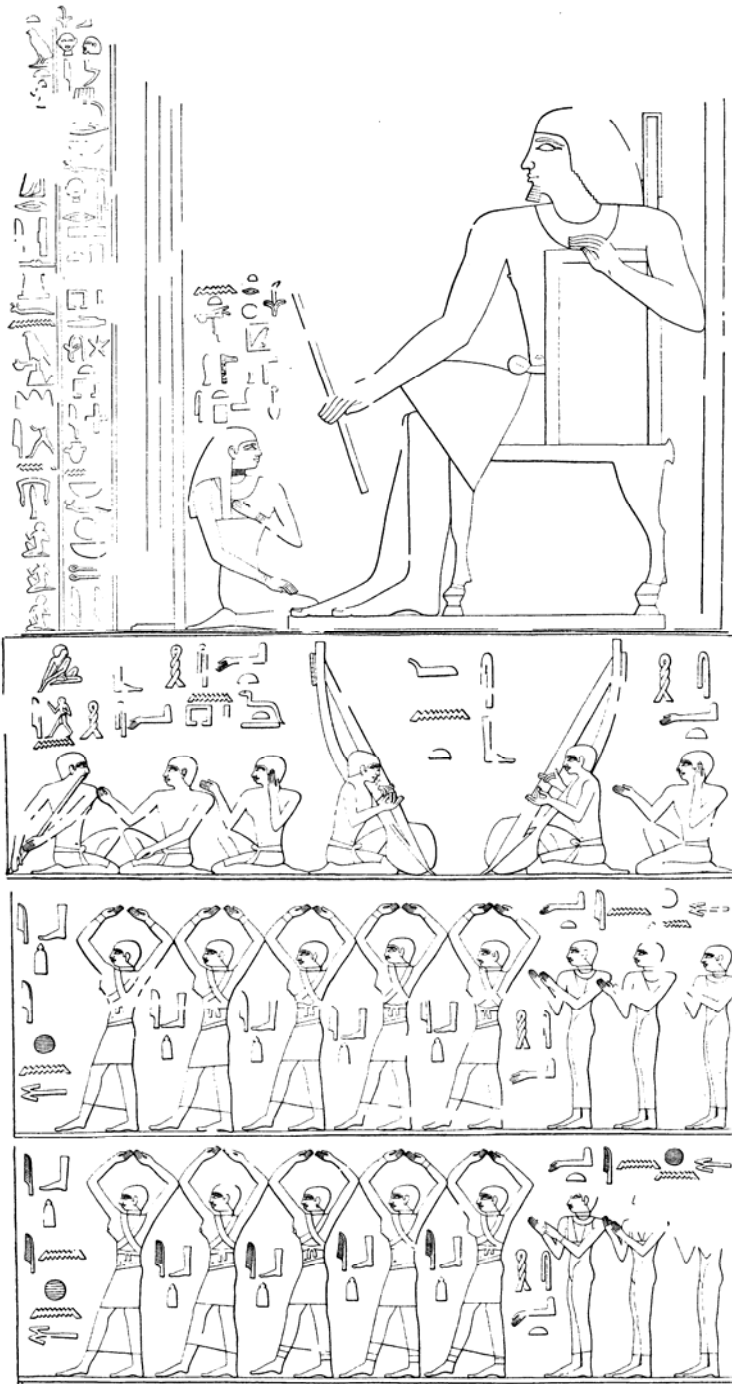


Fig. 2.



**Fig.3.**

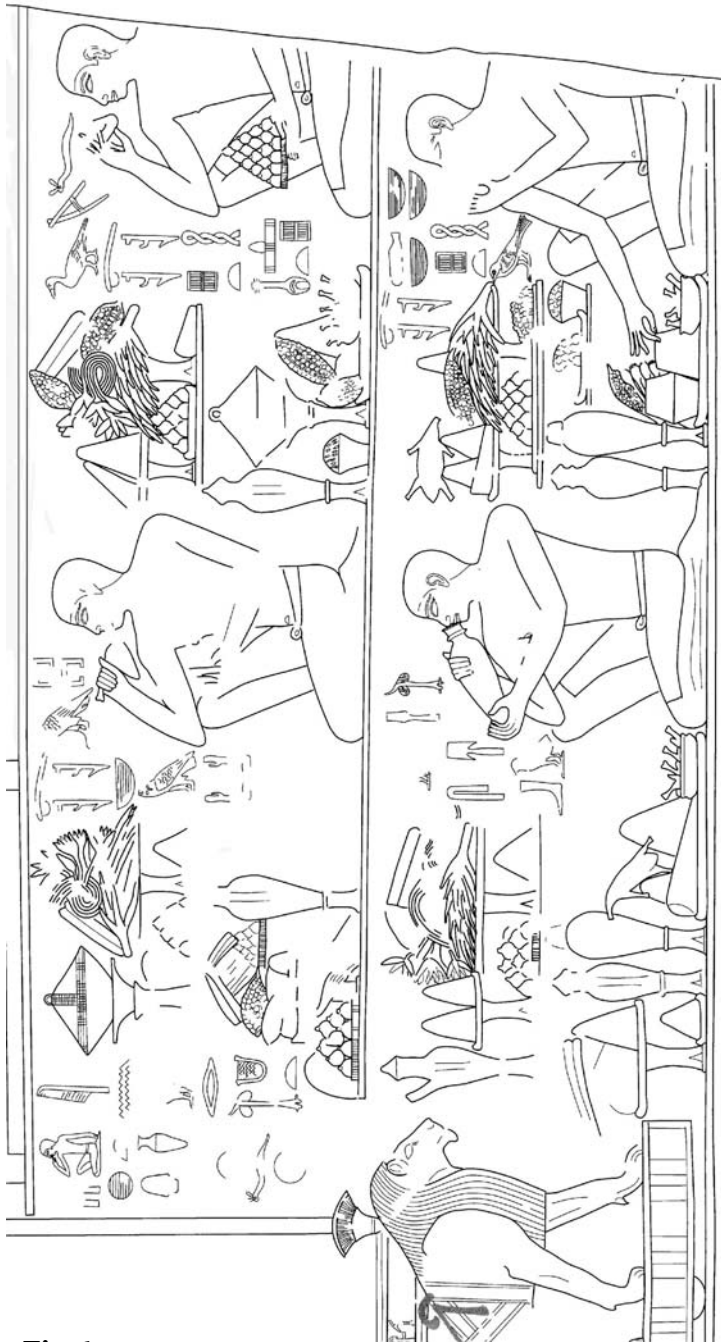
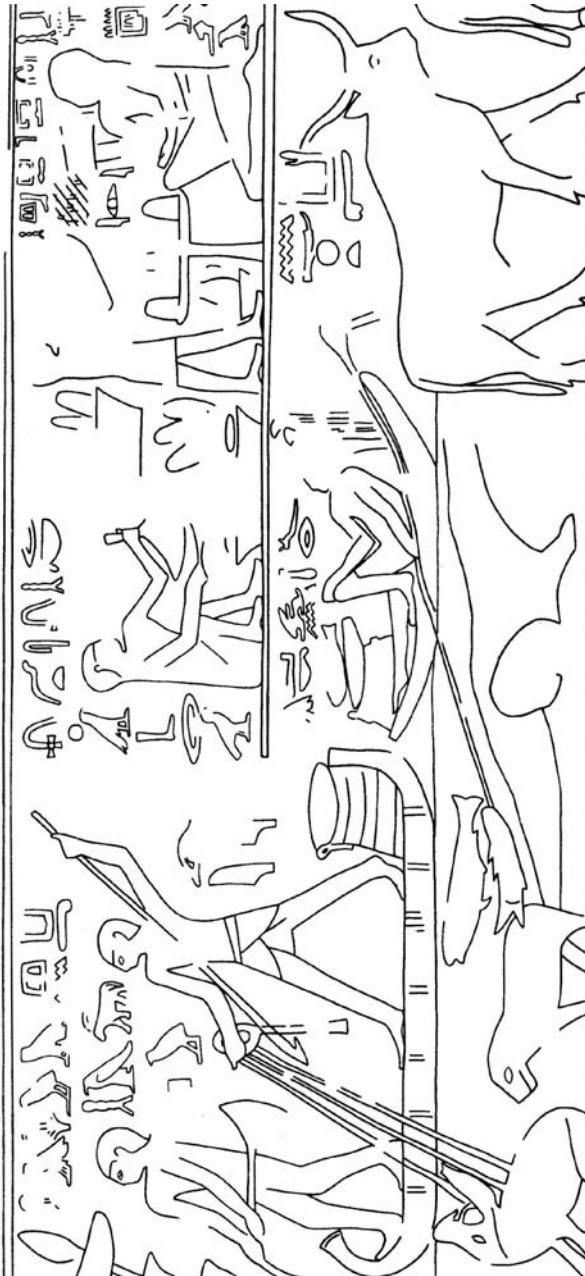


Fig.4.



**Fig.5.**

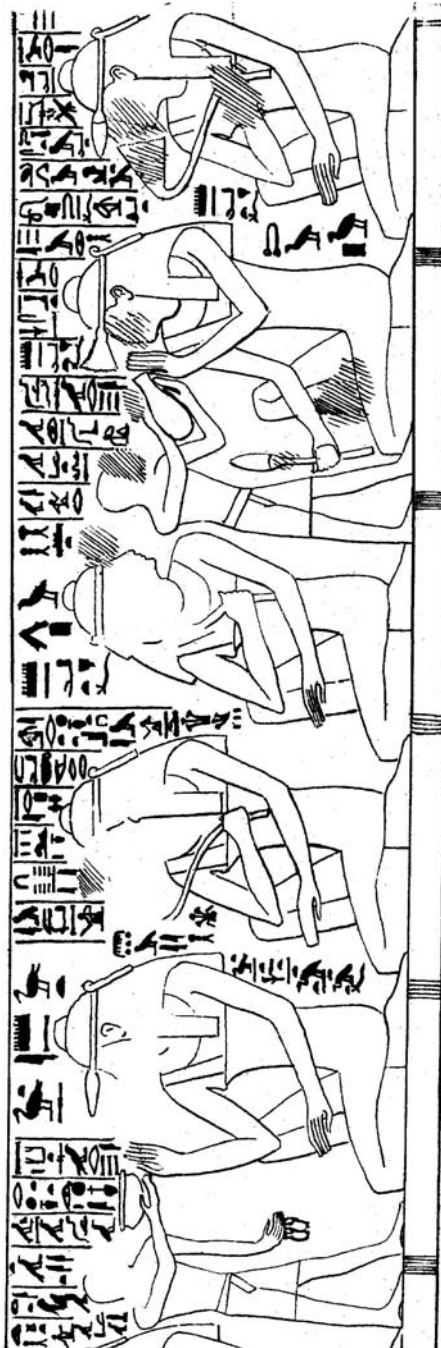


Fig.6.

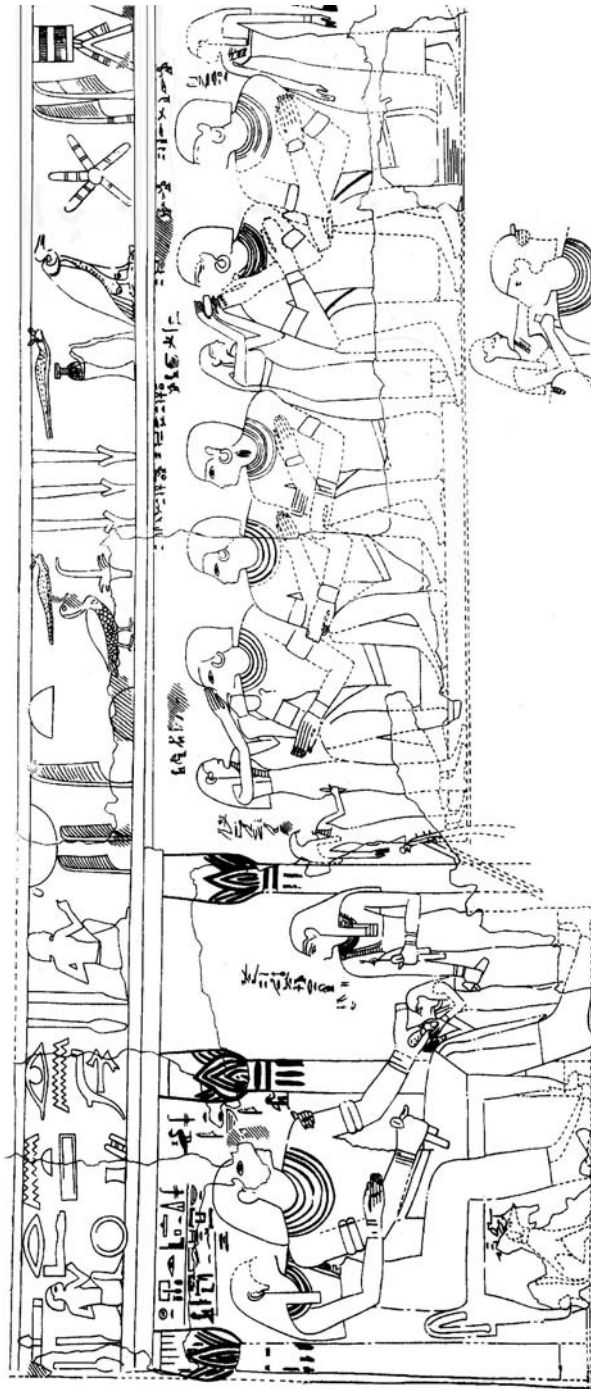
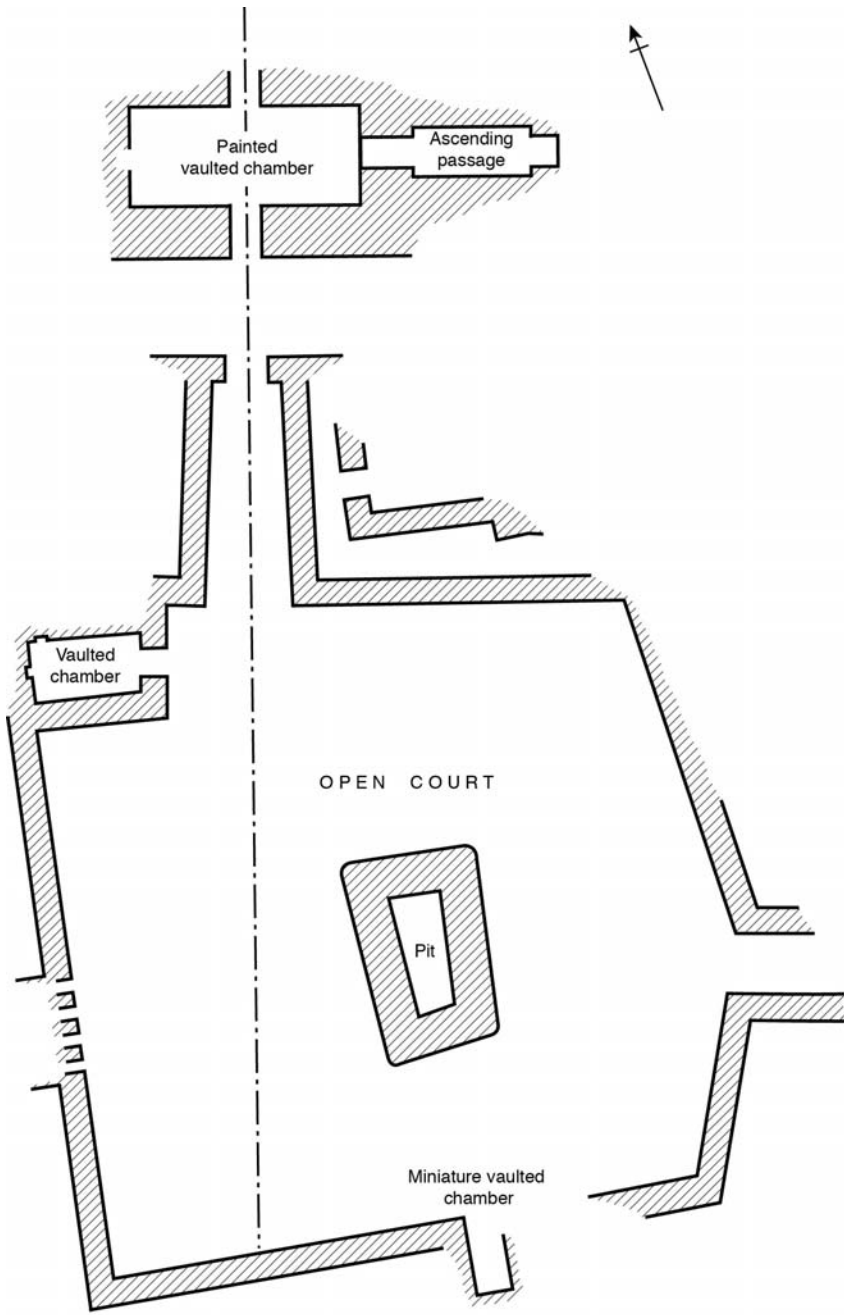


Fig.7.





**Fig.9.**



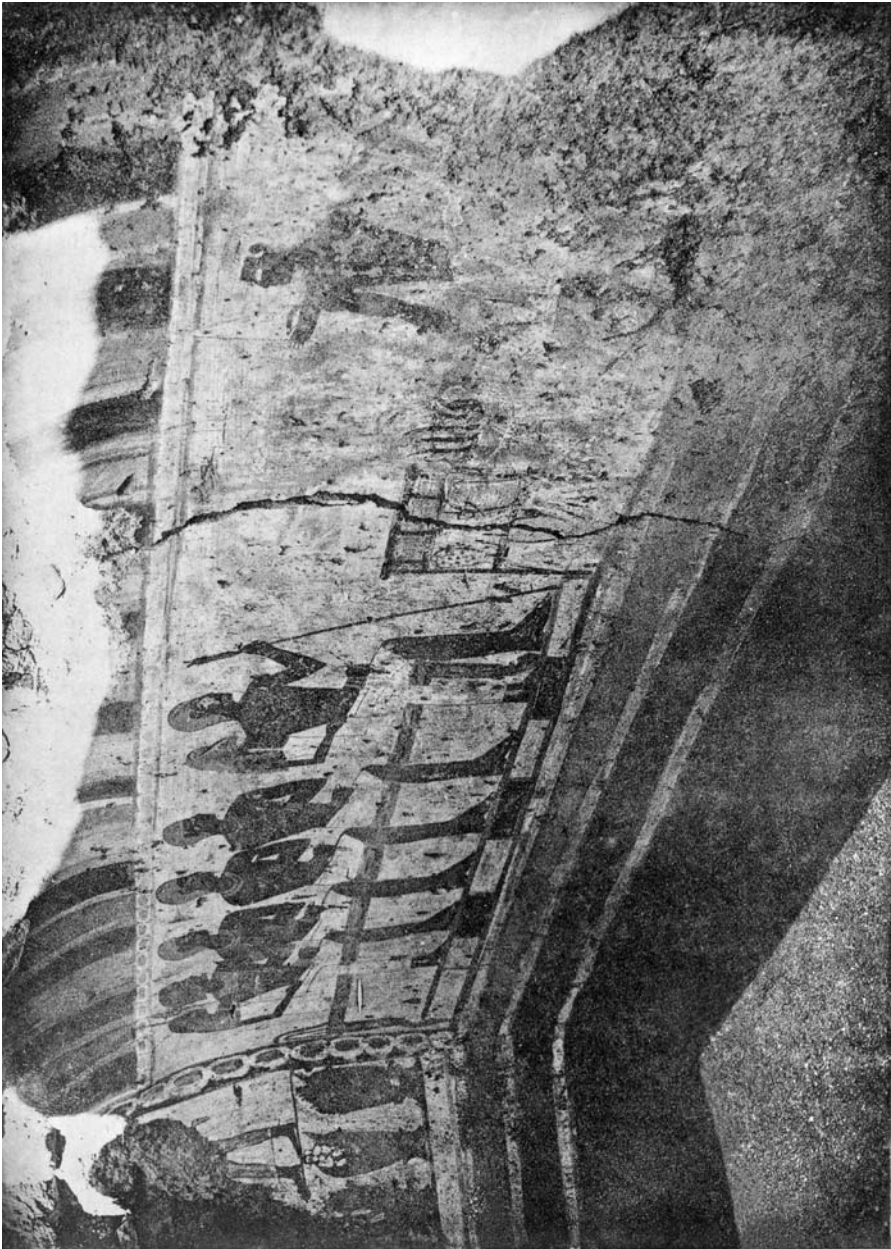


Fig.10.



**Fig.11.**

# Drinking with the gods? The problem of Bronze Age pot deposits in Transylvania\*

Florin GOGÂLTAN

*Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca*

“We make a free libation in the palace,  
to the heavenly gods who live forever”  
(Hom. *Il.* 6, 522)

To the memory of Jovan Uzelac

**Abstract.** For prehistory there is no general consent regarding the role of alcoholic beverages in ritual practices. There are some studies concerning this subject and a series of debates revolving around Bronze Age pottery depositions. Although there is no catalogue of the pottery depositions from Romania, such finds were mentioned in some contributions dealing with general aspects of Bronze Age ritual practices. Recently published monographs of Bronze Age settlements also incorporate discussions regarding this type of finds. In this paper I will present a series of discoveries that can be related with the title that I have chosen. In my opinion a pot deposit represents an intentional and irreversible deposition of one or several complete or restorable vessels, mainly for drinking, in various contexts which do not represent a funerary inventory or have other ritual meaning (like the ones from a sanctuary, or belonging to a metal hoard) or a proved domestic use (fountains or the pottery inventory of a house etc.).

**Key words:** Bronze Age, Transylvania, pot deposits, ritual, libation

**Rezumat: La băut cu zeii? Problema depozitelor de vase din Transilvania epocii bronzului.** În preistorie nu există un consens general în legătură cu rolul băuturilor alcoolice în practicile rituale. Există unele studii asupra subiectului și un număr de dezbateri în jurul depunerilor de ceramică în epoca bronzului. Deși nu există un catalog al depunerilor de ceramică din România, asemenea descoperiri au fost menționate în contribuții asupra aspectelor generale ale practicilor rituale ale epocii bronzului. Monografiile recent publicate ale unor așezări de epoca bronzului includ de asemenea discuții asupra acestor categorii de descoperiri. În prezentul articol voi prezenta o serie de descoperiri care pot fi legate de titlul pe care l-am ales. În opinia mea, un depozit de vase reprezintă o depunere intenționată și ireversibilă a unui sau a mai multor vase întregi sau întregibile, mai ales pentru băut, în diverse contexte care nu reprezintă un inventar funerar sau care nu au alte semnificații rituale (cum sunt cele din

sanctuare ori cele care aparțin unui tezaur metalic) sau utilizare domestică demonstrabilă (fântâni sau inventarul ceramic al unei case etc.).

**Cuvinte cheie:** epoca bronzului, Transilvania, depuneri de vase, ritual, libație.

And Jesus said to them: "I tell you the truth, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you"<sup>1</sup>. These are the words of Jesus that represent the basis of the Christian ritual of communion, which implies the eating of bread and the drinking of wine. In addition to this, the first miracle performed by Jesus was the transformation of water into wine at the Marriage at Cana. There are also other contemporary religions in which offerings of water, milk, beer or wine have a very important ritual role<sup>2</sup>. If the ancient civilizations from Orient or Europe are taken into consideration, it can be observed that sometimes the act of drinking comes out of the profane sphere<sup>3</sup>. Even for the Mycenaean, Minoan, or Hittite civilizations there are writings or representations that underline the importance of such liquid offerings<sup>4</sup>. A tablet found in Pylos speaks about the offerings brought to Poseidon<sup>5</sup>. Hesiod mentions the wine offerings to gods, as a daily routine of the ancient Greeks<sup>6</sup>. This information can also be encountered in the Iliad or the Odyssey<sup>7</sup>. The analyses of such

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<sup>1</sup> John 6, 53.

<sup>2</sup> Huber 1929; Hanell 1937, 2131-2137; Maringer 1973, 705-776.

<sup>3</sup> Selz 1983; Milano 1994; Rouse 1998; Pollock 2003, 17-38; Dunbabin 2003; Poux 2004; Cool 2006; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 303-312, 456-485; Townsend-Vermeule 1974, 98-99; Makkay 1992, 220-228; Wright 2004; Sherratt 2004, 301-337; Müller 2006, 485-520.

<sup>5</sup> Palaima 2004, 217-246; Müller 2006, 507-510.

<sup>6</sup> "...and, as far as you are able, sacrifice to the deathless gods purely and cleanly, and burn rich meats also, and at other times propitiate them with libations and incense, both when you go to bed and when the holy light has come back..." (Hes. *Op.* 320-341); "Never pour a libation of sparkling wine to Zeus after dawn with unwashed hands, nor to others of the deathless gods; else they do not hear your prayers but spit them back." (Hes. *Op.* 724-726).

<sup>7</sup> "Meanwhile the heralds were bringing the holy oath-offerings through the city – two lambs and a goatskin of wine" (Hom. *Il.* 3, 243-245); "they poured wine from the mixing-

sources underline the connection between certain pottery vessels and cult ceremonies<sup>8</sup>. They were related to the ancestors' cult, and some of them were requiring libations to which the community had to participate<sup>9</sup>.

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For prehistory, however, there is no general consent regarding the role of alcoholic beverages in ritual practices. There are some studies concerning this subject, like those written by Georg Kossack<sup>10</sup> or Andrew Sherratt<sup>11</sup>, and a series of debates revolving around Bronze Age pottery depositions<sup>12</sup>. The funerary banquet that required the consumption of alcohol is a subject discussed by many scholars<sup>13</sup>. There are also studies dealing with social aspects of alcohol consumption<sup>14</sup> or appealing to ethnographic parallels in order to ascertain the role of beverages in ritual practices<sup>15</sup>.

I have recently published an interesting Bronze Age discovery from Vlaha (Cluj County), where 6 cups were uncovered on the bottom of a roundish pit. Both shape and relatively large size (1.60 – 1.70 m in diameter and 0.72 cm in depth) indicate that the pit was originally intended for storage. The cups were placed one inside the other in two different manners: four were in a vertical position but were later overturned on the side and the remaining two were facing downwards<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 1).

For a better understanding of this type of finds, the category of the so-called pottery deposits has been briefly analyzed<sup>17</sup>. Some of these deposits are known since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, as is the case with the "Gefäßfund" from the garden of Thürnthal Castle (Lower Austria) or a

bowl into the cups, and prayed to the everlasting gods..." (Hom. *Il.* 3, 293-294); "Wait till I fetch you some sweet honeyed wine, first to pour a libation to Zeus and the other gods, and then for your relief if you will drink" (Hom. *Il.* 6, 258-260); "Nor should I dare to pour Zeus a libation of bright wine with unwashed hands, nor pray to the son of Cronos, lord of the thunder clouds, spattered with blood and filth" (Hom. *Il.* 6, 266-268); "But now you should slice out the victims' tongues and mix the wine, so we can make libations to lord Poseidon and to other gods, and then think of rest" (Hom. *Od.* 3, 335); etc.

<sup>8</sup> Bouzek/Sklenář 1987, 33-37; Zápotocký 1988, 148-149.

<sup>9</sup> Pollock 2003, 21-27; Milledge Nelson 2003, 65-89; Dunbabin 2003, 103-140, 175-202.

<sup>10</sup> Kossack 1964, 96-105.

<sup>11</sup> Sherratt 1987, 81-114.

<sup>12</sup> Horst 1977, 109-148; Lochner 1986, 295-315; Schauer 1996, 406-410; Czyborra 1997, 87-92; Berthold 1998, 25-72; Neugebauer 1999, 5-45; Krenn-Lieb 1999, 46-68; Lauermann/Hahnel 1999, 88-102; Čížmář/Salaš 2005, 127-180; etc.

<sup>13</sup> Hamilakis 1998, 115-132; Gallou 2005; Müller 2006, 498-500; etc. See also n. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Dietler 1990, 352-406; Arnold 1999, 71-93; Dietler 2006, 541-568.

<sup>15</sup> Everett et al. 1976; Dietler 1990, 359-360; Heath 2000; Dietler/Hayden 2001; Heat 2003, 143-164.

<sup>16</sup> Gogâltan et al. 2011, 168-169, fig. 2-3.

<sup>17</sup> Gogâltan et al. 2011, 170-174.

“Töpferei” from Herzogenburg, both mentioned by L. P. Karner<sup>18</sup>. At Inowrocław (central Poland), a big vessel containing six smaller cups was found turned upside down<sup>19</sup>. In 1928 M. Chleborád mentions the first “bronzezeitliche Keramikdepot” from Moravia (Staré Hvězdlice)<sup>20</sup>. For a long time such contexts were considered to be a “Töpferdepot”, “Töpfereilager” “Verwahrkunde” or “Funde, deren Zweck fraglich ist”<sup>21</sup>.

Clemens Eibner’s study from 1969 represented an important turning point in the interpretation of pottery depositions. He reaches the conclusion that “dieses und andere ähnliche Gefäßdepots als Belege einer Kulthandlung zu deuten [sind], bei der wohl Trankspenden und kultische Umtrünke vorgenommen wurden und dessen sakrosankte Keramik dann auf kleinem Raum praktisch gebrauchsfertig deponiert wurde”<sup>22</sup>.

The most recent studies concerning this problem belong to Andrea Stapel which analyzed the “Bronzezeitliche Deponierungen im Siedlungsbereich”<sup>23</sup> and to Hana Palátová and Milan Salaš (“Bronzezeitliche Gefäßdepotfunde in Mähren und benachbarten Gebieten”<sup>24</sup>). As for the latter, the underlying methodology consisted of creating a database that includes information related to location, cultural background, chronology, number of vessels, characteristics of the pottery assemblage, percentage of the recovered material and quality of the feature’s documentation, place and placement of the deposition and references. The second part of the catalogue includes the detailed presentation of 22 discoveries from Moravia with descriptions of location, analyses of their inventory, dating and references<sup>25</sup>. This can be considered the best model for the regional and supra-regional analysis of pottery depositions.

Such studies were received with great interest by scholars<sup>26</sup>, who paid much more attention to this type of discoveries. This led to the recognition of several recently excavated Bronze Age pot deposits from Moravia, which were not included in the above mentioned catalogues. Thus, the rescue excavations from Hrádek led to the identification, among other features of the Aunjetiz culture, of a big storage pit, with 11

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<sup>18</sup> Bayer 1906, 53-70.

<sup>19</sup> Kalliefe 1911, 281-287; Kalliefe 1914, 89-114; Cofta-Broniewska 2004, 152-153.

<sup>20</sup> Palátová/Salaš 2002, 40-41.

<sup>21</sup> Pittioni 1940, 12-15; Eisner 1942, 171-180; Jelínková 1959, 16-33; Marešová 1965, 129-130, 133; Smrž 1977, 137-143; etc.

<sup>22</sup> Eibner 1969, 48.

<sup>23</sup> Stapel 1999.

<sup>24</sup> Palátová/Salaš 2002.

<sup>25</sup> Palátová/Salaš 2002, 126-128.

<sup>26</sup> Peter-Röcher 2001, 235-237.

intentionally broken vessels lying on its bottom, which were then covered by successive layers of sand and yellow soil<sup>27</sup>. A Middle Bronze Age pit that contained nine complete vessels was uncovered at Olomouc<sup>28</sup>. Olbramovice "Sady" is a complex site, in which more complete vessels belonging to the so-called "mitteldanubische Hügelgräberkultur" were uncovered<sup>29</sup>. J. Blischke and I. Czyborra published an interesting discovery from Großzieten in Southern Berlin – a cup placed upside down upon a larger potsherd<sup>30</sup>.

To these examples one can add a series of Bronze Age pottery deposits from Hungary. Ildikó Poroszlai published an interesting pit from Százhalombatta "Földvár". The bottom of the pit was first neatly plastered with clay, then several vessels were placed one inside the other (a one-handled cup and 7-8 decorated jugs)<sup>31</sup>. The investigation of the Oszlár site on the M3 highway led to the discovery, among other Bronze Age features, of a pit that contained a pot deposit belonging to the Late Bronze Age<sup>32</sup>. Gábor V. Szabó analyzed the content of a pit from Tiszacsenge in the larger context of Late Bronze Age pottery depositions in the Tisza area<sup>33</sup>. During the excavation of the Late Bronze Age site at Nyírmada (northeastern Hungary), a pit containing, besides potsherds, a big amphora and 14 complete cups – all having the characteristic traits of the Suciú de Sus Culture – was uncovered<sup>34</sup>. An older discovery from Makó "Vöröskereszt" containing 6 complete Early Bronze Age vessels, published by János Banner as a possible cenotaph<sup>35</sup>, has also been included in the category of "Keramikdeposition"<sup>36</sup>. There are other examples of Bronze Age pot deposits from the Carpathian Basin such as the ones from Debrecen<sup>37</sup>, near Battonya<sup>38</sup>, Igrici<sup>39</sup>, or the 6 cups discovered under the floor of a house

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<sup>27</sup> Čižmár 2002, 195-196, fig. 3; Čižmár/Salaš 2005, 129-137, fig. 3-6, 15-20.

<sup>28</sup> Kalábek et al. 2002, 201, fig. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Kos/Parma 2003, 143-162; Kos 2004, 158-159, fig. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Blischke/Czyborra 2005, 481-489.

<sup>31</sup> Poroszlai 2000, 26, fig. 20.

<sup>32</sup> Koós 2003, 121-128.

<sup>33</sup> Szabó 2004, 81-113.

<sup>34</sup> Tóth/Marta 2005, 107-143.

<sup>35</sup> Banner 1939, 77-81, fig. 6/4a-c.

<sup>36</sup> Stapel 1999, 293, Nr. 49; Kulcsár 2009, 85, 196.

<sup>37</sup> Poroszlai 1984, 75-100.

<sup>38</sup> Kállay 1986, 159-165

<sup>39</sup> Hellebrandt 1990, 93-111. Even if there are presented several "pot deposits", mainly from Hungary, which can be interpreted as ritual, "Das Gefäßdepot von Igrici bilden voraussetzlich die aufgestapelten Produkte einer Töpferwerkstätte" (Hellebrandt 1990, 111). Another complete vessel discovered here was published later by G. V. Szabó (Szabó 2004, 93, fig. 10/5).

belonging to the settlement of Nižna Myšľa, near Košice<sup>40</sup>. However, in these particular cases, the publications were focused on dating the pottery based on diagnostic traits. The breaking of several vessels in a Late Bronze Age pit from Gyoma led Tibor Kemenczei to suggest that “These finds may be objects buried as part of a cult or a sacrifice”<sup>41</sup>.

Although there is no catalogue of the pottery depositions from Romania<sup>42</sup>, such finds were mentioned in some contributions dealing with general aspects of the Bronze Age ritual practices<sup>43</sup>. The recently published monographs of some Bronze Age settlements also include discussions regarding this type of finds<sup>44</sup>. In the following section, a series of discoveries that can be related with the title chosen for this paper will be presented.

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Starting with the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Bronze Age pottery depositions from non-funerary contexts were also uncovered in Transylvania, Banat and Maramureş (central and western Romania). One of the earliest known examples was published by János Domonkos from the tell-settlement at Vărşand. Here he uncovered several cups which were placed on top of an ornamented hearth. The cups contained food residues (bones, grains, shells and snails)<sup>45</sup>. In this article one can also find a reconstruction of such an altar with 18 cups filled with burnt grains deposited on top (Fig. II/1). This is not a context that drew the attention of the scholars, but it can be related to the discovery from Corneşti (Timiş County)<sup>46</sup>, as will be later explained.

Outside of the geographical area discussed in this paper, a pit from Govora (Vâlcea County, southern Romania), discovered in 1958 (during construction works on the road between Govora Monastery and Govora village) should also be mentioned. The 1 m deep pit was carved in chalk at the foot of a craggy slope of a limestone formation. The assemblage consisted of 17 complete vessels (Fig. II/2-7). The conclusion of the researchers was that “It seems to be a pot deposit”<sup>47</sup>. The possibility of a funerary context was ruled out, because it was believed that the presence of only one type of vessels means that the deposition does not have a votive character, and it was related to the Bronze Age trade activities<sup>48</sup>. Bernhard Hänsel and other

<sup>40</sup> Gašaj 1994, 81-86.

<sup>41</sup> Genito/Kemenczei 1990, 122.

<sup>42</sup> Some discussions in Gogăltan et al. 2011, 171-173.

<sup>43</sup> Soroceanu 1995, 42, 64-65, 76; Vulpe 1996, 526; Soroceanu 2005, 391.

<sup>44</sup> Marta 2009, 18, 47, 86, 154, pl. 19, 49/6, 9; Sana 2010, 18-20.

<sup>45</sup> Domonkos 1908, 75-76, fig. VI.

<sup>46</sup> Radu 1972, 271-283; Vulpe 1996, 526; Stapel 1999, 77, 301, no. 31.

<sup>47</sup> Berciu et al. 1961, 134.

<sup>48</sup> Berciu et al. 1961, 135.

scholars attributed to these discoveries a cultic interpretation, in relation to the thermal waters that can be found nearby<sup>49</sup>.

At a time discussions in Central Europe were conducted around Bronze Age pottery depositions, Ivan Ordentlich was the first one to draw the attention upon such a find from Romania<sup>50</sup>. In 1954 he uncovered at Valea lui Mihai (Bihar County) a pit measuring 1.20 m in diameter and 1.40 m in depth, that contained 28 complete vessels: "The vessels were placed one inside the other, upside down, being surrounded by ash and burnt bones". Most of them were one-handled cups having a height of 5.6 cm to 22 cm, the assemblage also containing a pot of 24 cm height and 2 small plates (Fig. III-IV). The pit from Valea lui Mihai and the 28 vessels deposited upside down were analyzed according to the relevant criteria of the period: mainly the chronology and the analogies based on similarities in decoration<sup>51</sup>. Later, this deposit was included in the categories of "Bronzezeitliche Speiseopfer in Gefäßen"<sup>52</sup>, "Keramikdepositionen"<sup>53</sup> or "Gefäßdepots"<sup>54</sup>.

Zoltán Székely published a series of potsherds belonging to the Late Bronze Age Noua Culture discovered at Feldioara (Braşov County), and interpreted them as being part of the inventory of a pottery kiln<sup>55</sup>. Alexandru Vulpe later included this feature in the "Gefäßdepots" category<sup>56</sup>.

In the collections of the National Museum of Transylvanian History at Cluj are 17 vessels uncovered in Band (Mureş County) in 1914, but the information related to them is incomplete. The vessels were found at 1 m depth, along with two stag horns. Together with a biconical vessel decorated with broom strokes on the lower part, there were 16 cups, 6 of which had one handle. K. Horedt published this discovery and interpreted it as the inventory of a grave that belongs to the Velatice culture<sup>57</sup>. A Stapel included it among "Keramikdepositionen" specific to the Late Bronze Age<sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Hänsel 1976, 59, n. 64; Müller-Karpe 1980, 179; Soroceanu 1995, 65; Stapel 1999, 314, no. 100; Vulpe 2001, 372.

<sup>50</sup> In one footnote he presents his regards to professor Kurt Horedt as well as to Mircea Rusu for the suggestions they offered in writing that paper. In order not to alter the historic truth, I have to mention that M. Rusu published prior to this an article about the dacian „ceramic deposit" from Guşteriţa-Sibiu (Rusu 1955, 79-96) and K. Horedt about a hallstatt „ceramic deposit" from Dej (Horedt 1965, 7-13).

<sup>51</sup> Ordentlich 1965, 181-197.

<sup>52</sup> Horst 1977, 147, no. 92.

<sup>53</sup> Stapel 1999, 81, 100, 301, no. 33.

<sup>54</sup> Vulpe 1996, 526; Vulpe 2001, 372.

<sup>55</sup> Székely 1965, 23, pl. III/1-7.

<sup>56</sup> Vulpe 1996, 526.

<sup>57</sup> Horedt 1967, 45-50

<sup>58</sup> Stapel 1999, 332, no. 213 - Bandu.



An older discovery from Vărşand has already been mentioned, but it is not known for sure if the vessels belong to the same assemblage. Another deposition from a Vatina settlement (Corneşti-Crvenka group) in Banat – Corneşti “Dealul Cornet” – is related to this find. Here, Ortansa Radu’s excavation from 1970 yielded a very interesting feature. A group of 23 vessels were placed on a hearth, all of them being almost complete. A globular vessel, a strainer-bowl, a small bowl and 19 small cups were deposited in a large bowl<sup>59</sup> (Fig. V-VII). The discovery was interpreted as a votive hearth, but not as a “Gefäßdepot”<sup>60</sup> or a “Keramikdeposition”<sup>61</sup>. The assemblage is very similar to the Roman dinner set<sup>62</sup>.

The discoveries from the tumulus at Susani (Timiș County), especially the so-called “group 6” and “group 7” raised interesting discussions concerning this kind of findings (Fig. VIII). The group marked by the authors with the number 6 consisted of a big bowl containing burnt grains and surrounded by 66 small cups (Fig. IX-XI). They were grouped in 6 different units, placed one inside the other, upside down or sideways. To the west another 13 bowls and a small cup were found. The grains were burned in a very strong fire that turned the soil reddish and blackish at a depth of up to 10 cm. Both the big plate and the cups had traces of secondary burning. Most of the vessels were complete. The group 7 was discovered in 1965 by Ioan Stratan during the first excavation campaign from Susani. It contains four big biconical vessels oriented east-west. These vessels contained another 22 fragmentary cups, out of which only three could be restored. The first interpretation of these pottery offerings was related to a funerary banquet<sup>63</sup>. However, other scholars had different opinions. B. Hänsel wrote about the mound at Susani in his study on the Early Hallstatt period from the lower Danube, referring to it only as an “Opferhügel” or “Opferstätte”<sup>64</sup>. A similar interpretation was offered by János Makkay<sup>65</sup>. Florin Medeleţ<sup>66</sup> and Marian Gumă<sup>67</sup> noted that some ritual pits from this mound contained ceramic vessels and cereals. In spite of these interpretations, Al. Vulpe maintained his initial hypothesis that the

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<sup>59</sup> Radu 1972, 271-283.

<sup>60</sup> Vulpe 1996, 526.

<sup>61</sup> Stapel 1999, 77, 301, no. 31.

<sup>62</sup> de Villefosse 1899, 7-132; Oliver 1965, 177-185; Piana Agostinetti/Priuli 1985, 182-237; etc. The bibliography was provided by Mariana Egri.

<sup>63</sup> Stratan/Vulpe 1977, 46.

<sup>64</sup> Hänsel 1976, 92, 94.

<sup>65</sup> Makkay 1981, 55 “unserer Meinung nach als Opferstätte”.

<sup>66</sup> Medeleţ/Bugilan 1987, 169.

<sup>67</sup> Gumă 1993, 169.

mound from Susani was a funerary monument<sup>68</sup>. Later, he concluded that „Diese Situation entspricht in hohem Maße den sog. Speise- und Trankopfern der Lausitzer Kultur, die u. a. Fritz Horst herausgearbeitet hat“<sup>69</sup>. Antony F. Harding discussed in his study on the European Bronze age only the “group 6” from Susani, including it in the category of pot deposits<sup>70</sup>. This kind of pottery deposition is considered to have characteristics similar to the metallic ones. A. Stapel identifies the discoveries from Susani as part of the “Keramikdepositionen und Opferfunde”<sup>71</sup>.

While Tiberiu Bader interpreted the 9 vessels (two big pots and 7 cups) discovered in a destroyed burial mound from Medieşul Aurit (Satu Mare County) as food offerings in a funerary context<sup>72</sup>, A. Stapel included them in the category of pot deposits<sup>73</sup> (Fig. XII). Bader interpreted the pottery deposit from Valea lui Mihai in a similar manner to the one from Medieşul Aurit<sup>74</sup>.

The excavations in 1975 from Fântânele „Rât” (Bistriţa Năsăud County) led to the discovery in a Late Bronze Age settlement of „two ritual pot deposits in pits intended for this special purpose”<sup>75</sup>. The pits had an oval shape and they were situated at approximately 1.20 m from one to another. The first pit was 0.40 m deep, with the diameters of 0.80 x 0.40 m. It contained three complete vessels and one smaller cup found inside a jar (Fig. XIII). The second pit’s dimensions were similar to the first, with a depth of 0.50 m. An upside-down jar, a bowl, a cup and a smaller vessel with two handles were placed inside the pit (Fig. XIV). The conclusion of George Marinescu concerning the meaning of these contexts: “I have considered a magic-ritual meaning, votive, according to the observations made during the time of discovery (the lack of human bones which could justify a funerary context, or the existence of pits that were built with this purpose) and also the fact that in a necropolis the inventory is very poor and consists of 1-2 vessels”<sup>76</sup>.

Belonging to the category of pot deposits that consist of only one vessel is a discovery from Gligoreşti (Cluj County). It is a 50 cm diameter pit with daub fragments well tamped. On the bottom of it there was a small

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<sup>68</sup> Vulpe 1995, 81, 83.

<sup>69</sup> Vulpe 1996, 526.

<sup>70</sup> Harding 2000, fig. 9.10.2.

<sup>71</sup> Stapel 1999, 332, no. 214.

<sup>72</sup> Bader 1978, 69, pl. XLIII/3, XLIV/1-6, 8-13.

<sup>73</sup> Stapel 1999, 77, 301, no. 32.

<sup>74</sup> Bader 1978, 40.

<sup>75</sup> Marinescu 1985, 23.

<sup>76</sup> Marinescu 1985, 28.

complete amphora (Fig. XVI). From the moment when it was published, we suggested that this discovery is related to a house-construction ritual<sup>77</sup>. Further examples of singular vessel deposition come from the Iron Age settlement at Vlaha, but they are not related to the chronological sequence under discussion<sup>78</sup>.

There are other features belonging to the Bronze Age in Transylvania, different from those that prove the handling of complete vessels, mainly for drinking. János Emödi wrote about the ritual character of a pit from Oradea, in which traces of burning and potsherds coming from previously broken vessels were found. The content and structure of the pit, the fact that here “only the proofs of burning and other vessels, the majority of them being restorable, and only a small number of other fragments were deposited, which suggest that there was a cenotaph or a ritual pit”<sup>79</sup>.

One of the most suggestive situations comes from Oarța de Sus (Maramureș County), where complete or fragmentary vessels were deposited together with other objects. The inventory of a pit excavated here by C. Kacsó has been briefly presented<sup>80</sup>. It has been noted that a lot of complete and fragmentary vessels were found together with metal objects (bronze, gold and silver), moulds and other items related to metalworking, bone and antler tools, clay objects as well as human and animal offerings.

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Al. Vulpe was the first Romanian researcher that drew the attention to the “Gefäßdepots” which consist mostly of cups<sup>81</sup>. According to him, the meaning of these deposits has to be related to cult practices. He took as examples the previously presented discoveries from Valea lui Mihai, Govora, Cornești, Feldioara. It is also possible that the vessel discoveries from Igrîța cave (Bihor County)<sup>82</sup>, which were interpreted as funerary inventories, are in fact pot deposits<sup>83</sup>. These examples illustrate the custom of depositing food and drink, which is not always related to funerary contexts.

In his analysis concerning the deposition phenomenon of the Bronze Age from both parts of the Carpathians, Tudor Soroceanu also

<sup>77</sup> Gogâltan/Florea 1994, 10-11, fig. 5/1.

<sup>78</sup> Gogâltan et al. 2011, 167.

<sup>79</sup> Emödi 1979, 737.

<sup>80</sup> Gogâltan et al. 2011, 172, n. 30 with the bibliography.

<sup>81</sup> Vulpe 1996, 526.

<sup>82</sup> It is only quoted in “Repertoriul monumentelor naturii, arheologice, istorice, etnografice, de arhitectură și artă din județul Bihor, Oradea 1974”. The information regarding the discoveries from this cave can be found in Emödi 1980, 229-273; Chidioșan/Emödi 1982, 61-86.

<sup>83</sup> Soroceanu 2012b, 235.

discussed the topic of pot deposits<sup>84</sup>, taking into account three votive deposits specific to that period (Valea lui Mihai, Fântânele and Govora Sat)<sup>85</sup>. He later made further comments on the subject while addressing the ritual character of metal vessels depositions, adding new examples and references which complete the picture of intentional pottery depositions.<sup>86</sup>

The new studies concerning pottery depositions were of great interest for the Transylvanian archaeologists as well. We can note the efforts of our colleagues from Satu Mare, Zalău and Baia Mare to publish the results of the rescue excavations carried out in settlements belonging to the Middle and Late Bronze Age from Petrea-Csengersima<sup>87</sup> and Nyíregyháza-Oros "Úr Csere"<sup>88</sup>. The interpretations of Ioan Bejinariu<sup>89</sup>, Liviu Marta<sup>90</sup> or Dan Sana<sup>91</sup> concerning a series of features discovered in these sites or others from the same area put on the right path the archaeological interpretations of ritual.

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For a better understanding of what a pot deposit is, it is necessary to have a closer look at the definition of deposits in general<sup>92</sup>. The German specialist literature concerning this subject was chosen because it was the one that had the greatest influence upon Romanian research<sup>93</sup>. According to the evolution of this debate we can establish the way in which the Romanian prehistory specialists interpreted this aspect.

The notion of "Depot-Fund", as it was defined by Oscar Montelius<sup>94</sup>, was also adopted by the Romanian archaeologists starting from the interwar period<sup>95</sup>. The so-called "Weihecharakter" considered by G. Wilke<sup>96</sup>, as well

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<sup>84</sup> Soroceanu 1995, 42.

<sup>85</sup> Soroceanu 1995, 64-65.

<sup>86</sup> Soroceanu 2005, 391.

<sup>87</sup> Marta 2009; Pop 2009.

<sup>88</sup> Bejinariu et al. 2008; Bejinariu et al. 2009; Marta et al. 2010.

<sup>89</sup> Bejinariu 2003, 155-156.

<sup>90</sup> Marta 2009, 18, 47, 86, 154, pl. 19, 49/6, 9.

<sup>91</sup> Sana 2010, 18-20.

<sup>92</sup> This is an addition to what O. Bratu wrote about "the term of deposit" (Bratu 2009, 9-10).

<sup>93</sup> In V. G. Childe's writing concerning the prehistory of the Danubian area the term used is "hoard" (Childe 1929, 238, 243, fig. 113, 143 etc.).

<sup>94</sup> "Ein Depot-Fund giebt gewöhnlich auch ein für solche Untersuchungen wie die unsrigen sehr gutes Material, weil man meistens ohne Schwierigkeit sehen kann, dass alles wirklich auf einmal niedergelegt worden ist. Die Sachen liegen nämlich oft in einem Gefässe aus Ton oder Metall, oder jedenfalls so eng zusammen, dass sie offenbar gleichzeitig deponiert wurden" (Montelius 1903, 10).

<sup>95</sup> Pârvan 1924, 359-362; Andrieşescu 1925, 345-384; Nestor 1935, 24-57.

<sup>96</sup> Wilke 1925, 362-386.

as the profane motivations of hiding the deposits (crisis situations or simply the loss of the objects)<sup>97</sup>, can also be found in the interpretations set forth by Romanian scholars<sup>98</sup>.

Influenced by a theoretical study that became well known shortly after its publication<sup>99</sup>, as well as by the chronology proposed by Hermann Müller-Karpe<sup>100</sup>, M. Rusu published a series of deposits from Transylvania<sup>101</sup>, in which he describes the reasons for hiding these objects. Rusu related the occurrence of these deposits to the social transformations inside the contemporaneous communities as well as to external threats<sup>102</sup>.

The study of Bronze Age hoards was further developed, with several works attempting to define the categories of “Hortfunde” and “Einstückhorte”<sup>103</sup>. In the process, a special attention was paid to Sophus Müller’s assertions from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>104</sup> regarding the ritual character of bronze hoards coming from wet contexts in Scandinavia<sup>105</sup>. Given the potential scope of an analysis dealing with various interpretations of this type of finds<sup>106</sup>, the discussion has to be limited to the definition of deposits offered by Berta Stjernquist: “Was verbirgt sich z. B. hinter dem Begriff Einzelfund? Man kann diese Bezeichnung als einem Sammelbegriff für vereinzelt Fundgegenstände charakterisieren, ohne feststellbaren Zusammenhang mit irgendwelchen immobilien Altertümern gefunden worden sind”<sup>107</sup>. Also, “Die Bezeichnung *Depotfund* (Hortfund) ist im

<sup>97</sup> Reinecke 1930, 115.

<sup>98</sup> Pärvan 1926, 4, 291, 293, 296.

<sup>99</sup> Eggers 1959.

<sup>100</sup> Müller-Karpe 1959.

<sup>101</sup> Rusu 1960, 485-493; Rusu 1963, 177-210; Rusu 1964, 237-250; Rusu 1966, 17-40; etc.

<sup>102</sup> While referring to the reason for hiding the bronze deposits M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița wrote: “Because the distribution of weapon deposits is almost the same as the one of the Otomani and Wietenberg cultures, we can assume that the people belonging to them were warriors, but it is hard to say if these deposits are the consequence of troubled times or they have another explanation” (Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 17). Also “Related to this matter and taking into account the conditions in which these deposits were found in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, we could conclude that these deposits found in rivers, under cliffs or in similar places can be considered votive” (Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1977, 26).

<sup>103</sup> Stjernquist 1963, 6, 19; Geißlinger 1967, 9, 12-13; v. Brunn 1968, 230-239; Geißlinger 1984, 320-338.

<sup>104</sup> Müller 1897.

<sup>105</sup> Stjernquist 1963, 5-64; Torbrügge 1972, 1-146.

<sup>106</sup> The writings of W.A. Brunn (v. Brunn 1968; v. Brunn 1980, 91-150), F. Stein (Stein 1976), M. Menke (Menke 1982, 5-305), R. Bradley (Bradley 1990; Bradley 2005), C. Sommerfeld (Sommerfeld 1994), S. Hansen (Hansen 1991; Hansen 1992, 371-392; Hansen 1994; Hansen 2005, 211-230) etc. are still important.

<sup>107</sup> Stjernquist 1963, 6.

Prinzip ein Sammelbegriff für alle die Fundtypen, die aus irgendeinem Anlass absichtlich in der Erde, in Mooren oder Gewässern niedergelegt wurden und nichts mit Bestattungen zu tun haben"<sup>108</sup>.

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there were two moments that marked the discussion regarding the interpretation of a deposit in Romania and also the reasons for these depositions in various contexts<sup>109</sup>. The first was an international colloquium concerning the deposition customs in prehistory and protohistory which led to the publication in Romanian in 1992 of the studies of Ioan Chicideanu<sup>110</sup>, Nikolaus Boroffka<sup>111</sup> and Svend Hansen<sup>112</sup>. N. Boroffka, using the term according to the theories of B. Stjernquist and H. Geißlinger, implies that the deposits are to be considered material remains that cannot be related to settlement activity or to funerary contexts<sup>113</sup>. A wider discussion concerning this subject was offered in 1995 by T. Soroceanu<sup>114</sup>. Accepting the definition of N. Boroffka, Soroceanu underlined the necessity of defining what we intend to study: "Eine Begriffsbestimmung der Deponierungsweise ist für eine Systematik der Horte von großer Bedeutung: es gilt als selbstverständlich, daß nur gut definierte Begriffe richtig systematisiert werden können"<sup>115</sup>. Having this principle as a starting point, Soroceanu then made connections between the deposit and its geomorphologic landscape: heights, sunny valleys, passes, running waters, springs, bogs and lakes, caves, the niches of cliffs or isolated cliffs. He also studied the position of each vessel inside the deposits and at the same time the structure of the deposits<sup>116</sup>. Pot deposits are included in the category of "nichtmetallene dauerhafte Deponierungen"<sup>117</sup>. The fact that this paper was published in German (and also probably due to accessibility-related issues), could explain the poor quality of interpretation of some works, as the one

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<sup>108</sup> Stjernquist 1963, 19.

<sup>109</sup> Prior to this, a series of Romanian scholars, like Al. Vulpe, L. Oancea, C. Kacsó, I. Emödi and N. Chidioşan, T. Soroceanu, I. Chicideanu etc. drew the attention to the votive character of certain metal deposits. Their opinions can be found in Soroceanu 1995, 17-21; Bratu 2009, 10, 15-17.

<sup>110</sup> Chicideanu 1992, 335-339.

<sup>111</sup> Boroffka 1992, 341-354.

<sup>112</sup> Hansen 1992, 371-392.

<sup>113</sup> Boroffka 1992, 341, n. 2.

<sup>114</sup> Soroceanu 1995, 15-80.

<sup>115</sup> Soroceanu 1995, 16.

<sup>116</sup> See also Soroceanu 2012b, 227-254.

<sup>117</sup> Soroceanu 1995, 56, n. 201. The fact that this paper was published in German (and also probably due to accessibility-related issues), may explain the poor interpretative quality of some works, as the one regarding the ritual deposition of bronze weapons in prehistoric Transylvania (Inel 2000, 57-72).

regarding the ritual deposition of bronze weapons in prehistoric Transylvania<sup>118</sup>. Most of the Romanian scholars paid attention to the new theories regarding the interpretation of the bronze deposits<sup>119</sup>.

Up to that moment, the term “deposit” had an ambiguous definition in certain archaeological dictionaries. According to Lucian Roșu and Radu Florescu, this term could have two meanings, one that defines the “totality of material culture remains specific to an archaeological layer” and another one that implies an “assemblage of objects: weapons, tools, jewellery, cult images and so on, concentrated in one place, usually isolated, with the purpose of being protected”<sup>120</sup>. For Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița a deposit is a “category of archaeological discoveries made of several objects hidden together intentionally, because of a danger or a offering buried in soil, under cliffs or rocks, in recipients made of fired clay or of metal, as well as in water, bogs, and so on ...”<sup>121</sup>. According to L. Roșu and R. Florescu, one can distinguish several types of deposits according to their structure: “hidings of objects that are valuable because they have decorations with a symbolic meaning, the reference being made to the Apa hoard, deposits “consisting of the inventory of a bronze workshop...” (Șpălnaca, Uioara), deposits “including objects intended for exchange and hidden temporary, but never recovered”; deposits “consisting of objects intended for exchange” (Drajna de Jos) and deposits “with a sacred character of cult images, desecrated or degraded, gathered and hidden in order to protect them from profane actions”<sup>122</sup>. M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița mentions that the bronze deposits in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area were regarded as profane, related to internal (social transformations and conflicts between tribes) and external factors (invasions). In spite of these features, their sacred character cannot be ignored, as “The thorough analysis of the particularities of these discoveries can contribute to the attempt to reconstruct the ceremony of interring some deposits with sacred meaning...”<sup>123</sup>.

A new definition of deposits<sup>124</sup> has not reached a general consent<sup>125</sup>. Today, at least in the German specialist literature, the definition according to

<sup>118</sup> Inel 2000, 57-72.

<sup>119</sup> Vulpe 2001, 369, 371-372; Ciugudean et al. 2006; Bejinariu 2007; Kacsó 2007; Soroceanu 2008; Bejinariu 2008; Bratu 2009; Soroceanu 2012a; Soroceanu, Sîrbu 2012, 119-335; Soroceanu 2012b, 227-254; etc.

<sup>120</sup> Roșu, Florescu 1980, 131.

<sup>121</sup> Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1996, 48.

<sup>122</sup> Roșu, Florescu 1980, 131.

<sup>123</sup> Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1996, 49.

<sup>124</sup> Eggert 2001, 79.

<sup>125</sup> Hansen 2002, 91-97.

which a deposit means the deposition of one or several objects that are not part of a funerary inventory or represent settlement remains is the most widespread. Most people see this phenomenon as an intentional practice, an irreversible deposition of those objects with a religious meaning<sup>126</sup>.

Going back to the pot deposits, we can draw some conclusions related to the terminology. Among the ritual deposits in the perimeter of the settlements, A. Stapel analyzes the so-called "Keramikdeposition": "Unter Keramikdeposition wird die Niederlegung eines oder mehrerer vollständiger oder z. T. stark beschädigter Gefäße verstanden"<sup>127</sup>. Thus, a more neutral definition - "Keramikdeposition" is used, in order to avoid confusion with other categories such as "Gefäßdepot" (used by M. Menke to define bronze hoards inside pottery vessels)<sup>128</sup>, "Gefäßfund" or "Keramikdepot"<sup>129</sup>.

H. Palátová and M. Salaš defined the pot deposits in 2002 in the same way in which O. Montelius did it more than 100 years ago. As a criterion for assembling a corpus for the Central Europe, they started from the premises that such a deposit is proven by the presence of at least two complete vessels which do not represent the inventory of a grave and were deposited simultaneously<sup>130</sup>. The so-called single depositions were not taken into account, only the "größeren Keramikkollektionen" being discussed<sup>131</sup>.

Given the great variety of pot deposits occurrences in the archaeological record, as proven by the typology of Stapel<sup>132</sup>, some additional remarks are necessary. For instance, there are several situations in which a large amount of potsherds was associated with complete or restorable vessels inside a pit. For similar situations the term "sakraler

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<sup>126</sup> Metzner-Nebelsick 2003, 99 ("Die archäologische Quellengattung Depot- oder Hortfunde der vorchristlichen Metallzeiten, d. h. Niederlegungen einzelner oder zumeist mehrerer Gegenstände, die nicht zu einer Grabausstattung gehören oder reguläre Überreste einer Siedlung darstellen, werden in der neueren prähistorischen Forschung mehrheitlich als intentionelle, irreversible Entäußerungen von dinglichem Sachgut mit einer religiösen Motivation betrachtet.").

<sup>127</sup> Stapel 1999, 19.

<sup>128</sup> Menke 1982, 100-105.

<sup>129</sup> Stapel 1999, 19-20.

<sup>130</sup> "...die richtungsgebende Anwesenheit von wenigstens zwei vollständigen Gefäßen, bei welchen die Befundsituation einerseits die Zugehörigkeit zur Grabausstattung ausschließt, andererseits die Voraussetzung einer einmaligen gemeinsamen Deponierung erlaubt." (Palátová/Salaš 2002, 129).

<sup>131</sup> Palátová/Salaš 2002, 129. In the category of these "Einzelbefunde" A. Stapel included: "Darunter werden zunächst all jene Keramikdepositionen zusammengefaßt, die entweder isoliert aufgefunden wurden oder deren nähere Fundumstände ungeklärt sind" (Stapel 1999, 79, n. 274).

<sup>132</sup> Stapel 1999, 109-115.



Abfall"<sup>133</sup> was used. However, Palátová and Salaš consider that in these cases it is hard to decide whether we are dealing with a "sakraler Abfall" or with the remains of a simple domestic activity. For this reason they do not include these discoveries in the category of pot deposits. On the other hand, in the cases in which complete vessels together with shards displaying traces of secondary burning (that sometimes led to their deformation), or pits with burnt walls, ash layers and daub fragments with impressions and so on were identified, the term "Brandopferplätze" is being used<sup>134</sup>. This category of depositions, separated since 1969 by C. Eibner from the so-called remains of ceramic kilns<sup>135</sup>, is now introduced by H. Palátová and M. Salaš in the category of ceramic deposits"<sup>136</sup>.

What was defined by A. Stapel as "Keramikdeposition" with a profane character, such as the inventory of some houses or ovens ("Profan erklärbare Deposition, Gruppe A")<sup>137</sup>, was not included by the Czech scholars in the category of pot deposits. On the other hand, features that include storage pots placed upside-down were considered intentionally depositions that cannot be related to profane activities, contrary to A. Stapel's opinion<sup>138</sup>.

The few scholars from Romania that studied the ceramic vessels deposits did not pay attention to any terminological discussion, only making references to the works of A. Stapel, H. Palátová and M. Salaš<sup>139</sup>. For instance, Cornelia-M. Lazarovici and Gheorghe Lazarovici's opinion according to which a "ceramic deposit is called like this because the fragments of pottery were deposited one above the other without having soil among them"<sup>140</sup>, should not be taken into account.

In the introduction of this subchapter it has been insisted on the fact that nowadays the terminology concerning bronze hoards is generally accepted. However, when it comes to define pot deposits, there is no such general consent. At issue here are both single or collective depositions of

<sup>133</sup> On this subject there are more recent discussions in Nadler 1995, 67-89; Stapel 1998, 127-136; Stapel 1999, 139-141.

<sup>134</sup> This is the case of some features as the ones at Bezměrov (Palátová/Salaš 2002, 21-23), Oberravelsbach (Lochner 1986, 295-315), Horní Počaply (Bouzek/Sklenář 1987, 23-26), Unčovice (Dohnal 1989, 19-26), etc. The use of this term can create confusions with those "Prähistorische Brandopferplätze" discussed by W. Krämer (Krämer 1966, 111-122) or R.-M. Weiss (Weiss 1997).

<sup>135</sup> Eibner 1969, 36-42; Stapel 1998, 129-136; Stapel 1999, 118-124.

<sup>136</sup> Palátová/Salaš 2002, 129-130.

<sup>137</sup> Stapel 1999, 141-142.

<sup>138</sup> Palátová/Salaš 2002, 145.

<sup>139</sup> A discussion about this opinion in Gogâltan et al. 2011, 171-172.

<sup>140</sup> Lazarovici/Lazarovici 2006, 360.

vessels. Why? It would seem normal to accept *mutatis mutandis* for the latter the same definition or a similar one to the one given to hoards. The compulsory criteria for distinguishing these types of depositions are: intentionality, irreversibility, the non-funerary context and the lack of a practical functionality. This last criterion makes the interpretation harder because we are obliged to separate the sacred from the profane. Why can we do this only for the metal vessels and not for the ceramic ones as well? The depositions of metal objects in water were repeatedly discussed<sup>141</sup>. A similar situation has to be considered for the pot deposits. There are some cases in which we can state for sure that the vessels got there accidentally (as for instance when they are found inside a fountain) and not as a result of a ritual practice<sup>142</sup>. If we interpret the many vessels discovered in a house from the Bronze Age tell in Túrkeve "Terehalom"<sup>143</sup> as the ceramic inventory of a family, how could we interpret the complete vessels discovered together with the cult objects in the Sălacea sanctuary<sup>144</sup>? They must have had a practical role in a ritual context.

Another problem is the fact that the bronze deposits contain both complete and fragmentary pieces. Some of them were interpreted as being destroyed for ritual purposes<sup>145</sup>. As we could see, this interpretation was also taken into account for a series of features that contained both complete vessels as well as fragmentary ones. H. Palátová and M. Salaš weren't persistent with their definition concerning pot deposits, including in this category also situations which were ritually handled and also other objects or fragmentary ones. I consider that these kinds of features should be separated from those that include a complete or a restorable vessel. This is why I consider that the term of „Keramikdeposition“, used by A. Stapel is the most appropriate one.

In order to avoid misinterpretations, the scholars who were dealing with the archaeology of ritual were reticent in attributing a series of features containing complete vessels to the category of pot deposits or votive deposits. At issue is a pit uncovered in the Vatina tell from Feudvár<sup>146</sup>. The pit was discovered inside a house and contained several complete vessels

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<sup>141</sup> This subject and the bibliography can be found in Hansen 2000, 31-62 or Falkenstein 2005, 491-504.

<sup>142</sup> Some recently discovered situations are mentioned: Komplot (Matuz et al. 1998, 41-62), Polgár (Szabó 2005, 146-165).

<sup>143</sup> Csányi/Tárnoki 1992, 163, fig. 116-118; Csányi/Tárnoki 2013, 707-724.

<sup>144</sup> Chidioşan/Ordentlich 1975, 15-26.

<sup>145</sup> See the recent study of B. Rezi, together with the bibliography of the problem (Rezi 2011, 303-334).

<sup>146</sup> See the general aspects concerning the site in Hänsel/Medović 1991, 45-204. The most recent writings concerning this tell in Hänsel/Medović 2004, 83-111.

(two ornamented cups having two handles each, a big amphora with two handles, a big cup with a handle and another big amphora with four handles, all of them without decoration), a fragment from a decorated bowl, 2 stone crushers, 2 pairs of grindstones and a spindle whorl. The filling of this pit also contained several potsherds, daub and fish bones. This discovery was interpreted as a simple rubbish pit<sup>147</sup>. According to an information offered by V. Furmánek, A. Stapel drew the attention to a pit from the Včelince tell, that she considered as being a “Keramikdeposition”<sup>148</sup>. The pit contained a small “Keramikhort” consisting of “drei Krügen mit einem Standing, aus einer Fußschüssel und aus Scherben”<sup>149</sup>. Acorns and seeds of other plants, different types of cereals, fish and animal bones, and snails were found inside and near the vessels. Even though “Der Keramikhort repräsentiert jedoch eine typische Trinkgarnitur, deren Beziehung zu Kult- und Libationsopfern offensichtlich ist”, the conclusion is that “Einen eventuellen magischen oder kultischen Zusammenhang zu nennen, können wir nicht”<sup>150</sup>.

It must be said that the category of “pot deposits” should not include pots in which bronze objects were deposited or which are part of a bronze hoard. The best example from Transylvania is the Cugir II deposit with its three vessels<sup>151</sup>.

It should be said that *a pot deposit represents an intentional and irreversible deposition of one or several complete or restorable vessels simultaneously, mainly for drinking, in various contexts which do not represent a funerary inventory or have other ritual meaning (like the ones from a sanctuary, or belonging to a metal hoard) or a proved domestic use (fountains or the pottery inventory of a house etc.)*. Similarly to other scholars, my opinion is that this type of deposits should be separated from the broader category of ceramic depositions.

As it can be seen, the majority of the presented cases are sets of drinking vessels. The only exception is the case from Vărşand, consisting of 18 cups which were filled with burnt grains. If this older discovery has to be taken into consideration, then it might be a case of what Fritz Horst defines as “Speiseopfer in Gefäßen”. According to the discussed cases, it can be observed that there is no general rule for these depositions. Sometimes there is a hierarchy of different types of vessels and a couple of predominant forms can be identified, whereas in other situations, as in the case from

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<sup>147</sup> Grčki-Stanimirov 1991, 110-117.

<sup>148</sup> Stapel 1999, 305.

<sup>149</sup> Hajnalová et al. 1999, 233.

<sup>150</sup> Hajnalová et al. 1999, 238.

<sup>151</sup> Ciugudean/Aldea 2005, 95-132. The counting of C. I. Popa is correct (Popa/Totoianu 2010, 203). Other examples were offered by T. Soroceanu (Soroceanu 2005b, 391, n. 59).

Vlaha, only one type of vessel was deposited. Their arrangement also differs. Some of them are upside down, others are sideways. In Transylvania such deposits were found both inside and outside the settlements. The places chosen for these deposits also vary: recycled storage pits, simple pits, fireplaces, sacred places.

What does this category of deposition suggest? Similarly to other situations in the European Bronze Age, in which pot deposits were found in lakes or under the floor of a house, it looks like an intentional and irreversible deposition. This is the reason why they were attributed a ritual character. The sets of drinking cups may indicate the libations. Who were the participants and how was this ceremony performed? These are only a few questions that do not yet have an answer. Some assumptions can be made using analogies from other ancient civilizations, but they can only suggest the existence of such practices also in the Bronze Age<sup>152</sup>. The consumption of wine in the Mediterranean world<sup>153</sup>, and of beer<sup>154</sup> and mead<sup>155</sup> on a wider area, indicates the use of alcoholic beverages<sup>156</sup>, but there are ancient sources that illustrate the importance of water, oil or milk as non-alcoholic beverages<sup>157</sup>.

Among other types of discoveries, the pot deposits have the purpose to complete what it was already known about the spiritual dimension of the Bronze Age. As a final statement I can only remind the words of A. Sherratt in his article regarding the consumption of alcohol in prehistory: "Our cups still cheer; our conferences are still symposia"<sup>158</sup>.

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<sup>152</sup> Gogâltan et al. 2011, 173.

<sup>153</sup> Palmer 1994.

<sup>154</sup> Cantrell 2000, 619-620. For the Carpathian Basin see Kroll 1991, 165-171; Marta 2007, 111-129.

<sup>155</sup> Dickson 1978, 108-113; Koch 2003, 125-143.

<sup>156</sup> Dietler 1990, 353-358; Vencl 1994, 303-311.

<sup>157</sup> Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 476-483.

<sup>158</sup> Sherratt 1987, 98.

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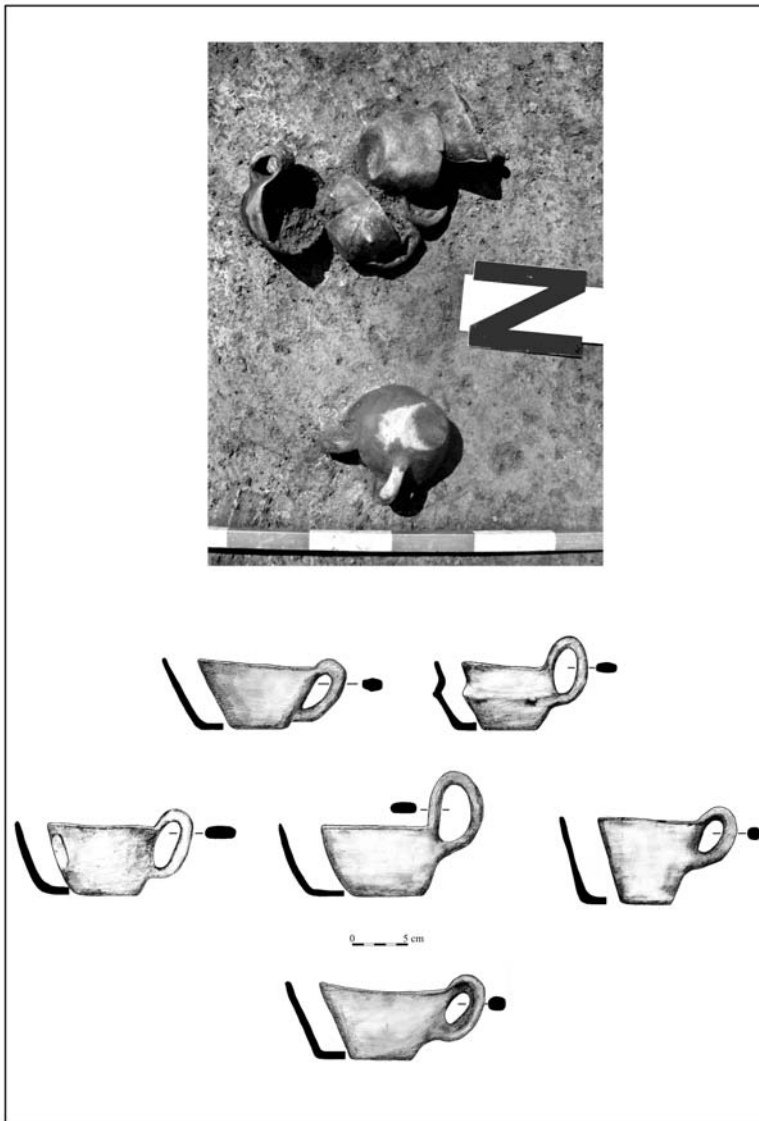


Fig. 1. Vlaha.

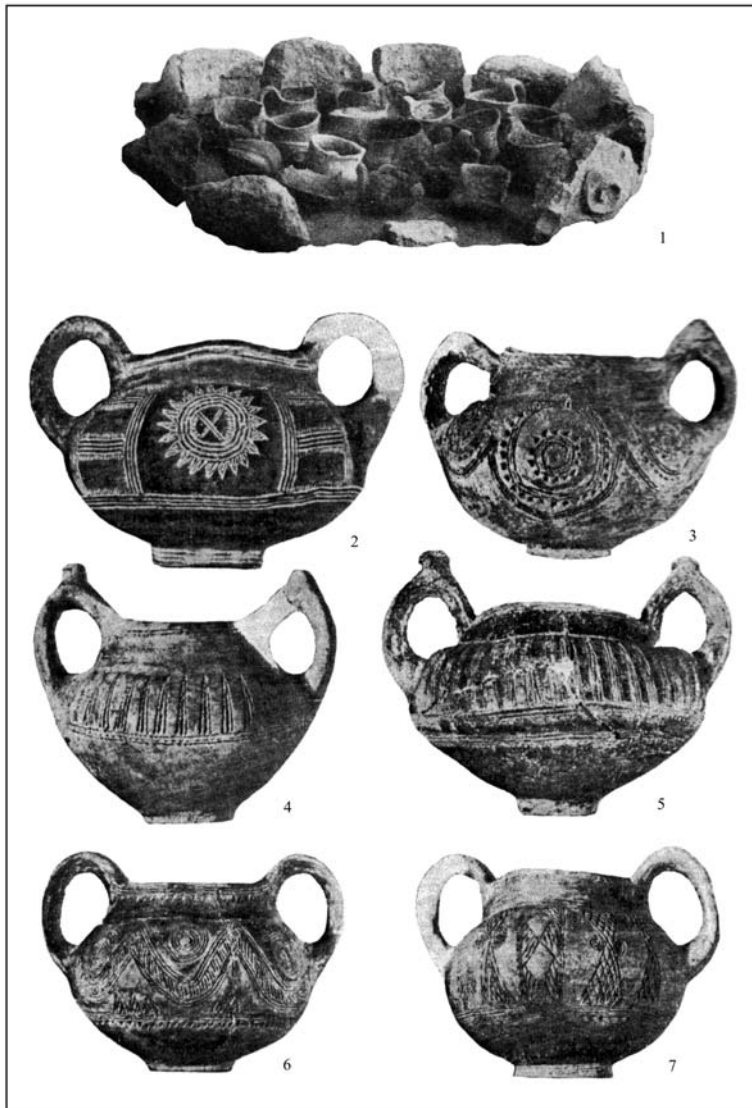


Fig. 2. 1. Vârşand (after Domonkos 1908); 2-7. Govora (after Berciu et. al. 1961).



Fig. 3. Valea lui Mihai (after Ordentlich 1965).

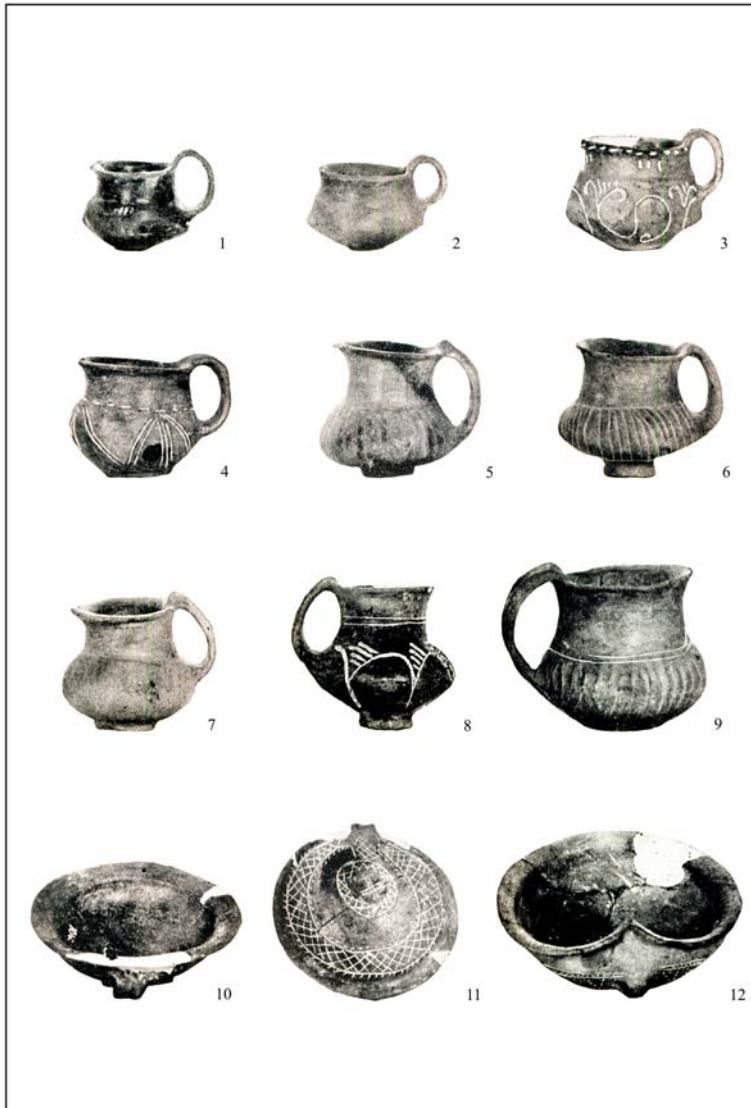


Fig. 4. Valea lui Mihai (after Ordentlich 1965).



Fig. 5. Cornești (after Radu 1972).



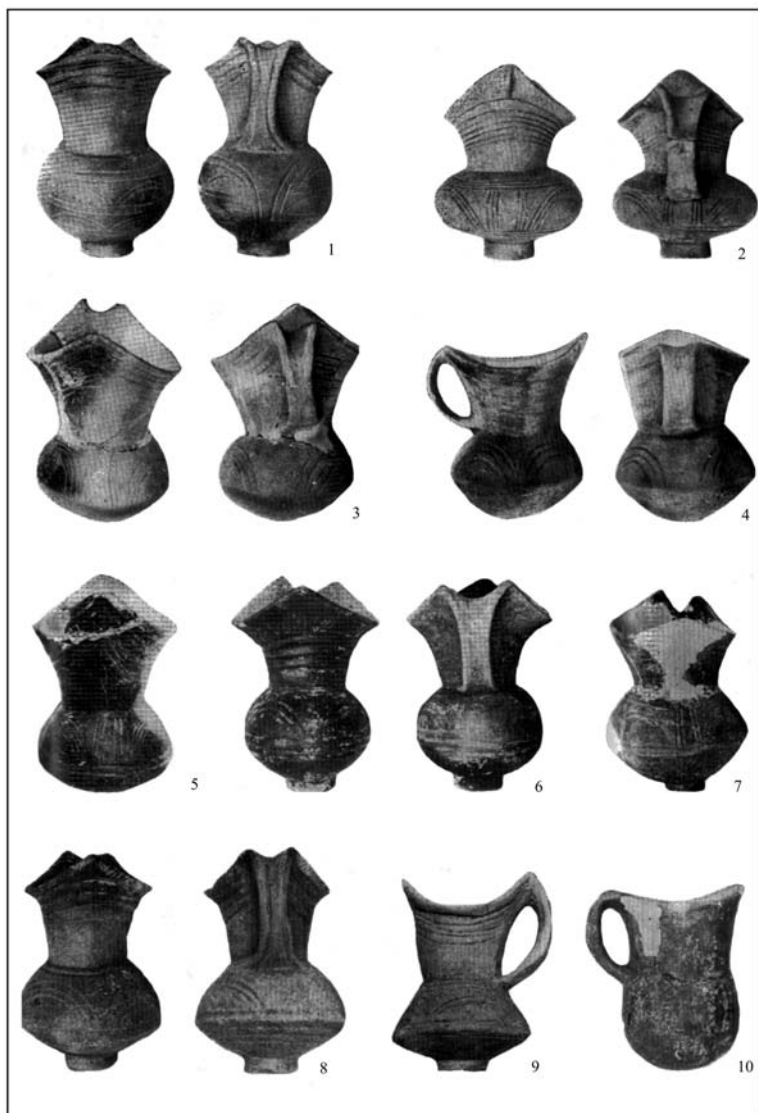


Fig. 6. Cornești (after Radu 1972).

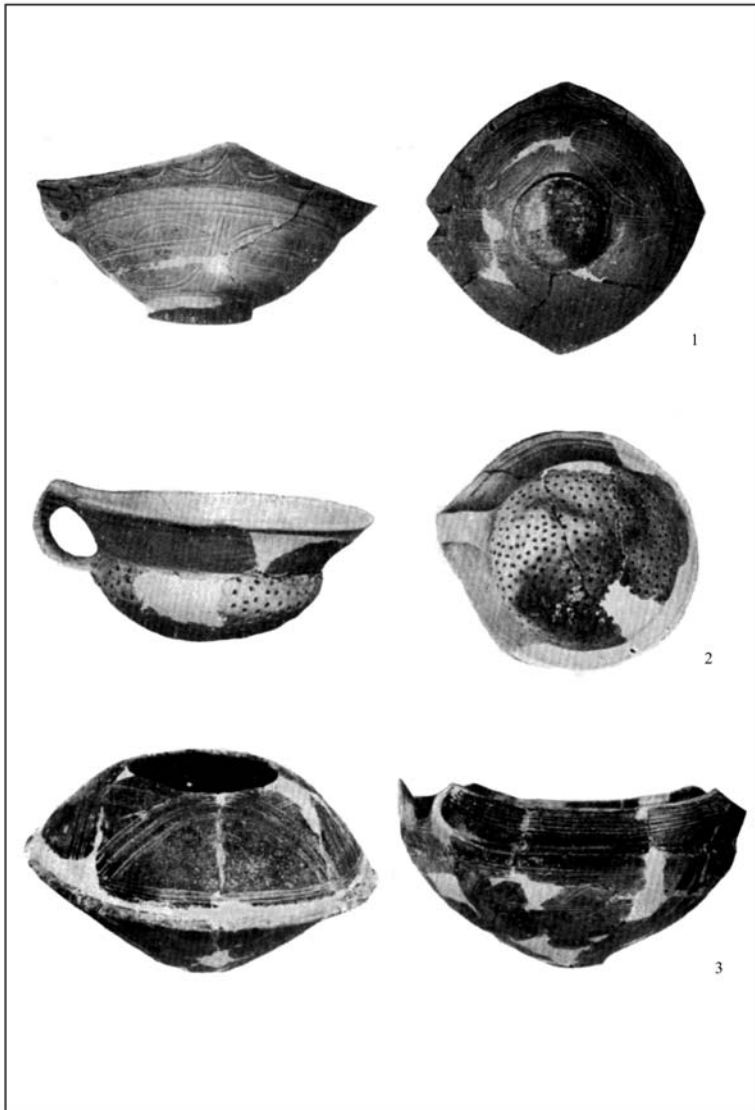


Fig. 7. Cornești (after Radu 1972).

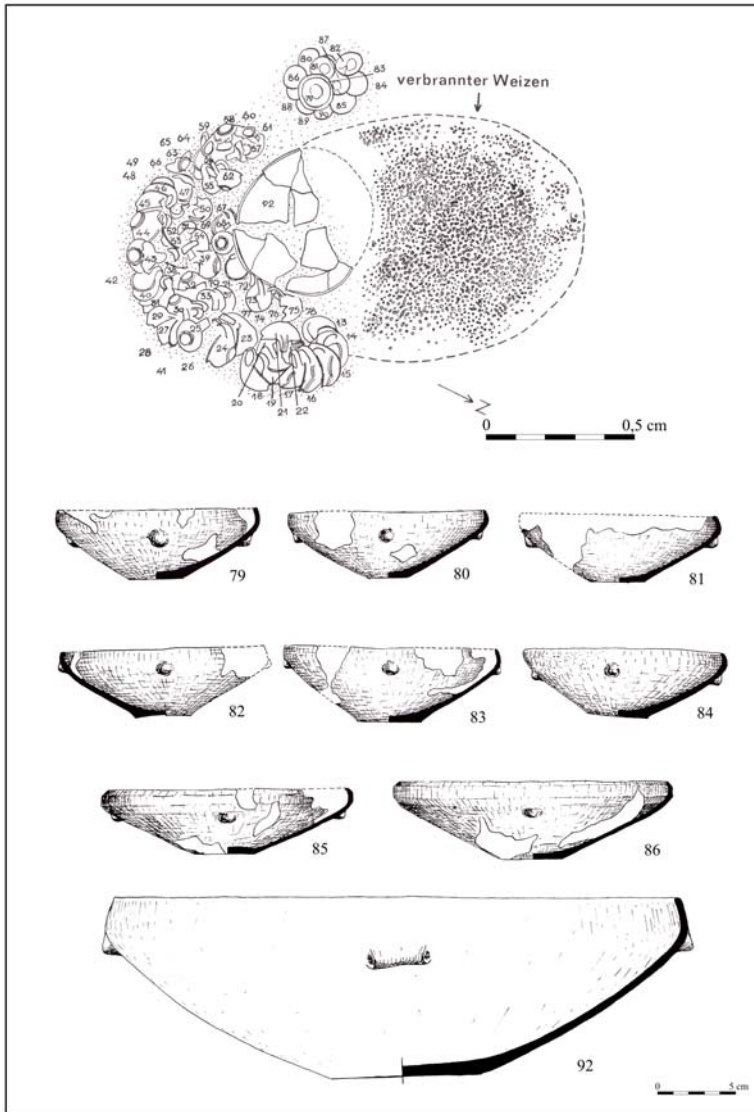


Fig. 8. Susani (after Stratan, Vulpe 1977).

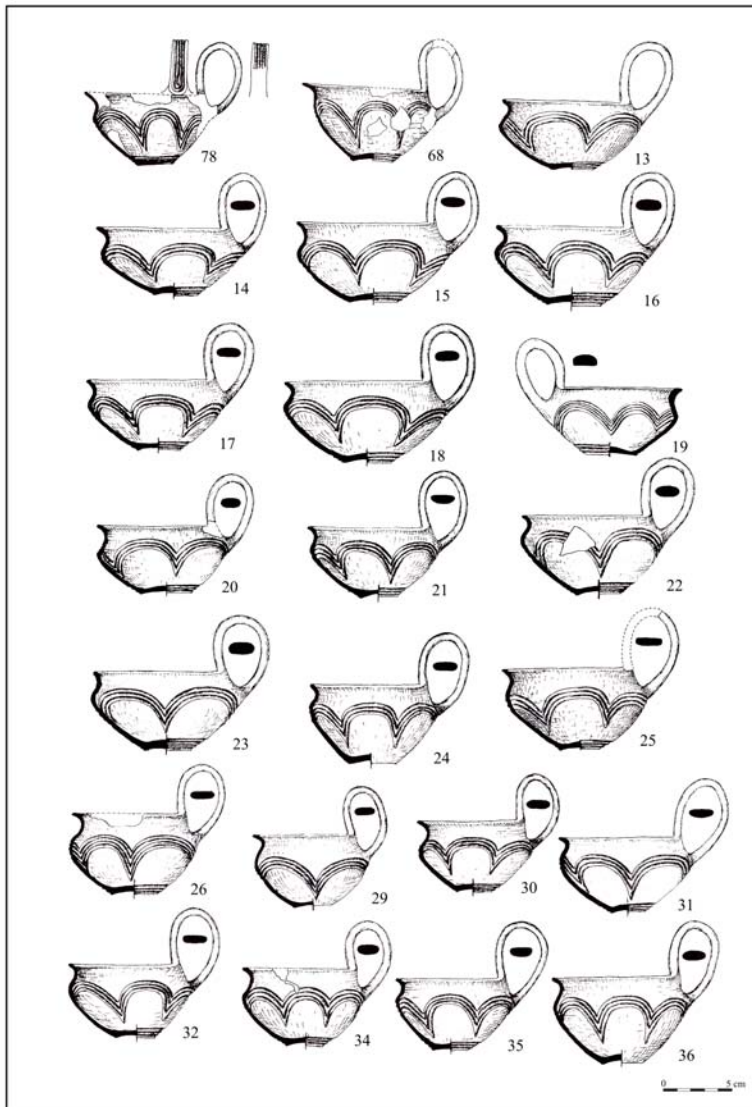


Fig. 9. Susani (after Stratan, Vulpe 1977).

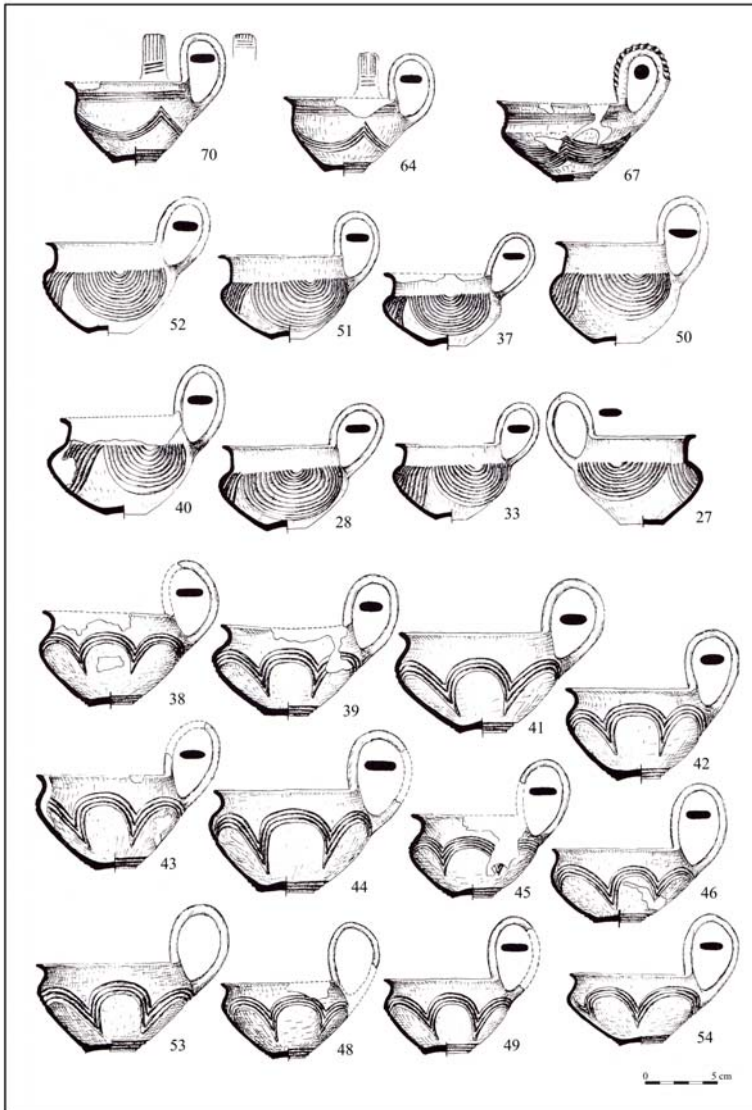


Fig. 10. Susani (after Stratan, Vulpe 1977).

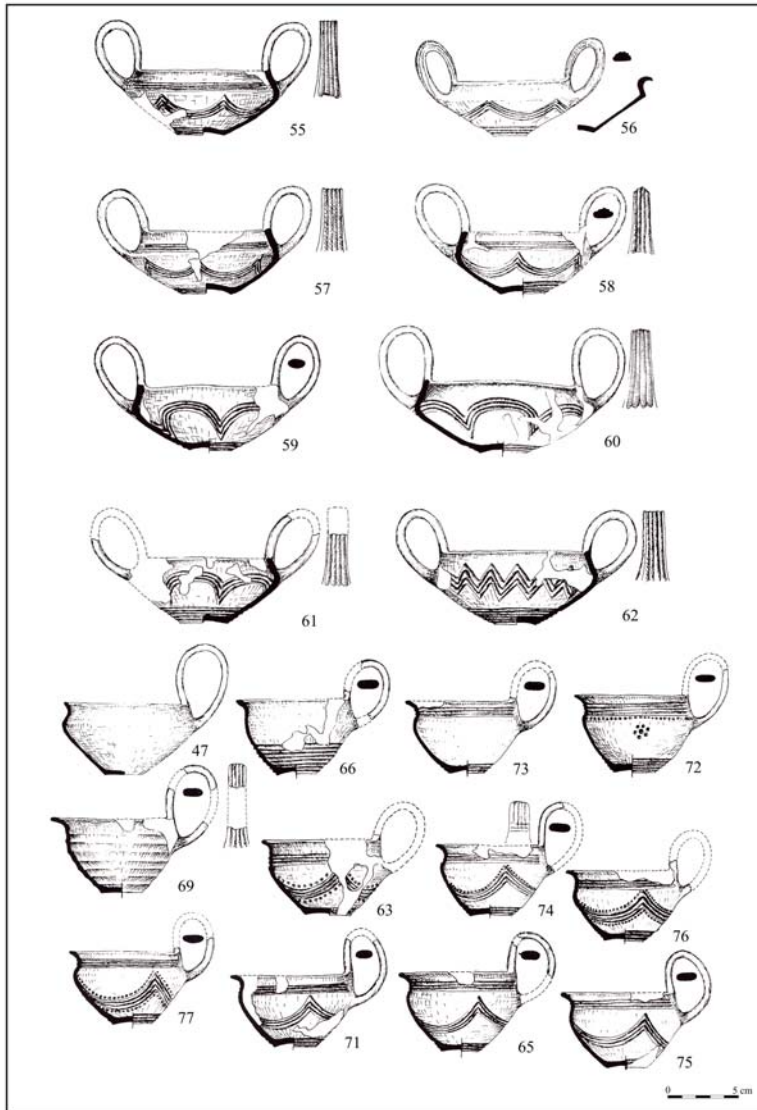


Fig. 11. Susani (after Stratan, Vulpe 1977).

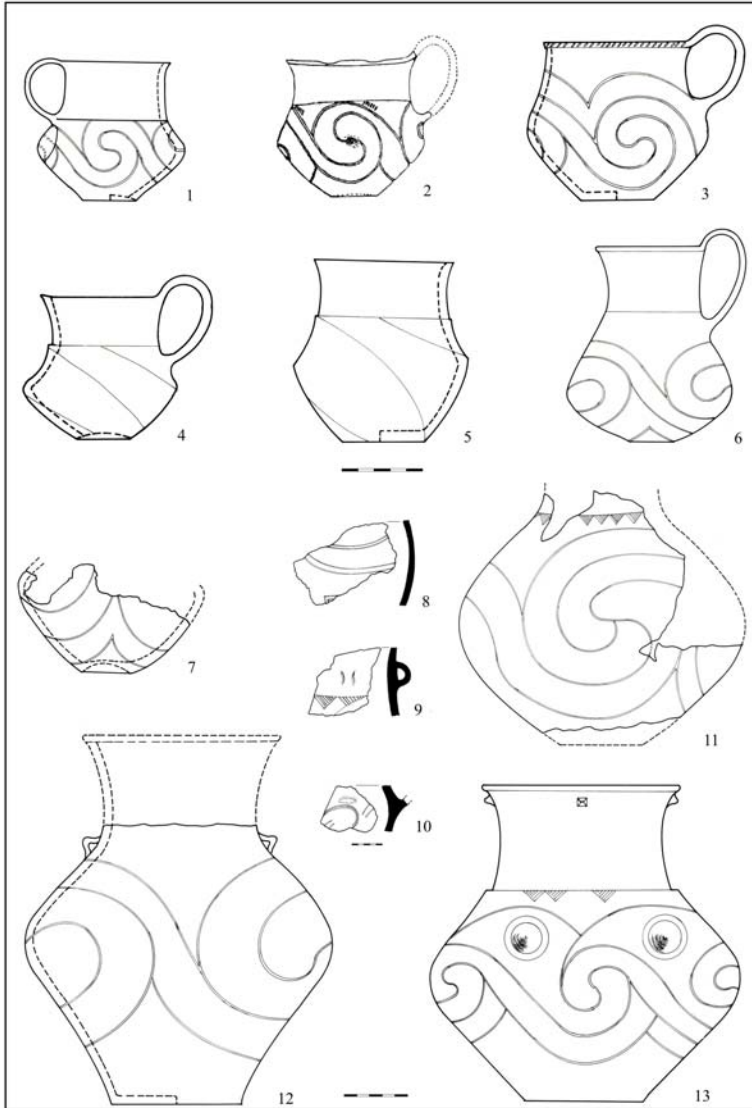


Fig. 12. Medieșu Aurit (after Bader 1978).

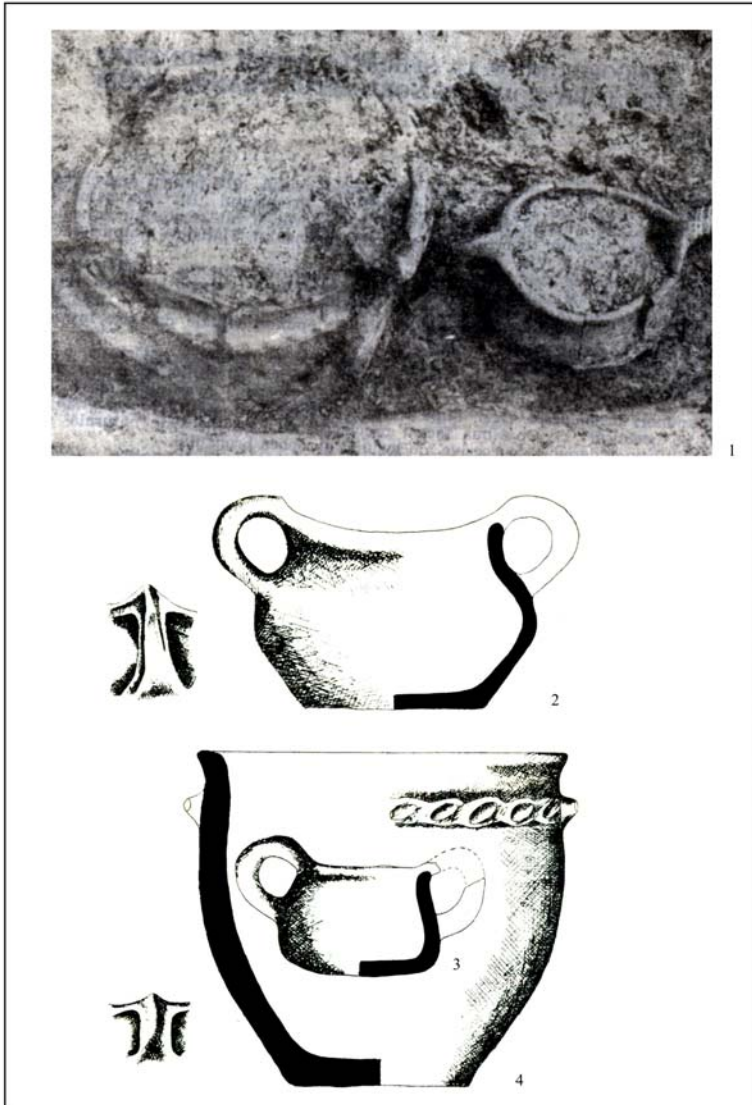


Fig. 13. Fântânele (after Marinescu 1985).



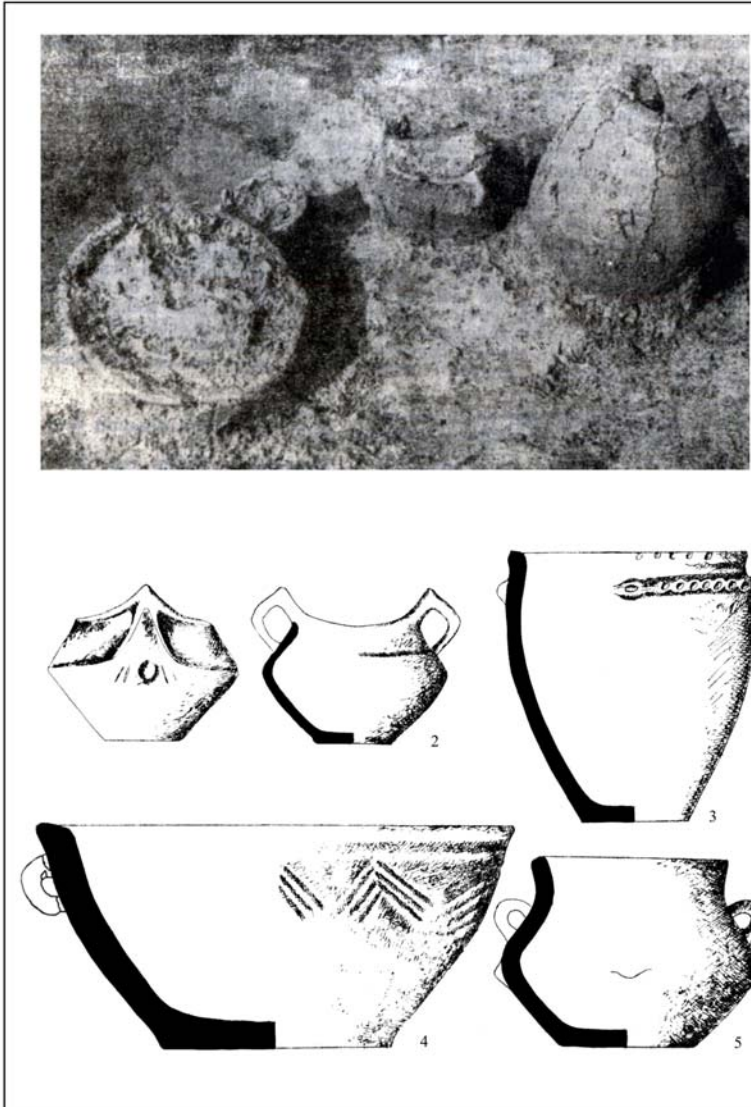


Fig. 14. Fântânele (after Marinescu 1985).

# The Banquets of Thracians as an Expression of Intercultural Contacts. A Quick Glance through the Strainer's Holes

Dragoș MĂNDESCU

*Muzeul Județean Argeș, Pitești*

**Abstract.** Based on information provided by written sources, not very many but quite contradictory, about the Thracian feasts accompanied by wine consumption, the author insists on one of them described by Diodorus of Sicily, which speaks of a particular Getic manner of drinking wine. In order to examine this particular Getic custom, the archaeological data provided by graves, settlements and hoards discoveries are analyzed, like vessels for wine consumption, drinking vessel assemblages, importations and imitations of patterns of the Greek and Roman world. It is an undisputable fact that the relationship between power and prestige and the wine drinking present in societies such as the Greek-Macedonian and Hellenistic and, later, Roman was the pattern for the Thracian elites. Almost everything connected with wine in the Thracian world is due to these poles of prestige and influence: the banquet pattern, the vessels for drinking, the way the wine was prepared before serving, and even the origins of the wine.

**Key words:** Thracians, banquets, wine, cultural patterns, imitation, acculturation.

**Rezumat: Banchetele tracilor ca expresie a contactelor interculturale. O privire grăbită prin găurile sitei.** Pe baza informațiilor oferite de izvoarele literare, nu foarte multe, dar contradictorii, despre banchetele tracice însoțite de consumul de vin, autorul se oprește asupra unuia dintre ele, descris de Diodor din Sicilia, care se referă la un mod particular getic de a bea vin. Pentru a examina acest obicei getic aparte, sunt discutate informațiile arheologice oferite de morminte, așezări și tezaure, cum ar fi vasele pentru consumul de vin, grupuri de vase de băut, importuri și imitații de modele din lumea greacă și romană. E un fapt incontestabil că relația dintre putere și prestigiu și băutul vinului prezente în societăți cum sunt cea greco-macedoneană și elenistică, iar mai târziu cea romană, au alcătuit modelul pentru elitele trace. Aproape tot ce se află în legătură cu vinul în lumea tracă se datorează acestor poli de prestigiu și influență: modelul banchetului, vasele de băut, modul de preparare a vinului înainte de servire, chiar originile vinului.

**Cuvinte cheie:** traci, banchete, vin, modele culturale, imitație, aculturație.

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The banquets, the conviviality, the wine consuming as a social, economic, political and even cultic feature in the barbarian world of proto-history are no longer light subjects outside the interest horizon of scholars. Especially in the past few years important studies have been dedicated to this theme, both regarding the Thracian society in general<sup>1</sup>, and regarding the Dacian inner-Carpathian area in particular<sup>2</sup> and the Getic one south and east of the Carpathians<sup>3</sup>. The same theme is also discussed concerning the Celtic central and western European world<sup>4</sup>. As a consequence, a further step must be performed: to put together the realities of the two worlds and try to elaborate a new common model of the barbarian societies from the border of the Greek-Roman civilization.

The present paper seeks to contribute to the elaboration of such a pattern starting from the realities of the Thracian world of the second half millennium of the old era, seen from the perspective of the relationships and intercultural contacts between centre and periphery.

For the Thracian world in general and for the Getic one in particular, one of the few descriptions (though vivid, including many details) of a party when wine was drunk in huge quantities is the scene of the feast at Helis, told by Diodorus of Sicily (21, 12, 2-3). The feast was organized by the Thracian basileus Dromichaïtes, as a "big wake for the gods", at the end of the war in the first years of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC against the new king of Thracia, Lysimachos. The Thracian and the Macedonian leaders who took part in the feast received different treatments. For Lysimachos and the Macedonians, the wine was poured into cups of gold and silver, as at the feasts in their homeland, while Dromichaïtes and his people drank wine from rudimentary and modest cups made of wood and horn, as was their custom.

This remark of Diodorus, "as the Getic custom was", deserves to be discussed in detail. The custom of the Getic (and the Thracian in general) parties was indeed so different of that of the Macedonian world that the written source (Diodorus in this case), although written two centuries after the events, mentioned this detail?

We will further try to clarify this aspect by presenting firstly the sources and then commenting the archaeological evidence relevant for the behaviour of the Thracians during the feast and their wine-consuming during the Late Iron Age in the North Balkan area. Then we shall identify and individualize the way the barbarian Thracians drank wine at their parties.

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<sup>1</sup> Marazov 2003a.

<sup>2</sup> Florea 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Sirbu 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Poux 2004.

What do the written sources tell us?

The written sources (the most numerous are the Greek ones) are contradictory regarding wine drinking during the Thracian feasts. Even extreme opinions could be found: there are sources that affirm that the Thracians did not even have knowledge of drink (Mela 2, 1, *Thracia*), and others that present the Thracians as heavy drinkers, the champions of the ancient world in this regard (Ael. VH 3, 15, *De Thracum et Illyorum vinositate*). Hardly a balanced, honest and fair opinion could be found in the written sources. It is possible that Pausanias is closest to the truth when he affirms that not only the Thracian men went drunk to battle, but even women used to drink a lot<sup>5</sup>; one consequence of such behaviour was the murder of Orpheus (9, 30, 5).

Why should we believe that the Thracians were the only different people in a world where alcohol was consumed not only for pleasure but also as a prestigious social and economical and even political function?

How important wine (or the alcoholic surrogates they drank during the long nights - Verg. G. 3, 349) was for their barbarian neighbours, the Scythians, results from the (although exaggerated) information that they had everything in common (even the women), except for the sword and the cup (Str. 7, 3, 7). For the Scythians the weapons and the drinks are on the same level. Why would the Thracians behave differently? The mixed populations from the Western Pontus (Greeks, Getae, Scythians) did not give up drinking wine, even when it was frozen: they drank it as iceballs (Ov. Tr. 3, 10 - winter in Tomis).

The historical written sources do not allow us to think that the behaviour of the Thracian is so full of excesses as that of their contemporaries, such as the Scythians - who used the skulls of their enemies killed in battles as cups during their feasts (Mela 2, 1 - *Scythia Europae*) - or the Germans who during the most important feasts drank the wine in the horns of the uri killed during hunting (Caes. Gal. 6, 28). The quiet feast of the Thracians who drank their wine in cups made of wood and horn (D. S. 21, 12, 2-3), "like the Getae / according to Getic custom", created a strong paradigm for the general perception, a commonplace characterized by moralizing nuances in the work of the ancient authors. The description that Strabo made of the strong personality of the great priest Deceneus (even he "a sort of charlatan"), who succeeded in putting the Getae on the right way by convincing them to cut down their vineyards and forget about the vice of drinking (7, 3, 11), brought into the collective

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<sup>5</sup> Marazov 2000b.

conscience a topos whose roots are placed in the ground of moralizing tendencies, an antithesis between the decadent and corrupted civilized world and the barbarian world: pure, natural and unaltered.

Perhaps it is not right to say that drinking wine was considered a virtue in the ancient world; it is more likely that it was considered a mark of high social and political status. Excessive consumption was risky, and because of that the act of drinking had to be performed with responsibility. In the middle of the imperial Roman epoch, Trajan was called *optimus princeps* despite his huge appetite for drinking wine. But the talent of the ancient authors transformed the vice into a virtue. Drinking wine, even excessively, was considered an act of greatness as long as it did not influence the equilibrium of the world. Talking of the virtues and the personality of Trajan, Cassius Dio said that the emperor drank as much as he wanted without losing his mind or harming anybody (DC 68, 7, 4). Thus, it was a thing to be mentioned in the chronicles as a good example. But as time passed by the emperor seemed to lose this feature. In the 6<sup>th</sup> century Ioannes Lydus was aware too of these “pleasures” of the emperor, but (perhaps influenced by the Christian ideas of the time) chose to present the radical version facing temptation: “Having an attraction for drinking excessively, Trajan gave up drinking wine” (Lyd. *mens.* 4, 18). This double point of view about the same person could be considered a clear example of how the written sources can influence our perception on some difficult subjects, everyone being tributary both to the ideologies and times when they were written as well to the personality of the author.

This is why we consider that the archaeological sources can offer a more objective image as well as suggestions for a more realistic interpretation of the issue that we are discussing here. We shall highlight them.

For the earlier period of the Thracian culture (5<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC), the most relevant information is offered by the sealed assemblages discovered in the leaders’ tombs or in hoards. Among these assemblages, an important position is held by the drinking sets made of bronze or noble metals.

The Thracian *basileis*, leaders and aristocrats loved luxury and used imported products that highlighted their status<sup>6</sup>. In their tombs were put pompous pieces of vessels used during feasts, predominant being the Greek vessels for wine drinking: *situlae*, *oenochoiai*, cups, goblets, *lebes* etc.

The Greek concept of *symposion*, expressed through the characteristic vessel, is present all over the elites of the Thracian society, as it results from the tombs of the leading class members. A series of auxiliary and apparently unimportant elements testifies that they did not simply get some luxury

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<sup>6</sup> Archibald 1998, 177-196.

vessel only because their shape and ornamentation were beautiful; the whole Greek ceremonial act was adopted. We refer to the strainers used for the wine filtration or the *kyathoi* used for getting the wine from bigger containers (like the *situla*-type vessels) into smaller vessels for drink; this shows the stages that preceded the direct consumption, all of them representing distinct episodes but in the same time they also represent the parts of a unitary ceremonial that the Thracians took as a whole from the Greek-Macedonian world.

The bronze *kyathos* / *simpulum*-type ladle imported from the Greek area in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC is specific only for the vicinity of the Black Sea's coasts (for example: Nagornoe and Odessa-Levski)<sup>7</sup>, but imported strainers were spread over a larger area of the Thracian territory. Between the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC the bronze strainers and the vessels for feasts were found in the rich graves of some Thracian leaders at Rhuac, Vărbica and Šipka-Goljama Kosmata Mogila<sup>8</sup>. Another strainer was found in the famous Mušovica Mogila from Duvanlij, while a silver item was part of the funerary inventory of the tumulus grave from Peretu<sup>9</sup>. All these strainers are of Greek or Etruscan type and have nothing in common with the local-type strainers, specific for the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, as known from the grave no. 17 of the necropolis of Ravna<sup>10</sup>.

As regards the famous hoards discovered in the Thracian lands, most vessels are also of Greek or Achaemenid type, although they belong to some barbarian workshops where noble metals (especially silver) were processed in the most refined manner. The royal names belonging to the Odrysian dynasty written on some vessels found to the north of the Balkan Mountains, such as the ones from Agighiol, Aleksandrovo, Rogozen, Borovo, Vraca, Radjuvene and Braničevo, could indicate the origin area of these extraordinary vessel sets<sup>11</sup>. It is still unclear if the drinking vessels belonging to those sets (especially the *phiale* and *rhyton* types) represented only an impressive symbol or if their significance must be extended to the domain of cultic and ritual ceremonial. Figurative representations like the ones that are found on the greave from Agighiol or on the rhyton from Poroina led to the consideration that they were a feature of gods or heroes to whom the Thracian leaders identified themselves when they used the respective vessels. It is not impossible that the vessels that formed the big

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<sup>7</sup> Teleagă 2008, 277-278, map 50, pl. 79/1; 177/1.

<sup>8</sup> Teleagă 2008, 276-277, map 50, pl. 112/2; 193/1-3.

<sup>9</sup> Moscalu 1989, 169-170, pl. 48/2.

<sup>10</sup> Mirčev 1962, 108, pl. 18/5.

<sup>11</sup> Măndescu 2010, 400-409, fig. 80-81.

Thracian treasures were used not for drinking wine during the sumptuous royal banquets, but more likely were used during some ritual ceremonials of purification, libations etc. There are also some finely morphologic details that lead to such assertions. For example, the golden amphora from the vessel set of the hoard of Panagjuryšte have at the basis of each handle a perforation through which the liquid flew rapidly and in an uncontrollable way and that made the ordinary usage of the respective vessel during banquets impossible.

For the closing period of the Late Iron Age corresponding to the so-called classical Geto-Dacian culture, i.e. the two and a half centuries that preceded the Roman conquest (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC – 1<sup>st</sup> century AD), the archaeological data are collected especially from settlements, fortresses and hoards.

Despite the numerous agricultural tools (little knives, pruning knives, weed hooks etc.) from the Late Iron Age discovered in pre-Roman Dacian settlements (sometimes in tombs, as funerary inventory) – some scholars considered that the tools were used for the cultivation of vineyards<sup>12</sup> –, it seems that the wine the Geto-Dacian preferred was the southern one, imported from the Aegean Archipelago.

A local wine production certainly existed and can be archaeologically proved, not through the presence of agricultural tools (the fact that some of them were used for the cultivation of vineyards is disputable), but through the containers for the transportation of wine, i. e. the autochthonous amphorae, some of which having anepigraphic stamps that imitate the ones from reputed Greek centres. A recent statistic talks about over 300 local amphorae (a third of them bearing autochthonous anepigraphic stamps), discovered in over 20 Geto-Dacian settlements<sup>13</sup>.

Chronologically speaking, the autochthonous wine was produced and “commercialized” on the inner market in parallel with the qualitatively superior one coming especially from the Aegean islands (Rhodes, Cnidus, Cos). As most of the autochthonous amphorae were discovered in the area south of the Carpathians, we could suppose that this was the main area where local wine was produced<sup>14</sup>, a space that still preserves the properties for successful cultivation of vine even today.

However, a statistic of the wine quantity that was imported to Dacia can offer a much better image of the reality of the epoch. For the moment, only a four-decades-old statistic is in use, but it is still relevant as long as it

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<sup>12</sup> Comşa 1982, 59-74, fig. 1-11.

<sup>13</sup> Sîrbu 2003, 88-89, fig. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Sîrbu 2003, 89.

quantifies (at that moment) about 1100 amphorae imported to the Dacian territory (about a third of them bearing stamps), discovered in 117 findspots. In a single site (at Cetățeni), surely a center of goods exchange, over 100 imported amphorae were identified<sup>15</sup>. Thus, by presenting the quantitative ratio between imported wine and the autochthonous production as 4/1, as it results from the quantification of the amphorae, we presume that we are not far from the reality. As a confirmation, this ratio of about 4/1 is recorded concerning the imported stamped amphorae and the autochthonous ones discovered in the Late Iron Age centre of Cetățeni: more than 180 stamps of Rhodes, Cnidus and Sinope, and 41 local stamps are known at present<sup>16</sup>.

But the imported wine did not come alone to Dacia (or rather it did not come only together with the amphorae that contained it). Continuing a certain tradition of the previous centuries in the northern Thracian area, the wine import was doubled by an imitation program of the special vessels used for drinking in the Hellenistic and Roman world. This is not a simple stereotype imitation of a misunderstood foreign pattern, but a global one that generated the idea of assuming and integrating a common pattern that became generally accepted and then adopted by the exponents of the autochthonous society.

It is obvious that the imported drinking vessels from the Hellenistic and Roman worlds were coveted and appreciated by the Getic aristocracy. Because the valuable authentic imports such as the *kantharos* from the hoard of Sâncrăieni<sup>17</sup> were rather difficult to obtain, the imitation method was used on a large scale all over Dacia. Cheap imitations made of clay (some of them being executed in a poor manner) were used even by the aristocracy of very important centers of power such as Ocița<sup>18</sup>.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, a "revival" of the act of depositing thesauri and hoards consisting of drinking sets which evoked the memory of the great horizon of Thracian hoards took place. Surprisingly or not, the vessel for drinking wine – which is best represented in this late hoards discovered both to the north of the Danube (Sâncrăieni and Herăstrău) and to the south of it (Bohot and Jakimovo) – is the silver cup without foot – the *mastos*, a Greek rather than an Italic feature<sup>19</sup>. The massive presence of the *mastos*-type silver vessel in the hoards of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC suggests that in this period of time the source of inspiration for the drinking vessels of precious

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<sup>15</sup> Glodariu 1974, 27-40, 183-200, cat. no. 25.

<sup>16</sup> Glodariu 1974, cat. nos. 25, 184-190; Măndescu 2006, 39-40, pl. 15-16/1-11.

<sup>17</sup> Spănu 2012, 18, fig. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Berciu 1981, 28, pl. 7/1; 8/4; 74/1.

<sup>19</sup> Feugère 1991, 3, fig. 4.



metal remained the Greek area. Even some of the *kantharoi* from Sâncrăieni were initially produced as *mastoi*<sup>20</sup>. Even more than that: the strainer present together with the *mastoi* as part of the vessels set from Jakimovo, an auxiliary item without any common feature with the republican Italic ones, is a further argument supporting the idea of a Greek and not Roman source of inspiration.

The trend of imitation of the Hellenistic patterns, present for a long time as an important feature of the Getic aristocracy, is reflected by the numerous *rhyta*, which are local imitations, made in clay, of the prestigious vessel, possibly with a cultic significance and purpose, carved in precious metals in the Persian and Greek worlds. For the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, a period when the prototype was no longer a trend in its original area, the usage of *rhyton* imitations is sufficiently well documented in the important Late Iron Age centres of power, due to discoveries such as those from Cetățeni, Piscul Crăsani, Poiana, Popești and Sighișoara<sup>21</sup>.

But perhaps the Geto-Dacian large-scale imitation of wine drinking vessels could be seen just by looking at the local imitations of the hemispherical mould-made bowls and the local imitations of *kantharoi*<sup>22</sup>. Beside the obviously different spreading area (the local hemispherical mould-made bowls are frequently met with to the south of the Carpathians, while the main spreading area for *kantharos*-type vessels is east of the Carpathians), these imitations also reflect different centres of influence (the hemispherical mould-made bowls were taken from the South, after eastern Hellenistic prototypes produced at Delos and Megara, while for the pattern of the Geto-Dacian *kantharos* one must be looking to the Roman world), as well as a substantially chronological delay (the hemispherical mould-made bowls are chronological indicators for an earlier stage of the classical Geto-Dacian culture, i. e. the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century<sup>23</sup>, while the *kantharoi* were discovered in later contexts, from the second half/the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD).

The Geto-Dacian imitations went even further, beyond the ordinary patterns of the vessels for wine drinking from the Hellenistic and Roman world. One of the most interesting discoveries was made in the settlement of Cetățeni, a Geto-Dacian centre that developed and prospered due to the trade of Aegean wine. This find shows that the sources of inspiration were more numerous and included rare shapes of vessels for drinking wine.

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<sup>20</sup> Spănu 2012, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Sîrbu 1995.

<sup>22</sup> Glodariu 1974, 143-145; Sîrbu 2003, 90, fig. 3-4.

<sup>23</sup> Babeș 1975, 136, fig. 7.

Thus, a small fragment of wheel-made painted pottery, found in an archaeological layer dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, a fragment that could not permit a clear reconstitution<sup>24</sup>, seems to indicate a local imitation, unique until now, having as a pattern a filter jug-type vessel spread during the Hellenistic era in the eastern of the Mediterranean basin<sup>25</sup>. The decisive morphologic element for this affiliation is represented by the inner perforated membrane, which functioned as a strainer (Fig. 1). The fact that this is the only painted pottery fragment discovered at Cetățeni could raise a question mark about the origins of the vessel it was a part of, but the technique and the manner used to paint it, i. e. the geometric patterns, are clearly autochthonous<sup>26</sup>.

Thus, the Dacians drank wine imitating the Greek-Hellenistic and Roman patterns, using vessels especially created for drinking that imitated the ones of the "civilised world". The probability of a certain refinement of the Geto-Dacian banquet ceremony was discussed, referring to the change of drinking vessels (from *mastos* to *kantharos*) as the Roman republican imports to the north of the Danube got more intense<sup>27</sup>. The same changing of the poles of influence and of the pattern of the autochthonous banquet ceremony may be illustrated by the replacement (around the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC, as the Romans came closer to the Danube) of the mould-made bowls with the *kantharoi*, both of them being locally imitated. This issue has already been discussed in this paper.

Imitation and acculturation do not limit themselves to this episode, but went further into Geto-Dacian behaviour. The entire procedure of wine preparation before serving, the taking of the liquid out of the big vessel and pouring it into smaller ones used the same Greek and Roman pattern. The most recent cataloguing regarding the imports of auxiliary materials for wine-consuming is relevant. In numerous Dacian centers of power, especially in Transylvania, but also in the outer Carpathian area, imported Roman wares such as bronze strainers (Divici, Piatra Craivii, Pietroasele-Gruiu Dării, Peștera Ungurului, Brad) or *simpula* (Bănița, Costești, Divici, Piatra Roșie, Rădulești, Tilișca, Cârlomanești)<sup>28</sup> were discovered.

The Geto-Dacian aristocrats and leaders knew the whole ensemble of the vessels for wine as well as the auxiliary elements used during Greek and Roman parties and adopted these customs. Their preference for the original auxiliary pieces, such as strainers and *simpula* produced in

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<sup>24</sup> Măndescu 2006, 84-87, pl. 37/8; 38/4.

<sup>25</sup> Rotroff 1997, 180-183, cat. nos. 1183-1193, fig. 73, pl. 87.

<sup>26</sup> Florea 1998, 185-194, pl. 2/3; 17/5; 21/10.

<sup>27</sup> Spănu 2012, 18.

<sup>28</sup> Plantos 2003, 121-122, pl. 1/1-5.

Campania or generally in southern Italy<sup>29</sup>, is obvious. In fact, no autochthonous imitation of a Republican bronze strainer or *simpulum* was discovered until now. The technical limitation was clear and whether or not such a piece was to be used during banquets was conditioned by its quality. It is without any doubt that in these situations the functioning of the piece directly depended on the accuracy of the handicraft – a fact that could explain why they preferred original auxiliary pieces, such as strainers and ladles, and why they did not want local copies.

Although these auxiliary pieces did not come to pre-conquest Dacia directly from the Roman world, but probably through the Scordiscian milieu in the south-west<sup>30</sup>, this contamination manner through pattern propagation illustrates the common scenery of the relation between the barbarian populations and the example they considered a superior one. Although there are elements that particularize these objects, they do not allow us to consider the Barbaricum as a whole having a unique morphology in its relationship with the poles of prestige: Greek or Roman.

In this late period before the Roman conquest, important differences between the ways the imported wine was seen by the Geto-Dacian and by their western neighbours of the Barbaricum can be noticed. From the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, when the Pontic and Balkan trade routes leading to the Aegean area were taken over by the Romans, the Geto-Dacians enjoyed southern wine, which they imported in huge quantities. In the Celtic area, the Italic imported wine, though well represented in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, became more and more rare in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>31</sup>. The Geto-Dacians consumed wine hugely and all the social classes were well represented (the quality of the wine varied, of course, from one class to another), while the Celts drank it only if they were part of the warrior elite. The Celtic world did not imitate nor took over the Greek-Roman patterns of the vessels, while the Geto-Dacian did both. In Gallia the accessories for the symposium, the vessels for drinking of Roman provenience, were imported and spread only after the Roman conquest<sup>32</sup>.

At the end of this periplus through the features of the Thracian wine customs, many doubts remain regarding Diodorus' assertion about the existence of a personal hallmark of the manner the Getae drank during feasts. Although the written sources regarding this issue are confusing and non-concordant, the archaeological ones offer clearer information. It is

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<sup>29</sup> Guillaumet 1991, 89-95; Castoldi/Feugère 1991, 61-87.

<sup>30</sup> Rustoiu 1994, 234-236.

<sup>31</sup> Poux 2004, 196-198, 374-380.

<sup>32</sup> Poux 2004, 240-242, 605.

undisputable that the relationship between power and prestige and wine-drinking present in foreign societies such as the Greek-Macedonian and Hellenistic and, later, Roman was the pattern for the Thracian (both the Thracian-Getae and, later, the Geto-Dacian) elites. Almost everything connected to wine in the Thracian world is due to these poles of prestige and influence: the banquet pattern, the vessels for drinking, the way the wine was prepared before serving, and even the origins of wine. Then where could be found that so-called “custom of the Getae” that represented their hallmark? Diodorus must have been wrong.

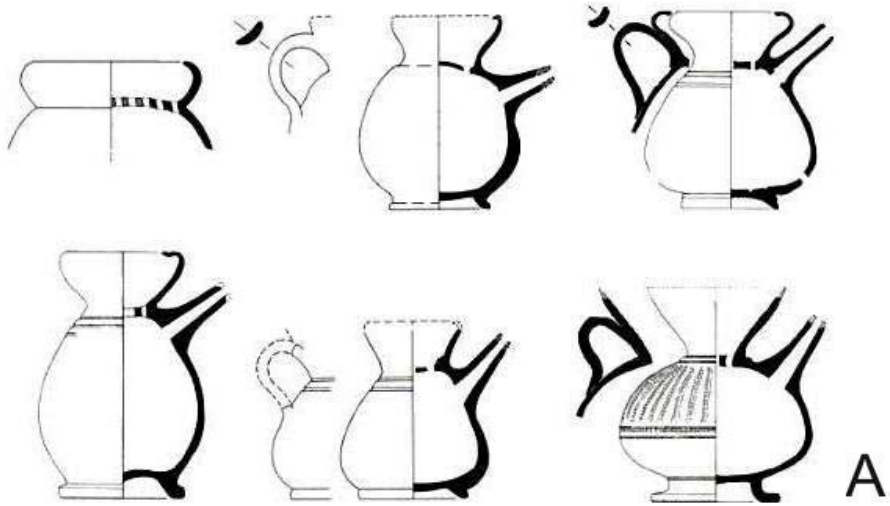
### Illustrations

Fig. 1. Hellenistic filter jugs (A) and a ceramic fragment from a possible local imitation found at Cetățeni (B). (A - according to Rotroff 1997)

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## Des coupes-crânes chez les anciens Celtes ?

Franck PERRIN

*Université Lumière Lyon 2*

**Abstract: Skull cups of the ancient Celts?** Starting out from a recent Iron age discovery in the environs of Lyon (France), this article discusses the question of the usage of human skulls as drinking vessels by the pre-Roman Barbarians in Western and Central Europe, by connecting the statements of ancient sources and archaeological data. An overview of finds shows the existence, since oldest prehistory and in all periods, of human skulls which were modified, no doubt for multiple purposes, which the ancient texts reduce to the banquet only.

**Key words:** banquet, Celts, protohistory, skull, cup.

**Rezumat: Cupe-cranii la celții antici?** Pornind de la o recentă descoperire de epoca fierului din preajma orașului Lyon (Franța), articolul discută problema folosirii craniilor umane ca vase de băut la barbarii din Europa de vest și centrală în epoca preromană, punând în legătură afirmațiile autorilor antici și datele arheologice. O trecere în revistă a descoperirilor demonstrează existența, din cea mai îndepărtată preistorie și în toate epocile, a unor cranii umane care au suferit modificări, fără îndoială în multiple scopuri, pe care însă textele antice le reduc doar la cea a banchetului.

**Cuvinte cheie:** banchet, celți, protoistorie, craniu, cupă.

En 414 de notre ère, Paul Orose rédigea à la demande d'Augustin d'Hippone ce qui au départ devait être une compilation des malheurs subis par Rome avant que ne triomphe le christianisme ; le pillage de l'*Urbs* par le wisigoth Alaric avait en effet jeté le trouble dans les esprits, certains y voyant la conséquence directe du rejet des anciens dieux gréco-romains. Il était donc important de montrer qu'il n'en était rien, et pour cela Orose alla bien au-delà des vœux de Saint Augustin en rédigeant ses *Historiae adversos paganus* – les Histoires contre les païens. Pour ce faire, il utilisa plusieurs sources, notamment l'Histoire philippique de Trogue-Pompée abrégée par Marcus Junianus Justinus, mais aussi celle de Tite-Live. C'est probablement chez ce dernier que Paul Orose découvrit la description d'un curieux usage en vigueur chez des « Thraces », en fait des Galates revenus de l'expédition sur Delphes et fixés depuis peu entre la Save et le Danube. « Lors des guerres de Macédoine, ces barbares, quand ils avaient besoin d'une coupe (s'emparaient) de crânes humains, sanglants, encore chevelus et enduits,

dans les cavités intérieures, de matière cervicale mal grattée, ils en usaient, avec avidité et sans horreur, comme de véritables coupes : de ces peuples, les plus sanguinaires et les plus farouches étaient les Scordisques »<sup>1</sup>. Avant lui Ammien-Marcellin<sup>2</sup>, auteur païen du IV<sup>e</sup> s. de notre ère avait mentionné ce sacrifice de prisonniers dédiés par ces mêmes Scordisques à des dieux interprétés à Mars et Bellone, ainsi que l'usage de crânes humains comme coupes à boire du sang. Une information analogue figure chez Florus qui mentionne des libations du même liquide<sup>3</sup>. En revanche, Silius Italicus, dans son récit de la seconde guerre punique composé vers la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle de notre ère, est le premier à signaler un traitement artisanal modifiant ces crânes qui, chez les Celtes – ceux d'Italie du nord sans doute –, auraient été rehaussés d'un bandeau d'or : « Quant aux Celtes » écrit-il « ils se plaisent à vider les crânes, à les border – horreur ! – d'un cercle d'or, et ils gardent ces coupes pour leurs banquets »<sup>4</sup>. L'usage de ces curieux récipients dans les réunions masculines est précisé par Tite-Live<sup>5</sup>, qui relate un épisode célèbre opposant les Boïens d'Italie – alliés des Puniques – aux Romains. En 215 av. n. ère, après avoir anéanti deux légions romaines, ces Gaulois cisalpins tuèrent, à l'issue d'un vif combat, le consul *Postumius*, le décapitèrent et offrirent son crâne « orné d'un cercle d'or ciselé » au dieu de leur sanctuaire le plus important. Il « leur servit de vase sacré pour offrir des libations dans les fêtes solennelles » et le texte ajoute : « Ce fut aussi la coupe du Grand-pontife et des prêtres du temple » et non le classique *simpulum* romain.

Si l'on fait les synthèses de ces affirmations, il apparaît qu'entre le III<sup>e</sup> et le II<sup>e</sup> s. avant notre ère, dans un espace centré sur la mer Adriatique, un collège de prêtres gaulois mais aussi d'autres élites assurément guerrières auraient utilisé d'étonnantes coupes à verser et à boire obtenues à partir de crânes humains, ceux de vaincus. Pourtant, si l'on examine les mobiliers déposés dans les tombes des élites péninsulaires celtiques, on observe l'adoption des accessoires gréco-étrusques (en bronze et non en or) du banquet classique et la totale absence de ces étranges coupes-crânes. Peut-être étaient-elles des objets d'une époque ancienne, celle évoquée par Polybe<sup>6</sup> lorsqu'il décrit ces « *Galatai* » d'Italie du Nord au IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. n. è., riches de leurs troupeaux et d'or, couchant sur des litières, se nourrissant uniquement de viandes et qui « *mettaient leur plus grande application à former*

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<sup>1</sup> Oros. 5, 23, 17-18. Sur la question de la prise de la tête chez les Celtes dans les sources littéraires, voir Brunaux 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Amm. 27, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Flor. 3, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Sil. 13, 482-483.

<sup>5</sup> Liv. 23, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Pol. 2, 14, 8-17.



des clans parce que chez eux l'homme le plus redoutable et le plus puissant est celui qui passe pour avoir le plus de clients et de satellites », soit à la manière des hétairies aristocratiques grecques ? Ou bien faut-il penser à une forme de vaisselle propre à ces archaïques « phratries » masculines protohistoriques, ces « *Männerbünde* » se louant pour la guerre qui, à plusieurs reprises, passèrent les Alpes à la demande des Gaulois cisalpins ? L'imprécision des sources pourrait tout aussi bien faire douter le lecteur de la réalité de ces usages qui pourraient être le produit d'une confusion. En effet, les Celtes pratiquaient une forme de boucherie funéraire dont les vestiges sont très présents dans certains sanctuaires mais aussi dans de modestes habitats ; Orose aurait ainsi pu utiliser des sources évoquant en fait le traitement des défunts et n'en retenir qu'un aspect lui apparaissant comme aux limites de l'anthropophagie.

Ces dernières années, pourtant, quelques découvertes sont venues si ce n'est confirmer du moins renforcer l'historicité de ces vases en os humain<sup>7</sup>. L'une d'elle, tout récente, a été faite fin 2011 aux portes de Lyon, sur le site de Décines « Montout » (Rhône) à l'occasion d'une importante opération d'archéologie préventive conduite par l'INRAP (E. Ferber dir.). Il s'agit d'un enclos fossoyé laténien de la fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. n. è. qui a livré une plusieurs armements dont un exceptionnel bouclier républicain romain ainsi que des restes humains, notamment la partie antérieure d'un crâne d'adulte (fig. n° 1) séparée par une découpe à la scie découverte rejetée dans le fossé<sup>8</sup>. Un autre reste humain céphalique témoigne d'un traitement particulier quoique que plus fréquent : il porte en effet la trace d'un coup correspondant à une découpe brutale probablement réalisée sur un corps allongé (décapitation *post-mortem* ?)<sup>9</sup>. La fonction du site ne peut être précisée avec certitude en raison de la partialité de la fouille, mais il semble clair que l'enclos, bordé d'un talus, était orné d'une série de boucliers, probablement des prises de guerre, notamment des armes défensives.

Outre l'exemplaire lyonnais, quelques autres découvertes de calottes crâniennes modifiées méritent d'être signalées. Ainsi, une autre « coupe »,

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<sup>7</sup> Depuis le colloque de Cluj sont parus les actes de la Table-ronde pluridisciplinaire des Eyzies-de-Tayac (Dordogne), 14-16 octobre 2010 « Crânes trophées, crânes d'ancêtres et autres pratiques autour de la tête. Problèmes d'interprétation en archéologie », décembre 2012, 158 p. Plusieurs articles traitent du sujet de la coupe-crâne durant la préhistoire, la protohistoire et l'Antiquité, notamment ceux de A. Testart, J.-L. Brunaux, B. Boulestin et H. Duda, et surtout Boulestin, ce dernier traitant précisément des coupes-crânes avec un inventaire sensiblement proche du nôtre. Sur le même sujet, cf. Andree 1912, Laufer 1923 et Maringer 1982.

<sup>8</sup> Bellon, Perrin, Plantevin, soumis.

<sup>9</sup> Bellon, Gisclon, Perrin 2012 ; Bellon, Perrin, Gisclon, soumis.

également sans la moindre trace de décoration rapportée, est signalée dans l'habitat celtique de Manching en Bavière, dans un contexte détritique chronologiquement similaire à celui de Décines<sup>10</sup>. Dans des contextes plus anciens, pour le IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. n. è., on peut signaler un autre exemple de crâne modifié sur le site de Roissy-en-France avec un *calvarium* présentant des traces de perforation laissant plus penser à sa suspension qu'à la fixation d'un décor rapporté disparu. Dans tous les cas il s'agit de contextes secondaires et rien ne démontre l'association de ces possibles récipients avec le banquet ; cela dit, le fossé de Décines (comme la fosse 830 de Manching) contenait une dizaine d'amphores vinaires républicaines. De plus, il faut noter qu'une interprétation comme contenant de ces fragments osseux concaves implique une étanchéité, ce qui n'est acquis que pour des sujets adultes d'un âge suffisamment avancé pour que les sutures crâniennes soient synostosées (ou enduites d'une substance imperméabilisante). Dans le cas de Lucius Postumus Albinus, l'âge requis pour le consulat indique que la dorure de son crâne n'était sans doute pas liée à un souci d'imperméabilisation, sauf dans le cas d'une importante blessure à la tête. Concernant la dorure, aucun des exemplaires connus n'est porteur d'orfèvrerie, mais il existe ici et là en contexte funéraire des bandages en or, souvent interprétés comme des décors de cornes à boire ou restitués sur d'hypothétiques bols en bois ; on pourrait envisager leur fixation sur des calottes crâniennes : ceux de Schwarzenbach (Tombe 1) en Rhénanie et d'Eygenbilzen (Belgique)<sup>11</sup>.

L'énigmatique dépôt funéraire hallstattien (VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. n. è.) de la grotte de Býčí skála (Tchéquie) fournit des exemples d'un autre type de « récipient » obtenu par le simple bris du crâne ce qui génère parfois un léger ressaut assimilable à un moyen de préhension. Si ce type est attesté dans des sanctuaires de la fin de La Tène, à Roseldorf (Autriche) et Alençon (France)<sup>12</sup>, il est surtout représenté aux époques antérieures, du Paléolithique moyen (Ochtendung, Kreis Mayen-Koblenz, D) et supérieur (3 ex. à Gough's Cave, G. B. c. 14700 ans)<sup>13</sup> jusqu'au Néolithique et à l'âge du Bronze. Sans en faire l'inventaire, on peut s'arrêter sur quelques cas significatifs. Ainsi, des concentrations de calottes crâniennes (dépôt) ont été signalés sur des sites de l'âge du Bronze (Taborac) ou du Néolithique, comme par exemple dans les fosses d'Herxheim (Rhénanie-Palatinat)

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<sup>10</sup> Maier et al. 1992, pl. 151 et p. 220, 300-301. Boulestin/Duday 2012, 154 considèrent comme « quelque peu douteuse » la calotte crânienne de Manching Boulestin/Duday 1997, où le vestige était considéré comme « scié ».

<sup>11</sup> Frey/Schwappach 1973, pl. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Pernet/Meniel 2010, 284

<sup>13</sup> Bello et al. 2011.

comblées par les restes de plusieurs centaines d'individus (probablement un millier au total) découpés et assurément consommés sur une période d'un demi-siècle, à l'extrême fin du VI<sup>e</sup> millénaire avant notre ère. Dans ce « cannibalisme de masse », en fait assez limité si on tient compte de la durée, les crânes devaient jouer un rôle bien particulier ainsi qu'en témoignent nombre de modifications anthropiques les transformant en autant de récipients<sup>14</sup>. Tout ceci n'est d'ailleurs pas sans rappeler les funérailles chez les Issédons de l'est de l'Oural (Kazakhstan central) qui, au dire d'Hérodote, découpaient le corps de certains de leurs morts et mêlaient leurs chairs à celles de victimes animales abattues pour le banquet funéraire ; le crâne du défunt, soigneusement nettoyé, était quant lui doré et utilisé annuellement lors de la commémoration du décès<sup>15</sup>.

Autre cas, celui de la grotte de Majda Hrasková (Slovaquie) où un crâne de la fin de l'âge du Bronze découpé à la fois verticalement et horizontalement, ce qui a pu produire plusieurs pièces osseuses dont un masque (conservé) et une « coupe ». Ces masques en os peuvent avoir eu de nombreux usages qui nous échappent, mais il n'est pas inintéressant de rappeler que la statue du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. n. è. du tumulus d'Hirschlanden (Wurtemberg, Allemagne) – que l'on pense avoir été originellement placée sur la tombe du prince de Hochdorf – montre un personnage masqué<sup>16</sup>. Quoi qu'il en soit, d'autres masques – ceux d'ancêtres ou de vaincus – sont connus notamment dans l'ornementation d'espaces publics jouxtant des habitats aristocratiques. C'est ainsi le cas à Montmartin (Oise, France) dans le *Belgium* où l'on pu mettre en évidence un enclos des III<sup>e</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. avant n. è. avec autel creux et restes de banquets associés à une probable ornementation

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<sup>14</sup> Boulestin 2012a, 42 estime leur nombre à plusieurs centaines dans les fosses d'Herxheim, ce qui implique une transformation quasi-systématique des crânes en récipients brièvement utilisés avant d'être abandonnés, parfois regroupés en dépôts.

<sup>15</sup> Hérodote 4, 26. Les attestations archéologiques semblent très rares. En Sibérie, dans la région de Tomsk, une calotte crânienne porte une série de perforations partielles permettant, semble-t-il, la fixation de bandes de cuir disposées verticalement. Cf. Minns 1913, 81 et 83, fig. 26. On songe à l'usage particulier décrit par Hérodote (4, 64) de la peau humaine (tête, main) des adversaires des Scythes qui confectionnent avec ces dépouilles des « serviettes » ornant les brides des harnachements de chevaux, voire des caps de cavaliers. Pour Alain Testart 2012, 30, le véritable trophée est la peau du vaincu, notamment celle de la tête obtenue après écorchement et non le crâne lui-même. Un « atelier » de coupes-crânes serait attesté dans l'immense habitat scythe de Kamenskoe dans l'arrière-pays d'Olbia pontique. Cf. Rolle 1989, 83. Une autre coupe-crâne proviendrait du nord de la Russie, hors de la zone scythique, d'une crémation d'un jeune adulte du I<sup>er</sup> s. de notre ère récemment fouillée dans la République des Komis Cf. La Recherche n°360, 2003, 21.

<sup>16</sup> Frey 2004, 111, pl. IV.

murale à base de masques et d'armes : une calotte sciée<sup>17</sup> proviendrait de l'environnement immédiat de cet espace dévolu à des rituels guerriers. La présence de restes humains, notamment crâniens est en fait assez fréquente dans les sites de « banquets » qu'il s'agisse de sanctuaires ou d'habitats, mais les vestiges conservés sont souvent des modestes fragments de calottes crâniennes voisinant avec des amphores républicaines que rien ne permet d'identifier comme coupes, faute de disposer du bord<sup>18</sup>. Au final, les attestations sont très rares et on ne peut d'ailleurs omettre l'hypothèse d'un usage artisanal utilisant l'os humain comme matière première de tabletterie ; seule la découverte d'un exemplaire rehaussé de métaux permettrait de confirmer totalement cet usage. A Décines, on retiendra la proximité curieuse de la calotte sciée et d'une originale louche en fer à fond plat, adaptée à la chauffe de liquides, sans pouvoir pousser plus loin le rapprochement en liant les deux objets dans un fonctionnement commun.

En parcourant les auteurs antiques, on note que les Celtes n'ont pas été les seuls à manipuler ces étonnants vases durant leurs banquets. Hérodote<sup>19</sup>, outre l'usage funéraire de coupes-crânes déjà mentionné, relate la transformation des têtes de vaincus en coupes dorées ou couvertes de cuir, un usage réservé à des adversaires remarquables ou à des proches tués en duels en présence des rois scythes. Il serait sans doute fastidieux d'énumérer tous les cas historiques qui témoignent de cet usage, mais on retiendra qu'ils concernent tous des individus de rang royal, tués au combat par des adversaires de même statut (le Gépide Cunimond en 567 de notre ère, dont la coupe-crâne sera mentionné par Paul Diacre, fut tué par le roi des Lombards). Une des attestations les plus récentes concerne le Tibet et ses fameux Kapalas, ainsi décrits par Paul Claudel dans une préface d'un ouvrage sur les dieux et les lamas de Maurice Percheron paru en 1953 : « les prêtres portent à leurs lèvres une coupe faite d'un crâne scié où un breuvage rougeâtre, hideuse contrefaçon de l'espèce eucharistique, remplace le sang... »<sup>20</sup> ; en effet, c'est dans cette région qu'en 1881, fut assassiné le Père Jean-Baptiste Brioux, sur ordre des lamas semble-t-il, et son crâne, plus tard récupéré, fut transformé en vase rituel.

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<sup>17</sup> Citée par Poux 2004, 412.

<sup>18</sup> Voir aussi des fragments de calottes crâniennes associées à des amphores vinaires dans Poux 2004 à Nanterre p. 428, à Bâle p. 442, à Coirent, La Lagaste, Lectoure etc. Mais il existe aussi nombre de lieux de rejets interprétés comme le produit de banquets qui ne livrent pas de restes crâniens humains ou des vestiges crâniens qui excluent leur appartenance à des « coupes-crânes ».

<sup>19</sup> Hérodote 4, 65. Le texte (ainsi que 4, 64) est commenté dans Testart 2012, et Boulestin 2012a, 40.

<sup>20</sup> Percheron 1953.

Le duel est un des aspects le plus étonnant du banquet celtique tel que le décrit Poséidonios<sup>21</sup>, témoin direct puisque venu en Gaule méridionale vers 100 av. n. è., dans une province de Transalpine conquise de fraîche date. Pourtant, sa relation des manières de table des Celtes repose peut-être en partie sur des sources littéraires plus anciennes, quelques détails évoquant des équipements guerriers plus ibères (ou celtibères) que Gaulois ou ses références à un « autrefois » qui parsèment son œuvre ou ce qu'on pense en faire partie. Ce banquet des élites apparaît comme très codifié, les convives étant disposés selon leur rang décroissant de part et d'autre du personnage le plus puissant (comme le coryphée du théâtre grec) et de son l'hôte. Derrière eux, les porteurs de boucliers et, en face, les doryphores disposés de la même manière. Les travaux récents de Stéphane Verger<sup>22</sup> à partir du cas d'Hochdorf – un *hapax* archéologique toutefois – proposent une relecture de la vaisselle de banquet déposée sur le char qui apparaît comme liée à une organisation fondée sur la préséance. L'ensemble des récipients se distribuerait rigoureusement entre 9 convives de rang différent, le décor des vases de bronze permettant de reconnaître la place de chacun des 8 invités autour du *princeps*. Point de coupe-crâne ici, mais un bol en or placé près du *lébès* grec rempli d'hydromel et 9 cornes à boire accrochées aux parois de la tombe. Mais dans le banquet de Poséidonios, c'est bien de vin dont il s'agit, servit pur ou si peu coupé d'eau, dans des « ambiques », des récipients tronconiques en céramique ou en argent (inconnus en Gaule mais attestés en Espagne) qui rappellent donc au philosophe rhodien un ustensile utilisé à Alexandrie dans la distillation des parfums (*ambikos*). Les viandes bénéficient d'un classement hiérarchique strict qui permet au plus brave d'obtenir le gigot, mais en cas de contestation (ce qui arrivait dans un ancien temps précise-t-il) le différend pouvait se régler par un duel à mort, comme il arrivait que des joutes, sortes de simulacres de combat, se transforment en véritables affrontements. Nulle part il n'est fait mention de coupes-crânes dont l'usage n'aurait pas manqué d'être souligné par Poséidonios qui reconnaissait avoir mis du temps à s'habituer au spectacle de ces têtes ornant les monuments publics, usage que l'archéologie confirme amplement. En revanche, le philosophe stoïcien remarque qu'on fait circuler – comme après une libation – un vase dont on ne boit qu'une petite gorgée équivalente à un *kyathos*, mais, souligne-t-il, on recommence souvent ...

La convivialité celtique fut donc assez particulière si l'on se réfère au sens qu'en donnait en son temps Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, célèbre

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<sup>21</sup> Feuvrier-Prévotat 1978.

<sup>22</sup> Verger 2006.

épicurien de la région lyonnaise qui le premier employa ce néologisme venu de l'anglais (*conviviality*) ... Dans sa « Physiologie du goût », il souligne en effet l'importance de « ... la gourmandise (qui) est un des principaux liens de la société ; c'est elle qui étend graduellement cet esprit de convivialité qui réunit chaque jour les divers états, les fond en un seul tout, anime la conversation, et adoucit les angles de l'inégalité conventionnelle »<sup>23</sup>. Mais durant l'âge du Fer, le banquet barbare – du moins certains banquets – différait aussi nettement du banquet gréco-romain parce qu'il admettait l'évocation de la mort – plutôt celle des vaincus que celles des ancêtres –, la mort violente et sanglante rappelée par ces coupes-crânes mais aussi par l'autre produit de la découpe, le masque sous le regard duquel pouvait s'opérer une reconstruction des hiérarchies sociales. Cette gravité du banquet barbare le rattachait sans doute aux origines même de la convivialité, à de primitifs usages dans lesquels l'individu, réduit à sa seule tête, devenait à la fois contenant et contenu. Cette double lecture se rencontrera aux époques historiques avec la confection de coupes à partir de crâne de Saints chrétiens, tant en Allemagne qu'au Pays de Galles ou en Irlande : ainsi, chaque 3 février, dans l'église de Leimbach en Alsace, les fidèles catholiques communient en aspirant le vin liturgique contenu le crâne rehaussé d'or de Saint Blaise, honoré localement depuis le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle.

### Illustration

Fig. n° 1 : crâne de Décines "Montout" , Rhône, France. Fouille Catherine Bellon, Emmanuel Ferber (Inrap Rhône-Alpes-Auvergne). Cliché Jean-Claude Sarrazin, INRAP.

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<sup>23</sup> Desrochers 1947, 25-27 ; Brillat-Savarin 1848, 147.

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# Quel type de festin en Dacie, à la fin de l'âge du Fer? Ustensiles à servir la viande

**Gelu A. FLOREA**

*Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca*

**Abstract. What kinds of banquets were there in Dacia in the Late Iron Age? Implements for serving meat.** A comparison between the ceremonial public feasting in Late Iron Age Gaul and meat consumption in Dacia reveals entirely different patterns. Spits and flesh hooks have been found in fortresses and settlements but none of them in similar assemblages as they occur in Gaul. Such a decorated (probably ceremonial) artefact was found, during earlier excavations, in a tower of the fortress of Piatra Roşie, along with other prestigious goods, belonging probably to a member of the local élite. In Late Iron Age Dacia, food and wine consumption seems to have been more like individual, or involving small, privileged groups.

**Key words:** Late Iron Age, flesh hooks, feasting, Dacia.

**Rezumat: Ce tipuri de banchete existau în Dacia la sfârşitul epocii fierului? Ustensile pentru servirea cărnii.** Spre diferenţă de exemplele contemporane din Gallia unde sunt atestate, prin asamblaje arheologice, banchete publice cu un număr mare de participanţi, descoperirile din Dacia de la sfârşitul epocii fierului sugerează un consum individual sau ceremoniale colective cu un număr foarte limitat de participanţi. Sunt prezentate cele câteva tipuri de ustensile pentru servirea cărnii, şi în mod special descoperirile din turnul B al cetăţii de la Piatra Roşie.

**Cuvinte cheie :** Epoca fierului, Dacia, banchete, furculiţe, frigări.

Les données concernant les festins mises en évidence par les fouilles dans les forteresses et les agglomérations de la fin de l'âge du Fer de Dacie ne sont pas comparables aux réalités contemporaines de la Gaule.

Jusqu'à présent, nulle part on n'a retrouvé des assemblages de restes de faune ou des amas d'amphores vinaïres suggérant des festins pantagruéliques impliquant un grand nombre des participants. D'ailleurs, suivant le même parallèle archéologique on peut facilement apercevoir la disproportion flagrante entre la quantité des amphores d'importation présentes sur les sites de Dacie et, par exemple, celle retrouvée seulement sur le sanctuaire de Corent (Puy de Dôme) - même si celui-ci est, probablement, un exemple extrême<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Poux 2004, 491-502

L'occurrence et la distribution des mobiliers archéologiques permettent de supposer une consommation plutôt courante et habituelle des vins et d'autres boissons indigènes et importés aussi, surtout dans les agglomérations de l'Est ou du Sud des Carpates, si on tient compte des contextes domestiques des découvertes céramiques produits dans ces centres en grande quantité (il s'agit de centaines d'exemplaires de canthares à Brad<sup>2</sup>, en Moldavie ou des bols à reliefs à Popești<sup>3</sup>, en Valachie). Dans ces cas-là, les assemblages suggèrent un modèle différent de consommation du vin qu'en Gaule : les banquets rassemblant un grand nombre de convives semblent absents. D'autre part, des tels vases céramiques à boire sont, apparemment, présents même dans les demeures médiocres aussi que dans des contextes plus prestigieux<sup>4</sup>. La vaisselle métallique (des bronzes importée) reste, quand même, un privilège aristocratique : on a retrouvé des tels récipients surtout dans les sites de haut statut (forteresses, quelques sépultures ou dépôts/trésors)<sup>5</sup>.

En plus, on peut constater aussi la rareté des cimetières et des tombeaux de la fin de l'âge du Fer, et surtout du dernier siècle avant la conquête romaine de 106 ap. J.-C.<sup>6</sup>, c'est-à-dire correspondant au temps des agglomérations d'habitat aux fonctions complexes. Ainsi, ce maigre bilan des découvertes funéraires rend encore plus difficile l'analyse des hiérarchies sociales de cette période, y compris l'étude de l'expression archéologique du statut social.

L'autre volet d'une enquête sur l'existence et sur l'échelle des festins publics regarde les ustensiles à préparer et à servir les viandes trouvés dans les sites de la fin de l'âge du Fer. Parfois, en Gaule, les fouilles ont mis au jour les preuves des quantités hors du commun.<sup>7</sup>

En ce qui concerne la Dacie préromaine un examen des trouvailles se heurte surtout du manque des informations détaillées sur les contextes archéologiques de provenance ; par conséquent, la chronologie des objets reste assez générale (Ier s. av. J.-C. - Ier s. apr. J.-C.) et toute référence concernant les significations sociales restent, eux aussi, assez vagues. Tenant compte de toutes ces limites l'analyse de ces ustensiles sera provisoire en attendant des données supplémentaires.

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<sup>2</sup> Ursachi 179-180

<sup>3</sup> Vulpe/Gheorghiiță 1976, 167-198

<sup>4</sup> Florea 2004, 517-522

<sup>5</sup> Glodariu 1976,

<sup>6</sup> Sirbu 1993, 127-137

<sup>7</sup> Méniel, 2001, 64, 71

On constate l'existence d'une trentaine d'objets repartis surtout dans des agglomérations (forteresses et établissements)<sup>8</sup>. La majorité de ces instruments ont été trouvés éparpillés dans les couches archéologiques, et non pas réunis dans des assemblages significatifs, tel que ceux de Larina<sup>9</sup> ou bien de Vienne Sainte Blandine<sup>10</sup> en Gaule.

Un bilan provisoire montre que la plupart de ces ustensiles à préparer et à servir les viandes sont des petites fourchettes en fer à deux ou trois dents (fig.8, 10) et des crocs à viande longs de 10 - 15 cm (la partie métallique à laquelle s'attachait une manche en bois). On peut penser à une utilité domestique et quotidienne de ces objets (fig. 5-6).

La deuxième catégorie comprend des grandes fourchettes à cinq dents, forgées entièrement en fer. Même si on n'a pas retrouvé aucun exemplaire entier, leurs dimensions sont augmentées par rapport aux précédentes : on peut supposer une longueur d'environ 50 - 100 cm. La forme en accolade des deux dents périphériques, et la tige décorée parfois en torsade suggèrerait un statut spécial de ces instruments domestiques (fig.1, 7, 9).

Les broches sont plus rares. Leur forme rappelle d'un fer de lance oblongue et une tige, parfois en torsade. Les exemplaires retrouvés dans la forteresse de Căpâlna (au centre de la Transylvanie) ont aussi des crochets pour mieux fixer la viande sur la lame, et la tige toujours torsadée (fig.2-4, 11).

**La grande fourchette mise au jour pendant les anciennes fouilles (de 1949) dans la tour B de la forteresse dace de Piatra Roşie<sup>11</sup>.** L'objet respecte le schéma typologique des fourchettes aux cinq dents mais ses dimensions (0,96 m) et le décor la rend unique (fig. III/2). D'après le dessin publié en 1954 deux protomés d'oiseaux aquatiques flanquaient la partie antérieure de la fourchette (fig. III/2 a). Pendant les restaurations, au laboratoire, on a renoncé, probablement après un examen attentif, à cet artifice et on a choisi la solution plus simple et plus plausible de compléter l'ensemble avec deux dents périphériques toujours en forme d'accolade (fig. III/2 b). Remarquable est aussi la tige à l'extrémité fendue et torsadée. Il s'agit de l'une des plus élaborées pièces de ce type connues en Dacie connues jusqu'à présent.

Le site perché de Piatra Roşie est une des forteresses satellites construites après le milieu du I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C. autour de capitale du Royaume des Daces (fig. III/1)<sup>12</sup>. Il s'agit, vraisemblablement, d'une résidence aristocratique et, à la fois, d'une place forte qui défendait le flanc ouest de la région de Sarmizegetusa.

<sup>8</sup> Un premier bilan chez Glodariu/Iarosslavski 1979, 119-120

<sup>9</sup> Poux 2004, 535-537

<sup>10</sup> Poux 2004, 579

<sup>11</sup> Daicoviciu 1954, 82-83

<sup>12</sup> Daicoviciu 1954, 126-127; Florea 2011, 154-156

Le contexte archéologique de cette fourchette est assez intéressant. L'une des deux tours avancées (B) de la forteresse, la seule incendiée, a gardé à l'intérieur, sous les décombres de la construction, un riche et divers mobilier.

Plusieurs catégories d'objets font partie de ce mobilier<sup>13</sup> : des outils divers (de menuisier, de bronzier – des moules, et même des outils agricoles – des faucilles), des pièces d'harnachement (mors) et quelques talons de lance, une anse de bassin en bronze de type E 91-92 et une petite attache, toujours en bronze, d'un *skypchos*<sup>14</sup>. Parmi les céramiques retrouvées de l'intérieur de cette tour on peut remarquer des fragments de cratères indigènes. La présence d'une meule rotative ajoute une note domestique à cet assemblage hétérogène, tout comme quelques accessoires vestimentaires (un bouton en bronze et un fragment de fibule cuillère du dernier quart du Ier s. av. J.C. – Ier s. apr. J.C.).

Une des plus intéressantes trouvailles provenant de ce contexte est le masque coulé en bronze (14,5 cm d'hauteur) d'un personnage féminin<sup>15</sup>.

Pour le moment, on connaît seulement quelques fragments d'un chaudron en fer retrouvés dans un contexte différent sur le site<sup>16</sup>, mais, de la même tour B on a récupéré pendant les fouilles de 1949 un fragment de chaîne en fer qui pourrait provenir d'une crémaillère<sup>17</sup>.

Selon l'auteur des fouilles ce mobilier aurait indiqué, qu'outre le rôle défensif de cette tour, elle était aussi la demeure d'un personnage important.

Même si la diversité des objets ne suggère un assemblage fonctionnel cohérent lié spécialement au festin, la plupart d'entre eux représentent l'expression du haut statut du propriétaire ou bien des propriétaires : l'armement, la vaisselle métallique importée et le masque de bronze. Dans ce contexte la présence de la grande fourchette, soigneusement décorée, semble bine assortie.

En suivant la démonstration de M. Poux<sup>18</sup>, si la taille de ces instruments s'avère un critère indiquant le statut prestigieux du propriétaire, nous avons devant nous un bon exemple. Il y a une différence sensible entre les fourchettes usuelles, de petite ou moyenne taille, et ce grand exemplaire, richement décorée.

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<sup>13</sup> Daicoviciu 1954, 70

<sup>14</sup> Rustoiu 2005, 79

<sup>15</sup> Daicoviciu 1954, 118, fig.38

<sup>16</sup> Daicoviciu, 1954, 66

<sup>17</sup> Daicoviciu 1954, 83

<sup>18</sup> Poux 2004, 222 – se referant à la taille des chaudrons et des landiers.

La fonction originare de toutes ces ustensiles était la même : servir les viandes bouillies ou rôties<sup>19</sup>, mais les circonstances étaient, probablement différentes. On peut imaginer des tels occasions cérémonielles ou la position éminente de l'organisateur d'un banquet trouvait une expression adéquate en manipulant de tels instruments. Vraisemblablement, dans l'ambiance de ces résidences aristocratiques, qui ressemblent plus aux châteaux forts qu'aux *oppida* central ouest européens, « le seigneur » accueillait un nombre limité des convives, appartenant à son entourage des plus proches.

On est loin encore d'une image convaincante des rituels de festin ou d'autres cérémonies conviviales de Dacie à la fin de l'âge du Fer. Il n'existent pas (encore ?) des preuves concernant les grands banquets publics ; par contre l'exemple de Piatra Roşie semble attester l'existence des festins aristocratiques impliquant un nombre très limité des consommateurs et suggérant des différences hiérarchiques fermes. Cet exemple est éloquent : une citadelle perchée, aux murailles en grand appareil abrite à l'intérieur de sa acropole (de 3750 m carrés) un seul bâtiment, qui occupe la moitié de l'espace utile : il s'agit probablement de la demeure du chef. Dans quelques cas, la présence des sanctuaires dans la proximité de certaines forteresses (à Piatra Roşie aussi), ajoute une dimension religieuse à la légitimité de ces aristocrates.

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### Annexe :

Liste préliminaire des découvertes :

- Arpaşu de Sus (dpt. Braşov) : Macrea/Berciu 1955, 618
- Brad (dpt. Neamţ) : Ursachi 1995, 129
- Căpâlna (dpt. Alba) : Glodariu/Moga 1989, 101
- Costeşti-Cetăţuie (dpt. Hunedoara) : Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 119
- Mereşti (dpt. Harghita) : Crişan 2000, 134
- Moigrad (dpt. Sălaj) : inf. H. Pop
- Ocniţa (dpt. Vâlcea) : Berciu 1981, 29, 38, 112
- Piatra Roşie (dpt. Hunedoara) : Daicoviciu 1954, 82-83
- Poiana (dpt. Galaţi) : Vulpe/Vulpe 1927-1932, 335; Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 119-120, fig. 65/11
- Racoşu de Jos (dpt. Braşov) : Piatra Detunată, Costea et al. 2008, fig.7 a-b;
- Tipia Ormenişului (Augustin) : Costea 2006, pl.CXLVIII/13 (?), 14

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<sup>19</sup> Wood 2000, 91-92; Cool 2006, 50.

Răcătău (dpt. Bacău): Căpitanu/Ursachi 1969 127; Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 119-120, fig.65/12

*Sarmizegetusa Regia* – Strâmbu (dpt. Hunedoara): Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 119-120

Sighișoara-Wietenberg (dpt. Mureș): Andrițoiu/Rustoiu 1997, 106

Decouvertes incertaines (non cartées): Șimleu Silvaniei-Cetate (dpt. Sălaj): inf. H. Pop; Cozia, Costești (dpt. Hunedoara): Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 119-120 (Costești – fig. 65/14,16).

Découvertes d'autres ustensiles (non cartées):

Grill: Ocnia (dpt. Vâlcea): Berciu 1981, 42-47 – dans un dépôt hétérogène

Landiers: Ocnia (dpt. Vâlcea): Berciu 1981, 42-47 – dans le même dépôt hétérogène ; Tilișca (dpt. Sibiu): Lupu 1989, 73.

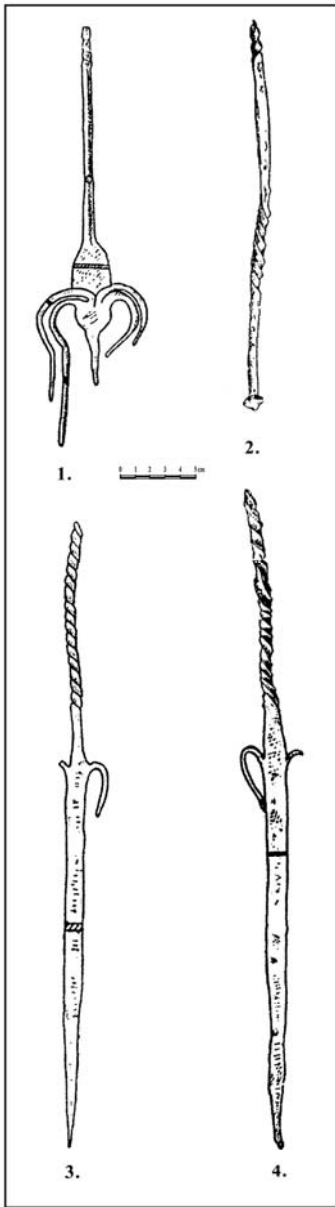
### Explication des figures :

- I. Carte des découvertes des ustensiles en fer.
- II. Fourchettes, crocs a viande et broches provenant de quelques sites de Dacie : Căpâlna (Glodariu/Moga 1989), Ocnia (Berciu 1981), Sighișoara (Andrițoiu/Rustoiu 1997)
- III. 1. Plan de la forteresse de Piatra Roșie (Daicoviciu 1954) ; 2 a. Dessin de la fourchette de Piatra Roșie avant la restauration (Daicoviciu 1954), L = 0,96 m ; 2 b. Photo de la même fourchette dans son état actuel – Musée National d'Histoire de la Transylvanie de Cluj-Napoca (Roumanie). (Cliché R. Mateescu).

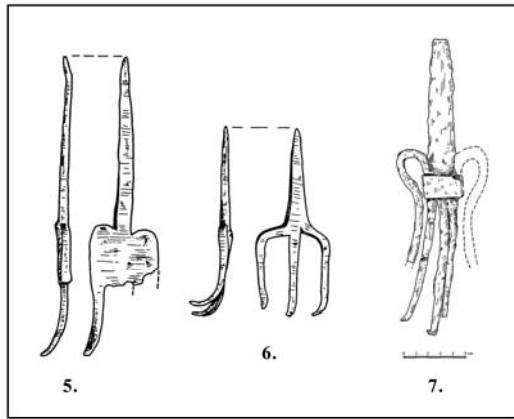
### Abréviations:

Andrițoiu/Rustoiu 1997	I. Andrițoiu, A. Rustoiu, Sighișoara-Wietenberg. Descoperirile preistorice și așezarea dacică (Sighișoara-Wietenberg. Les découvertes préhistoriques et l'établissement dace), Bucarest 1997.
Berciu 1981	D. Berciu, Buridava dacică (Le Buridava dace), Bucarest 1981.
Căpitanu/Ursachi 1969	V. Căpitanu, V. Ursachi, O nouă cetățuie dacică pe valea Siretului (Une nouvelle forteresse dace dans la vallée du Siret), <i>Carpica</i> 2, 1969, 92-130.
Cool 2006	H. E. M Cool, <i>Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain</i> , Cambridge 2006.
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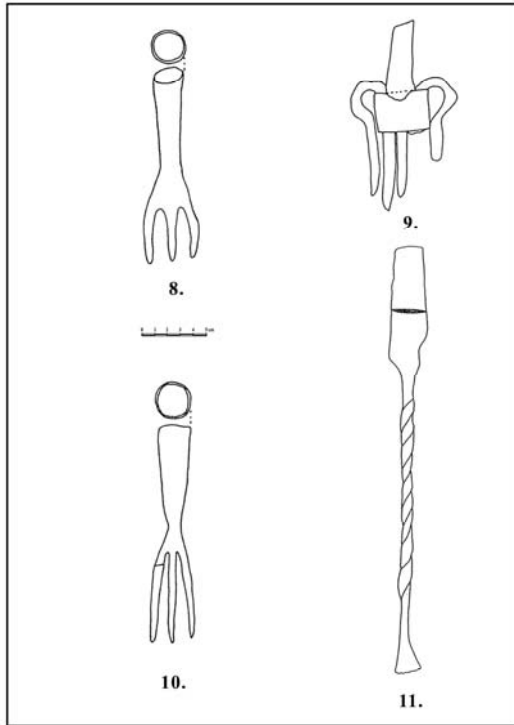
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Căpâlna



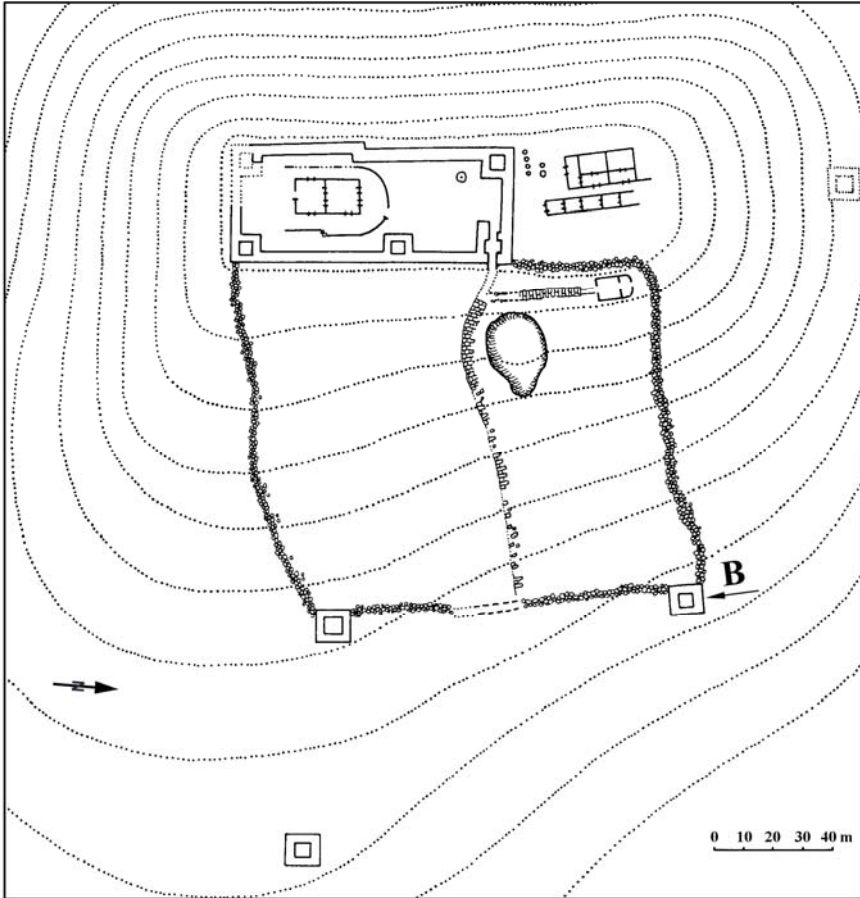
Ocița



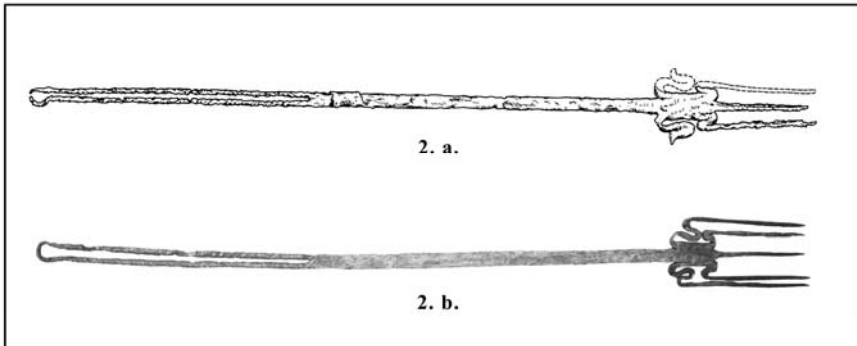
Sighișoara

Pl. II.





1.



Piatra Roșie

Pl. III.

# Feasting with the King. The Tableware of Sarmizegetusa Regia

Cătălin CRISTESCU

*Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva*

**Abstract.** The tableware recipients found at Grădiștea de Munte – Sarmizegetusa Regia represent the majority of the unearthed and published ceramic material so far. Although they received some attention, especially the painted ones, their study remained on a general level. They are local products, mostly inspired by late Hellenistic and early imperial Roman products, only few imports being identified at this point. A close analysis of the main forms and variants points out the late chronology of this functional category, towards the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, the predominance of bowls and carinated dishes, and the scarcity of drinking vessels. Also, at least in the area close to the sanctuary, it should be noted that a similar pattern of ceramic assemblage starts to take shape at Sarmizegetusa Regia: tableware – storage vessels – cooking wares.

**Key words:** Sarmizegetusa Regia, Dacian pottery, tableware, imitations, functionality.

**Rezumat: La banchet cu regele. Vesela de masă de la Sarmizegetusa Regia.** Vesela găsită la Grădiștea de Munte – Sarmizegetusa Regia formează majoritatea materialului ceramic descoperit și publicat până în prezent. Deși s-au bucurat de o oarecare atenție, mai ales cele pictate, studiul acestor recipiente rămâne la un nivel general. Ele sunt produse locale, majoritatea inspirate de produsele elenistice târzii și romane imperiale timpurii; doar puține importuri au fost deocamdată identificate. O analiză amănunțită a principalelor forme și variante indică o cronologie târzie pentru această categorie funcțională, spre sfârșitul secolului I p. Chr., predominanța bolurilor și a străchinilor carenate și raritatea vaselor de băut. De asemenea, cel puțin pentru zona din vecinătatea sanctuarului, trebuie observat că începe să se contureze și la Sarmizegetusa Regia un model similar de ansamblu ceramic: veselă – vase de provizii – vase de gătit.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Sarmizegetusa Regia, ceramică dacică, veselă de masă, imitații, funcționalitate.

This article aims to conduct an overview of the tableware found in the Dacian site Grădiștea de Munte – Sarmizegetusa Regia, in South-Western Transylvania, Romania (fig. 1). In this effort, aspects regarding form, fabric, technology, and function were taken into account. The data gathered should serve as a starting point in analyzing vessel functionality and consumption

patterns (individual or/and collective use), ceramic production/distribution, and “local taste”.

### Historiography

As excavations in the ancient Dacian capital expanded at the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the amount of pottery shards increased as well, leading the team of Constantin Daicoviciu to a more careful approach on the subject, the quality of the local tableware fragments being immediately recognized<sup>1</sup>. This impression received important backup in I. H. Crișan’s book on Dacian pottery, where the author analyzed a significant amount of complete vessels and fragments unearthed at Sarmizegetusa Regia and some near locations (Fețele Albe, Meleia, Rudele), discussing the particularities of the fine ceramics from this area, compared to other Dacian settlements and fortifications<sup>2</sup>.

The similarities between Dacian vessels from Grădiștea de Munte and Greek-Roman recipients did also receive attention, the issues of the presence of imports and the act of imitation being raised by Ioan Glodariu in the 1970s<sup>3</sup>. This theme was later renewed by Gelu Florea, with the opportunity of publishing the ceramic material discovered in a metallurgical workshop at Sarmizegetusa Regia, on the 8<sup>th</sup> Terrace (T VIII; fig. 1 b/2); he concluded that some ceramic types may have been inspired, not imitated, by models in the Hellenistic and Roman repertoire<sup>4</sup>. Other recent contributions brought into discussion new material from different archaeological contexts, such as the Fortress Plateau/1<sup>st</sup> Terrace (T I)<sup>5</sup> and the so-called “Sub Baie” Terrace (TSB; fig. 1 b/3)<sup>6</sup>. Finally, *graffiti* marks on different types of tableware vessels were studied<sup>7</sup>, as well as the painted recipients, to which a distinct monographic paper was dedicated 15 years ago<sup>8</sup>.

### Form and function

Tableware is represented by the vessels used for serving and consuming food and liquids<sup>9</sup>. In the case of Sarmizegetusa Regia, the differences in the

<sup>1</sup> Daicoviciu et al. 1953, 182-187.

<sup>2</sup> Crișan 1969, 152-153, 215-216.

<sup>3</sup> Glodariu 1976, 20-25, 78-93.

<sup>4</sup> Florea 1993; Florea 1994.

<sup>5</sup> Florea/Suciu 2004.

<sup>6</sup> Gheorghiu 2005, 86, 142-146. The author discusses tableware forms in short, but brings interesting new data on the matter.

<sup>7</sup> Florea 2000; Florea 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Florea 1998, 145-205.

<sup>9</sup> For the discussion on the opportunity of using functional categories to classifying Dacian pottery, see Cristescu 2012, 110.

actual function of the respective recipients are hard to identify due to the high level of fragmentation of the studied shards, due to similar technological features, and due to the scarcity of use marks. Thus, the possibility that a form produced mainly for consuming food could have been also used in serving it was taken into account.

### Dishes (bowls or saucers)<sup>10</sup> (fig. 2-3)

This form, practically a deep plate with flaring rim and carinated walls, was used mainly as an eating vessel<sup>11</sup>. The rim diameter varies from 16 to 40 cm (26 cm for the majority of the recipients found). The base is formed either by a small pedestal or a ring foot; it can be noted that, mainly among the ring-footed dishes, painted pieces have been unearthed, as long as some of the largest examples discovered so far. The shaping of the base made me consider two variants for this type<sup>12</sup>: small pedestaled dishes (fig. 2/9-11, 19-22, fig. 3/1-6)<sup>13</sup> and ring-footed dishes (fig. 2/7, fig. 3/7-12)<sup>14</sup>.

The dishes found at Sarmizegetusa Regia were wheel made from a fine<sup>15</sup>, rarely semi-fine paste, containing mica, sand, sometimes grog and small pebbles. Firing was generally of good quality, in oxidizing or reducing atmosphere, but not always homogeneous. Many vessels were slipped, both on the exterior and interior, but the slip was strongly destroyed, with few exceptions, by the soil's acidity; some dishes were burnished. The traces of secondary firing present on some shards have no intentional cause.

The decoration is simple, resuming mainly to horizontal incisions (placed in most cases under the rim). Some pedestals wore nervures, also shaped in a classical and elegant manner. Finally, some pieces were painted or bore *graffiti*<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> The main term used in the Romanian literature could be translated as "porringer": Crișan 1969, 179-180; Macrea/Glodariu 1976, 68, 74; Glodariu 1981a, 39; Florea 1993, 96, 99, 101; Ursachi 1995, 155-156, 177-178; Andrițoiu/Rustoiu 1997, 85-86; Florea 1998, 155; Crișan 2000, 121-122; Matei/Pop 2001, 264; Vulpe/Teodor 2003, 81; Gheorghiu 2005, 142-143.

<sup>11</sup> The height is the major difference between a dish and a deep bowl, the first being shallower. The rim diameter is not so relevant in this case, serving best to perhaps identify the individual use vessels apart from the collective use ones.

<sup>12</sup> An additional third variant could be taken into account, but only few fragments from TSB were discovered so far (fig. 2/13-14): Gheorghiu 2005, fig. 123/1-2.

<sup>13</sup> Florea 1993, 99, fig. 1/1-6, fig. 2/1-4, fig. 6/2-5; Florea 1998, 173-174, pl. 44/1-5; Florea 2001, 181, pl. 2/2; Florea/Suciu 2004, fig. IV/4; Gheorghiu 2005, 142-143, fig. 122/1-2, fig. 123/2-4, fig. 130/5-7.

<sup>14</sup> Crișan 1969, pl. LXXXII/4; Florea 1994, 52-53, fig. III/1-6; Florea 1998, 172-173, pl. 45/1-6.

<sup>15</sup> I tried to use the terminology recently proposed in the field of geoarchaeology: Ionescu/Ghergari 2006.

<sup>16</sup> Florea 2000, 273, fig. 1.

The high quality level and the distinctive style of the ceramic recipients mentioned above justify the collocation “court pottery”<sup>17</sup>, which was chosen to describe the wares found in the capital of the Dacian Kingdom, as their value was acknowledged 2000 years ago, when a Roman citizen (probably a soldier, Publius Labius Rufinus) scratched down his name on the interior of such a pedestaled dish, so that everybody would know he was the proud owner of that vessel<sup>18</sup>. But can we identify the Hellenistic and Roman models which supposedly served in forming this “classical” ceramic style<sup>19</sup>, as opposed to the hypothesis that the small pedestaled dish is the result of the evolution of the high pedestaled dish (the so-called “fruit-bowl”)<sup>20</sup>?

The prototype seems to be a Campanian form, Morel 2632a 1, dated at Toulouse in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC<sup>21</sup>. The echoes of this type are found in the main categories of fine wares produced in the following centuries: Italic Sigillata (IS), Eastern Sigillata B (ESB), the products of Pergamon (ESC), and Cyprus (CS), as well as the Pontic Sigillata (PS)<sup>22</sup>.

I have to mention that the way by which the model reached Sarmizegetusa Regia is hard to identify, a situation unfortunately maintained by the absence of the originals<sup>23</sup>. But even so, as it was well noted<sup>24</sup>, the impression is that these dishes do not reproduce entirely the model, being inspired forms, rather than imitations. Such an imitation (if it is not a real import) was discovered on the Mureş Valley at Câmpuri-Surduc; it had been repaired in Antiquity (fig. 2/12)<sup>25</sup>.

In the IS production, the form Consp. 20.4 (Goudineau 39c) is the most similar to the Dacian vessels here discussed (fig. 2/15-18). This type of plate circulated in the Mediterranean and the North-East provinces of the Roman Empire, being mainly encountered in contexts of the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD or later, at Pompeii, Ostia (the Domitianus level), Magdalensberg, or

<sup>17</sup> Crişan 1969, 152.

<sup>18</sup> Florea 2001, 183-185, pl. 2/3.

<sup>19</sup> Florea 2011, 138.

<sup>20</sup> Florea 1998, 174; Gheorghiu 2005, 143.

<sup>21</sup> Morel 1981, 196, pl. 61.

<sup>22</sup> For a detailed description of the mentioned wares: Atlante 1985; Conspectus 1990; Lund 2003.

<sup>23</sup> In general, the ceramic imports from Grădiştea de Munte are almost unknown: Glodariu 1976, 168; Florea/Suciu 2004, 67, fig. V/10. It could be, as I presume, just a situation related to the current research stage.

<sup>24</sup> Florea 1993, 108.

<sup>25</sup> Gheorghiu 2005, 142, fig. 122/5.

Corinth<sup>26</sup>. Other findings confirm that the model was popular in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, especially in its second half<sup>27</sup>.

Two ESB 1 forms could be considered as inspiration source for the Dacian dishes of Grădiștea de Munte. Hayes 7 (fig. 2/1) is a plate with the rim diameter larger than 14,5 cm, dated at Corinth or Rhodes between 25-50 AD<sup>28</sup>. Hayes 8 (fig. 2/2) is a simplified version of Hayes 7, smaller (rim diameter of 9-13 cm), present in archaeological contexts from the middle to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, at Corinth (some vessels with black slip) and Ephesos<sup>29</sup>. An early synthesis dated these plates between 40 BC and 50 AD, with discoveries at Athens, Tarsus, Tell Anafa, or Samaria<sup>30</sup>. Recent contributions noted that Hayes 7 and 8 circulated in the Dacian sites of Poiana and Răcățău, on the Siret Valley, this being the only area where ESB originals have been found; they were dated 25-50 AD (Hayes 7) and mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Hayes 8)<sup>31</sup>. Probably the model was also taken over in ESC: form Hayes L1, dated in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD at Alexandria, Istros, Olbia, and Corinth<sup>32</sup>.

In the CS repertoire, this form derives directly from the Italian wares, type Hayes P9 being produced at Paphos around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>33</sup>. It is possible that the situation is similar in the case of PS, where Hayes I was dated at Olbia between the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> and the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD<sup>34</sup>. This Pontic form (fig. 2/3-6) was encountered on the Siret Valley at Poiana, represented by plates with the rim diameter of 16-18 cm, dated in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>35</sup>. A brown slip “cup” (Suceveanu XVII) from the time of Tiberius comes from the tumular

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<sup>26</sup> Conspectus 1990, 86, pl. 18/20.4.1-4. It was noted that the ring foot continued to grow in height, a feature that could explain the small pedestal of the Dacian dishes.

<sup>27</sup> The products of North-Italic workshops (with Arezzo the center of this production area), grouped in the form Mazzeo Saracino 18 (Dragendorff 17 B), were dated from AD 15 to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, with diameters of 14-19 cm: Atlante 1985, 201-202, pl. LXI/13-20. In France, form Dicocer SIG-IT 20.4 was dated 40-80 AD: Dicocer 1993, 559-560. In the port of Mazzarón, the Iberian imitations of this form (called *paterae*) had a diameter of 18-25 cm, and they reproduced the Italic prototype: Pérez Ballester, Caparrós 2007, 158, fig. 9/1-6. At Stobi, a dish of 18 cm in diameter was dated 30-90 AD: Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 47, pl. 30/253.

<sup>28</sup> Atlante 1985, 54, pl. XI/17-18.

<sup>29</sup> Atlante 1985, 54, pl. XI/19; Lund 2003, 164, pl. LXXXI/8.

<sup>30</sup> Gunneweg/Perlman/Yellin 1983, 101, fig. 23/4.

<sup>31</sup> Popescu 2008b, 92-93, 96, fig. 2/9-10.

<sup>32</sup> Atlante 1985, 75, pl. XVI/16.

<sup>33</sup> Atlante 1985, 82, pl. XVIII/15.

<sup>34</sup> Atlante 1985, 93, pl. XXII/6-10 (especially 8 and 10).

<sup>35</sup> Popescu 2009, 20, 24-25, pl. 1/1-3, 6.

necropolis of Istros<sup>36</sup>. Related recipients from Corinth demonstrate the fact that the Italic model was taken over directly in the Pontic production of *sigillata*; the vessels are dated 50-75 AD, with many of the pieces found at Corinth placed in the debris levels following the earthquake of 77 AD (fig. 2/8)<sup>37</sup>.

Similar morphological attributes can be identified in other recipients produced at that time in the Greek-Roman world, without having the certainty that the Dacian potters had been inspired intentionally by them. Thus, the rim of the Dacian small pedestaled dishes resembles that of form Hayes 76 B (probably a deep bowl) from the ESB 2 repertoire, which appeared around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD at Corinth, Ephesos, Olbia or Tarsus<sup>38</sup>. Related features (rim or profile) can also be found in other forms: Consp. 27.1-2 (Hayes 22), a carinated cup from the IS production from the time of Tiberius and Nero<sup>39</sup>; Dicocer GR-SAV C1, a deep bowl used for oven cooking or frying, dated 50-120 AD<sup>40</sup>; carinated table wares from Flavian contexts at Fréjus<sup>41</sup>. Finally, the small pedestal shares similarities with some cup or *skyphos* bases produced at Pergamon (the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC-second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD) and unearthed at Olbia<sup>42</sup>, or with some ESB 1 cups discovered in the Athenian Agora, dated at the turn of the centuries or the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>43</sup>.

The archaeological contexts in which the dishes were found at Sarmizegetusa Regia<sup>44</sup> indicated a dating close to the Roman conquest of 106 AD. The forms that could be interpreted as prototypes for this Dacian vessel are dated mainly in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, so this might be the time when this type of products were manufactured in the Dacian capital city, considering also the chronology of similar ceramic artifacts closer in space (Siret Valley imports and Pontic products).

Concerning the chronology, the two variants of the Dacian dish seem to be contemporary. On the matter of function however, it must be observed that the massive examples (with the rim diameter of 40 cm) could

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<sup>36</sup> Suceveanu 2000, 63-64, pl. 23/2.

<sup>37</sup> Warner Slane 1990, 51-52, n. 48, fig. 7/101.

<sup>38</sup> Atlante 1985, 68-69, pl. XV/11. It was predominant after 100 AD.

<sup>39</sup> Conspectus 1990, 100, pl. 25/27.1.1-2, 27.2.1-2. Samples dated 15-70 AD in Southern France: Dicocer 1993, 562 (type SIG-IT 27.1)

<sup>40</sup> Dicocer 1993, 460.

<sup>41</sup> Rivet 2002, 264, fig. 8/1-3.

<sup>42</sup> Olbia 2010, 264, pl. 157/E-30.

<sup>43</sup> Hayes 2008, 145, 148-149, fig. 9/237-238, fig. 10/268, 272, 278.

<sup>44</sup> T I, 7<sup>th</sup> Terrace (T VII; fig. 1b/1), T VIII, TSB. One piece at Meleia: Crişan 1969, 309, pl. LIV/4. For the finds on T VII: Florea 1998, 148, 158-159, 162, 177; Gheorghiu 2005, 80, 137.

have been used for collective food consumption (or even for serving food), in opposition to smaller dishes, suited only for individual use.

### Plates (fig. 4)

This ceramic form reunites the characteristics of a plate, with a wide and flaring rim, shallow body, straight or slightly curved walls, and a ring-footed base. Due to the high level of fragmentation, entire vessels have not been found so far. The plates were wheel-made, from a fine paste, containing mica, sand and grog. Almost all fragments have slip traces, at least on the interior, and the majority were fired in a reducing atmosphere. Fine horizontal incisions and nervures compose the ornamentation of these table wares (fig. 4/5). One plate had carbonized seeds on the interior (fig. 4/4); *graffiti* appear on another shard<sup>45</sup>.

It is hard to identify for sure the prototypes in which the Dacian potters found inspiration, in the absence of complete or near complete vessels. The ring foot of a type 1 cup from Ostia, found in a late Hellenistic context and probably produced in Asia Minor<sup>46</sup>, resembles one fragment discovered at Grădiștea de Munte on T VII (fig. 4/5). This being said, any analogy is possible<sup>47</sup>. Furthermore, many of the foot rings which I have presumed to be coming from plates, might be parts of different types of tableware recipients, like bowls or dishes.

### Bowls (fig. 5-6)

In general, the vessels grouped under this form have been named bowls<sup>48</sup>, although some of them could be interpreted as different recipients. In fact, they were sometimes considered plates, dishes, deep bowls or cups in the specialized literature<sup>49</sup>. I have ultimately decided to discuss them together because in the international bibliography the term "bowl" is not limited to semispherical drinking recipients, but denominates some eating vessels as well<sup>50</sup>. I have identified two variants of this ceramic type: bowls with incurved rim and bowls with flaring rim.

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<sup>45</sup> The "Circles" Terrace: Florea 2001, 180, fig. I/4.

<sup>46</sup> Olbia 2010, 264, pl. 158/E-31.

<sup>47</sup> For possible models: Robinson 1959, pl. 65; Anderson-Stojanović 1992, pl. 36/311, 39/330. On T I from Sarmizegetusa Regia, a fragmentary black glazed plate was found, bearing stamped decoration, probably of West-Pannonian origin, found in the second leveling layer (its belonging to the Dacian context is uncertain): Florea/Suciu 2004, 67, fig. V/10.

<sup>48</sup> Macrea/Glodariu 1976, 62; Sirbu 1996, 25; Andrițoiu/Rustoiu 1997, 88; Florea 1998, 120.

<sup>49</sup> Florea 1993, 99, 101; Florea 2000, 273; Gheorghiu 2005, 143.

<sup>50</sup> One may also choose to divide these vessels into different forms, not variants of the same form.



Bowls with incurved rim<sup>51</sup> are specific for the area of the Dacian capital, having a round incurved rim, semispherical body and a small pedestal for the base (fig. 5/3-8)<sup>52</sup>. The rim diameter is between 8-28 cm, the most common being 18 cm, so they could have been used for drinking liquids or consuming food, as well. They were wheel-made, from a fine paste, also with mica and sand, sometimes with grog; the majority of the vessels were slipped<sup>53</sup>. The firing was generally of good quality, preponderantly in reducing atmosphere. Just under the rim, all these bowls have an horizontal incision; *graffiti* are present on some fragments<sup>54</sup>.

As for the dishes, one may identify a prototype in the Campanian wares, which was likely borrowed by the Italic and Oriental *sigillata* production: Morel 2562a 1, Campanian A bowl, dated at Tripoli towards the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC<sup>55</sup>. By the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, this type of bowl started to be produced outside Campania<sup>56</sup>, with occurrences in Augustan contexts at Narbonne<sup>57</sup> and Stobi (fig. 5/1)<sup>58</sup>. A slipped Vegas 21 cup (imitation of Dragendorff 37) was discovered at Albintimilium and dated in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>59</sup>. Representative for the IS production is form Consp. 36.4 (Dragendorff 40), popular on the Rhine in the Tiberian period and until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, in Northern Italy or the Danubian provinces (well dated finds at Mainz, Monte Iato, Luni, Pompeii or Augst)<sup>60</sup>.

This bowl is also present in the ESB 1 repertoire (form Hayes 66); at Athens, slipped ring-footed bowls were found in complexes of the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and of AD 30-50 (fig. 5/2)<sup>61</sup>. In the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, the demand for this particular shape grew in Gallia and it entered the local production. At Lezoux, Bet 8 cups of Lezoux

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<sup>51</sup> Florea 1993, 101, 104, fig. 5/1-5; Florea 2000, 273, fig. 2; Gheorghiu 2005, 143, fig. 124/1, 3, 5-8.

<sup>52</sup> It is possible that the smallest pedestals of Sarmizegetusa Regia belong to this form, rather than to pedestaled dishes.

<sup>53</sup> In some cases, the slip can only be presumed, on the interior surface.

<sup>54</sup> Florea 2000, 273, fig. 2.

<sup>55</sup> Morel 1981, 185, pl. 56. At Olbia, a cup with a 14 cm rim diameter, with metallic brown glaze represents an earlier discovery (200-175 BC): Olbia 2010, 225, pl. 119/Dc-291. Black or red glazed bowls of this type were found in similar chronological contexts at Athens: Rotroff 1997, 276, fig. 20/321, 327.

<sup>56</sup> Atlante 1985, 394.

<sup>57</sup> Sanchez 2006, 13, fig. 30/7.

<sup>58</sup> Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 109, pl. 95/818, pl. 104/876.

<sup>59</sup> Vegas 1973, 59, fig. 19/8.

<sup>60</sup> Atlante 1985, 394, pl. CXXIX/5 (Pucci XXXI, variant 4); Conspectus 1990, 114, pl. 32/36.4.1-3; RKS 1999, pl. 65/6.

<sup>61</sup> Hayes 2008, 146, 148, fig. 9/244, fig. 10/266.

LX2-type ware (Dragendorff 37R) were dated 70-110 AD<sup>62</sup>, and at Vareilles between AD 90-110<sup>63</sup>. Orléans bowls, with wear marks on the inside, have been discovered in 70-100 AD contexts<sup>64</sup>.

All the incurved rim bowls were found at Sarmizegetusa Regia in complexes and contexts dating from the period of the Dacian-Roman wars, on T VII, T VIII and TSB.

Bowls with flaring rim<sup>65</sup> differ from the first variant by a flaring rim and a ring-footed base (fig. 6/3-7, 9). In addition, the thickness of the walls seems to be increased in the case of these vessels. They were wheel-made, from a fine, rarely semi-fine paste, containing mica, sand, and grog, fired mainly in an oxidizing atmosphere (sometimes mixed). Most bowls have been slipped and they all bear an horizontal incision under the rim (slightly thicker in some cases, like a thin groove), rarely above the ring foot. The archaeological contexts are similar to the incurved rim variant.

Early prototypes go as back as 250-165 BC at Athens<sup>66</sup> or 250-225 BC at Olbia (a West Slope decorated drinking recipient)<sup>67</sup>. At Stobi, earlier pieces (some without slip) had a rim diameter of 30 cm<sup>68</sup>, but later mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC finds are a lot smaller (8-12 cm); although at Cosa this type of bowl appears to be of Celtic influence, the vessels from Stobi are of Italic origins<sup>69</sup>. Celtic finds are mentioned at Vienne (wheel-made)<sup>70</sup> and Villeneuve-d'Ascq, in Northern France (handmade, dated to the Augustan period)<sup>71</sup>.

The IS form Consp. 37.3 was produced in Etruria, the Po Valley and in the Late Italic workshops of the Tiberian period, until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (it is slightly later than Consp. 36.4). Such pieces were discovered in Northern Italy and the Danubian provinces<sup>72</sup>, Pompeii<sup>73</sup>, Southern France<sup>74</sup>, Istros<sup>75</sup>. A similar vessel can be found in the so-called

<sup>62</sup> Brulet/Vilvorder/Delage 2010, 112-115.

<sup>63</sup> Genin/Mauné 2006, 107, fig. 12/6.

<sup>64</sup> Couvin 2007, 147, fig. 4/24-26.

<sup>65</sup> Florea 1993, 99, 101, 104, fig. 2/5-6, fig. 3/1-5, fig. 4/2-4, 6, fig. 6/1; Gheorghiu 2005, 143, fig. 124/1-2.

<sup>66</sup> Rotroff 1997, 420, fig. 103/1738.

<sup>67</sup> Olbia 2010, 214, pl. 103/Db-128.

<sup>68</sup> Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 114, pl. 102/883.

<sup>69</sup> The production continued until the period of Claudius and Nero: Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 39-40, pl. 22/181, 184, 185.

<sup>70</sup> Chapotat 1970, 106, pl. XLI/4.

<sup>71</sup> Tuffreau-Libre 1996, 71, fig. 1/5.

<sup>72</sup> Conspectus 1990, 116, pl. 33/37.3.1

<sup>73</sup> Atlante 1985, 395, pl. CXXX/13 (Pucci XXXV, variant 11).

<sup>74</sup> Dicocer 1993, 552, 564: Dicocer SIG-IT 37.1 (15-100 AD) and type Dicocer SABL-OR C12 (50-100 AD).

<sup>75</sup> Suceveanu 2000, 63, pl. 13/type XII 1.

“céramique dorée” (with a slip rich in mica flakes), especially in contexts between AD 40-70<sup>76</sup>.

In this section, I have to mention the presence at Grădiștea de Munte of a few brown slipped bowls decorated with vertical grooves, perhaps of import origin (fig. 6/1-2)<sup>77</sup>. A good morphological and technological analogy is found at Istros: type Suceveanu XXII, a Pontic product, dated in the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD (fig. 6/8)<sup>78</sup>. The cited examples and the contexts in which these bowls were discovered at Sarmizegetusa Regia point to a high dating of the mentioned recipients.

### Cups (fig. 7)

These vessels differ morphologically and functionally from bowls, being basically used only for drinking liquids. Thus, they have incorporated additional features, such as handles or high pedestals, which ease the maneuverability of the recipient. They are rare finds at Sarmizegetusa Regia.

The fragments discovered belong to *kantharoi*, well documented in pre-Roman Dacia<sup>79</sup>. Some shards from Grădiștea de Munte (fig. 7/1-4) had plated handles attached and were painted with geometric motifs; one piece was found on T VIII and dates from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>80</sup>. A small handle (fig. 7/5) could come from a similar vessel or from a different (unknown) type of cup<sup>81</sup>.

This type of *kantharos* is documented in Campanian tableware. Forms Morel 3311<sup>82</sup> and 3171<sup>83</sup> are early examples, dated to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, whereas form Morel 3231 dates throughout the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>84</sup>. Similar dating was assigned to discoveries from Corinth and Cosa (forms Ricci 2/424 and 2/210)<sup>85</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Lauranceau/Santrot/Santrot 1988, 224, fig. 17/210.

<sup>77</sup> Glodariu 1976, pl. 27/IC 27 8, pl. 32/IC 27 13-14 (hypothetically dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and considered imitations); Gheorghiu 2005, 140, fig. 138/2 (the vessel is considered a Pontic import, but a local imitated recipient is mentioned as well).

<sup>78</sup> Suceveanu 2000, pl. 32/7 (no. 5, with vertical grooves, dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> - beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD).

<sup>79</sup> Crișan 1969, 194; Macrea/Glodariu 1976, 68; Ursachi 1995, 179-181; Sirbu 1996, 25; Andrițoiu/Rustoiu 1997, 88; Florea 1998, 99-108; Crișan 2000, 131-132; Matei/Pop 2001, 265; Vulpe/Teodor 2003, 83-84; Gheorghiu 2005, 144-145; Glodariu/Moga 2006, 80-81.

<sup>80</sup> Florea 1998, 170, pl. 49.

<sup>81</sup> Florea 1994, 52, fig II/3; Florea 1998, 164.

<sup>82</sup> Morel 1981, 257, pl. 91/3311 a-e.

<sup>83</sup> Morel 1981, 254-255, pl. 90/31711 a-f.

<sup>84</sup> Morel 1981, 256, pl. 91/3231 a 1.

<sup>85</sup> Atlante 1985, 296, pl. XCIV/14, pl. XCV/1-3.

Closer to the Dacian cups are the PS type Hayes X, dated at Olbia to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>86</sup>, and the lead glazed cups from Asia Minor, used at Athens in the first half and around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century of the Christian era<sup>87</sup>. Original PS cups, as well as imitated/inspired local products, enrich the ceramic repertoire produced on the Siret Valley<sup>88</sup>.

### Deep bowls (fig. 8)

These recipients are bigger in height than the dishes, being mainly used for serving food rather than consuming it<sup>89</sup>. Deep bowls were also suited for other purposes, such as preparing or quick storage of food or liquids<sup>90</sup>.

Sarmizegetusa Regia products (fig. 8/1-2, 6)<sup>91</sup> were wheel-made, from a fine, rarely semi-fine, paste, with sand and mica, sometimes tempered with grog. The firing was generally oxidizing and sometimes mixed; some pieces were slipped, with much of the remaining traces on the interior. The decoration, when present, is formed by the same horizontal incisions and/or nervures (fig. 8/4). It is important to mention that the similar profile of deep bowls and dishes or flaring rim bowls can be justified by the presence at Grădiștea de Munte of several vessel services (fig. 8/7-12).

Some 1<sup>st</sup> century AD analogies are to be found at Stobi (fig. 8/5)<sup>92</sup> and in the ESB 2 wares (Hayes 76), dated at the end of the same century (fig. 8/3)<sup>93</sup>.

### Jugs (fig. 9)

The functionality of the vessels of this type<sup>94</sup> is linked to the consumption of liquids, their serving at the table, as well as their ladling out of bigger recipients. Not many fragments may be attributed with certainty

<sup>86</sup> Atlante 1985, 94, pl. XXIII/10-11.

<sup>87</sup> Hayes 2008, 206-207, fig. 27/854-862.

<sup>88</sup> Popescu 2008a, 96, synthesis 10/446, B 65-B 67, synthesis 11/459, 473, synthesis 12/482, R 154-R 155.

<sup>89</sup> Florea 1993, 101, 104; Sirbu 1996, 26; Crișan 2000, 122, 124, 129; Matei/Pop 2001, 264; Vulpe/Teodor 2003, 80-81; Gheorghiu 2005, 142.

<sup>90</sup> Complete vessels were found at Rudele and Meleia, and only fragments on T VII, T VIII and TSB.

<sup>91</sup> Florea 1993, 101, fig. 4; Gheorghiu 2005, 142, fig. 98/3, fig. 113/10.

<sup>92</sup> Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 110, pl. 96/827.

<sup>93</sup> Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 51, 53, pl. 39.

<sup>94</sup> Crișan 1969, 173-177; Macrea/Glodariu 1976, 67; Glodariu 1981a, 39; Ursachi 1995, 152-154, 174-176; Andrițoiu/Rustoiu 1997, 87; Florea 1998, 108-113; Crișan 2000, 124, 126-127; Matei, Pop 2001, 264-265; Vulpe/Teodor 2003, 74-75, 81-82; Gheorghiu 2005, 143-144; Glodariu/Moga 2006, 82.

to this form (T VII, T VIII<sup>95</sup> and TSB). The only complete vessel is more of a mug, having the height of 10 cm, so it was probably used for drinking or taking out the liquid, rather than for pouring it (fig. 9/1).

The jugs of Grădiştea de Munte were wheel made or handmade, of fine, semi-fine, semi-course or course paste, tempered with sand, grog, mica, sometimes pebbles. Most of the samples are slipped (and in some cases polished), some of them bearing the slip only on the interior or the exterior<sup>96</sup>. Both hand-made and wheel-made jugs have a ring foot, while the handles were faceted, bifid or tripartite (fig. 9/5). The majority of those vessels were fired in a mainly oxidizing atmosphere. Decoration is not elaborated (horizontal incisions and nervures), but painted fragments were discovered as well (fig. 9/3).

### Pitchers (fig. 10)

Another ceramic form used for serving and pouring liquids was the pitcher<sup>97</sup>, a slender vessel with a narrow mouth, cylindrical long thinned neck, hemispherical or oval body, ring foot, and an elegant handle. The complete samples unearthed are more than 30 cm in height (fig. 10/2, 7) and are all wheel-made. The paste is of fine quality, with mica, sand and grog, fired mostly in oxidizing conditions<sup>98</sup> and almost always slipped. The handle is either round, bifid or tripartite in section; horizontal nervures are present on the rim, neck and shoulder of the recipients. A fragment found on T VII bears a "T"-shaped *graffito* on the interior of the rim (fig. 10/4), while a complete pitcher found at Feţele Albe was painted in the specific figurative style of the Dacian capital (fig. 10/7)<sup>99</sup>.

Analogies for this pitcher from Feţele Albe could be found at Aquileia<sup>100</sup> and Torre Vella, Badalona in the Iberian Peninsula (type 9100, time of Domitian; fig. 10/6)<sup>101</sup>. At Pompeii, dated around the age of Tiberius, a similar though not identical recipient was found (Pucci XLV, variant 2), an IS product, an imitation after a bronze pitcher (fig. 10/1)<sup>102</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> Florea 1993, 107, fig. 7/5; Florea 1994, 57, fig. V/3; Florea 1998, 164.

<sup>96</sup> It is possible that originally the slip covered the whole body.

<sup>97</sup> Crişan 1969, 172; Andriţoiu/Rustoiu 1997, 87; Florea 1998, 113-116; Matei/Pop 2001, 265; Glodariu/Moga 2006, 70-71, 82-83.

<sup>98</sup> Reduced firing (fig. 10/2, 5): Crişan 1969, 310, pl. LVIII/3; Florea 1993, p. 107.

<sup>99</sup> Retrieved from the floor of a dwelling, imitation of a metallic vessel, height = 32,5 cm, rim diameter = 7,4 cm, ring foot diameter = 11,5 cm, dated at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD: Daicoviciu/Glodariu/Piso 1973, 76, fig. 25 A, fig. 24; Florea 1998, 165, pl. 47.

<sup>100</sup> Aquileia 1991, pl. 13/CO 1.

<sup>101</sup> Morán Álvarez/Paya i Mercè 2007, 203, pl. 15/3.

<sup>102</sup> Atlante 1985, 398, pl. CXXXIII/6.

Related pieces are encountered on the Pontic coastline: a Suceveanu XLVI pitcher, rim diameter of 8 cm, probably produced at Istros, dated 1<sup>st</sup> century-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD<sup>103</sup>, or the vessel from Terzigno, dated 79 AD<sup>104</sup>. Finally, a good analogy for the fragment found on T VIII is to be found at Stobi<sup>105</sup>.

### Kraters (fig. 11)

The proper krater was a recipient used for mixing wine with water, present in the Greek tableware services<sup>106</sup>. Its typical shape and the fact that the samples found in Dacian sites were covered by a strongly polished metallic slip have determined the Romanian specialists to keep this ancient denomination for the above mentioned vessels<sup>107</sup>. Thus, the functionality of these recipients as kraters is only presumed, and it may be confirmed or infirmed by the archaeological contexts of the discoveries.

The samples of this form are wheel-made, from a fine paste, mostly fired in a reducing atmosphere (only at Sarmizegetusa Regia there is a oxidized fired krater: fig. 11/7), with many finds at Meleia and Rudele; they are dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>108</sup>. All of these vessels have a ring-foot and vertical lug handles (fig. 11/4-5, 8-11; only one krater has horizontal handles: fig. 11/7)<sup>109</sup>. The simple decoration consists of horizontal incisions and nervures, rarely waved incisions (fig. 11/8).

Curiously, the closest morphological analogy is the so-called bell-krater from Knossos, dated to Protogeometric B (fig. 11/1)<sup>110</sup>. Similar handles can be found on the column-kraters painted in the Hadra style, from the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC<sup>111</sup>. A similar shaped vessel, Dicocer COM-IB St1, a so-called *stamnos* for mixing and preparing food/liquids, was found in the Iberian Peninsula and dated between 250-100 BC (fig. 11/3)<sup>112</sup>. At Stobi, a krater with the rim diameter of 24 cm was discovered in a context dated to the second and third quarters of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (fig. 11/2)<sup>113</sup>. Another slipped krater was present in the inventory of a ritual pit from the

<sup>103</sup> Suceveanu 2000, pl. 72/14.

<sup>104</sup> Cicirelli 1996, 163, fig. 8/33.

<sup>105</sup> Slipped piece, not dated: Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 115, pl. 105/889.

<sup>106</sup> Richter/Milne 1935, 6; Folsom 1967, 104; Coldstream/Eiring/Forster 2001, 46-47.

<sup>107</sup> Crișan 1969, 193-194; Ursachi 1995, 188; Gheorghiu 2005, 145.

<sup>108</sup> Crișan 1969, 323-324, pl. XCVII/1-3, pl. XCVIII/1-4, pl. C/1-2, l. CI/4; Gheorghiu 2005, 145.

<sup>109</sup> There is only one krater without any handles (fig. 11/12).

<sup>110</sup> Coldstream/Eiring/Forster 2001, 47, 51, fig. 1.15/d.

<sup>111</sup> Pierrat-Bonnefois 2002, 177-178, fig. 6.

<sup>112</sup> Dicocer 1993, 356.

<sup>113</sup> Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 108, pl. 94/801.

1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>114</sup>. Coarse ware kraters were produced in Athens until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, although the fine samples disappeared around 175 BC<sup>115</sup>.

Similar vessels, of local production, were discovered on the Siret Valley, at Brad and Răcățău, but their Mediterranean prototype could not be identified (fig. 11/6)<sup>116</sup>. Another example comes from Popești, south of the Carpathians<sup>117</sup>. Unfortunately, that is also the case for Sarmizegetusa Regia: no original metallic or ceramic kraters were found here.

The so-called kraters were found at Grădiștea de Munte alongside storage vessels<sup>118</sup>, so it is possible that this form was also used for storing food or liquids, giving the fact that some samples contained burned grains<sup>119</sup>. Similar storage jars were found at Athens<sup>120</sup>. At Corinth, a shape-related recipient, but from coarse paste, had served for cooking purposes, towards the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>121</sup>. The problem of their functionality was discussed, even relating to the samples found in Athens, their use of mixing vessels being uncertain due to the coarse paste from which they were modeled. However, this possibility was not excluded, since no other fine ceramic vessels which could have been initially used for mixing liquids were discovered<sup>122</sup>. Finally, the dimensions of the complete vessels from Sarmizegetusa Regia (height = 17,4-44 cm, rim diameter = 16,3-49 cm)<sup>123</sup> may suggest a function related both to preparing and serving liquids, and to food conservation<sup>124</sup>.

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<sup>114</sup> Tonkova 2005, 169, 171, table I/1. Judging by its reduced dimensions, this piece is more likely a beaker/drinking cup or a miniature vessel, rather than an actual *krater*.

<sup>115</sup> Rotroff 2006, 105-107, fig. 36-38.

<sup>116</sup> Popescu 2008a, 75, 92, synthesis 10/B94, synthesis 12/R185.

<sup>117</sup> Crișan 1969, 193, fig. 104.

<sup>118</sup> Some rim fragments from T VII might be taken into consideration (they all have traces of slip), but the high level of fragmentation hinders a firm conclusion.

<sup>119</sup> Iaroslavschi 1995, 58. A contrary information (there were no burned grains found inside these vessels) in Gheorghiu 2005, 145.

<sup>120</sup> Rotroff 2006, 95, 262, fig. 27/165 (aprox 115-86 BC).

<sup>121</sup> Warner Slane 1990, 123, 126, fig. 33/270.

<sup>122</sup> Rotroff 2006, 106-107.

<sup>123</sup> The only vessel with horizontal lug handles, found at Sarmizegetusa Regia, is also the biggest one published so far (height = 44 cm, rim diameter = 49 cm). It is exceptional not only by its morphological features, but also by its large dimensions and firing particularity (it has a yellowish colour). Unfortunately, there are no mentions of its archaeological context (fig. 11/7): Crișan 1969, 323.

<sup>124</sup> Close analysis of complete preserved vessels may lead to the identification of interior use marks, but also of the ways in which the recipients were operated. Important data may be supplied through residual analysis, because the presence of tartaric acid in

### Spouted bowls (fig. 12)

These recipients, treated separately by the archaeologists as spouted vessels<sup>125</sup>, are easy to recognize: the spout and the transversal massive handle individualize these bowls in the Dacian ceramic repertoire. This form is present on the Siret Valley, at Brad and Poiana (fig. 12/3, 6)<sup>126</sup>, and possibly at Arpașul de Sus (both wheel and handmade), in Transylvania<sup>127</sup>.

They were wheel made from a fine or course paste (fig. 12/2)<sup>128</sup>. Some fragments, including painted shards, were unearthed on T VIII (fig. 12/4-5), while a complete spouted bowl was found during excavations on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Terrace of "Șesul cu brânză", level II, alongside the pitcher painted in figurative style (height = 12,7 cm, rim diameter = 12 cm, base diameter = 9 cm, brown burnished paste), dated at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (fig. 12/1)<sup>129</sup>. Pouring liquids was the presumed destination for these vessels<sup>130</sup>, with the acknowledgement that the exact functionality is not fully understood<sup>131</sup>.

Morel 6521 (fig. 12/7-9) seems to be the closest morphologically related type to the spouted bowls found at Sarmizegetusa Regia. It imitated metallic recipients, being present in Tarquinia, as a local or regional product, towards 300 BC; another piece was found in a West Slope ceramic assemblage, in Crete, dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC<sup>132</sup>. *Situlae* with similar basket handles were used in Athens between 250-86 BC for mixing and pouring liquids (the small pieces might have been related to the cult of goddess Isis), or for taking out and transporting water (the bigger ones)<sup>133</sup>. Also in 2<sup>nd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC Athens, spouted vessels, but with a slightly different morphology, were used either as filters for liquids (a perforated sieve made of clay was placed at the base of the spout; the bowls were

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the walls of the vessel could point out to the use of these so-called kraters as wine containers (Stacey 2010).

<sup>125</sup> Florea 1994, 49, 51; Ursachi 1995, 47-48; Florea 1998, 165-166; Gheorghiu 2005, 145.

<sup>126</sup> Hellenistic pots found in Athens (Rotroff 1997, 405, fig. 127/1629) were proposed as models for these vessels: Popescu 2008a: 76, 83, synthesis 10/B92, synthesis 11/P126. In my opinion their morphological features are different. A bowl from Poiana, considered an imitation (Popescu 2008a, synthesis 11/P 127 b), is in fact similar with a piece from Stobi: Anderson-Stojanović 1992, 94/805.

<sup>127</sup> Glodariu 1981b, 157, fig. 3/78.

<sup>128</sup> Traces of secondary firing are mentioned as well: Florea 1998, 116.

<sup>129</sup> Daicoviciu/Glodariu/Piso 1973, 76, fig. 25 B.

<sup>130</sup> Florea 1998, 166; Gheorghiu 2005, 145.

<sup>131</sup> Florea 1998, 116-117, 166.

<sup>132</sup> Morel 1981, 198, 398, n. 530, 514-515, pl. 198/6521a 1.

<sup>133</sup> Rotroff 1997, 134-135, 302-303, fig. 40/570-578; Rotroff 2006, 81, 253-254, fig. 14-15.



slipped and had similar dimensions in comparison to the samples of Sarmizegetusa Regia: height = 16 cm, rim diameter = 12 cm) or for industrial activities<sup>134</sup>. Spouted jars were noted also among the kitchenware from Herculaneum, having massive circular handles, however with no remarks on their functionality<sup>135</sup>.

### Summing up...

Several characteristics may be drawn out from this brief presentation of the tableware discovered at Sarmizegetusa Regia. Regarding technology<sup>136</sup>, the majority of the respective recipients were produced on the potter's wheel, with a high level of finishing. The paste used in the majority of the cases had low porosity and a fine soapy texture, rich in mica, in correspondence to the geology of the Grădiște Hill. In addition, sand, grog and, rarely, pebbles were used as temper. The firing conditions, with temperatures reaching 900°C, enabled good results, in oxidizing, mixed, or reducing atmosphere; thus, the colour of the vessels expands from pale yellow, to reddish brown, and to several shades of gray. The majority of the tableware was slipped, the quality of the clay immersion differing from a thin layer, which easily flakes away, to a thick metallic coating, almost like a glaze<sup>137</sup>. As was mentioned above, the decoration used by the local potters can be described as elegant and in a "classical" style; the main elements that compose the ornamentation are grooves, nervures and incisions. Geometric, vegetal and zoomorphic designs were painted on some tableware recipients, either directly on the paste or on a yellowish slip<sup>138</sup>.

One can observe a limited variety of forms in the tableware repertoire of Sarmizegetusa Regia. There are no statistical data so far, but it appears that tableware recipients are the most represented category in the Dacian capital, constituting almost half of the entire ceramic material<sup>139</sup>. While vessels for eating and serving food are quite common, I noticed the

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<sup>134</sup> Rotroff 1997, 405, fig. 127/1629; Rotroff 2006, 117-118, fig. 55/327-328.

<sup>135</sup> Scatozza Hörich 1996, 146, fig. 10/1-2.

<sup>136</sup> My personal conclusions on the ceramics from T VII were backed up by laboratory analysis (optical microscopy and X-ray power diffraction) on a sample of 11 shards, performed by my colleague Rodica Filipescu, Department of Geology, "Babeş-Bolyai" University, Cluj; Filipescu et al. 2012.

<sup>137</sup> I could not identify any preferences in the slip technology.

<sup>138</sup> For the production process of painted pottery from the Sarmizegetusa Regia, see Florea 1998, 152-155.

<sup>139</sup> This is the situation for the pottery found on T VII, which I have studied in my PhD thesis. From a total of 321 fragments, 153 represented tableware. Storage vessels followed with 93 shards, and lids with 46 pieces.

relative scarcity of proper drinking vessels, but a fair representation of pouring vessels. In this stage of research, it should be noted that a similar pattern of ceramic assemblage starts to take shape: tableware-storage vessels-cooking wares<sup>140</sup>.

Few imports can be mentioned in this ceramic category and this was interpreted as the consequence of the high level of craftsmanship of the local products<sup>141</sup>. In my opinion, this matter is open to analysis and discussion, because most of the ceramic material is unpublished and it may offer surprises. On the other hand, separating the imports from the local luxury wares should guide us to the understanding of the process by which Greek-Roman models influenced the ceramic production from Grădiștea de Munte, in the cultural context of the second half and the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Finally, concerning the individual or collective consumption of food and liquids, this aspect of use should be determined (also) by the archaeological context. From the data collected up to this moment, the ceramic assemblages found in (major) public edifices could point to the conclusion that conviviality was a reality in Sarmizegetusa Regia's social ambiance. For example, a considerable number of tableware vessels, associated with storage jars and cooking pots, had been in use at the time the constructions on T VII and T VIII were destroyed. In these complexes we encounter several massive dishes, practically unusable by a single individual, alongside large rim diameter bowls, suitable for collective drinking. To this matter I should add the presence of *graffiti* on a good number of bowls and dishes found in the respective archaeological contexts (possibly property marks), which might enforce the assumption that those edifices were intended (at least temporarily) for convivial practices.

### Questioning the future

This brief overview of the tableware from Sarmizegetusa Regia should bring forth the necessity of developing new and significant pottery studies regarding the ceramic material from this Dacian site. This effort must be focused on publishing old/new finds (preferably from closed complexes) and on a detailed analysis of the ceramic imports. Also, a distribution map, comprising all the discoveries from this major site (and permanently updated), will help to recognize production, trade, and consumption patterns. The archaeologists' approach needs to be supported

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<sup>140</sup> This pattern is characteristic for the archaeological contexts in the vicinity of the sacred area of Sarmizegetusa Regia: T VII and T VIII.

<sup>141</sup> Glodariu 1976, 25.

by interdisciplinary research, as well: laboratory analysis (including residual studies), 3D reconstruction<sup>142</sup>, a computer data base, and experimental archaeology.

In the end, the answer for a simple and yet complex question should emerge from all the information gathered and processed: are we in the presence of a community that knows as much about feasting as it does about feeding? ... and if there was a feast, what was it for? As Sarah Ralph stated, there are social, political, economical, and cultural reasons that influence what and in which manner humans consume food/liquids<sup>143</sup>. As a paraphrase, I want to add that (particularly for the time and space of this study) this motivation could also be of a religious kind, and that the ceramic pattern depicted earlier (tableware-storage vessels-cooking pots) might prove an important link in understanding and portraying the function(s) of the major edifices surrounding the sacred area of Sarmizegetusa Regia.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the “Dacian Fortresses from the Orăștie Mountains Archaeological Site” research team, led by Gelu Florea, for the kind support offered during and after my PhD research. Also, I respectfully thank Mariana Egri and Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț for their pertinent observations and suggestions.

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<sup>143</sup> Ralph 2006, 105.

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## Abbreviations

AMN – *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj.

AMP – *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Zalău.

ArhMold – *Arheologia Moldovei*, Iași.

BAR S – British Archaeological Reports International Series/Supplementary Series.

CA – *Cercetări Arheologice*, București.

EphNap – *Ephemeris Napocensis*, Cluj.

RAP – *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, Amiens.

RACF – *Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France*, Tours.

SCIV – *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche*, București.

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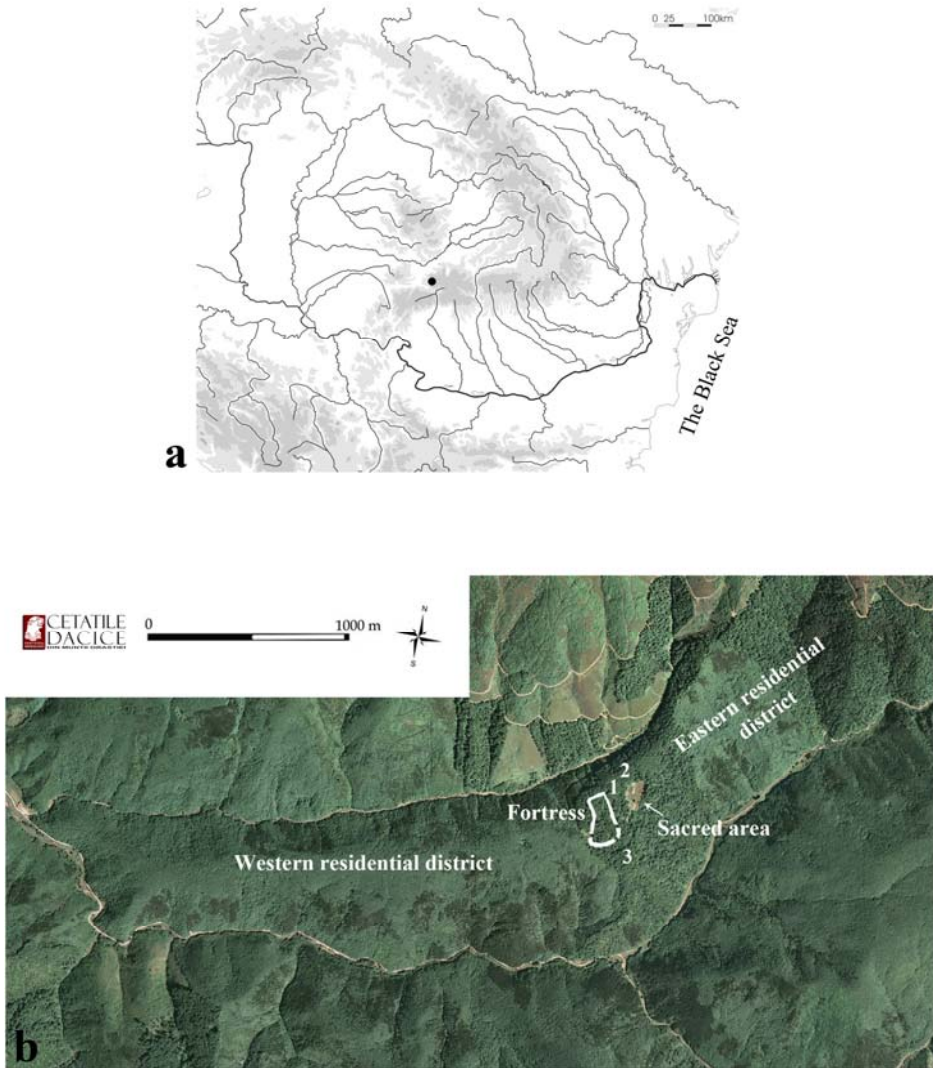


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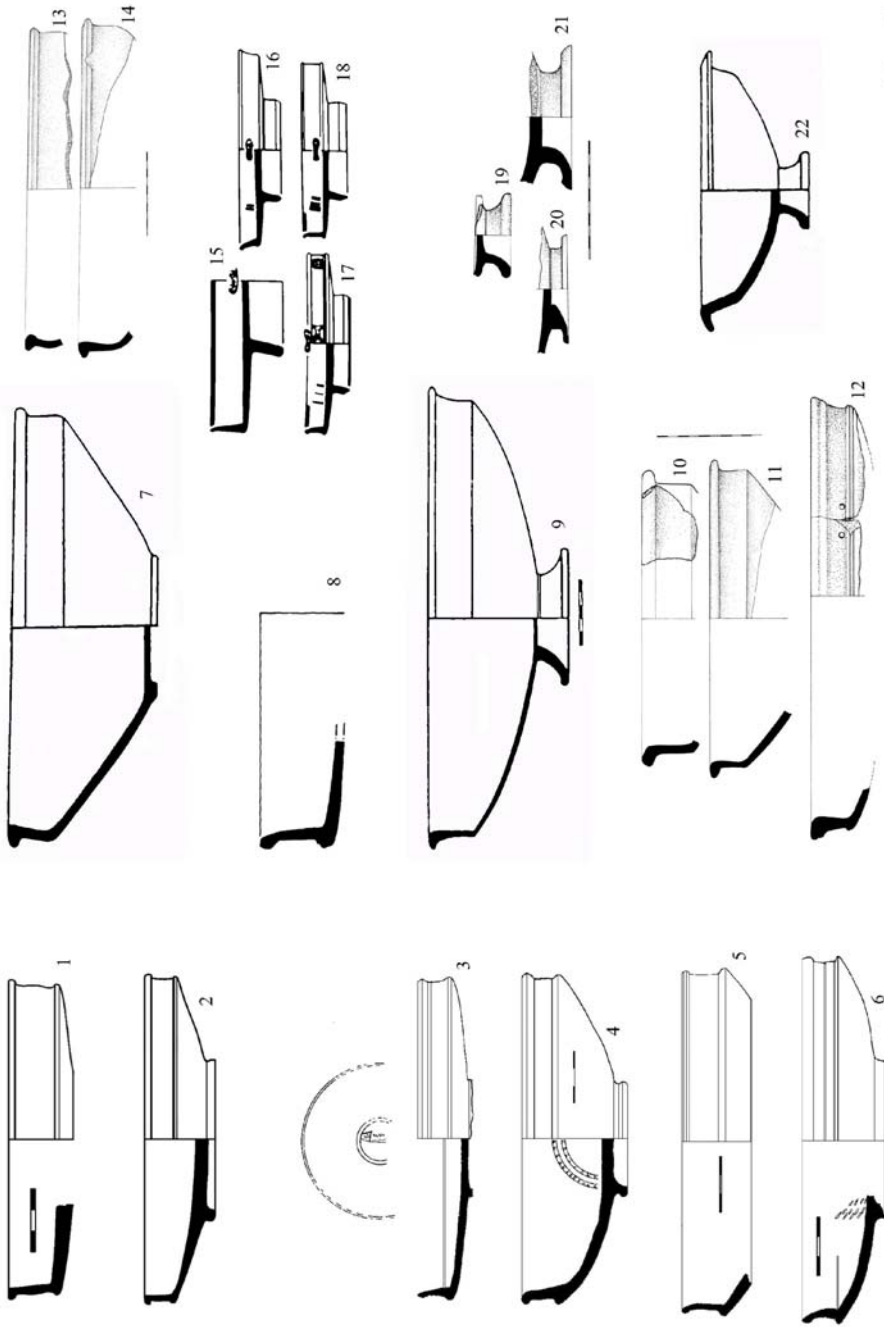


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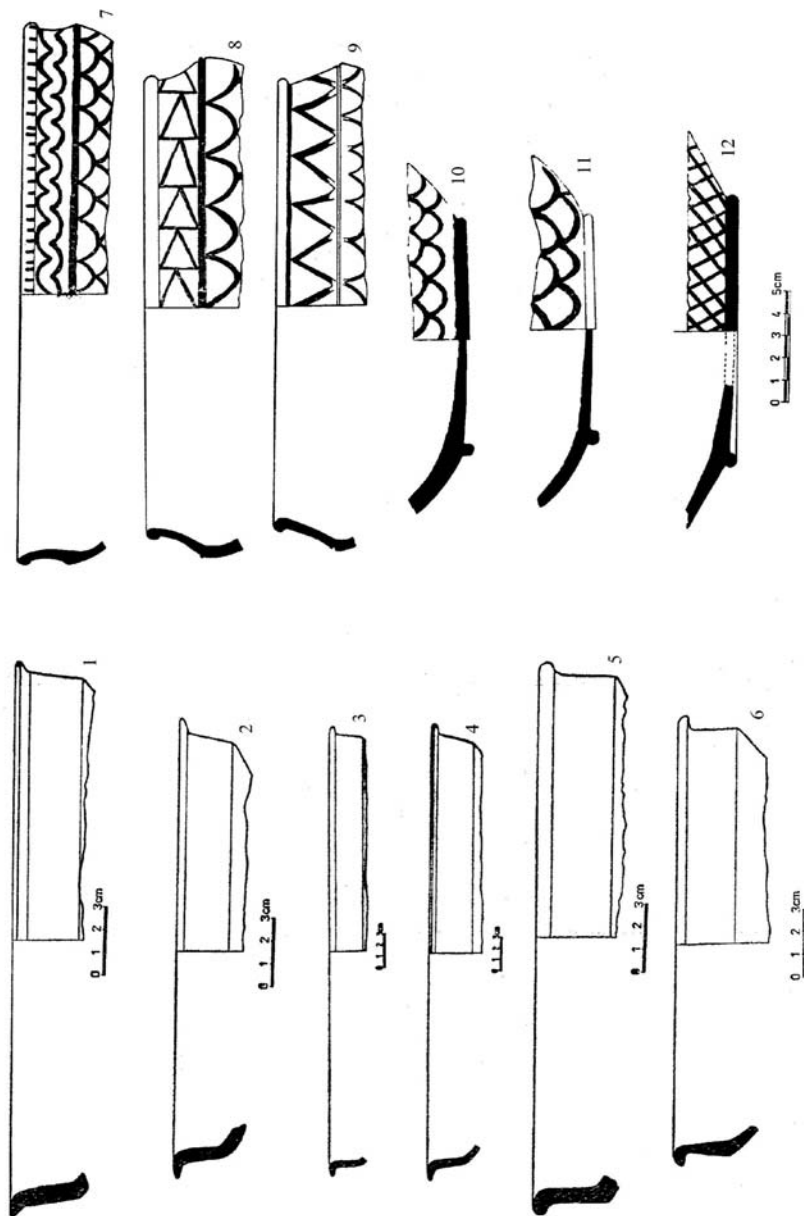
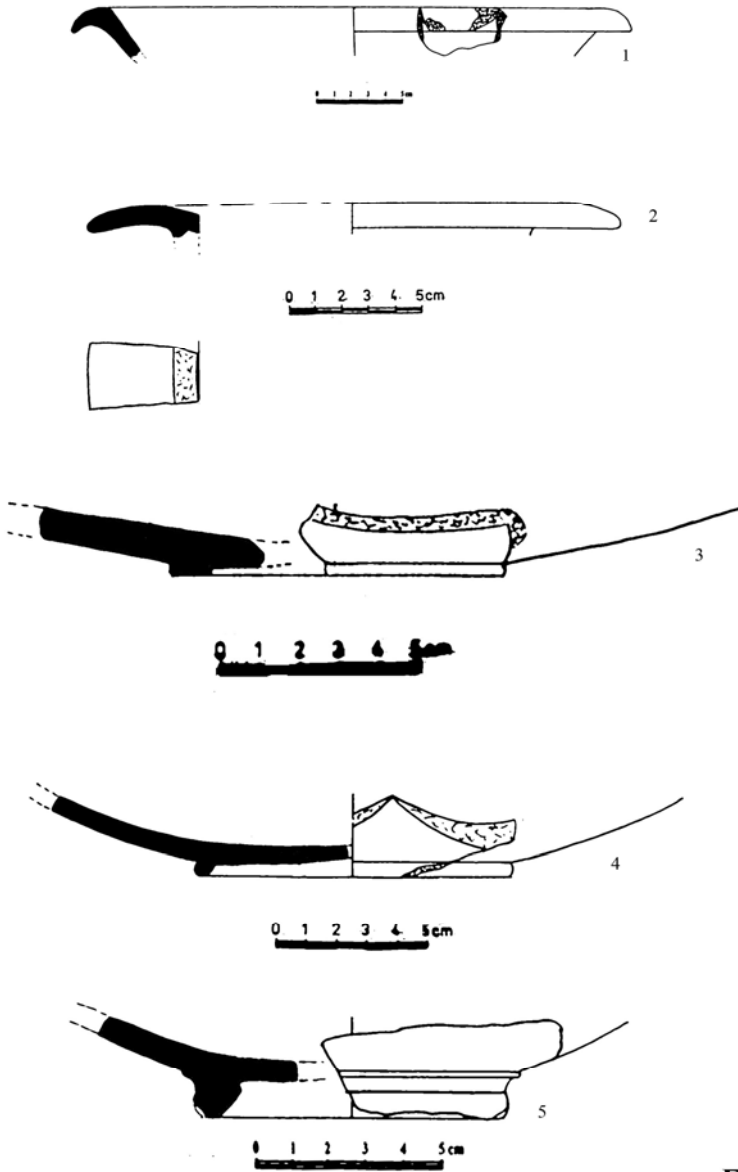


Fig. 3



**Fig. 4**

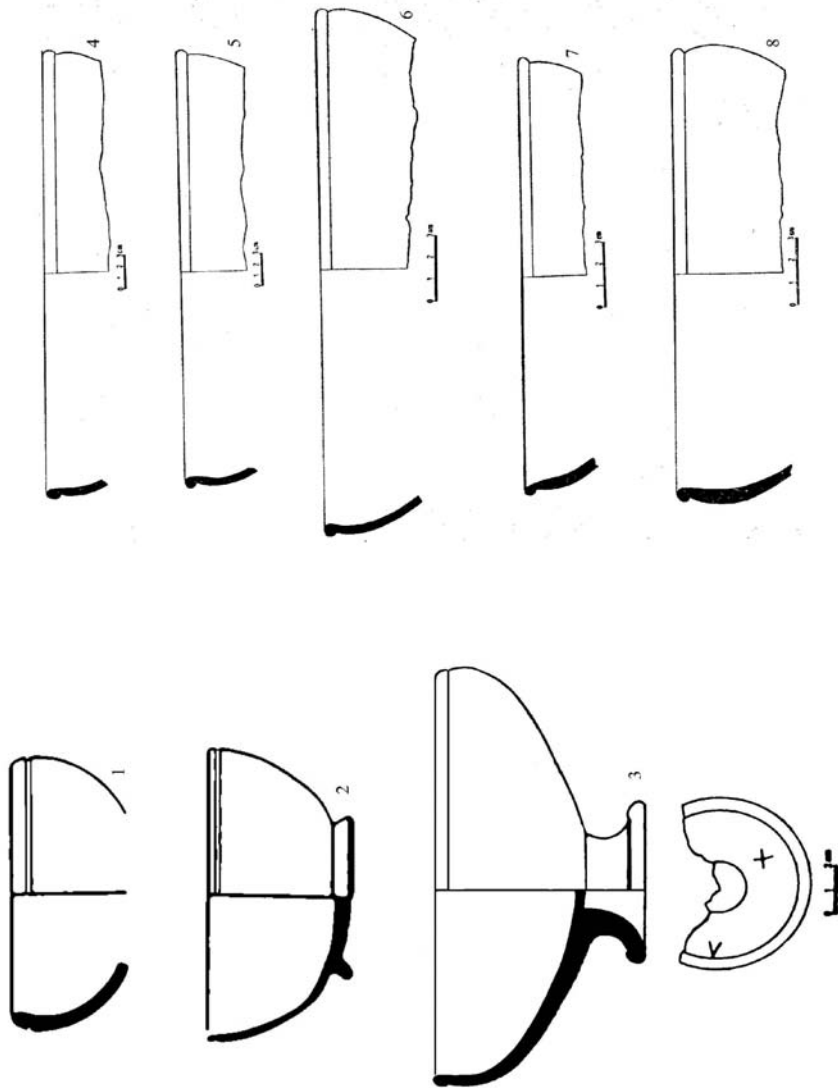
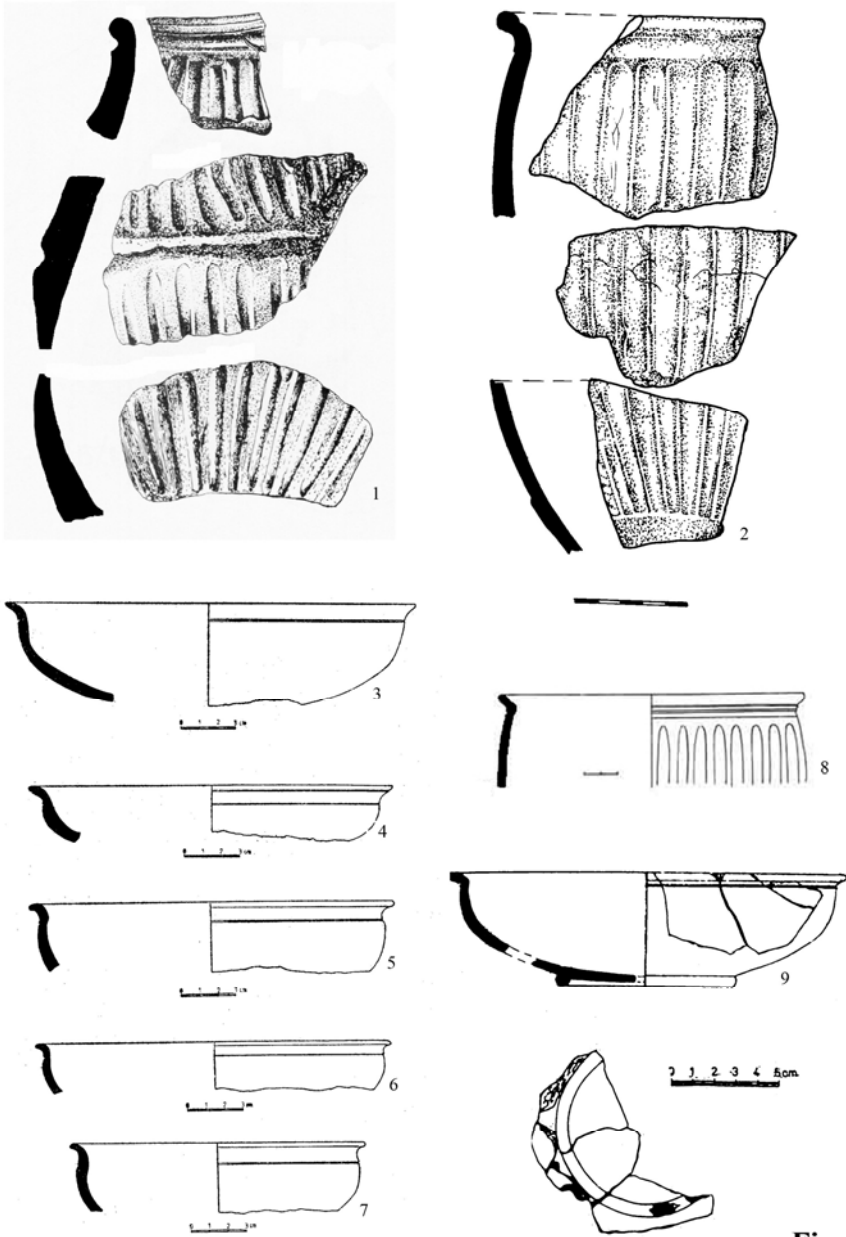


Fig. 5





**Fig. 6**

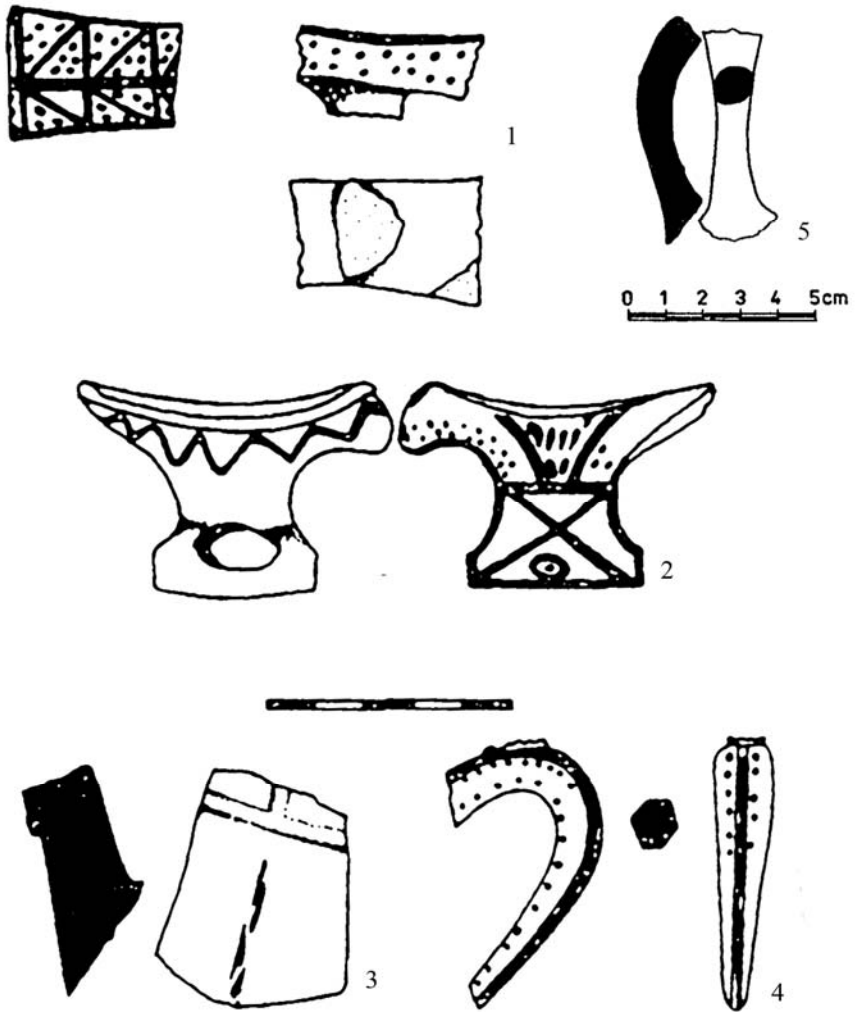


Fig.7.

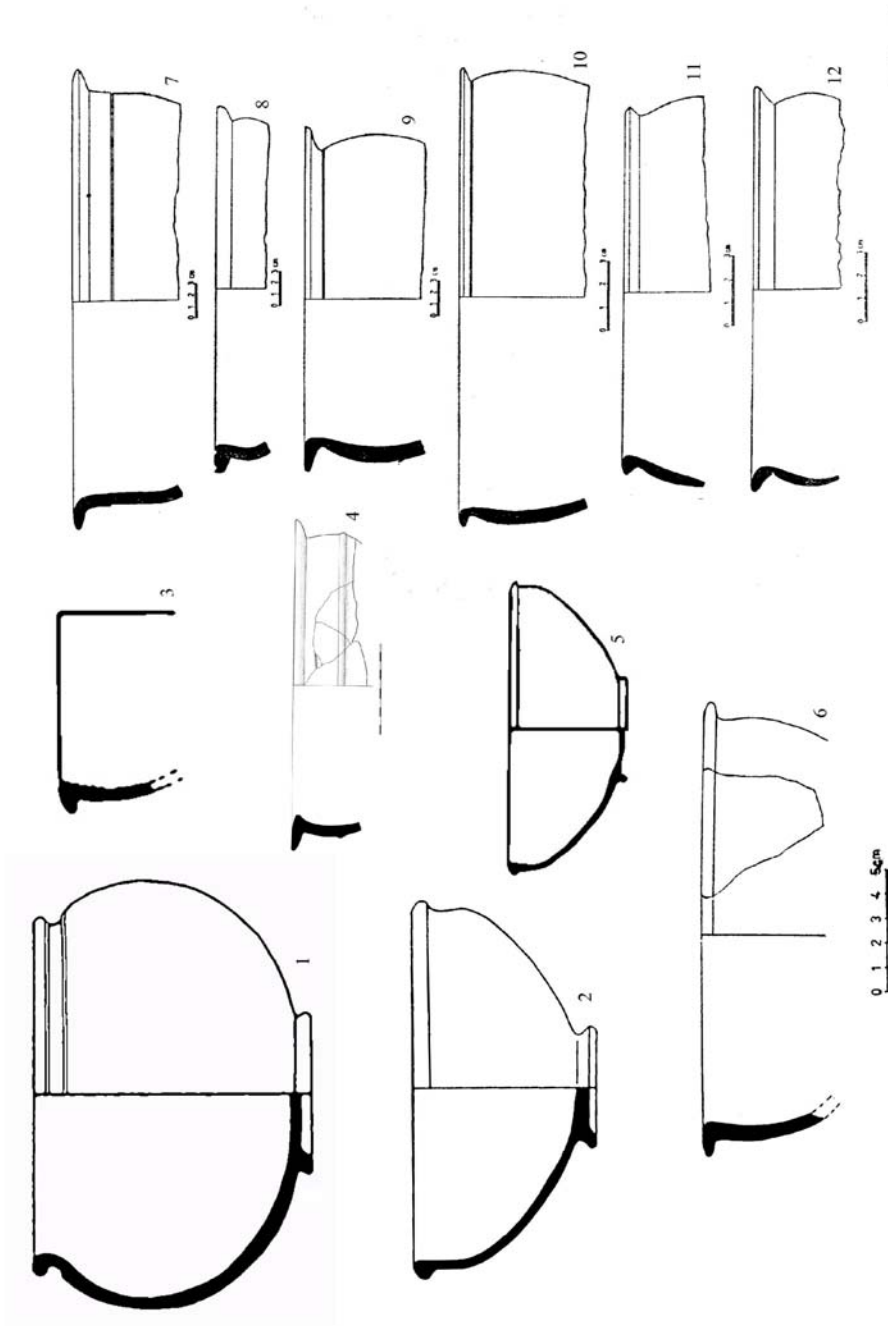


Fig. 8

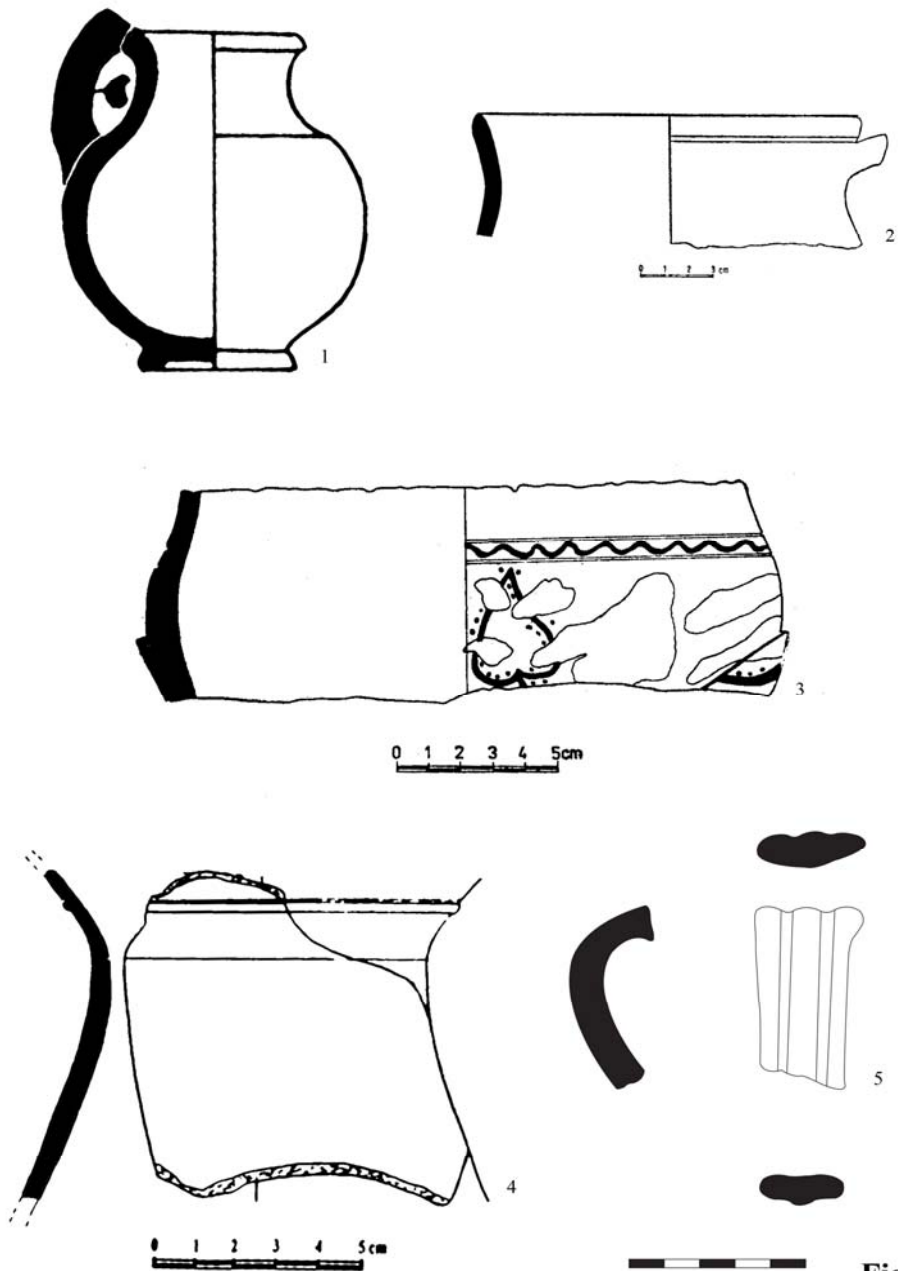


Fig. 9

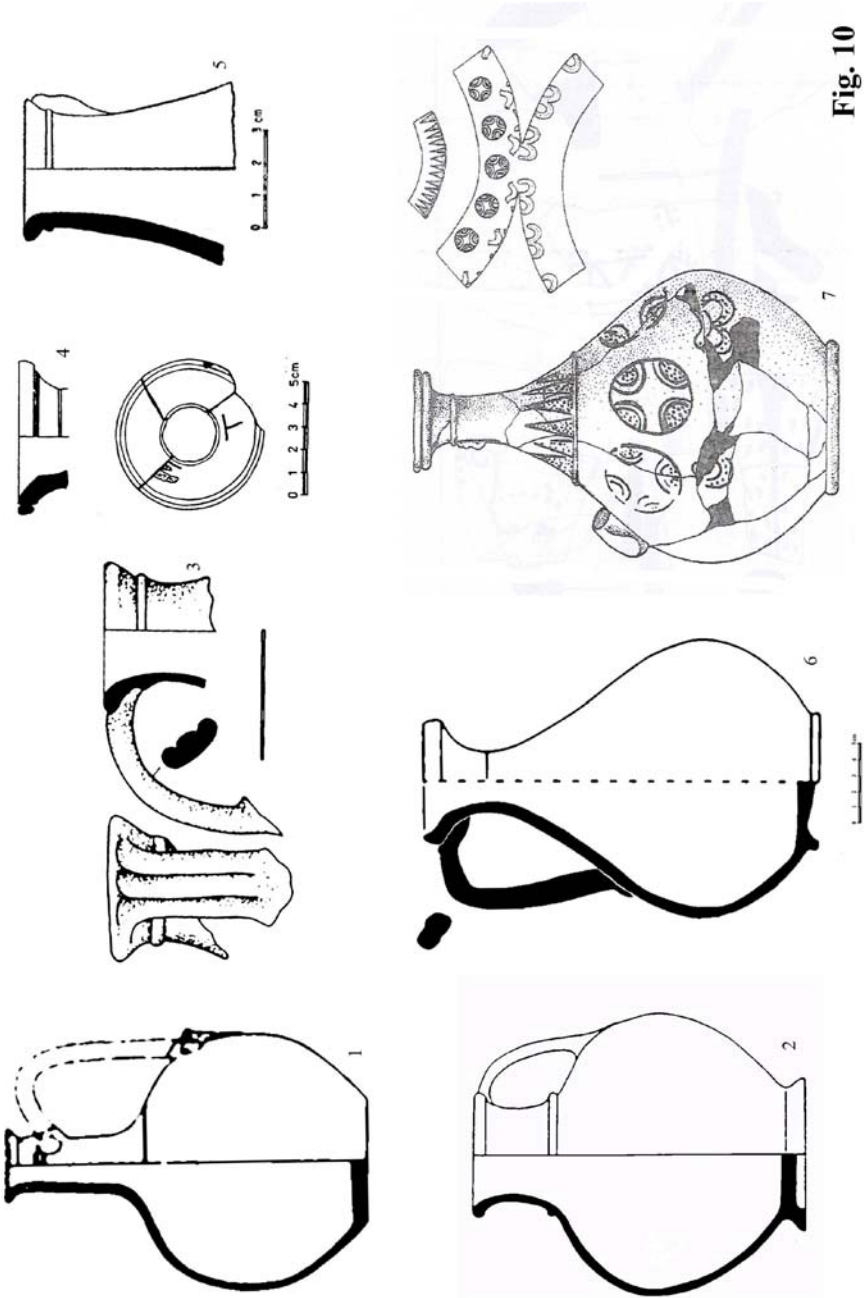


Fig. 10

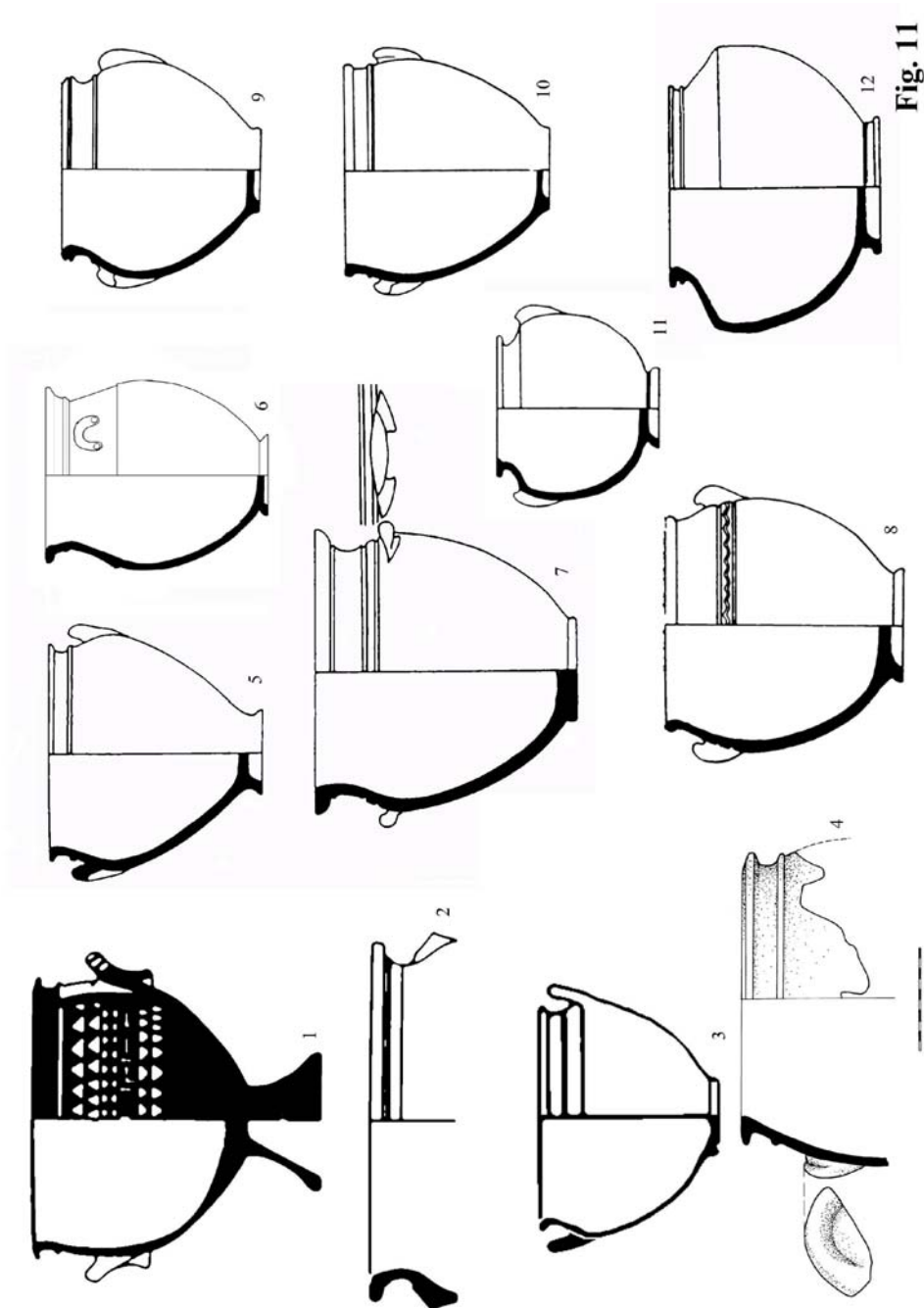
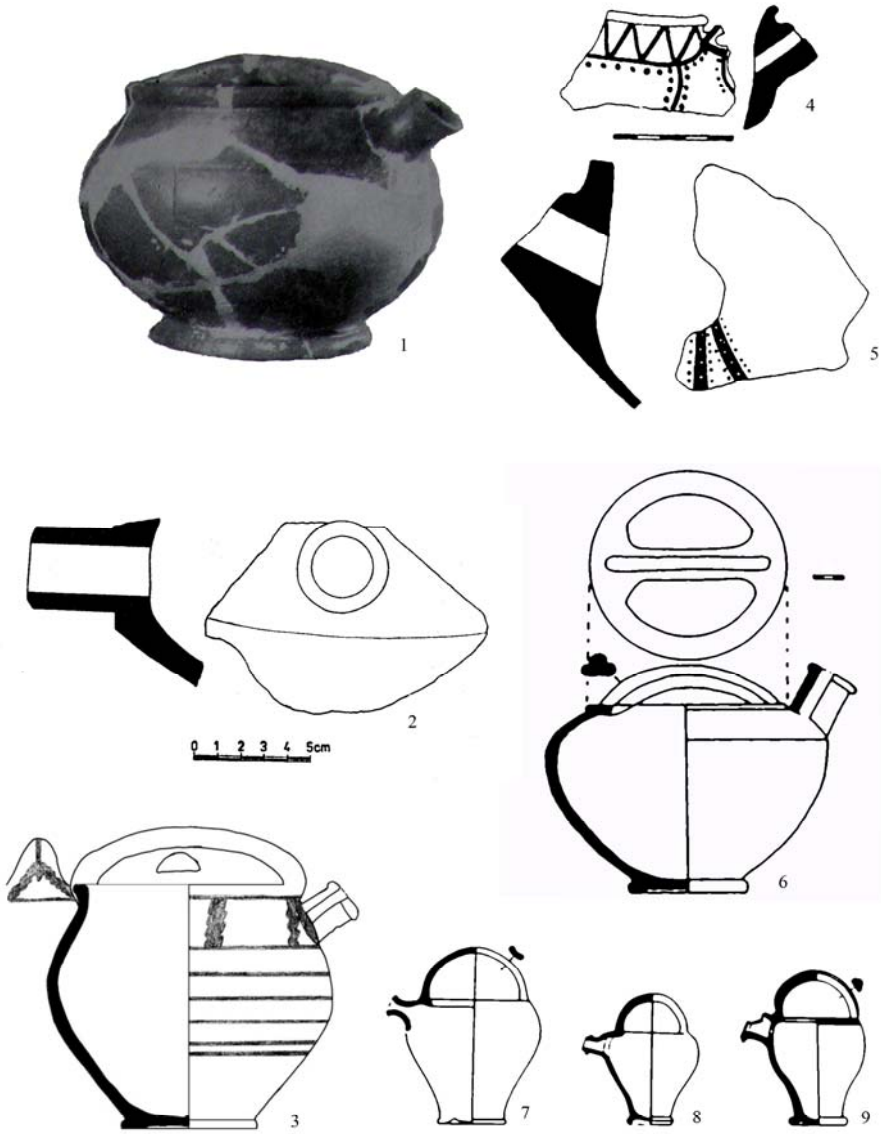


Fig. 11



**Fig. 12**

# Sacred conviviality in the Lower Danube region. The case of the Sâncrăieni hoard

**Mariana EGRI**

*Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca*

**Aurel RUSTOIU**

*Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca*

**Abstract.** The article is analysing the practical and symbolic meanings of the silver hoard discovered at Sâncrăieni, in eastern Transylvania. The recovered inventory consists of one specific set of garment accessories, the assemblage of different drinking vessels, two silver coins and a ceramic vessel which was presumably used as a container. Previous analyses of the hoard suggested that the vessels belonged to a feasting assemblage amassed by one of the local chieftains, and the deposit might have been a particularly lavish offering. However, the comparative analysis of its context of discovery, the functional structure of the assemblage and the functional and structural relationships between this hoard and others from the north and the south of the Danube indicates that the hoard is more likely related to the social function, status and identity of a priestess, being similar with those used in rituals. Thus the interred assemblage is the result of a commemorative practice through which the material symbols related to the social self of a deceased priestess were buried in order to be transferred into another world. The silver drinking vessels might have been selected, brought over and offered by a number of individuals as part of a ritual of separation, which might have also contributed to the reiteration of the social connections between the participants.

**Key words:** funerary feast, commemoration, silver hoard, Dacia, identity.

**Rezumat: Convivialitate sacră la Dunărea de Jos. Cazul tezaurului de la Sâncrăieni.** Articolul analizează semnificațiile practice și simbolice ale tezaurului de argint descoperit la Sâncrăieni, în Transilvania răsăriteană. Inventarul recuperat constă dintr-un set specific de accesorii vestimentare, grupul de vase de băut diferite, două monede de argint și un vas ceramic folosit probabil ca recipient. Analize precedente ale tezaurului au sugerat că vasele aparțineau unui ansamblu festiv acumulat de unul din șefii locali, iar depunerea poate să fi fost o ofrandă deosebit de somptuoasă. Însă analiza comparativă a contextului de descoperire, structura funcțională a ansamblului și raporturile funcționale și structurale între acest tezaur și altele de la nord și de la sud de Dunăre indică faptul că tezaurul e mai probabil legat de funcția socială, statutul și identitatea unei preotese; vasele seamănă cu cele folosite în ritualuri. Astfel, ansamblul îngropat este rezultatul unei practici comemorative prin care simbolurile materiale legate de identitatea socială a preotesei decedate au fost



îngropate pentru a fi transferate într-o altă lume. Vasele de băut din argint pot să fi fost selectate, aduse și oferite de un număr de indivizi ca parte a unui ritual de despărțire, ceea ce poate să fi contribuit la rîndul său la reiterarea legăturilor sociale dintre participanți.

**Cuvinte cheie:** banchet funerar, comemorare, tezaur de argint, Dacia, identitate.

## **Introduction**

The convivial practices of various societies are amongst the most investigated topics of the social anthropology and archaeology of the last decades, following the development of processual and post-processual analytic approaches. It is now largely acknowledged that the collective feasts can be among the most influential means of authority and control, but they can also promote social cohesion and contribute to the construction of communal identity, while serving as highly effective social-political and economic instruments<sup>1</sup>. All human societies create and use a variety of specific convivial practices which serve certain purposes and are adapted to particular contexts and situations, as the communal food and beverage consumption contributes to the construction and preservation of social connections through the sharing of a life-supporting, multi-sensorial and even emotional experience. As a consequence, there is a wide variety of feasting practices, each being characterised by different specific dining styles, rules, foodstuffs and paraphernalia, and fulfilling various practical and symbolic scopes.

Thus, although the convivial practices of one community might have influenced the neighbouring or the more distant ones, a certain degree of caution must be exercised in the interpretation of the adoption, incorporation and adaptation of foreign foodstuffs, goods and practices into local dining styles. For example the presence of Mediterranean drinking vessels in assemblages recovered from Late Iron Age contexts in the temperate Europe does not necessarily imply the adoption of the corresponding banqueting styles, as the local consumers consistently selected such goods according to their own feasting habits, frequently integrating them into quite different dining sets<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore, even in the case in which the “barbarian” consumers got in direct contact with, and had the chance to experience, the Mediterranean feasting practices, they might

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<sup>1</sup> Castillo et al. 1996, 7-8; Dietler 1996; 2001, 65-74; 2006, 232-233; Hamilakis 1998; 2008; Hayden 2001; Poux 2004; Williams 2004, 421-423; Egri/Rustoiu 2008; Egri 2013a etc.

<sup>2</sup> See the examples in Dietler 1996; Poux 2004; Egri/Rustoiu 2008 etc.

have chosen to take over and spread further only some elements, perhaps the most visible and spectacular, while neglecting the more subtle details and their meanings that required a lengthy, intimate and guided initiation and familiarization.

Some attempts have been made to classify the feasting practices from a theoretical point of view<sup>3</sup>, mostly by taking into consideration their main social-political outcome, albeit in practice these categorisations seldom work due to the frequent identification of overlapping and sometimes conflicting features, actors, practices and meanings in specific archaeological contexts<sup>4</sup>. One eloquent example is the commemorative feast performed in a well-structured hierarchical society, like the one which will be discussed below, that was meant to support the restoration or reiteration of social cohesion, being at the same time diacritical due to the selective inclusion of only certain individuals, but it can also be interpreted as an occasion of social-political competition within the given group.

The identification of archaeological contexts related to feasting practices can be problematic especially outside the Mediterranean world due to the scarcity of relevant written and iconographic evidence that can be used as a point of reference. More specifically, the Greek and Roman literary accounts of the convivial practices of many Late Iron Age populations from the temperate Europe may be distorted due to the use of recurrent ethnographic topoi or anachronistic sources, or by the political and intellectual agenda of the authors<sup>5</sup>. At the same time, some of these populations might have left very little relevant iconographic evidence, thus providing a rather patchy image of their visual language, which makes the interpretation quite difficult. In these situations the detailed analysis of relevant archaeological contexts may provide the necessary answers, completing and correcting the scarce information recovered from other sources, or even adding new dimensions to this important part of the social-political, spiritual and economic life of a community.

The identification of feasting assemblages raises other methodological problems, because not every inventory containing many drinking vessels, cooking- or dining-related implements and food remains is an indicator of such practices. The answer lays in the contextual analysis of the assemblages, taking into consideration relevant features<sup>6</sup> like the settings, the participants,

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<sup>3</sup> Dietler 1996; 2001, 65-74; Hayden 2001, 35-40.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilakis 2008, 16-17.

<sup>5</sup> See for example the comments in Poux/Feugère 2002, 202-211; Petre 2004, 178 and 235-236; Nelson 2005, 38-44; Craven 2007, 37-43.

<sup>6</sup> Hayden 2001, 40-41, table 2.1.

the functional structure and quality of the inventory, the preparation and dining style, the nature and quantity of foodstuffs and beverage, the ancillary paraphernalia and the manner in which the remains were disposed of. Furthermore, the nature of such assemblages and contexts can be validated through a comparison with the evidence coming from settlement and burial contexts and inventories belonging to the same community.

Amongst the many categories of collective feasts the funerary and commemorative ones play an important social and political role in all human societies, as they contribute to the restoration of social cohesion disturbed by the death of any individual, by facilitating the reincorporation of the mourners into the social body, and at the same time the safe transition of the deceased from the world of the living into the otherworld<sup>7</sup>. The commemorative feasts are also a form of mnemonic practice, involving sensorial and emotional experiences, which contributes to the construction, reiteration and manipulation of collective memory and identity. According to Hamilakis, "mortuary feasting [...] is a mode of generalised consumption, where food, bodies, persons and memories are consumed"<sup>8</sup>.

Taking into consideration the aforementioned methodological observations and theoretical framework, the present article is going to discuss the functional structure and the interring context of the silver hoard from Sâncrăieni, as well as its symbolic and practical significance.

### **The context of discovery**

The hoard of silver objects has been accidentally discovered in 1953 in an andesite quarry located westward of the Sâncrăieni village (Harghita County) and at around 1 km southward of the Dacian fortress of Jigodin I (Fig. 1). A controlled explosion has been carried out in the quarry on 11 August 1953, to remove a large and unstable rock that threatened the workers' safety. Nine silver vessels, one bracelet and one brooch have been discovered after the explosion, on the upper side of the hill, between the roots of a wild rose shrub. Other items have been recovered during the next two days in the presence of some specialists and representatives of the local administration, a few on the same spot and others either scattered around due to the explosion or returned by the workers. The recovered assemblage of silver objects weights 3650 gr and comprises one brooch of the late LT type, two bracelets, one *Dyrrachium drachma*, one *Thasos tetra-drachma*

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<sup>7</sup> Hamilakis 1998, 115-118; 2008, 16; Williams 2004, 421-423; Jones 2007, 57-60. See also Hertz 2004; Morris 1992, 1-2; Parker Pearson 1999, 142-168.

<sup>8</sup> Hamilakis 1998, 117.

and 15 vessels<sup>9</sup>. Aside from them, some fragments of a handmade ceramic jar have also been discovered, probably the remains of the container in which at least some of the inventory was buried<sup>10</sup>. Some of the silver vessels have been deteriorated in the explosion. However many of them are quite well preserved. Some vessels might have been disassembled prior to burial in ancient times, a hypothesis suggested by the discovery of separate handles and foot bases that were not attached to the cups. Lastly, it seems that the hoard has been incompletely recovered. In previous literature it has been presumed that some coins, jewellery, vessels or part of them were lost<sup>11</sup>. Still, the structure and significance of the entire presumed assemblage can be convincingly reconstructed from the recovered inventory.

All of the recovered artefacts have been taken over by the Museum of Miercurea Ciuc on 15 August 1953. In 1971 the large majority of the finds has been transferred to the National Museum of Romanian History in Bucharest (at that time the newly established National Museum of History of the Socialist Republic of Romania), whereas a few fragments of silver vessels remained in the collections of the Harghita County Museum<sup>12</sup>. Several restoration procedures were performed, first in the Museum of Miercurea Ciuc and later in Bucharest, the most recent interventions modifying the initial aspect of some artefacts<sup>13</sup>. As a consequence, the pictures and drawings from the first publications discussing the hoard are more reliable as they present the initial aspect of the finds, so these will also be used in this analysis<sup>14</sup>.

The geography and archaeology of the region in which the hoard has been found (Fig. 1) are also relevant for understanding its context of use and burial, and its symbolic significance. The Ciuc Depression, crossed from the north to the south by the Olt River and connected with the regions situated outside the Carpathians or with Central Transylvania through a

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<sup>9</sup> Kovács 1953, 15-17.

<sup>10</sup> Székely 1954, 24, pl. 17/4-5.

<sup>11</sup> Popescu 1958, 157; Spânu 2012a, 70.

<sup>12</sup> Crișan 2000, 69-71, pl. 123/6-8, "rediscovered" these fragments in the Museum of Miercurea Ciuc and presumed that they belonged to some unpublished vessels. However, the fragments belong to some of the vessels discovered in 1953, see Székely 1954, pl. 12/2, 14/7, 17/2; Spânu 2012a, 71.

<sup>13</sup> See further in Spânu 2012a.

<sup>14</sup> The first pictures and drawings have been published shortly after the discovery by Z. Székely (1954), many silver vessels being still un-restored. Afterwards, D. Popescu has published extensively the entire hoard, the items being already restored, albeit without any major morphological changes (Popescu 1958; 1967). Glodariu 1974, pl. 35-38/a4 reproduces the drawings published by D. Popescu. The *kantharoi* have recently been re-drawn and re-published by D. Spânu (2012a).

series of passes used from ancient times, has rich resources of iron which were exploited from the Early Iron Age onwards<sup>15</sup>. Numerous traces of iron processing (including bloomeries) that can be dated to the Late Iron Age have been identified in the region<sup>16</sup>. Between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, these iron resources, as well as the related distribution networks, were controlled through a system of fortified settlements and fortresses located alongside the regional routes of communication. Each of these centres was surrounded by a network of rural settlements<sup>17</sup>, illustrating a high density of habitation in spite of the colder local climate in comparison with the neighbouring Transylvanian regions or with those from the east or south of the Carpathians. In this context, it has to be noted that the hoard from Sâncrăieni has been discovered in the central part of the Ciuc Depression, southward of the west – east line of fortresses blocking the access into the region. More precisely, three fortresses with walls built of stone, timber and earth are located in the close vicinity, forming a triangle on the right bank of the Olt River (the Jigodin I, II and III fortresses)<sup>18</sup>, whereas another fortress is located eastward, on the left bank of the Olt, at Leliceeni<sup>19</sup>. A series of artefacts recovered from these fortresses or from the adjacent rural settlements (ceramic and metal vessels, garment accessories, jewellery etc) indicates the establishing of certain exchange relationships with several distant communities (from the east and south of the Carpathians or from Transylvania, but also with others from the Balkans, the eastern Mediterranean etc), and also a significant degree of mobility of certain individuals. Lastly, some archaeological contexts from settlements or isolated find-spots point to a series of ritual practices that are similar to those encountered across a wider area in pre-Roman Dacia, for example the so-called non-funerary pits containing human remains, those containing deposits of vessels or the burying of hoards consisting of silver jewellery. Accordingly, the hoard of Sâncrăieni belongs to a wider phenomenon specific to the Dacian civilization of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. On the other hand, its structure and characteristics seem to reflect the specific cultural features of the region in which it has been found.

### **Chronology**

The recovered jewellery (Fig. 5) and coins are relevant for the dating of the context of discovery. Four decades ago, K. Horedt noted that the practice of

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<sup>15</sup> Boroffka 1987, 55-57, map 1.

<sup>16</sup> Glodariu/Iaroslavschi 1979, 16-17, 23-25.

<sup>17</sup> Crişan 2000, pl. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Crişan 2000, 45-50.

<sup>19</sup> Crişan 2000, 50-51.

burying hoards containing silver jewellery is specific to the Dacian communities of Transylvania and the south of the Carpathians. He divided chronologically this phenomenon in three distinct horizons, according to the typological evolution of the jewellery and to its association with Greek or Roman coins. The first horizon corresponded to the LT D1 (125-75 BC), the second one to the LT D2 (75-25 BC), and the third horizon to the Augustan and early Tiberian period (25 BC - AD 25)<sup>20</sup>.

The bracelets made of a silver rod and having flattened ends decorated with snake heads or geometric elements are encountered in a series of Transylvanian hoards belonging to the first horizon<sup>21</sup> (see Table 1). They are mostly associated with brooches having knobs, but also with those of the late LT type, as in the Sâncrăieni hoard. Other contemporaneous jewellery sets contain other types of bracelets made of silver rods (twisted or with the ends rolled up), chains consisting of folded loops, torques-like necklaces, or spirals made of silver wire having undecorated ends. Lastly, in a few cases the jewellery set was buried together with Greek coins: drachmas of Apollonia and Dyrrachium or tetra-drachmas of Thasos.

The brooches of the late LT type are usually associated with brooches having knobs, typical of the hoards dated in the first horizon, albeit in a few cases they also appear in hoards belonging to the next horizon, for example at Ghelința and Coldău. The latter hoards contain large silver spiral bracelets having the ends decorated with zoomorphic elements combined with stamped palmettes.

The two bracelets from the Sâncrăieni hoard (Fig. 5), both made of silver rods, are not forming a true pair. One of them has open ends, whereas the second bracelet has adjoined ends. Their decoration is also different. Similar situations have also been noted in other hoards, for example at Cehei, Cehețel (both containing three bracelets each) and Sărmășag<sup>22</sup>. Thus the items from Sâncrăieni must have belonged to a single set of jewellery even if they are not morphologically identical. It has to be also noted that the decoration of one of the bracelets from Sâncrăieni (Fig. 5/2) has stylistical

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<sup>20</sup> Horedt 1973, 151. Zirra/Spânu 1992 suggest three main chronological phases of the hoards containing Dacian jewellery, separated by two intermediary phases. For a discussion regarding this chronology and other ideas proposed by the two mentioned authors see the objections in Medeleț 1994, 213-221. Spânu 2002 returns to this chronology and, ignoring his own theories expressed a decade earlier, divides the evolution of these hoards in just two groups by combining the second and the third groups identified by Horedt into a single one. However, the author fails to argue in favour of his new theory.

<sup>21</sup> A pair of brooches with open decorated ends belongs to the (now lost) hoard discovered at Remetea Mare and dated to the Augustan period, but their morphology seems to be different from those of the pieces coming from earlier hoards (Bleyer 1906).

<sup>22</sup> Medeleț 1994, 216 also suggested that some of these "bracelets" might have been used as anklets.

analogies on two brooches from the Ceheţel hoard, also coming from eastern Transylvania<sup>23</sup>. At the same time, the brooches which were included into the aforementioned silver jewellery sets usually belonged to one or more pairs, being worn symmetrically on the shoulders, while the assemblage was completed by a single brooch worn on the chest, either one of the same type, but having different dimensions, or of a different type<sup>24</sup>. All these brooches could have been linked with metal chains or with strings made of organic materials (textiles or leather etc.)<sup>25</sup>. Due to this particularity it is quite possible that one or more brooches belonging to the jewellery set from Sâncrăieni might have not been recovered.

Taking into consideration the aforementioned observations, the hoard from Sâncrăieni can be dated to the first horizon of Dacian hoards, more precisely to the LT D1.

This dating is also sustained by the accompanying silver vessels (Fig. 2-4), which belong to three major forms: hemispherical and conical cups (*mastoi*) and two-handled goblets (*kantharoi*). These forms have a wide distribution around the Mediterranean and even farther, being made of metal, ceramic and glass. The variants of hemispherical and conical cups represented in the Sâncrăieni hoard are usually dated between 150 and 50 BC<sup>26</sup>. In the northern Balkans and in Dacia they appear in a series of hoards dated in the same period, for example at Sindel, Bohot and Jakimovo in Bulgaria or at Bucureşti-Herăstrău and Lupu in Romania (see Table 2). At Jakimovo the conical cups are associated with late Republican bronze vessels and two silver *kantharoi* (one complete and another fragmentarily preserved). A grave from Doirentsi in Bulgaria contains a bronze pan of the Aylesford type and a silver *kantharos*, together with the typical panoply of arms of the Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii group.

### The silver vessels from Sâncrăieni

As already mentioned the silverware assemblage consists of 15 vessels – two hemispherical cups, five conical cups and eight two-handled goblets or *kantharoi*<sup>27</sup>. The decorative patterns on all vessels were gilded. If only the general morphology is taken into consideration, the assemblage apparently

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<sup>23</sup> Székely 1965, fig. 3/1-2.

<sup>24</sup> Medeleţ 1994, 217; Rustoiu 1997, 80-83, table 1.

<sup>25</sup> Medeleţ 1994, 217-218; Rustoiu 1997, 83.

<sup>26</sup> See for example Graue 1974, 30; Horedt 1973, 143, who considered that the peak of their popularity corresponds to the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; Piana Agostinetti/Priuli 1985; Spânu 2002, 115; Spânu/Cojocaru 2009, 98; Rodriguez Casanova 2008, 237-239; Baratte 2001, 298-299, fig. 24 and 26 etc.

<sup>27</sup> The numbering of the vessels in this article corresponds to that in Popescu 1958.

comprises two drinking sets, one consisting of vessels with a foot-base and two handles, and another of foot-less and handle-less cups that probably had to be mostly hand-held. However, several morphological, decorative and manufacturing details suggest a far more diverse origin of the vessels, which seem to have been manufactured in different workshops or by different craftsmen.

The two undecorated hemispherical cups (Fig. 2, no. 1 and 2) are morphologically and dimensionally identical, the form being very common from the Caucasus region and Iran to Egypt, Spain, southern Italy and the Balkans, although its origin and subsequent impact on ceramic production are still debated<sup>28</sup>. The first three conical cups (Fig. 2, no. 3, 4 and 5, the last one being fragmentary preserved) are also identical despite some small dimensional variations, and have the so-called "Attic profile"<sup>29</sup>. The form is also quite common around the Mediterranean in the late Hellenistic times, being encountered from Greece and the Balkans to the Iberian Peninsula. The fragmentary cup no. 5 is inscribed with the Greek letters  $\pi\epsilon$ , representing either an abbreviated name (perhaps of the owner) or an indication of capacity or weight, the latter hypothesis being the most plausible, although the monetary standard used in this case remains unknown<sup>30</sup>. The next two conical cups (Fig. 2, no. 6 and 7), richly decorated on the rim and the upper half, seem to form a distinct pair, but some decorative details slightly differentiate them. Their morphology is less common and is probably inspired by earlier eastern Mediterranean or northern Balkans prototypes like those from the Rogozen hoard, whereas the decorative elements represent specific interpretations of certain southern motifs. Summarising these observations, it has to be noted that this apparently uniform group of vessels is in fact composed of three sub-groups, each having morphological, decorative and even manufacturing characteristics indicating that they may have different origins in the eastern Mediterranean or in the Balkans.

Similar sub-groups can be also noted amongst the two-handled goblets or kantharoi. The vessel no. 9 (Fig. 3) has no pair within the assemblage and displays distinct morphological and manufacturing features that resemble the Late Republican metal vessels produced in Italic workshops<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> See note 25; for ceramic examples see the comments and further bibliography in Rotroff 1982, 6-9; 2006, 367-376; Kiely/Perna 2010, 96-97 etc.

<sup>29</sup> Py 1993, 132.

<sup>30</sup> See other examples in Venedikov 1961; 358-362; Theodossiev 1991, 44-45; Zournatzi 2000; Spânu 2002, 117; 2012b, 92.

<sup>31</sup> See for example the handle fittings of certain types of situlae (Bolla 1991, 16-17) and beakers (Boube 1991, 25-28 and 34-37; Feugère 1991, 55-56); see also Piana Agostinetti/Priuli 1985, fig. 1-2 and 6a-b; Piana Agostinetti 1998, 42-44; Spânu 2012a, 74-75.



The next two vessels no. 8 and 15 (Fig. 3) share many morphological details, but the decoration and some relevant manufacturing details related to the foot's shape and base indicate that they might have been made by different craftsmen. In both cases the handles and the general morphology seem to suggest a Mediterranean (perhaps Italic) prototype<sup>32</sup>, albeit the vessels themselves might have been made elsewhere, more likely in the northern Balkans or the lower Danube region.

The goblet no. 14 (Fig. 3), richly decorated with vegetal details and having a larger foot base, also has no pair in the assemblage. The morphological and manufacturing details suggest that the craftsman who made it was perhaps trained in a Greek centre from the eastern Mediterranean, or more likely in a workshop from the northern Balkans working in the late Hellenistic tradition. Furthermore, some nearly identical silver goblet bases have been found in the inventory of a workshop at Surcea, not far from Sâncrăieni, indicating that an itinerant specialised craftsman might have worked in the region<sup>33</sup>.

Lastly, the vessels no 10, 11, 12 and 13 (Fig. 4) are fairly similar, displaying nearly identical morphological, decorative and manufacturing details that seem to be local interpretations of certain Hellenistic elements (for example the use of the so-called "Herakles knot" on handles or the imbricate-leaf decoration on the cup)<sup>34</sup>. These features may suggest that the vessels were made in the same workshop, very probably in the northern Balkans or the lower Danube region, although the activity of an itinerant specialised craftsman in Transylvania cannot be excluded, given that some morphological and manufacturing elements resemble those of the kantharos no. 14. The manner in which the decorative elements were combined on these cups resembles the ornamentation of the Hellenistic ceramic hemispherical cups, especially of the Athenian and Corinthian ones, and it has been suggested, due to some technological details, that these kantharoi might have been manufactured by adding feet and handles to some silver hemispherical cups<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Oliver 1965, 179, fig. 1; Piana Agostinetti/Priuli 1985, fig. 6a (grave XXXV at Ancona); Piana Agostinetti 1998, 42-44, fig. 4; Painter 2001, 58-60; Spânu 2012a, 75.

<sup>33</sup> Fettich 1953, 128-132; Székely 1954, 5-14.

<sup>34</sup> According to Athenaeus (XI, 500a), the vessels decorated with the "Herakles knot" were known as σκύφοι Ἡρακλεωτικοί; the motif was used as a good-luck symbol on Classical and Hellenistic ceramic *skyphoi* and *kantharoi*, on metal vessels and jewellery (Treister 1996, 211; Rotroff 1997, 89, n. 21, with further bibliography). For the imbricate-leaf motif see Rotroff 1982, 16-17.

<sup>35</sup> Spânu 2012a, 76-77; 2012b, 84.

In conclusion the assemblage of silver vessels from Sâncrăieni is not a unitary drinking set, nor two such sets presumably imitating the late Hellenistic ones, but is an accumulation of vessels having different morphologies and origins<sup>36</sup>. The structure of the assemblage of silverware is very different from that of other contemporaneous hoards containing vessels discovered northward the Danube (Fig. 6). For example at Lupu the set of jewellery and decorated phalerae is accompanied by a silver hemispherical cup and a bronze beaker of the Gallarate type<sup>37</sup>, whereas at Herăstrău the silver conical cup was found together with a late Republican bronze situla of the Eggers 21-22 type<sup>38</sup> and a jewellery set.

Southward the Danube the situation is slightly different and only at Jakimovo the vessels are accompanied by a pair of silver spiral bracelets. The hoard contains four silver conical cups and two kantharoi (one fragmentary preserved), as well as three fragmentary late Republican bronze vessels: a situla of the Costești-Tilișca type<sup>39</sup>, a strainer and a pseudo-skyphos made by a local craftsman who transformed a beaker probably of the Gallarate type<sup>40</sup>. On the other hand the deposit of vessels discovered at Bohot, also in Bulgaria, consists of a bronze situla of the Eggers 20 type<sup>41</sup> and nine silver conical cups, whereas from the incompletely recovered hoard from Sindel, near Varna<sup>42</sup>, which presumably included at least ten items, only four silver conical cups are preserved. The silver vessels from Bohot and Sindel are inscribed with Greek letters indicating their weight, with the exception of two cases from the first site in which the name probably of the owner – Pastrokos – is also incised<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> While analysing the handles, cups and foot-bases of the *kantharoi* from Sâncrăieni, Spânu (2012a, 76-78) considers that the vessel no. 9 (in the present numbering) is a Mediterranean product (probably Italic), while the remaining vessels were made in a local (“Barbarian”) workshop by at least two craftsmen belonging to two successive generations.

<sup>37</sup> For the type see Boube 1991.

<sup>38</sup> Rustoiu 2005, 57-58.

<sup>39</sup> For the type see Rustoiu 2005, 58-60.

<sup>40</sup> The trace of a heart-shaped handle fitting that was attached to the vessel before its transformation can be still seen on the body (Marazov 1979, 21, fig. 9; Vassilev 1979, 71, fig. 1).

<sup>41</sup> Rustoiu 2005, 56, n. 25.

<sup>42</sup> Sometimes in the specialist literature the findspot is wrongly localised at Varna or Varna-Sindel Railway Station (!?): Spânu 2002, 116-117, 130, fig. 25; Spânu/Cojocaru 2009, 99, fig. 6 etc. In reality the Sindel village, Avren municipality, Varna District, is located at around 30 km south-west of Varna, the hoard being discovered in the area of the railway station. Only three cups are preserved in a museum from Sofia and the fourth one is in the Museum of Varna, whereas other artefacts were lost: Venedikov 1961.

<sup>43</sup> Theodossiev 1991, 44-45.

The functional structure of the hoards discovered southward of the Danube (at least of those from Jakimovo and Bohot) suggests that they are feasting assemblages created through an accumulation of items having different origins, but serving a common purpose. From this point of view they seem to be local adaptations of the late Hellenistic drinking sets, although some features of the Jakimovo hoard also point to certain Italic influences. On the other hand, the accumulation of silverware from Sâncrăieni can be interpreted from a different perspective, taking into consideration the practical and symbolic significance of the Dacian silver jewellery hoards.

### **The significance of the Dacian silver jewellery hoards**

The structural analysis of the Dacian silver jewellery hoards indicates that they consist of sets of garment accessories which technologically and functionally have a unitary character. More precisely they are not simple accumulations of valuable items collected during a given period, as the components seem to have been made in the same time, most probably by a single artisan, and for a single individual<sup>44</sup>; they were later buried together as a set, very probably upon the owner's death<sup>45</sup>.

These sets of garment accessories commonly consist of broches, usually worn as pairs or in combination with others of the same or of a different type, pairs or combinations of different bracelets, as well as neck jewellery (chains and rigid necklaces of the torques type, sometimes more than one in the latter case), and rarely hair ornaments. Some of the ring-shaped ornaments might have been used as anklets, as it had happened in the Central European LT area. This particular compositional and functional structure indicates that the owners were women<sup>46</sup>. It is also important to note that garment accessories that are typologically similar to those included in the aforementioned silver jewellery sets are absent (with a few small exceptions)<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> The single exception is the hoard from Sărăcsău, which contains two costumes (see further comments in Medeleţ 1994, 217).

<sup>45</sup> Medeleţ 1993, 17; 1994, 199 and 216-217.

<sup>46</sup> Horedt 1973; Medeleţ 1993; 1994.

<sup>47</sup> Sirbu/Rustoiu 1999; Rustoiu 2002; 2005; Luczkiewicz/Schönfelder 2008. Amongst the exceptions can be listed the grave from Dubova, in the Iron Gates region, which contains a silver twisted bracelet typical of the early hoards from Transylvania. Still, the context of discovery is insufficiently known (Rustoiu 2007, 86-87, n. 19). On the other hand this bracelet was found outside its main distribution area, so it may belong to a peripheral phenomenon. The burial from Dubova, known from a long time (see for example Zirra 1976, 179-180, fig. 3, no. 18, and fig. 4/4-5, 9), has been republished in Spănu 2003 as an unknown discovery from the Iron Gates region, the author later providing its correct location (Spănu 2001-2002, but published in 2004). Luczkiewicz/Schönfelder 2008, 187, fig. 23/7 erroneously mention that the bracelet is made of gold.

from the burials containing weaponry and belonging to the Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii group, which was contemporaneous with the horizon of the hoards.

In the early period of the Dacian silver hoards (more precisely in the early and middle horizons) the types of jewellery included in the silver garment sets were never made of common metals like bronze or iron. Thus, it might be presumed that their use was restricted to a certain group within the communities, quite small and having a particular status, and for whom they probably served as identity symbols<sup>48</sup>. Furthermore, these types of jewellery are rarely discovered in settlements, and in such cases they only come from particular contexts<sup>49</sup>. For example a set of brooches with knobs, a rigid necklace and a chain have been found together with half-finished items and silver ingots in the settlement from Tășad, but they belong to the inventory of a jeweller's workshop<sup>50</sup>.

The hoards of silver jewellery were always buried outside the settlements, but regularly close to some fortified centres or fortresses, thus illustrating a particular relationship with the local authority. Their symbolic value and the strong social identification between these sets and the individuals who owned and used them are suggested by the frequent intentional destruction of the inventory before burial (cutting, smashing, tight folding etc). As concerning their contexts of discovery (if this information has been recorded), it has been noted that the hoards were less deeply buried, at 0.30 - 0.67 m (the situations from Lupu and Oradea I are particular)<sup>51</sup>. It is perhaps relevant that a series of Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii group burials from Oltenia and Transylvania have a similar depth range (0.30 - 0.60 m)<sup>52</sup>.

It can be therefore suggested that these silver jewellery sets belonged to some women having a particular status. The feminine characters depicted on a series of phalerae, for example at Lupu, on which the brooches with knobs can be seen<sup>53</sup>, indicate that their status was related to the performing of certain rituals. Furthermore, upon the death of these

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<sup>48</sup> For the ways in which different costumes, garment accessories or jewellery contribute to the construction and expression of individual and group identities within and outside the community see Arnold 2008, 375-379; Rothe 2009, 5-10, with further bibliography. For the methodological and interpretative problem of "gendering" the artefacts in particular archaeological contexts see for example Arnold 1995; Knüsel 2002, 277-279; Diaz-Andreu 2005, 22-25; Péré-Noguès 2008, 152.

<sup>49</sup> Medeleț 1993; 1994.

<sup>50</sup> Chidioșan 1977.

<sup>51</sup> See the statistic in Spănu 2002, 86-87, fig. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, 21-22, 27; Ciugudean/Ciugudean 1993, 77 etc.

<sup>53</sup> Spănu 1996.

priestesses or when their function had ceased, their individualised jewellery sets, which must have been an intrinsic part of a specific ceremonial costume, were destroyed and buried in the vicinity of the communities in which they served as masters of the sacred, perhaps within a formal ceremony. These objects had to be destroyed because they were part of the social persona of the owner, an individual who had exceptional powers and was able to get in contact with the divinity or with other immortal spirits. As a consequence the objects themselves were very probably perceived as having a sacred or even dangerous character for those who were not able to handle them properly<sup>54</sup>.

In this context the presence of metal or ceramic ware is relevant. Some drinking-related vessels (an amphora at Lupu and a kantharos at Jakimovo) are depicted on some phalerae showing feminine characters performing certain rituals, probably divinities or priestesses, which may suggest that they were regularly used in such practices. A few hoards include silver and bronze vessels, for example the aforementioned ones from Lupu and Herăstrău, to which the hoard from Vedeia, containing a late Republican silver beaker, can be added. Other hoards of silver jewellery might have included ceramic drinking-related vessels. However many assemblages were accidentally found, so the associated ceramic containers might have been overlooked by the discoverers due to their non-spectacular nature. Still, in a few cases their presence was noted, for example a ceramic kantharos was identified at Sărăcsău.

### **The significance of the hoard from Sâncrăieni**

Previous analyses of the hoard suggested a connection between its burial and the nearby fortresses from Jigodin, and considered that the vessels belonged to a feasting assemblage amassed by one of the local chieftains, and the deposit might have been a particularly lavish offering<sup>55</sup>. However, similar drinking sets are absent from Transylvania or outside the Carpathians. At the same time its functional structure is different from those of other contemporaneous feasting assemblages identified in the Balkans<sup>56</sup>, Greece<sup>57</sup>, northern Italy<sup>58</sup> or the Scordiscian area<sup>59</sup>, even if some of its composing

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<sup>54</sup> The funerary or votive character of these hoards was already suggested, see Medeleț 1993, 19-20; 1994, 200-201, 219-220; Babeș 2001, 749-750 etc.

<sup>55</sup> Crișan 2000, 69 and 142-143, pl. 119-122, with previous bibliography; Florea 2004, 519; Spănu 2012b, 133-134.

<sup>56</sup> Marazov 2000, 229-260.

<sup>57</sup> For the structural and functional differences between the Archaic, Classical Greek, Macedonian, late Hellenistic, late Republican and early Roman imperial banquet see Dunbabin 2003, 11-24; Vössing 2004; Craven 2007, 7-31.

<sup>58</sup> Piana Agostinetti/Priuli 1985; Bolla 1991; Piana Agostinetti 1998.

elements are also encountered in one or another of the mentioned areas. It might be therefore presumed that its composition reflects some particularities of the local convivial practices, but the unusual combination of cups and kantharoi more likely suggest a multiplication of the typical couple of drinking vessels included in the aforementioned Dacian hoards, which very probably had a ceremonial role.

The key elements in deciphering the significance of the hoard from Sâncrăieni are: its context of discovery, the functional structure of the assemblage and the functional and structural relationships between this hoard and others from the north and the south of the Danube. Starting with the functional structure of the assemblage, it has to be noted that there are four relevant elements: one specific set of garment accessories, the assemblage of different drinking vessels, two coins and a ceramic vessel which was presumably used as a container.

As already mentioned, the ritual-related inventories consisting of a particular costume-set and one or two drinking-related vessels were always made and assembled for a single individual. The structural characteristics of these assemblages, as well as their subsequent treatment, indicate that they were considered part of the social self of the owners and symbols of their identity and function, in the same way in which the sword, or in some cases the entire panoply of arms, is perceived as a symbol of the warrior identity and function<sup>60</sup>. The vessels, always drinking-related, were very probably used in specific rituals that implied the consumption of alcoholic beverages<sup>61</sup>, which have psychoactive properties facilitating the temporary transformation of the self and the subsequent transgression of the initiated individuals from the world of the mortals into another, populated by gods, ancestors or other immortal spirits<sup>62</sup>. As a consequence, the vessels might have been perceived by the community as ritual-bounded instruments, representing the ability of the owners to communicate with the divine, so

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<sup>59</sup> Egri/Rustoiu 2008.

<sup>60</sup> Rustoiu/Berecki 2013, with further bibliography; see also the comments related to the burial of ritualists in Knüsel 2002, 297-298.

<sup>61</sup> Spănu (2012b, 133-135) interprets the presence of vessels as *pars pro toto* of some feasting sets imitating the late Republican wine services even if he acknowledges their occasional depiction on ritual-related scenes. This interpretation is probably based on the presence of some late Republican vessels in these hoards, but it fails to explain why only some categories of vessels are included (cups, beakers, situlae, and always one or two items) while others (for example strainers or ladles) are conspicuously absent, even if the latter forms were sometimes recovered from settlements (see Rustoiu 2005). Thus it is more probably that the local consumers actively selected such vessels according to their own needs, and in these particular contexts these were dictated by ritual prescriptions.

<sup>62</sup> For the ritualized consumption of alcohol see Dietler 2006, 232-237; Steuer 2006, 19-20; Egri 2013b, with further bibliography; see also Marazov 2000, 61-64.

they had to be always destroyed and buried upon their death. The practice was not only meant to protect the sacred objects from being taken over and used by un-initiated people, but also to transfer the material symbols of the priestess personhood into the after-world. The latter meaning corresponds to an important phase of the mortuary ceremonies in which a series of carefully coded practices are designed to facilitate the separation of the deceased from the world of the living and their integration into the after-world by severing the connections established between the deceased as a social person and the community<sup>63</sup>.

It has to be also noted that these particular assemblages were interred in the same period in which the properly set up burials largely disappeared in Dacia<sup>64</sup>. These symbolic burials therefore contain only the material symbols (identity-kits) of these women's status and function, which were more relevant for the community than their corpses, a hypothesis also suggested by the location of these hoards outside the dwelling area of the communities, but closely enough to maintain a symbolic connection. Thus, although the priestesses (or ritualists, as Knüsel has chosen to name them<sup>65</sup>) were physically dead, they continued to be symbolically present in the local collective memory, perhaps as mnemonic means of consecrating a certain location, or to confirm the legitimacy of the community or of the ruler, or to claim certain lands or boundaries as ancestral and protected by supernatural powers<sup>66</sup>.

Returning to the hoard from Sâncrăieni, its composition can be interpreted in two ways, both starting from the fact that a costume-set belonging to a priestess was buried together with other symbols of status (the silver coins) and a certain number of drinking-vessels. Only this unusually large number of vessels differentiates this hoard from others discovered in Dacia (Fig. 6). Other assemblages consisting of a large number of similar vessels are only known from the northern Balkans, but only at Jakimovo they are accompanied by jewellery, which is different from the specific costume-set from Dacia. The hoard from Jakimovo is more likely a drinking set of late Hellenistic inspiration, but having a hybrid character that may illustrate particular local convivial practices. The same can be said about the hoard from Bohot, consisting of nine quasi-similar conical cups and a situla, the latter perhaps fulfilling the role of the krater in which the wine was mixed with water and spices in the Greek manner, although other related items are missing.

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<sup>63</sup> Hertz 2004; see also Hamilakis 1998, 115-122; Williams 2004, 422-423.

<sup>64</sup> Babeş 1988; Popa 2013; a theoretical approach in Egri 2012, 507-509.

<sup>65</sup> Knüsel 2002, 275-277.

<sup>66</sup> For the use of burials as symbolic landmarks contributing to the creation of localised narratives see Egri 2012, 516-517, with further bibliography.

The presence of an unusually large number of vessels at Sâncrăieni may have two possible explanations. One hypothesis is that the costume-set was accompanied by several drinking vessels accumulated through time and considered either an integral part of the social function, status and identity of the owner, thus justifying their burial, or the material expression of the religious devotion of those who commemorated the deceased priestess in this way. In both cases the community might have believed in an afterlife in which the spirits of the deceased participated in feasting ceremonies. A certain influence coming from the Mediterranean perhaps through the mediation of the Balkans communities, including the use of kantharoi – a form which is missing in Transylvania in this period – can also be presumed. However, there is no other comparable archaeological context and the way in which the drinking vessels were treated in the interring ritual cannot be easily connected with feasting.

Another hypothesis is based on the quite heteroclit character of the assemblage of vessels. Some of them are singular, while others form pairs or even a triplet. These groupings are more consistent with the number of drinking vessels (one or two) regularly accompanying the ritual costume-sets. Since they also have different shapes, decorations and origins, it might be possible that they were brought over by several individuals as offerings upon the death of an important priestess. There are no analogies for this practice in Transylvania, but two examples from two different areas are illustrative.

An interesting funerary inventory comes from the grave of a woman discovered at Csobaj in Hungary<sup>67</sup>, which contains 15 ceramic vessels (Fig. 7), including a kantharos having the handles decorated with ram heads – a vessel which was only used by certain individuals and was always buried with the owner<sup>68</sup>. A large number of ceramic finds is less frequently found in funerary contexts from the Carpathian Basin during the LT C1, while the morphological and functional structure of the assemblage is rather unusual. Aside from the kantharos, its range of forms includes another drinking vessel and a deep bowl, as well as six ceramic pairs, each consisting of a tall bi-truncated vessel and a bowl. These pairs are not identical, each vessel being slightly different, although all of the tall bi-truncated vessels and all bowls obviously belong to the same functional groups respectively. More than that, one of these pairs consists of hand-made vessels of indigenous origin. The entire ceramic assemblage might have been used for the funerary feast, or as a sign of conspicuous

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<sup>67</sup> Hellebrandt 1989.

<sup>68</sup> Rustoiu/Egri 2011, 73-75.



consumption, a quite common marker of a higher social status. On the other hand the pairs of vessels might have been used as containers for offerings of food and beverage perhaps brought to the grave by six different mourners, each of them using a (standard?) ceramic "set" having the same functionality but being morphologically slightly different. The remaining tableware (consisting of three vessels) was probably destined to the individual use of the deceased in the afterlife.

A nearly similar practice was already suggested in the case of the late Iron Age – early Roman cemetery at King Harry Lane, Verulamium (St. Albans, England). The large number of ceramic vessels encountered in certain burials has not been interpreted as a marker of the wealth of the deceased or of the family, but an indication of the size and strength of their social network<sup>69</sup>.

In both situations presented above, those who made such offerings could have been members of the family, clients, friends or any other individual closely connected with the deceased or with his/her social group, while the motivations and beliefs which generated this practice might have differed from one community to another. They were a form of commemorative practice which sought to restore the social connections between the participants while facilitating the separation of the deceased's persona from the social body.

It might be therefore presumed that the assemblage of silver drinking vessels from Sâncrăieni consists of items which were relevant for the social function, status and identity of a priestess, being similar with those used in the rituals. The vessels were selected, brought over and offered by a number of individuals as part of a ritual of separation in which the material symbols related to the social self of the priestess were buried in order to be transferred into another world. It is rather difficult to say how these vessels were used within the interring ritual, or if this was a convivial practice of commemorative nature in which the participants consumed alcoholic beverages. The participating individuals must have had access to such goods, but they were less likely priestesses themselves; equally they might have shared a particular social status or function with the owner. Why this priestess was honoured in such an outstanding manner – this is still an open question, albeit the trans-regional importance of the Jigodin area might have played an important role.

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<sup>69</sup> Millett 1993, 267 and 275-276; see also Brun 2004, 58-60.

**List 1. Hoards containing late LT brooches and bracelets made of silver rods. See Table 1.**

1. Bistrița: Fettich 1953, 152-155, Fig. 20-21, Pl. 23.
2. Cehei: Chirilă/Matei 1986; Pop 2008, 43-45.
3. Cehețel: Székely 1965, 51-58.
4. Coldău: Fettich 1953, 157-160, Fig. 23.
5. Ghelința: Fettich 1953, 156-157, Pl. 28, 29/2, 30/1.
6. Mediaș: Mărghitan 1976, 35-36.
7. Săcălășău 1: Fettich 1953, 160-161, Fig. 24.
8. Săcălășău (Nou) 2: Dumitrașcu/Molnar 1975.
9. Sărmășag: Glodariu 1968; Pop 2008, 62-66.
10. Slimnic: Popescu 1945-1947, 51-54; Mărghitan 1976, 52-53.

**List 2. Hoards, workshops and graves containing metal or ceramic vessels. See Table 2.**

1. Bohot: Venedikov 1961, 355-358; L'or des cavaliers Thraces 1987, no. 484-493.
2. București-Herăstrău: Popescu 1945-1947; Spănu/Cojocar 2009.
3. Doirentsi: Bergquist/Taylor 1987, 18-19.
4. Jakimovo: Milčev 1973; Marazov 1979.
5. Lupu: Glodariu/Moga 1994.
6. Sărăcsău: Floca 1956, 7-18.
7. Sindel: Venedikov 1961, 358-364.
8. Surcea: Fettich 1953, 128-132.
9. Vedea: Popescu 1937-1940.

**List 3. Silver hemispherical and conical cups and *kantharoi* in the northern Balkans and Transylvania. See Table 2 and Fig. 6.**

Romania

1. București - Herăstrău (1 cup): Popescu 1945-1947; Spănu/Cojocar 2009.
2. Lupu (1 cup): Glodariu/Moga 1994.
3. Marca (jewellery and 1 cup?): Horedt 1973, no. 32; Pop 2008, 48.
4. Sâncrăieni (7 cups and 8 kantharoi).
5. Surcea (workshop; 4 foot-bases of kantharoi): Fettich 1953, 128-132.
6. Turnu Severin (2 cups): Popescu 1958, 186.

Bulgaria

7. Bohot (9 cups): Venedikov 1961, 355-358; L'or des cavaliers Thraces 1987, no. 484-493.
8. Doirentsi (1 kantharos): Bergquist/Taylor 1987, 18-19.
9. Jakimovo (4 cups and 2 kantharoi): Milčev 1973; Marazov 1979.
10. Sindel (10 cups): Venedikov 1961, 358-364.

**List of illustrations**

Fig. 1. The geographic and archaeological environment of the hoard from Sâncrăieni. Dacian fortresses (yellow dots): 1. Jigodin I; 2. Jigodin II; 3. Jigodin III; 4. Lelicieni. 5. Andesite quarry at Sâncrăieni (red dot).

Fig. 2. Sâncrăieni – silver hemispherical and conical cups no. 1-7 (after Popescu 1958).

Fig. 3. Sâncrăieni – silver kantharoi no. 8-9 and 14-15 (after Popescu 1958).

Fig. 4. Sâncrăieni – silver kantharoi no. 10-13 (after Popescu 1958).

Fig. 5. Sâncrăieni – silver jewellery from the hoard (after Popescu 1958).

Fig. 6. Distribution of the silver cups and kantharoi northward and southward of the Danube.

Fig. 7. Ceramic inventory from the grave at Csobaj (after Hellebrandt 1989 and Rustoiu/Egri 2011).

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Hoard	Brooches with knobs (Type A1)	Late LT brooches (Type A2a)	Bracelets made of silver rods (Type D1a-b, D2)	Other types of bracelets made of silver rods (D3-4)	Chains (Type B1-2)	Torques (Type C)	Silver simple spirals (Type D5a)	Silver spirals with stamped palmettes (D5c)	Coins	Horizon
Horedt 1973										
Sâncrăeni		1	2						Dy; Th	Horizon 1
Cehei	1		3		1				Dy	
Săcălășău 1	?		1						Ap; Dy	
Săcălășău 2	4?		1							
Slimnic			1			1	3			
Sărmășag	2	1	2	2		3	1			
Cehețel	4	2	3			3	2			
Bistrița	2	1		2						
Mediaș	1	1			1	1				
Ghelița		3			1			1		Horizon 2
Coldău		1		1				1		

Hoard, workshop deposit and grave from northward and southward of the Danube	Brooches with knobs	Late LT brooches	Shield brooch (Type A3a-b)	Spoon brooch (Type A4a-c)	Bracelets made of silver rod	Other types of bracelets made of silver rods	Chains	Torques	Simple silver spirals	Coins	Hemispherical/conical cups	Kantharoi	Late Republican bronze vessels	Local ceramic vessels	Phalerae
Sâncrăieni		1			2					Dy; Th	7	8			
Lupu	2										1		1		7
Sărăcsău	5+3					2+2		3						1	
Herăstrău						2?	1		2	Th	1		1		2
Vedea			2	2			2						1(ag)		
Surcea												4			2
Jakimovo									2		4	2	3		2
Bohot											9		1		
Sindel											10				
Dojreniți												1?	1?		

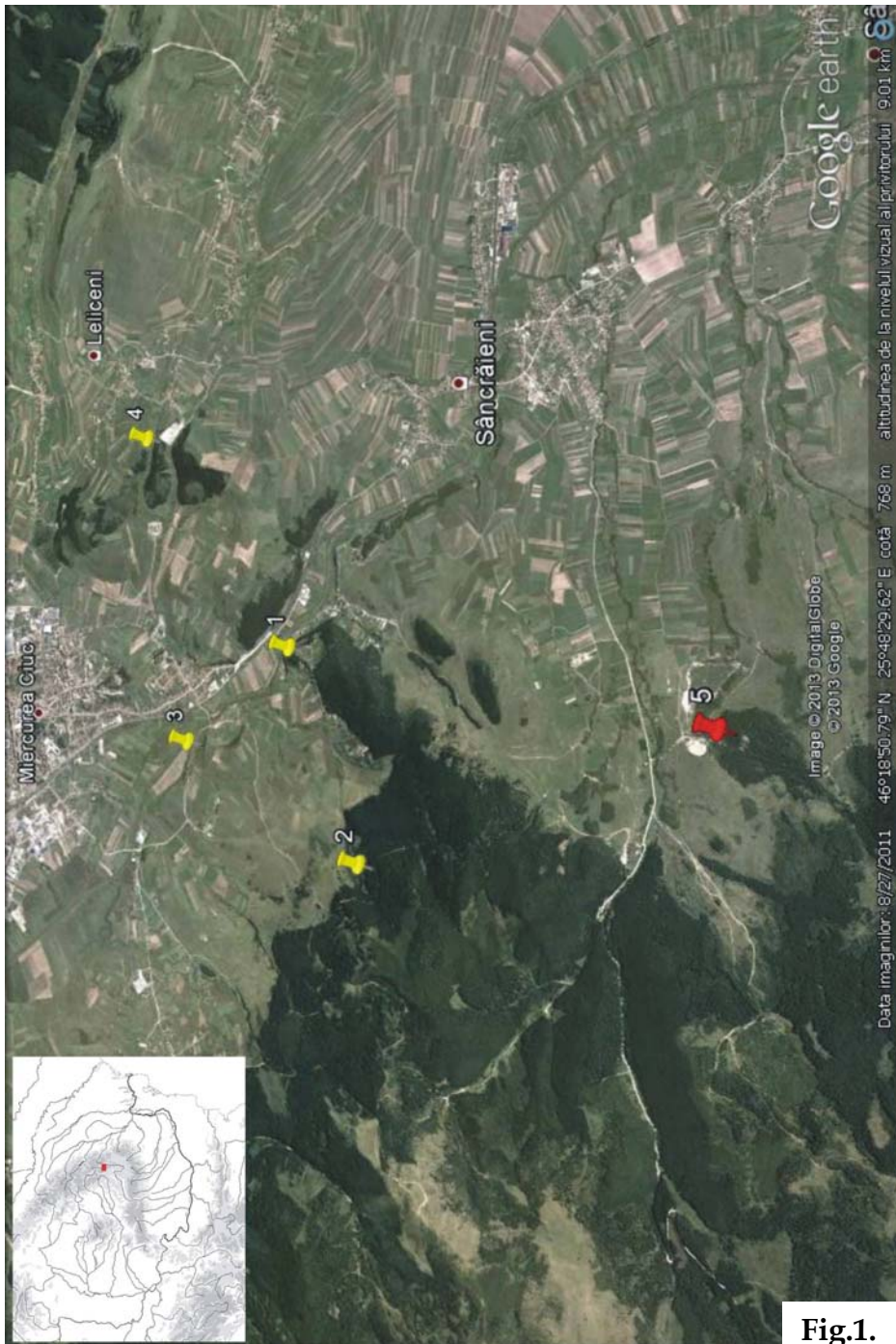
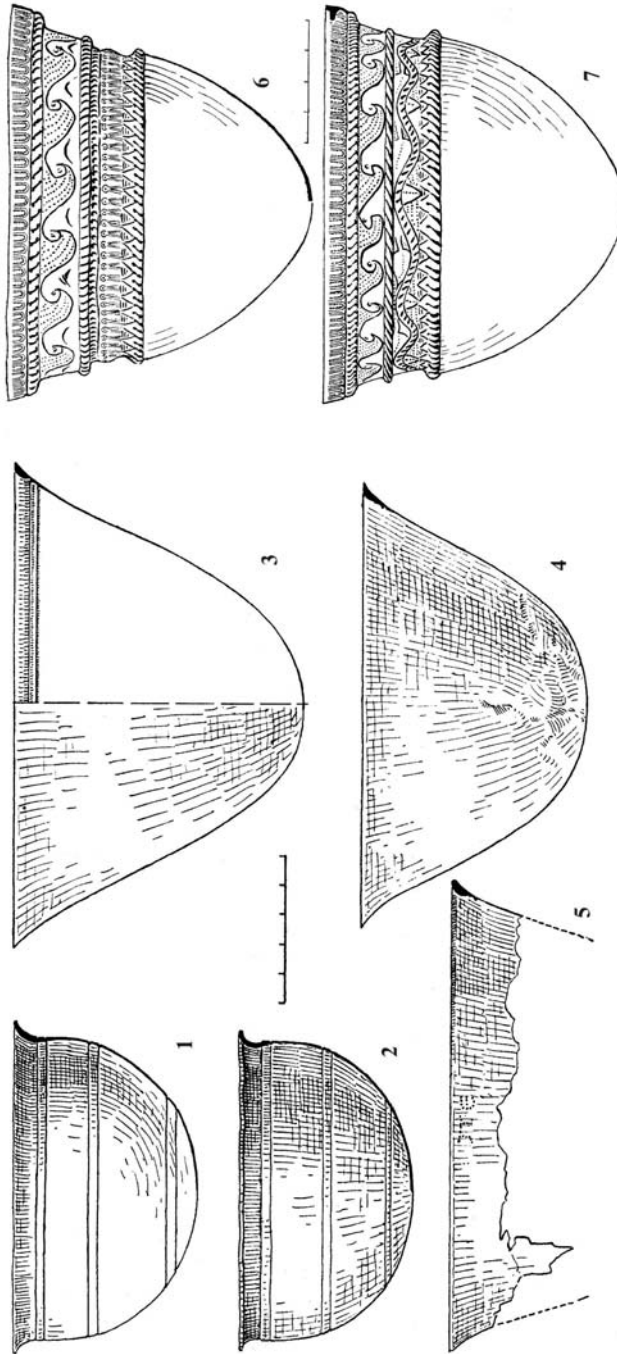


Fig.1.



**Fig.2.**

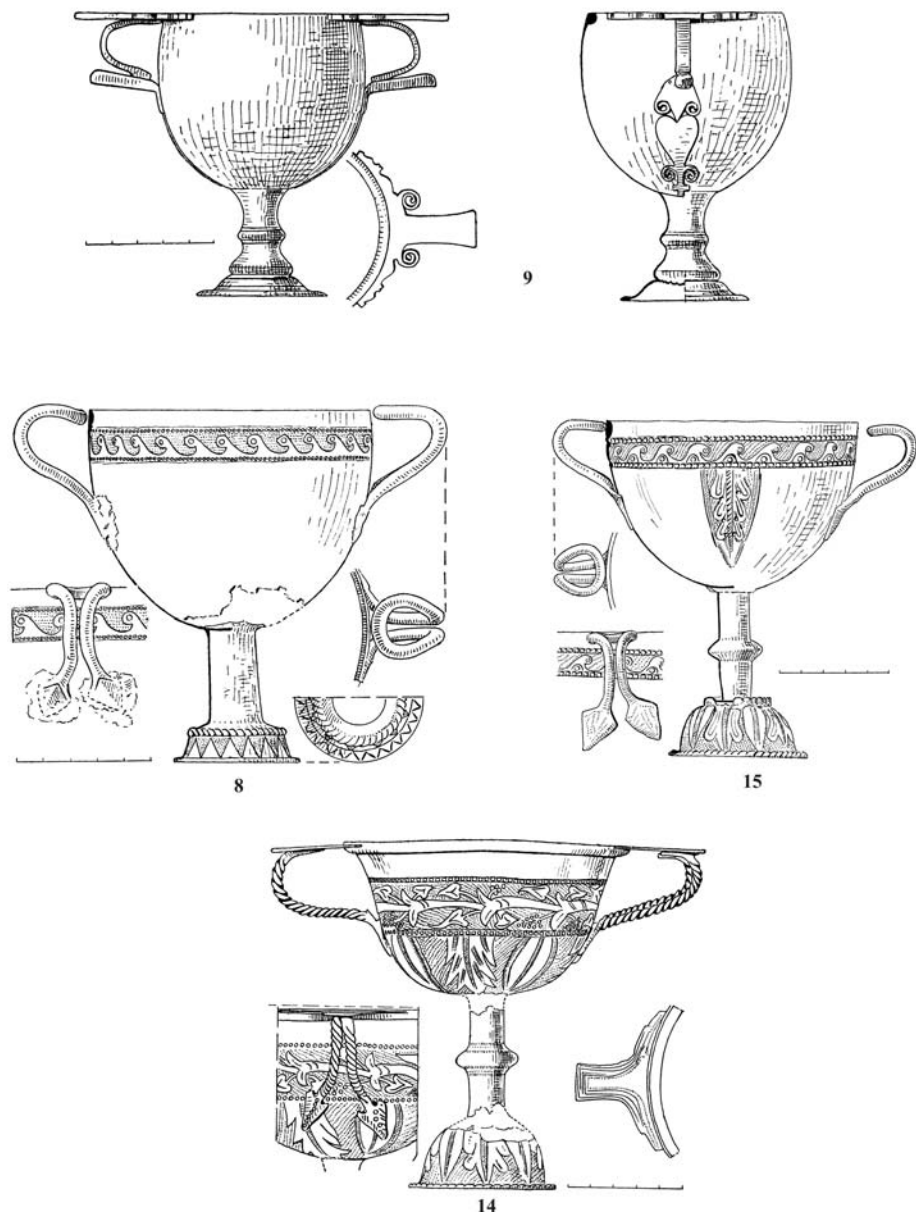


Fig.3.



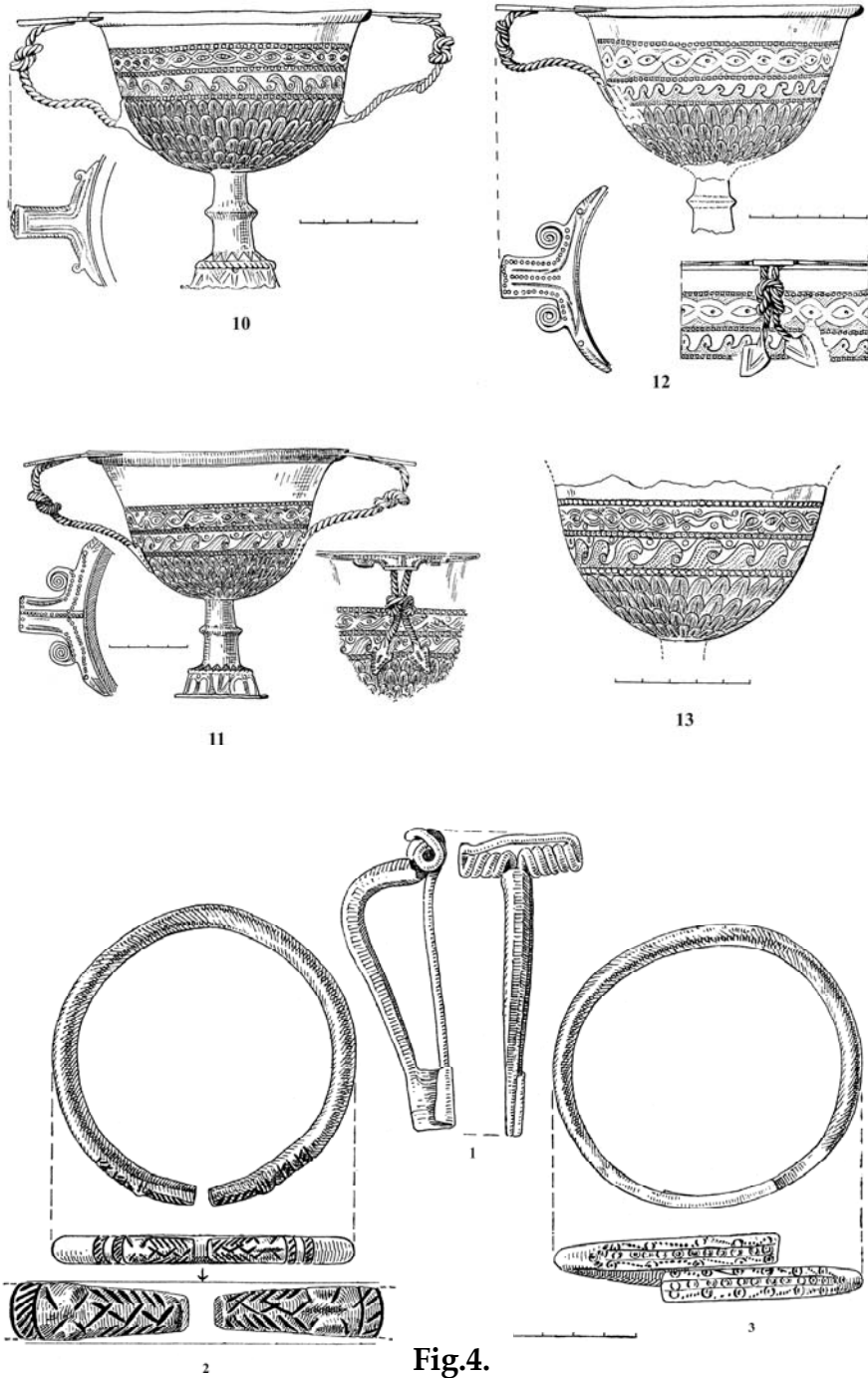


Fig.4.

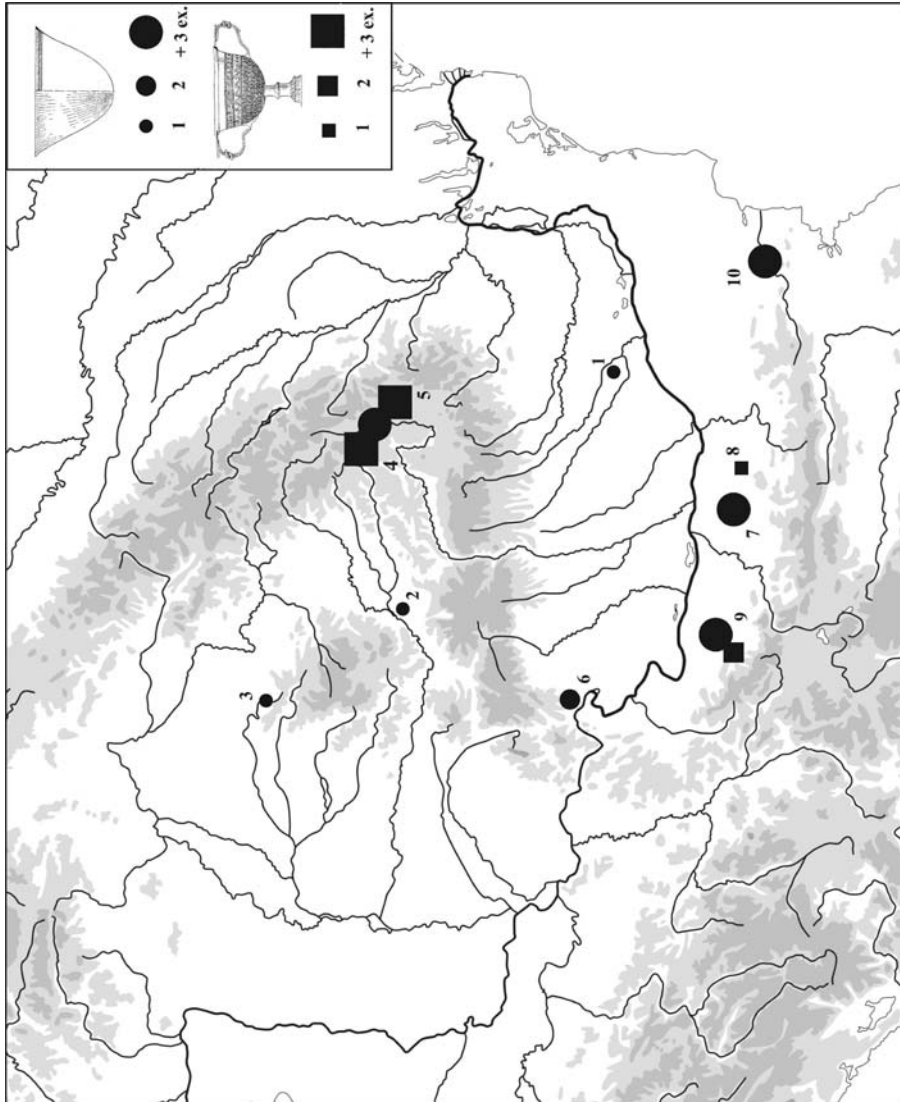
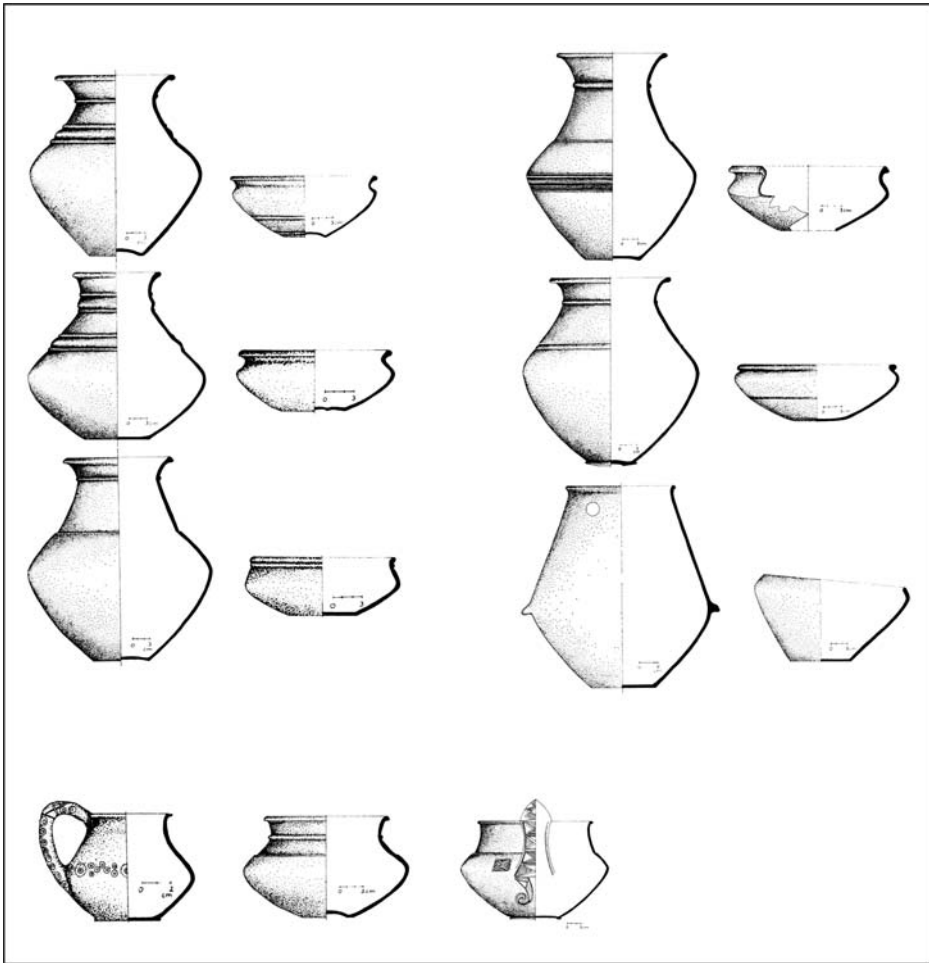


Fig.5.

**Fig.6.**

# Bankette für Liber Pater in Apulum

Manuel FIEDLER

*Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

**Abstract: Banquets for Liber Pater at Apulum.** The paper examines four pits filled with large amounts of ceramics, discovered in the sanctuary of Liber Pater at Apulum (Dacia) and dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The examination of the finds showed that the ceramic material, which reached the pits as refuse, presents a large number of special forms and as such must be connected to the cult rituals held in the sanctuary. Furthermore, small or large groups of (mostly deliberately destroyed) pots testify that people used the pits to put their offerings here into the ground as well.

**Key words:** banquet, Liber Pater, Apulum, ceramics, ritual.

**Rezumat: Banchete pentru Liber Pater la Apulum.** Articolul examinează patru gropi cuprinzând mari cantități de ceramică, descoperite în sanctuarul lui Liber Pater de la Apulum și datate în prima jumătate a secolului III p. Chr. Analiza descoperirilor arată că materialul ceramic ajuns în gropi ca deșeuri prezintă un mare număr de forme speciale și ca atare trebuie pus în legătură cu ritualurile de cult practicate în sanctuar. Zeul vinului, Liber Pater, era cinstit de comunitatea de cult cu banchete festive; resturile abundente ale vaselor folosite cu aceste prilejuri erau apoi aruncate în aceste gropi.

**Cuvinte cheie:** banchet, Liber Pater, Apulum, ceramică, ritual.

Im Liber Pater-Heiligtum von Apulum<sup>1</sup> wurden vier Gruben aus der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. n. Chr. entdeckt (Abb. 1), die mit gewaltigen Mengen an Keramik verfüllt waren. Die ausgezeichnete Befundsituation bot die Gelegenheit zu überprüfen, ob sich anhand des Keramikmaterials Rückschlüsse auf die im Kultbezirk stattgefundenen Ereignisse ergeben würden. Mit der Analyse der Keramik war also das Ziel verknüpft, die Vorgänge, die mit dem Verfüllen der Gruben einhergingen, zu rekonstruieren und konkrete Anhaltspunkte zu Ritualen und Geschehnissen im Liber Pater-Heiligtum zu gewinnen.

Die Gruben wurden aus zwei Gründen angelegt: Einerseits hatte man hier Opfer in den Gruben niedergelegt, andererseits wurden die Gruben zur Entsorgung von Abfall genutzt. Im folgenden sollen die ablesbaren Vorgänge kurz skizziert und repräsentative Keramik vorgestellt werden<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Zu den Grabungen zwischen 1997 und 2003: Diaconescu/Haynes/Schäfer 1999; 2005; 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. auch Fiedler 2005; Fiedler/Höpken 2004; 2007a; 2007b.

Zwei Gruben hatte man nach- und nebeneinander seitlich eines mutmaßlichen Versammlungssaales eingetieft (Abb. 1)<sup>3</sup>. Sie besaßen enorme Ausmaße von 6,50 m Länge, 4 m Breite und 1,50 Tiefe (Grube 1 bzw. Grube A<sup>4</sup>) bzw. 6,50 m Länge, 5,50 m Breite und 1,50 Tiefe (Grube 2 bzw. Grube B). Wesentlich kleiner fiel eine dritte Grube neben dem Eingang eines kleinen Kultraumes im Nordwesten des Grabungsareals mit 1 m Durchmesser und 0,50 m Tiefe aus, und im Vorraum des Versammlungssaales war eine vierte, allerdings schlecht erhaltene Grube von 2 m Länge, 1,50 m Breite und 0,50 m erhaltener Tiefe angelegt. Wie die Grabungen zeigen konnten, hatten die beiden großen Gruben Treppen an ihren Schmalseiten und waren begehbar<sup>5</sup>.

Zwei Arten von Deponierungen können unterschieden werden. Die eine hängt mit Opferhandlungen, die in der Grube stattfanden, zusammen: Am Boden von Grube 1 wurde eine umfangreiche Ansammlung von Gefäßen entdeckt (Abb. 2), die zu einem einheitlichen Zeitpunkt unter Selektion bestimmter Gefäßformen niedergelegt worden waren. Über 150 Exemplare umfaßt das Ensemble. Augenscheinlich wurden hierfür wenig qualitätvolle Stücke verwendet, bei denen an Details, etwa nicht exakt versäuberten Kanten an den Böden (Abb. 3) und frischen Abdrehspuren, abzulesen ist, daß sie nur kurze Zeit in Gebrauch waren. Vielleicht ließ man sie auch eigens für den Zweck der Niederlegung produzieren. Eine bestimmte Schüsselform einheitlicher Größe sowie Teller einheitlicher Form, aber unterschiedlicher Größen, wurden niedergelegt (Abb. 4). Eine wichtige Handlung bei der Niederlegung konnte während der Grabung erkannt werden: Die Stücke wurden mit faustgroßen Steinen und Doliumscherben intentionell zerbrochen, offensichtlich um sie unwiederbringlich darzubieten. Die Gabe verließ damit endgültig die menschliche Sphäre und konnte nicht mehr in den menschlichen Gebrauch zurückkehren. Die Steine und Dolienfragmente waren in diese Handlung offensichtlich so sehr eingebunden, daß sie beim Geschirr liegen blieben. Neben den Schüsseln und Tellern traten verschiedene Miniaturgefäße, wie Miniaturspardosen<sup>6</sup>, Teller und Schälchen auf, die z. T. ‚manipuliert‘ waren, indem man beispielsweise die Ränder sorgfältig abgetrennt hatte. Insgesamt kann davon ausgegangen werden, daß die Keramik nur das Behältnis für die

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<sup>3</sup> Die Gruben wurden in ältere Schichten eingetieft. Zuvor hatten Töpfer ihr Handwerk auf dem Grundstück betrieben und Töpfereschutt hinterlassen. Auf die Verfüllung der Gruben hatte das nur geringen Einfluß, denn nur wenige Töpferfunde (wie Fehlbrände) wurden in den Gruben entdeckt. Zu den Töpferkomplexen s. Ciausescu 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Schäfer 2008, 179-184.

<sup>5</sup> Schäfer 2008, 183.

<sup>6</sup> Fiedler/Höpken 2007b.

eigentliche Gabe war, bei der es sich wohl um Naturalien handelte. Spuren solcher Naturalien erbrachte die archäobotanische Analyse: Mehrfach ließen sich beispielsweise Kerne von Weintrauben nachweisen<sup>7</sup>.

Solche massenhaften Niederlegungen sind ein Charakteristikum von Grube 1; man wird sich vorstellen können, daß sie zu einem einheitlichen Zeitpunkt unter Beteiligung zahlreicher Votanten stattfanden. In Grube 2 traten hingegen mehrfach vereinzelt ‚Keramikgruppen‘ auf, wie ein Paar von Miniaturspardosen oder eine Gruppe dreier Gefäße (Abb. 5), bei der zwei kleinere Schüsseln eine größere Schüssel abdeckten. Ob ein gut erhaltenes Gesichtsgefäß (Abb. 6), bei dem in typologischer Hinsicht ein Räucherkelch mit einem Gesichtsbecher kombiniert ist, als eine solche Niederlegung oder als Abfall in die Grube geraten war, läßt sich nicht mehr rekonstruieren. In Grube 3 deckten zwei Räucherkelche mit abgetrenntem Rand und Boden (Abb. 7), die man kopfüber auf den Grubenboden gesetzt hatte, zahlreiche Eierschalen ab<sup>8</sup>; offensichtlich handelt es sich um ein ‚nach unten‘ gerichtetes Opfer mit chthonischem Hintergrund. Diese Kleingruppen sind im Gegensatz zu der massenhaften Niederlegung als Äußerung einzelner Votanten zu verstehen.

Die zweite Art der Deponierung hatte einen anderen Hintergrund: Jeweils wurden große Mengen an zerbrochenem, unvollständig überlieferten Gefäßen in die Gruben gegeben, an denen sich ablesen ließ, daß es sich um Überreste gebrauchten Geschirrs handelt. Gebrauchsspuren sind charakteristisch an diesen Stücken, beispielsweise Messerspuren an Tellern oder Rußspuren an Töpfen, Pfannen oder Untersetzern<sup>9</sup>. An einigen Räucherkelchen wurde der charakteristische weiße Überzug mehrfach erneuert (Abb. 8), wie an mehreren Lagen des Überzugs zu erkennen ist, weshalb solche Stücke wohl lange in Gebrauch waren und von Zeit zu Zeit ‚restauriert‘ wurden.

In Grube 1 fand sich dieser dicht gepackte Abfall in großen Mengen oberhalb der genannten Gefäßkonzentrationen sowie in den übrigen drei Gruben in allen Verfüllschichten. Hierbei konnten zusammenpassende Fragmente in mehreren Schichten verteilt identifiziert werden, so daß die Verfüllungen der Gruben jeweils in recht schneller Zeit erfolgt sein müssen.

Um Aktivitäten feststellen zu können, mit denen das Geschirr in Funktion stand, wurden die Fundkomplexe statistisch ausgewertet. Da Waren und Formen mit der vorgesehenen Funktion der Gefäße kongruent sind, läßt sich ein gewisser Rahmen ablesen, für welche Zwecke das Geschirr gebraucht wurde.

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<sup>7</sup> Ciută 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Fiedler 2005 114-115 Abb. 13,2.

<sup>9</sup> Fiedler 2005, Abb. 10,7.

Trennt man das Material nach den Hauptwaren in Terra Sigillata, engobierte, tongrundige Keramik und Schwerkeramik, so fällt der stets große Anteil an tongrundigem Geschirr auf, das meist über zwei Drittel des Materials einnimmt. Importkeramik und insbesondere importierte Sigillata ist – wie stets im römischen Dakien – verschwindend gering vertreten, und dies hängt zweifelsfrei mit den langen, kostspieligen Transportwegen von den – im Fall der Sigillaten – hauptsächlich gallischen Produktionszentren zusammen. Die lokal oder regional hergestellte engobierte Keramik trägt meist einen roten Überzug und imitiert zuweilen die Import-Sigillata.

Die tongrundige Keramik läßt sich den Formen nach in relativ einheitliche Tellerformen (Abb. 9 links) und verschiedene Topfformen untergliedern (Abb. 9 rechts). Hinzukommen vereinzelt Sonderformen, wie z.B. Dreifuß-Untersetzer. Charakteristisch sind Spuren des Gebrauchs. Häufige Rußspuren an Töpfen und Pfannen verraten die Verwendung der Stücke als Kochgerät, und entsprechend darf rekonstruiert werden, dass vor Ort gekocht und gebraten wurde, oder zumindest die andernorts zubereitete Speise mitsamt der Gerätschaften in das Heiligtum transferiert wurde. Jedenfalls spielten Speisen sicherlich eine bedeutende Rolle im Liber Pater-Heiligtum.

Die engobierte Keramik (Abb. 10) umfaßt hauptsächlich Teller, Schüsseln, Krüge, Näpfe und Becher verschiedener Formen. Wiederum kommen einige Sonderformen hinzu, wie ovale Platten<sup>10</sup>, Waschbecken oder Siebheber, mit dem Wein aus einem Mischgefäß entnommen werden konnte<sup>11</sup>. Einige *paterae* sind ebenfalls zu nennen, ein Fragment davon mit Darstellung einer Minervabüste<sup>12</sup>. Die engobierte Keramik deckt also das Tafelgeschirr zum Essen und Trinken ab. Eine repräsentative Ausstattung bezeugen dabei die Servierplatten, Waschbecken und Siebheber. Die üblichen Trinkbecher sind relativ selten vertreten; einige Exemplare ahmen Becherformen nach, die von Gläsern her bekannt sind, und vereinzelt imitieren Dekore an Keramikbechern typische Glasverzierungen, wie z.B. Glasschliff. Der Anteil an Trinkgeschirr vermehrt sich erheblich, wenn die zahlreichen Glasbecher mit einbezogen werden<sup>13</sup>.

Daß wir es hier nicht mit üblichen Haushaltsabfällen zu tun haben, sondern das Kochen, Speisen und Trinken einen kultischen Hintergrund hatte, wird durch zahlreiche Gefäße dokumentiert, die der üblicherweise so bezeichneten ‚Kultkeramik‘ angehören. An erster Stelle stehen hier die

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<sup>10</sup> Fiedler 2005, 107 Abb. 9,9.

<sup>11</sup> Höpken/Fiedler 2006.

<sup>12</sup> S. schon Rusu-Bolindeţ 1997.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. Höpken/Fiedler 2002.

Räucherkelche, sog. *turibula*<sup>14</sup>. Mit über 160 Exemplaren handelt es sich wohl um die größte Anzahl von Räucherkelchen, die derzeit aus einem römischen Heiligtum bekannt ist. Hierbei können – in Abhängigkeit zur Größe – zwei Grundformen zu unterschieden werden, kleinere ‚Räucherbecher‘ und größere ‚Räucherpokale‘ mit angesetztem Fuß. Sind Räucherkelche üblicherweise etwa 10-15 cm groß, so fällt in Apulum auf, daß weitaus die meisten Stücke aus dem Liber Pater-Heiligtum, 142 Exemplare, größere Dimensionen – einige bis 30 cm Höhe – erreichen können. Ungewöhnlich sind auch ihre Löcher im Kelchboden, die vielleicht mit einer speziellen Funktion im Liber Pater-Kult zusammenhängen. Insgesamt lassen sich neun verschiedene Dekorationsarten ausmachen, von denen einige für Räucherkelche außergewöhnlich sind. So treten beispielsweise Exemplare mit fensterartig durchbrochenen Wandungen oder Stücke mit zinnenartigen Rändern auf, die im übrigen römischen Reich kaum Vergleiche finden. Daß die Räucherkelche in unserem Heiligtum zuweilen lange in Gebrauch standen, wird durch Erneuerung des charakteristischen Kalküberzug verdeutlicht (Abb. 8).

Das Vorkommen von Schlangengefäßen fügt sich in das bekannte Bild des Liber Pater-Kults ein<sup>15</sup>. Wenn sie prozentual gesehen auch nicht besonders häufig erscheinen, weisen einige doch eigenartige Dekore auf. Oft sind Schlangengefäße der Form nach Kratere oder Töpfe; in Apulum kommen eigenartige Buckelgefäße hinzu (Abb. 11): Hier zieren Buckel und Schlangen Kratere, Töpfe und amphorenartige Exemplare<sup>16</sup>.

Schließlich seien als weitere Kult- bzw. Sonderkeramik zu dem schon erwähnten Gesichtsgefäß (Abb. 6) noch weitere in diese Gruppe zugehörige Stücke genannt. Insgesamt blieben Fragmente elf solcher Gefäße erhalten, die drei Formen angehören, Bechern, sowie – ungewöhnlich für Gesichtsgefäße – kleinen und großen kelchartigen Stücken. Bei diesen sind die Unterteile in Form von Kelchen gebildet, die *turibula* ähneln. Bei kleinen Exemplaren entspricht die Fußform der kleinen Ausführung der Räucherkelche.

Der knappe Überblick verdeutlicht, daß das als Abfall in die Gruben geratene Material aufgrund der zahlreichen Sonderformen mit dem vor Ort abgehaltenen Kult in Zusammenhang stehen muß. Liber Pater, den Weingott, verehrte die Kultgemeinschaft offensichtlich mit festlichen Gelagen, von denen die Reste des Geschirrs in reichhaltiger Menge in den Gruben entsorgt wurden.

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<sup>14</sup> Vgl. Fiedler/Höpken 2004.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. Schlangengefäße von Liber Pater-Heiligtümern in Cosa, Sarmizegetusa sowie Darstellung von Liber und Libera auf Schlangengefäß in Porolissum: Collins-Clinton 1977, 80-87 Taf. 18-22 sowie Frontispiz; Alicu 1980, 717-725; Matei 1982,17-22; zu einem Fund der älteren Grabung in Apulum: Rusu-Bolindeţ 1993.

<sup>16</sup> Fiedler 2005, 104-105 Abb. 8,3.



**Abbildungsunterschriften:**

- Abb. 1. Apulum. Das Liber Pater-Heiligtum (nach Schäfer 2008, Abb. 11a).  
 Abb. 2. Apulum. Gefäßkonzentration in Grube 1.  
 Abb. 3. Apulum. Nicht versäuberte Kanten an Kultgeschirr von Grube 1.  
 Abb. 4. Apulum. Schüssel und Teller/Pfanne aus Gefäßkonzentration von Grube 1.  
 Abb. 5. Apulum. Schüsselgruppe aus Grube 2.  
 Abb. 6. Apulum. Gesichtsgefäß aus Grube 2.  
 Abb. 7. Apulum. Auf dem Kopf niedergelegte Räucherkerle, die Eierschalen abdeckten (Grube 3).  
 Abb. 8. Apulum. Räucherkelch, mit sorgfältig abgetrennten Oberteil und mehrfach erneuertem Kalküberzug, aus Grube 2.  
 Abb. 9. Apulum. Tongrundige Keramik (Kochgeschirr).  
 Abb. 10. Apulum. Engobierte Keramik (Eß-, Trink- und Serviergeschirr).  
 Abb. 11. Apulum. Schlangengefäße mit Nuppendekor.

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Abb. 1.

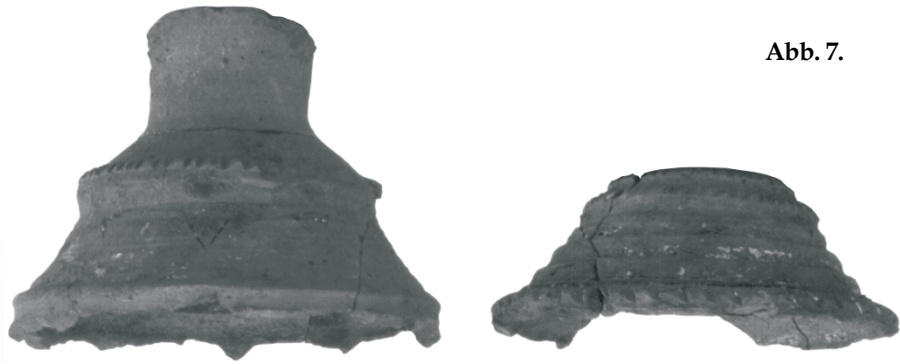


Abb. 2.

**Abb. 3.****Abb. 4.****Abb. 5.**



Abb. 6.

**Abb. 7.****Abb. 8.**

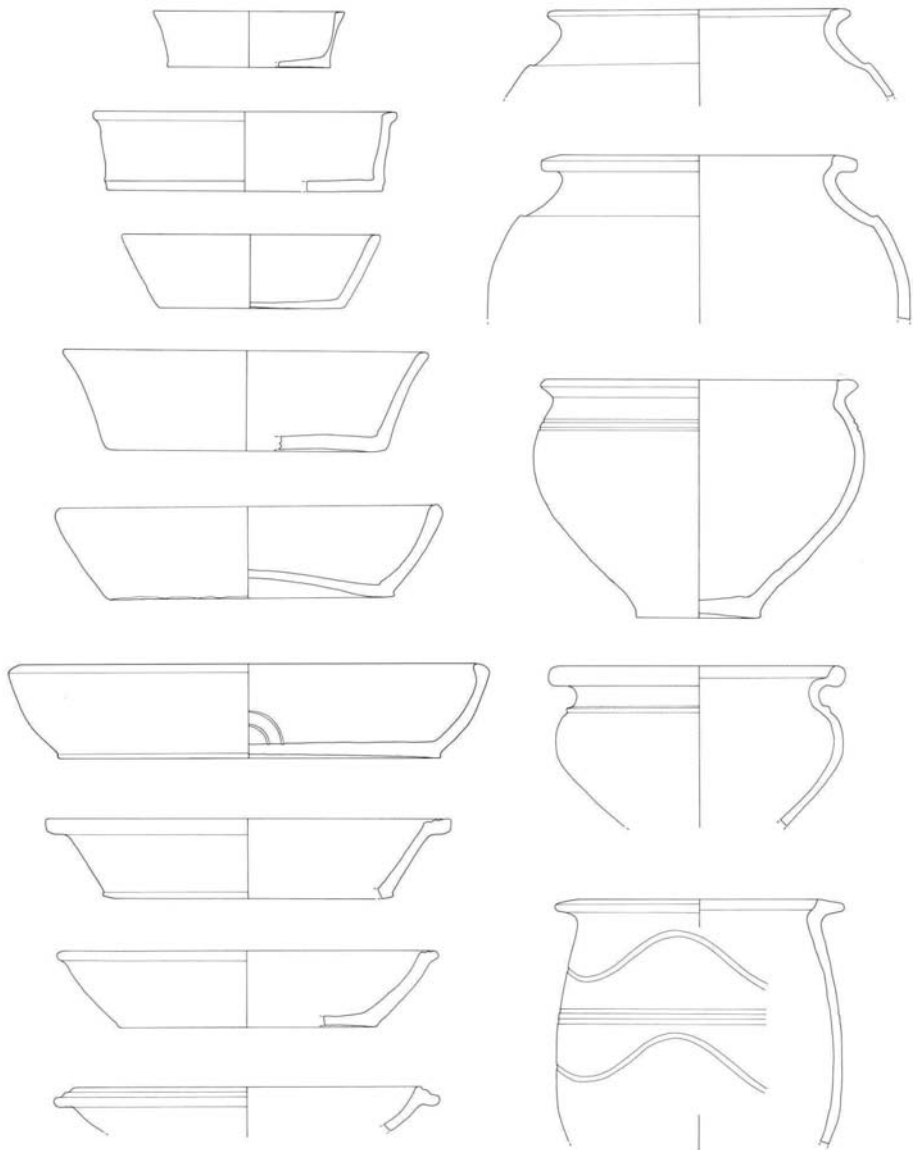
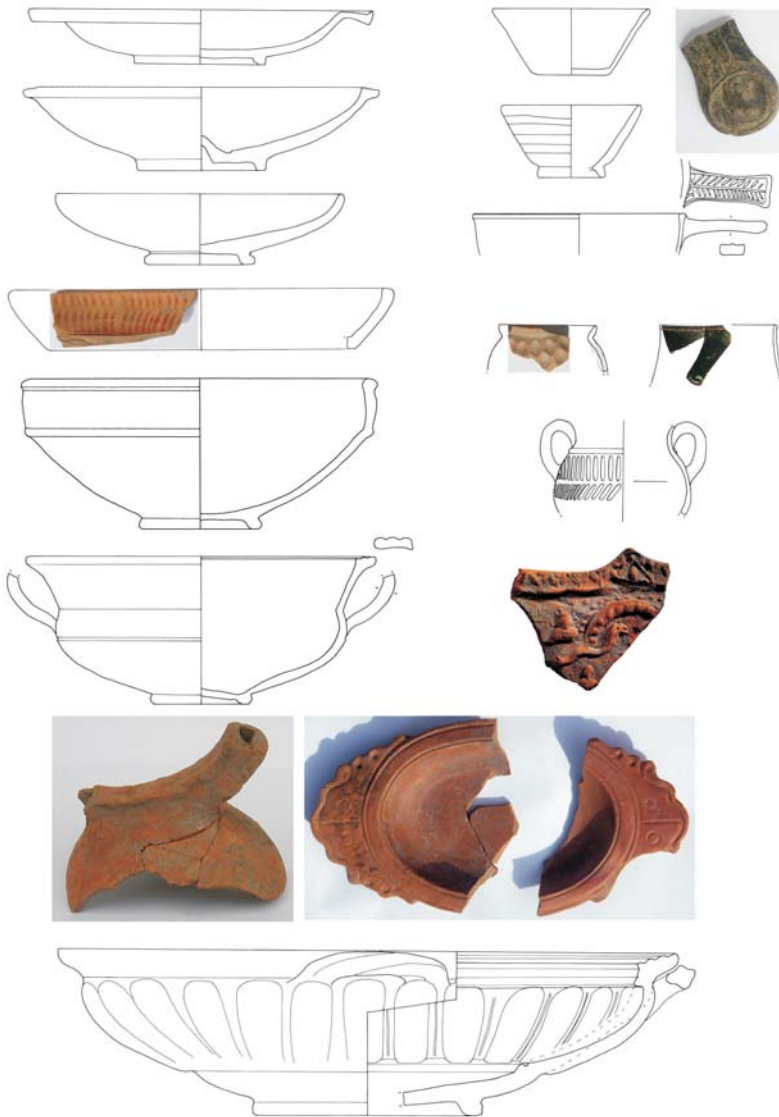


Abb. 9.



**Abb. 10.**

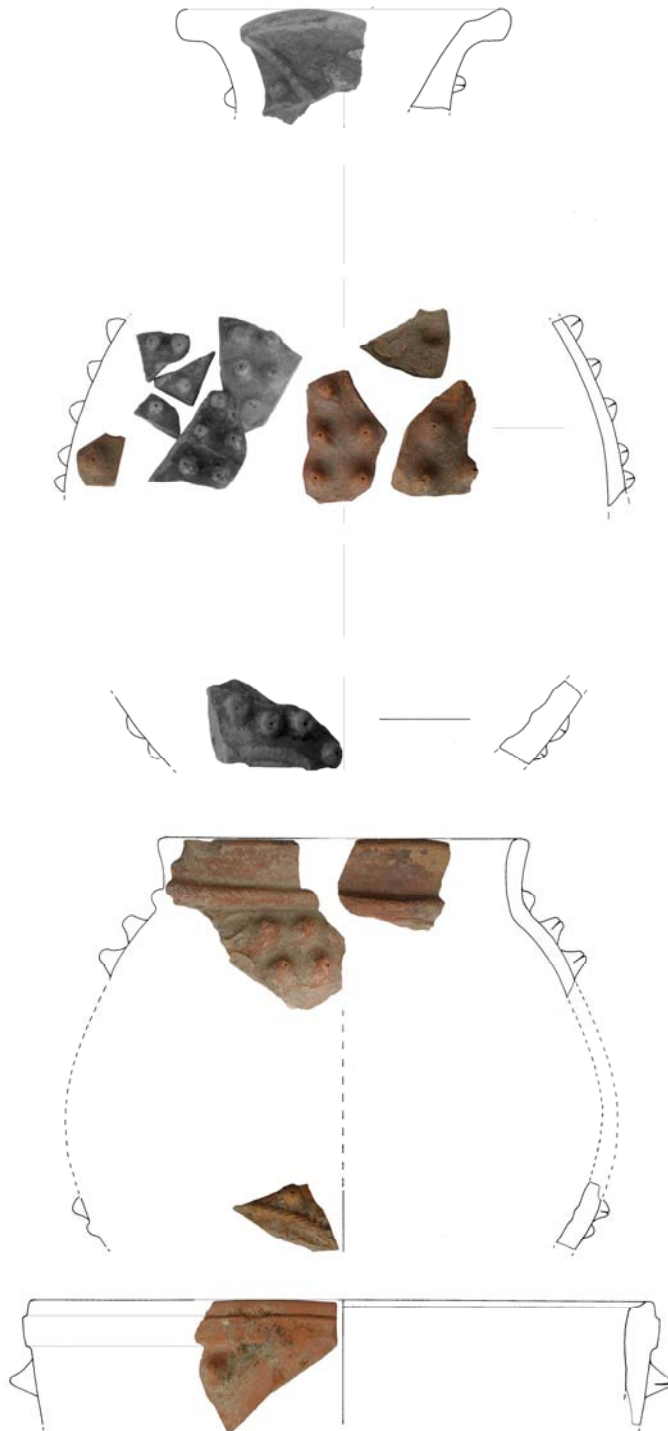


Abb. 11.

# Ein Bankett für Sabazios in Straubing

Constanze HÖPKEN

Universität zu Köln

**Abstract: A banquet for Sabazios at Straubing.** The God Sabazios was an oriental god with pre-Roman roots, whose worship probably spread with the Roman military into the western provinces of the Roman Empire. The attributes of Sabazios were the snake, lizard, frog and turtle – all symbols of an annual renewal. Since he was also responsible for fertility and obstetrics, the cult may have primarily involved women. No temple dedicated to Sabazios has ever been found, but evidence for his worship is sometimes indicated by small finds. Presumably the members of the religious communities came together in assembly halls to hold banquets in honour of the god. Several ceramic vessels decorated with snakes, frogs, lizards and turtles were found in Sorviodurum / Straubing, a Roman military base on the Danubian Limes in Raetia. They were deposited in a pit of 4.6 x 3.3 m which was situated in the *vicus* next to a road that was lined with strip houses. The relationship between the pit and a nearby building is not evident. The pit also contained fragments of many other vessels and animal bones, which can be interpreted as remnants of a banquet in honor to Sabazios.

**Key words:** Sabazios, snakepot, ritual deposit, cult pit.

**Rezumat: Un banchet pentru Sabazios la Straubing.** Zeul Sabazios a fost o divinitate orientală cu rădăcini preromane, al cărui cult s-a răspândit probabil odată cu armata romană în provinciile occidentale ale Imperiului Roman. Atributele lui Sabazios erau șarpele, șopîrla, broasca și broasca țestoasă – cu toatele simboluri ale reînnoirii anuale. Dat fiind că era de asemenea răspunzător pentru fertilitate și obstetrică, se poate ca acest cult să fi implicat mai ales femeii. Nici un templu dedicat lui Sabazios nu a fost vreodată descoperit, dar urmele adorării sale sunt uneori indicate de *small finds*. Probabil membrii comunităților religioase se întruneau în săli de adunare pentru a ține banchete în cinstea zeului. Cîteva vase ceramice decorate cu șerpi, broaște, șopîrle și broaște țestoase au fost descoperite la Sorviodurum/Straubing, un castru roman pe limesul dunărean, în Raetia. Ele au fost depuse într-o groapă cu dimensiunile 4,6 x 3,3 m, aflată în vicus, lângă un drum flancat de case. Relația dintre groapă și clădirea mai apropiată nu e limpede. Groapa conținea și fragmente ale multor altor vase, precum și oase de animale, care pot fi interpretate drept rămășițele unui banchet în cinstea lui Sabazios.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Sabazios, vase cu șerpi, depozit ritual, groapă de cult.

Der Gott Sabazios, ein orientalischer Gott mit vorrömischen Wurzeln, gelangte vermutlich mit dem römischen Militär in die westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches<sup>1</sup>. Eine weite Verbreitung lässt sich bereits früh an den ihm geweihten Votivhänden ablesen<sup>2</sup>. Er zählte zu den Göttern, die ein glückliches Leben und eine mystische Vereinigung mit der Gottheit im Jenseits versprochen. Der Kult dürfte vor allem Frauen angesprochen haben, da er als Gott für die immer wieder erwachende Natur neben dem Ackerbau und der Fruchtbarkeit auch für die Geburtshilfe zuständig war. Als Sinnbild einer jährlichen Erneuerung stehen die Attribute Schlange, Eidechse, Frosch und Schildkröte.

Ein dem Sabazios geweihter Tempel ist bislang nicht nachgewiesen; Belege für seine Verehrung finden sich vor allem in Wohnquartieren, beispielweise in Pompeji<sup>3</sup>. Vermutlich kamen die Mitglieder der Kultgemeinschaften in Versammlungslokalen zusammen, wie sie für auch für andere Götter üblich waren und u.a. in Schwarzenacker, Carnuntum, Porolissum und Alba Iulia nachgewiesen werden konnten<sup>4</sup>.

Durch mehrere Keramikgefäße, die mit Schlangen und zusätzlich mit Fröschen, Eidechsen und Schildkröten verziert waren, ist auch im vicus von Sorviodurum/Straubing, einem Militärstandort am Donaulimes in Rätien, ein Kultplatz einer Sabaziosgemeinde anzunehmen.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts wurden am westlichen Ufer der Donau zwei Kohorten stationiert; im Umfeld entwickelte sich die zugehörige Zivilsiedlung<sup>5</sup>. In den 70er Jahren des 2. Jahrhunderts fielen die Markomannen in Straubing ein und große Teile der Siedlung wurden zerstört, wie Brandschichten bezeugen. Es folgte ein Wiederaufbau unter anderem mit verschiedenen repräsentativen Steingebäuden (Abb. 1). Sein Ende fand der vicus schließlich durch Germaneneinfälle nach der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts.

Gefunden wurden die Gefäße im südlichen vicus des Auxiliarkastells der Cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria sagittariorum,

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Die Möglichkeit, dieses Material zu bearbeiten erhielt ich von Johannes Prammer (Gäubodenmuseum Straubing), dem ich herzlich dafür danken möchte. Finanziert wurde das Projekt durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft 2011/2012. Dieser Beitrag präsentiert erste, summarische Ergebnisse der Auswertung.

<sup>1</sup> Grundlegend zu Sabazios siehe Lane 1983; Lane 1985; Lane 1989; Fellmann 1981; Johnson 1984.

<sup>2</sup> Lane 1983.

<sup>3</sup> Lane 1983, 7-9.

<sup>4</sup> Zu Schwarzenacker siehe Kolling 1967, zu Carnuntum siehe Kandler 2001, zu Porolissum siehe Rusu-Pescaru/Alicu 2000, 74-77 und zu Alba Iulia siehe Schäfer/Diaconescu 1997 sowie Fiedler 2005. Zusammenfassend siehe Schäfer 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Insgesamt zur Geschichte Straubings siehe Prammer 1989.

die von traianischer Zeit bis in die erste Hälfte des 3. Jahrhundert in Straubing stationiert war. Hier lagen entlang einer Straße aufgereiht Streifenhäuser, in denen verschiedene Handwerker und Händler ihr Auskommen suchten<sup>6</sup>.

Die Reste von mindestens 11 Schlangengefäßen, derer 5 auch applizierte Amphibien und Reptilien aufweisen (Abb. 2, Abb. 4.1-4), wurden in und um eine mit Keramik verfüllte Grube gefunden<sup>7</sup>. Diese lag unweit einer nordsüdlich gerichteten Straße, die beidseitig von Holzgebäuden gesäumt war. Ein Bezug zu einem Gebäude ist derzeit nicht erkennbar, dennoch ist eindeutig, dass der Bau sich innerhalb eines Wohnquartiers befand, in dieses integriert war und keinesfalls zu einem freistehenden Tempel gehört haben kann.

Die im Osten nicht vollständig ergrabene, rechteckige Vertiefung maß 4,6 x 3,3 m und war bis zu einer Tiefe von 1,8 m erhalten. Darüber lag eine Brandschicht aus Holzkohle und Hüttenlehm, die wahrscheinlich von den Germaneneinfällen im 3. Jahrhundert herrührt.

Die Füllung der Grube bestand aus fleckigem Lehm, durchsetzt mit Keramik – außer Kultkeramik (Abb. 4) auch einfaches Tisch- und Haushaltsgeschirr (Abb. 5). Die Keramik war teils großstückig zerbrochen und ließ sich oft zu weitgehend vollständigen Gefäßen zusammensetzen. Andererseits barg die Grube viele einzelne Gefäßfragmente, die normalem Siedlungsabfall entsprechen. Damit lassen sich die Keramikfunde in zwei Kategorien teilen: Gefäße, die am Ort zerbrachen und deren Scherben mehr oder weniger komplett in der Grube lagen und andererseits Scherben von Gefäßen, die nach dem Zerschlagen nur teilweise in der Grube entsorgt wurden.

Die weitgehend zusammensetzbaren Gefäße umfassen vor allem Trinkbecher meist lokaler Produktion (Abb. 5.9). Sie zeigen keinerlei Gebrauchsspuren und zudem sind eindeutige Fehlbrände zu erkennen, die deformiert, gerissen oder überbrannt sind. Hinzu kommen Böden mit eingeschlagenen Löchern, die als Fehlbrandmarken zu interpretieren sind: Diese Becher waren eindeutig nicht gebraucht.

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<sup>6</sup> Prammer 1989, 68-70.

<sup>7</sup> Die Grabung wurde 1993 unter der wissenschaftlichen Leitung von Dr. Johannes Prammer und der technischen Leitung von Reinhold Pielmeier durchgeführt. Da die Grabungen im November unter widrigen Bedingungen stattfanden, konnte der Ausgrabung und Dokumentation nicht viel Zeit gewidmet werden. Hinzu kommt, dass der Befund nicht vollständig ergraben werden konnte, weil er in das benachbarte Grundstück hineinragte. Dennoch lassen die differenzierte Fundbergung und die nach Plana organisierte Grabungstechnik detaillierte Aussagen zum Befund zu. Vgl. Prammer 1995; Wolff 1998.

Auch zahlreiche Teller und Töpfe waren oft recht vollständig vorhanden (Abb. 5.13, 5.16, 5.17), doch zeigen sie oft sehr intensive Benutzungsspuren, schwarze Krusten und Schnittspuren, die nicht von einer einmaligen Verwendung herrühren und auf einen längeren Gebrauch schließen lassen<sup>8</sup>.

Da in und um die Grube auch Schlangentöpfe und andere Kultkeramik gefunden wurde (Abb. 4), ist ein religiöser Bezug des Befundes gegeben. Die vollständig zusammensetzbaren Gefäße, die – im Fall vieler Becher – unbenutzbar waren, andererseits – im Fall der Teller – ihre Gebrauchsspanne bereits überschritten hatten, lassen sich als rituelle Deponierung deuten.

Die eindeutige Kultkeramik hingegen war teils sehr zerscherbt und nicht alle Fragmente der einzelnen Gefäße lagen in der Grube; es ist also davon auszugehen, dass diese Gefäße nicht zur Deponierung gehörten bzw. nur einzelne Fragmente in der Grube deponiert wurden, wie dies vermutlich für ein Keramikbruchstück mit einem applizierten Frosch und eines mit einem mit Pfeilmotiv zutrifft (Abb. 3.a-b)<sup>9</sup>. Vermutlich um absichtlich deponierte Gefäßfragmente handelt es sich auch bei über 10 abgetrennten und systematisch zugerichteten Reibschüsselschnauzen, die so in ihrer Form einer Vulva gleichen (Abb. 3.c). Sie könnten, wie vielleicht auch die Darstellungen von Dreiecken mit zentraler Linie (Abb. 3.b; 4.2), als Hinweise auf eine besondere Bedeutung der Weiblichkeit gewertet werden.

Da die Gefäße in der Deponierung nicht für einen Gebrauch während der Feier bestimmt und zum Teil auch gar nicht tauglich dafür waren, können nur die Gefäße der zweiten Gruppe Auskunft über das Festgeschehen innerhalb des Kultes geben. Nichtsdestotrotz waren auch die Gefäße der Deponierung Teil des Kultgeschehens, weil sie in einem Festakt niedergelegt wurden.

Viele Schlangentopf-Fragmente lagen im unteren Teil der Füllschicht und gehörten offenbar zum unmittelbar auf die Deponierung folgenden Verfüllungsmaterial. Möglich ist, dass sie während der Kultfeier, die im Zusammenhang mit der Deponierung abgehalten wurde, zu Bruch gingen und dann mit anderem Abfall der Feier in die Grube gelangten. Dies gilt nicht nur für einige Schlangentöpfe, meist Kratere (Abb. 4.1-2), sondern auch für einzelne Räucherkelche (Abb. 4.5) und Keramikaltäre (Abb. 4.6), außerdem Tisch- und Küchengeschirr. Die übrigen Scherben der Gefäße lagen in der obersten Grabungsschicht vor allem südlich der Grube bis zu 15 m im Umkreis verstreut – möglicherweise fanden in diesem Bereich die Feste statt.

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<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Höpken 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Zur rituellen Deponierung einzelner Gefäßfragmente siehe Ulbert/Wulfmeier 2004.

Ein Blick auf die Tierknochen, die von Hubert Berke untersucht wurden, verrät den Speisezettel des Festmahls: Wie aus anderen Kultkontexten überliefert ist, sind zahlreiche Ferkel-, Lämmer- und Hühnerknochen vertreten. Eine exemplarische Auszählung der Hühnerknochen ergab, dass etwa 40 meist adulte Exemplare verspeist worden waren, darunter mehrere mutmaßliche Kapaune. Ungewöhnlich sind Knochen von Hunden und ein Katzenschädel in der Grubenfüllung, exotisch wirkt eine Bärenatze, die zusammen mit Knochen vom Hirsch gefunden wurden. Sollte sich an der Schichtung in der Grube also eine Speiseabfolge ablesen lassen, gab es einen Menügang mit Wild.

Einige Knochen zeigen Spuren von Hundeverbiß. Dies betrifft nicht nur Funde aus dem oberen Teil der Grube, sondern auch aus dem unteren Bereich der Füllung. Entweder wurden die Knochen angenagt, als sie noch nicht in der Grube lagen – dann hätten Hunde Zugang zum Gelände während oder direkt nach den Feierlichkeiten gehabt – oder die Grube war für Hunde zugänglich.

Ein Fest zu Ehren des Gottes Sabazios könnte sich wie folgt abgespielt haben: Es wurden Keramikgefäße und vielleicht auch Speisen für eine Deponierung zusammengetragen, die der Gottheit als Geschenke übergeben werden sollten. Zu diesem Anlass wurde feierlich getafelt, feinstes Fleisch von Ferkeln, Lämmern und Kapaunen gegessen, zudem Wildgerichte wie eine Bärenatze. Dazu wurde Wein aus Mischgefäßen ausgeschenkt und getrunken. Ob dabei allerlei Geschirr einschließlich der schlangenverzierten Kratere zu Bruch ging oder ob dies absichtlich bei oder nach den Feiern zerbrochen wurde, erschließt sich uns nicht. Wir wissen aber, dass diese Gefäße in Teilen zur Verfüllung der Grube dienten.

Der Anlass einer solchen aufwändigen Feier erschließt sich heute nicht mehr. Einzelne Gruben wie Straubing verführen dazu, in dem Fest einen Akt der Gründung oder der Auflösung einer Kultgemeinde zu erkennen. Fundstellen wie in Apulum mit mehreren solcher Depotgruben aber belehren uns, dass solche Feiern auch mehrmalig, jedoch sicher nicht regelmäßig abgehalten wurden.

### **Abbildungen:**

Abb. 1. Fundort der Sabazios-Grube in Sorviodurum/Straubing (Gäubodenmuseum Straubing).

Abb. 2. Schlangentöpfe aus Straubing, unmaßstäblich (Foto M. Fiedler).

Abb. 3. Keramikfragmente aus der Kultgrube, M 1:2 (Fotos M. Fiedler).

Abb. 4. Kultkeramik aus Straubing, M 1:6 (Zeichnungen C. Höpken).

Abb. 5. Haushaltskeramik aus Straubing, M 1:6 (Zeichnungen C. Höpken).

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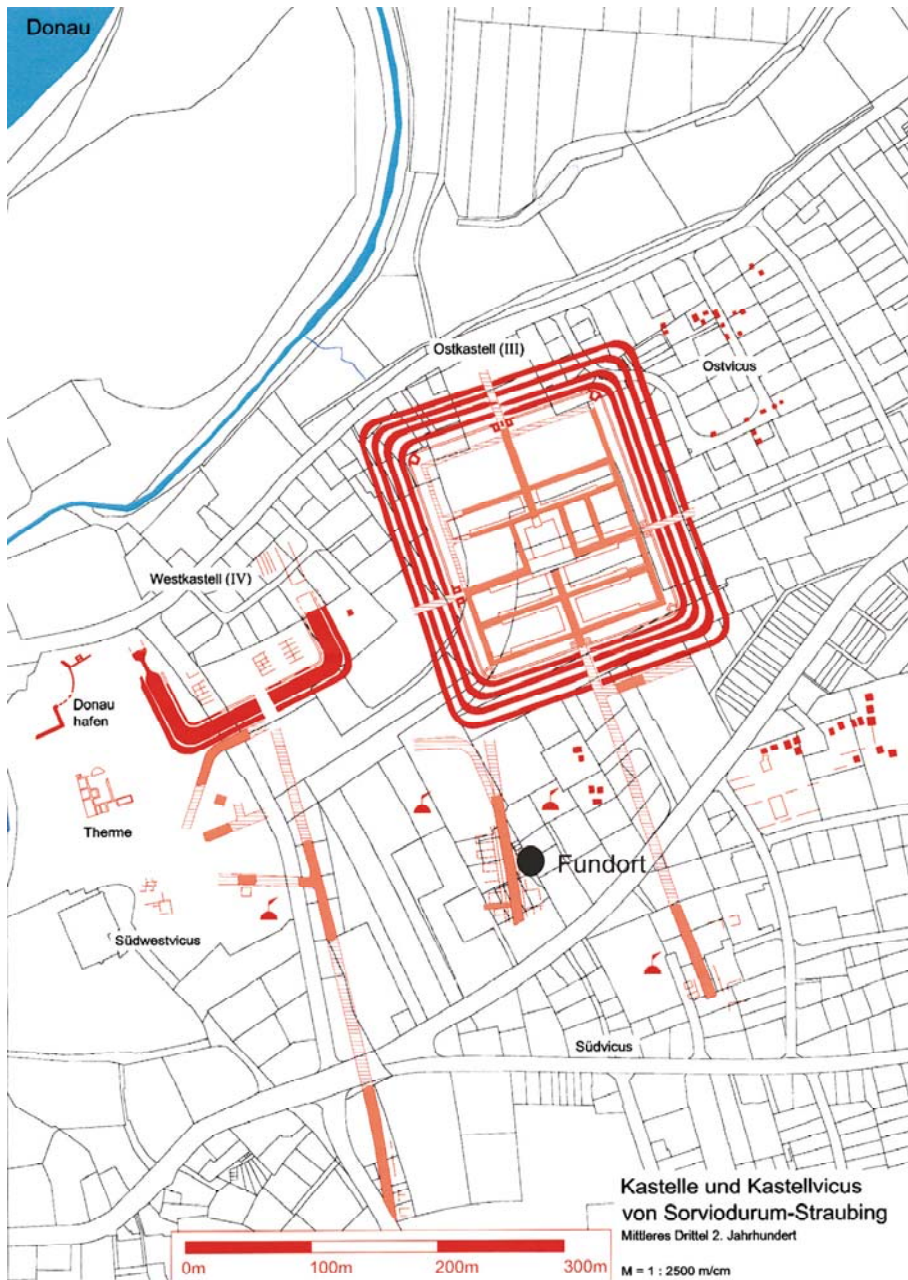


Abb. 1.



Abb. 2



Abb. 3

0 5 cm

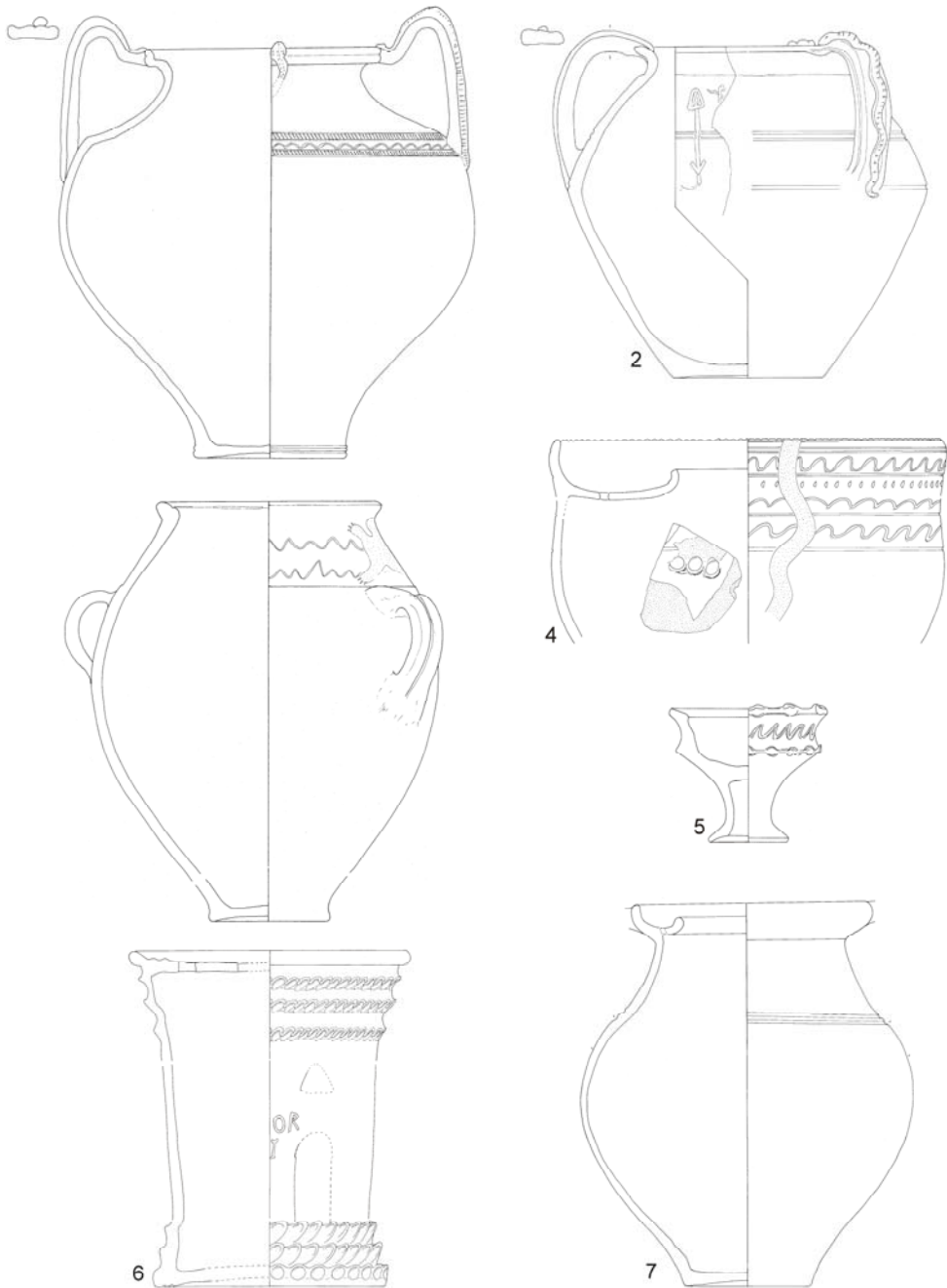
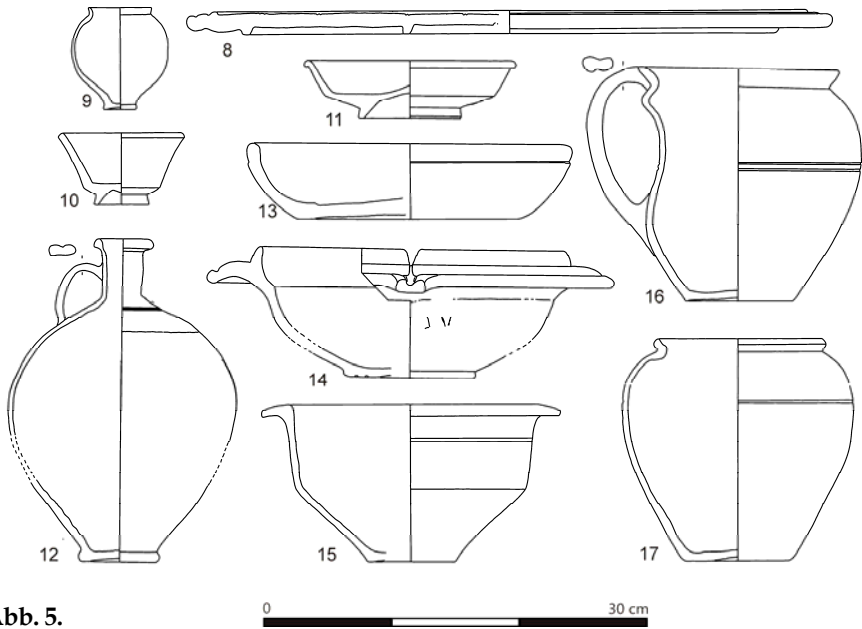


Abb. 4.

0 30 cm

**Abb. 5.**

## Drinking and gaming in the Roman fort of Porolissum. Preliminary data offered by the excavation at building C3

Silvia MUSTĂȚĂ; Szilamér-Péter PÁNCZEL; Dávid PETRUȚ<sup>1</sup>;  
Katalin SIDÓ

Muzeul Județean Mureș, Tîrgu-Mureș

with the contribution of

István Bajusz, Alpár Dobos, Gregor Döhner, Manuel Fiedler, Nicolae Gudea,  
Constanze Höpken, Veit Stürmer, and Lóránt Vass

**Abstract.** The evidence concerning conviviality in military contexts is scarce at the scale of the Roman Empire. Even if a considerable amount of research has been undertaken inside military forts, with only a few exceptions, the data which can be related to such activities is not straightforward. Modern research has emphasised lately two types of activities which could be related to such practices, each reflecting different social phenomena: the *convivia* set, usually, in *triclinia* functioning inside the *praetorium* or inside the centurion's quarter and governed by specific regulations and social hierarchies and the public dining, involving gaming and drinking, which was, probably, opened to the entire community of soldiers stationed in the fort.

Starting from the evidence offered by the archaeological research of building C3 located in the Roman auxiliary fort from Porolissum – Pomet Hill (Moigrad, Romania), the authors try to make a first assessment of the collected data. The structure, which functioned as a water basin in its first phases, was restructured at a certain point and provided with an upper storey. The finds identified in the layers related to this upper storey (glass and pottery counters, dice, glass and pottery tableware) represent a strong indication for the existence of a public dining place which operated inside the Roman fort from Porolissum in the last functional phase of the building, towards the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

**Key words:** Roman Dacia, Porolissum, auxiliary fort, military everyday life, public dining.

**Rezumat:** Băutură și jocuri de noroc în castrul roman de la Porolissum. Rezultate preliminare oferite de săpăturile de la clădirea C3. Consumul de băuturi și practicarea jocurilor de noroc în castrul roman de la Porolissum. Rezultate preliminare oferite de cercetarea arheologică a clădirii C3.

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Informațiile referitoare la convivialitate în context militar sunt puține la nivelul Imperiului Roman. Chiar dacă până în momentul de față au fost întreprinse cercetări de amploare în interiorul castrului, cu mici excepții, elementele care pot fi legate de asemenea practici nu sunt univoce. În ultima vreme cercetarea modernă a scos în evidență două tipuri de activități care pot viza astfel de aspecte, fiecare reflectând fenomene sociale diferite: convivia care avea loc, de obicei, în triclinia amenajate în praetorium sau în locuința centurionului și care erau reglementate prin prevederi și ierarhii sociale specifice, și banchetele publice care includeau practicarea jocurilor de noroc și consumul de băuturi și care erau probabil deschise întregii comunități de soldați staționată în castru.

Pornind de la datele oferite de cercetarea arheologică a clădirii C3 aflată în castrul roman auxiliar de la Porolissum – Dealul Pomet (Moigrad, România), autorii încearcă să ofere o primă interpretare a informațiilor înregistrate. Clădirea, care a fost utilizată în primele sale faze de funcționare ca bazin de apă, a fost restructurată la un moment dat și a fost prevăzută cu un etaj. Descoperirile identificate în contextele arheologice legate de acest etaj (jetoane de sticlă și ceramică, zaruri, veselă de sticlă și ceramică) oferă indicii importante în vederea localizării aici a unui spațiu dedicat banchetelor publice, care a funcționat în cadrul castrului roman de la Porolissum în ultima fază de utilizare a clădirii, spre jumătatea secolului al III-lea p. Chr.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Dacia romană, Porolissum, castru auxiliar, viață cotidiană în mediu militar, banchete publice.

As a result of the collaboration between the Winckelmann-Institute of the Humboldt University from Berlin, the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the “Babeș-Bolyai” University Cluj-Napoca, the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Cologne, the Department of Conservation and Restoration of the University of Applied Sciences from Erfurt, and the Department of Industrial and Agricultural Building Design of the Budapest University of Technology and Economics, an archaeological field school was organised at the Roman site of *Porolissum* (Moigrad, Sălaj County, Romania), on the north-western limes of Dacia, between 2008 and 2011. This project was financed by the German Academic Exchange Service in the framework of the Erasmus Intensive Programs and benefitted from the logistic support of the County Museum of History and Art from Zalău and the Institute of Archaeology and Art History of the Romanian Academy at Cluj-Napoca<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> For more details see the project website (<http://www.archaeologie.hu-berlin.de/projekte/porolissum>) and the published reports (Petrovski et al. 2008; Döhner et al. 2010; Gudea et al. 2010; Döhner et al. 2011; Gudea et al. 2011; Opreanu et al. 2012).

The main aim of the project was to clarify the function of building C3 from the auxiliary fort on the Pomet Hill and to analyse how this building was incorporated in a wider spatial and chronological context.

### The site

During the excavations from 1984 led by Nicolae Gudea in the *latus sinistrum* of the auxiliary fort on the Pomet Hill, in the vicinity of the *principia*, an underground building, named conventionally C3, was identified (Pl. I/1-2). Sectioned twice through 1.5 m wide evaluation trenches S84 and S85 (Fig. 2), it was possible to establish that the 0.80-1.00 m thick walls were preserved up to a height of 1.25-1.75 m and built in *opus incertum* technique. According to the excavation report<sup>3</sup>, the building was paved with a tile floor "covered" by *opus signinum*. The width (internal width 5-5.5 m, external width 7.5 m) of the building could be defined well, but the length was only presumed to be similar to the *principia* (approx. 30 m).

The finds (a statue fragment of Venus accompanied by Eros riding a dolphin and Cautopates, a relief fragment with the Danubian riders, an inscription fragment *D·I·M*, painted wall plaster fragments, etc.) and the shape of the building led the author of the excavations to the conclusion that it might have functioned as a sanctuary dedicated to Mithras<sup>4</sup>. This hypothesis has been accepted or questioned<sup>5</sup> by other scholars.

The new project started in 2008 with the magnetometric and electroresistivity survey of the area<sup>6</sup> which allowed an accurate measurement of the length of the building and the planning of the new excavations (Pl II/1).

Except the two old evaluation trenches (named G1 and G2), the excavation area was divided in grids of 4 x 4 m (Fig. 2) and only two grids (E2 and H2) and a transversal segment (F2 and F3) were left unexcavated. Based on the collected data, there is no evidence which would support a cultic function for this building; instead, the fact that the cellar room was used as a water cistern is highly probable. After excavating modern

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<sup>3</sup> Gudea et al. 1986, 122.

<sup>4</sup> For more data concerning the excavations from 1984 see: Gudea 1986, 108-111; Gudea et al. 1986, 120, 122, 124-125; Gudea 1989a, 23-24; Gudea 1997a, 49; Gudea 1997b, 70; Gudea 2003, 234-235; Gudea/Tamba 2005, 472; Gudea 2005; Gudea/Lobüsch 2006, 79; Gudea 2007, 12; Nemeti/Nemeti 2007, 120; Döhner et al. 2010, 118; Gudea et al. 2010, 103; Döhner et al. 2011, 97; Gudea et al. 2011, 4. In a paper concerning the Mithras sanctuaries of Dacia (Pintilie 1999-2000, 238) some inaccurate information was presented, which has been corrected by the author of the excavations (Gudea 2002, 618-620).

<sup>5</sup> See the argumentation at: Alicu 2002, 231-233; Marcu 2007, 84-91; Marcu 2009, 93-96.

<sup>6</sup> See: Petrovszki et al. 2008, 92-94; Döhner et al. 2010, 119, 125, pl. 2/1-2; Döhner et al. 2011, 99-100.



levelling layers and the remains of late interventions (e. g. an unrecorded and unpublished evaluation trench in the middle of the building), it was possible to observe a massive fill inside the structure which can be related to the gradual decay of the neighbouring buildings (*principia* and building C4) and post-Roman humus formation processes. Under these, the layers which could already be related to disuse, use and construction of building C3 were recorded.

Based on a construction offering which contained three coins (one from the time of Vespasian and two from the reign of Antoninus Pius), the first phase of the building can be dated after the reign of Antoninus Pius. In this first phase, the building (Pl. II/2) had a row of probably five central pillars made of sandstone blocks (only three were identified) which supported the floor of the upper storey. The floor was made of bricks set in an *opus signinum* bed and the walls were covered with waterproof wall plaster. In this phase, to the external face of the southern wall a small room was attached, which communicated with the central room through a channel. This small room had a separate tile roof (most of the well preserved roof tiles have been recovered from quadrants I3 and H3), a floor made of *opus signinum*, walls covered with waterproof wall plaster and a water evacuation channel on the southern side. This small room could have been used as an elutriation basin.

In a second (refurbishing) phase (Pl. II/3), the channel leading from the main cistern to the elutriation basin was sealed with waterproof wall plaster, a new ceramic water evacuation pipe was inserted to the south-western corner of the building and, to prevent the destabilisation of the southern wall caused by this intervention, a rectangular buttress was attached to the external face of this wall, next to the pipe. It is highly probable that all over the walls a second layer of waterproof wall plaster was applied to prevent the water tank from leaking. Probably at this time, the central sandstone pillars were dismantled as well and a foundation made of these blocks, for a possible wooden stairway (?) or service entrance, was set up next to the northern wall. The reason for this refurbishment might have been the defection of the water pipes leading out of the elutriation basin, so a new system has been established instead of repairing the old one.

Even if we know only little about the water supply of Porolissum<sup>7</sup>, the function of this building is intriguing if we consider that building B10 from the *praetentura sinistra* of the same fort (Pl. I/1), excavated by N. Gudea, is also a water cistern<sup>8</sup>. In the case of building C3 it can only be

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<sup>7</sup> For a summary on the subject see: Băeștean 2008, 91-92.

<sup>8</sup> Gudea et al. 1988, 150-154; Gudea 1997b, 25.

presumed that it was collecting water from the roofs of the neighbouring buildings (the *principia* and building C4), since the state of conservation of the upper part of the walls did not preserve any evidence concerning a water harvesting system. A similar lack of evidence concerning the roof system (e. g. large amount of roof tiles, iron nails and clamps etc.) belonging to the building would suggest that the roof was intentionally removed, probably with the aim of recycling, before it could collapse into the cellar.

The excavation of building C3 allowed the identification of the main events that affected the structure after its disuse. As was already mentioned above, the last phase in the existence of the building, which could be observed during excavations, was characterized by the blocking of the elutriation basin, attached initially to the southern wall, and the dismantling of the central sandstone pillars (Pl. IV/3). Probably soon after, while the building was still standing, at least the basement of the structure started to decay, fact indicated by the demolition layers of the wall plaster covering the tile floor (Pl. IV/1-2). The demolition process of the walls started with the fracture of the eastern wall which fell inside the building, covering the demolished wall plaster on this side (Pl. IV/2). This event determined also the collapse of a presumed upper storey which the building might have had in its last functional phases (Pl. III/2). Such an assumption is sustained by the fact that the layers that can be related to the collapse of an upper storey (Pl. III/2), represent the next event after the destruction of the eastern wall and are, at their turn, covered by the demolition of the walls which probably happened gradually soon after (Pl. III/1).

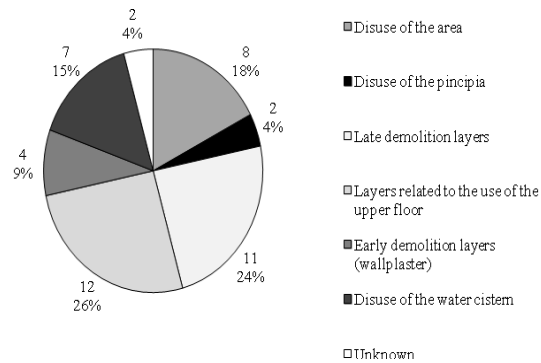
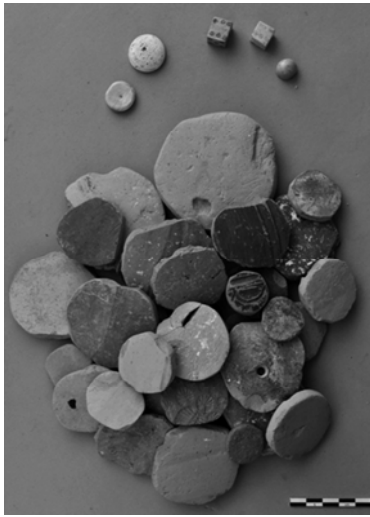
### The finds

The finds which belong to the layers related to this upper storey, consisting among others of an important quantity of counters and ceramic and glass tableware, encouraged a closer analysis which indicates a possible use of this area for activities related to gaming and consumption of food and beverages.

The excavations revealed a number of 46 bone, glass and ceramic counters, half of which cluster in the layers related to the upper storey and another significant quantity in the late demolition layers of the building (Fig. 1). The number is not high; still, their variety indicates that they were part of a considerable number of different sets which were, very probably, used in the building. To this, the two dice discovered on the site are added, which can be related to the same type of activities<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> The number of the finds is not high in this case, but if one takes into consideration the fact that only 27 dice have been published until now from the whole of Roman Dacia (11 of them coming from Porolissum: see Vass/Pánczél 2009, 564-565, Fig. 3), this amount should be relevant.



b.

a.

Fig. 1. a. Counters from building C3 (photo: C. Höpken); b. The distribution of the counters on site.

From a spatial viewpoint it is obvious that the majority of counters clusters in the area of the building close to *via principalis*, namely in grids C2-3, D2, and E3 (Fig. 2), which may indicate a possible spatial division of the upper storey and a concentration of gaming activities towards the *via principalis*.

A first assessment of the glass assemblage from the excavations<sup>10</sup> and of the layers related to the disuse of the upper storey (Pl. V/1-6) shows clearly that the material is dominated by tableware, mainly cups and bowls. The analysis of the ceramic material from building C3 (Fig. 3) was based only on macroscopically observed data. The methods used in the primary recording are the quantification<sup>11</sup> and the identification of morphological parts (rim, body, base, handle) and primary categories such as grey stamped pottery, red slip ware, black slip ware, oxidized and reduced coarse ware, reduced fine ware, *mortaria*, *dolia*, and Roman handmade pottery<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Höpken/Pánczél 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Quantification represents the basic method when analyzing how much pottery is present in an assemblage or comparing the proportions of different types. The quantification was made with the help of a database which included the morphological parts of the vessels and the main categories according to surface treatment and function (Orton et al. 1993, 166-169).

<sup>12</sup> The use of these standard categories is based on a methodology created in order to offer a general view on the material, but also a basis for a more detailed analysis. The exhaustive

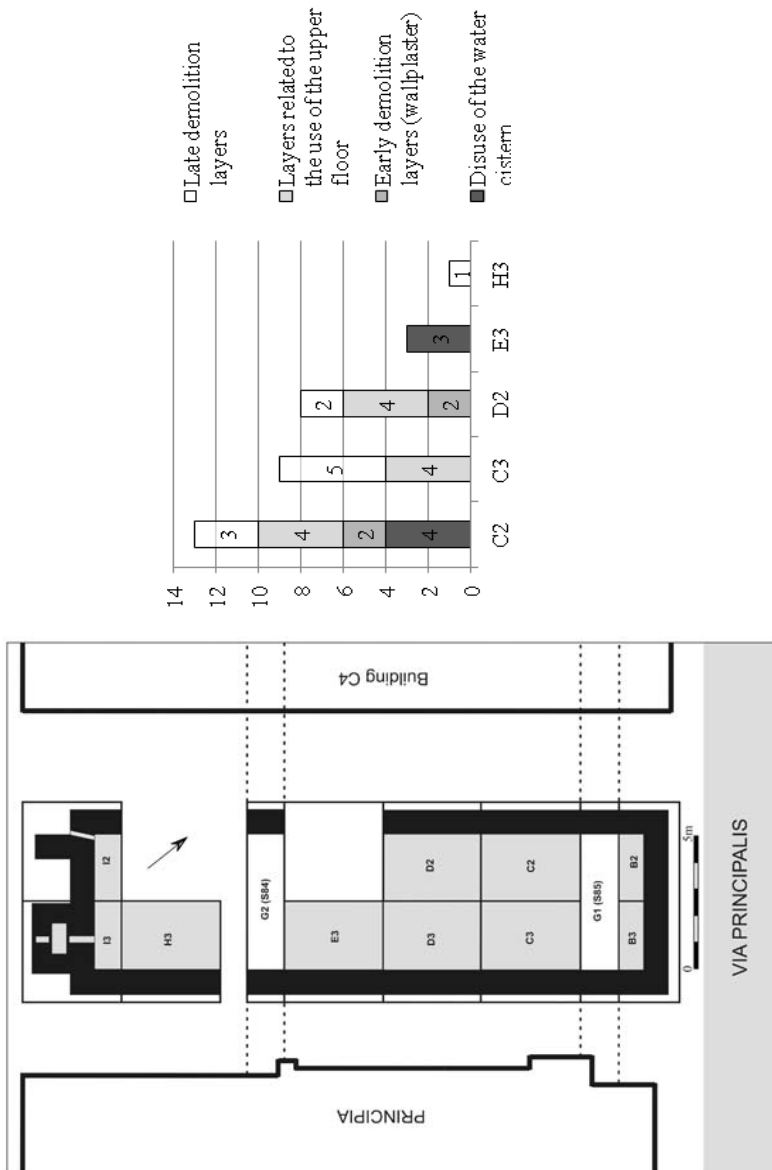


Fig. 2. The spatial distribution of the counters.

overview of the ceramic material from Dumbovo, e. g., was based on the same elements, combining them with typological and contextual analyses (Brukner 1981, 169-190).

The grey stamped pottery from Porolissum was analyzed by Cristian-Claudiu Filip<sup>13</sup>. It is considered that this kind of pottery, produced locally, could have played in the provincial milieu the same role as the *terra sigillata*<sup>14</sup> and it might have been produced in sets. These sets contained 3 or 4 pieces of tableware, mostly bowls (Pl. V/7-13)<sup>15</sup>. However, the forms show the same characteristics and sets can be defined probably only after analyzing the fabric and the decorative motifs. Numerically, the grey stamped pottery represents one of the largest categories of fine wares from the ceramic material discovered in building C3 (Fig. 4-5).



Fig. 3. Ceramic tableware from the layers related to the upper storey of the building (photo: C. Höpken).

Red slipped fragments represent a smaller group inside the analyzed ceramic assemblage (Fig. 4-5), being mostly represented by tableware, such as jugs and bowls, in a few cases by jars, which probably were used as storage containers. Vessels which have red slip on the inside were used in some cases as bread-bakers, since the slip served as a non-stick

<sup>13</sup> Filip 2008.

<sup>14</sup> Gudea 1989b, 195.

<sup>15</sup> Gudea/Filip 1997, 69-70.



The reduced and oxidized coarse ware categories (Pl. VI) include many functional groups<sup>18</sup> which can be used for several functions due to their morpho-technological properties. They are also called functional or utilitarian and, in fact, they are the opposite of elite, luxury, special-purpose vessels<sup>19</sup>. The quality of the fabric and the burning conditions assigned the characteristics which define this category. The reduced coarse ware is the most numerous group, the oxidized coarse ware being represented by a smaller number of fragments (Fig. 4-5).

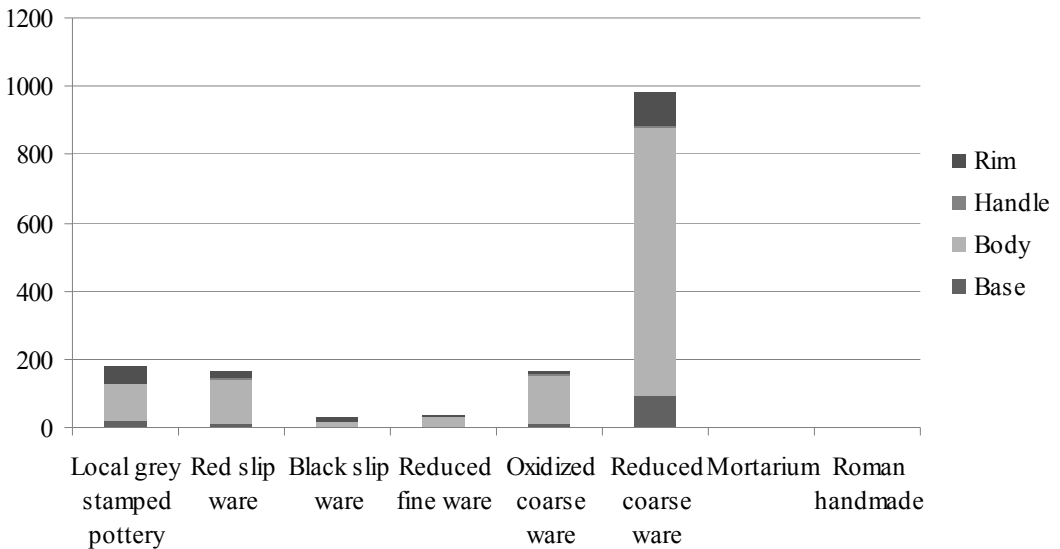


Fig. 5. Ceramic wares belonging to the layers related to the upper storey.

In the ceramic assemblage *mortaria* (Fig. 5) and *dolia* were identified (Fig. 4) as well. A handmade vessel fragment is also present (Fig. 5), but its function is unclear: it could be a storage vessel, a cooking jar or it could have been used for illumination as well<sup>20</sup>.

In this stage of the analysis it can be stated that the high number of vessels used for consuming food and beverages is certain, and, hopefully, forthcoming research will reveal the functional characteristics of the reduced and oxidized coarse wares. The material indicating the type of activities which took place at the upper storey of the building is shown in

<sup>18</sup> Jugs (Pl. VI/1-4); bowl (Pl. VI/5); jars (Pl. VI/6-11).

<sup>19</sup> Rice 1987, 209-210.

<sup>20</sup> Tentea/Marcu 1997, 224.

Fig. 4-5. Though in all the layers belonging to the upper storey and the demolition of the building discussed here, the ceramic material is divided in similar proportions, the upper storey of the building shows a higher number of tableware (red slip ware, black slip ware, local grey stamped pottery).

## Discussion

It is a widely accepted fact that the Roman forts and fortresses comprised no central dining place where the soldiers could eat together, and for the most part the cooking and dining were confined to the barrack blocks<sup>21</sup>. Different stages of the cooking process and the communal dining which followed were organized most likely at the level of the small communities of *contubernales* consisting usually of eight soldiers. The discovery of various cooking utensils in the barracks, consisting of a large number of millstones, and isolated finds of bronze saucepans and bread stamps inscribed with either the name of the *centuria* or, in many cases, that of the *contubernia*, has the potential of corroborating this notion<sup>22</sup>. At this moment, the exact role of the so called cook-houses (also known by the term “bake-houses”) which emerged in a number of forts from Germany and Britain is not entirely clear; however, it seems very unlikely that they had a major influence on the way in which soldiers prepared and consumed their meals, especially considering their relatively small dimensions. The most elaborate cook-house, discovered in the fort from Stockstadt in Upper Germany, is the only example that could have met the needs of a larger body of soldiers, consisting of two ovens, two grinding mills and a well<sup>23</sup>.

Related to the question of preparation and consumption of the daily rations of the soldiers, is the topic of dining in a convivial context within the fort, as a means of entertainment for the members of the garrison, especially the ordinary soldiers. The term in this context implies mainly the notions of dining, drinking and gaming. The question related to the setting for this type of activity within the forts is still unsettled. The fact that the households

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<sup>21</sup> See Johnson 1983, 197; Davison 1989, 242-243; Carroll 2005, 363-364. The duty rosters and strength reports (along with other administrative documents) of the units stationed at Vindolanda, Dura-Europos and parts of North Africa did not record any activity that could be linked to a hypothetical central kitchen and dining hall.

<sup>22</sup> The instances of finds related to food and drink preparation and consumption which bear either the name of the individual soldier or that of a unit within the garrison as signs of ownership have been reported in great numbers during the last decades, mainly from sites in Britain and Germany. The finds include inscribed vessels, centurial bread stamps and a large number of millstones, see Johnson 1983, 199; Carroll 2005, 364.

<sup>23</sup> Davison 1989, 242.



of the commanding officers (*praetoria*) were usually furnished with *triclinia*, allowing for proper banquets (*convivia*) to be organized for the officers, their families and the occasional high ranking guests, is well documented in the archaeological literature<sup>24</sup>.

It is, however, unclear whether the soldiers' "feasts" were confined to the *contubernia* of the barracks, as in the case of the everyday dining, or if, in some instances and periods, authorized taverns operated within the forts and fortresses under similar conditions to those which determined their functioning in a "usual", civilian environment. Initially, the research, drawing on the *disciplina militaris*, dismissed the possibility that soldiers could on a regular basis engage in convivial activity inside the forts, implying that this type of activity was restricted to the *canabae* and the *vici*<sup>25</sup>. According to an increasing number of archaeological data corroborated by literary accounts, there is strong evidence for both drinking and gaming within the barracks and in separate locations, possibly identified with taverns within the compound of the forts. The following review of evidence regarding feasting inside the forts will focus on these two scenarios, and will discount the questions related to conviviality within the *praetorium*, as this is not part of the present discussion.

For the most part, the archaeological evidence regarding convivial activity inside forts and fortresses is connected to the barrack blocks of the units. Inside the barracks from the auxiliary fort from Echzell on the Upper Germanic - Rhetian Limes, one or possibly two rooms from the centurion's quarter were interpreted as being *triclinia*. The rooms dated to the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, contained very elaborate wall paintings depicting mythological scenes, and a vaulted roof, specific to *triclinia* and unprecedented for the rooms of barracks<sup>26</sup>. A somewhat related situation was reported from the Roman siege camps at *Masada*. There, the *contubernia* of the semi-permanent barracks consisted of short masonry walls, roofed with tents, in order to maintain a cool temperature<sup>27</sup>. Each *contubernium* was

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<sup>24</sup> See Johnson 1983, 133-135. See also the writing tablets containing invitations to banquets and the inventory of goods acquired in preparation for convivial events discovered in the *praetorium* of the *cohors IX Batavorum* in *Vindolanda* (Bowman 1994, 65-70; Birley 2002, 128, 151-152).

<sup>25</sup> See the related discussion in Allison 2006, 1-2. Some accounts referring to the rule of Emperor Hadrian (see Speidel 1996, 79) relate the fact that the emperor ordered the removal of *triclinia*, colonnades and ornamental gardens from the forts and fortresses, in order to strengthen discipline, following a visit to the troops on the Rhine in AD 121. It is considered that during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD this type of facilities frequently existed in the military bases of the Empire, see Petrikovits 1975, 108, 143-144; Speidel 1996, 79.

<sup>26</sup> Davison 1989, 240, 245; Speidel 1996, 79, note 29.

<sup>27</sup> Richmond 1962, 146.

furnished with masonry *triclinia*, thus, accounting for an unparalleled situation in the Roman Empire. Ian Richmond noted that the primary purpose of the *triclinia* was that of beds for sleeping, although alternatively they could have been used for reclining at dinners as well<sup>28</sup>. A proper *convivium* is, however, difficult to imagine in these very small enclosures, the rooms displaying average dimensions of approximately 2.5 x 3 m<sup>29</sup>. A further documented situation which entails aspects of conviviality comes from the Northern frontier system of Britain, at Ravenglass. In one of the barracks of the auxiliary fort, a bag containing 126 gaming counters was discovered on the burnt floorboards of a *contubernium*. The finds could represent one or more sets, possibly jointly owned by the respective group of *contubernales*<sup>30</sup>. Furthermore, in the auxiliary fort from Vindolanda, the writing tablets mention the presence of a brewer (*ceroesarius*) in the staff of the unit, possibly as an *immunis*<sup>31</sup>.

Probably the most intriguing situation related to the subject at hand was reported in the legionary fortress from Vindonissa in the province of Raetia. There, a virtually unique correlation between written sources discovered locally, and the archaeological record of the fortress has produced the most straightforward evidence so far regarding taverns operating within the compound of Roman military bases. The start of this line of enquiry was prompted by the analysis of three wax tablets discovered together with numerous similar finds in the rubbish heap ('Schutthügel') of the fortress<sup>32</sup>. The first tablet is a fragment of a letter containing only the data of the receiver. According to the text, the letter was to be delivered to a native woman by the name of *Belica*, next door to the baths (*con{c}t{o}ra balneu(m)*)<sup>33</sup>. Correspondingly, in the building opposite to the main entrance of the baths, a large number of gaming counters, dice and kitchen utensils were discovered<sup>34</sup>. If indeed the settings match, then it can be said that the respective building housed an establishment for public drinking, eating and gaming where a female barmaid or innkeeper called *Belica* worked<sup>35</sup>. The other two wax tablets reinforce this image. The second text is a completely preserved invitation addressed to a soldier to participate at a feast. Drinking and gaming is specifically mentioned by the sender, and the address (house no. 12) is given as well. Besides this, a further reference is made to female

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<sup>28</sup> Richmond 1962, 146; Carroll 2005, 367.

<sup>29</sup> Richmond 1962, 146.

<sup>30</sup> Davison 1989, 245.

<sup>31</sup> Bowman 1994, 45, 60, 76; Birley 2002, 130.

<sup>32</sup> Speidel 1996, 186-187, no. 44; 188-191, Nr. 45; 194-195, no. 47.

<sup>33</sup> Speidel 1996, 186-187, no. 44.

<sup>34</sup> Speidel 1996, 79-80.

<sup>35</sup> Speidel 1996, 80; Allison 2006, 3.

presence in the opening of the letter. As a means of persuasion, the sender writes: “think of your barmaid (innkeeper?) at (house) 12” (*Im mentem habe hospitam tuam in XII*)<sup>36</sup>. Considering this text as well, the activity of a brothel in the respective establishment might be implied<sup>37</sup>. The third text, also a letter, mentions the presence of a wine-seller or wine-maker (*vinarius*) at house no. 13, i.e. next to the house mentioned in the other letter<sup>38</sup>. The correlated evidence points to the existence of a tavern or a complex of taverns next to the baths of the fortress where women were employed, possibly functioning as a brothel as well.

The archaeological evidence for convivial activities outside the *praetorium* is not particularly extensive; however, this is partly due to the former reluctance of archaeologists to acknowledge this type of activities inside the Roman forts and fortresses. Such instances were documented archaeologically in the forts from Echzell, Masada, Ravenglass and the legionary fortress from Vindonissa. Apparently two separate situations can be distinguished. In most cases, the setting for convivial activity is offered by the barracks, in either the ordinary *contubernia*, or in the centurion’s quarters. In one instance, at Echzell, a regular *triclinium* was set up in the centurion’s quarters. The case of the legionary fortress from Vindonissa represents a somewhat different situation. There, evidence emerged for the existence of a tavern functioning in a separate structure within the fortress. Accordingly, when investigating traces of conviviality in military installations, a difference must be drawn between two potentially divergent situations. Instances of what appears to be private banqueting can be identified with the events designated as *convivia* which were usually set in *triclinia* and governed by a set of regulations based on social hierarchy and display of privilege and prestige<sup>39</sup>. Conversely, the discoveries which point to cases of public dining, drinking and gaming, should be treated in a separate fashion, as they belong to a different social phenomenon.

Taking into account all the above mentioned, the evidence provided by the excavation of building C3 from the fort at Porolissum indicates that in the last functional phase, which can be dated towards the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, a place dedicated to public dining, implying gaming and the consumption of food and drinks, might have existed at the first storey of the structure. A different functionality is hard to presume, since no weapons or tools which could be related to storage, workshop activities or inhabiting were identified.

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<sup>36</sup> Speidel 1996, 186-187, no. 45.

<sup>37</sup> Speidel 1996, 80; Allison 2006, 3.

<sup>38</sup> Speidel 1996, 186-187, no. 47.

<sup>39</sup> See Dunbabin 2003, 11-18.

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ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj.
ActaMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău.
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BMN	Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis, Cluj.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj.
KuBA	Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica, Köln-Bonn.
Marisia	Marisia. Studii și Materiale. Arheologie, Târgu Mureș.
MG	Magyar Geofizika, Budapest.
RB	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița.
StudiaUBB TC	Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Theologia Catholica, Cluj.

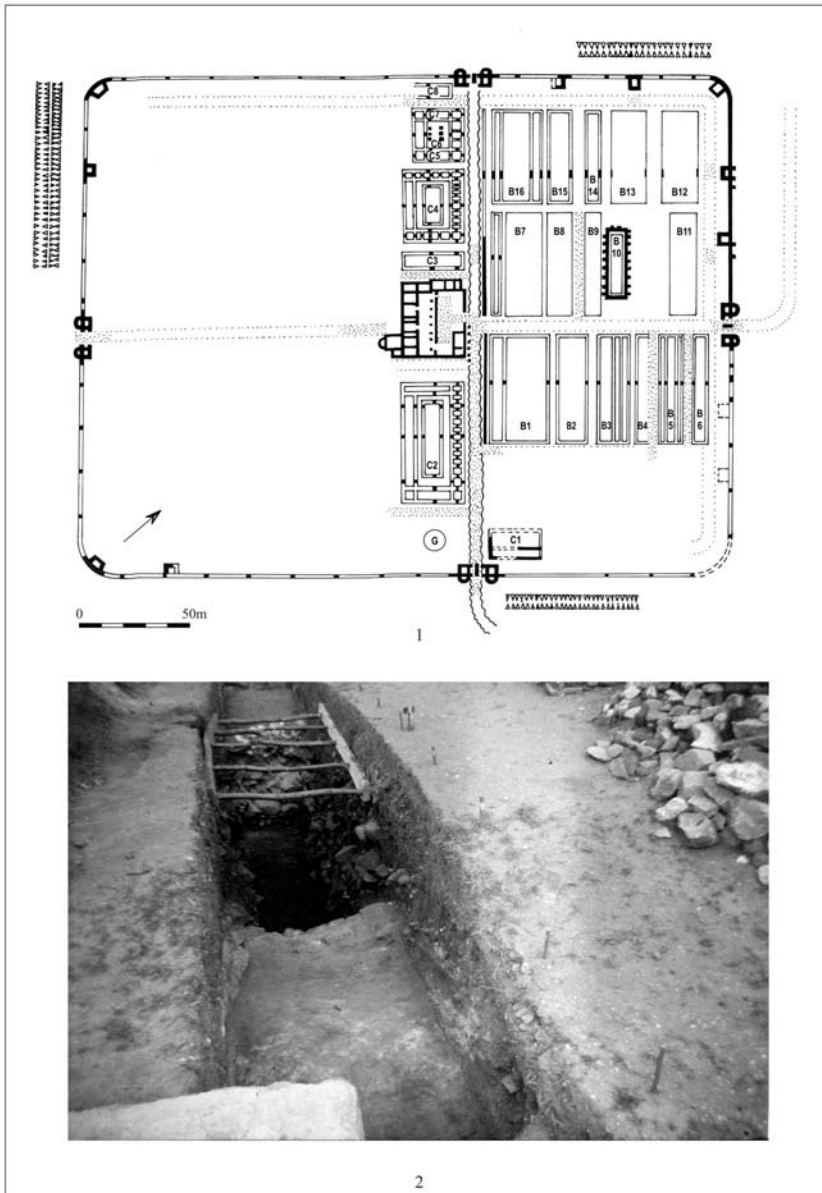
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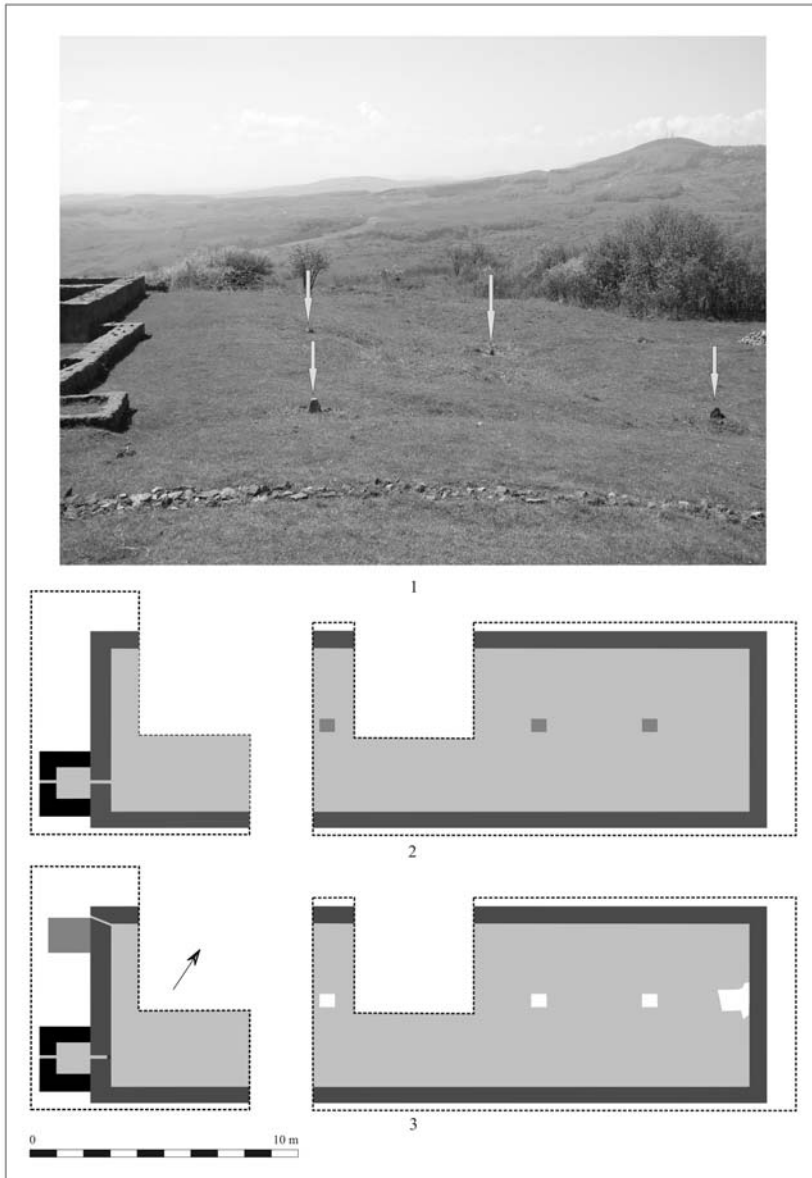
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Pl. I. The excavations from 1984. 1. Plan of the fort (after Gudea 1997a, 47, fig. 25);  
 2. Remains of building C3 from trench S85 (photo: N. Gudea).





Pl. II. Building C3. 1. General view of the site from *via principalis* before the start of new excavations; 2-3. The two main phases of building C3.

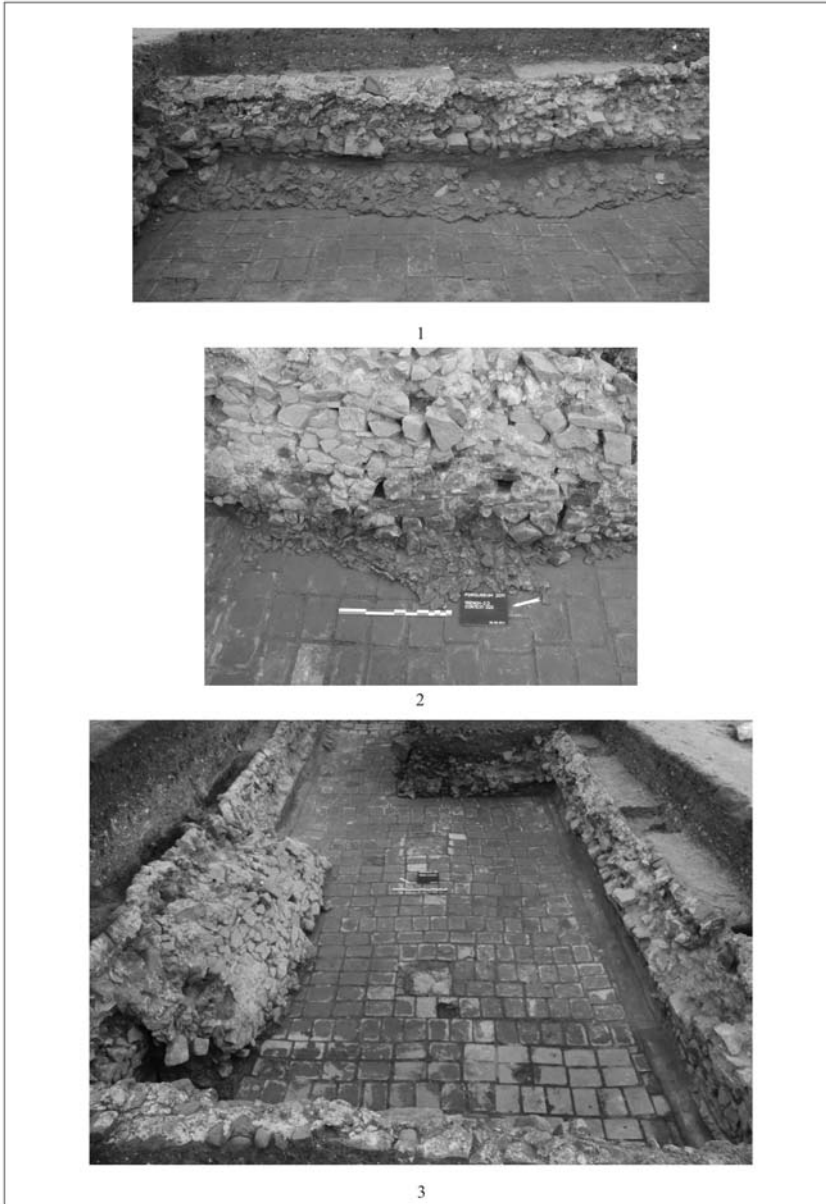


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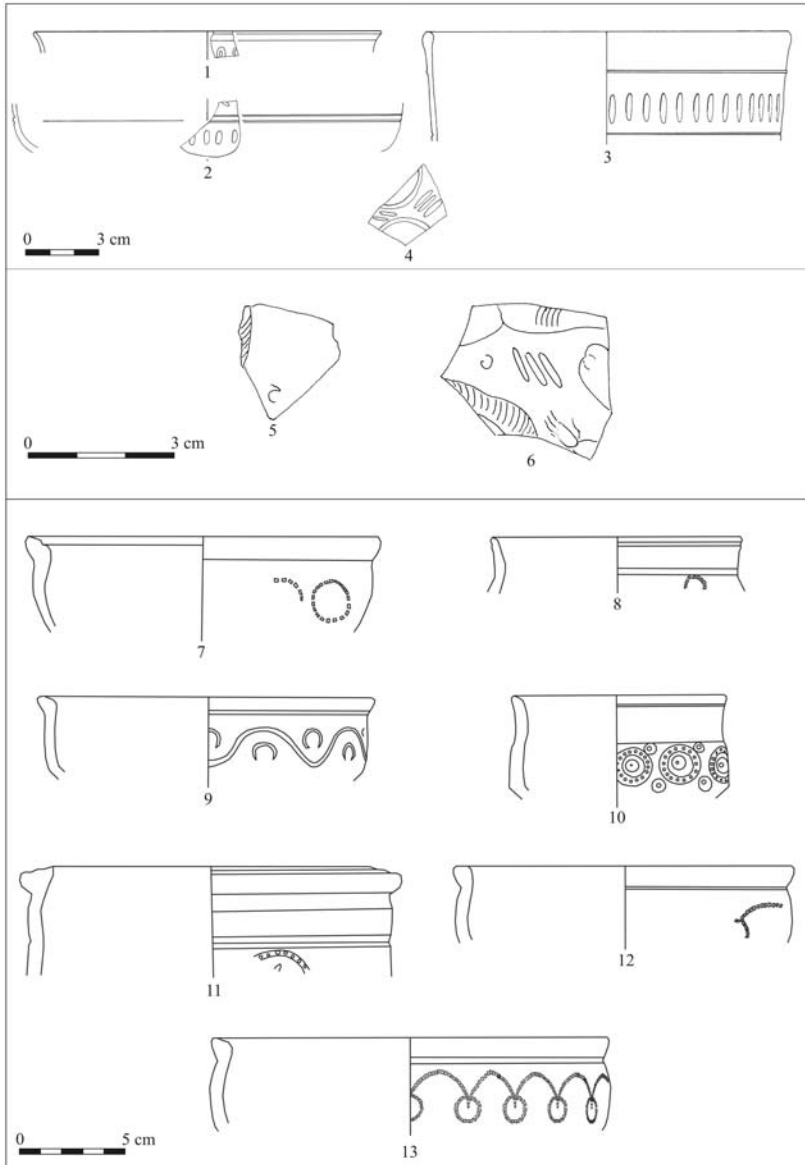


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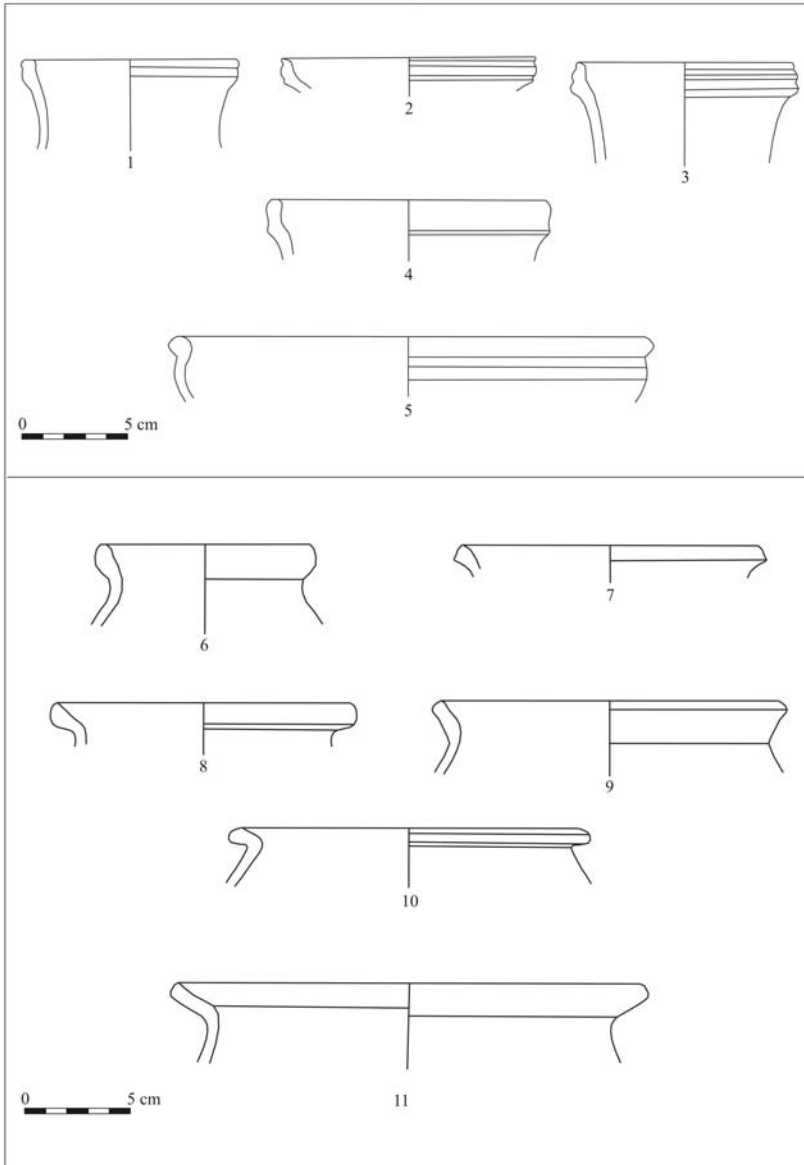
Pl. III. Building C3. 1. Late demolition layer of the building (view from north-east); 2. Upper storey collapsed inside the building (view from south-west).



Pl. IV. Building C3. 1. Demolition of the plaster from the western wall; 2. Demolition of the plaster from the eastern wall with part of the wall collapsed on top; 3. The floor of the building (view from north-east).



Pl. V. Pottery and glass from the layers related to the upper storey. 1-6. Glass vessels (after Höpken/Pánczel 2011, 140, Pl. I/2a, 7, 9, 11, 12-13); 7-13. Local grey stamped pottery (bowls).



Pl. VI. Pottery from the layers related to the upper floor. 1-5. Reduced coarse ware (jugs and bowl); 6-11. Reduced and oxidized coarse ware (jars).

## Pottery in Funerary Context – Some Aspects of Conviviality in Roman Dacia

**Viorica Rusu-Bolindeț**

*Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca*

**Abstract:** Pottery played an important part in Roman funerary rites and rituals, being the main type of archaeological artefact used during funerals, as well as funerary inventory inside the graves. During the two main rites of the Roman era – cremation and inhumation – pottery was used in different stages of the ceremony.

Due to the complexity of the topic, four case studies have been selected in order to illustrate the pottery discoveries in funerary contexts inside the province, in different environments: one of the necropolises of the Illyrian colonists in Alburnus Maior (Tăul Corna); the tumular necropolis of the Norrico-Pannonian colonists in Cașolț (Sibiu County); the Daco-Roman necropolis in Sopor de Câmpie (Alba County); and one of the urban necropolises, i.e. the southern necropolis in Potaissa.

The conclusions of the present analysis provide several specific aspects related to the presence of such artifacts in the funerary inventory of tombs in necropolises from Dacia: the conservative funerary practices of some groups of colonists (both through rites and rituals and their preservation of particular pottery shapes); the absence of luxury pottery imports (*terra sigillata* and other categories of tableware items); the rare presence of ceramic sets. On the other hand, due its massive presence in funerary inventories, pottery indicates the fact that colonists settled in Dacia and the autochthons adopted Roman material culture, a clear sign of the Romanization of the population in Roman Dacia.

**Key words:** necropolis; funerary pottery; cremation; inhumation; Roman Dacia.

**Rezumat:** Ceramica în context funerar – câteva aspecte ale convivialității în Dacia romană. Ceramica joacă un rol important în cadrul riturilor și ritualurilor funerare de epocă romană, ea fiind materialul arheologic preponderent utilizat atât în timpul funeraliilor, cât și ca inventar/mobilier funerar în cadrul mormintelor. În timpul celor două rituri fundamentale cunoscute în epoca romană – incinerarea și înmuțarea -, ceramica romană este folosită în diferitele etape ale derulării ceremoniei funerare.

Data fiind amploarea subiectului, pentru a ilustra descoperirile ceramice din contextele funerare de la scara provinciei, au fost ales patru studii de caz, provenite din medii diferite: una dintre necropolele coloniștilor illyri de la Alburnus Maior (Tăul Corna); necropola tumulară a coloniștilor norico-pannonici de la Cașolț (jud. Sibiu); necropola daco-romană de la Sopor de

Câmpie (jud. Alba); una dintre necropolele din mediul urban – necropola sudică de la Potaissa.

Concluziile obținute în urma acestei analize ne oferă câteva aspecte particulare legate de prezența acestor artefacte în cadrul inventarului funerar al necropolelor din Dacia: conservatorismul unor grupuri de coloniști privind practicile funerare (atât prin rituri și ritualuri, cât și prin păstrarea unor forme ceramice particulare); absența importurilor de ceramică de lux (*terra sigillata* sau alte categorii de veselă); prezența rară a seturilor/serviciilor de vase. Pe de altă parte, ceramica indică (dată fiind prezența ei masivă în cadrul inventarelor funerare) adoptarea de către coloniștii veniți în Dacia, ca și de către autohtoni, a culturii materiale romane, ceea ce reprezintă semnele clare ale romanizării populației din Dacia romană.

**Cuvinte cheie:** necropole; incinerare; înhumație; ceramică funerară; Dacia romană.

## I. Introduction. The role of pottery in funerary ceremonies

Pottery played an important part in Roman funerary rites and rituals, being the main type of archaeological artefact used during the funerals, as well as funerary inventory inside the graves. During the two main rites of the Roman era – cremation and inhumation – pottery was used in different stages of the ceremony.

Thus, cremation required a higher number of objects than inhumation, the former being much more complex. The funerary ceremony consisted of at least two parts. The first was cremation itself, when the body was cremated on an *ustrinum* (special pyre, placed at a different location than the grave) or on a *bustum* (the pyre installed above the grave), along with a series of specific objects: vessels filled with solid food (seldom beverages), glass recipients with perfumes or aromatic oils (*balsamaria*, *unguentaria*), jewelry, items connected to the deceased's former job or occupation, food offerings (usually pork, but other types of meat as well, vegetables and fruits) etc. The dishes from the pyre contain the deceased's supper, ritually served along with the family, reunited for the cremation, and the gods; these details are well documented through epigraphic and literary sources<sup>1</sup>. Other ancient texts indicate that the vessels used by the living were subsequently burnt<sup>2</sup> or destroyed (ritually broken jars, more rarely *amphorae*, whose fragments were scattered)<sup>3</sup>, thus possibly identifying

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<sup>1</sup> Scheid 1984, 131; Scheid 2005, 167.

<sup>2</sup> Virgilius, Servius *apud* Blaizot 2009, 322.

<sup>3</sup> Schneid 1984, 131 (Propertius).

part of the pottery discovered among the remains of funerary pyres as having been used by the living at the *silicernium*.

During a second phase of the cremation ritual, the human bones, after being washed with wine, were put into a funerary urn. This usually was ceramic, but it could also have been glass or any other material. This gesture offers the status of tomb to the remains and places it under the sacred property of the gods<sup>4</sup>. The other remains were totally or partially collected along with the human remains and put into the grave. Even so, in many cases the funerary inventory was formed of objects that had not been formerly burnt. These are the so-called “secondary offerings”, which usually were ceramic vessels, glass recipients, as well as other categories of artefacts. Functionally, they usually were drinking vessels, placed close to the funerary urn. Among them, jars are usually discovered mutilated. Rarely, one finds tableware, cooking or storage vessels. Ceramic lamps are to be added – connected to the belief that the soul needs light in order to get to the underworld, later on becoming the symbol of life after death<sup>5</sup> – and very rarely, *amphorae*. The vessel for solid food usually contains alimentary offerings. The ways in which the recipients were placed inside the grave varies: some stand, some, as drinking vessels seem to have been purposefully turned in order to better store the beverage inside, while other pots with the same functionality and the glass *balsamaria* were broken near or under the urn.

The funerary urn had holes and was covered with a lid, which had a hole of its own for libations.

In the case of inhumation, the offerings inside the grave were much poorer than in the case of cremation. Generally, pottery was predominant as well, especially drinking vessels. The pots can as well be mutilated and are usually placed in relation to the deceased’s body: inside the grave, inside or outside the coffin, on shelves or even on the coffin’s lid. Fragments of intentionally broken pots were discovered, placed outside the grave or on the coffin<sup>6</sup>.

Another type of pottery found in funerary context is that connected to the “residual inventory” (including here the “ritual holes” from cemeteries as well). More specifically, this is the inventory used after the funeral, when commemorating the deceased. The most important commemoration feasts were: *Parentatio*, related to a personal anniversary (day of death or day of birth of the deceased), when sacrifices were made for the *Dii Manes*, and *Parentalia*, celebrated in February and consisting of sacrifices, *parentationes*,

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<sup>4</sup> Blaizot 2009, 315.

<sup>5</sup> Pîslaru/Bărbulescu 2003, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Blaizot 2009, 324-326.



formed of two distinctive parts: ritual sacrifices and a feast<sup>7</sup>. The latter is actually the ceremony that used to take place after nine days from the debut of the funerary festivities, when sacrifices to the *Manes* and the *Lares* were required, in order to obtain the deceased's peaceful rest (*cena novemdialis*). The *Parentalia* sacrifices were made on a pyre place near the tomb and the resulted meat was not served to the living, being totally destined to the gods of the underworld. It marked the permanent separation of the dead from the world of the living<sup>8</sup>.

Besides the libations made through special holes and mechanisms, for the inhumated and the cremated alike, the archaeological traced of the rituals presented above are the "ritual holes" containing fragmentary pottery and calcite bones.

## II. Pottery in funerary contexts in province Dacia

Given the amplitude of the subject, that requires a deeper research, extended at the level of the entire province, we have decided to further present a series of case studies, meant to exemplify some aspects of pottery finds in funerary contexts in Dacia.

The state of research concerning the cemeteries from Dacia (Pl. I) is not very advanced<sup>9</sup>, many blind spots remaining, especially concerning the rural cemeteries<sup>10</sup>, but the ones adjacent to camps and forts<sup>11</sup> as well – for

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<sup>7</sup> Scheid 2005, 178.

<sup>8</sup> Scheid 1998, 79; Bărbulescu 2003; Scheid 2005, 205; Blaizot 2009, 326.

<sup>9</sup> One can mention the most representative necropolises researched in Roman Dacia: Porolissum – Macrea/Protase/Rusu 1961; Gudea 1989, 143-156; the most recent articles about the new excavations and interdisciplinary researches made on the necropolises from Porolissum at Alföldy-Găzdac et al. 2007; Napoca – Hica-Câmpeanu 1977; Hica 1999; Hica 2004; Apulum – Macrea/Protase 1959; Protase 1959; Protase 1961; Protase 1974; Berciu/Wolski 1975; Blăjan/Popa 1983; Moga 1987; Inel et al. 2002; Dragotă/Rustoiu 2003; Necropolele 2003; Gligor et al. 2005; Ciugudean 2006; Inel 2008; Ota 2009; Bounegru 2010; Fântâneau et al. 2010; Fântâneau et al. 2010a; Gligor et al. 2010; Bounegru 2011; Ciugudean 2011; Inel 2011; Potaissa – Milea/Hopârtean/Luca 1978; Luca/Hopârtean 1980; Bărbulescu 1994, 84-91; Pîslaru 2007; Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa – Daicoviciu/Floca 1937; Daicoviciu et al. 1974-1975; Marcu/Rădeanu/Țintea 2002; Băeștean et al. 2007; Micia – Andrițoiu 2006; Drobeta – Benea/Tătulea 1975; Benea 1980; Romula – Babeș 1970; Popilian 1986; Sucidava – Popilian/Bondoc 2012 etc.

<sup>10</sup> Among the necropolises discovered and published from rural contexts, one can mention those in Sopor de Câmpie – Protase 1976; Obreja – Protase 2002; Locusteni – Popilian 1980.

<sup>11</sup> The cemeteries used by soldiers from the two legions stationed in Dacia were partially researched in Apulum (Ciugudean/Ciugudean 2000a; Ciugudean 2006; Bounegru 2010; Ciugudean 2010; Ciugudean 2011) and Potaissa (Bărbulescu 1994, 84-91).

example. At the same time, revealing an urban cemetery is logistically difficult due to the placement of modern cities above ancient ruins, thus the resulted researches often being incomplete and/or revealing too few tombs for drawing relevant conclusions<sup>12</sup>.

For the present study, we have chosen the following case studies: 1. Cemeteries of the colonists, individualized through rites, rituals and/or inventory (the Tău Corna cemetery from Alburnus Maior for the Illyrian miners brought into Dacia for the gold exploitations from the Apuseni Mountains; the tumuli cemetery from Cașolț for the Norican-Pannonian colonists from southern Transylvania); 2. Rural cemeteries of the local population or of free Dacians brought into the province (Soporu de Câmpie); 3. Urban and/or military cemeteries (the southern necropolis from Potaissa) (see Pl. I).

### **1. The Tău Cornu cemetery from *Alburnus Maior*.**

Alburnus Maior is renowned in specialist literature as an important centre for gold mining in Roman time. It was located in the north-western part of the province, in the Apuseni Mountains, almost at 60 km North-West of Apulum (Pl. I). The Roman wax wooden writing-tablets (discovered in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) and the epigraphic monuments already known, record the massive presence of the Illyrian colonists of peregrine status in the population of Alburnus Maior<sup>13</sup>. Recorded as miners from Dalmatia, they were brought by the Romans to exploit the gold ores from Apuseni Mountains, immediately after the Roman conquest of Dacia<sup>14</sup>.

Yet, the importance of the site has been matched by archaeological research. Till 2000, the finds were the result of chance discoveries or of small scale excavation. From 2000 onwards, extensive excavations conducted at the request of Roșia Montana Gold Corporation have revealed the miners settlements, cemeteries and sanctuaries. Up to now, there have been investigated five cremation cemeteries (Hop-Găuri, Țarina, Jig-Piciorag,

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<sup>12</sup> Márton 2008, 146.

<sup>13</sup> On the bibliography related to the wax tablets discovered in Alburnus Maior, see Piso 2005, 272 and n. 8; Simion/Damian 2007, 141 and n. 1-2. The most recent synthetic works on the presence of Illyrian miners in Alburnus Maior, making use of all epigraphic and archaeological data available in that moment are the ones provided by I. Piso (2003) and R. Ardevan (2004). A synthesis work on votive and funerary monuments in Alburnus Maior in Ciongradi 2009.

<sup>14</sup> From the ample specialized bibliography focusing on the presence of Illyrians in Roman Dacia, one can mention the most representative works here: Floca 1936-1940; Floca/Valea 1965; Russu 1969; Wilkes 1969, 153-158; Rusu 1979; Rusu 1992-1994; Ciobanu 1999; Nemeti/Nemeti 2003, 401-439 etc.

Pârâul Porcului-Tăul Secuilor) and two funerary areas (Carpeni and Szekeley), comprising more than 1450 funerary structures<sup>15</sup>.

One of the sites recorded in 2002, in the south-eastern part of the modern settlement, Tău Corna (Pl. II), comprise 295 graves (Pl. III). The funeral rite was exclusively cremation, with 135 of burials (46%) brought from *ustrinum* (Pl. IV/1-2), and 155 (54%) were *in situ* cremation (*bustum*) (Pl. IV/3-4)<sup>16</sup>.

From 135 graves with an *ustrinum* cremation, 117 have simple pits, with the depositing of the cremation remains un-separated inside the pit and 15 graves with the human bones partially separated from the rest of the cremation material (probably put into a recipient made of organic material). Only one funerary enclosure was found; it contained four graves (Pl. V). Cremation remains were normally deposited in the lower part of a pit and only three were placed in a pottery vessel. For the *in situ* cremations, 140 had simple pits and 15 had a step-pit<sup>17</sup>. In the case of 66 graves, the funerary space was delimited by simple "ring" arrangements - circular or rectangular upper-lining of un-mortared stones of various dimensions (Pl. VI).

The majority of graves (258 = 82%) have grave goods added after cremation (secondary offerings) (Pl. VI-VII). Most cases were placed in the upper part of the pit. Apart from the pottery, the graves contained iron objects (nails, knife blades, mining tools such cramps, spikes, wedges and the metal frames of a wooden box, key); bronze objects: mirrors, keys, a ring; glass vessels (*unguentaria*, *balsamaria*, *guttus*), 19 bronze coins (most corroded by the acid soil), some jewelry, pieces of silex and obsidian and two funerary lions.

57 graves (18%) had no inventory.

The vessel types are very limited; most comprise flagons, imitations of colour-coated wares, tazze (*turibula*), and various jars. Bowls, lids and dishes are rare. Imported pottery is absent, both here and in other local cemeteries, perhaps a reflection of the social status of the colonists<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Damian/Simion 2007, 141. The results of recent archaeological research performed in Alburnus Maior between 2000 and 2006 were published in three monographs: Alburnus Maior I (in Romanian and English), Alburnus Maior II, Alburnus Maior III/1 and in several preliminary archaeological reports published in *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice (CCA)* - see Simion/Damian 2007, 141, footnotes 4-7. At the same time, archaeological excavations performed on the incineration necropolises in Tăul Secuilor-Pârâul Porcului and Hop Găuri, were partially valorized - see Neagu/Bocan 2007-2008, Bocan et al. 2010. The synthesis articles on the funerary practices of the Illyrian community from Alburnus Maior in the light of the most recent archaeological research in Simion/Damian 2004, Simion/Damian 2007; Damian/Simion 2008.

<sup>16</sup> Damian/Simion 2008, 29-30.

<sup>17</sup> Damian/Simion 2008, 29.

<sup>18</sup> For the typology of the Roman pottery discovered in the cemetery from Tău Corna see Rusu-Bolindeț et al. 2008.

The pottery from the cemetery includes: *terra sigillata* imitations (a dish imitating the form Drag. 36 (Pl. VIII) and a bowl imitating the form Drag. 40; colour-coated beakers (19 types and 8 variants) – with or without handle (both had a fine orange fabric and a good quality slip) (Pl. VIII). They comprised 15% of the pottery. The beakers appear single or often in twos, in associations with single handled flagons, tazze and lamps.

The single handled flagons were the most numerous vessels (46%). They fall into 47 types and 15 sub-types (Pl. IX). Single handle flagons are generally small, some imitating metal recipients with elegant, elaborate shapes. Where they appear twice or more in a grave (until four) they seem to comprise sets of the same general shape. Some have traces of secondary burning - evidently incorporated in the *ustrinum*; others, added later in the grave, like secondary offerings, have the bottom deliberately broken or where manufactured with a hole in the base, perhaps linked to the „thirst of the dead“.

The tazze (*turibula*) have high pedestal-foot and the dominant shape is hemispherical. 14 basic types and 12 variants were identified (Pl. X). They only occur in sets of 2 or mainly 4 in rich graves (Pl. VII).

The jars were mainly the funerary containers (3 cases) or fragmentary within the graves (Pl. X). They represent 1% of the total vessels.

The other vessels – lids and bowls - occur only occasionally (Pl. X).

Analysis of the 295 grave funerary inventories stresses the importance of pottery as an offering, with 70% of the items. This underlines the poverty of the dead.

The most frequent association of vessels are: flagons, beakers and *turibula* (tazze), occasionally with one more lamps. The jars were used either as cremation containers or as receptacles for offerings. Regarding the functionality of the vessels used as secondary offerings, most of them are recipients for liquids (cups and jars), along with receptacles used for burning aromatic oils (*turibula*) and lamps. Other types of pots, as those used for storage or cooking solid food are very rare. We also note the total absence of *amphorae*.

The rich graves suggest deliberate manufacture and purchase of funerary vessels; some even have manufacturing flaws (Pl. XI). In the same grave category, the pots were frequently placed in the corners of the pit (Pl. VII/2) or on one of its sides (Pl. VI/2). The graves some times reflect the occupational status of the dead, for example the presence of the silex fragments and the iron ore lumps.

The overall assemblage of the 295 graves emphasizes their modest character. The lack, for example, of high quality pottery, such *terra sigillata* and jewelry, the rarity of funerary monuments accords with the low social

status of those buried<sup>19</sup> - most probably miners - and the chronology of the graves (the three quarters of 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>20</sup>) supports this suggestion.

The Illyrian population from Dacia conserved old funerary practices and beliefs, thus becoming distinct inside the provincial society. They manifest a certain preference for the simple ritually burnt pit and for the tumulus with stone ring, these being distinctive characteristics of the pre-Roman Illyrian funerary practices<sup>21</sup>. On the other side, the inventory is completely Roman, obviously including the pottery. All these pieces of information lead to observing the Romanization of a rather conservatory ethnic group, which progressively integrates itself into the provincial society by adopting the Roman material culture<sup>22</sup>.

## **2. The tumular cemetery at Cașolț (Sibiu county)**

Situated in the southern part of Transylvania (Pl. I), the tumular cemetery of Dealul Bradului, from the "La Mormiņi" point, was systematically researched from 1954 to 1957. It is formed of more than 300 tumuli, among them 66 systematically excavated, 81 untouched and the others previously disturbed by treasure hunters (Pl. XII/1). The diameter of the tumuli varies between 8 and 17 m, sizes being directly connected to the age and status of the deceased<sup>23</sup>. In each tumulus one person was buried, seldom two, probably members of the same family. They had been orderly arranged, in lines of 2-8 tumuli, oriented E-W, with access paths between the tumuli.

The funerary rite is exclusively cremation, made on the spot of the future tumulus (Pl. XII/2-3). Then, the funerary remains were gathered in the centre of the pyre or deposited in a low level pit, excavated under the pyre before its erection.

After the cremation, vessels were broken on the funerary remains and their fragments spread outside the area of the pyre, to the borders of the funerary mound. The ritual breaking of the pots is to be connected with the

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<sup>19</sup> The tombs of Illyrian miners in Ruda-Brad, for example, contain the same type of funerary inventory - see Rusu 1992-1994.

<sup>20</sup> Damian/Simion 2008, 31.

<sup>21</sup> Rusu 1992-1994, 139-140; Nemeti/Nemeti 2003, 436-439. The idea of a different degree of Romanization of colonists settled after the Roman conquest, as well as that of the acculturation phenomenon that took place in the province, can also be found in Opreanu 2003, 267-274.

<sup>22</sup> A similar case can be noted in the eastern part of Dalmatia, where the study of necropolises and settlements in the area has led to the formulation of the same conclusions on the gradual Romanization of the province's inhabitants over an interval of two centuries - see Wilkes 2005.

<sup>23</sup> Sonoc/Grișcan 2001-2002; Husar 2003, 352-353 and n. 16-22, with the previous bibliography.

funerary banquet held before concluding the ceremonies<sup>24</sup>. Afterwards, vessels with offerings were put into the grave: a big pot centrally – storing jar (Pl. XIII, 13; XV) – which held a goblet made of fine ware (Pl. XIII, 1, 8-12, 14), possible the recipient for various liquid offerings (wine, oil), as well as other vessels used for serving solid food (tureens, plats, dishes) (Pl. XIII, 6-7, 15, 17, 20) or for cooking/storing pots, some of them even containing bird bones.

The funerary inventory is mainly made of pottery (Pl. XIII-XV), but as well as of dress accessories (bronze and silver brooches), jewelry (a golden earring, glass or stone beads), a comb with iron teeth, iron shoe spikes, arrow heads, iron cramps, spikes etc. The coins, either discovered inside tumuli or on the area of the cemetery, indicate that these funerals mainly took place during the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (the last coin is to be dated 140-144 AD and is an emission of Marcus Aurelius Caesar)<sup>25</sup>, but the discovery of some bronze brooches and of an enamel pendant elongates the active period of the necropolis towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD<sup>26</sup>.

The ceramic pots were used as primary offerings (they have secondary burning traces), as well as secondary offerings. In the latter hypostasis, they have been discovered either inside graves, either on the funerary hearth, ritually broken after the banquet.

The pottery pieces discovered inside the Cașolț tumuli are generally Roman provincial vessels, wheel-made; they appear along with recipients in the late La Tène tradition, with analogies in the Norican-Pannonian cultural environment. A special form is the “Dreifußschale” *tripēs* pot (Pl. XIII, 4, 16; XIV), present in most of the tumular graves from Cașolț<sup>27</sup> as a secondary offering. The most frequent association is that between a storing jar (the “main pot”, due to its dimensions and its position inside the grave), made of coarse ware and holding a fine ware cup, along with a *tripēs* bowl and a plate – the latter two made of coarse ware; storage jar, jug, cup, plate. The pots made of coarse ware, oxidized or reduced ware (especially plates, rouletted cups, tripods bowls, tureens) are present in the same graves as the fine ware recipients, with a high quality slip (especially cups, but some jugs, plates and bowls imitating the *terra sigillata* as well)<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Macrea/Berciu 1955, 602; Husar 2003, 354.

<sup>25</sup> Macrea/Berciu 1955, 611; Husar 2003, 355.

<sup>26</sup> Macrea et al., 1959, 409 and fig. 9.

<sup>27</sup> Macrea/Berciu 1955, 602; Husar 1999, 174, with the corresponding bibliography, and with the catalogue of *tripēs*-type vessels in Cașolț (178-179), partially illustrated on Pl. I-II; taken up in Husar 2003, 357-361.

<sup>28</sup> Macrea 1957, 131-134, fig. 9-10.

As the Illyrians from the Apuseni Mountains, the Norican-Pannonians from southern Transylvania are individualized at a provincial level through their funerary conservativeness. They stick to the funerary rites of their provenience areas – Noricum and Pannonia – by marking the graves with tumuli. But the greater part of the funerary inventory is Roman, though it conserves some particular pottery types, as the *tripes*/tripod bowls that characterized the late La Tène period in Raetia, Noricum and Pannonia<sup>29</sup>.

### 3. The Daco-Roman or Dacian necropolis from Soporu de Câmpie

It is placed in the Transylvanian Plateau, 20 km north-east of Turda, in the spot called “La Cumpenit” (Pl. I). It had been systematically investigated between 1956 and 1961. 189 Roman graves have been discovered, among which 168 incinerations and 21 inhumations (exclusively children graves)<sup>30</sup>. Among the incineration graves, 136 are characterized by cremation on an *ustrinum*, with the remains subsequently put into an urn and 27 are incineration graves with a simple, circular, unburnt pit. There are no funeraries with a *bustum*, nor graves with more elaborate tile or stone sarcophagi arrangements.

89 graves present an inventory. This varies, but it is mainly formed of pottery, along with clothing accessories (bronze and silver brooches, bronze plates), jewelry (bronze and silver earrings, glass and bronze rings, silver, bronze and iron pendants, bronze bracelets, glass beads), a lead glass, iron knives, nails, a glass and some bronze coins.

The pottery discovered in the incineration graves from Soporu de Câmpie is quite diverse, being formed of two main categories: Roman provincial pottery, wheel made (Pl. XVII-XVIII) and Dacian handmade pottery (Pl. XIX). Most of the recipients were used as urns (Pl. XVI-XVII). As typology, the jars are predominant, the Roman ones having no handle, or 1 to 3 handles, being made of fine oxidized ware (Pl. XVII). The same type of vessels, of different dimensions and shapes, made of reduced coarse ware, without handles, were largely used as funerary urns (60 artefacts). The other types of vessels found inside the graves – bowls, plates (Pl. XVIII/2, 7-8), even a ceramic glass – were used as lids for the urns and less frequently as primary or secondary offerings<sup>31</sup>. Jugs were also changed into urns through the breaking of the superior side (Pl. XVIII/9).

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<sup>29</sup> The most recent synthesis work on „Dreifußschale“/*tripes*-type vessels in the Roman Empire (including Dacia) is the study of V. Swan – see Swan 2009.

<sup>30</sup> Protase 1976, 73-76; Nemeti/Nemeti 2003, 416.

<sup>31</sup> Protase 1976, 74.

The handmade Dacian vessels were used as urns as well (Pl. XIX). The coarse ware jars, with no handles, are predominant in this category as well (38 pieces); they are decorated with alveoli girdles and buttons on the shoulder etc. As a traditional Dacian form, the so called "Dacian cups" were also discovered (6) as secondary offerings inside the graves.

The inhumation tombs present a very poor inventory - only two of them with held a cup and few Roman pottery fragments.

The dating of the necropolis, base on the inventory, is in 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, with the predominance of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century tombs (135), compared to the one belonging to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (75). Regarding the ethnic origin of the deceased from Sopor de Câmpie, the opinions are divided. Some researchers believe that the graveyard from Sopor de Câmpie (as well as the ones from Obreja, Locusteni and Lechința de Mureș) could belong to the Dacians inhabiting the province, given the presence of funerary urns and of the Dacian pottery, both also encountered during the pre-Roman period<sup>32</sup>. On the other side, the circular unburned pits, along with the *ustrinum* burning and certain inventory pieces (filigree silver earrings, bronze pendants etc.), could be attributed to the free Dacians (the Carps), colonized during the Marcomanic wars<sup>33</sup>. The possibility of cohabitation in this area of Dacians and certain colonists from the Dalmatian-Pannonian area is also plausible<sup>34</sup>.

The Sopor de Câmpie necropolis illustrates once more, along with the other previous examples, the ways in which different ethnic groups individualize themselves at a provincial level. In the funerary aspect, the most conservative one pertaining to spiritual life, they conserve the pre-Roman rite (in the given case, incineration with the deposition of the remains in an urn) and specific artefacts (handmade pottery and "Dacian cups"). On the other side, they adopt Roman material elements (fine quality pottery, various objects) and certain aspects of the spiritual life (Charon's obol), thus taking important steps towards Romanization.

#### 4. The urban necropolises - Potaiasa

The ancient settlement had more than one necropolis, but they have only been partially excavated. Many tombs were accidentally discovered and the majority, being visible stone sarcophagi or tile constructions, were robbed during antiquity or later on.

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<sup>32</sup> Opreanu 1998, 96-124.

<sup>33</sup> See Protase 1972, 593-607; Opreanu 1998, 96-104; Nemeti/Nemeti 2003, 434.

<sup>34</sup> Nemeti/Nemeti 2003, 434.



Until 1994, 114 graves had been found at Potaissa<sup>35</sup>, all of them consisting of sarcophagi or brick arrangements. The leverage incineration/inhumation is definitely inclined toward inhumation: 112 inhumation graves as compared to 2 incineration ones. Of course, this ratio cannot be real, but it was most probably caused by the lack of close analysis at the time when the discoveries were made. Unfortunately the inventory of these robbed tombs is very poor, consisting of jugs (rarely other ceramic types), lamps, and few jewels or clothing accessories (earrings, beads, hair pins, fibulae)<sup>36</sup>.

The recent preventive researches, undertaken in the area of the southern necropolis (Pl. XX), led to the discovery of one incineration grave and of eight inhumation ones. 4 of the inhumation tombs were made of tiles and belonged to adults and 4 were stone sarcophagi belonging to children (Pl. XX/2-3). Unfortunately, they had also been robbed during antiquity, thus lacking any inventory. In exchange, from the area of the tombs and of a circular complex a significant quantity of pottery and large bovine bones were collected. 69% of the pottery consists of drinking vessels, pouring or liquid storing recipients (mainly flagons, cups and bowls)<sup>37</sup>, along with a few lamps (Pl. XXI-XXII). Inside the mentioned complex, 79% of the discovered pots were serving or cooking wares; they came along an iron knife, which determined the author of the discovery to identify this place as the area where the funerary banquet was being prepared and held, later on transformed into a residual pit<sup>38</sup>.

The pottery discovered in the area of the southern necropolis of Potaissa is entirely Roman and customary for urban funerals. The same preference for drinking vessels and lamps, along with *turibula* for aromatic oils, has been observed in other urban necropolises as well (with mixed graves), such as Apulum<sup>39</sup>, Napoca<sup>40</sup>, Romula<sup>41</sup> etc. This is a normal detail, the inhabitants of cities being obviously more Romanized than the ones from rural environments. Interesting to note is the lack of imported pottery, such as the Samian ware or valuable pottery sets.

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<sup>35</sup> Bărbulescu 1994, 84-91, with the corresponding bibliography; in 2007 they reached 136 graves – see Pîslaru 2007, 342 and footnote 9.

<sup>36</sup> Bărbulescu 1994, 90.

<sup>37</sup> Pîslaru 2007, 343, Pl. 8-11, 16.

<sup>38</sup> Pîslaru 2007, 343-344, Pl. 12-15.

<sup>39</sup> Protase 1974, *passim* – the 135 tombs discovered in the necropolis on Podei Hill.

<sup>40</sup> Hica 1999, *passim* – 135 inhumation and one incineration tombs discovered on Plugariilor St.

<sup>41</sup> Popilian/Bondoc 2012.

#### IV. Conclusions

The case studies undertaken on the pottery discovered in necropolises from different spots of the province, belonging either to rural, specific ethnic groups, or to, as seen, an urban centre, offered an interesting image on the role played by pottery in funerary contexts in province Dacia.

Pottery is the predominant material of tombs belonging to both rites<sup>42</sup>.

On one side, it marks the conservativeness of certain colonist groups regarding their funerary practices, as rites and rituals, as well as through specific types of vessels (the *tripes* pots in the Norican-Pannonian tumuli or the Dacian handmade pottery from the cremation graves with urns of the Daco-Romans or of the Dacians colonized in the province). On the other side, pottery also indicates (given its massive presence) the adoption by colonists and natives alike of the Roman material culture, as a clear sign of Romanization<sup>43</sup>.

A particular feature of Dacia can be established based on the pottery's quality. The tombs lack imported *terra sigillata*, even in the urban areas and those adjacent to camps and forts, where the monetary situation of the inhabitants must have been quite good. This could be explained by the high costs of these types of product, as well as by certain conservativeness, which would make new ceramic types and forms less acceptable. But this supposition is rather contradicted by the fact that *sigillata* imitations, along with other specific Roman types, have been discovered inside graves. Another explanation is the lack of a local elite willing to underline its social and material status through rich tombs (tumuli, impressive funerary monuments), as it is the case with Pannonia. Here the pottery (*terra sigillata* and common pottery alike) is part of a rich funerary inventory, formed of large sets of bronze or glass dishes, weapons, jewels, fighting chariots etc. and the ones buried in such graves were members of the local aristocracy of the *Boii*, *Eravisci* etc<sup>44</sup>.

Another specificity of Dacia is the rare presence of vessel sets characteristic to the funerary inventory – as the set discovered at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa<sup>45</sup> – or of sets consisting of bowls, cups, *turibula*,

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<sup>42</sup> For analogies see Castella 1987, 27-31, 39, fig. 16-20, pl. I-XXVI; Topál 1993; Alexandrova 2013 etc.

<sup>43</sup> See the volume Burial, Society and Context (especially the articles of Jovanović 2000, Topál 2000; Fasold 2000, but also Struck 2000; Esmonde Clearly 2000 etc.) for a complex analysis of the funerary practices from the Roman Empire, including for the point of view of the connection between the burial and ethnicity.

<sup>44</sup> Márton 2008, 150-152; a similar situation in Roman Britain – see Struck 2000, *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> Egri 2004.

lamps, formed of identical or different pieces, probably gathered by the family for the funeral, but which are of a quite modest intrinsic value.

As in other provinces, in Dacia we also have a so-called funerary pottery, produced and commercialized as such; it was formed of sets of identical vessels, some of them with fabrication flaws<sup>46</sup> or special holed, made before burning. Among them, of course, one also finds types used in the everyday life.

Given the value of the information to be extracted from pottery placed in funerary contexts, regarding rites and rituals, continuity and discontinuity of beliefs and practices<sup>47</sup>, the Romanization degree of certain groups, its profound research should be an important goal for future researches.

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### Illustrations

**Pl. I.** Archaeological researched cemeteries from Roman Dacia (after Atlas-dicționar, map XXIII).

**Pl. II.** Archaeological sites identified on the territory of Alburnus Maior (after Simion, Damian 2007, pl. 2).

**Pl. III.** Tău Corna cemetery: 1-2. General view (after Alburnus Maior III/1, 2008, pl. 338); 3. General plan (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. 4).

**Pl. IV.** Tău Corna cemetery: 1-2. Graves with cremation brought from *ustrinum* (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. 341-342); 3-4. Graves with *in situ* cremation (*bustum*) (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. 341-342).

**Pl. V.** Tău Corna cemetery: funerary enclosure (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. VI).

**Pl. VI.** Tău Corna cemetery: 1-3. Grave goods - secondary offerings (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. 341).

**Pl. VII.** Tău Corna cemetery: 1-2. Grave goods - secondary offerings (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. 341-342).

**Pl. VIII.** Tău Corna cemetery: pottery offerings (after Alburnus Maior III/1, 61-67).

**Pl. IX.** Tău Corna cemetery: pottery offerings (after Alburnus Maior III/1, 35-49).

**Pl. X.** Tău Corna cemetery: pottery offerings (after Alburnus Maior III/1, 51-60, 68).

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<sup>46</sup> Tuffreau-Libre 2000, 53-54, fig. 6.3.

<sup>47</sup> The topic of continuity/discontinuity of funerary practices from the pre-Roman time to the Roman period, particularly with the evidence of the funerary inventory, will be the subject of another analysis. A synthesis study on this subject for Gaul at Blazot 2009, 329-335.

- Pl. XI.** Tău Corna cemetery: pottery offerings with manufacturing flaws (after Alburnus Maior III/1, 39, 43, 53, 56, pl. 29).
- Pl. XII.** The tumular cemetery from Cașolț: 1. General plan (after Macrea 1957, pl. I); 2-3. Tumular graves (after Macrea et al. 1959, fig. 2, 6).
- Pl. XIII.** The tumular cemetery from Cașolț: funerary inventory (photos made by V. Rusu-Bolindeț; after Macrea 1957, fig. 8).
- Pl. XIV.** The tumular cemetery from Cașolț: funerary inventory - *tripes* (Dreifußschale) (photos made by V. Rusu-Bolindeț).
- Pl. XV.** The tumular cemetery from Cașolț: funerary inventory (photos made by V. Rusu-Bolindeț; after Macrea et al. 1959, fig. 7).
- Pl. XVI.** Soporu de Câmpie cemetery: funerary urns (after Protase 1976, fig. 7, 9-13).
- Pl. XVII.** Soporu de Câmpie cemetery: Roman funerary urns (photos made by S. Odenie; after Protase 1976, Pl. XLVII).
- Pl. XVIII.** Soporu de Câmpie cemetery: Roman funerary pottery (after Protase 1976, pl. L).
- Pl. XIX.** Soporu de Câmpie cemetery: Dacian handmade funerary urns (photos made by S. Odenie; after Protase 1976, Pl. XLI-XLII) (no scale).
- Pl. XX.** Southern cemetery of Potaissa: 1. Plan (after Pîslaru 2007, pl. 2); 2-3. Sarcophagi (after Pîslaru 2007, pl. 5/A-B).
- Pl. XXI.** Southern cemetery of Potaissa: pottery from the tombs area (after Pîslaru 2007, pl. 8-9).
- Pl. XXII.** Southern cemetery of Potaissa: pottery from the tombs area (after Pîslaru 2007, pl. 10-11).

## ABBREVIATIONS

ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj.
Apulum	<i>Apulum</i> . Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
Arhivele Olteniei	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
CAH	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
CCA	Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, București.
Cercetări arheologice	Cercetări arheologice, București.
Dacia (N. S.)	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie: Nouvelle Série (N. S.), București.
EDR	<i>Ephemeris Dacoromana</i> , Accademia di Romania, Rome.
EphNap	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca
Forschungen	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Sibiu.
MCA	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
Patrimonium	<i>Patrimonium Apulense</i> . Anuar de arheologie, istorie, cultură, etnografie, muzeologie, conservare, restaurare, Alba Iulia.
Apulense	
Potaissa	<i>Potaissa</i> . Studii și comunicări, Turda.

- RMM(M) Revista muzeelor și monumentelor. Seria muzee, București, 11 (1974) – 26 (1989)
- Sargetia *Sargetia*. Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva.
- SCIV(A) Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie, București.
- Terra Sebus *Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, Sebeș.
- Thraco-Dacica *Thraco-Dacica*. Institutul de Tracologie, București.

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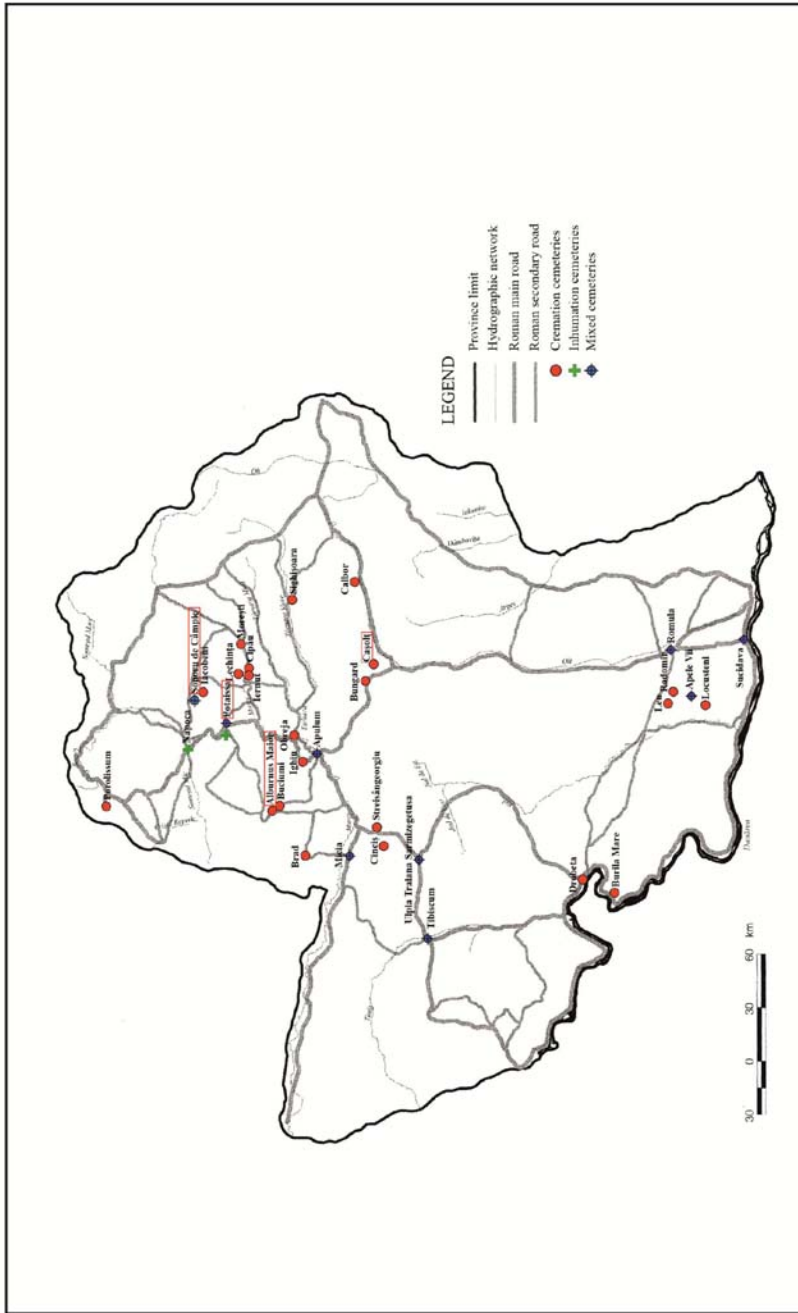
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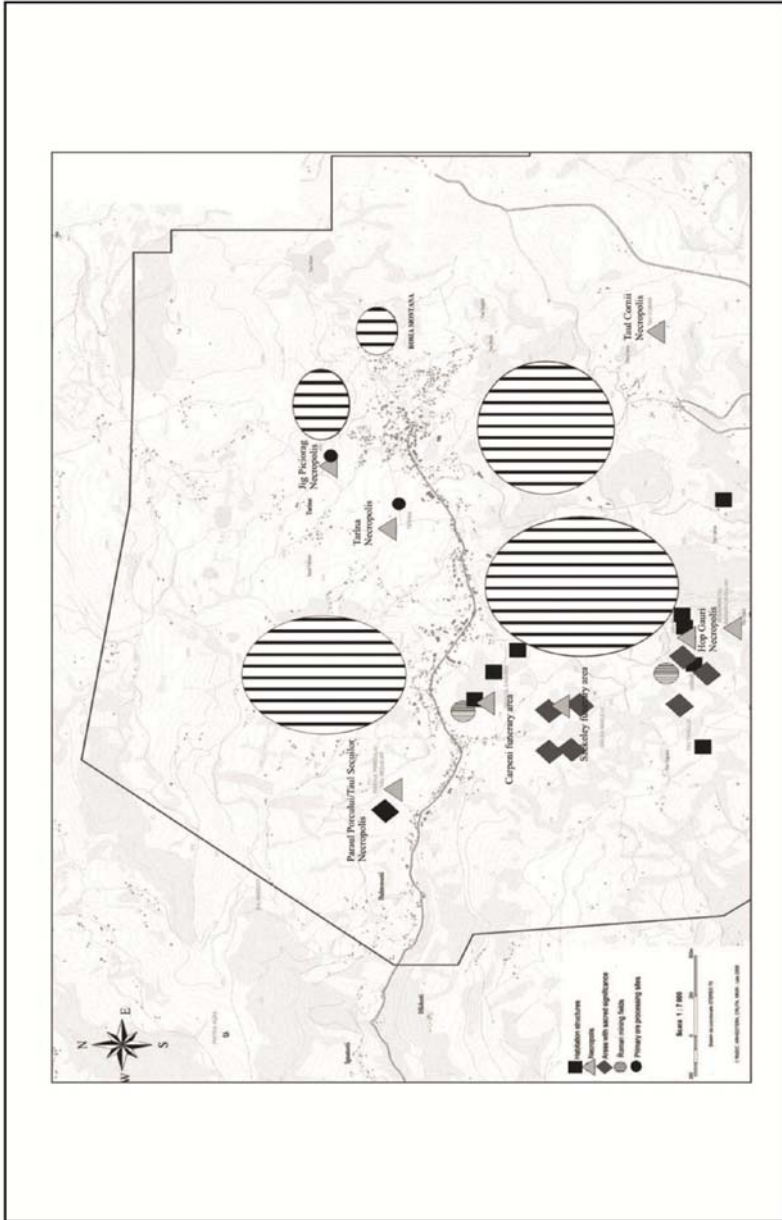
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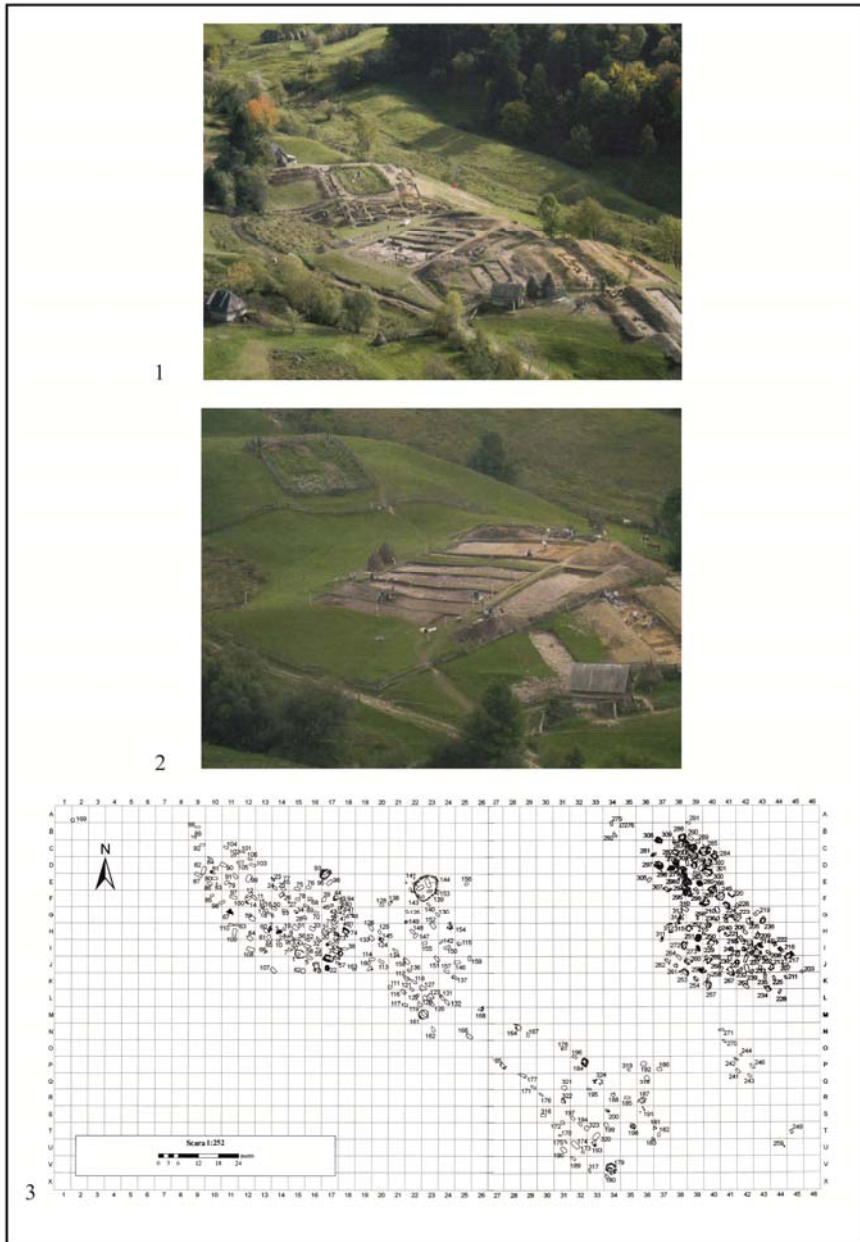
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Pl. I. Archaeologically researched cemeteries from Roman Dacia (after Atlas-dictionar, map XXIII).

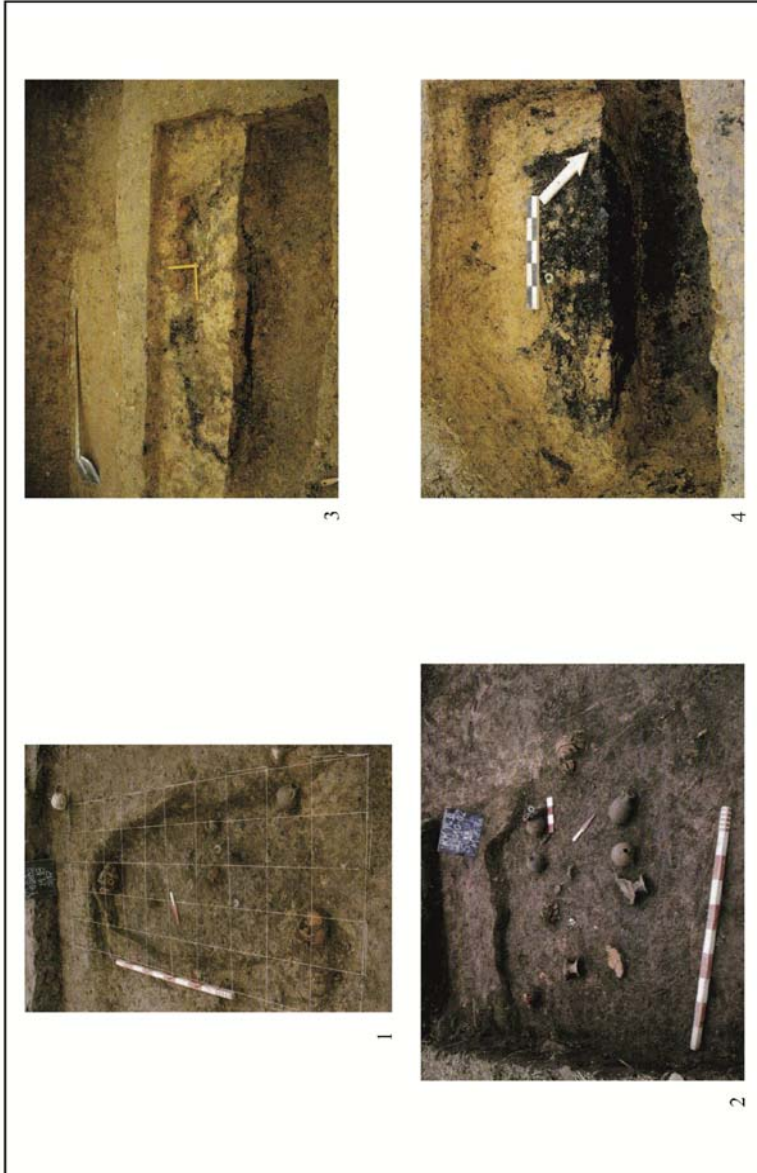


Pl. II. Archaeological sites identified on the territory of Alburnus Maior (after Simion, Damian 2007, pl. 2).

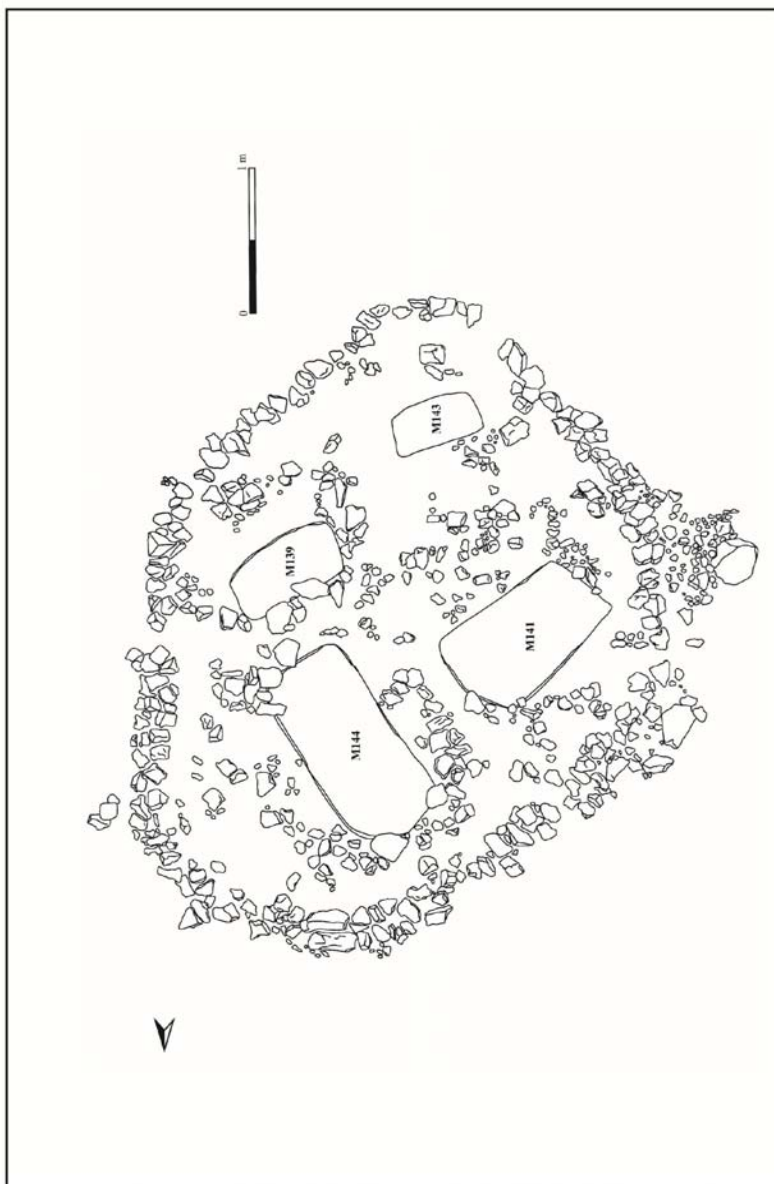


Pl. III. Tău Corna cemetery: 1-2. General view (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. 338);  
 3. General plan (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. IV).

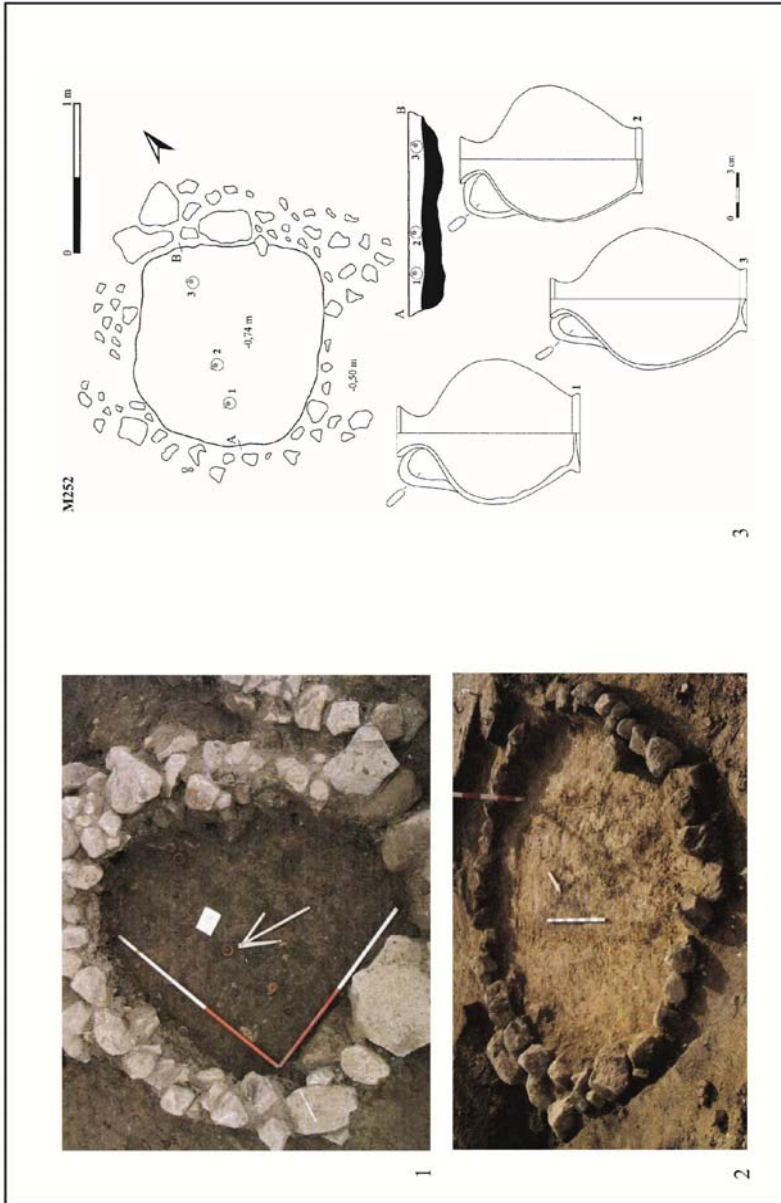




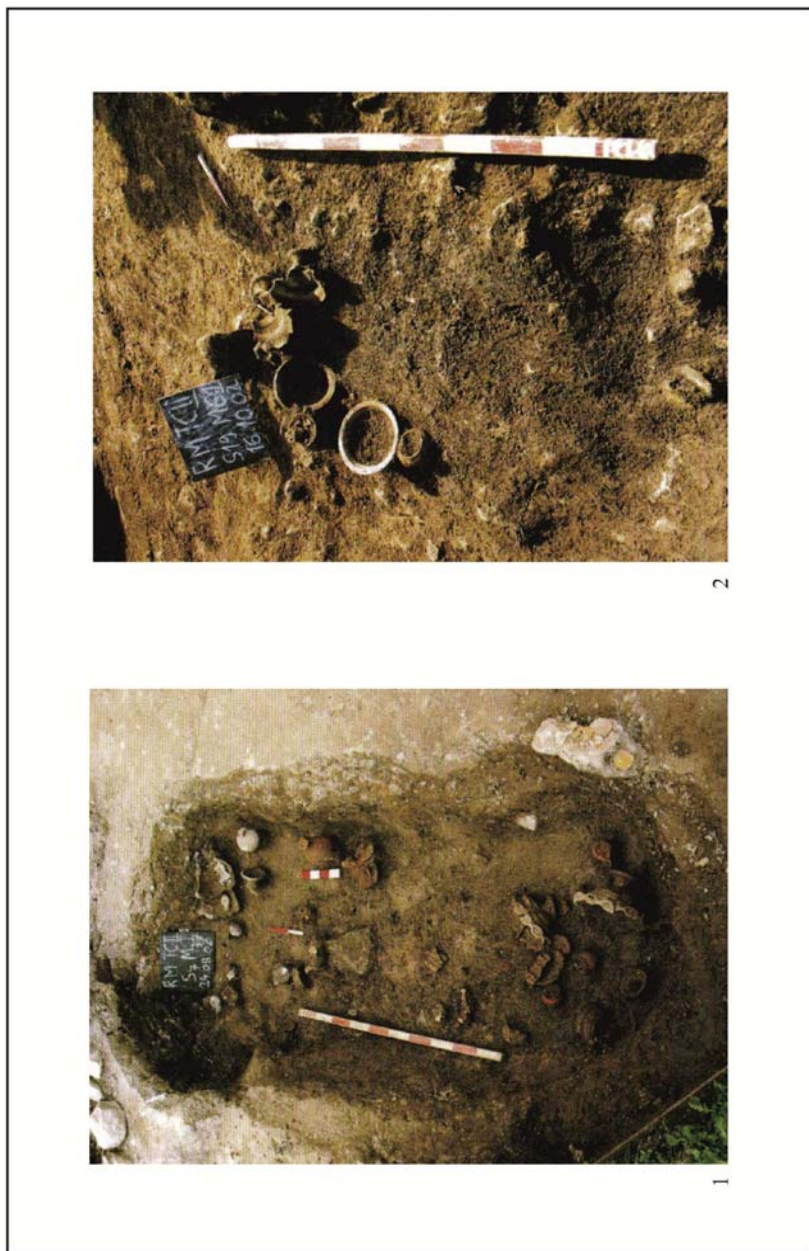
Pl. IV. Tău Coma cemetery: 1-2. Graves with cremation brought from *ustrinum* (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. 341-342); 3-4. Graves with *in situ* cremation (*bustum*) (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. 341-342).



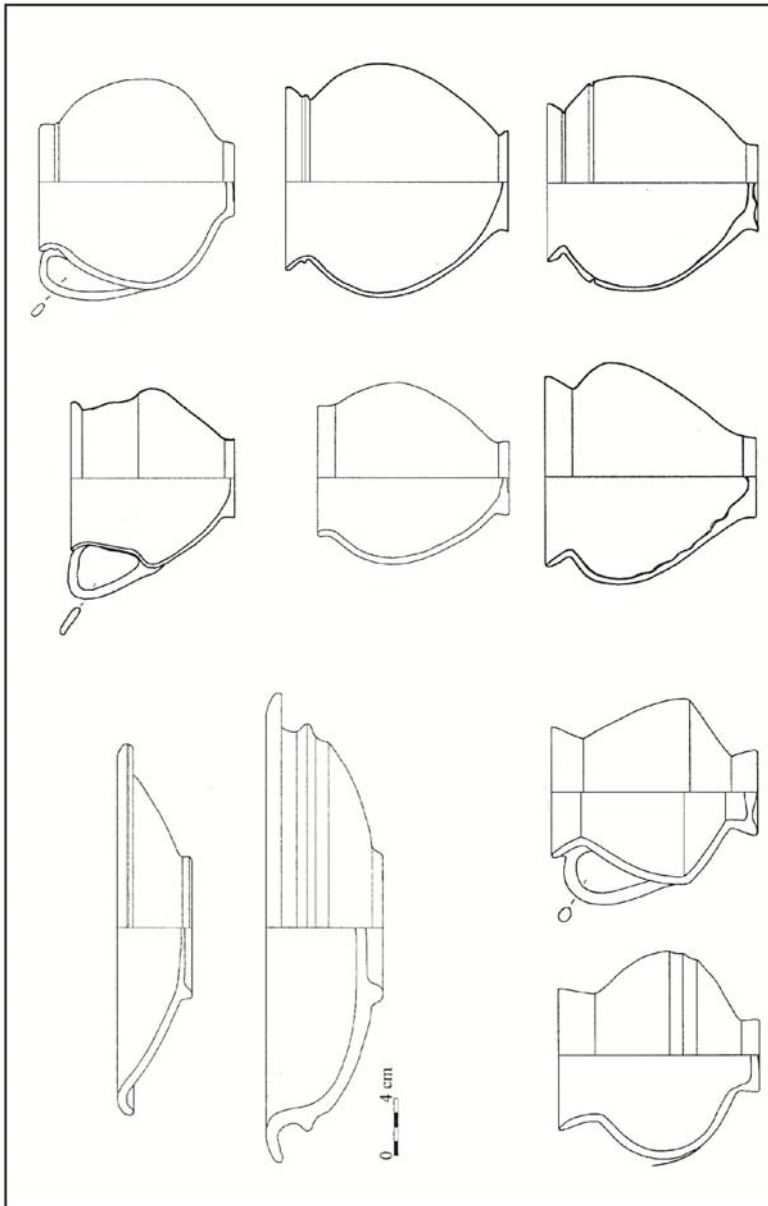
Pl. V. Tău Corna cemetery: funerary enclosure (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. VD).



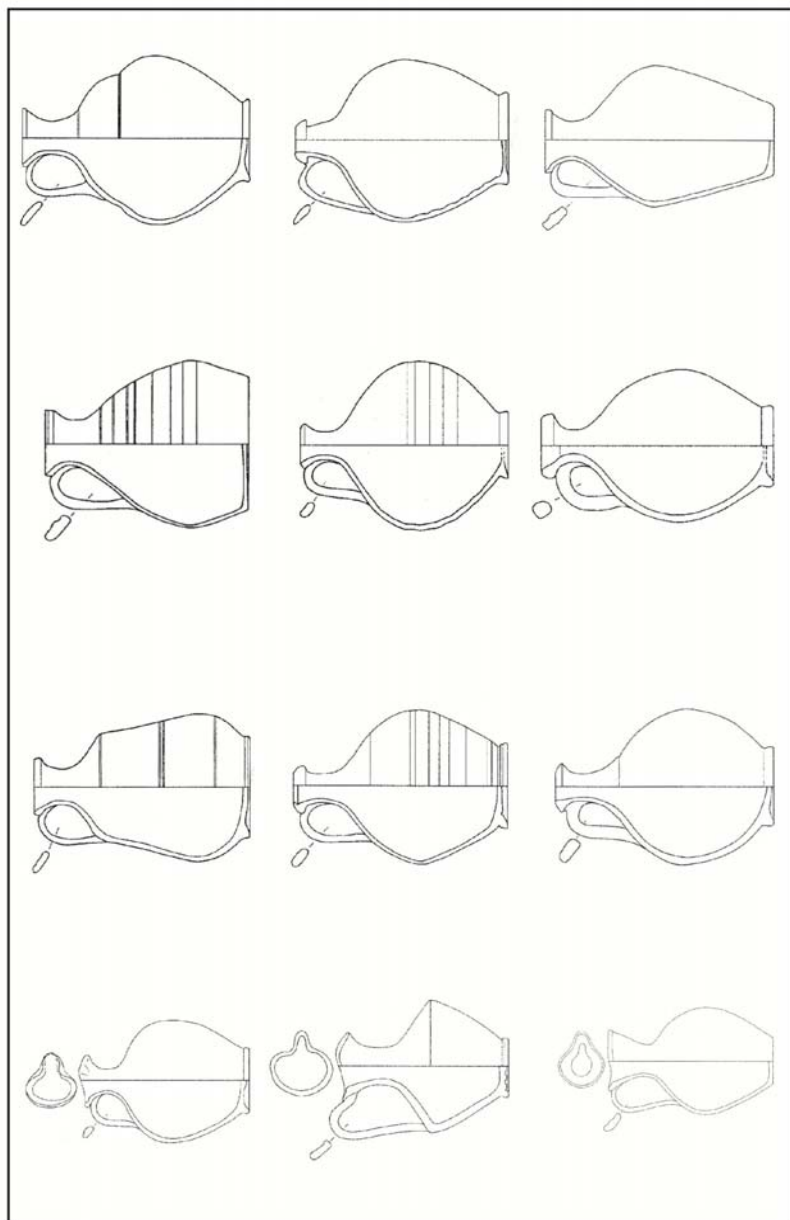
Pl. VI. Tău Corma cemetery: 1-3. Grave goods - secondary offerings (after Alburnus Maior III/1, pl. 340, 234).



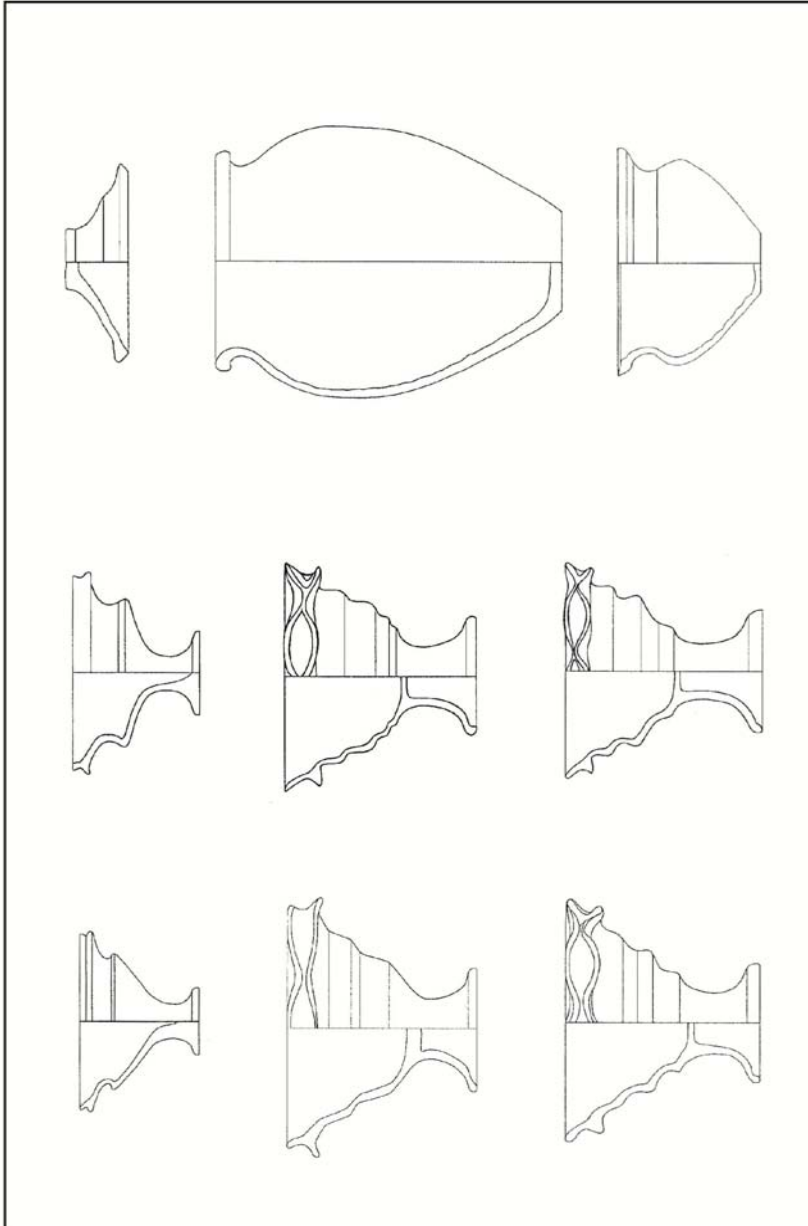
Pl. VII. Tău Corna cemetery: 1-2. Grave goods - secondary offerings (Albumus Maior III/1, pl. 341).



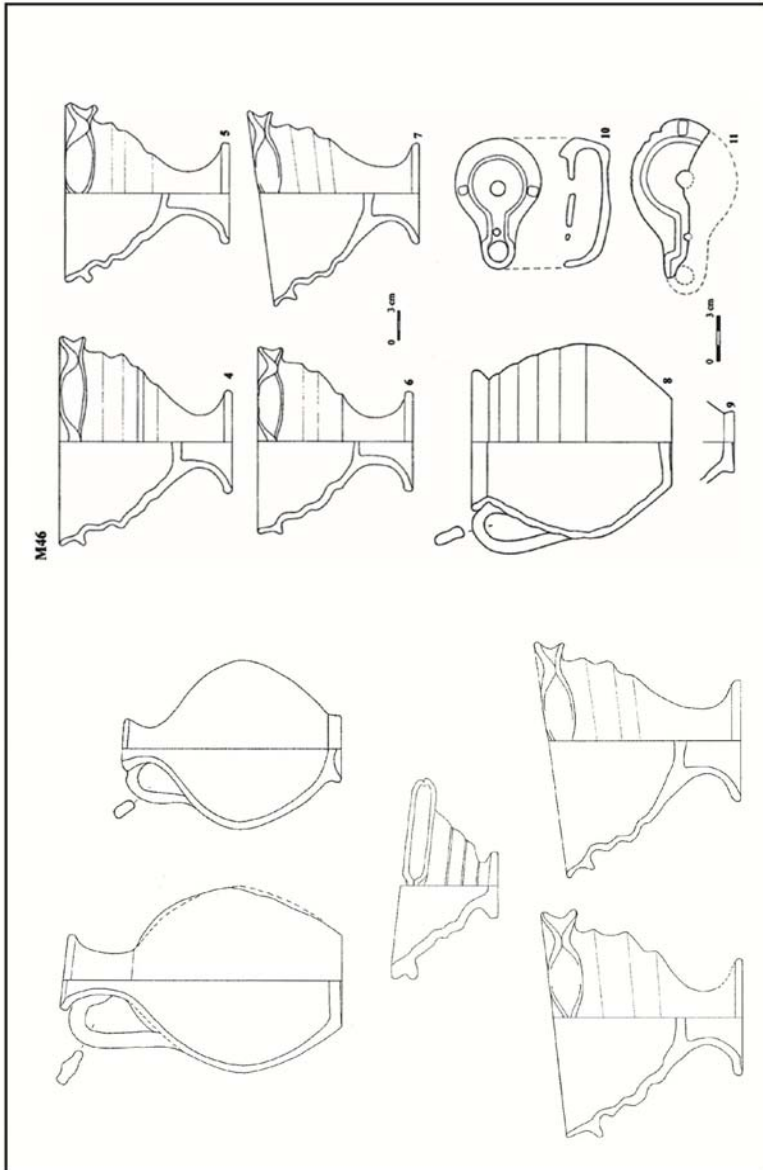
Pl. VIII. Tau Corna cemetery: pottery offerings (after Alburnus Maior III/1, 61-67).



Pl. IX. Tău Corna cemetery: pottery offerings (after *Albumus Maior III/1*, 35-49).

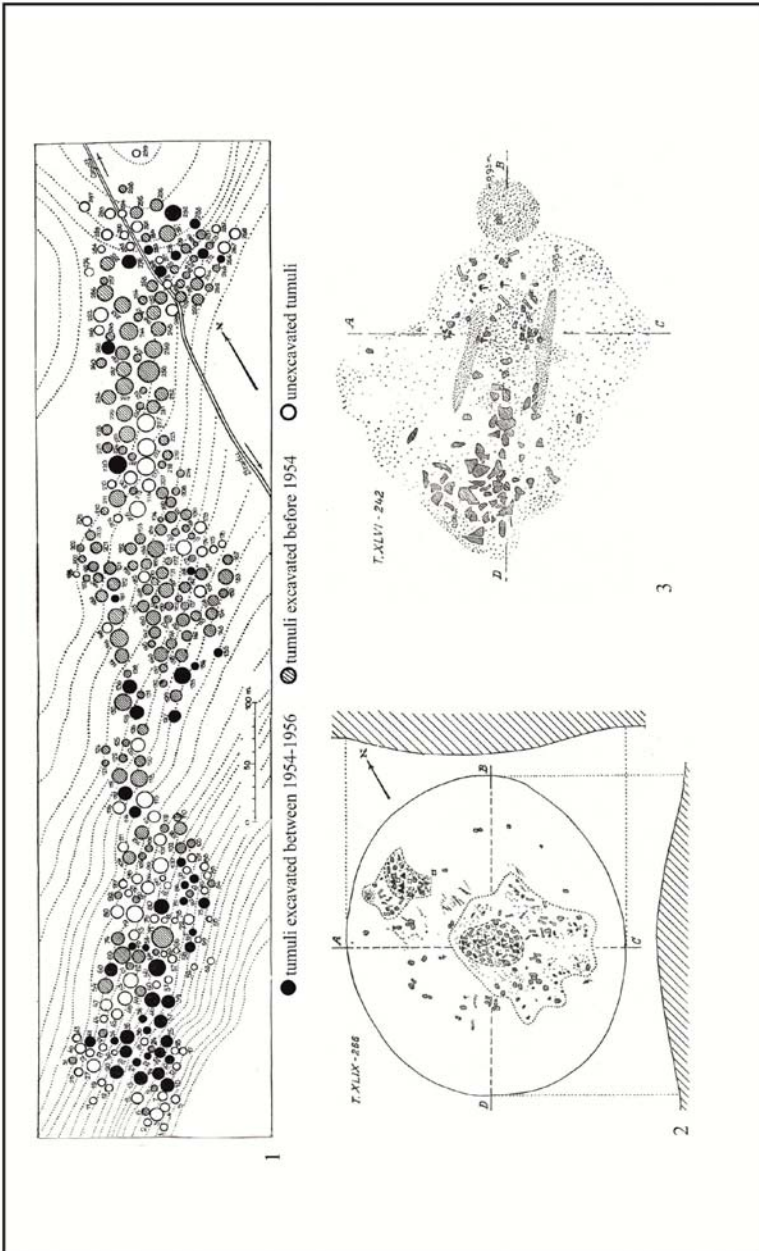


Pl. X. Tău Coma cemetery: pottery offerings (after Alburnus Maior III/1, 51-60, 68).

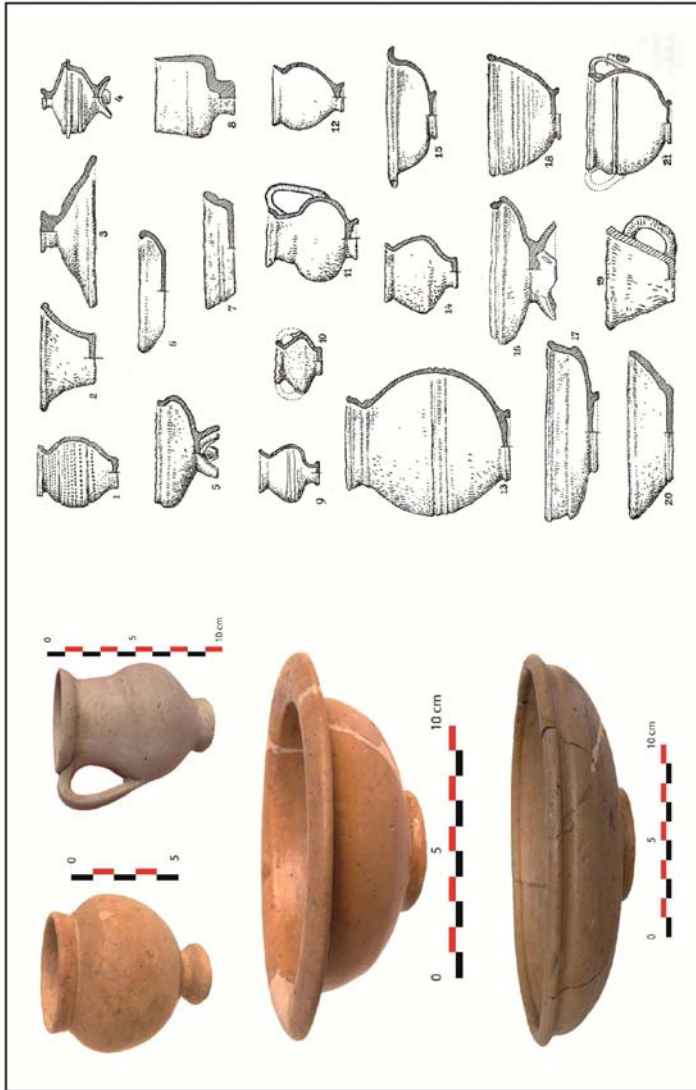


Pl. XI. Tău Corna cemetery: pottery offerings with manufacturing flaws (after Alburnus Maior III/1, 39, 43, 53, 56, pl. 29).





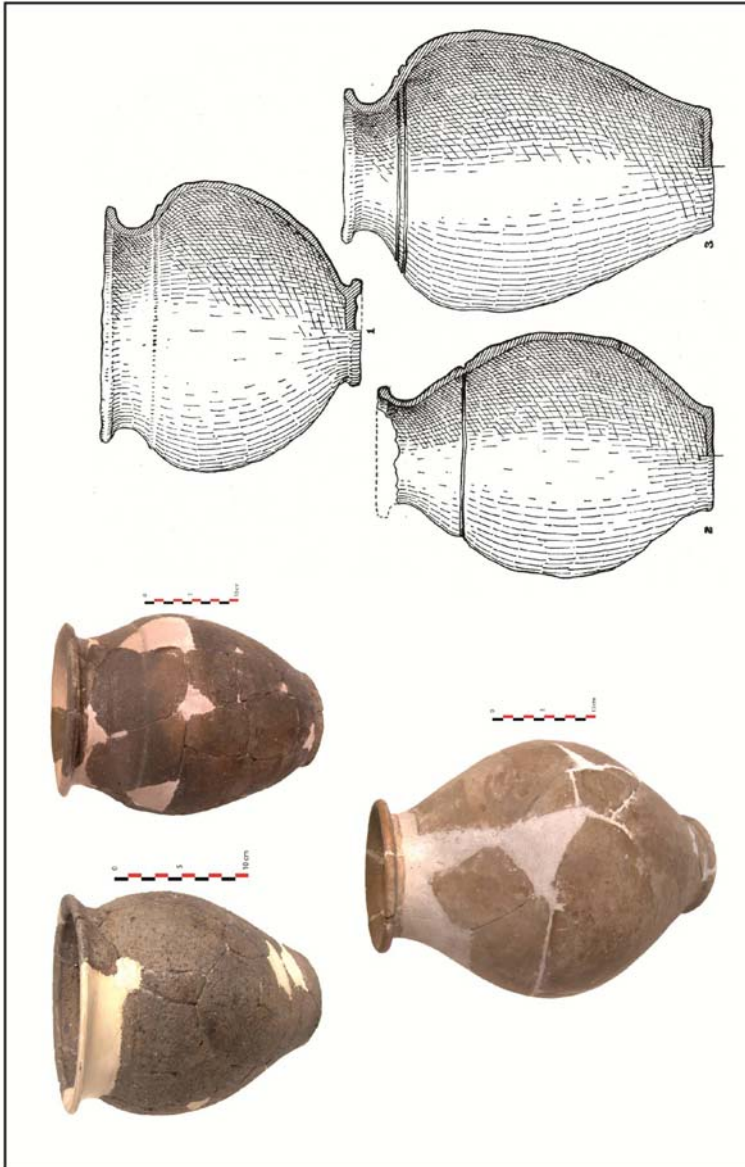
Pl. XII. The tumular cemetery from Cașolți: 1. General plan (Maerea 1957, pl. D); 2-3. Tumular graves (Maerea et alii 1959, fig. 2, 6).



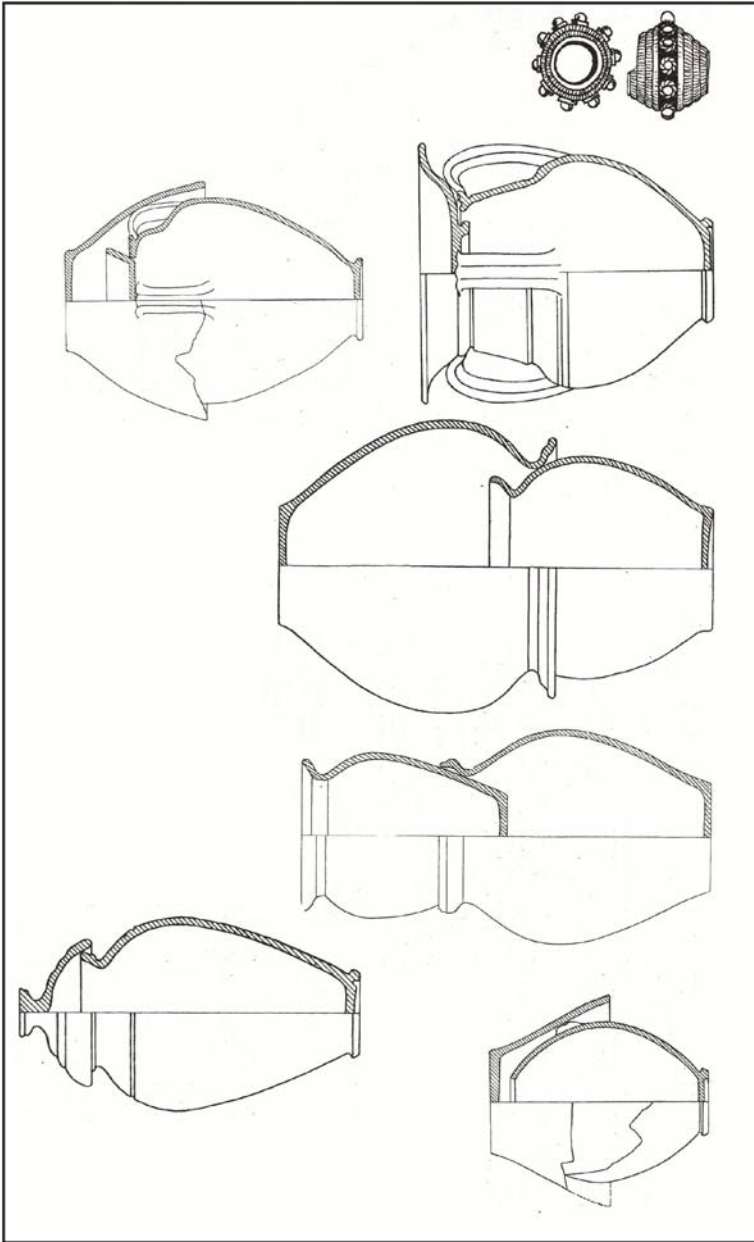
Pl. XIII. The tumular cemetery from Cașolt: funerary inventory (photos made by V. Rusu-Bolindelț; after Macrea 1957, fig. 8).



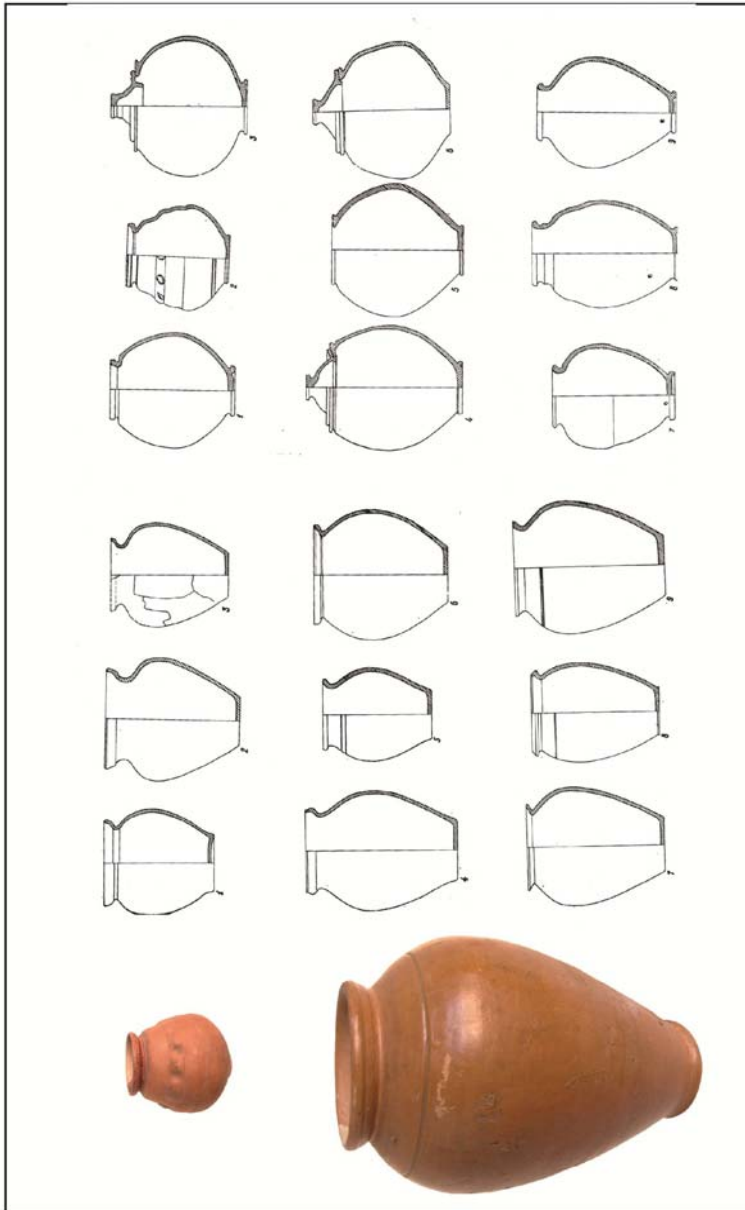
Pl. XIV. The tumular cemetery from Caşolț: funerary inventory - *tripes* (Dreifußschale) (photos made by V. Rusu-Bolindel).



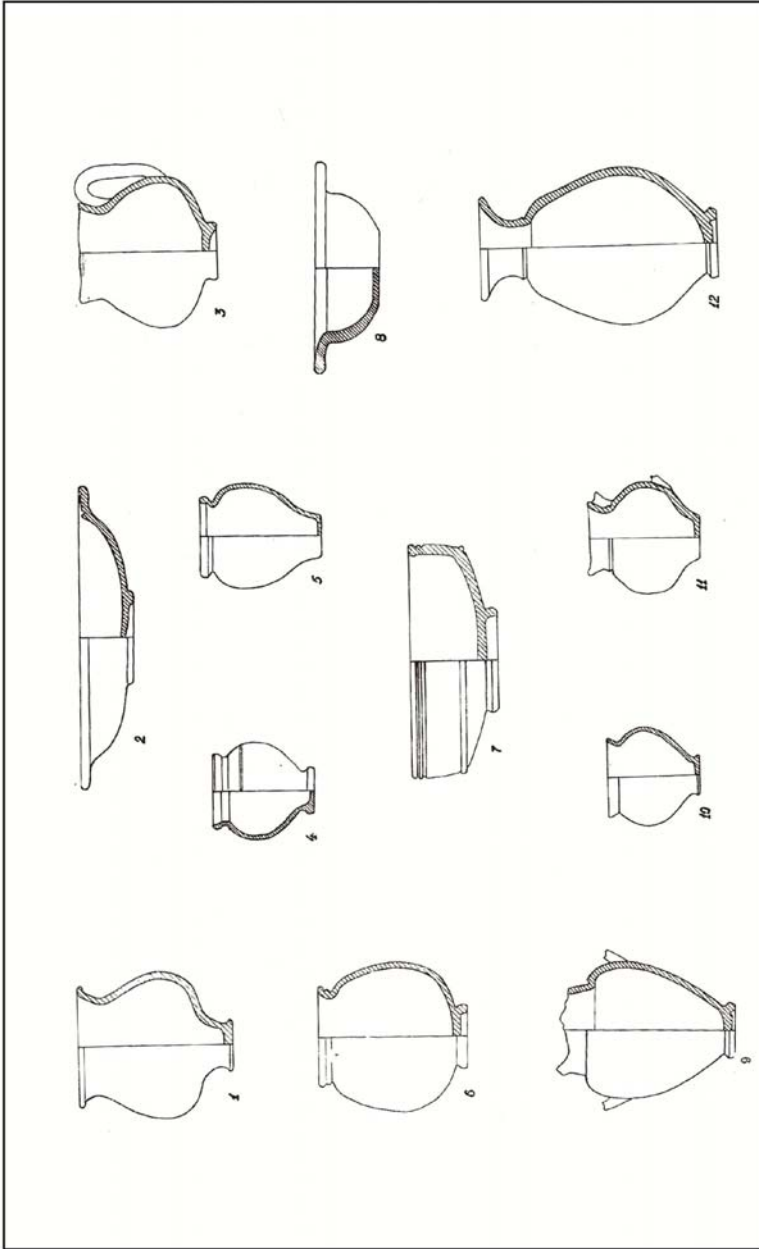
Pl. XV. The tumular cemetery from Cașolț; funerary inventory (photos made by V. Rusu-Bolindeț; after Macrea et alii 1959, fig. 7).



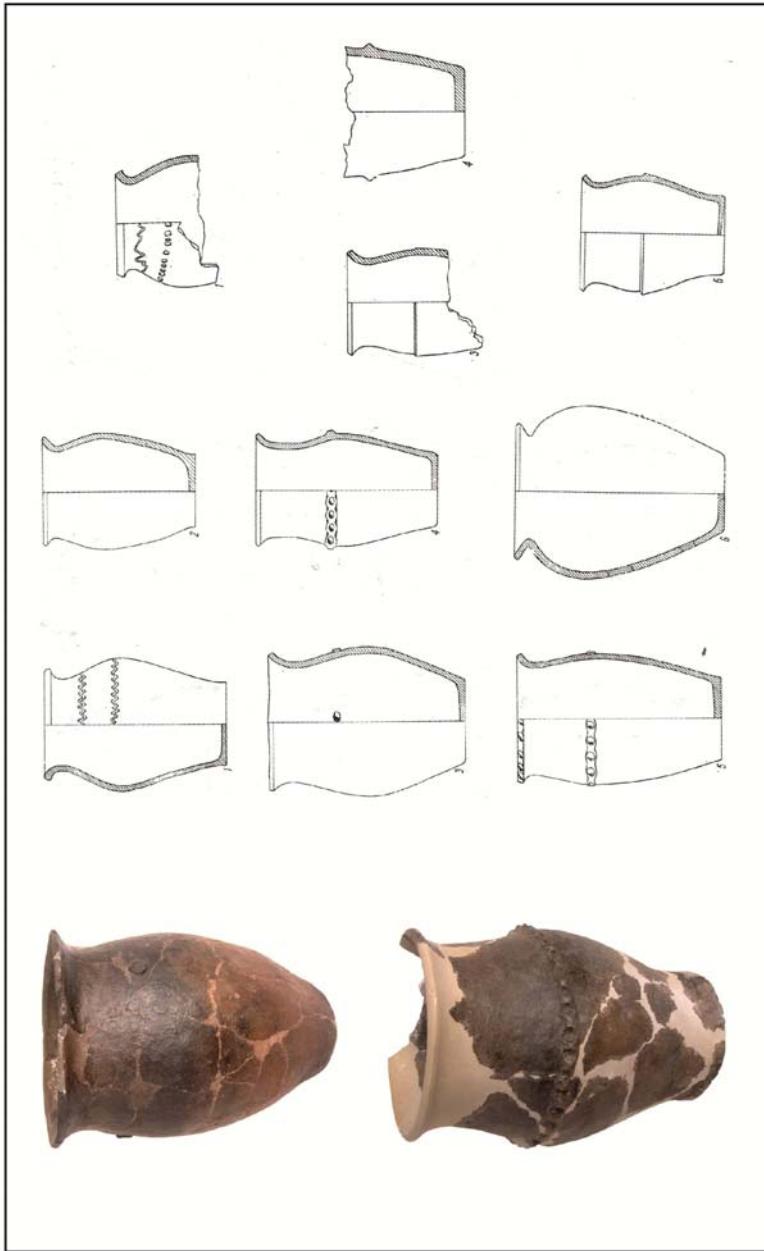
Pl. XVI. Soporu de Câmpie cemetery: funerary urns (after Protase 1976, fig. 7, 9-13) (no scale).



Pl. XVII. Soporul de Câmpie cemetery: Roman funerary urns (photos made by S. Odenite; after Protase 1976, pl. XLVI) (no scale).

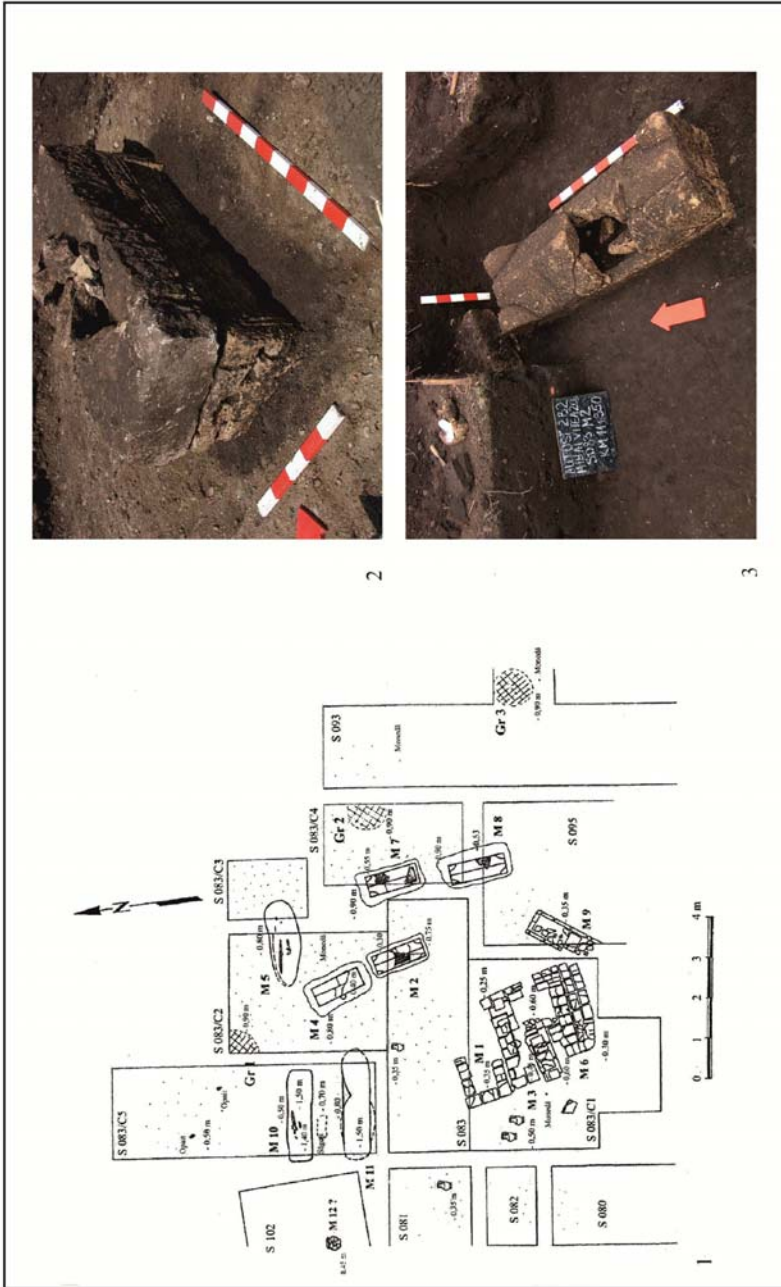


Pl. XVIII. Soporu de Câmpie cemetery: Roman funerary pottery (after Protase 1976, pl. L) (no scale).

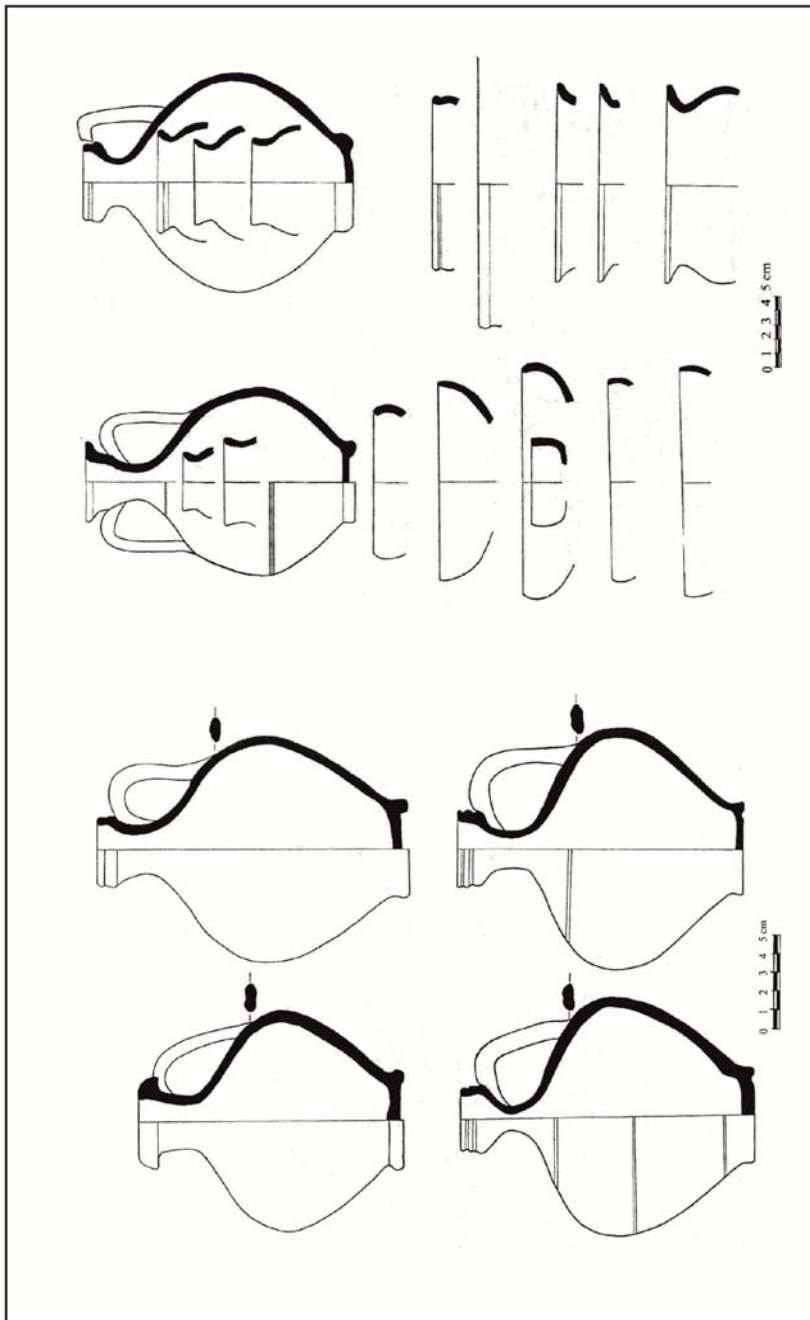


Pl. XIX. Soporu de Câmpie cemetery: Dacian handmade funerary urns (photos made by S. Odenic; after Protase 1976, pl. XLI-XLII) (no scale).

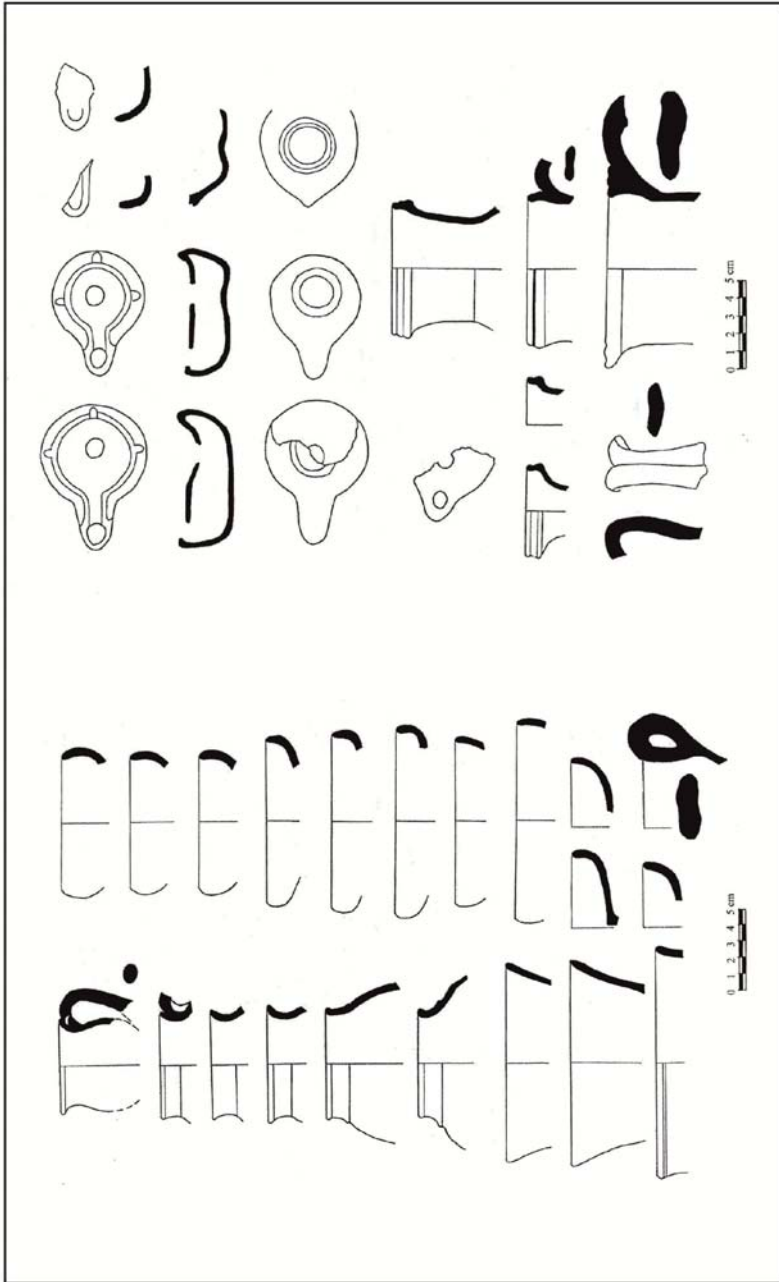




Pl. XX. Southern cemetery of Potaissa: 1. Plan (after Pislariu 2007, pl. 2); 2-3. Sarcophagi (after Pislariu 2007, pl. 5/A-B).



Pl. XXI. Southern cemetery of Potaiassa: pottery from the tombs area (after Pislaru 2007, pl. 8-9).



Pl. XXII. Southern cemetery of Potaissa: pottery from the tombs area (after Pislaru 2007, pl. 10-11).

# Perspectives on the phenomenon of ritual sacrifice, sacralization of food and conviviality in the Classical world<sup>1</sup>

Juan Ramón CARBÓ GARCÍA

*Universidad Católica "San Antonio" de Murcia*

**Abstract.** The aim of this paper is to offer an overview of modern bibliography and scholarship on ritual banquets and sacrifice. To this end we show some examples provided by ancient literary sources and archaeology for the nexus between banquets, ritual and sacrifice in Classical antiquity. The central role of sacrifice is based in its sacralisation capability to transform the common food into a divine one. The banquet is at the epicentre of religious life and it is one of the most important symbolic elements of community life, as an instrument of cohesion and expression of belonging to the group. It is there, precisely, where its importance lies. What differentiates the banquet from any everyday food is specifically the ritual and the special quality of the consumed product; so, it is the sacralization of food and the symbolic value of the form in which it is consumed.

**Key words:** sacrifice, convivialty, banquets, ritual, sacralization.

**Rezumat: Perspective asupra fenomenului sacrificiului ritual, asupra sacralizării hranei și asupra convivialității în lumea clasică.** Scopul acestui articol este să ofere o trecere în revistă a bibliografiei moderne asupra banchetelor rituale și a sacrificiilor. În acest scop sunt prezentate exemple oferite de sursele literare antice și de arheologie pentru legătura între banchete, ritual și sacrificiu în antichitatea clasică. Rolul central al sacrificiilor constă în capacitatea lor sacralizantă de a transforma hrana comună într-una divină. Banchetul se află la epicentrul vieții religioase și este unul dintre cele mai importante elemente simbolice ale vieții comunității, ca un instrument de coeziune și expresie a apartenenței la un grup. Și exact aici se află importanța sa. Ceea ce deosebește banchetul de orice hrană de zi cu zi este tocmai ritualul și calitatea aparte a produsului consumat; este sacralizarea hranei și valoarea simbolică a formei în care este consumată.

**Cuvinte cheie:** sacrificiu, convivialitate, banchete, ritual, sacralizare

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<sup>1</sup> This study has been realized within the framework of the project with key HAR2010-11201-EHIST, of which the author is the Main Researcher, and presents itself as one of the outcomes of it and of the Congress directed jointly with Jaime Alvar in December 2010: I Congreso Internacional de Historiografía e Historia de las Religiones de la Universidad Carlos III de Madrid / XIII Coloquio Internacional ARYS, "Alimentos divinos. Banquetes humanos. Sacrificios, comidas rituales y tabúes alimenticios en el Mundo Antiguo", in Carbó/Alvar 2011.

Through some examples provided by ancient literary sources and archaeology, we intend to offer in this paper an overview of modern bibliography about ritual banquets and scholarship on sacrifice. The central role of sacrifice is based in its sacralization capability to transform the common food into a divine one. The banquet is at the epicentre of religious life and it is one of the most important symbolic elements of community life, as an instrument of cohesion and expression of belonging to the group. It is there, precisely, where its importance lies. What differentiates the banquet from any everyday food is specifically the ritual and the special quality of the consumed product; so, it is the sacralization of food and the symbolic value of the form in which it is consumed.

In 2010 I led a project and directed an international conference with the Professor Jaime Alvar. These had as title "Divine food. Human banquets. Sacrifices, ritual meals and food taboos in the ancient world", so similar to the colloquium which has given rise to this publication. They appeared in Spain in the journal *ARYS: Antigüedad, Religiones y Sociedades*, in 2011<sup>2</sup>. Thanks to the experience acquired in this Congress, I thought that I might be in a good position to provide a general overview about the perspectives on the phenomenon of ritual sacrifice, the sacralization of food and practices of conviviality in the Classical World.

The community is the natural setting where the festive banquet ceremony unfolds<sup>3</sup>. Different events or vicissitudes of human life are celebrated through banquets, as is the case with birth or death, friendship or marriage, peace or war. But although any occasion is conducive to food consumption, not all meals are banquets, since these require that specific conditions are met: a few special foods, a special dimension, of a symbolic nature, and specific connotations, because it is a ritualized action in which family, community or civic ties strengthen through extraordinary food consumption. These are often sacralized, that is, marked by their relationship with the world of the supernatural<sup>4</sup>. Thus, consumption of food becomes a mechanism of relationship with a beyond full of entities that are present in the lives of mortals, while Death is the transit to that space where the living definitely met their missing ones. Therefore, the farewell requires a celebration which, at the same time, is a commemoration of the continuity

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<sup>2</sup> Carbó/Alvar 2011.

<sup>3</sup> For the analysis of public banquets, view the 2011 edition of the Schmitt Pantel 1992 survey, which updates the bibliography to that date. Private banquets in the Greek world were analyzed at the Conference organized by O. Murray at Oxford in 1984 (Murray 1990a). This constituted a turning point in studies on the Symposium. Cfr. Bruit-Zaidman 2005.

<sup>4</sup> The study of Detienne/Vernant 1979 constituted a major contribution to the analysis of symbolic structures, as pointed out by Alvar 2011, 23.

of life in the material world<sup>5</sup>. This celebration includes banquets where consumed food is provided by the gods; precisely that is the reason why that consumption constitutes an aggression against the natural order, which requires repair. This is achieved through the sacralization of what is consumed and the ritualized consumption by means of a standardized action<sup>6</sup>. And only recently, thanks to archaeology, the information provided by the material waste of ritual celebrations has been given the importance which it deserves<sup>7</sup>.

In the funeral sacrifice, the honouree is the deceased himself, whose soul must be calmed to prevent revenge attacks. As in the case of death, the birth is also an alteration of the natural order, which ensures the perpetuation of the Group. Therefore, it is equally celebrated by extending participation at the banquet to the supernatural beings; not only the parents express their joy, but the whole of the community. And of course, the rhythms of time marked by specific days of the calendar are celebrated in honour of the corresponding divine guardianship by communitarian consumption of food<sup>8</sup>.

Therefore, the banquet is at the epicentre of religious life and constitutes one of the most important symbolic elements of community life, as an instrument of cohesion and expression of belonging to the group, and therein lies its importance. What differentiates the banquet from any everyday meal is the ritualization and the special quality of the consumed product: the sacralization of food and the symbolic value of the form in which it is consumed. Banquets, therefore, require special food, either by its scarcity, by its presumed attributes, by their properties or by being considered a favourite product of any supernatural being.

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<sup>5</sup> André 2001. On the contribution of archaeology to the knowledge of funerary rituals, see O'Day/van Neer/Ervynck 2004; also Duda 2009.

<sup>6</sup> On the ritualised forms and the consumption of the sacrificial victim, see Georgoudi/Koch Piettre/Schmidt 2005; in the case of Rome see van Andringa 2008.

<sup>7</sup> As an example, Scheid 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Thus Macrobius implies: *Numa ut in menses annum, ita in dies mensem quemque distribuit, diesque omnes aut festos aut profestos aut intercisos vocavit. Festi dis dicati sunt, profesti hominibus ob administrandum rem privatam publicamque concessi, intercisi deorum hominumque communes sunt. Festis insunt sacrificia epulae ludi feriae* (Macr. Sat. 1, 16, 2-3). In this same sense should be understood the text of Servius, in which it is clear that the holidays are obligations with the gods: *Sunt enim aliqua, quae si festis diebus fiant, ferias polluant: quapropter et pontifices sacrificaturi praemittere calatores suos solent, ut, sicubi viderint opifices adsidentes opus suum, prohibeant, ne pro negotio suo et ipsorum oculos et caerimonias deum attinent: feriae enim operae deorum creditae sunt. Sane feriis terram ferro tangi nefas est, quia feriae deorum causa instituuntur, festi dies hominum quoque* (Serv. in Verg. G. 1, 268).

Scarce and precious food is regarded as divine property. There are very numerous examples that prove this claim; e. g. Alvar suggested the memory of how saffron was the attribute of Minoan deities<sup>9</sup>. All that alters common flavours, giving them new properties, like aphrodisiac, healing or altering ones, belongs to the domain of the gods: we find then spices, drugs, poisons ...<sup>10</sup>. To use them, they must be withdrawn from the gods and therefore this action must be repaired through an offering that appeases them.

But beyond the product offered or consumed, the key that turns everyday food into a banquet and the food of the gods into mortal consumption is sacrifice<sup>11</sup>. Communication of mortals with the supernatural world, first, and with the gods, later, is done through sacrifice. But not every sacrifice reaches its culmination in collective meals<sup>12</sup>.

Sacrifice acquires various forms and expressions throughout history, according to the different social and religious developments. The mediators in the ritual act of sacrifice were established soon, both in Greece and in Rome.

### Greece

In the Greek world, in the first literary texts which were the Homeric poems, the heroes or prominent characters were responsible for the sacrifice of animals in honour of the gods and the cooking of meat for being consumed by the participants in the sacrifice. However, progressively this task was becoming the assignment of a specialist, to which the Greeks gave the name of μάγειρος<sup>13</sup>. Traditionally this term is translated as “chef”, starting with the frequent characterization it receives in Greek comedy as a character. Other sources, however, point to some different functions and scope. The epigraphic documentation tends to regularly put it in a religious context, linking it mainly with the celebration of bloody sacrifices.

Originally, the μάγειρος was the person who accompanies and assists the ιερεύς, the priest who presides over the ceremony, being responsible for killing the victims. This first function is added to two complementary ones: a butcher, since it is he who butchers the sacrificed animals, and a chef, since he cooks the meat for the banquet that closes the ritual<sup>14</sup>. What the sources show

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<sup>9</sup> Alvar 2011, 25; Marinatos 1987.

<sup>10</sup> Alvar Nuño 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Not all animals involved in religious life are the subject of sacrifice. See Findeisen 1956; Bodson 1978; Jameson 1988; Isager 1992; Scarpi 1998.

<sup>12</sup> Alvar 2011, 25.

<sup>13</sup> Berthiaume 1982; García Soler 2011, 85-98.

<sup>14</sup> Plato, in *Euthd.* 301 c 8-9, offers a detailed description of the functions of the μάγειρος, which is the one who takes care of “slaughter, skinning and, after cutting the

is that a translation of their duties from the scope of the strictly sacred to the profane occurred progressively, but without ever fully abandoning its initial scope.

The identification of the μάγειρος as chef, which ended up as predominating, has to do with the fact that the celebration of a bloody sacrifice was associated with the consumption of the flesh of the animal. Gods and men shared the body of the victim, which neither the ones nor the others 'consumed' crude, and a kind of 'communion' between them was established. The first took part in it through thick smoke (κνῖσα) produced by the cremation of the pieces of the animal that were meant for them and that was rising up to the heavens, constituting a central element of its feeding as much as nectar and ambrosia<sup>15</sup>; the rest was distributed among the participants of the ritual. It was previously cooked by the same person who had killed the animal and made the cutting, the μάγειρος<sup>16</sup>, which is linked as a kind of public servant to sanctuaries or hired for one year, starting with the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. As Grottanelli points out, the existence of this figure can be explained because in ancient Greece there was not a priestly class in a strict sense, one that could assume exclusive ritual practices in general and more specifically the sacrificial ones<sup>17</sup>.

In direct relationship with these functions, there are frequent iconographic representations containing priests who carried in their belts the specific knife for sacrifices, the μάχαιρα. F. van Straten and V. Pirenne-Delforge concur in considering that this is precisely the attribute that reflects their status of priests, even in contexts unrelated to this practice<sup>18</sup>. Although the two scholars note that these representations do not refer exclusively to the μάγειρος, however they can be placed in relationship with images from

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meat into small pieces, boiling and grilling it": σφάττειν τε καὶ ἐκδέρειν καὶ τὰ μικρὰ κρέα κατακόψαντα ἔθειν καὶ ὀπιᾶν.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Hom. *Il.* 1, 317, 4, 48-9, 8, 549, 9, 499-500, 24, 69-70. On this feature of sacrificial smoke rests precisely a remarkable part of the argument of the *Birds* of Aristophanes. Pistetero, the protagonist, convinces the birds to build a city between heaven and Earth and compel the gods to pay a kind of toll if they want the smoke from sacrifices to reach them (180-193a. Cf. 550-560, *Pl.* 1112-32). This causes a crisis in Olympus, since, as Prometheus informs the protagonist, the gods are forced to fast by the lack of this smoke coming from sacrificed victims (1515-20). Cf. Dunbar 1995, 195, 198-199. Also in the Homeric hymn to Demeter (*h. Cer.* 310-2) it is said that they suffer similarly when, the goddess having decided to abandon her duties, saddened by the disappearance of her daughter, men were dying of hunger and could not pay the due honours to them.

<sup>16</sup> Berthiaume 1982, 71-73.

<sup>17</sup> Grottanelli 1988, 35.

<sup>18</sup> van Straten 2005, 19; Pirenne-Delforge 2005, 16, 22. On the sacrificial knife, cf. Metz 2005, 308-312.



the sanctuary of Apollo Mageirios of Pila, on the island of Cyprus. They show a series of characters dressed in a kind of chasuble on the shoulders, with the knife in its sheath at their waist, destined for slaughter and butchering sacrificial victims<sup>19</sup>.

The mythical sacrifice of Prometheus, narrated by Hesiod in the *Theogony* (535-557), served as base to the Greeks to explain the distribution of the animal, in particular why the gods were recipients of parts which were not considered suitable to be consumed by men<sup>20</sup>. The myth tells that Prometheus, the first who conducted a sacrifice, killed an ox, butchered it and distributed it in two batches: on the one hand, the edible flesh and viscera wrapped in the skin and hidden in the stomach of the animal (538-539); on the other hand, the bones, well covered under a thick layer of fat, so it presented a brighter and more attractive appearance (540-541). Then he offered to Zeus to choose which he preferred and the god selected the one covered with fat. From this moment, the gods receive the dedications of those same parts, which are burned in the fire of the altar<sup>21</sup>, in addition to some not edible viscera, such as the stomach, spleen and gallbladder, while the offal and meat are left for the attendees to the sacrifice and the skin is left for the priests. A distribution of this nature was the subject of the ironies of the dramatists, who criticized the practice of leaving to the gods only the inedible parts of the animal and the bare bones, as if they were dogs<sup>22</sup>.

The pieces destined for men were cooked according to well-defined procedures depending on their nature. The σπλάγχνα (heart, lungs, liver) and the kidneys were threaded in skewers and were roasted at the same altar where the part of the gods was burned, being consumed usually in the same place and still hot by the most prominent of the sacrificial circle<sup>23</sup>; the

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<sup>19</sup> Besques 1936, 6-7; Masson 1966, 17; Detienne/Doueihi 1986, 9; Detienne 2001, 80. Given the association of the μάγειρα with the figure of the sacrificial chef, V. Pisani based precisely on this term his hypothesis for explaining the etymology of μάγειρος, a subject of great controversy. Ancient grammarians thought that the term was related to the root on which the verb μάζωω (knead) and the substantive μᾶζα (porridge, cake) had formed, an etymology that authors such as E. M. Rankin and E. Boisacq follow. From the work of Pisani, however, the relationship proposed with the name of the sacrificial knife was accepted quite extensively, although not also his hypothesis about a possible Macedonian origin. Cf. Pisani 1934, 255-259; Rankin 1907, 9; Boisacq 1938, 597; Dohm 1964, 72-74; Chantraine 1968, 656 and 673; Beekes 2010, 888-889.

<sup>20</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of the myth of Prometheus cf. Vernant 1979, 37-132.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Hes. *Th.* 556-7: ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων καίουσ' ὄστέα λευκὰ θηθέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν.

<sup>22</sup> See Longo 1990-91, 59; Dunbar 1995, 195 and 198.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ar. *Au.* 984. In one long scene where Pistetero is celebrating the founding sacrifice of the new town, a seller of oracles appears then and the protagonist refers to him as an

rest of the meat is then cooked in a cauldron and distributed among the participants. It could either be consumed in a collective banquet that closed the ceremony or even be carried outside the sanctuary, depending on regulation of the celebrated sacrifice<sup>24</sup>. From the symbolic point of view, the σιλάγχνα occupy an intermediate position between the human and the divine sphere, since they are internal parts, such as the digestive organs, offered to the gods, but nevertheless going to the men, as well as the meat<sup>25</sup>.

As for funeral banquets, they possibly continued after the sacrifice of the ox – made since the Archaic period and in later times by the polis – and (or) the after-sacrifice of other animals in the same tomb, with an important communitarian visibility and projection and probably with the consequent distribution of meat. Although it is not clear to what extent the offerings of food and drink to the dead were completely consumed in the fire (such as in the holocaust) and as such exclusively destined for the dead<sup>26</sup>, and (or, again) rather they were distributed among the participants in the act. Possibly there were both types of rites: the holocaust with the total dedication of culinary offerings consumed by fire to the deceased, and the banquets of food and drink at the same tomb by participants, which gave rise to some conviviality among the living but also the dead, thus favouring their memory, somehow sacralized<sup>27</sup>.

Since Homer there is a close tie between bloody sacrifice and meat consumption for the Greeks. Therefore, many researchers concur in considering the sacrifice the main source of that consumption<sup>28</sup> and they even argue that almost all that was sold in the agora came from that source, or at least came from animals that had been killed in a ritual manner by the μάγειρος in a butcher shop<sup>29</sup>. An important part of the meat probably came from what the priests received. Regulations of worship varied according to

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imposter that bothers the officiating priest with the intention of making away with the σιλάγχνα.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Sokolowski 1955, 35 and 50: ὀπιτησις σιλάγχνων, κρεῶν ἔμψις. van Straten 2005, 23; Detienne 1974, 1203 and 1207; Detienne 1979a, 14; Detienne 1979b, 20; Longo 1990-91, 58.

<sup>25</sup> van Straten 2005, 25; Jameson 1988, 87; Bowie 1995, 465.

<sup>26</sup> Casabona 1966, 206. See also Garland 1985, 110.

<sup>27</sup> About the possibility of funeral food (*perideipnon*) at the tomb at the moment, see Garland 1985, 39, 112; Valdés Guía 2011, 59, n. 25 (with comments and bibliography). Pointing out the probable coexistence of both rites: Dentzer 1982, 535-536.

<sup>28</sup> It is claimed (*Ath.* 2, 9; cf. Theopomp. *FGH* 115 fr. 213) that it was the only occasion for eating meat which poor people got, so the city organized numerous public sacrifices in which it was these people who participated in the banquet and got the distribution of the victim. Cf. Schmitt Pantel 1992, 231-232.

<sup>29</sup> Detienne 1979a, 8, 14; Detienne 1979b, 21; Lissarrague/Schmitt Pantel 1988, 212; Bowie 1995, 463 and 475.

the places and the type of ceremony, so sometimes it was stipulated that the meat had to be eaten within the sacred precinct, but in other cases it was allowed to take it home and even to sell it, and this was dealt with by the μάγειροι.

We might also mention the existence of rules to safeguard order related to ordinary meals of cultic personnel of the temples, something made obvious by the "Hekatompedon inscription", which contains a series of regulations safeguarding order on the Acropolis of Athens: a prohibition against the construction of a storeroom for the preparation of ordinary meals for the cult personnel; a regulation concerning the areas where it was permitted to kindle a fire; a regulation concerning the storeroom of the priestess and the *zakoroi*; regulations concerning the setting up of tents for ritual meals and for the accommodation of worshippers; a prohibition against the disposal of *onthos* (waste from cleaning the intestines of sacrificial animals, and not dung from grazing animals) in the sanctuary. These regulations were discussed by György Németh in the light of parallels from many other *leges sacrae*<sup>30</sup>.

The functions of a μάγειρος were not exclusively limited to public civic sacrifices or linked to sanctuaries. He could also occur in a smaller environment, on the occasion of a wedding, a private celebration or any other circumstance that was accompanied by the celebration of a sacrifice, which are precisely the usual fields of the comical chef in the Greek plays. In these cases the sacrifice took place after a banquet to which generous hosts could invite their friends, although, as noted by van Straten, also the desire to organize a feast would force them to the celebration of the corresponding sacrifice<sup>31</sup>. Probably the term μάγειρος ended up acquiring the more extended sense of chef – which is dominant in literature, particularly in comedy – in circumstances of this kind, in which the sacrifice was a part, but not the principal one. There was no ritual rule forbidding private citizens to carry out, themselves or through their slaves, the tasks of sacrifice and butchering of a sacrificial animal, although the desire for ritual precision, the growth of an urban population relatively little expert in these tasks and the progressive entry of culinary refinements probably caused them to resort increasingly to specialists in the field<sup>32</sup>.

It is true that the testimonies show a progressive secularization of the use of the term μάγειρος, increasingly foreign to the primitive sacral area. As just mentioned, this displacement has a lot to do with the evolution

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<sup>30</sup> Németh 1997, 21-30.

<sup>31</sup> van Straten 2005, 25.

<sup>32</sup> Scodel 1993, 162.

of society, in which aspects related to the private life and the evolution of culinary tastes were acquiring increasingly relevance. From being a servant of the temples or of the State in religious ceremonies, in which the gods were fed with sacrificial smoke and then a public and collective consumption of meat took place, the μάγειρος goes on to become a chef specializing in all sorts of delicacies already aimed not at the gods, but at private banquets of mortal men<sup>33</sup>.

Next to the civic sacrifices, the sacrifices and sacrificial banquets brought in contexts that might be defined as private also help to build differentiated social identities which enrich the complex network of relationships that exists between the individual, his social group and the rest of the community through food<sup>34</sup>.

In private spaces, there is a range of attitudes when it comes to preparing and eating sacrificial banquets which, although they do not represent a direct confrontation with the positions that are assumed in the public sphere, suppose a greater relaxation in expressing social and economic distinctions through food<sup>35</sup>. Let us focus on two situations in which the sacrifice occupies a predominant aspect: the birth and the wedding of citizens<sup>36</sup>.

The birth of a new member of the community is a remarkable fact that must be announced to neighbours and relatives, though it seems that access to the sacrificial banquet that was held at the moment in which the baby was formally integrated in the family nucleus, would be thus open to the rest of the community, at least in the majority of cases<sup>37</sup>. Under the name of *génethlia*, classical sources seem to refer to a type of birthday banquet to which everyone is invited, although obviously it was only done by the most lavish spenders among social elites<sup>38</sup>. The invasion of the public to

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<sup>33</sup> García Soler 2011, 98.

<sup>34</sup> Notario Pacheco 2011, 70.

<sup>35</sup> About the complex delimitation between public and private in classical Athens: Wallace 1996, 105-119.

<sup>36</sup> Other types of banquets with a lesser insertion in the sphere of religion could also carry alternative identities to the citizenship, as pointed out by Murray 1990b, 149-161; Davidson 1997; Orfanos 2003, 203-217; Wilkins 2000, 204-211. Other references to general studies: Kadletz 1976; Goldstein 1978; Rudhardt/Reverdin 1981; Rosivach 1994; van Straten 1995; Himmelmann 1997.

<sup>37</sup> Bruit Zaidman/Schmitt Pantel 2002, 58; ThesCRA II 233 for different types of birthday banquets.

<sup>38</sup> Notario Pacheco pointed out that in *Alcibiades I*, ascribed to Plato, the celebrations and sacrifices sponsored by the Great King to celebrate the birth of his heir are opposed to those taking place in Athens on this same occasion to indicate that even the neighbours barely heard about this event. Cf. Notario Pacheco 2011, 75. Pl. *Alc. I*, 121c-d: ἐπειδὴν δὲ

celebrations that had, at first, belonged to the framework of the family, has an ambiguous quality: the ties that hold society together are highlighted, as in a civic sacrifice, but depending on the feast of an individual or family group, at the same time the socio-political hegemony of this one against the rest of the community is clear<sup>39</sup>.

In 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Athens we find above all that in the framework of the *amphidromia*, the ritual by which the baby was accepted into the home, a banquet for family and friends and closer relatives was offered, which could be identified as private. This type of meals appears marked in literary sources that speak about it, specially by two aspects deeply striking if we compare them with the idea of austerity that prevails in the public image of the Athenians: the profusion of meals apart from those offered to the gods through sacrifice, and the drinking of pure wine or with a very small mixture, but in large quantities<sup>40</sup>. The emphasis that sources put on the quantity of wine drunk, pure or little mixed, is striking<sup>41</sup>. Thus, it seems that the exaltation of social ties through banquets is one of the most recurring aspects in celebrating the sacrifices and celebrations related to the acceptance of a newborn.

Other particularly significant moment in the life of the Athenian individual was marked by a series of banquets and feasts, this time with a public dimension, the *apaturia*: this was a three-day festival around the phratries, to which boys were ascribed. The display and consumption of food was outstanding, with a hearty banquet, sacrifices to Zeus and Athena, sacrifices associated with the change in status of boys and several competitions of various kinds<sup>42</sup>. As Pauline Schmitt Pantel indicates, during the *apaturia* and also during the *gamelia* (the sacrificial banquet offered by the future husband or his father to the phratry before getting married), Athenians

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γένηται ὁ παῖς ὁ πρεσβύτατος, οὐπερ ἡ ἀρχή, πρῶτον μὲν ἐορτάζουσι πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ, ὦν ἂν ἀρχῆ, εἶτα εἰς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ βασιλείῳ γενέθλια πᾶσα θύει καὶ ἐορτάζει ἡ Ἄσια· ἡμῶν δὲ γενομένων, τὸ τοῦ κωμωδοποιοῦ, οὐδ' οἱ γείτονες σφόδρα τι αἰσθάνονται, ὧ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ. The quotation from the playwright has been ascribed to Plato the comic: Pl. Com. *PCG* VII, fr. 227.

<sup>39</sup> Notario Pacheco 2011, 75.

<sup>40</sup> Eub. *PCG* V, fr. 148 [Ath. II, 65c]. Ephipp. *PCG* V, fr. 3 [Ath. IX, 370c-d]. Cf. Notario Pacheco 2011, 76.

<sup>41</sup> In the *Ion* of Euripides, for example, as the banquet unfolds, the sensation of pleasure rises among the attendees (ὡς δ' ἀνείσαν ἡδονήν), and, as in the festivals of the *amphidromia* described by Eubulus and Ephippus, pure wine or mixed very little with water makes its appearance, this time aiming to accelerate the experience of pleasure through alcoholic intoxication. E. *Ion*, 1170. E. *Ion*, 1178-1180: Ἀφαρπιάζειν χρεῶν οἰνηρὰ τεύχη σμικρὰ, μεγάλα δ' ἐσφέρειν, ὡς θᾶσσον ἔλθωσιν οἶδ' ἐς ἡδονὰς φρενῶν.

<sup>42</sup> Pl. *Ti.* 21b-d. Schmitt Pantel 1992, 81-90.

reactivated for a limited time the fundamental role that phratries had when defining access to citizenship in the Archaic age. But in practice in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC they limited themselves to provide a framework for the banquets in which young people were introduced to their future obligations as citizens<sup>43</sup>.

As opposed to the public aspects of the sacrificial meals tied to the phratries, wedding banquets *stricto sensu* emerge as something that takes place in the private sphere. When the wedding was going to take place, the *proteleia* were made, the preliminary celebrations to any kind of ceremony, although in time they were partnering with greater frequency exclusively with the celebration of marriages<sup>44</sup>. The sacrificial banquet that was offered in the framework of the *proteleia* was open to relatives and close friends, both men and women, although a spatial division between them was imposed, unlike what happened in other, even more intimate banquets<sup>45</sup>.

More important both from the gastronomic point of view and from the religious, economic and social ones was the next day, which celebrates the bridal ritual. The banquet is one of the main points around which Greek weddings turned, as the variety of terms show with which sources refer to it: *gamos* (wedding), *deipnon* (dinner), *hestiasis* (banquet), *thoine gamike* (bridal celebration), *gamodaisia* (wedding party) or *ta deipna gamika* (bridal dinners) are different ways of referring to the same phenomenon<sup>46</sup>. However, the wedding banquets in Athens could not become the large ostentatious celebrations that they themselves thought they could find in the Barbarian world or that could be held in circles close to the Hellenistic courts<sup>47</sup>.

There were legislation and a few public magistrates responsible for ensuring that the maximum number of people who could attend a wedding would be respected, so the gastronomic preparation acquired a particular relevance in expressing the social distinction through food better than through the capability to feed a large number of people: dishes were not

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<sup>43</sup> Goody 1995, 131-135. For the Greek world and its environment: Dalby 2000, 133-144; Bowie 2003, 99-109; Schmitt Pantel 1992, 89-91.

<sup>44</sup> On the concept of the *proteleia* in previous contexts: Zeitlin 1965, 464-465; Goldhill 1984, 169-176.

<sup>45</sup> Men. *Sam.* 285-290; cf. Is. III, 14; Men. *PCG* VI, fr. \*186 [Ath. II, 71e]; in general, Burton 1998, 143-165.

<sup>46</sup> ThesCRA II 233.

<sup>47</sup> About the Barbarian wedding banquets, the most significant may be that carried out by the Thracian King Cotys on the occasion of the wedding of his daughter with the Athenian general Iphicrates, who was the subject of criticism and grumbling in Athens by his unrestrained luxury: Anaxandr. *PCG* II fr. 42 [Ath. IV, 131a-f]; about Hellenistic weddings, it should be enough to mention the one recounted by Hippolochus of Macedonia and referred to in the *Deipnosophists*: Ath. IV, 128c-130d. Cfr. Notario Pacheco 2011, 79-80.

only very abundant, but stood out in their elaboration and wealth, especially among the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC<sup>48</sup>.

We can see how sacrificial banquets on the occasion of the birth and wedding of a member of the civic community were an opportunity to buy, prepare, display and consume food and dishes of prominent economic cost and gastronomic complexity in more or less private areas; but in any case, they appear to be more exclusive than integrators in relation to the rest of the community. These banquets presented an opportunity to strengthen the ties that kept the cohesion of a family group; in this concept should be included individuals with an intimate relationship to the family, but who do not share ties of blood. They are also a time in which the principles of distinction and social hierarchies are evident. As opposed to the banquets of a public nature, where a traditional well considered menu was shared by more or less extensive social groups whose members were considered equal to one another, the sacrificial banquets in the family tended to introduce a culinary distinction, even if only occasional and temporary, with regard to the day-to-day experiences of the rest of the community<sup>49</sup>.

## Rome

Concerning the Roman case, Livy attributed the establishment of the priesthood to Numa Pompilius, and according to him, its main task was the sacrifice of living beings (*hostiae* or *victimae*) for the preservation of the *pax deorum*<sup>50</sup>. The victims constitute the first of the elements under pontifical jurisdiction and are prepended to the *dies*, to the *templa*, to the *pecunia* and the *cetera sacra*, including *prodigia* and *funebria*. The reform of Numa was so complex that it required no doubt written texts to see the complexity of the *sacra* and the *cerimoniae*, plagued with a thorough regulation of the sacrifices and ritual prescriptions. Some information is preserved in Plutarch's life of Numa, as the obligation of sacrificing an odd number of victims to the

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<sup>48</sup> Lync. *frs.* 26 and 27 Dalby; Philoch. *FGrH* 328, fr. 65; Menander (*PCG* VI 2, fr. 208) and Timocles (*PCG* VII, fr. 34), who were contemporaneous [*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2320], indicate that according to "a new law" the *gineconomos* can register the private banquet rooms when weddings and other festivities are celebrated. Ath. VI, 245a-c. Cfr. Notario Pacheco 2011, 80.

<sup>49</sup> Notario Pacheco 2011, 82-83.

<sup>50</sup> Liv., 1, 20, 5-7: *Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex patribus legit eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra pontificis scitis subiecit, ut esset, quo consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini iuris neglegendo patrios ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo turbaretur; nec celestes modo caerimoniae, sed iusta quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa susciperentur atque curarentur.*

celestial gods, while the *dii inferi* had to be offered an even number; there also appears the prohibition of sacrifice without flour, the prohibition of making wine libations to the gods or the obligation to pray doing a twist on yourself. The certainty that such writings go back to the monarchical era lies in the affirmation of Varro that the *libri Numa* constituted the primitive nucleus of the *libri pontificium*<sup>51</sup>.

Through the sacrifice, the various Roman civic groupings could establish communication with the divine recipient of the ritual act, whose intended effect was an exchange relationship between a force able to offer and a community in need of receiving. This form of marketing is very special, as it is highlighted by the Latin term which designates it: *cultus*, coming from the verb *colere*, which refers to the care of the earth, of animals, men or gods themselves, with the goal of obtaining the desired fruits. As stated by Turcan, sacrifice, as an expression of worship, is essential to the very existence of the gods: the more sacrifices were offered them, the more power they acquired. This is confirmed by the verb *mactare*, whose initial meaning would be “to increase” or “to make bigger”, and which later came to mean “sacrifice” or “self-immolation”<sup>52</sup>.

The sacrifices could consist of bloodless offerings or bloody sacrifices of live animals; in this second case, the sought targets were of greater magnitude, because blood was considered to be pleasing to the gods, as stated again by Servius<sup>53</sup>. To ensure knowledge of the various forms of sacrifice to the faithful, the Roman priests established with extraordinary accuracy both ritual rules and the typology of the animals for each divinity<sup>54</sup>.

In the current religious practice, the term *hostiae* designated small animals, such as pigs, goats and sheep. Large animals, particularly bulls and cows, were designated *victimae*. Macrobius indicates that it was necessary to

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<sup>51</sup> On the reformation of Numa: Ribezzo 1950, 553-573; Hooker 1963, 87-132; Della Corte 1974, 3-20; Levi 1981, 161-167; Martínez-Pinna 1985, 97-124; Poucet 1985, specially 194-197 and 219-223; Fascione 1988, 128-132; Capdeville 1993, 153-172.

<sup>52</sup> Serv., in Verg. *Aen.* 4.57.

<sup>53</sup> Serv., in Verg. *Aen.* 3, 67: *Ideo autem lactis et sanguinis mentio facta est, qui adfirmantur animae lacte et sanguine delectari. Varro quoque dicit mulieres in exsequiis et luctu ideo solitas ora lacerare, ut sanguine ostenso inferis satisfaciant, quare etiam institutum est, ut apud sepulcra et victimae caedantur. Apud veteres etiam homines interficiebantur, sed mortuo Iunio Bruto cum multae gentes ad eius funus captivos misissent, nepos illius eos qui missi erant inter se composuit, et sic pugnaverunt: et quod muneri missi erant, inde munus appellatum.*

<sup>54</sup> Serv., in Verg. *Georg.* 2, 380: *Victimae numinibus aut per similitudinem aut per contrarietatem immolantur: per similitudinem, ut nigrum pecus Plutoni; per contrarietatem, ut porca, quae obest frugibus, Cereri, ut caper, qui obest vitibus, Libero, item capra Aesculapio, qui est deus salutis, cum capra numquam sine febre sit.*



proceed to the confirmation that the victims were *electae, eximiae, egregiae* (separated from the flock), and consequently appropriate for the immolation, before the sacrifice<sup>55</sup>. In the most solemn sacrifices, ritual stipulated that victims of various species were immolated, as seen in the *suovetaurilia* that was held annually in the second half of May by the *pater familias* when celebrating the *ambarvalia*, the purification of fields recounted by Cato. It was also performed in the *lustrales* ceremonies in honour of Mars, every five years at the time of the census.

These only constitute examples of the operation of the central activity in the Greco-Roman religion, a practice that has left images that constitute a testimony of extraordinary interest in order to know the intricacies of the ritual<sup>56</sup>.

Concerning archaeological residues of the ritual, the analysis of the bones of the victims provides a radically innovative perspective with regard to the development of the ritual, the species chosen for the different divinities, and the forms of consumption and the disposition of participants, the universe of conviviality and so on<sup>57</sup>. Archaeology has advanced much in the analysis of bone materials, so that we can transcend the mere enumeration and description of the animals found in an excavation, to try the reconstruction of rituals, their allegiance to a particular cult, and even specific ceremony dates.

Referring to the Roman cults of Eastern origin, to which I have dedicated my interest in greater profusion<sup>58</sup>, a few years ago Robert Turcan wrote a paper about sacrifices in Mithraism<sup>59</sup>. The content of the work was not disputed by anyone then and it became the only explanation of the rites undertaken on the altars dedicated to the god Mithras, but years later he himself again returned to the issue and dismantled his previous interpretation with systematic rationality. In Mithraic archaeology, there is nothing to assert that bulls were sacrificed in honour of the god, given that only bones of birds in the consumption of the Mithraic banquets are documented<sup>60</sup>. On the contrary, the *taurobolium* is a central rite in the cult of Cybele, but not for all the altars on which the *bucranium* is represented may we assume that there is a *taurobolium* rite, if an epigraphic text does not confirm it.

<sup>55</sup> Macr. *Sat.* 3, 5, 6.

<sup>56</sup> Rüpke 2005, 227-239; Scheid 2005, 273-287. See also Prieur 1998; Schnurbusch 2011.

<sup>57</sup> See e. g. van Andringa 2000.

<sup>58</sup> Carbó García 2010.

<sup>59</sup> Turcan 1981, 341-380.

<sup>60</sup> Turcan 1991, 217-225. A conclusion corroborated by the excavations of the *mithraeum* of Tienen: Martens 2004, 25-26.

The sacrifices of dogs are also beginning to be archaeologically attested<sup>61</sup>. A detailed study of the remains of a ritual meal in Sardis has shown the complexity of the celebration on which dogs were sacrificed, cooked and consumed in honour of a local divinity, Kandaulas, associated with Heracles and Hermes<sup>62</sup>. In the *Tabulae Iguvinae*, dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, a ritual associated with the sacrifice of a dog that was quartered and roasted is described. The remains of the animal were buried next to the altar with the toolings<sup>63</sup>.

In recent years there has been a specific interest around the disappearance of the sacrifice as a central element of religion, as it becomes evident in the recent and influential book by G. G. Stroumsa<sup>64</sup> or the dissertations of G. Heyman<sup>65</sup> and Daniel Ullucci<sup>66</sup>. To these references could be added the book of Maria-Zoe Petropoulou which originally was also her PhD dissertation, or the volume edited by Jennifer Knust and Zsuzsanna Várhelyi<sup>67</sup>. But the arguments are repetitive and the innovations, very limited.

Finally, I cannot omit to refer to a very different chapter, which is that of the food taboos. They constitute an interesting matter which is increasingly being given more space as a result of its identity characteristics<sup>68</sup>. However, certain food restrictions within ancient classical religions constitute the starting point for the internal erosion of the sacrifice, one of whose most marked exponents is the *Abstinencia* of Porphyrius<sup>69</sup>.

And precisely in relation to the importance of the identitarian features of food taboos, and by their clear interest for the historiography on these issues in Romania, as a conclusive example I can not resist making a small reference to which was my subject of study at the International Conference with Professor Jaime Alvar and which I have already mentioned at the beginning of these pages. I then addressed the alleged prohibition of the production and consumption of wine among the Dacians by Deceneus as one of the paradigms present in the ancient sources and – already in recent times – between the Dacianist trend within Romanian historiography,

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<sup>61</sup> Preston Day 1984, 21-32.

<sup>62</sup> Greenewalt 1978.

<sup>63</sup> *Tabulae Iguvinae* IIa 14; cf. Poultney 1959, 176-189.

<sup>64</sup> Stroumsa 2005. The interest for this issue did not start only then, it has antecedents, e. g. Grottanelli 1989, 175-179.

<sup>65</sup> Heyman 2007.

<sup>66</sup> Ullucci 2009.

<sup>67</sup> Petropoulou 2008; Knust/Várhelyi 2001.

<sup>68</sup> As a starting point: Detienne 1970, 141-162. More specifically Beer 2009.

<sup>69</sup> See Taylor/Wynne-Tyson 1965; Clark 2000. On the attitude towards animals as an incentive for vegetarian observance: Saelid Gilhus 2006.

when it comes to support and develop their thesis on the high morality, spirituality and religiosity of the Dacians and Getae<sup>70</sup>. Such prohibition must be questioned in the light of the data that are offered and which may continue to be offered by archaeological excavations in Romania<sup>71</sup>. With these data and with a historiographical study we will be able to question not only the existence of such an interdiction by Deceneus as reflected by Strabo, or its scope or duration, but also the own impact of the so called social, moral, religious and priestly reformation of Deceneus. Although here I can only put it in such a simple and succinct way, that reformation, in fact, has been virtually a later reworking of Romanian Dacianist historiography from the few facts that the ancient sources have left us<sup>72</sup>.

In conclusion, it is an interesting example of the importance of the identitarian features possessed by food taboos, in one more perspective around food and religion in the classical world, prolonged until the present.

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<sup>70</sup> Carbó García 2011, 155-176.

<sup>71</sup> Florea 2004, 517-522.

<sup>72</sup> About these issues, see the works by Boia 2001; Petre 2004; Dana 2008; Carbó García (forthcoming).

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# Krater and *kratos*: the politics of Greek dining

Angus BOWIE

*University of Oxford*

**Abstract.** This article considers the role of the symposium, often symbolised by the krater or mixing bowl that was at its heart, in Greek society in the very different worlds of the archaic period and democratic Athens. In the archaic period it is the locus of aristocratic life. At that time the symposium stressed, by the rituals performed and the arrangement of the social space, the equality of the aristocratic drinkers, and also provided a place where the identity and character of the drinkers could be tested against the ideals of the institution: wine gave an insight into true character and poetry laid down a moral code to be followed. Democratic Athens displayed a number of responses to the essentially aristocratic symposium. It became socially less central, and rich festivals provided by aristocrats were taken over by the polis; a new form of civic entertainment was introduced that reversed many of the features of the symposium. In comedy however the symposium remained a frequent source of imagery, only seldom being represented as problematic: for the most part it again symbolises the togetherness of the new comic worlds created in the plays.

**Key words:** symposium; drinking; politics; comedy; equality.

**Rezumat: Krater și *kratos*: politica ospățului grecesc.** Acest articol discută rolul *symposion*-ului, deseori simbolizat de *krater* sau vasul de amestecat vinul cu apa aflat în centrul său, în societatea greacă, și anume în lumile foarte diferite ale epocii arhaice și ale Atenei democratice. În perioada arhaică, este centrul vieții aristocratice. În acea vreme, *symposion*-ul sublinia, prin ritualurile practicate și prin aranjamentul spațiului social, egalitatea băutorilor aristocrați, și oferea de asemenea un loc unde identitatea și caracterul băutorilor puteau fi puse la încercare în raport cu idealurile instituției: vinul oferea o perspectivă asupra adevăratul caracter și poezia stabilea un cod moral de urmat. Atena democratică a desfășurat un număr de răspunsuri la *symposion*-ul esențialmente aristocratic. El a devenit mai puțin central din punct de vedere social, iar festivalurile bogate oferite de aristocrați au fost preluate de polis; o nouă formă de distracție civică a fost introdusă, care răsturna multe din trăsăturile *symposion*-ului. În comedie însă, *symposion*-ul a rămas o sursă frecventă de imagistică, fiind doar rareori reprezentat ca problematic: cel mai adesea simbolizează din nou coeziunea noii lumi comice creată în piese.

**Cuvinte cheie:** *symposion*; băutoră; politică; comedie; egalitate.

The krater stands full of delight'. So says the archaic poet Xenophanes, describing an ideal symposium<sup>1</sup>. Wine-drinking was the central and most strikingly characterised of the three parts of the Greek dinner-party. At the *deipnon*, the food was consumed; a libation and tasting of neat wine then preceded the mixing of wine for the *symposion*; the *komos*, running through the streets with torches, perhaps to the house of a favourite girl or boy, rounded off the entertainment.

The krater, the mixing-bowl for the wine of the symposium, stands at the centre of the symposium, and can on its own symbolise the presence of sympotic activity<sup>2</sup>. Drinking neat wine is characteristic of the uncivilised, the barbaric and the divine, but the mixing of the wine makes it suitable for civilised consumption. The verb from which krater is derived, *kerannumi*, is used primarily of mixing wine and water, but it also denotes the tempering of hot water by cooler, the tempering of metals, and the mixing and regulating of climates, states of mind<sup>3</sup> and political constitutions<sup>4</sup>. 'Mixing' and civilisation go together.

This moment of mixing and the libation that accompanied it was thus especially important, being marked by ritual and prayer. In literature, it is often itself used to mark crucially significant moments. Clytaemnestra justifies killing Agamemnon with the words 'With so many accursed lies has he filled the mixing-bowl in his own house, and now he has come home and himself drained it to the dregs' (1397-8). In Euripides *Ion*, the plot to poison Ion is revealed at the moment when the kraters are mixed<sup>5</sup>.

On vases, the images are often arranged so that the krater has a central role, and the painted surface of the vase mirrors the activity taking place around it. Mention of it is sufficient to evoke not only the symposium but also the whole social world of the sympotic group: when forcing him to kill his mother, Apollo tells Orestes that if he does not follow the god's command, he will be forbidden to partake of 'the share of the krater'<sup>6</sup>. This spatial arrangement of the symposiasts around the vases expressed the equality that existed between the diners. It was from the krater that the wine was shared amongst the symposiasts in equal measures, just as the food was equally divided (it is often represented in equal portions on vases). The imagery of the vases more often depicts the sharing than the mixing of the wine. This equality was further expressed by the circulation of the 'loving

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Luke 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Lissarrague 1990a.

<sup>3</sup> Pl. *Phdr.* 279 A.

<sup>4</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 1307 b30.

<sup>5</sup> Aes. *Ag.* 1384-7, 1395-8; Eur. *Ion* 1194-1228.

<sup>6</sup> Aes. *Cho.* 291.

cup' (*kulix philotesia*) round the table. It extended also to freedom of speech: each man had his turn holding the myrtle branch and singing; in Theognis, exclusion from the symposium through poverty leads to effective aphasia: 'if I had money, Simonides, as I once did, I would not mind the company of good men. As it is, my money passes me by though it recognises me, and I am speechless because of want' (667-70).

The spatial lay-out of the symposium also worked to reinforce the sense of group-identity. Both in sanctuaries and private houses, the rooms for entertainment tend to be small and square. There are exceptions, but in general there are either seven or eleven couches some 1.8 m long by 0.8 m wide ranged round the walls, two or three on each wall with a space for the door. In larger rectangular rooms, the short walls seldom exceeded three couch-lengths, and if the long walls are very long, then the drinkers seem to have been divided into two pi-shaped groups, perhaps round separate hearths, which preserved in each case the intimate sympotic atmosphere. Where very large numbers of people are to be catered for, sanctuaries tend to have a large number of small rooms rather than one large dining-hall. 'Nothing, therefore, takes place behind the drinkers; the whole visual space is constructed to make sightlines converge and to ensure reciprocity. Each drinker has another alongside him or in front of him.'<sup>7</sup> This was quite unlike the Latin system, where there was a hierarchy of seats, and the guest of honour received the *locus consularis*, with the host on his right. From here, he would often have the best sight-lines to the views of fountains, statuary and gardens, often elegantly framed by architectural features, planned with the view from the *triclinium* in mind<sup>8</sup>.

This equality of the symposium was, of course, only partial, since there were categories of people there who were adjuncts rather than members. Generalisation is dangerous, since practices did vary from place to place and in different contexts<sup>9</sup>. However, it was in general only the adult males who reclined. Aristocratic youths, not yet of an age to recline could perhaps sit at the symposium, or they might have different food or help in serving the adults. Some rite of passage might be necessary before taking a full part in a symposium: the famous story is told of Cassander, a future king of Macedonia, who was not able to recline at a symposium at the age of thirty-five, because he had not yet killed a boar outside the hunting-nets<sup>10</sup>. In some cities, the gift of a cup to a youth on the completion of a rite of

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<sup>7</sup> Lissarrague 1990a, 19.

<sup>8</sup> Clarke 1991, 16-18.

<sup>9</sup> Cooper/Morris 1990, 81.

<sup>10</sup> Hegesander, *ap.* Athen. 18A.

passage was a symbol of his ability to partake in the symposium, and went alongside the gift of a suit of armour which marked his entry into the hoplite militia<sup>11</sup>. Slaves of course did not recline, and if the female *hetairai* who graced the occasion were permitted to recline it was for the gratification of the men. In Athens, respectable citizen women were not permitted: Demosthenes compares Neaera who did go to symposia to a *hetaira*<sup>12</sup>. There seem too to have been distinctions at big festivals: dining-rooms in sanctuaries were not sufficient to take everyone present at major events, so the suggestion is that an elite would have dined, whilst the majority either picnicked on the ground or at temporary tables, or perhaps in temporary huts.

The symposium was thus an important institution for creating and maintaining cohesion between male groups. In Sparta, for instance, the military organisation of troops was based on and may have grown out of dining and drinking groups. Despite the fact that Xenophanes banishes from his idealised symposium the singing of 'the battles of Titans, Giants and Centaurs, fictions of earlier times, or violent factionalism'<sup>13</sup>, sympotic poetry played an important role during times of war. This can be seen for instance in the work of the sixth-century poet Alcaeus of Lesbos, who composed as part of a group engaged in a struggle for dominance with other similar groups. War and the symposium are complementary: on vases of the archaic period, pictures of arms and hoplite scenes are common<sup>14</sup>, and often, where there are banqueters on one side of the vase and warriors on the other, the number of figures is the same in each case, 'comme si l'image mettait sur le même plan la participation au repas et à la guerre'<sup>15</sup>. There exist too cups which show on one band symposiasts, on another epic warriors such as Achilles and Ajax dicing<sup>16</sup>. Similarly, a poem of Alcaeus speaks of weapons in the symposium room (357), and the epic features of the language suggest again a link between his men and the heroes of the *Iliad*.

If membership of the symposium marked an individual's position in aristocratic society, and exclusion from it exclusion from all society, the symposium was also the place where a man's image among his peers and his self-image were tested out. Identity is both reaffirmed in the symposium and yet called into question under the gaze of Dionysus. Present at the

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<sup>11</sup> Ephorus, *FGrH* 70 F 149; Bremmer 1980.

<sup>12</sup> Dem. 59, 24, 48; cf. 33; Cf. Isaeus 3, 14. Contrast the Persian attitude at Hdt. 5, 18-20.

<sup>13</sup> 1, 21-3.

<sup>14</sup> Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 17-31: they are more common on Corinthian vases than Athenian. Cf. also Lissarrague 1990b, 70-71, 103, 115-116; 1990a, 206.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 25.

<sup>16</sup> Lissarrague 1990a, 206.

symposium were powerful gods in the forms of Dionysus and Aphrodite, but the ideal symposium was one in which the participants did not yield too much to the temptations offered by these deities. Xenophanes says 'we must pour libations, and pray that we act justly; this is what is preferable, not violence. You should drink enough so that you can get home without a servant – unless you are old. We must praise the man who drinks but speaks appropriately, so that we may be mindful of and compete for virtue'<sup>17</sup>. The balance to be maintained between participating fully in the pleasures of the symposium, and not succumbing to them, finds concrete representation on vases, where wine-cups, amphoras and kraters are balanced on various parts of the anatomy, or the drinkers arrange themselves in various athletic groupings: social poise and physical balance go hand in hand.

Current research on sympotic vases has stressed the way in which they can be read as entering into a dialogue with the drinker about his behaviour. The vessels were not just decorative or functional only at the level of drinking, but played an active role in the symbolic space that was the symposium. This happened most clearly in the case of cups which have a drunken satyr represented in the tondo. When the drinker looks into the wine, he sees the satyr in the cup and himself reflected in the surface of the wine: the question is asked, is there one image or two? Is this a case of 'wine and truth', of wine as the 'mirror of a man', has the human become a satyr? Other vessels will show drunken satyrs on one side and sober ones on the other, and present the company of two models of Dionysiac behaviour, the one destructive of pleasure, the other representing it. Yet others have simply a pair of eyes belonging to the god, which silently look into the soul of the drinker and ask him to do the same. To quote Frontisi-Ducroux<sup>18</sup>:

when the vase, even as it presents itself to be looked at – offering the banqueter selected representations of the city, its activities, and its models – begins to look back at the drinker, to fix his eyes with its own, the serene relationship of the spectator to the image becomes troubled, and the one-way relation of subject to object is inverted.

Satyrs are among the most frequent images<sup>19</sup>:

... when a bestial and hairy face with horse's ears turns toward the spectator and with its widened eyes looks deeply into his own, the confrontation can only be disquieting. The satyr ... presents man with the image of his hidden desires, of the savagery he holds in

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<sup>17</sup> 1, 15-20.

<sup>18</sup> Frontisi-Ducroux 1989, 156.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

check, the exhibition of a truth quite different from his official identity.

**Only** gods, satyrs, the dying or the drunk look out of the vases.

The same can be said of the many poems on moral subjects that come from the symposium: they criticise others, but there is an implied question to the drinkers whether they too match up to the moral standards expected and expressed in the poems. Furthermore, misbehaviour at the symposium could stand as a sign of greater misdemeanours outside it. When the future dictator Pittacus abandoned the symposium and political faction of Alcaeus, the poet attacked him in his poetry in terms of the symposium. This is briefly done in 70, 3-9: '... the lyre takes playful part in carousel...; ... feasting in the company of silly charlatans ... Let him, since he has married into the Atridae's house, devour the city even as he did together with Myrsilus ...' Unbecoming behaviour in Pittacus's symposium goes hand in hand with vicious political behaviour. The second fragment (72) is longer, but more fragmentary: 'violently ... he fills [?the cup] with neat wine, ?which bubbles by day and night. There often the custom ... That man did not forget these [?barbarous customs] when first he [word's meaning uncertain], for every night he [?], and the bottom of the jar kept ringing. Have you, the son of such a woman, the repute which free men of noble parents have?' Much is uncertain here, but the word 'violent' contrasts with the joy that is the function of the symposium; drinking neat wine marks out the barbarian, as does the questioning of family background; drinking day and night, rather than in the evening, is also indicative of low moral fibre; finally, the krater at this symposium is constantly emptied, whereas three was the standard number that were mixed.

The symposium described so far here is essentially the archaic aristocratic institution. Such a private grouping naturally posed difficulties to more democratic forms of government, where private gatherings of an elite were perceived as a potential threat. There is an instructive story that after Pericles entered politics he ceased to go to dinner-parties, and when once he did go to a friend's wedding-feast he left as the libations were poured<sup>20</sup>: the sympotic part of the evening he clearly considered of a different ideological colour to the simple sharing of food. Aristocratic symposia obviously continued in Athens, but as far as we can tell, for most of the fifth-century they were concerned more with 'court-cases and magistracies' rather than political activity at the city level. It is only in the run-up to the oligarchic coup of 411 that they start to exercise major

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<sup>20</sup> Plut. *Pericles* 7, 4.



influence on the political nature of the city<sup>21</sup>. In democratic Athens, we can see a number of reactions to the symposium in different institutions. I shall look briefly at four.

1. The city did much to replace private dining and drinking with public. The big city festivals, founded in many cases in the previous century by the leading aristocratic families, involved generous feasting of the people, and the city now became the provider, thus taking the public credit and divine good-will that went with them, leaving the families often with the right to supply the officials. *Hieropoioi* were appointed who looked after the major state festivals<sup>22</sup>. At the Lesser Panathenaea, more than a hundred sheep and cows were slaughtered on the Acropolis at the main altar of Athena to Athena Polias and to Victory, and the meat was then taken to the Ceramicus via the Agora to be distributed to the people. The equality expressed by the symposium is also frequently reflected in the sacrificial practices of Greek cities at their big festivals. The equality of the citizens was mirrored in the equal distribution of the parts of the animal<sup>23</sup>, which might be effected by careful weighing<sup>24</sup> or by drawing of lots<sup>25</sup>. On the other hand, in less egalitarian societies, special status was expressed by privileges at sacrifice<sup>26</sup>: the Spartan kings presided, sat down first, began the eating and received a double portion<sup>27</sup>, from which, as a mark of favour, they rewarded others such as the bringers of news of victories<sup>28</sup>.

2. In Athens, certain people were entitled to feasting at public expense, and there were two distinct forms, one which took place in the *prytaneion* and one in the *tholos*; the former was the older form, whereas the latter was a product of the democratic state, and the form of dining expressed the different ideologies<sup>29</sup>. Those who dined in the *prytaneion* were few: victors in the four main games, the Hierophant of the Eleusinian games, the descendants of the tyrannocides Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and 'people chosen by Apollo'. These people all share one trait, that they are connected with the aristocratic past of the city. It was granted to few others,

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<sup>21</sup> Murray 1990b.

<sup>22</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 30, 2; 54, 7; M & L 84, 6-7.

<sup>23</sup> *Il.* 1, 468; *Plut. Mor.* 644B; Sokolowski 1955, no. 33 B 24-7; 1962, no. 39, 22-25.

<sup>24</sup> Sokolowski 1955, no. 98, 12-16; 1962, no. 54, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Sokolowski 1962, no. 50, 36-7; *Plut. Mor.* 642F; cf. A. M. Bowie 1995, 467.

<sup>26</sup> Conversely, people honoured in cities or given magistracies would often make an *ex-voto* offering to a god to mark the fact (Rouse 1902, 257 ff.).

<sup>27</sup> *Hdt.* 6, 56 (in war they decided how many animals were sacrificed and received skins and chins as special privileges).

<sup>28</sup> *Plut. Ages.* 33, 8; Cartledge 1987, 154.

<sup>29</sup> Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 145-177; Cooper/Morris 1990.

such as foreign *proxenoi* (representatives of citizens from other cities resident in Athens) and ambassadors. The entertainment included the traditional symposium. By contrast, the meal in the *tholos*, where the *prytaneis* (members of the *boule* which prepared business for the Assembly) were fed, was quite different. The entertainment and, it has been argued, the architecture of this building, seem designed to express a completely different ideology. The *prytaneis* were given a *misthos*, a sum of money to buy a meal, rather than an actual meal, and the atmosphere was frugal, unlike the sympotic meal in the *prytaneion*. Furthermore, the *prytaneis* were seated and so did not recline like the members of a symposium. Everything was done to create an ambience for these 'ordinary' citizens that did not recall the aristocratic ways of the symposium.

3. The importance for communal solidarity of public dining can also be seen when the aristocratic symposium forms the basis, in abnormal form, for a particular city ritual. At the Athenian Anthesteria<sup>30</sup>, a myth told how Orestes, after killing his mother, had come to Athens at the time of the festival in search of purification. He thus posed the king a dilemma of having to decide whether to reject a suppliant or to risk polluting the city and the festival by admitting a polluted man. The solution was ingenious: he gave Orestes his own table apart from the citizens, his own *khous* (a vessel of some two and a half litres of mixed wine), and a cup. But, so that Orestes should not feel put out, he ordered everyone to sit separately from each other, each again with his own *khous* and cup. So it was ever after: there was a drinking competition, at which on a trumpet signal all present would, garlanded and in silence, drink the wine in their *khous* as fast as possible, with a prize going to the winner. The refractions and reversals of the symposium are clear. Orestes is a guest at a symposium, but is not spoken to; mixed wine is drunk, but there is no prayer before it, and no sharing from a central krater; men meet to drink together and garlands are worn, but there is no 'delight', in the form of song or dance. The Anthesteria represented in various ways a reversal of normal activity, and here the conventions of the symposium are reversed.

4. Drama. Though both genres are under the aegis of Dionysus, comedy makes very much more use of the symposium than tragedy<sup>31</sup>. In many of Aristophanes's earlier plays, the plot is structured around sympotic imagery. In *Peace* and *Acharnians*, it operates as a focus of the pleasures of peace as against the miseries of war, either through the changing of

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. Harrison 1908, 32-76; Deubner 1932, 93-123; Parke 1977, 107-120; Burkert 1983a, 213-247; 1985, 237-242; Simon 1983, 92-99; Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 1-25.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. E. L. Bowie 1995; A. M. Bowie 1997; Fisher 2000; Putz 2007.

instruments of war into sympotic implements or through juxtaposition of the two spheres. In *Clouds*, the breakdown of relations between father and sophisticatedly educated son takes place at a symposium. In *Knights*, the restoration of proper sympotic dining in the *prytaneion* at the end marks the restoration of normality in contrast to slave symposia and solitary dining of earlier in the play. Despite its aristocratic resonances, it is only in *Wasps*, a play about a jury-maniac, that the symposium has a negative character. It functions as a third locus within which the functioning of justice in Athens is examined, alongside the Athenian courts where the gullibility and whimsicality of the jurors is matched only by the venality of the officials, and a domestic court set up as a substitute for participation in the city's courts where the bias and vulnerability of the single judge represents an even less agreeable prospect. Instructed in the ways of the symposium, Philocleon expresses concern about the problems of drunkenness, but is reassured: 'There's no problem if you're in with gentlemen. Either they'll beg off the plaintiff, or you'll do it yourself with some witty story from Aesop or Sybaris that you've learnt in the symposium' (1256-60). The Athenians are invited to ponder their judicial system in terms of these loci, and perhaps to see some merits in it, as compared with autocratic courts or a system where influential men who dine together can arrange for themselves freedom from legal sanction.

I want to look at the role of the symposium in the two plays in which women take control of the political structures of the city. The kind of distortions found in the Anthesteria rite are again encountered, and these constitute a crucial hermeneutic code. In *Lysistrata*, the actions of the women are inaugurated by wine (181 ff.). Having rejected the idea of imitating Aeschylus' rebellious Seven who sacrificed a bull over a black shield and swore an oath while touching the pieces, the women decide to swear their oath to impose the sex-strike using a substance more appropriate to peace: 'Put a large, black drinking-cup facing upwards on the ground, and when we've sacrificed a jar of Thasian wine let's swear not to pour water into the cup' (195-7). A number of codes are combined in this scene. At an oath-swearing, the wine was not drunk, so that Lysistrata confuses sacrificial and libation codes<sup>32</sup>. There are also sympotic elements. The *kulix* is the broad flat cup from which symposiasts most commonly drank<sup>33</sup> and which could vary

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<sup>32</sup> Henderson 1987, 93 quotes Herodotus's description of Scythian oath-swearing, where a large *kulix* is filled with wine and some blood from the two parties, who dip their weapons into the liquid and then drink it (4, 70): does this use of Scythian practices also colour the reception of the women's actions?

<sup>33</sup> Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 1200 quotes Pl. *Symp.* 214 B1: λέγομεν ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι.

in size<sup>34</sup>: one of the women remarks on the pleasure that taking up the great *kulix* would give anyone who drank from it. Lysistrata calls on the cup to accept their offering, addressing it as *kulix philotesia* (203), the 'loving-cup' shared by all the symposiasts. The *stamnos*, which like the krater was used for mixing wine, is one of the principal vases of Dionysiac cult. The so-called 'Lenaea vases' are *stamnoi*<sup>35</sup>, and often represent women drawing wine out of a *stamnos* at a Dionysiac rite. The wine in future is to be neat.

The mixed nature of what the women are doing in plotting against the male control of sex and politics is brought out in part by these various codes. Perversion of religious ritual naturally characterises them in a negative way, although the perversion is here conducted in the service of peace-making. Women at the symposium is also anathema, as we have seen, and the placing of the drinking-cup on the ground is strange: on vases where the behaviour of satyrs parodies that of mortals, we see satyrs putting drinking-cups on the ground in order either to perform tricks over them or to drink out of them while standing upside down<sup>36</sup>. On the other hand, the representations of women around the *stamnos* in Dionysiac ritual provides a more positively characterised model for their activity. It may be important here that 'towards the middle of the fifth century there is a sharp break in the treatment of the scene: ecstatic maenads give way to stately aristocratic figures ... the maenadic character of the celebrants is not entirely lost, though much toned down'<sup>37</sup>. The complex symbolism of this scene is one of the ways in which *Lysistrata* prepares its audience for the ambiguous portrayal of the women and their actions, which the men in the audience must negotiate in thinking about the temporary gynaecocracy they establish.

At the end of the play, the new peace is marked by a symposium (1225-38), in which Athenian and Spartan feast together on the Acropolis<sup>38</sup>. The ceremonial centre of Athens becomes the site of a symposium which symbolises the new relationship between the two cities: with order comes a male symposium which contrasts with the abnormal feminine sympotic behaviour at the start of the play. It is suggested that the symposium should provide the model for Athenian diplomacy in future: sober, they are always suspicious of the Spartans; drunk, they are 'wisest symposiasts' (1227-1235). The symposium in future will be a guarantee of continued peace: the women's insistence on using wine in a rite for peace is justified. The play

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. e. g. Pl. *Symp.* 213 E10-4 A5; 223 C5; D. L. 1, 103; Ath. 434, 463.

<sup>35</sup> Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 30-34; Philippaki 1967.

<sup>36</sup> Durand/Frontisi-Ducroux/Lissarrague 1989, 126-127.

<sup>37</sup> Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 30-31.

<sup>38</sup> For feasts in sanctuaries, cf. Henderson 1987, 206.

ends in a comastic way with singing and dancing by the men and the women, to the accompaniment not of the usual *aulos* but of the Spartan bag-pipe. As in a number of the earlier plays, *Lysistrata's* main actions thus begin with an abnormal 'sympotic' scene and close with one that is only unusual because of the friendship between Athenian and Spartan. The traditional *komos* follows with citizen women joining in, which is unusual for reality, but appropriate for the ending of a play of reconciliation.

In *Ecclesiazusae*, Praxagora's plans for the city under the rule of the women involve making the whole city into a 'single household' through the breaking down of all the house walls so that privacy is abolished (674 f.). The political institutions will be turned into sympotic ones (673-709)<sup>39</sup>. The courts and stoas will become dining-rooms (*andrones*) for the service of the *deipnon*. The orators' rostrum will contain the kraters and water-jars, and young boys will sing of the brave and cowardly in war. The machines which allocated men to courts will now be taken to the Agora to the statue of Harmodius, celebrated in a famous sympotic song, there to allot men to dining-rooms. After dinner, the women will hail the men returning home drunk and garlanded and offer them attractive young women: the *komos* is thus also taken care of. One change in sympotic practice will be that the prostitutes, who seem to include the *hetairai* who could be hired for symposia, will be replaced by citizen women; furthermore, the rules about who will sleep with whom mean that the less favoured will have first go at the more, the effects of which are shown when a young man on a *komos* (948, 978) is deprived of his young girl-friend by increasingly unappetising old women.

This plan is then seen in action at the end of the play. It is a female herald who summons the citizens to the lottery and announces the preparation of the feast in terms of the symposium. There are tables, couches covered with skins and blankets, kraters being mixed, unguent-sellers at hand, fish, hare, cakes, soup and *tragemata* in preparation, garlands being woven (834-52). As Schmitt-Pantel points out, 'this meal, far from being in the image of a traditional civic banquet, has all the characteristics of a private dinner party. The foods offered ... are those of private dinners, the methods of cooking those of domestic cuisine'<sup>40</sup>. After the demonstration of the disconcerting effects of the new sexual legislation, a serving-girl comes out (1112 ff.), anointed, having purloined and now praising the excellence of the garlands and wine, paradoxically asking for the latter to be 'mixed neat'

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<sup>39</sup> A foreign note is struck when Praxagora uses the word *sussitia* (715), usually associated with Sparta.

<sup>40</sup> 1992, 229-230.

(1123); she encourages the last of the men to come to dinner. Praxagora's new world is thus essentially a private symposium on a city-wide scale: all the characteristic features of the standard symposium are there; men alone are invited (693 ff., 716, 1143-8); the task of the women is to prepare the food; there are servants to purvey the food. This state is to be run as a private house. The difference between the gynaecocracies of *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae* is most obviously that the latter is permanent, whereas *Lysistrata*'s women achieve the restoration of the status quo of male domination. However, it is noteworthy that Praxagora's women set up a state where, though they are in control of politics, they create a society where they aid men to continue their sympotic activity, in public now, rather than in private. The gynaecocracy is represented as idyllic in different ways for men and women alike: women enjoy power, men a permanent symposium<sup>41</sup>.

In these comedies therefore the symposium acts as a model for the proper functioning of the state. It is interesting that the model comedy uses is not the big city-wide festivals of dining but the private dining-group. Whatever the political complexion of the symposium, in comedy at least it remains 'good to think with'. It is not easy to say exactly why this should be. It may be because the symposium continued in the Greek *mentalité* to be a model for estimating behaviour. In later writing, it is often the locus in historians for stories indicative of the moral character of participants, and philosophers use it as a metaphor for the state. I wonder if it is going too far to suggest that the kind of questioning that the vases and conventions of the symposium imposed on the drinker are not unlike the questions posed to its male audience by Aristophanic comedy, again under the gaze of Dionysus whose statue attended the plays. We know that the mad juror Philocleon is exaggerated; the question is, how exaggerated? The state of the city can be judged by comparison with representations of an idealised symposium. After all, the equality of drinkers round the krater is not a bad model for a democracy.

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<sup>41</sup> A permanent symposium was what the Orphics promised those who were initiated into their mysteries: 'they take the just to the other world and provide them with a banquet of the Blest, where they sit for all time carousing with garlands on their heads, as if virtue could not be more nobly recompensed than by an eternity of intoxication' (Pl. *Rep.* 363 C-D (tr. Cornford)); cf. Foucart 1873, 153-177.

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## Two banquets of Socrates

NÉMETH György

*Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest*

**Abstract.** In Plato's *Symposium*, Socrates and his friends convened to celebrate the young and handsome Agathon's first victory at the dramatic contest of tragedies in 416 BC. The gathering was practically an after-party, since the actual festivity took place the previous day (thus the participants have hardly sobered down), but Socrates had not wanted to take part in it because of the crowd. Xenophon, another pupil of Socrates, commemorated a banquet organized in honour of Autolycus, who was victorious in *pankration* in the Athenian Panathenaic Games in 422 BC, which is consequently the date of the dialogue. We do learn from these dialogues what a *symposion* meant to elegant Athenians at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and what kinds of conversation and jokes poets and philosophers used to while away.

**Key words:** Plato, Xenophon, symposium, Athens, *deipnon*.

**Rezumat:** Două banchete ale lui Socrate. În *Banchetul* lui Platon, Socrate și prietenii săi se strâng pentru a sărbători prima victorie a tânărului și frumosului Agathon în concursul de tragedii al anului 416 a. Chr. Întrunirea era practic o petrecere întârziată, deoarece adevărata petrecere avusese loc cu o zi mai înainte (astfel că participanții abia apucaseră să se trezească), dar Socrate nu voise să ia parte la ea din cauza înghesuiei. Xenophon, un alt discipol al lui Socrate, a comemorat un banchet organizat în cinstea lui Autolycus, învingătorul la *pankration* la jocurile panatenee din 422 a. Chr., ceea ce constituie așadar și data dialogului. Din aceste două dialoguri aflăm ce însemna un *symposion* pentru eleganții atenieni la sfârșitul secolului V a. Chr. și cu ce fel de conversații și glume își petreceau timpul poeții și filosofii.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Platon, Xenophon, *symposion*, Atena, *deipnon*.

Plato's *Symposium* is a dialogue from antiquity widely known even today because it is written on love. Socrates and his friends convened to celebrate the young and handsome Agathon's first victory at the dramatic contest of tragedies in 416 BC. The gathering was practically an after-party, since the actual festivity had taken place the previous day (thus the participants had hardly sobered down), but Socrates had not wanted to take part in it because of the crowd. Now they prepared for a more reserved pastime. Among the remarkable participants we find Glaucon, Plato's half-brother, Eryximachus the physician, Alcibiades, a talented but unscrupulous

politician and general, and Aristophanes, the comic poet. The latter deserves special attention for several reasons. He shrewdly mocked Socrates in *The Clouds* (a comic play performed in 423 BC), portraying the philosopher as a dangerous sophist. This characterisation was embedded so deeply in the mind of the Athenians that – according to Plato – Socrates had to deny the charge of being a sophist even in his apology in 399 BC<sup>1</sup>. The relationship between Aristophanes and Agathon was not less tense. In his comedy *Thesmophoriazusae* the comic playwright compared the dramatist to prostitutes and portrayed him as an effeminate homosexual<sup>2</sup>. Though *Thesmophoriazusae* was performed only in 411 (i. e. five years after the renowned banquet) and Aristophanes satirized Agathon in 407 as well (moreover, in 406 he did not consider him a tragic poet in the *Frogs*), but some parts of this characterisation seemed valid as early as in 416 BC, as is conspicuous from the *Symposium*. In Plato's writing, however, there is no trace of hard feelings between the two, in fact when all the others had been drunk under the table ("a great deal of wine was forced on everyone"), they kept on drinking from a large cup together with Socrates, who was trying to convince the playwrights that the same qualities are required in writing comedy and tragedy, thus an accomplished dramatist should be able to work in both genres<sup>3</sup>.

At the beginning of a banquet they had dinner together. This must have been a rather extraordinary meal, for Agathon gave the following instruction to his servants: "At any rate you put on the table whatever you like when no one is supervising you"<sup>4</sup>. After dinner they offered libations, sang hymns in honour of the gods, and then, according to use and wont, they turned to drinking. The word *symposium* (translated as 'banquet') literally means 'drinking together'. Still, Agathon's guests did not intend to get drunk, at least not at the beginning. They did not elect a master of ceremonies (at whose command it was compulsory to drain the cups to the dregs), and they even sent the musician girl away<sup>5</sup>. Girls playing the *aulos* (an instrument similar to modern oboe but often mistranslated as 'flute') would provide music during the meal, yet after that they would offer various other services to banqueters. However, the participants agreed to converse about love: everyone was to deliver a glorifying speech on his magnificent goddess. The speeches are presented in the course of the

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<sup>1</sup> Pl. *Apol.* 18d.

<sup>2</sup> Ar. *Th.* 98; 140-144.

<sup>3</sup> Pl. *Smp.* 223d.

<sup>4</sup> Pl. *Smp.* 175b (translated by M. C. Howatson).

<sup>5</sup> Pl. *Smp.* 176e.

banquet, introducing the reader into all types of love from sex to fine learning and even to the science of beauty in itself. Then arrives Alcibiades, being blind-drunk and in love with Socrates, and reveals his jealousy of Agathon, tells his unfulfilled amatory adventure with Socrates, and ultimately turns the so far sober banquet into a carousal<sup>6</sup>.

Xenophon, another pupil of Socrates, commemorated a banquet organized in honour of Autolycus, who was victorious in *pankration* in the Athenian Panathenaic Games in 422 BC, which is consequently the date of the dialogue. The author claims in the first lines of his work that not only the serious acts of great men but also their jokes are worthy of remembrance<sup>7</sup>. Callias, being in love with Autolycus, invites Socrates and his friends to a dinner party. They all admire the beauty of the young athlete. When they lie down to dinner, Philippus arrives, a merry wag, though no one laughs at his jokes<sup>8</sup>. At the end of the dinner, as it is customary, they remove the tables, offer libation and sing a *paean* (a hymn to Apollo) together. Then a showman from Syracuse arrives with an aulos-player girl, a dancer girl, and a lyre player boy. The master of the house intends to have his guests rubbed with oil, yet they turn down his offer by claiming that the scent of oil used in the gymnasia is more suitable to men. Hosts sometimes favoured their guests with gifts. The increasing value of presents show that organizing a banquet was not merely an occasion to gather a friendly company, but also an important tool of self-representation. The people accepting the invitation showed the social importance and recognition of the host. The more illustrious the participants at the dinner party, the more lavish the gifts and entertainments. For example, every guest of a certain Macedonian Caranus' wedding feast received a bronze and a silver plate, scent bottles of gold and silver, silver bread-baskets, etc.<sup>9</sup>.

Banquets consisted of two parts. The first part, the *deipnon*, included the actual meal and was ended by the common libation and singing of the participants. Banqueters normally elected a master of ceremonies (*symposiarchos*, literally 'leader of the symposium'), at whose command the *symposion* began, which was actually a carousal. During this, showmen entertained the partakers, as it happened in the *Symposium* of Xenophon: "At that, the other girl began to accompany the dancer on the flute, and a boy at her elbow handed her up the hoops until he had given her twelve. She took these and as she danced kept throwing them whirling into the air,

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<sup>6</sup> Pl. *Smp.* 223b.

<sup>7</sup> X. *Smp.* 1, 1.

<sup>8</sup> X. *Smp.* 1, 14.

<sup>9</sup> Ath. 4, 128a-130e.

observing the proper height to throw them so as to catch them in a regular rhythm"<sup>10</sup>. After the hooping performance of the dancer girl, Socrates claimed that the talent of women was not inferior to that of men. Then the girl went on to turn somersaults among swords<sup>11</sup>. "But now there was brought in a hoop set all around with upright swords; over these the dancer turned somersaults into the hoop and out again, to the dismay of the onlookers, who thought that she might suffer some mishap. She, however, went through this performance fearlessly and safely"<sup>12</sup>. Courage, declared the philosopher, can be taught, since the girl has also learnt it. After the boy's dance Socrates expressed his willing to learn dancing: " 'And for myself,' he continued, addressing the Syracusan, 'I should be delighted to learn the figures from you.'

'What use will you make of them?' the other asked.

'I will dance, by Zeus.'

This raised a general laugh; but Socrates, with a perfectly grave expression on his face, said: 'You are laughing at me, are you? Is it because I want to exercise to better my health? Or because I want to take more pleasure in my food and my sleep? Or is it because I am eager for such exercises as these, not like the long-distance runners, who develop their legs at the expense of their shoulders, nor like the prize-fighters, who develop their shoulders but become thin-legged, but rather with a view to giving my body a symmetrical development by exercising it in every part? Or are you laughing because I shall not need to hunt up a partner to exercise with, or to strip, old as I am, in a crowd, but shall find a moderate-sized room large enough for me (just as but now this room was large enough for the lad here to get up a sweat in), and because in winter I shall exercise under cover, and when it is very hot, in the shade? Or is this what provokes your laughter, that I have an unduly large paunch and wish to reduce it? Don't you know that just the other day Charmides here caught me dancing early in the morning?'

'Indeed I did,' said Charmides; 'and at first I was dumbfounded and feared that you were going stark mad; but when I heard you say much the same things as you did just now, I myself went home, and although I did not dance, for I had never learned how, I practised shadow-boxing, for I knew how to do that' "<sup>13</sup>. This conversation is followed by the amusing

<sup>10</sup> X. *Smp.* 2, 8 (translated by O. J. Todd). Jugglers appear already in Homer, see *Od.* 8, 372-376.

<sup>11</sup> Schäfer 1997, table 43. 1.

<sup>12</sup> X. *Smp.* 2, 11. For the acrobatic performance among swords, see Németh 2004, 7-17; Allen/Cambitoglu/Chamay 1986, 199-201. I express my thanks to the Musée d'art et d'histoire (Geneva) for permitting me to republish the vase and for sending me its photo image (158 n/m 931).

<sup>13</sup> X. *Smp.* 2, 16-19.

dance of Philippus: now they all laugh at his performance, and then start talking about civilized drinking<sup>14</sup>. This brings forth the question: what did each of them consider the most valuable knowledge in his possession? Callias had the power to make men better, Niceratus could recite the epic poems of Homer by heart, Critobulus took pride in his beauty, Antisthenes in his wealth, Charmides in his poverty, Socrates in his talent in procuring, Philippus in his ability to make people laugh, Lycon in his son Autolycus, Autolycus in his father, whereas Hermogenes was proud of his friends. Callias gave money to people, which made them more just, since their misery did not compel them to commit crimes. Nevertheless, none of them was grateful to him. Niceratos thought Homer teaches all knowledge, the handsome Critobulus was in love with Cleinias and tried to win his graces through his beauty. Socrates considered himself more handsome than the young Critobulus. Charmides did not mind at all having sunk into poverty, because he was not troubled by and robbed of his wealth. The richness of Antisthenes lay in his poverty, since the little property he owned was fully sufficient to him. His most precious treasure was his free time that he could spend with Socrates. Hermogenes' friends were the gods, who always took care of him. Philippus was proud of his talent for playing the fool, which provided him with a living, and the Syracusan liked foolish people watching his show. The procuring art of Socrates helped him find Antisthenes who could recognize those who were helpful to each other. After this, the banqueters organized a humorous beauty competition between Critobulus and Socrates – a contest ultimately lost by the latter, despite his forceful argumentation. "Callias now said, 'Critobulus, are you going to refuse to enter the lists in the beauty contest with Socrates?'

'Undoubtedly!' said Socrates; 'for probably he notices that the procurer stands high in the favour of the judges.'

'But yet in spite of that,' retorted Critobulus, 'I do not shun the contest. So make your plea, if you can produce any profound reason, and prove that you are more handsome than I. Only,' he added, 'let someone bring the light close to him.'

'The first step, then, in my suit,' said Socrates, 'is to summon you to the preliminary hearing; be so kind as to answer my questions.'

'And you proceed to put them.'

'Do you hold, then, that beauty is to be found only in man, or is it also in other objects?'

Crit. 'In faith, my opinion is that beauty is to be found quite as well in a horse or an ox or in any number of inanimate things. I know, at any rate, that a shield may be beautiful, or a sword, or a spear.'

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<sup>14</sup> X. *Smp.* 2, 23.

Soc. 'How can it be that all these things are beautiful when they are entirely dissimilar?'

'Why, they are beautiful and fine,' answered Critobulus, 'if they are well made for the respective functions for which we obtain them, or if they are naturally well constituted to serve our needs.'

Soc. 'Do you know the reason why we need eyes?'

Crit. 'Obviously to see with.'

'In that case, it would appear without further ado that my eyes are finer ones than yours.'

'How so?'

'Because, while yours see only straight ahead, mine, by bulging out as they do, see also to the sides.'

Crit. 'Do you mean to say that a crab is better equipped visually than any other creature?'

Soc. 'Absolutely; for its eyes are also better set to insure strength.'

Crit. 'Well, let that pass; but whose nose is finer, yours or mine?'

Soc. 'Mine, I consider, granting that Providence made us noses to smell with. For your nostrils look down toward the ground, but mine are wide open and turned outward so that I can catch scents from all about.'

'But how do you make a snub nose handsomer than a straight one?'

Soc. 'For the reason that it does not put a barricade between the eyes but allows them unobstructed vision of whatever they desire to see; whereas a high nose, as if in despite, has walled the eyes off one from the other.'

'As for the mouth,' said Critobulus, 'I concede that point. For if it is created for the purpose of biting off food, you could bite off a far bigger mouthful than I could. And don't you think that your kiss is also the more tender because you have thick lips?'

Soc. 'According to your argument, it would seem that I have a mouth more ugly even than an ass's. But do you not reckon it a proof of my superior beauty that the River Nymphs, goddesses as they are, bear as their offspring the Seileni, who resemble me more closely than they do you?'<sup>15</sup>

'I cannot argue any longer with you,' answered Critobulus; 'let them distribute the ballots, so that I may know without suspense what fine or punishment I must undergo. Only,' he continued, 'let the balloting be secret, for I am afraid that the «wealth» you and Antisthenes possess will overmaster me.'

So the maiden and the lad turned in the ballots secretly. While this was going on, Socrates saw to it that the light should be brought in front of Critobulus, so that the judges might not be misled, and stipulated that the

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<sup>15</sup> Alcibiades also compares Socrates with silens and satyrs, see Pl. *Smp.* 215a-b.

prize given by the judges to crown the victor should be kisses and not ribbons. When the ballots were turned out of the urn and proved to be a unanimous verdict in favour of Critobulus, 'Faugh!' exclaimed Socrates; 'your money, Critobulus, does not appear to resemble Callias's. For his makes people more honest, while yours is about the most potent to corrupt men, whether members of a jury or judges of a contest' <sup>16</sup>. The contest is followed by the singing of the participants, then Socrates asked the showman from Syracuse to amuse the guests not by perilous stunts but rather by dances. Socrates spoke about Eros, the love god, and about the love of certain members of the company. There were two representations of Aphrodite: the Heavenly and the Vulgar<sup>17</sup>. Spiritual love was superior and its goddess was called Heavenly Aphrodite. An army recruited of boy-lovers, praised by Pausanias, the lover of Agathon, did not function well, since such an army proved that the recruiters did not believe that these lovers separately would be able to perform brave deeds by themselves. Callias explained that he loved Autolycus for his bold and adamant soul. Socrates tried to act as a procurer and bring Callias to the attention of the city as a virtuous youth of great expectations. At this point, the dancers entered to perform the love story of Ariadne and Dionysus. The sight of their erotic movements raised lust in the spectators. The young rushed home to be together with their wives.

Xenophon's work may have been an answer to the *Symposium* of Plato, written about ten years earlier. There Socrates and his friends also conversed about love, but there is no further similarity in the two writings. It was Xenophon who reacted to Plato when e. g. he refused the notion of an army recruited from homosexual couples<sup>18</sup>, since such an army is appreciated by Phaedrus in Plato's *Symposium* with the following words: "If only some means might be found for a state or an army to consist of pairs of lovers, there would be no better people to run their country, for they would avoid any act that brought disgrace and would compete with each other in winning honour. Moreover they would be victorious over virtually every other army, even if they were only few in number, as long as they fought side by side"<sup>19</sup>. Xenophon was interested not so much in the depth of philosophy but rather in Socrates' sense of humour. It is surprising that Chr. Wieland, a German translator of Xenophon in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, held Xenophon's *Symposium* in a higher esteem than that of Plato, since he

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<sup>16</sup> X. *Smp.* 5, 1-9.

<sup>17</sup> X. *Smp.* 8, 9. The same notion is found in the *Symposium* of Plato, see Pl. *Smp.* 181b.

<sup>18</sup> X. *Smp.* 8, 34.

<sup>19</sup> Pl. *Smp.* 178e.

considered it more realistic and life-like, thus historically more trustworthy<sup>20</sup>. Nevertheless, Kierkegaard was so much outraged by the Socrates portrayed by Xenophon that he presumed that the Athenians must have been deprived of their common sense by some *daimonion* if they had decided to put this well-intentioned, loquacious chap to death<sup>21</sup>; at least if Socrates had really been a person like that.

Therefore if it was Xenophon's intention to present gleeful moments of great men, he may have done this to make us either feel more familiar with them or learn much even from their jokes. In any case, it was not Xenophon but Ion of Chios who invented this genre after writing in numerous literary forms. He wrote a book entitled *Epidemiai* (Arrivals), in which he commemorated his encounters with remarkable people<sup>22</sup>. He also wrote about the jokes of Sophocles in his book: "I met Sophocles the poet at Chios when he was sailing as general to Lesbos; he was playful at wine, and clever. A Chian friend of his, Hermesilaus, who was the proxenus of Athens, entertained him, when there appeared, standing beside the fire, the wine-pourer, a handsome, blushing boy; Sophocles was plainly stirred and said: 'Do you want me to drink with pleasure?'

And when the boy said 'Yes', he said:

'Then don't be too rapid in handing me the cup and taking it away.'

When the boy blushed still more violently he said to the man who shared his couch:

'That was a good thing Phrynichus wrote when he said:

*There shines upon his crimson cheeks the light of love'.*

To this the man from Eretria (or Erythrae), who was a schoolmaster, made answer:

'Wise you are, to be sure, Sophocles, in the art of poetry; nevertheless Phrynichus did not express himself happily when he described the handsome boy's cheeks as crimson. For if a painter should brush a crimson colour on this boy's cheeks he would no longer look handsome. Surely one must not compare the beautiful with what is obviously not beautiful'.

Laughing loudly at the Eretrian Sophocles said:

'So, then, stranger, you don't like that line of Simonides, either, though the Greeks think it very well expressed: *From her crimson lips the*

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<sup>20</sup> "Wahrer und lebendiger darstellt, folglich zuverlässiger kennen lehrt, als alle Dialoge Platons zusammengenommen", see Elson 1913, 14: „The most important result of Wieland's study of Xenophon was the knowledge acquired of Socrates. On several occasions he recommends Xenophon's Memorabilia as the best and purest source for the knowledge of Socrates."

<sup>21</sup> Kierkegaard 1841, 19; Olesen 2001, 116.

<sup>22</sup> Ath. 603e; FGrH 392 F 6 (translated by C. B. Gulick).



*maiden uttered speech*; nor again the poet who speaks of *golden-haired Apollo*; for if a painter had made the god's locks golden instead of black, the picture would not be so good. And so for the poet who said *rosy-fingered*; for if one should dip his fingers into a rose-dye, he would produce the hands of a purple-dyer and not those of a lovely woman'.

There was a laugh at this, and while the Eretrian was squelched by the rebuke, Sophocles returned to his conversation with the boy. He asked him, as he was trying to pick off a straw from the cup with his little finger, whether he could see the straw clearly. When the boy declared he could see it Sophocles said:

'Then blow it away, for I shouldn't want you to get your finger wet'.

As the boy brought his face up to the cup, Sophocles drew the cup nearer to his own lips, that the two heads might come closer together. When he was very near the lad, he drew him close with his arm and kissed him. They all applauded, amid laughter and shouting, because he had put it over the boy so neatly; and Sophocles said:

'I am practising strategy, gentlemen, since Pericles told me that whereas I could write poetry, I didn't know how to be a general. Don't you think my stratagem has turned out happily for me?'

Many things of this sort he was wont to say and do cleverly when he drank or when he did anything. In civic matters, however, he was neither wise nor efficient but like any other individual among the better class of Athenians''.

The jokes of Sophocles may well have been a pattern for Xenophon when he described the banquet of Socrates. There is, however, a significant difference in the viewpoint of Ion and Xenophon. Ion considered Sophocles a jolly man about town not competent in anything but in dramatic poetry, since according to Pericles he was a poor general and unfamiliar with politics. Socrates, on the other hand, exploited even his jokes to teach and this is why they are worthy of remembrance.

Did these two banquets really take place? The work of Plato raises suspicion, since its narrator Apollodorus was not himself present at the banquet but only heard about it from Aristodemus. What is more, in his speech Aristophanes makes reference to an event (the scattering of the inhabitants of Mantinea abroad) that happened 31 years after the banquet of Agathon in 385 BC.<sup>23</sup> Plato never weaves such anachronisms into his writings by chance. He intends to indicate that the frame story of his dialogues (in this case the banquet) can never be read as truthful records of

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<sup>23</sup> Pl. *Smp.* 193a.

historical events<sup>24</sup>. These are fictitious pieces that help the author introduce the central problem of his work. However, Xenophon's banquet is not more authentic, either. Though he insists on it, the author could not possibly have taken part in the banquet in 422 BC (written down, of course, some time after 369 BC), since he was no more than ten years old in those days. An insoluble anachronistic element surfaces in this work as well. Charmides explains his poverty by the loss of his land estates abroad<sup>25</sup>. This only happened, however, eighteen years later, at the end of the Peloponnesian War (404 BC)<sup>26</sup>. Consequently, Xenophon does not want to make his *Symposium* appear more authentic historically than that of Plato. Two detailed accounts by his pupils are of no avail: we will never know how Socrates behaved in a real banquet. Still, we do learn from these dialogues what a *symposion* meant to elegant Athenians at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and what kinds of conversation and jokes poets and philosophers used to while away their time.

## Illustrations

Fig. 1. Bell-shaped vessel depicting a girl in handstand among upright swords, c. 340 BC.

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<sup>24</sup> The most obvious anachronism surfaces in the frame story of the *Menexenus*, which describes Socrates having a conversation with Menexenus in 386 BC, i. e. thirteen years after his own death, see Rosenstock 1994, 331-347.

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# Ladung zu Opfer und Bankett als Auszeichnung der Fremde im pontischen Raum und der *Pontikoi* in der Fremde

Victor COJOCARU

*Institutul de Arheologie, Iași*

**Abstract: Invitations to sacrifice and banquet as distinctions for foreigners in the Pontic area and of *Pontikoi* abroad.** The theme of “sacrifice and banquet” in ancient Greece provides a huge research field. In this context, the author tries to give answers to only two questions in the limited context of his contribution. First, he is interested in how the person exchanges between the Black Sea region and the other regions of the *oikoumene* came about through the awarding of an invitation to sacrifice and banquet and how – after the impression given by honorary inscriptions – foreignness was overcome through hospitality. Second, he hopes, based on some concrete evidence, to contribute to the general discussion about the *xenos* seen as foreigner/enemy and as a guest/friend respectively. From the discussed documents, it is apparent that the invitation to the banquet fulfilled two functions. First of all, it plays a diplomatic role, in the sense of official recognition of some *pontikoi* as representatives of their communities and dynasts. Second, in the case of some *proxenoi* – whether in Pontic or in non-Pontic cities –, this rather extraordinary recognition shows that a friendly stranger with potential civil rights was de facto equated to the citizens.

**Key words:** Black Sea, epigraphy, diplomacy, *proxenoi*, invitation.

**Rezumat: Participarea la sacrificiu și banchet ca privilegiu acordat străinilor în lumea ponticăși locuitorilor acesteia în străinătate.** Problematika „sacrificiului și banchetului” la grecii antici implică o multitudine de aspecte, a căror cercetare adecvată ar depăși cu mult limitele circumscrise unui studiu. Ca atare, autorul încearcă o aprofundare a discuției legate de doar două dintre aceste aspecte. În primul rând, este propusă o reflecție – pe baza inscripțiilor onorifice – asupra participării la sacrificiu și banchet ca stimulent al percepției străinului ca oaspete în contextul mobilității persoanelor atestate în lumea pontică și a locuitorilor acesteia în alte regiuni ale *oikoumenei*. În al doilea rând, prin analiza unor exemple concrete, autorul încearcă să contribuie la discuția de ansamblu aferentă termenului de *xénos* în evoluția sa semantică de la străin/dușman la oaspete/prieten. Atestările invocate par destul de relevante pentru a putea vorbi de două funcții pe care le îndeplinea invitația adresată unui străin de a participa la sacrificiu și banchet. Pe de o parte, ar fi vorba de un rol diplomatic, în sensul recunoașterii oficiale a unor *pontikoi* ca reprezentanți ai comunităților sau a dinastilor lor. Pe de altă parte, o atare invitație adresată unor *proxenoi* – indiferent dacă aceștia apar atestați în arealul Pontului Euxin sau în alte regiuni ale lumii grecești – pare să echivaleze cu integrarea *de facto* în corpul cetățenesc a unor străini care altfel dețineau doar un drept de cetățenie potențial.

**Cuvinte cheie:** Marea Neagră, epigrafie, diplomatie, *proxenoi*, invitație.

Das Thema „Opfer und Bankett“ bei den alten Griechen bietet ein riesiges Forschungsfeld, was die Existenz einer reichen Bibliographie zu den verschiedenen Aspekten der Problematik erklärt<sup>1</sup>. In diesem Kontext versuche ich im begrenzten Rahmen meines Beitrages nur zwei Fragen zu beantworten. Erstens interessiert mich, wie der Personenaustausch zwischen dem Schwarzmeerraum und den anderen Regionen der *oikoumene* durch die Ladung zu Opfer und Bankett zustande kam und wie dabei – nach dem Eindruck der Ehreninschriften – Fremdheit durch Gastfreundschaft überwunden wurde. Zweitens hoffe ich, auf Grundlage einiger konkreter Belege zur allgemeinen Diskussion über den *xénos* als Fremd/Feind bzw. als Gast/Freund beizutragen<sup>2</sup>. Zuerst aber sei mir erlaubt, eine Passage aus dem „Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum“ zu zitieren, die für meine Forschung von zentraler Bedeutung ist: „Comme l’ont bien montré les anthropologues, partager un repas, manger en commun, permet de faire de l’étranger un hôte et ce changement de statut est nécessaire pour tous les échanges de toute nature entre communautés. L’hôte devient un *philos* ... A contrario, refuser de partager sa table, laisser manger un être tout seul, est la marque du refus d’intégration dans la communauté pour des raisons religieuses, sociales ou politiques“<sup>3</sup>.

Unter mehreren Hunderten von Ehreninschriften für Fremde im Schwarzmeergebiet und für *Pontikoi* in der Fremde tritt Ladung zu Opfer und Bankett als Auszeichnung ganz selten auf. Allerdings kennen wir zahlreiche Erwähnungen öffentlicher Bankette, an denen nicht selten auch *xenoi* teilnahmen. Hier wäre es sinnvoll, unsere Belege nach zwei übergeordneten Kategorien von Fremden einzuordnen, die schon früher von Ph. Gauthier treffend bezeichnet wurden – „les étrangers domiciliés dans la cité“ und „les étrangers de passage“<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Siehe Schmitt Pantel et al. 2004 (mit Hinweis auf frühere Literatur). Vgl. jüngst Haarer 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Zu den verschiedenen Deutungen des Wortes *xénos*, siehe jetzt Zelnick-Abramovitz 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Schmitt Pantel et al. 2004, 234.

<sup>4</sup> Gauthier 1972, 109 spricht im Fall Athens (wo die Belege am zahlreichsten sind) über drei Kategorien von Fremden: „1) les étrangers de passage (ἐπιδημοῦντες ou παρεπιδημοῦντες), qui restent dans la cité « le temps de débarquer une cargaison ou de régler une affaire » ; 2) les étrangers résidant plus longtemps, mais qui n’ont pas abandonné l’idée de retourner vivre chez eux ou dans une autre cité ; 3) les étrangers définitivement installés, qui ont obtenu « le droit de domicile (*Domizilrecht*), qu’on appelle

Einer der frühesten mir bekannten Belege für „Tagesgäste“ ist der athenische Ehrenbeschluss für die Söhne des Leukon aus dem Jahre 346 v. Chr.<sup>5</sup>. Dabei wurden aber auch die Gesandten Sosis und Theodosios gelobt, weil sie sich derjenigen annehmen, die aus Athen an den kimmerischen Bosphoros kamen, und sie sollten am folgenden Tag zum Gastmahl ins Prytaneion geladen werden<sup>6</sup>. Aus dieser Passage sieht man zuerst ganz deutlich, wie das Prinzip *do ut des* bei den alten Hellenen funktionierte. Sosis und Theodosios waren als Gäste herzlich willkommen, nachdem sie selbst für die Athener Gastfreundschaft gezeigt hatten. Weiterhin mache ich auf einen wichtigen Unterschied aufmerksam – während die beiden im Bosphoranischen Reich eher als Privatleute (wahrscheinlich als Proxenoι der Athener) agierten, traten sie in Athen als Gesandte der Könige Spartokos II. und Pairisades I. auf. Also erfüllt hier die Speisung im Prytaneion eher eine diplomatische Funktion, wie im Falle anderen Gesandtschaften. Als nächste Parallelen erwähne ich weiterhin zwei Belege, die ebenfalls zum Status der *Pontikoi* in der Fremde beitragen.

Noch früher – in das Jahr 378/7 v. Chr. – datiert ein Bündnis der Athener und Byzantiner<sup>7</sup>. Die letzteren wurden von fünf Gesandten (Kydon, Menestratos, Hegemon, Hestaios und Philinos) vertreten, die ebenfalls zur Speisung ins Prytaneion eingeladen wurden<sup>8</sup>. Fast drei Jahrhunderte später – diesmal in Delphi – erhielt ein Gesandter die gleiche Auszeichnung<sup>9</sup>. Im Jahre 94 v. Chr. schickte der König Nikomedes III. Euergetes (auch im Namen seiner Ehefrau Laodike) 30 bithynische Sklaven als Geschenk, das bei der ersten Volksversammlung (ἐν ταῖς πρώταις ἐκ] / κλησίαις) vom Gesandten Bias angekündigt wurde. Als Dankbarkeit erhielt das königliche Paar mehrere Ehrungen und Privilegien – darunter Kränze, bronzene Statuen und Proxenie. Gleichzeitig beschloss man die Einladung der Gesandten zur Speisung im Prytaneion<sup>10</sup>.

Unter den zwei schon oben erwähnten Kategorien von *xenoi* stellen die Proxenoι eine besondere Kategorie von Gastfreunden dar. Es ist hier

μέτοικοι ου πάροικοι»“. Vgl., früher, Préaux 1958; später Baslez 1984, *passim*; Schmitt Pantel 1992, 389-396.

<sup>5</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 212 = Syll.<sup>3</sup>, 206. Vgl. Lawton 1995, 98, Nr. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Ebd., Z. 49-53: [...] ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβει[ς] / Σώσιν καὶ Θεοδοσίον. ὅτι ἐπιμελοῦνται τ[ῶ]ν / ν ἀφικ[ν]ομένων Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Βόσπορον [κα] / ἰ καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον / ἴον εἰς αἴριον.

<sup>7</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 41.

<sup>8</sup> Ebd., Z.: 11-14: [...] [καλέσαι δὲ τὸς πρέσβεις τῶν Βυζ]αντ[ί]ων ἐπὶ ξένια] εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς [αἴρ]ιον.

<sup>9</sup> FD III 4/1, 77.

<sup>10</sup> Ebd., Z. 38-39: [...] [παρ]ακαλέ[σαι] δὲ κ[αὶ τ]ὸν πρε[σβευτὰν Βίαντα ἐπὶ ξένια ἐν τῷ] / πρυτανεῖον.

nicht der Ort, ausführlicher auf die Proxenieproblematik einzugehen; verschiedene Aspekte des Themas habe ich bei anderen Gelegenheiten untersucht<sup>11</sup>. Diesmal möchte ich nur auf wenige Proxenieurkunden aufmerksam machen, in welchen auch die Ladung zu Opfer und Bankett hervorgehoben wird.

Unter den Belegen aus den pontischen Städten datiert das früheste Dokument vom Anfang des 3. Jhs. v. Chr., als ein Geehrter in Kallatis die Proxenie mit den verknüpften Privilegien bekam. Darüber hinaus wurden die Einladung ins Prytaneion und Gastgeschenke beschlossen<sup>12</sup>. Mitte des 3. Jhs. dekretierte man in Olbia, die Chersonesiten Apollodoros, Apollonios und Euphrones nicht nur zu belobigen, zu bekränzen und mit Statuen zu ehren, sondern auch zum Gastmahl beim Apollonpriester einzuladen<sup>13</sup>. In ähnlicher Weise zum Bankett ins Heiligtum des Apollon (ἐπὶ ξέν[ι]α / εἰς] τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος) wurde auch der Architekt Epikrates, Sohn des Nikobulos, aus Byzantion eingeladen<sup>14</sup>, der sich irgendwann im 3. Jh. n. Chr. für seine Wahlheimat (vermutlich Olbia) besonders verdient machte. Außerdem beschlossen der Rat und das Volk, ihn mit einem goldenen Kranz bei den Thargelien im Theater zu bekränzen; ihm Getreide zuzuteilen und Lohn zu geben; ihm und seinen Nachfolgern die Proxenie, das Bürgerrecht, (die Steuerfreiheit) bei Einfuhr und Ausfuhr in Kriegs- und in Friedenszeiten zu verleihen, sowie Zugang zu Rat und Volk nach Behandlung der sakralen Angelegenheiten zu geben<sup>15</sup>. Wichtig zu bemerken ist, dass Epikrates – als ein für die Mauern für zwei Jahre zuständig gewählter Beamte – eine Magistratur schon als *metoikos* ausfüllte<sup>16</sup>. Ein weiterer interessanter Volksbeschluss stammt ebenfalls aus Olbia und datiert Ende des 2. oder Anfang des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. Stephanos aus Smyrna, dem Sohn des Alexandros, sowie seinen Nachfahren wurde nicht nur die Proxenie mit weiteren Privilegien verliehen, sondern auch das Recht, auf den gleichen Altären wie die übrigen Bürger zu opfern<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Cojocaru 2009a; Cojocaru 2013; Cojocaru/Lițu 2009.

<sup>12</sup> ISM III 3, Z. 10-12: [...]καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς πρυτανεῖον / τὸν βασιλέα] ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ ἄῳωι καὶ ξένια τοὺς με<sup>12</sup>[ριστάς].

<sup>13</sup> SEG 39, 702, Z. 28-29: [...]καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλ/[λωνος ἐς αὔριον]. Vgl. Vinogradov 1989, 209-217.

<sup>14</sup> ISM I 65, Z. 43-44.

<sup>15</sup> Siehe eine neue ausführlichere Behandlung der Inschrift bei Cojocaru 2010; vgl. Cojocaru 2012.

<sup>16</sup> Oder als Fremder, der das Bürgerrecht noch nicht besaß.

<sup>17</sup> SEG 57, 723, Z. 18-20: [...]δεδόσ]/θαι δὲ αὐτοῖς θύειν ἐπὶ ὁῶν α[ῦ]των βωμῶν ὧν μέτεσ]/<sup>20</sup>τι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολεῖταις. Vgl. Ivantchik 2007.



Unter den ausserpontischen Belegen kenne ich nur zwei Proxenieurkunde für *Pontikoi*, in welchen die Ladung zum Gastmahl als Auszeichnung begegnet. Um 200 v. Chr. datiert ein Ehrenbeschluss der Athener für Heris aus Byzantion, Sohn des Kothon, sowie für drei seiner Begleiter – die Trierarchen Menophanes, Sohn des Asklepiades und Hekataion, Sohn des Kolchos, sowie den Ökonom Glaukos, Sohn des Lysios<sup>18</sup>. Wenn der erste den Titel eines Proxenos und Euergetes mit dem Recht zum Erwerb von Land und Haus nach dem Gesetze (κατὰ τοὺς νόμους) bekam, mussten sich die anderen mit Lob und Bekränzung zufrieden geben. Gleichzeitig beschloss man für alle vier die Einladung zum Bankett<sup>19</sup>. Ferner ist eine Proxenieurkunde aus Maroneia von Interesse, die im 2. Jh. v. Chr. unter anderen Ehrungen für Lysimachos, Sohn des Dieios, der vermutlich aus Kalchedon stammte, auch Gastgeschenke erwähnt<sup>20</sup>.

Aus den oben angeführten Belegen scheint die Ladung zum Gastmahl zwei Funktionen zu erfüllen. Erst einmal spielt sie eine diplomatische Rolle, im Sinne einer offiziellen Anerkennung einiger *Pontikoi* als Vertreter ihrer Gemeinden oder Dynasten. Als Speiseort dient ausschließlich das Prytaneion, wo sich üblicherweise nur die Magistrate und besonders verdiente Bürger einer Polis trafen. Im Fall einiger Proxenoï – egal ob in den pontischen oder in den außerpontischen Städten – zeigt diese eher außergewöhnliche Auszeichnung, dass ein freundlicher Fremder mit dem potenziellen Bürgerrecht *de facto* den Bürgern schon gleichgestellt war. Eigentlich fungierte Epikrates in Olbia als *epimeletes* bereits während seiner Anwesenheit als *metoikos*. Ebenfalls in Olbia durfte Stephanos auf den gleichen Altären wie die anderen Bürger opfern, obwohl er nur theoretisch das Bürgerrecht besaß. Auf Grundlage solcher Ausnahmen vermute ich, dass in den kleineren Poleis, die am Rande der hellenistischen Welt lagen, die Grenze zwischen *polites* und *metoikos* schon in vorrömischer Zeit weniger streng eingehalten wurde.

Im zweiten Teil meines Aufsatzes untersuche ich das Opferrecht und die öffentlichen Bankette in Beziehung zu Fremden im Allgemeinen (*xenoi* oder les étrangers « absolutus ») wie auch zu den Fremden, die schon lange zu einer städtischen Gemeinschaft gehörten (*hoi oikountes* / *hoi katoikountes*). Da die Belege diesmal zahlreicher sind, kann ich an dieser Stelle nur auf einige besonders interessante Inschriften aufmerksam machen.

<sup>18</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 884.

<sup>19</sup> Ebd., Z. 15-18: [...]καλέσαι δὲ Ἡρίην /<sup>16</sup> καὶ Μηνοφάνην καὶ Ἑκαταῖον κ[αὶ τὸν ταμί]α[ν ἐπὶ] / [δ]εῖπνον εἰς πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ ξέν[ια εἰς αὐρ]ιο[ν].

<sup>20</sup> Picard 1913, 141, Nr. 45, Z. 13-16: [...]δεδόσθα/ι δὲ αὐτῶι τ[ᾶς ἄλλας τιμ]ᾶς καὶ ξέν[ια παρὰ τῆς π[όλε]ως ἀπὸ [δραχμ]ι/<sup>16</sup>ων χιλίων.

Der gut bekannte Beschluss der Milesier, der die Rechtsverbindungen zu Olbia verzeichnet<sup>21</sup>, betont die Bedeutung der traditionellen Syngeneia-Beziehungen<sup>22</sup>. Aus dem Blickwinkel unserer Problematik ist von Interesse, dass ein Milesier in Olbia wie ein Olbiopolit an denselben Altären opfern und dieselben Heiligtümer besuchen soll, die der Gemeinde unterstehen, und zwar nach denselben Regeln wie die Olbiopoliten<sup>23</sup>. Ferner bestand das Recht auf einen Ehrensitz sowie auf die Ankündigung bei den Agonen und gelegentlich der Feier der Triakades, so wie man sie auch in Milet feiern konnte<sup>24</sup>. Das Dokument wurde schon mehrmals diskutiert<sup>25</sup>, so dass eine neue ausführliche Untersuchung überflüssig wäre. Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich nur darauf aufmerksam machen, dass alle Milesier in Olbia wie auch alle Olbiopoliten in Milet über den Status von Proxenoι mit potenziellem Bürgerrecht und dem praktischen Opferrecht verfügten. Ihre Teilnahme an den öffentlichen Banketten wäre m. E. selbstverständlich, und hier sehe ich eine mögliche Verbindung zwischen der unklaren Wendung ταῖς τριακάσιγ und dem Wort *triakas* in einem Dekret aus Piräus. Die *demotai* von Piräus gewährten einem Mann aus einem anderen Demos Anteil an den Opfern und einen Platz bei den Demenbanketten. Dann gestatteten sie ihm Zutritt zu einer *triakas*, einer Gruppe von Bürgern<sup>26</sup>.

In mehreren Inschriften aus dem Schwarzmeerraum ist die Bekleidung zahlreicher Priestertümer und Magistraturen fast immer mit öffentlichen Banketten verbunden. Wie schon früher M. Wörrle treffend bemerkte, ist Politik bei den alten Hellenen „weder sachliches Geschäft noch persönliches Machtkalkül, sondern eine gern agonistisch stilisierte Konkurrenz des Sich-Verausgabens von πρωταγωνισται ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, und sein schärfster Konkurrent ist der Politiker dabei immer er selbst“<sup>27</sup>. Noch in severischer Zeit überlebt ein solcher Politiker in Person des Olbiopoliten Theokles, der sowohl was die Liebe zur Vaterstadt, als auch was die Gastfreundschaft gegenüber den Hellenen angeht, seine eigenen

<sup>21</sup> Milet I 3, 136 = Syll.<sup>3</sup>, 286. Vgl. Grakov 1939, Nr. 35; Seibert 1963, 180-191; Schmitt 1969, Nr. 408.

<sup>22</sup> Obwohl im Kontext der Inschrift das Wort συγγένεια nicht erwähnt ist, wären m. E. durch die Wendung τάδε πάτρια Ὀλβιοπολίταις καὶ Μιλησ[ι]οῖς (Z. 1-2) genau die traditionellen Syngeneia-Beziehungen gemeint. Vgl. Curty 1995: 135-136, Nr. 54 (= ISM I 62), Z. 3-4: [...] ἐπεὶ[δὴ] Ἰστριανοὶ, οἰκεῖ[οι] καὶ συγγ[ενεῖς] ὄντες /<sup>4</sup> τοῦ δήμου [...]

<sup>23</sup> Z. 2-6: [...] τὰμ Μιλησιον ἐν Ὀλβίη(ι) πόλει ὡς Ὀλ/βιοπολίτην θύειν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶμ βω/<sup>4</sup>ων καὶ εἰς τὰ ἱερά τὰ αὐτὰ φοιτᾶν τὰ / δημόσια κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Ὀλβιοπολί/τας [...]

<sup>24</sup> Z. 11-14: [...] εἶναι δὲ καὶ προεδρίαγ καὶ εἰσκη/<sup>12</sup>ρύσεσθαι εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐπα/ρᾶσθαι ταῖς τριακάσιγ καθ' ἅσσα καὶ / ἐμ Μιλήτωι ἐπαρῶνται [...]

<sup>25</sup> Siehe zuletzt Cojocaru 2009b, 152 (mit Hinweis auf frühere Literatur).

<sup>26</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1214. Vgl. Schmitt Pantel 1992, 293-294.

<sup>27</sup> Wörrle 1995, 246.

Vorfahren übertraf und sich mit den größten Wohltätern seiner Vaterstadt gleichstellte<sup>28</sup>. Tatsächlich wird diese Konkurrenz metaphorisch als ein adliger Kampf dargestellt, aus dem Theokles als *niketor* hervorgeht, – [...] *περὶ / τὴν πατρίδα φιλόστοργον καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας φιλόξενον νεικῆ/[σα] μὲν τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ* (Z. 16-18). Wichtig zu bemerken ist, dass dieser Volksbeschluss praktisch keinen Unterschied zwischen Bürgern und in der Stadt weilenden Fremden (*τῶν ἐπιδημούντων παρ' ἡμᾶς ξένων*) macht. Die Bekränzung von Theokles wurde von beiden Gruppen der Bevölkerung beim Rat und dem Volk beantragt. Als „Heilbringer der Bürger“, dessen „Menschenliebe gegenüber Fremden“ gelobt wird<sup>29</sup>, hat Theokles zahlreiche Vorgänger im pontischen Raum. So beispielsweise Diogenes, Sohn des Diogenes<sup>30</sup>, und Aristagoras, Sohn des Apatourios aus Histria<sup>31</sup>, oder Akornion, Sohn des Dionysios, aus Dionysopolis<sup>32</sup>, die als Magistrate und Euergeten *thysiai, synodoi, pompai, panegyreis* mehrmals finanziert haben. Da an diesen Opfern, Banketten, Prozessionen und Feiern die in der Stadt weilenden Fremden ihren Anteil hatten, steht für mich außer Frage, obwohl die Inschriften nicht immer explizit genug in diesem Sinn sind. So erfahren wir aus einem Volksbeschluss aus Histria, der aus der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. oder vom Anfang des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. datiert, dass Artemidoros nicht nur ständig für die Prozessionen, Opfer und Feiern des *demos* sorgte, sondern sich auch gegenüber den Fremden nützlich zeigte<sup>33</sup>. Noch interessanter ist in dieser Hinsicht die Ehreninschrift für Aba, Tochter des Hekataios und Ehefrau des Herakon. In der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. leistete sie – wie keine andere Frau vorher in Histria – großzügige *choregiai, prosodoi, thysiai* oder Geldgeschenke, und das nicht nur für eigene Bürger, sondern auch für die Fremden (*oi parepidemountes*)<sup>34</sup>. Mehr als ein Jahrhundert früher spielte die Euergetin Antonia Tryphaina eine ähnliche Rolle (und zwar in größerem Maßstabe), als sie ihre Liebe gegenüber den einheimischen Bürgern und gegenüber den Fremden in

<sup>28</sup> IOSPE I2, 40. Ausführlich diskutiert von Heinen 2009.

<sup>29</sup> Z. 44-45: [...] *πρὸς(ς) πολεΐτας σωτή/ριον καὶ πρὸς ξένους φιλόνηρωπον* [...]

<sup>30</sup> ISM I 1.

<sup>31</sup> ISM I 54.

<sup>32</sup> IGBulg I2, 13.

<sup>33</sup> ISM I 56, Z. 5-8: [...] [*τὸν δῆμον οὐδέποτε*] / οὐδὲν διέλιπ[εν] πομπαῖς δε καὶ θυσίαις καὶ πανηγύ/ρεισι, ἐκτενῆ ἑα[υτὸν] παρεχόμενος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ξέ/β[η]τους [...]

<sup>34</sup> ISM I 56, Z. 35-43: [...] *θυσίαις καὶ ἑορταῖς καὶ πα/36*τρίοις εὐ[χαῖς] δ[αφιλέστ]ατα καὶ ἱεροπρεπέστατα / ἐξυπηρε[τησεν] ὅσα γὰρ τῆς ἐθίμου ἱεροποιίας ἀνα/λώματα α[ὐτίκα] ἐδέ[ξατο], καὶ ὅσα ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἐ/πενόει πάν[τα] φιλ[ο]οτείμως ἐποίησεν, τῶν μὲν ἀ/40ναλωμάτων[εν] κατ[ε]αφρονήσασα, τῆς δὲ εὐδοξίας οὐ/κ ὀλιγωρήσασα τ[έλει] καὶ παρεπιδημούντων τι/ινῶν τῶν τε π[ε]ρὶ τὸν δῆμον δυναμένων καὶ τοῦ / πλήθους [...]

Kyzikos zeigte<sup>35</sup>. Da diese Belege von P. Schmitt Pantel außer Acht gelassen wurden, erscheint mit ihre Schlussfolgerung als zu kategorisch: „En une époque où les non citoyens, voire les esclaves sont admis au banquet, l'exclusion des femmes témoigne plus clairement encore de l'absence totale de reconnaissance non plus civique mais sociale du *génos gunaikôn*“<sup>36</sup>.

Zum Schluss möchte ich noch eine Kategorie von Belegen in Augenschein nehmen, und zwar die zahlreichen außerpontischen Weih- oder Ehreninschriften, die den Anteil der *Pontikoi* an den gemeingriechischen Opfern und Feiern dokumentieren. Da fast alle diese epigraphischen Texte kürzlich von M. Dana diskutiert worden sind<sup>37</sup>, sei mir hier erlaubt, nur Beispiele zu erwähnen.

Schon 393/2-390/89 v. Chr. berichteten die athenischen ἐπιμεληταί über eine Weihgabe von fünf Drachmen der Hyperboreer in Delos<sup>38</sup>. Aus einem Volksbeschluss der Delphier aus dem Jahre 192 v. Chr. erfahren wir nicht nur über die Gastfreundschaft der Chersonesiten gegenüber den Theoren Amyntes und Charixenes, sondern auch über die besondere Frömmigkeit der taurischen Hellenen. Durch ihre Gesandten Phormion und Herakleides überbrachten sie Apollon 99 und Athena 11 Schafe als Weihgeschenke, zudem auch je einen Stier, dessen Fleisch an die Bürger verteilt wurde<sup>39</sup>. Als Gegengeschenke bekamen die Chersonesiten ἡ προμαντεία, während für Phormion und Cheraklides προξενία καὶ ξένια beschlossen wurden. Im Jahr 156/5 v. Chr. machte die bosporanische Königin Kamasarya Apollon Didymaios ein Geschenk im Wert von 87,5 Goldstateren<sup>40</sup>. Etwas später beteiligte sich der *metoikos* Diogenes, Sohn des [T?]anybotes, aus Kallatis, mit 100 Drachmen an den Kosten der Dionysien in Iasos<sup>41</sup>.

Überblickt man die hier angeführten Beispiele, dann komme ich zu folgendem Schluss: Die Ladung zu Opfer und Bankett stellt die wichtigste Folge der Statusänderung eines *xenos* dar – den Wandel von einem Unbekannten, der ein potenzieller Feind war, zu einem Freund und

<sup>35</sup> IGRRP IV 144, Z. 7-9: [...] τῆι δὲ ἐμφύτῳ φιλανθρωπίᾳ πρὸς / τε τοὺς ἐγχωρίου καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐχρήσατο, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ σιτισμοῦ / τῶν ξένων μετὰ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἐπὶ τε εὐσε/βείᾳ καὶ ὁσιότητι καὶ φιλοδοξίᾳ [...]

<sup>36</sup> Schmitt Pantel 1992, 398.

<sup>37</sup> Dana 2011, 87-102.

<sup>38</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1636. Vgl. Grakov 1939, Nr. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Syll.<sup>3</sup>, 604, Z. 7-9: [...] καὶ νῦν ἀποστείλα[ντες] / Φορμίωνα καὶ Ἡρακλείδαν θυσίαν συντέλεσαν τῷ θεῷ ἑκατόμβαν βούπρω[ιρον, καὶ] / δωδεκαῖδα βούπρωιρον τῷ Ἀθάναι, καὶ τὰ κρέα τᾶμ βοῶν δένειμαν τοῖς πολ[ίταις] [...]. Vgl. Monceaux 1886, 280; Grakov 1939, Nr. 13; Dana 2011, 91.

<sup>40</sup> Didyma II 463. Vgl. Grakov 1939, Nr. 38.

<sup>41</sup> I.Iasos 197.

Euergeten, der den eigenen Bürgern gleichgestellt werden konnte. Das Thema verdient eine breitere Untersuchung. Im bescheidenen Rahmen meines Beitrages wollte ich nur darauf aufmerksam machen, dass auch die Inschriften aus dem Schwarzmeerraum zum besseren Verständnis dieser hochinteressanten und schwierigen Problematik beitragen können.

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# « Le banquet des sophistes » : représentation funéraire, représentation sociale sur les stèles de Byzance aux époques hellénistique et impériale\*

**Madalina DANA**

*Université Paris 1 – Panthéon Sorbonne*

**Abstract : “The Sophists’ banquet” : funerary representation, social representation on the stelae of Byzantium in the Hellenistic and Roman periods** The study of the funerary banquet, an iconographical motif borrowed from the East, was facilitated at Byzantium by the discoveries made in the city’s necropolis, which mostly date to the late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period. For the latter, it is even possible to follow the diffusion of the Byzantine model on the Western Pontic coast, given the *stelae* which show a number of significant objects, some of them connected to the intellectual domain: papyrus scrolls, inkwells, *styli*, briefcases or book bags. The question was raised of the measure in which these objects represent an indication of trade or else of a socially glamorised employment of leisure, which would thus echo the circulation of regional or Microasiatic models; in the end, just their association with more significant objects can turn them into trade insignia (*symbola tès technès*) or else of a veritable interest for the intellectual life. Finally, the question of the status of women was raised, who, at Byzantium and in the regions affected by the spread of this motif, appear, in the staging of the couple, to share their husbands’ tastes; as well as the issue of the status of the scholar, “friend of the Muses” or professional of intelligence. The scroll was put up as the symbol of an honourable life, more than the symbol of education. It encloses a statement of social position which passes, starting with the late Hellenistic period, through the image of the scholar.

**Key words:** iconography, scrolls, representation, diffusion, scholar

**Rezumat: “Banchetul sofiștilor” : reprezentare funerară, reprezentare socială pe stelele din Byzantium în epocile elenistică și imperială.** Studiul banchetului funerar, un motiv iconografic împrumutat din Orient, a fost facilitat la Byzantium de descoperirile făcute în necropola orașului, care datează în majoritate din epoca elenistică târzie și din cea romană imperială. Pentru aceasta din urmă, este chiar posibil să urmărim difuzarea modelului bizantin pe litoralul de vest al Mării Negre, date fiind stelele care prezintă un număr de obiecte semnificative, unele dintre ele legate de sfera intelectuală: rulouri de papirus, călimări, *styli*, serviete sau saci cu cărți. Se ridică întrebarea în ce măsură aceste obiecte reprezintă o indicație de meserie sau mai degrabă a unei îndeletniciri de răgaz, apreciată social, care ar face

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astfel ecou circulației unor modele regionale sau microasiatice; în cele din urmă, doar asocierea lor cu obiecte mai semnificative le poate transforma în însemne de meserie (*symbola tēs technēs*) sau în unele care demonstrează un veritabil interes pentru viața intelectuală. În sfârșit, se pune problema statutului femeilor, care, la Byzantion și în regiunile în care se răspîndește motivul, par, în punerea în scenă a cuplului, să împărtășească gusturile soților lor; se pune de asemenea problema statutului cărturarului, “prieten al Muzelor” sau profesionist al inteligenței. Ruloul de papirus era reprezentat ca simbol al unei vieți onorabile, mai mult decît doar simbol al educației. El reprezintă o afirmare a unui statut social care trece, începînd cu epoca elenistică tîrzie, prim imaginea cărturarului.

**Cuvinte cheie:** iconografie, rulouri, reprezentare, difuzare, cărturar.

### Introduction

Le motif du banquet funéraire trouve son origine en Orient. La présence de certains prototypes sur les reliefs assyriens et posthittites est un indice d’une évolution de ce motif : le banquet couché d’origine orientale (assyrien, puis perse) était à l’origine un motif profane, avant d’être funéraire. Diffusé à l’époque archaïque sur la céramique corinthienne et sur les reliefs en terre cuite, il apparaît à partir du V<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. sur les stèles attiques. À ce point de son évolution, on a affaire à un banquet héroïque, représenté sur les reliefs d’époque classique, qui en Grèce propre fonctionnait au début comme offrandes votives : le défunt y sacrifie lui-même, en offrant du vin aux dieux, obtenant ainsi droit à l’adoration en tant que *héros*. D’autres ont préféré y voir dès le début non pas l’héroïsation du défunt, mais une image porteuse d’une valeur sociale : les artistes souhaitaient, par le choix de ces images, représenter le défunt dans sa dignité<sup>1</sup>. Le motif se répand ensuite sur la côte occidentale de l’Asie Mineure, en Propontide et dans toutes les autres régions grecques et hellénisées, par exemple en Macédoine, en Thrace, sur les côtes de la mer Noire, en Égypte ou à Chypre. Malgré la variété des schémas iconographiques de chaque cité, on remarque la circulation de certains thèmes : un homme allongé sur un lit de banquet (*klinē*), seul, la main gauche soutenant la tête, la droite dirigée vers la table à trois pieds (*mensa tripes*) où se trouvent les mets.

Un ouvrage récent de Johanna Fabricius, qui traite de quatre espaces iconographiques (Samos, Rhodes, Byzance et Cyzique)<sup>2</sup>, montre effectivement comment l’iconographie traditionnelle de la Grèce propre, notamment l’Attique, a été ajoutée à l’iconographie locale parfois non grecque (en

<sup>1</sup> Dentzer 1982. Pour la signification du banquet funéraire à l’époque hellénistique, voir Couilloud-Le Dinahet, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Fabricius 1999.

occurrence, perse). Elle met également en évidence l'évolution du banquet votif vers le banquet caractéristique de l'Orient grec : il s'agit d'un banquet funéraire « standardisé », sans attributs héroïques. Les reliefs attiques, très simples<sup>3</sup>, ont été enrichis de décors élaborés, de meubles richement décorés, et d'un grand nombre d'attributs pour indiquer que le défunt était un homme cultivé, entouré par des membres de sa famille et des esclaves. À Cyzique et dans les villages environnants, on sent l'influence des stèles gréco-perses, de grandes dimensions, avec le banquet mais surtout avec la représentation de la chasse et des symboles du métier<sup>4</sup>, alors qu'à Byzance on privilégie le banquet<sup>5</sup>.

L'étude de ce phénomène a été facilitée à Byzance par les remarquables découvertes faites dans la nécropole de la cité, qui datent en majorité de la basse époque hellénistique et de l'époque impériale. Néanmoins, quelques stèles de facture attique ont été retrouvées sur place, dont une belle stèle datant de la fin de l'époque classique, avec un très haut relief où l'on observe des restes de couleurs. La partie supérieure est perdue ; mais en bas de la stèle, on distingue un personnage âgé assis à gauche, devant lequel se tient un jeune homme nu, debout, qui porte dans la main gauche un manche de strigile, symbole du gymnase<sup>6</sup>. Ce type d'œuvre, s'il ne s'agit pas d'une importation attique, devait appartenir à l'un des artisans itinérants ou fixés momentanément dans la région, qui formaient une véritable diaspora. Ces sculpteurs, qui travaillaient notamment à Athènes, furent obligés d'exercer dans les îles de l'Égée et dans les cités d'Asie Mineure, suite aux lois d'austérité de Démétrios de Phalère des années 317/316 av. J.-C. qui interdisaient l'exposition et implicitement la réalisation de stèles somptueuses en Attique. Leur dispersion mena ainsi à la création de plusieurs écoles et ateliers dans les îles de la Mer Egée et en Asie Mineure et également au rayonnement de l'art funéraire attique jusque dans les régions les plus éloignées : Cyrène, Rhodes, Chypre, Sicile, Épire, Macédoine ou le Pont-Euxin<sup>7</sup>. Mais ces régions virent aussi naître un art particulier, qui leur est propre : il s'agit d'une combinaison entre l'art attique et l'art oriental, auxquels s'ajoutent les

<sup>3</sup> Pour les reliefs attiques, voir Conze 1893-1922 ; Friis-Johansen 1951 ; Hirsch-Dyczek 1983.

<sup>4</sup> Voir Cremer 1991 et Corsten 1993.

<sup>5</sup> Pour l'origine du banquet à Byzance et pour la diffusion du motif, voir N. Firatlı, in Firatlı/Robert 1964, 20-22.

<sup>6</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 164, pl. XLI. Sur l'influence de la sculpture attique dans les œuvres sculptées des colonies pontiques, voir Davydova 2002, 153-154 : une stèle funéraire dont il ne reste que la partie supérieure, avec un jeune homme nu, de profil, représentant une scène de palestre, à Panticapée (n° d'inventaire du Musée de Panticapée 748 ; p. 158, fig. 7). Il s'agit d'une œuvre attique du milieu du Ve s. av. J.-C.

<sup>7</sup> Montchamp 1993 ; cf. aussi Morris 1992-1993, 44-46.

traditions propres à chaque région, développées dans des ateliers locaux de moindre envergure qui sont influencés par les centres égéens. Cependant, il ne faut pas pour autant sous-estimer pour autant l'art des régions considérées comme « périphériques »<sup>8</sup>. Chaque région privilégiait un type de représentation et de modèles iconographiques, qui constituent des critères de reconnaissance ; Byzance représente une étude de cas privilégiée.

On peut tout d'abord suivre la diffusion du modèle byzantin qui montre la forte influence artistique de la cité du Détroit sur la côte occidentale du Pont. En second lieu, la documentation permet l'identification de toute une série d'objets significatifs – d'où la dénomination de « stèles à attribut » – à condition de respecter une méthodologie stricte : l'image n'est pas une photographie, elle doit être décortiquée et interrogée. Aucune représentation n'est innocente ; elle porte en elle toute une série de signes, pour le déchiffrement desquels il faut faire appel à une sémiologie très prudente<sup>9</sup>. Enfin, on s'intéressera tout particulièrement aux objets ayant trait à la sphère intellectuelle : sont-ils significatifs pour les préoccupations, les goûts ou le métier des personnages concernés ? Représentent-ils des marqueurs de la position sociale ?

## I. Les stèles à banquet de Byzance

La majorité des stèles sont en marbre de Proconnèse, tout comme les sarcophages. On distingue en général des stèles à fronton du type *naiskos* et des stèles avec antéfixes figurant la face latérale d'un temple ; celles-ci portent également une inscription. Quand les stèles ont été érigées pour des familles (précisément les stèles à banquet), au-dessus de la tête de chaque personnage, est inscrit son nom, ou du moins le nom du premier d'entre eux à être décédé<sup>10</sup>. Les stèles à plusieurs registres sont rares à Byzance, deux seulement ont été identifiées<sup>11</sup>. Dans le corpus de Nezih Firatlı et Louis Robert, le groupe de plus important (environ 100 monuments, soit la moitié des stèles byzantines), comporte une scène de banquet funèbre<sup>12</sup>. Deux tiers représentent un homme<sup>13</sup> allongé sur un lit de banquet devant une table à

<sup>8</sup> Voir, par exemple, les stèles peintes de Chersonèse : Wasowicz 1985, 465-472 ; Montchamp 1985, 182-183 ; en dernier lieu, la monographie remarquable de Posamentir 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Voir entre autres la mise en garde de Schmitt/Thélamon 1983.

<sup>10</sup> Firatlı, in Firatlı/Robert 1964, 11-17.

<sup>11</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 191 et 213.

<sup>12</sup> Pour la typologie, voir Firatlı, in Firatlı/Robert 1964, 18-29.

<sup>13</sup> Deux stèles uniquement comportent deux hommes couchés sur la même *klinè* (n°s 35 et 65), alors qu'il s'agit d'un motif récurrent dans d'autres régions, par exemple à Cyzique ou à Rhodes.

trois pieds chargée de mets<sup>14</sup>, tenant un gobelet dans la main gauche alors que de la main droite, il tend une couronne vers la femme. Cette dernière est assise à ses pieds, à gauche de la stèle<sup>15</sup>, soit sur la *klinè* même, soit sur une chaise ou même un fauteuil imposant, dans l'attitude dite de pudicité, soutenant son voile de la main gauche, la droite enveloppée dans un pan de son vêtement. Le motif de la couronne est spécifique à Byzance et à la côte occidentale du Pont. Sur cette base, j'ai identifié comme provenant de Byzance une stèle de basse époque hellénistique mise en vente aux enchères par une maison d'antiquités, sans indication du lieu de la découverte<sup>16</sup>.

La scène funéraire présente, en plus des deux protagonistes et d'un ou deux serviteurs, divers accessoires masculins ou féminins, qu'on désigne plus particulièrement comme « attributs ». Le champ dévolu aux femmes est caractérisé par des objets qui renvoient à leur univers, à leurs préoccupations (mais aussi à leurs caractéristiques) : panier à laine, coffret à bijoux, peignes, miroirs, flacons à parfums. Pour l'homme, on note les symboles de divers métiers ou fonctions publiques : l'épée et son fourreau, le cheval, pour le soldat, le navire pour le marin, les couronnes pour les magistrats, les vases à huile pour les gymnasiarques ; certains attributs le désignent comme lettré<sup>17</sup>. Notre analyse portera précisément sur ce dernier aspect, c'est-à-dire les objets en rapport avec la lecture et l'écriture : rouleau, pot d'encre, *stylus*, tablette, coffret à rouleaux.

## II. La représentation du lettré

Les objets figurés sur les monuments ne sont pas là pour *décrire* objectivement le monde du défunt : leur rôle est de faire raisonner dans la mémoire des vivants son souvenir. En même temps, cette représentation n'est pas abstraite, elle tient compte des modes socialement acceptées, autrement dit, des attentes de la communauté. Les objets ne sont pas censés illustrer la réalité, mais l'évoquer : figurer une corbeille à laine sur un monument d'une femme ne signifie pas que la dame en question a été immortalisée pendant qu'elle était en train de filer la laine, mais que cette

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<sup>14</sup> Exception : pour les stèles nos 33, 34 et 36, sur lesquelles on reviendra, on aperçoit sur la table, au lieu de la nourriture, des rouleaux et des instruments servant à écrire.

<sup>15</sup> Quelques exceptions toutefois, par exemple les nos 72 et 79, où la femme n'apparaît pas.

<sup>16</sup> Dana 2012.

<sup>17</sup> Fıratlı, in Fıratlı/Robert 1964, 31-36. Fabricius 1999 insiste, dans son chapitre sur les scènes de banquet de Byzance (« Die Totenmahlreliefs aus Byzanzion », 225-275, en partic. 248-254, « Das byzantinische 'Bildungsmahl' »), sur le modèle représenté par le philosophe et en général par l'intellectuel à l'époque hellénistique. Voir aussi Cremer 1991, 79-81, sur la scène de banquet comme *Standardbild*, et Corsten 1993, 308, selon lequel à l'époque impériale les banquets funéraires n'étaient plus que des articles de série.

mère de famille n'a pas manqué à son devoir, et qu'elle est par conséquent une femme vertueuse et rangée. En revanche, la présence d'autres objets pourrait bien indiquer le métier du défunt, en tant que *symbola tès technès*<sup>18</sup>. C'est seulement à la basse époque hellénistique qu'on commence à représenter la profession sur les monuments funéraires, tandis qu'auparavant le travail jouissait d'une faible considération. Cela montre également que les gens de la classe moyenne pouvaient s'offrir eux aussi des monuments funéraires avec un relief. Les objets de l'écriture et de la lecture peuvent-ils véritablement fonctionner comme des symboles d'un métier ? Quel est leur rôle sur les stèles funéraires, quelle est leur signification profonde, aussi bien pour le défunt que pour sa famille et pour ceux qui regardaient le monument ? Quel rapport entre ces objets et le métier du défunt ?

Les objets représentés sont notamment des rouleaux de papyrus (*volumina, bybloi*), enroulés ou déployés, ou bien reliés dans des faisceaux, ce qui nous renvoie aussi bien aux modalités de conservation de ces objets qu'aux techniques de lecture et au maniement des livres dans l'antiquité. Sur les vases attiques d'époque classique, de nombreux personnages sont représentés en train de faire la lecture, assis en tenant le rouleau à moitié déroulé entre leurs mains<sup>19</sup>. Les monuments funéraires de cette période montrent le jeune aristocrate en tant que guerrier ou comme personne éduquée<sup>20</sup> : par exemple, le jeune Hermôn de Céramique (ca. 340 av. J.-C.), a à ses pieds une *capsa* contenant des *volumina*<sup>21</sup>. Cette représentation apparaît également à Sparte, pourtant réputée pour son indifférence – supposée – aux choses de l'esprit<sup>22</sup>. À l'époque hellénistique, comme le montre Paul Zanker, le portrait du citoyen est de plus en plus « intellectualisé »<sup>23</sup>, grâce notamment aux rouleaux et aux autres objets qui évoquent le goût des défunts pour la lecture et pour le loisir intellectuel. Au II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. cette tendance se fait sentir progressivement dans toute l'Asie Mineure et jusqu'aux coins les plus reculés : ainsi, à la place de la nourriture matérielle, à savoir les mets figurés sur les tables de banquet, que le défunt partageait avec les dieux, on privilégie de plus en plus à Byzance la nourriture

<sup>18</sup> Voir une expression frappante dans le corpus d'Istros dans l'épithaphe d'un étranger originaire du Corinthe (I<sup>er</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.), du nom de Sextus, qui finit ses jours dans le Pont : *symbola tès technès esoras* (Peek 1960, n° 385 ; I. Histriae 271, l. 1-2). La pierre est endommagée précisément à l'endroit où le passant aurait dû voir les insignes de son métier.

<sup>19</sup> Immerwahr 1964 ; Immerwahr 1973.

<sup>20</sup> Birt 1907. Voir le commentaire de la stèle de Kallisthénès de Sinope (ca. 500 av. J.-C.) chez Bruns-Özgan 1989 ; voir aussi Le Dinahet-Couilloud/Mouret 1993, n° 100 ; Whitehorn 2002, 28.

<sup>21</sup> Walter-Karydi 1983 (Le Dinahet-Couilloud/Mouret 1993, n° 182).

<sup>22</sup> Papaeuthymiou 1993 (= Le Dinahet-Couilloud 1995, n° 197).

<sup>23</sup> Zanker 1993 ; Zanker 1995.

spirituelle, sans que le schéma initial soit complètement abandonné. Quel est donc l'enjeu de ce changement ?

Afin de répondre à toutes ces questions, il convient d'abord de procéder à un inventaire des représentations de banquet byzantines caractérisées par des objets qui peuvent être inscrits dans la sphère « intellectuelle », avec la précision que sur la plupart des stèles les objets figurent ensemble et le classement est en réalité aléatoire.

(1) Rouleau et faisceau de rouleaux<sup>24</sup> :

- Ménandros, fils de Ménandros, et Goukousa, fille de Ménandros : l'homme tient dans la main gauche un rouleau<sup>25</sup> ;
- Méniskos, Bakiôn et Aristoboula : deux hommes sont allongés sur une *klinè* et accoudés à gauche sur un double coussin, chacun tenant un rouleau à demi déroulé. L'un des deux serviteurs représentés sur la stèle tient un long rouleau de la main gauche. Sur la table, devant la *klinè*, sont posés divers objets parmi lesquels des faisceaux de volumes et un rouleau déroulé. À côté de la femme, on aperçoit une corbeille à laine, deux flacons à parfums, un miroir<sup>26</sup>.
- Hygia fille d'Eukléôn : sur un rayon derrière un couple, sont disposés, à côté de la femme, des accessoires féminins (corbeille à laine, un peigne, un

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<sup>24</sup> Cet objet apparaît également sur des stèles représentant des personnages debout, accompagnés le plus souvent de serviteurs figurés plus petits, selon la convention iconographique de l'époque, pour marquer leur statut social inférieur : (1) Prôtiôn fils d'Ainéas : Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 126, pl. XXX ; SEG 24, 805 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 205, pl. 42 ; I. Byzantion 96 (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; (2) sarcophage de la famille de Rufus : Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 205, pl. LIII (c) ; SEG 24, 877 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 219 (c) et (d), pl. 43 ; I. Byzantion 315 c (I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C.) ; (3) sarcophage de la famille de Démétrios : Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 199, pl. XLVIII ; SEG 24, 882 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 204, pl. 42 (partie droite) et n° 204 b, pl. 110 (partie gauche) ; I. Byzantion 310 (II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.) ; (4) Stèle d'Apphous fils de Papas, de Byzance, représenté debout et tenant de la main gauche un rouleau (I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.-I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C., cf. LGPN IV 40) ; Karagöz 1994, 2704-2705, pl. 499, fig. 14 ; (5) anonyme : Firatlı 1966, n° 246, pl. XXI ; (6) C. Numerius Num. f. Scaeva : Firatlı 1966, n° 246 a, pl. XXI ; SEG 24, 828 ; I. Byzantion 117 (I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; (7) Olynpichon fils (ou fille ?) de Bakiôn : Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 118, pl. XXIX ; SEG 24, 802 ; I. Byzantion 90 (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; (8) Ménandros, fils d'Aphrodisios : Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 192, pl. XLVII ; SEG 24, 870 ; I. Byzantion 119 (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. ; deux hommes, un barbu, l'autre imberbe) ; (9) Apollodôros fils de Dionysios : Karagöz 1994, 2703, pl. 498, fig. 12 (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C., cf. LGPN IV 35).

<sup>25</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 157, pl. XXXVIII et comm. de L. Robert p. 157 (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; SEG 24, 817 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 590, pl. 92 (début de l'époque impériale) ; I. Byzantion 149.

<sup>26</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 35, pl. XI et comm. de L. Robert, p. 142, 144-145, 182 ; SEG 24, 695 ; Pfuhl-Möbius 1979, n° 2037, pl. 295 et 328 ; Fabricius 1999, pl. 26, b ; I. Byzantion 287 (II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.).

double miroir) et, à côté de l'homme, une tablette en cire, une boîte à livres et un faisceau de trois *volumina*<sup>27</sup> ;

- Q. Attius Héraklidès : un homme allongé tient un bol de la main gauche ; devant lui, on voit un adolescent, dont la main droite est tenue par une femme assise à gauche de l'image ; derrière eux, sur un rayon, sont disposés, de droite à gauche : des tablettes à côté de la tête de l'homme allongé, un faisceau de trois *volumina* au-dessus de la tête de l'adolescent, un coffret à bijoux au-dessus de la tête de la femme<sup>28</sup>.

- Lysandra, fille de Dôlès : la femme est assise sur un siège imposant ; sur une étagère est rangée, au-dessus de la tête de l'homme, une liasse de trois rouleaux, alors que la femme tient sur ses genoux un *volumen* de grandes dimensions partiellement déroulé<sup>29</sup>.

(2) Encrier et stylet<sup>30</sup> :

- stèle de C. Volusius : le mari tient de sa main gauche un rouleau ; de la main droite, il serre la main de sa femme. Sur le rayon, au niveau de leurs têtes, on aperçoit plusieurs objets : une tablette rectangulaire, un encrier cylindrique dans lequel est plongée une plume, un faisceau de trois *volumina*, un peigne, une corbeille à laine, un double miroir<sup>31</sup>.

(3) Tablettes reliées en diptyque, représenté fermé, ce qui le fait ressembler à une boîte quadrangulaire. On dispose néanmoins d'une image d'un diptyque ouvert, celui qu'un petit esclave tend à la femme sur le relief de Matrodôros et de Kalligeitôn (fig. 1)<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 217, pl. LXIII ; SEG 24, 837 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 561, pl. 88 ; I. Byzantion 344 (basse époque hellénistique).

<sup>28</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 77, pl. XXVII ; SEG 24, 737 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1979, n° 1804, pl. 261 ; Fabricius 1999, pl. 29, a ; I. Byzantion 267 (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.).

<sup>29</sup> Koch 1988, 92-94 (photo p. 93), n° 33 ; Bull.Ép. 1989, 41 ; SEG 38, 729 ; I. Byzantion 368 (I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C.) ; Bielman 2003, 99-100.

<sup>30</sup> Comme le rouleau, ces objets apparaissent aussi sur les stèles d'hommes figurés debout : (1) Zôpyros fils d'Apollodôros : Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 122, pl. XXXII ; SEG 24, 786 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 191, pl. 40 ; I. Byzantion 94 (fin du III<sup>e</sup>-début du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; (2) Tyrannos : Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 133, pl. XXXII ; SEG 24, 808 ; I. Byzantion 102 (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; (3) M. Antonius Fronto : Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 186, pl. XLVI ; SEG 24, 862 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1979, n° 1449, pl. 211 ; I. Byzantion 184 (fin du I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.).

<sup>31</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 84, pl. XII ; SEG 24, 742 ; Fabricius 1999, pl. 31 a = I. Byzantion 260 (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.). À Odessos on a retrouvé des objets semblables à ceux représentés sur les monuments funéraires, à savoir des encriers et des stylets en bronze, voir M. Cullin-Mingaud et al. 2006, 154, n<sup>os</sup> 236, 237 et 252.

<sup>32</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 36, pl. X ; SEG 24, 696 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1979, n° 2035, pl. 295 ; Fabricius 1999, pl. 32 a ; I. Byzantion 285 (I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.).



Fig. 1. Stèle de Matrodôros et de Kalligeitôn. Photo Firatlı/Robert 1964, fig. 36, pl. X

(4) Mallette à couvercle ou sac à livres, avec une longue poignée de chaque côté<sup>33</sup> :

– Anonyme : un jeune homme est allongé sur une *klinè*, tenant probablement dans la main droite une couronne tendue vers la femme qui devait se trouver à ses pieds, mais la stèle est brisée à cet endroit. Accoudé à gauche sur un coussin replié en deux, il soutient sa joue de la main gauche. Sur une étagère au niveau de sa tête, on voit un faisceau de trois *volumina*, un coffret fermé muni de pieds et d'une longue anse<sup>34</sup> ;

– Pôlla Pakônia Glykèa, fille de Sporios : stèle représentant un couple. L'homme tient de la main droite un rouleau à demi déroulé, et porte la main gauche à la tête. La femme est assise sur un tabouret. Sur une étagère, sont rangés un grand coffret à livres à couvercle convexe, un faisceau de deux *volumina*, une corbeille à laine<sup>35</sup> ;

– Stèle de Kartéa, affranchie, et de son mari Apellas, fils d'Attalos. La représentation est similaire à celle de la stèle précédente : l'homme tient

<sup>33</sup> Sur la stèle d'un homme figuré debout : Marcus Venuleius fils de Marcus : Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 128, pl. XXXII ; SEG 24, 807 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 223, pl. 44 ; I. Byzantion 98 (ca. 100 av. J.-C.).

<sup>34</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 40, pl. XIV (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.).

<sup>35</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 37, pl. XI et comm. de L. Robert, p. 184 ; SEG 24, 726 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1979, n° 1570, pl. 226 ; Fabricius 1999, pl. 28 a ; I. Byzantion 192 (ca. 100 av. J.-C.).



dans la main gauche un rouleau à moitié déroulé et tend de la main droite une couronne vers sa femme<sup>36</sup>.

Ces objets indiquent, dans le meilleur des cas, une préoccupation pour les lettres, quand il ne s'agit pas tout simplement d'une mode, mais restent pourtant des indices trop vagues pour une spécialisation. Seule leur association avec des objets plus significatifs peut en faire les insignes d'un métier ou d'un véritable engouement pour la vie intellectuelle<sup>37</sup>. Ainsi, sur la stèle de Théodotos, fils de Ménéphrôn de Byzance<sup>38</sup> – qui représente un couple malgré l'absence du nom de la femme – sont figurés, au-dessus de la tête de la femme, deux flacons à parfums, un peigne et un miroir, et, du côté de l'homme, un coffret, une couronne, un faisceau de trois *volumina*, ainsi qu'une tablette de cire (fig. 2). On remarque un objet rond qui ressemble à un globe, placé devant la *klinè* à la place de l'habituelle *mensa tripes*. L'homme tient dans la main droite une baguette avec laquelle il touche le globe, placé sur un socle<sup>39</sup>. Selon Firatli, « d'après le globe et la baguette, qui était utilisée par les philosophes pour faire leurs cours, et d'après le cadran solaire qui se trouve à l'angle supérieur gauche, on peut déduire qu'il s'agit d'un philosophe »<sup>40</sup>. Sa posture, dite précisément « du philosophe » – à savoir, la main gauche soutenant la tête –, et son attitude méditative renforcent l'hypothèse de la représentation d'un penseur et peut-être même d'un professionnel du savoir<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Karagöz 1994, 2703, pl. 493, fig. 2 (I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.- I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C., cf. LGPN IV 187).

<sup>37</sup> Pour la définition de l'intellectuel antique, qui semble pourtant un anachronisme, voir Zanker 1995, 2 : « I trust the reader will not expect from a humble archeologist a precise definition of the concept 'intellectual'. I use the word simply as a convenient shorthand, in order to avoid having to repeat cumbersome formulations as 'poets and thinkers, philosophers and orators'. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans recognized 'intellectuals' as a defined group within society (...). Nevertheless, as in most other societies, prophets, wise men, poets, philosophers, sophists, and orators in Graeco-Roman antiquity did consistently occupy a special position, both in their own self-consciousness and the claims they made for themselves, and in the influence and recognition they enjoyed ».

<sup>38</sup> Firatli/Robert 1964, n° 33, pl. VIII ; SEG 24, 694 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1979, n° 2034, pl. 294 ; Fabricius 1999, pl. 28, b ; I. Byzantion 284 (I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.). Sur le fragment n° 194 a du corpus de Firatli/Robert 1964 on aperçoit un objet sphérique posé sur un socle.

<sup>39</sup> Le même globe à côté duquel se trouve une baguette apparaît sur une stèle bien particulière, appartenant à Bosp[orichos] (ou Bosp[ôn]) fils d'Hékatôdôros, qui ne comporte pas de portrait mais uniquement une accumulation d'objets représentatifs, un véritable cursus condensé : rouleaux et objets d'écriture, mais aussi torche, palme de vainqueur et couronne dans des concours du gymnase, comme l'indique le caducée d'Hermès : Firatli/Robert 1964, n° 188, pl. XLVI et comm. de L. Robert, p. 150-159 (II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; SEG 24, 866 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1979, n° 2271, pl. 320 (I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; I. Byzantion 290.

<sup>40</sup> N. Firatli, in Firatli/Robert 1964, 55, cf. aussi 34.

<sup>41</sup> Zanker 1995, 102-108 (« The Thinker's Tortured Body ») et fig. 57 et 58 a-b, décrit l'attitude de l'intellectuel plongé dans ses propres pensées, la main portée à la tête, le

Le globe et la baguette apparaissent effectivement dans des scènes représentant des personnages en train de donner des cours : le professeur parle une baguette à la main, le globe étant placé au centre sur un socle. Dans un monument célèbre d'époque lagide, l'exèdre du Sérapeum de Memphis en Égypte, sont dressées plusieurs statues de philosophes et de poètes assis en cercle, parmi lesquels on reconnaît Pindare, Homère, Protagoras, Platon. La neuvième statue, celle qui nous intéresse, est malheureusement décapitée<sup>42</sup> : le pied gauche posé sur une *capsa* haute, le personnage tend de la main droite une baguette avec laquelle il montre quelque chose sur un document posé au sol. On l'a identifié à Thalès grâce à deux mosaïques d'Italie<sup>43</sup>, représentant d'assemblée dite des Sept Sages<sup>44</sup>, groupés autour d'une sphère céleste<sup>45</sup> – dans ce contexte, le globe est un support matériel qui donne occasion à une méditation<sup>46</sup>. Seule l'effigie de Thalès est pourvue d'une baguette professorale. Cette baguette est sans aucun doute l'équivalent du *radius* que tient la muse Uranie, muse de l'astrologie, sur une peinture de Pompéi<sup>47</sup>. Le globe apparaît

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corps tendu dans cet effort, à l'instar du type dit de Cléanthe, le successeur de Zénon à la tête de la Stoa (fig. 58 a-b).

<sup>42</sup> Lauer/Picard 1955, 127-137 et fig. 69-76 (pour Thalès pl. 14). Voir la lettre certainement apocryphe que Thalès aurait écrite à Phérécyde : « Car Solon d'Athènes et moi-même (...) nous avons fait voile vers la Crète pour étudier le savoir de cette région et (...) vers l'Égypte pour nous entretenir avec tous les prêtres et les astronomes que compte ce pays » (DL 1.43).

<sup>43</sup> (1) Mosaïque de Torre Annunziata à Naples (Lauer/Picard 1955, 134, fig. 75) : dans la main droite, Thalès tient une baguette avec laquelle il montre une sphère, tandis qu'il porte la gauche à son visage, comme Théodotos de Byzance ; (2) mosaïque de la Villa Albani. Pour cette dernière mais aussi pour les autres exemples cités, voir Brendel 1936, en partic. 1-22 et pl. 1 (la mosaïque de Torre Annunziata, Naples), pl. 2 (la mosaïque de la Villa Albani, Rome), pl. 4 (la muse Urania, à Pompéi), et pl. 6 (stèle du fils d'Hékatôdôros de Byzance) ; Gaiser 1980.

<sup>44</sup> Sur une mosaïque d'Apamée-sur-l'Oronte, en Syrie (règne de Julien, 360-363), Socrate et les six autres Sages sont assis en demi-cercle ; Socrate est ici le modèle allégorique de la destinée de l'âme du philosophe. Pour un commentaire détaillé, voir Koch-Piettre 2007.

<sup>45</sup> Voir Platon (*Tim.* 33 B) sur la valeur de la sphère : si le monde doit contenir tout ce qui est vivant, la figure qui convient le mieux est la sphère. Bien que la tête du sage manque, on peut penser qu'elle était hirsute et que son visage avait l'expression préoccupée qu'on voit sur les mosaïques. Le regard de Thalès était porté vers la sphère, qu'elle soit présente ou pas. Sur une stèle funéraire en l'honneur d'Isocrate, érigé en 338, on avait représenté des poètes et les maîtres d'Isocrate, parmi lesquels « Gorgias considérant une sphère astronomique avec Isocrate à ses côtés » (Plutarque, *Vita X orat.* 838 D).

<sup>46</sup> Voir Jacob 2001-2002.

<sup>47</sup> Lauer/Picard 1955, 132, fig. 73, peinture du péristyle de la Casa dei Vettii. Les Muses sont par ailleurs souvent représentées avec les attributs de l'art qu'elles patronnent, qui les rendent ainsi facilement reconnaissables. On peut également les identifier en raison de leur association avec Apollon, qui dirige leur choeur, lui aussi associé aux arts et à l'activité artistique en général.

également sur un monument de Smyrne, comportant une série de sentences sur la mort et la vie. Il s'agit d'un relief représentant un homme barbu, vêtu d'un manteau, assis, qui pose son bâton sur un crâne qu'il montre de la main droite. Le globe, qui ressemble à un large disque plat, est figuré dans l'arrière-plan<sup>48</sup>. Si l'on considère aussi la présence sur la stèle de Byzance d'un cadran solaire<sup>49</sup>, on pourrait conclure qu'il s'agit d'un astronome ou d'un professeur d'astronomie<sup>50</sup>. Le fait que le globe accompagne souvent les réunions des philosophes laisse entendre que Théodotos pouvait appartenir également à cette catégorie. Par conséquent, seule l'association des instruments d'écriture et des objets de lecture avec des attributs spécifiques, tels le globe, la baguette ou le cadran solaire, est opérationnelle pour identifier un professionnel. Dans l'absence d'autres indices, il convient de rester prudent.



Fig. 2. Stèle de Théodotos fils de Ménéphrôn de Byzance. Photo Firatlı/Robert 1964, fig. 33, pl. VIII

<sup>48</sup> Kaibel 1878, n° 303 ; Peek 1955, n° 1364 ; Jongkees 1957 ( pour le globe caractérisant les sages, p. 3-4), pl. 1-2 (photo et dessin), qui identifie le personnage au sage Bias de Priène, qui avait fait noter ses sentences sur son monument funéraire. J. et L. Robert y voient un monument non-funéraire qu'un sage local avait fait élever dans sa maison ou jardin pour l'avoir sous les yeux et pour le montrer à ses amis (Bull.Ép. 1960, 343).

<sup>49</sup> Pour les cadrans solaires découverts sur la côte ouest du Pont, à Istros et dans le territoire de Tomi, voir Feraru 2008.

<sup>50</sup> La mosaïque de l'île de Wight (Lauer/Picard 1955, 133, fig. 74) représente une leçon d'une manière similaire à celle de Byzance : un personnage assis au centre indique avec une baguette une sphère posée sur un support à trois pieds placé à gauche ; à droite du personnage, on remarque une colonne avec le même cadran solaire qui figure sur la stèle byzantine.

### III. La circulation du motif iconographique

Le modèle du banquet funéraire, « lettré » ou non, se répandit à l'époque impériale sur la côte occidentale du Pont jusqu'à Istros. L'iconographie funéraire des cités de la côte méridionale, pourtant géographiquement proche, semble peu touchée par cette influence, du moins d'après l'état actuel de la documentation : on ne le retrouve pas à Chalcédoine, la cité qui faisait face à Byzance sur la rive asiatique, et, pour le reste du Pont Sud, on ne possède qu'un seul exemple de banquet « lettré », en provenance d'Amastris. Il s'agit du monument de Dèmètrios, fils d'Agathos et de sa femme Ailianè, érigé par leurs fils Ménandros et Ioulianos Ailianos Dèmètrios<sup>51</sup>. Le couple apparaît dans la scène du banquet, l'homme allongé sur la *klinè*, avec à la main gauche un rouleau de papyrus tenu d'une manière inhabituelle, le long de son avant-bras ; la femme est assise à ses pieds, la main droite tendue vers son mari, la gauche retenant une tablette sur ses genoux. À la différence des stèles byzantines, l'homme ne brandit pas une couronne mais tend la main droite vers sa femme<sup>52</sup>. Un petit serviteur figuré à côté de l'époux tient à son tour un rouleau de papyrus. Sur une table posée devant le mari on aperçoit trois objets ronds, peut-être les extrémités des rouleaux.

Les cités de la côte ouest-pontique ont fourni en revanche une riche moisson de reliefs à banquet, mais aussi d'autres monuments<sup>53</sup>, dont quelques-uns remarquables : la stèle en marbre de Mènis, fils d'Athanaïôn, de Mésambria, d'époque hellénistique, représentant un jeune homme assis sur une chaise, qui tient de ses deux mains un rouleau de papyrus, et que certains considèrent comme un enseignant, d'autres comme philosophe ou poète<sup>54</sup> ; une autre stèle d'époque hellénistique érigée pour Dioskoridès (?), sa femme Phila et sans doute leur fils Kritôn, en train de faire une lecture « en famille »<sup>55</sup> ; enfin, le « citoyen de Tomi », d'époque impériale<sup>56</sup>, dont le

<sup>51</sup> SEG 35, 1329 ; Marek 1993, n° 48 (184 ap. J.-C.). Il convient de corriger l'édition de Chr. Marek concernant l'âge du personnage, ξρ', à savoir 160 ans, et considérer qu'il avait vécu en réalité 60 ans (à savoir ξ'), car, d'après la photo, le r n'existe pas sur la pierre ; par ailleurs, on aurait bien là un chiffre irréaliste. Sa femme avait vécu 76 ans.

<sup>52</sup> La couronne est également absente de la scène de banquet représentée sur la stèle de Théoteïma, fille de Pharnakès de Sinope (I. Sinope 79 ; II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. ?).

<sup>53</sup> Voir Petrova 2006 ; Petrova 2007.

<sup>54</sup> Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 842, pl. 122 (I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; IGBulg I<sup>2</sup> 335 (pl. 175) (III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.). Hypothèse d'une leçon : Gălăbov 1960, 313 (pl. 75.3) ; Hoddinott 1975, 48 ; Schuller 1985, 36. Hypothèse d'un poète ou d'un philosophe : Frel 1966, 75-76. Comme pour les lettrés byzantins, l'absence d'un attribut plus significatif nous incite à rester prudents quand il s'agit de lui assigner un métier.

<sup>55</sup> Velkov 2005, 179-180, n° 36.

<sup>56</sup> Bibliographie sélective : I. Tomis, p. 368 ; Alexandrescu-Vianu 1992 (avec photos) ; Covacef 2002, 78-79, nr. 18.

portrait rend compte de la mode lancée par Hadrien au II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. : se faire représenter comme un citoyen romain, à savoir en toge, dans la posture du philosophe grec<sup>57</sup>.

C'est à Odessos que l'on trouve le plus grand nombre de reliefs à banquet funéraire avec rouleau – qui n'est qu'une variation du schéma avec gobelet –<sup>58</sup>, grâce certainement aux découvertes d'époque impériale. Ainsi, la stèle d'Hellèn, fils d'Isochrysos, qui tient un papyrus de sa main gauche, et son épouse Touta, fille de Dèmonikos, qui porte un nom indigène<sup>59</sup> ; un anonyme, [---]Jenôn, fils de Dionysogènes, allongé sur une *klinè*, tenant dans la main gauche un rouleau de papyrus dont on voit bien les deux extrémités, et brandissant de la main droite une couronne vers sa femme Anni, fille d'Hellèn, assise à gauche dans l'attitude dite de *puđicitia*<sup>60</sup> ; Neikias, fils de Xénandros et sa femme Zoukèpistos, fille d'Hellèn (un miroir pour la femme et une couronne pour l'homme)<sup>61</sup> ; Dionysios, fils d'Antiphilos, dit aussi Skôris, l'époux tendant la couronne et tenant dans l'autre main un rouleau (fig. 3)<sup>62</sup> ; Prima, fille de Tatariôn, femme de Loukios, fils de Dionysios, et mère de cinq enfants<sup>63</sup> ; Artémidôros, fils d'Apollodôros, tenant un rouleau, et sa femme Koeis, fille de Diôn<sup>64</sup> ; Moschos, fils d'Artémidôros, tenant un rouleau, avec son épouse Apphia, fille d'Agathênôr<sup>65</sup> ; C. Aemilius Viator, soldat de la légion XI *Claudia*, et sa femme Valentina, fille de Valens<sup>66</sup> ; enfin, un anonyme tenant un rouleau de papyrus, avec sa femme<sup>67</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> Pour une analyse plus approfondie, voir Dana 2011, 162-167.

<sup>58</sup> Vérilhac 1979, 47 ; voir aussi Alexandrescu-Vianu 1977, 139-140, 160.

<sup>59</sup> IGBulg P 151 (pl. 29) ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 713, pl. 107.

<sup>60</sup> IGBulg P 171 (pl. 84) ; Conrad 2004, n° 11 (pl. 28.4) (premier quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.).

<sup>61</sup> IGBulg P 171 bis (pl. 85) ; Conrad 2004, n° 31 (pl. 33.3) (troisième quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.).

<sup>62</sup> IGBulg P 164 (pl. 80) ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1979, n° 1416 b, pl. 251 ; Conrad 2004, n° 42 (pl. 36.2) (sous les derniers Antonins) ; Oppermann 2007, 90, fig. 70.

<sup>63</sup> IGBulg P 174 bis (pl. 86) ; Conrad 2004, n° 29 (pl. 32.1) (troisième quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.).

<sup>64</sup> IGBulg P 167 (pl. 82) ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1979, n° 1727, pl. 251 ; Conrad 2004, n° 43 (pl. 37.3) (sous les Antonins).

<sup>65</sup> IGBulg P 254 (pl. 130) ; Conrad 2004, n° 37 (pl. 35.2) (troisième quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.).

<sup>66</sup> IGBulg P 175 bis (pl. 88) ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1979, n° 1750, pl. 254 ; Conrad 2004, n° 35 (pl. 34.4) (troisième quart du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.). La légion était campée à Durostorum (en Mésie Inférieure).

<sup>67</sup> IGBulg P 180 (pl. 93) ; Conrad 2004, n° 52 (pl. 40.3) (fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.).



Fig. 3. Stèle de Dionysios fils d'Antiphilos, dit aussi Skôris, d'Odessos.  
Photo Oppermann 2007, p. 90, fig. 70

À Callatis un seul relief correspond au schéma byzantin du banquet en couple, avec couronne, mais sans rouleau<sup>68</sup>. À Tomi, une stèle du milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. s'apparente à ce schéma sans lui correspondre entièrement, car un jeune homme est représenté seul allongé sur la *klinè*, entouré de livres : un rouleau dans la main gauche, une boîte à rouleaux dans le coin gauche, sur le couvercle de laquelle reposent sept autres *volumina* retenus par un lien bien distinct. L'épigramme, qui déplore sa disparition, nous dévoile son nom, Attalos<sup>69</sup>. Il s'agit bien évidemment d'une adaptation du schéma du banquet, où livre et matériel d'écriture se substituent aux aliments. A.-M. Vérilhac va encore plus loin pour affirmer que les rouleaux remplacent la femme dans la composition typique de banquet, alors que ces objets figurent aussi bien sur les stèles des couples, où la femme partage la passion (véritable ou seulement

<sup>68</sup> Pfuhl/Möbius 1979, n° 1714, pl. 253 ; I. Tomis 362 (inclus par erreur) ; I. Kallatis 183 (fin du II<sup>e</sup>-début du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.).

<sup>69</sup> Aricescu 1977, n° 1 (p. 193, fig. 1) ; I. Tomis 459 (et comm. de I. Stoian, p. 367-368) ; Vérilhac 1979, 43-48 ; Bull.Ép. 1981, 334 ; Covacef 2002, 209 ; Conrad 2004, n° 131 (pl. 26.1) (milieu du II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.).

affichée) de son époux pour la culture. On a déjà remarqué, sur la stèle de Matrodôros et de Kalligeitôn, une complémentarité des rôles entre le mari qui tient le papyrus et la femme qui garde ouvert sur ses genoux un diptyque reliant deux tablettes couvertes de cire sur lesquelles on écrivait avec un *stylus*. Ce bel exemple de solidarité conjugale est repris dans un relief de Tomi érigé par Hermogénès dans le premier quart du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C. en l'honneur de ses parents, Kestianos et Moschion (fig. 4). Si l'épithaphe ne fait aucune allusion aux qualités intellectuelles des défunts, l'image est significative : l'homme allongé sur un lit de banquet brandit de la main droite la couronne et tient dans la main gauche un stylet, la femme tient un rouleau de papyrus<sup>70</sup>. Il semble donc que les Tomitains ont emprunté aux Byzantins non seulement le motif du banquet, mais aussi celui du couple de lettrés.



Fig. 4. Stèle de Kestianos et Moschion de Tomi. Photo Conrad 2004, n° 137, pl. 45.3

<sup>70</sup> Voir en dernier lieu Dana 2007, 207-209 (= SEG 54, 670).

La seule stèle funéraire avec banquet et papyrus retrouvée à Istros<sup>71</sup> n'appartient pas proprement-dit au schéma type de Byzance, car sur la *klinè* sont allongés deux hommes tenant des rouleaux et une femme est assise sur une chaise ; il s'agit d'un type dérivé<sup>72</sup>. Quant au Nord du Pont-Euxin, la manière de représenter les couples ou le lettré sur les stèles funéraires change complètement. À Chersonèse, à Panticapée ou à Gorgippia l'on peut rencontrer soit le portrait d'un homme debout, le rouleau à la main, soit les bustes des époux côte à côte, le mari tenant un papyrus dans la main<sup>73</sup>. L'influence byzantine semble s'arrêter avant Olbia.

#### IV. Une mise en scène élaborée des « amis des Muses »

Dans certains cas, le code pour déchiffrer l'image est donné par l'épithaphe inscrite sur le relief même, parfois de manière étonnamment explicite : l'épigramme qui accompagne le bas-relief de Ménophila, fille d'Hermagénès, de Sardes, explique pas à pas, comme une sorte de rébus, tous les éléments qui apparaissent dans le champ de la stèle. Ainsi, la couronne indique sa magistrature, la stéphanéphorie, le chiffre *alpha* rappelle le fait qu'elle était enfant unique, les rouleaux signalent son amour des travaux des Muses, le panier à laine le fait qu'elle était une fille rangée ; enfin, la fleur de lys est un indice de sa jeunesse<sup>74</sup>. Outre cet exemple qui reste sans parallèle, on peut citer de nombreux cas où l'interprétation est facilitée par la présence d'un texte. Ce lien texte-image est précieux : l'équivalent de la référence aux Muses dans le texte de l'épigramme est le rouleau de papyrus qui figure dans la main du défunt ou dans le champ du bas-relief<sup>75</sup> ; l'allusion à la *sophia* ou à la *paideia* dans le texte trouve son écho dans les livres du plus en plus présents sur les bas-reliefs au fur et à mesure que l'on avance vers l'époque impériale. Il s'agit là d'une certaine image, qui caractérise la basse époque hellénistique et la Seconde sophistique, celle du *pepaideumenos*. Cette image n'a certes pas attendu l'époque hellénistique pour faire son apparition : le philosophe, le poète, le penseur apparaissent bel et bien sur les monuments de l'époque classique ou sur les vases, en train de lire, comme nous l'avons vu, avec un rouleau à la main ou tout

<sup>71</sup> I.Histriae 337 ; Histria IX 212, pl. 85 a ; Conrad 2004, n° (pl. 44.2) (première moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.), pour un Thrace, Aurelius Erculanus fils de Seutes.

<sup>72</sup> Voir la stèle de Méniskos, Bakiôn et Aristoboula : Firatlı/Robert 1964, n° 35, pl. XI ; SEG 24, 695 ; Pfuhl-Möbius 1979, n° 2037, pl. 295 et 328 ; Fabricius 1999, pl. 26, b ; I. Byzantion 287 (II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.).

<sup>73</sup> Pour la représentation du lettré dans ces cités, voir Dana 2011, 167-168.

<sup>74</sup> SEG 4, 634 ; Ferrandini Troisi 2000, 64-66, n° 4.3 ; Bielman 2003, 79-81 (et p. 78, fig. 1) ; Bielman 2002, 224-227, n° 44 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 418, pl. 69.

<sup>75</sup> Voir aussi Fabricius 1999, 251.



simplement dans une attitude méditative ou concentrée qui traduit l'effort intellectuel<sup>76</sup>. Néanmoins, des signes de profonds changements sociaux ressortent à travers l'imagerie des stèles à banquet, faussement stéréotypée : le statut de la femme, et le statut du lettré.

Sur les monuments déjà présentés, on remarque le partage judicieux de la stèle en registres illustrant la répartition des rôles au sein du couple : rôle militaire, fonctions publiques et éducation lettrée pour le mari ; occupations d'intérieur et soins de beauté pour l'épouse, symbolisés par des paniers à laine, des fuseaux, des flacons à parfums, des peignes, des miroirs, des boîtes à bijoux. Une corbeille à laine suffisait pour orner la stèle d'une femme de Byzance, Nikopolis, fille de Kratinos<sup>77</sup>. Lorsqu'il s'agissait de témoigner de l'éducation d'une défunte, on préférait généralement un instrument de musique à des rouleaux.

Néanmoins, les femmes ordinaires commencent à être représentées en tant que lettrées à côté de leurs époux, comme on l'a déjà constaté aussi bien à Byzance qu'à Tomi, alors qu'à l'époque classique seules les poétesses, telle Sappho, bénéficiaient de cette image. Lysandra, fille de Dôlès, de Byzance est un cas à part est représenté par<sup>78</sup> : les rouleaux de papyrus rangés sur l'étagère esquissée en haut de la stèle peuvent la concerner aussi bien que son mari, alors que c'est elle seule qui tient un papyrus à moitié déroulé sur ses genoux et non l'homme allongé sur la *klinè* (fig. 5). Qui plus est, seul le nom (grec) de la femme est mentionné, mais son patronyme est thrace ; le nom de l'époux n'est indiqué, comme l'aurait exigé la pratique épigraphique byzantine si elle avait été mariée : s'agit-il véritablement d'un couple, dont seulement le nom de l'épouse, première à être décédée, a été inscrit ? S'agit-il d'un schéma qui fait sens pour la communauté, alors que le monument a été érigé uniquement pour cette femme riche selon les apparences (la qualité de l'exécution, le siège d'honneur) et qui a bénéficié en outre d'une éducation lettrée ? S'agit-il, finalement, d'une représentation lettrée valorisante, censée accroître le prestige social de la défunte ? L'information offerte par la brève inscription montre également la place que certains Thraces pouvaient occuper dans la cité, ainsi que l'adoption par ces derniers des pratiques culturelles grecques.

<sup>76</sup> Pour la représentation des philosophes et poètes célèbres, voir Dontas 1960.

<sup>77</sup> Fıratlı/Robert 1964, n° 191, pl. XLVII ; SEG 24, 864 ; I. Byzantion 292 (III<sup>e</sup>, peut-être IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.). Selon Zanker 1993, 222, les images des femmes sont encore plus stéréotypées que celles des hommes : le panier devient le symbole de l'obéissance et de la vertu féminine. Pour la corbeille à laine comme symbole vertueux des tâches domestiques féminines, voir aussi Bielman 2003, 87.

<sup>78</sup> Koch 1988, 92-94, n° 33 (photo p. 93) ; Bull.Ép. 1989, 41 ; SEG 38, 729 ; I. Byzantion 368 ; Bielman 2003, 99-100.



Fig. 5. Stèle de Lysandra fille de Dôlès de Byzance. Photo Koch 1988, p. 93

La position des épouses byzantines, lettrées comme leurs maris, est particulière, mais une valorisation en découle pour toute la famille. En Asie Mineure, souligne Johanna Fabricius, à l'instar de Riet Van Bremen et de Paul Zanker<sup>79</sup>, la tendance est de représenter plutôt les couples qu'une seule personne, même de manière institutionnalisée au début de l'époque impériale, dans le cadre des magistratures comme la gymnasiarchie, l'agonothésie, la prêtrise du culte impérial. À Byzance même, Stallia Prima et son époux Diodôros sont honorés ensemble comme agonothètes et gymnasiarques d'un thiase<sup>80</sup>. Il s'agit d'un lien indestructible entre les époux qu'on essaie d'illustrer sur la stèle, une union en vertu de laquelle la femme suit son mari. Bien que rien n'empêche qu'une femme ait pu réellement avoir des préoccupations littéraires pour son propre plaisir, l'attribut de lettrée, ajouté à ses qualités traditionnelles d'épouse et de mère, est valorisant socialement, aussi bien pour la femme que pour la famille. Le

<sup>79</sup> Fabricius 1999, 274-275 ; Van Bremen 1996 ; Zanker 1993, 226.

<sup>80</sup> I. Byzantion 35.

rouleau ne fonctionne à Byzance comme symbole du métier que dans un seul cas, celui de la *iatreinè* Mousa, fille d'Agathoklès, qui est représentée seule, debout, un rouleau à la main<sup>81</sup>. Comme son épitaphe l'indique, cette femme-médecin est plus qu'une sage-femme (*maia*), vraisemblablement une gynécologue et pédiatre, dévolue à une clientèle de femmes et d'enfants<sup>82</sup>. Le rouleau renforce la signification de son nom : il évoque la sagesse et le savoir transmis par les Muses, mais doit aussi faire allusion aux compétences professionnelles de la défunte. On peut donc raisonnablement supposer qu'il enferme un traité médical.

En ce qui concerne le statut de lettré, à partir du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., la lecture et l'attitude contemplative sont valorisées dans l'iconographie funéraire, d'où l'importance de la philosophie, de l'enseignement et de la culture dans la représentation du bon citoyen<sup>83</sup>. La quantité de stèles funéraires, y compris à Byzance, implique aussi bien l'accessibilité que la diffusion de cette pratique sociale. S'agit-il d'une image stéréotypée ? Pas nécessairement, ou pas complètement : si l'on ne peut exclure l'existence des prototypes dans les ateliers des artisans, il ne faut pas minimiser la question du choix. Il s'agit d'une réponse à une réalité sociale : cette image est, plus que d'autres, un moyen de distinction ; elle est plus à même que d'autres d'accroître le prestige de la famille et de l'individu. Les implications sociales de ce choix sont en effet profondes : le *Totenmahl* devient un *Bildungsmahl*, les tables se remplissent de « nourriture pour l'esprit », les personnages allongés sur des lits de banquet ne tiennent plus de gobelets, mais des rouleaux<sup>84</sup>. Le rouleau n'est plus le symbole de la jeunesse du défunt<sup>85</sup>, mais participe à la construction de la *persona*. Dans le cas des sophistes, il est même assimilé à un symbole explicite de sa qualité d'orateur, à savoir d'homme de culture et d'homme politique. Considérer toutes les représentations comme stéréotypées – une commande passée par la famille ou par le défunt même dans le stock des fabricants, par exemple –, serait abusif. Le rouleau a toujours une signification. S'il y a bien une mise en scène de la position sociale, alors il s'agit de valoriser un statut de lettré.

<sup>81</sup> Firatlı/Robert 1964, 175-178, n° 139, pl. XXXV (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; SEG 24, 811 ; Pfuhl/Möbius 1977, n° 467, pl. 77 (I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; Bielman 2002, 203-207, n° 39 ; Samama 2003, n° 310 ; I. Byzantion 128.

<sup>82</sup> Pour le terme et les compétences, voir Van Brock 1961, 66-67 ; L. Robert, in Firatlı/Robert 1964, 175.

<sup>83</sup> Zanker 1993, 218-219 ; Zanker 1995, 188-190.

<sup>84</sup> Zanker 1995, 193 ; voir aussi Schmidt 1991, 117-148 (« Bürgerliche Repräsentation auf Grabreliefs der hellenistischen Zeit »).

<sup>85</sup> Vêrilhac 1979, 48.

## Conclusion

En conclusion, on peut affirmer que les personnages représentés avec des rouleaux ne sont pas toujours des gens qui en ont fait un métier, mais tout simplement des personnes éduquées ou qui souhaitent passer pour instruites. Le rouleau est érigé en symbole d'une vie honorable plus qu'en symbole de l'éducation. Il accompagne l'attitude et les gestes du lettré (la main portée à la tête ou sur la poitrine, le pied avancé), et souvent l'homme est entouré de sa famille. Quand on voulait indiquer de façon plus précise le métier ou la vocation intellectuelle, il y a toujours un ou plusieurs indices supplémentaires, plus explicites, qui soulignent cette vocation, en premier lieu l'épithète ou l'épigraphe, puis la juxtaposition des symboles. Il convient aussi d'attirer l'attention sur la relation entre banquet et intellectuels, en raison de la position sur la *klinè*, du bol qui est remplacé par le *volumen*, autrement dit, la relation entre la convivialité masculine et l'éducation, et la position sociale qui en découle<sup>86</sup>. Dans ces « clubs d'hommes » très fermés, les femmes trouvent difficilement une place, sinon dans la représentation sociale du couple.

La répartition géographique du type du banquet funéraire met en évidence le rôle de la cité de Byzance dans la diffusion de ce motif dans les cités de la côte ouest du Pont-Euxin jusqu'à Istros, et tout particulièrement à Mésambria et Odessos, plus exposées, par leur position géographique, à l'influence byzantine. On ne retrouve pas ce type iconographique dans les cités de la côte nord ou dans le royaume du Bosphore, où prévalent d'autres modèles iconographiques.

Le changement de la nourriture matérielle en nourriture spirituelle marque finalement une nouvelle évolution de la signification du banquet, cette fois du sacré vers le laïc, du religieux vers le profane et vers le social. Ces stèles à banquet funéraire, où le personnage entouré d'objets se donne à voir dans son activité préférée, s'adressent sans aucun doute plus au monde des vivants qu'à celui des morts, en offrant une image de soi remarquable. Il s'agit d'une élaboration de la position sociale à travers l'agglomération de divers symboles et la représentation soignée des personnages, dans une attitude méditative, conforme à l'image qu'ils voulaient laisser d'eux. Il ne faut pas négliger non plus les spectateurs, car le choix de ce type de représentation implique l'emploi des codes familiers à la

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<sup>86</sup> Fabricius 1999, 254, observe que ces scènes, où l'homme apparaît allongé sur la *klinè*, rappellent les symposia. Strabon 17, 1, 8 (C 793-794) décrivant la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie mettait en évidence la relation entre la convivialité masculine et le travail intellectuel : *kai oionon megan, en hôi to syssitin tôn metechontôn tou Mouseiou philologôn andrôn*. Pour les scènes de banquet dans le monde romain, voir Roller 2006.

fois à ceux qui se montrent et à ceux qui regardent. Déjà à l'époque hellénistique, la multiplication de l'image du lettré montre la valorisation de la culture dans un monde où l'hellénisme passe par le partage des pratiques communes et notamment par les pratiques lettrées. À l'époque de la Seconde Sophistique, où les Grecs s'accrochent à leur passé pour se donner l'illusion d'une supériorité qui ne peut être que culturelle, dans un monde contrôlé par Rome, l'image du lettré se trouve renforcée. Se faire représenter le rouleau à la main est aussi bien une source de prestige social qu'un moyen d'affirmer une identité partagée par tous les autres Grecs de l'Empire.

### Abbreviations

Bull.Ép.	Bulletin épigraphique, RÉG, 1938- .
I.Byzantion	A. Łajtar, Die Inschriften von Byzantion (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 58), Bonn 2000.
I.Histriae	D. M. Pippidi, Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor I. Histria și împrejurimile (Les inscriptions de Scythie Mineure I. Histria et ses environs), București 1983.
I.Kallatis	Al. Avram, Inscriptions de Scythie Mineure III. Callatis et son territoire, Bucarest – Paris 1999.
I.Sinope	D. H. French, The Inscriptions of Sinope (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 64), Bonn 2004.
I.Tomis	I. Stoian, Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor II. Tomis și teritoriul său (Les inscriptions de Scythie Mineure II. Tomis et son territoire), București 1987
IGBulg. I <sup>2</sup>	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> I <sup>2</sup> , Sofia 1970.
LGPN IV	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, R. W. V. Catling (éds.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names IV. Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea</i> , Oxford 2005.
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden, 1923- .

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# Le banquet en tant que forme de sociabilité et l'évergétisme romain

Livio ZERBINI

*Università degli Studi di Ferrara*

**Abstract: The banquet as a form of conviviality and Roman euergetism.** For the Romans, banquets were an important occasion for socializing, for feeling implicated in and integrated into the community, and for these reasons they had such a long tradition. This dimension of social significance of public banquets contributes to the better understanding of the reasons why they have been so much touched by the euergetic phenomenon.

**Key words:** public banquets, social cohesion, euergetism.

**Rezumat: Banchetul ca formă de sociabilitate și evergetismul roman.** Pentru romani, banchetele reprezentau o ocazie importantă de a socializa, de a se simți implicați și integrați în comunitate, și pentru aceste motive banchetele aveau o importantă tradiție. Această dimensiune a semnificației sociale a banchetelor publice contribuie la mai buna înțelegere a motivațiilor pentru care ele au fost atât de frecvent atinse de fenomenul evergetic.

**Cuvinte cheie:** banchete publice, coeziune socială, evergetism.

Cicéron, dans son travail philosophique *Cato Maior de senectute* souligne, à son avis, ce qui est la différence substantielle entre la tradition grecque du *symposium*, auquel vont participer des hommes vertueux capables de combiner le plaisir de la nourriture et le vin avec le goût de la conversation amicale, et la fonction sociale du *convivium* latin: *Bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concenationem vocant, ut quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur*<sup>1</sup>.

Pour l'écrivain Arpinate le banquet n'avait pas seulement le sens d'être à table avec des amis et des associés, mais il représentait aussi un moment important dans la consolidation et le renforcement des liens sociaux. Dans la pratique, Cicéron applique une distinction entre le *symposium* anthropologique et culturel grec en vigueur et la valeur de

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<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Sen.* 13, 45.

l'agrégation et de la cohésion sociale du banquet romain, en élevant ce dernier à un niveau supérieur par le pouvoir unificateur de la nourriture parmi les invités lors de la consommation.

L'Arpinate espère d'identifier celle qui semble être pour les Romains l'intime essence de la valeur du banquet: manger ensemble est un rituel social qui permet de réunir des personnes de différents groupes sociaux et, par conséquent, devient l'instrument de choix pour célébrer les valeurs de l'identité et de l'appartenance, qui sont essentielles à la cohésion de la communauté.

Pour les Romains, les banquets représentaient donc une occasion importante de socialiser, de se sentir impliqués et intégrés dans la communauté, et pour ces raisons ils connaissaient une longue tradition, d'ailleurs amplement documentée dans les sources, les monuments et l'iconographie des inscriptions funéraires, dès les débuts de Rome même. À cet égard, Denys d'Halicarnasse mentionne Romulus, qui avait institué pendant les repas des fêtes communales avec l'intention de réunir ensemble le peuple<sup>2</sup>.

Le convive publique le plus ancien semble en tout cas reculer, comme témoigné par Tite Live, à 459 avant J.-C., l'année de la défaite des Éduens par Cincinnatus; par conséquent, dans le contexte des célébrations accordés au général victorieux, on a voulu mettre l'accent sur le sens de valeur et d'unification du banquet pour le peuple, à la suite d'une victoire militaire majeure qui avait encore de plus renforcé l'identité de Rome<sup>3</sup>.

Au cours des deux derniers siècles de la République, dans un moment où le monde romain était largement ouvert aux influences grecques et orientales et dans lequel les banquets des *domus* patriciennes étaient devenus la manifestation la plus évidente du *luxus*, les banquets publics, comme témoignent les nombreuses lois somptuaires, devaient être inspirés par les valeurs de la frugalité, en accord avec l'idéal politique de l'oligarchie sénatoriale la plus conservatrice et intransigeante.

Les banquets, selon Cicéron dans le *Cato Maior de senectute*, ne devaient pas seulement satisfaire les simples besoins matériels, mais plutôt ceux de l'ordre social, car ils encouragent la solidarité et l'inclusion entre les classes, ce qui faisait partie du projet politique de Cicéron.

Inutile de dire que dans les banquets publics les lois somptuaires étaient strictement observées, non seulement pour préserver les vieilles vertus du *mos maiorum*, mais aussi pour empêcher que la pratique se répandait davantage en amplifiant le fossé qui séparait les riches des

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<sup>2</sup> D. H. 2, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. 3, 29.

pauvres, dont le nombre dans l'*Urbs* était plus grand de ce qu'on peut imaginer: par conséquent, il était nécessaire d'empêcher l'affichage de la richesse, qui pourrait avoir un effet négatif sur le comportement des masses de plus en plus pauvres, en devenant en fait une occasion de tensions sociales qui pouvaient contribuer à créer une situation d'instabilité politique.

Cette dimension de la signification sociale des banquets publics aide à mieux comprendre les motivations et les raisons pour lesquels ils ont été largement touchés par le phénomène évergétique. L'offre de banquets et de distributions alimentaires par les généreux évergètes devint une habitude et une pratique qui, dans le monde romain, s'est répandu et imposé dans le milieu social, devenant toujours plus importante dans les siècles suivants<sup>4</sup>.

Ainsi, si les banquets évergétiques représentaient des cadeaux éphémères, selon la classification que Cicéron fait dans le *De officiis* sur l'utilité des différents domaines de la *liberalitas* privée<sup>5</sup>, ils constituaient toutefois des importantes possibilités de renforcer l'identité d'appartenance des invités à la communauté et à favoriser la cohésion sociale.

Ce point de vue sur la signification des banquets évergétiques permet, à mon avis, de considérer leur taille réelle et leur importance sociale, en particulier en les affranchissant de l'interprétation qu'ils auraient eu la fonction de représentation ou, si adressés aux classes inférieures et plus pauvres, d'un simple soutien alimentaire, une forme de solidarité du Welfare-State *ante litteram*<sup>6</sup>.

Les banquets évergétiques, s'ils étaient dirigés vers l'ensemble du corps civique, allaient favoriser le dialogue entre ceux qui étaient riches et les autres classes sociales, devenant ainsi un outil important pour le regroupement social et la cohésion; à certains égards, des considérations similaires pourraient être faites pour les distributions des repas qui, en raison de la frugalité des aliments qui étaient proposés et diffusés, avaient souvent un caractère symbolique.

Le meilleur exemple de cette essence intime des banquets évergétiques est Pline le Jeune, l'un des plus somptueux et bien documentés évergètes, dont la *liberalitas* est parfaitement adaptée, comme il le dit, à l'équilibre entre le devoir civique et le désir naturel de 'l'affirmation de soi'. C'est précisément pour cette raison que, dans son "Panégyrique", il célèbre la générosité de l'empereur Trajan, car elle était motivée par des nobles

<sup>4</sup> Mrozek 1968; Mrozek 1972a; Mrozek 1972b.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Off.* 2, 16, 55: *Omnino duo sunt genera largorum, quorum alteri prodigi, altri liberales: prodigi, qui epulis et viscerationibus et gladiatorum muneribus ludorum venationumque apparatus pecunias profundunt in eas res, quarum memoriam aut brevem aut nullam omnino sint relicturi.*

<sup>6</sup> Zerbini 2008, 72-73.

intentions et avait pour seul but d'être bénéfique pour le peuple, n'étant pas du tout dictée par le simple désir d'ostentation de la richesse et du prestige.

En qualité d'évergète, Pline le Jeune était donc très prudent de prêter attention à des actes de munificence caractérisés, comme il est dit dans les *Epistulae*, par la *publica utilitas* et le *commodum commune*<sup>7</sup>.

Dans cette perspective doit être comprise la quantité massive d'argent, notamment 1.886.666 sesterces<sup>8</sup> – la plus haute certification en Italie et dans la documentation latine pour une fondation privée –, laissée par lui (*legavit*) à *Comum*, sa ville natale (*rei publicae*), dans la *regio* XI, pour la subsistance de cent de ses affranchis, avec l'intérêt de laquelle, à une date ultérieure, probablement après leur mort, sera financé un *epulum* par an<sup>9</sup> en faveur de la plèbe urbaine de *Comum*, pour accomplir l'*utilitas* de banquets publics, qui allait au-delà du simple sens des soins, mais représentait un moment important de l'attention sociale dans les regards de la *plebs romana*<sup>10</sup>.

Selon la même inscription, Pline a mis en œuvre d'autres interventions évergétiques aussi, visant à doter la ville de Côme avec l'infrastructure fonctionnelle pour le déploiement complet de la vie communautaire. Il s'agit surtout du don d'une grosse somme d'argent, dont le montant a été perdu, pour les thermes, dans un but pas déductible du texte, mais selon toute probabilité pour leur construction: au moins trois cent mille sesterces, un montant sans doute incomplet voire le caractère mutilé de l'épigraphe (la pierre est fracturée après les trois centaines), *in ornatum*, à savoir pour l'embellissement, et deux cent mille sesterces pour leur entretien perpétuel (*tutela*). En outre, il avait offert cent mille sesterces pour les frais de fonctionnement de la bibliothèque qu'il avait établi et offert à sa ville; son engagement financier pour la construction a été mentionné dans une lacune de l'inscription, mais il totalisait près d'un million de sesterces.

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<sup>7</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 1, 8, 10-17.

<sup>8</sup> Le volume de l'argent donné ne trouve pas des situations similaires dans le panorama, plutôt varié, des fondations. Sur cette anomalie et sur sa grande importance en termes économiques des fondations: Carlsen 1999, 283.

<sup>9</sup> Sur le mot *epulum* voir De Ruggiero 1922, 2142-2143 et encore Zerbini 2008, 72-73.

<sup>10</sup> CIL V 5262; ILS 2927; AE 1947, 65; AE 1966, 127; AE 1984, 436. Sur cette inscription: Sirago 1958, 289-293; Sherwin White 1966, 422-424; Levi 1969, 190-193; Duncan-Jones 1974, 27, 29-31, 122; 160, n. 469a; 171, n. \*638; 172, n. 644; 174, n. \*655; 174, n. 661; 201, n. 1079m; 206, n. 1143d; 206, n. 1143f; 207, n. 1162; 207, n. 1165; 208, n. 1169; 219, n. 1345a; Frézouls 1990, 188, nt. 32; p. 201 et nt. 81; Zaccaria 1990, 151, IIIa1, n. 108; 151, IIIA2, n. 112; Carlsen 1999, 279, 283; Zerbini 2008, 27-29; 72, 73. De la donation de la bibliothèque on parle aussi dans les lettres: Plin. *Ep.* 1, 8, 2.

Bien plus encore, à *Tifernum Tiberinus* Pline le Jeune allait donner aux citoyens, à l'occasion de la dédication d'un temple, un banquet public pour célébrer le jour de l'inauguration<sup>11</sup>.

Tout aussi intéressant est un autre banquet public (*epulum*), mentionné dans une lettre de Pline, toujours documenté à Côme, offert par un ami, Caninius Rufus, à ses concitoyens (*municipibus nostris*)<sup>12</sup>. Dans la lettre Pline le Jeune donnait des avis à son ami, en lui offrant des conseils précis sur la façon d'assurer la continuité, même après sa mort, de l'héritage accordé, fait qui montre comment il réservait grande attention à un «bien éphémère» comme les banquets pour la publique *utilitas*, c'est-à-dire dans l'intérêt collectif.

Toujours dans la région IX, et plus précisément à Dertona, est documenté un *epulum inter spectacula*, probablement offert aux *decuriones* et à la *plebs*, dédicataires de l'épigraphie, par un généreux évergète pour célébrer l'inauguration d'importants travaux publics, accomplis à ses propres frais pour moderniser le centre-ville<sup>13</sup>.

Les *epula* donnés par Pline et Caninius Rufus avaient par conséquence comme bénéficiaire tout le corps civique de Côme: dans le cas de Pline le Jeune la *plebs urbana* de la ville<sup>14</sup>; pour Caninius Rufus, les *municipes*, c'est-à-dire les concitoyens<sup>15</sup>. Tout cela au nom de l'*utilitas publica*, dans le cadre de cet *amor civicus* qui caractérisait la *liberalitas* privée; et cette attitude devait, selon Pline, toujours donner la direction au travail de l'évergète<sup>16</sup>, de sorte que même les banquets publics pourraient être un important soutien alimentaire pour les personnes qui vivaient dans un état de pauvreté, une sorte de supplément au quotidien<sup>17</sup>: *Sed oportet privatis utilitatibus publicas, mortalibus aeternas anteferre multoque diligentius muneri suo consumere quam facultatibus*<sup>18</sup>.

En fin de compte, les banquets publics étaient d'une grande importance économique, mais aussi sociale, en même temps, dans le sens de la solidarité et de la cohésion entre les classes et parmi les riches et les pauvres.

<sup>11</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 4, 1, 5-6.

<sup>12</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 7, 18. Voir aussi: Carlsen 1999, 279; Magioncalda 1999, 186.

<sup>13</sup> CIL V 7376.

<sup>14</sup> CIL V 5262; ILS 2927; AE 1947, 65; AE 1966, 127; AE 1984, 436.

<sup>15</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 7, 18, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 1, 8, 10-17.

<sup>17</sup> Mrozek dit que la distribution de l'argent et de la nourriture, et donc aussi les banquets, ont donné une chance de survivre à un nombre important de personnes et représentaient donc un important soutien nutritionnel pour les classes inférieures: Mrozek 1987, 104.

<sup>18</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 7, 18, 5.

Le terme *epulum* est ce que dans les témoignages épigraphiques en Italie indique généralement le banquet public<sup>19</sup>; bien que moins fréquemment, on a aussi d'autres noms, tels que *cena*<sup>20</sup>, généralement plus importante et que rarement voyait la participation du peuple<sup>21</sup>, et *prandium*, d'une plus modeste caractéristique. Un repas simple, au cours duquel de la viande était consommée, pourrait être, comme d'ailleurs en témoignent les inscriptions, aussi la *visceratio*.

À certains égards semblables à des banquets publics, du moins pour leur valeur symbolique, mais avec des engagements pécuniaires plus limités, étaient les distributions de *crustulum* et *mulsum*<sup>22</sup> et *panis et vinum*, ces derniers étant souvent liés à des dons d'argent<sup>23</sup>.

Lorsque c'était le peuple à bénéficier des banquets évergétiques, dans les inscriptions apparaissent les termes *plebs urbana*, *plebs*, *populus* et *universa plebs*<sup>24</sup>, ou l'indication *coloni*<sup>25</sup> ou *municipes*<sup>26</sup>; moins fréquemment sont mentionnés les *incolae*, c'est-à-dire ceux qui ne possédaient pas la nationalité de la ville où avaient lieu les distributions<sup>27</sup>.

La spécification dans les inscriptions de la participation des femmes aux banquets publics et aux distributions, avec des phrases telles que *plebs utriusque sexus*<sup>28</sup>, *populus utriusque sexus*<sup>29</sup>, *municipes utriusque sexus*<sup>30</sup>, *coniuges*<sup>31</sup>, *feminae*, *mulieres*<sup>32</sup> et *uxores*, suggère qu'elles étaient généralement

<sup>19</sup> CIL V 981; CIL V 5262; CIL IX 2252; CIL IX 3171; CIL XI 3206; CIL XI 3811; CIL IX 3842; CIL XI 5693; CIL XI 5717; CIL XI 5745; CIL XI 5963; CIL XI 6060; CIL XI 6190; CIL XI 6369; CIL XI 6377; CIL XI 7556; AE 1954, 165.

<sup>20</sup> CIL IX 5823; CIL IX 5831; CIL IX 5833; CIL XIV 2120.

<sup>21</sup> Comme confirmation que l'*epulum* était moins important que la *cena* nous rapportons une inscription de Iuvanum (CIL XI 2962), qui montre que lors d'un dévouement envers les décurions était organisée une *cena*, tandis que le peuple participait à un *epulum*.

<sup>22</sup> CIL IX 2226; CIL IX 2252; CIL IX 3954; CIL X 5844; CIL X 5853.

<sup>23</sup> CIL XI 6014.

<sup>24</sup> CIL V 5262 (*epulum*); CIL IX 3842 (*epulum*); CIL IX 3954 (*crustulum mulsum*); CIL XI 5963 (*epulum*); CIL XI 6014 (*panis et vinum*); CIL XI 6369 (*epulum*); CIL XI 6377 (*epulum*).

<sup>25</sup> CIL IX 2226 (*mulsum et crustulum*); CIL IX 2252 (*epulum*); CIL IX 5823 (*cena*); CIL IX 5831 (*cena*); CIL IX 5833 (*cena*).

<sup>26</sup> CIL X 5844 (*mulsum crustulum*); CIL XI 3811; CIL XI 5745 (*epulum*); CIL XI 6060 (*epulum*); CIL XI 6190; CIL XI 7556 (*epulum cum sportulis*); AE 1954, 165 (*epulum et sportulae*). *Municipes et incolae*: CIL XI 5693 (*epulum*); CIL XI 5717 (*epulum*); CIL X 5853 (*crustulum, mulsum*).

<sup>27</sup> CIL IX 2252 (*crustulum et mulsum*). *Municipes et incolae*: CIL XI 5693 (*epulum*); CIL XI 5717 (*epulum*).

<sup>28</sup> CIL IX 3954; CIL XI 5717; CIL XI 5963.

<sup>29</sup> CIL V 981 (*epulum*).

<sup>30</sup> CIL XI 5693.

<sup>31</sup> CIL XI 3206 (*epulum*).

<sup>32</sup> CIL IX 3171 (*epulum*); CIL X 5853 (*crustulum, mulsum*); CIL XI 3811 (*epulum*); CIL XI 6190 (*epulum*); CIL XIV 2120 (*epulum*).



exclues, bien qu'il soit possible que de cette façon l'évergète généreux ait pour but de souligner et de rendre encore plus visible l'ampleur de sa *liberalitas*.

Dans la plupart des cas, les banquets évergétiques étaient offerts à l'occasion des dédicaces de statues aux citoyens méritants et *patroni*, qui à leur tour organisaient des *epula* pour retourner l'hommage que la communauté leur avait adressé<sup>33</sup>; ou, comme dans le cas de Pline le Jeune, lors de l'ouverture des bâtiments publics<sup>34</sup> et des temples<sup>35</sup> donnés par des munificents citoyens, qui de cette façon voulaient étaler leur générosité; ou pour célébrer des jeux<sup>36</sup> et *ludi scaenici*<sup>37</sup>; ou à l'anniversaire (*dies natalis*) d'une personne très riche<sup>38</sup> ou de l'empereur<sup>39</sup>.

C'est dans ces moments que les banquets publics accomplissaient en tout et pour tout leur rôle de cohésion sociale, en amalgamant les invités aux communautés d'appartenance et en consolidant leur identité.

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<sup>33</sup> Voir, à titre d'exemple: CIL IX 3954; CIL IX 5831; CIL IX 6014; CIL XI 5745; CIL XI 6060; CIL XI 6190.

<sup>34</sup> CIL V 5262.

<sup>35</sup> Plin., *Ep.* 4, 1, 5-6.

<sup>36</sup> CIL V 981.

<sup>37</sup> CIL IX 2252.

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<sup>39</sup> CIL IX 2226.

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# ***Epulum dedit*: Öffentliche Bankette in den lateinischen Inschriften\***

**Fritz MITTHOF**

*Universität Wien*

**Abstract: *Epulum dedit*: Public banquets in Latin inscriptions.** The contribution analyses the epigraphical evidence of the Principate period (1<sup>st</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD) concerning public banquets (*epulum* or similar) in the Latin West of the Roman Empire. Such banquets were aimed primarily at the strengthening of the conscience of the members of mainly urban but also rural communities for their socio-political unit, chiefly from the perspective of the free and adult male population. They thus always presuppose also the exclusion of other persons living in the same place: slaves, inhabitants without the community's franchise (*incolae*), women and children. These social groups were only seldom included in such events. Conversely, public banquets served to enhance the hierarchic differences within the socio-political unit, as they rendered more visible the main status groups of urban life: decurions, augustals and *populus/plebs*. At the same time, the *epulum* was an important instrument for the members of the elite to anchor their private munificence in the collective memory, especially through financing banquets to be held annually on the giver's birthday.

**Key words:** Roman history; Latin epigraphy; public banquets in the Roman Empire; Roman city life; munificence in the Roman Empire.

**Rezumat: *Epulum dedit*: Banchetele publice în inscripțiile latine.** Prezenta contribuție analizează dovezile epigrafice din perioada Principatului (secolele I-III p. Chr.) privind banchetele publice (*epulum* sau termeni similari) în provinciile latine occidentale ale Imperiului Roman. Asemenea banchete vizau în primul rând consolidarea conștiinței de sine a membrilor comunităților, în primul rând urbane, dar și rurale, ca o unitate socio-politică, mai cu seamă din perspectiva bărbaților adulți liberi. Ca atare, banchetele publice presupun întotdeauna și excluderea altor persoane care trăiau în același loc: sclavi, locuitori fără dreptul de cetate al comunității (*incolae*), femei și copii. Aceste grupuri sociale erau doar rareori incluse în asemenea festivități. În același sens, banchetele publice slujeau la accentuarea diferențelor ierarhice din cadrul unității socio-politice, scoțind în evidență principalele stări prezente în viața urbană: decurionii, augustalii și *populus/plebs*. În același timp, *epulum* era un

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instrument important prin care membrii elitelor își ancorau munificența privată în memoria colectivă, mai cu seamă prin finanțarea unor banchete ținute anual de ziua donatorului.

**Cuvinte cheie:** istorie romană; epigrafie latină; banchete publice în Imperiul Roman; viața urbană romană; munificența în Imperiul Roman.

In der Regierungszeit Diokletians errichtete der Gardesoldat (*protector*) Valerius Manica seinem verstorbenen Bruder Valerius Ursicinus, der ebenfalls *protector* gewesen war, ein Grabmonument. Ursicinus, aus der wenige Jahre zuvor am rechten Donauufer neu eingerichteten Provinz Dakien stammend, war im Alter von 50 Jahren nach 23 Dienstjahren in Nikomedeia verstorben. Im mittleren Teil der Inschrift, der als Epigramm in metrischen Versen gestaltet ist, spricht der Verstorbene den Passanten an: Er habe, so heißt es dort unter anderem, ein glückseliges Leben (*vita beata*) geführt, mit Banketten (*epulae*) und anderen Vergnügungen (*laetitiae?*), niemand solle sich also über seinen Tod grämen<sup>1</sup>:

... *quamdiu vita fuit data, vixi bene, cognitus semper annis optinui quinquaginta meo fato, la(e)titias (?) habui epulas vitamque beatas, iam quies incessit, anima est suo credita cursu, sedibus infernis teneor, non sit dolor ulli ...*

Dieser Vers ist einer von unzähligen Hinweisen in antiken Text- und Bildzeugnissen für die Tatsache, daß die Menschen des Altertums die Teilnahme an einem – nach ihren Maßstäben – opulenten Speise- und Trinkgelage als Inbegriff vollkommenen irdischen Glücks betrachteten. Diese Vorstellung wurde sogar auf das Jenseits projiziert, das man sich gerne als Ort eines immerwährenden Gelages vorstellte. Bankette hatten daher auch an der Schnittstelle zwischen der Welt der Lebenden und der Toten eine wichtige Funktion, da das Totengedenken bevorzugt in Form eines direkt am Grab veranstalteten Festmahls zelebriert wurde.

Bankette besitzen aber auch in soziologischer Hinsicht eine fundamentale Bedeutung. Dies gilt nicht nur für die Antike, sondern für alle Kulturen und Epochen der Menschheitsgeschichte. Im Vollzug des gemeinschaftlichen Mahles kommen verschiedene Aspekte zum Tragen, die sich mit den Begriffen Identität, Exklusion, Distinktion, Interaktion und Memorisierung bezeichnen lassen: Identität, insofern Bankette zur Definition von Personengruppen beitragen und bei den Teilnehmern ein

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<sup>1</sup> TAM IV/1, 118 = CLEOr 26 = ZPE 27, 1977, 250 = AE 1977, 791, Z. 5-10 (Zitat in bereinigter Textform). Die Deutung des Wortes *latitias* (so auf dem Stein) ist unklar; zwei mögliche Verbesserungen wurden vorgeschlagen: *lautitias* und *laetitias*. Letztere wird hier vorgezogen, da es sich um das wesentlich gewöhnlichere Wort handelt.

Gefühl der Gruppenzugehörigkeit schaffen oder stärken, Exklusion, insofern die Gruppe der Teilnehmer sich im Bankett sichtbar gegenüber anderen Gruppen abgrenzt, Distinktion, insofern ein Bankett die interne Gliederung der Gruppe nach sozialer Hierarchie sichtbar macht, Interaktion, insofern zwischen dem Ausrichter des Banketts und seinen Gästen ein wechselseitiger Austausch von materiellen und immateriellen Gaben stattfindet, und schließlich Memorisierung, insofern der Ausrichter des Banketts sich seinen Gästen in dauerhafte positive Erinnerung bringt. Alle diese Aspekte sind, was die römische Kaiserzeit betrifft, besonders gut anhand der lateinischen Inschriften zu fassen. Diese Texte zeigen uns, daß öffentliche Bankette ein allgegenwärtiges und zentrales Element des sozialen Lebens der römischen Kaiserzeit waren.

Die inschriftliche Evidenz zu Banketten in lateinischer Sprache setzt sich im wesentlichen aus zwei Gruppen von Zeugnissen zusammen: zum einen Vorschriften von Kultvereinen und Priesterkollegien, die hauptsächlich aus Rom selbst stammen, und zum anderen Weih- und Ehreninschriften lokaler Honoratioren aus Italien und den Provinzen, die zumeist auf einen urbanen Kontext zurückgehen, gelegentlich aber auch einen Bezug zu ländlichen Gemeinden (*vici* und *pagi*) aufweisen. Die zweitgenannte Gruppe verdankt ihre Existenz der Selbstdarstellung der lokalen Eliten unter Verweis auf ihre Leistungen für das Gemeinwohl. Sie zeugen von privater Munifizienz und haben nichts mit der Bekleidung von Ämtern zu tun. In den folgenden Ausführungen wird es ausschließlich um solche Texte gehen, von denen wir etwa 350 kennen<sup>2</sup>.

Die genannten Inschriften dokumentieren nicht die Gastmähler der Führungselite des Reiches, die in den Häusern von Senatoren, Rittern oder städtischen Honoratioren stattfanden und einen höchst exklusiven Charakter hatten<sup>3</sup>, sondern Speise- und Trinkgelage einer breiten Bevölkerung, an denen in der Regel Vertreter aller Statusgruppen – also neben den Decurionen und Augustalen auch der *populus* bzw. die *plebs* und oftmals sogar die Beisassen (*incolae*) – teilnahmen und die daher in öffentlichen Gebäuden und im Freien stattfanden<sup>4</sup>. Die erstgenannte Form

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<sup>2</sup> Das epigraphische Material zum *epulum* wurde von J. F. Donahue zusammengestellt und ausgewertet, zunächst in einer Dissertation vom Jahre 1996 und dann in einer auf dieser beruhenden Monographie aus dem Jahre 2004. Beide Bücher enthalten einen weitgehend vollständigen Katalog des inschriftlichen Materials. Die hier formulierten Überlegungen knüpfen an die Ausführungen Donahues an, bes. 2004, 92-145 (Kap. 4 und 5). Für das römische Africa s. auch Wesch-Klein 1990, 34-37. Zu öffentlichen Banketten in der Welt der griechischen Polis s. Schmitt Pantel 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Zur Tradition des aristokratischen Gastmahls in Rom s. bes. Schnurbusch 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Angaben zum Ort eines *epulum* sind in den Inschriften selten; vorzugsweise werden Säulenhallen (*porticus*) genannt.

des Banketts, die wegen des häuslichen Rahmens als „privat“ einzustufen ist, wird in den überwiegend literarischen Quellen vorzugsweise als *convivium* oder *cena* (manchmal auch *cenula*) bezeichnet, die zweite Form hingegen, die – auch in der Wahrnehmung der Zeitgenossen – einen „öffentlichen“ Charakter besaß<sup>5</sup>, heißt in den Inschriften fast immer *epulum* (bzw. *epulae*, *epulaticium* oder *epulatio*). Freilich ist die Trennung zwischen beiden Begriffen, wie gleich gezeigt wird, nicht immer eindeutig, und außerdem werden gelegentlich weitere Termini verwendet, etwa *prandium* (eigentlich das Frühstück)<sup>6</sup>. In einer Inschrift wird zwischen *cenare* und *epulari* unterschieden, vielleicht im Sinne eines Gegensatzes zwischen dem gewöhnlichem Gemeinschaftsmahl, das häufiger stattfindet, und einem außerordentlichen und besonders aufwendigen Festschmaus<sup>7</sup>.

Wenn man das inschriftliche Material entsprechend seiner Aufstellungs- respektive Fundorte gruppiert, ergeben sich deutliche regionale Schwerpunkte: Der Großteil stammt aus Italien und Africa; daneben sind Hispanien, Gallien und Dalmatien vertreten<sup>8</sup>. Für andere Regionen des lateinischen Westens liegen, von Einzelstücken abgesehen, keine Zeugnisse vor. Dieses Verteilungsmuster kann als Ausdruck der unterschiedlichen Intensität urbanen Lebens in den einzelnen Teilen des Reiches verstanden werden.

In den soeben genannten Regionen waren öffentliche Bankette fester Bestandteil des sozialen Lebens. Berücksichtigt man die Fragmentarität

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<sup>5</sup> S. etwa AE 1998, 282: *epulari publice*, CIL VIII 25847: *epulum publice dedit*, CIL IX 3160 = ILS 6530: *publice epulantes* oder CIL II 2156 = ILS 6913 bzw. CIL II 1046: *cenis publicis*. In Anbetracht solcher Zeugnisse scheint es – trotz der Gefahr des Anachronismus, die mit diesem Begriffspaar einhergeht – im vorliegenden Kontext durchaus gerechtfertigt, von „öffentlich“ und „privat“ zu sprechen. Im Fall der Gastmähler der aristokratischen Elite ist diese Unterscheidung allerdings nur unter Vorbehalten sinnvoll. Für die Zeitgenossen waren vermutlich ohnehin eher andere Faktoren bestimmend, vor allem die Frage, ob es sich um ein alltägliches oder um ein Festmahl handelte bzw. ob das Mahl bescheiden oder aufwendig gestaltet war; vgl. Schnurbusch 2011, 135–144.

<sup>6</sup> Zur Problematik der Terminologie s. Donahue 2004, 5–12 und Schnurbusch 2011, 135–144.

<sup>7</sup> Laut diesem Titulus (CIL IX 1618 = ILS 6507 aus Beneventum, *regio II*) werden eine Säulenhalle, in der die Bürger eines *pagus* ihre Gastmähler abhalten sollen, sowie ein Geldbetrag zur Finanzierung dieser Mähler gestiftet. Dabei unterscheidet der Stifter zwei Kategorien von Mählern: Am 5. Juni sollen die *pagani* das *lustrum* durchführen und an den folgenden Tagen „in ihrer gewohnten Weise“ gemeinschaftlich speisen (*cenare*), am 8. Juni hingegen, dem Geburtstag des Stifters, sollen sie ein *epulum* abhalten: *ea condicione ut Non(is) lun(iis) pagum lustrent / et sequentibus diebus ex consuetudine sua cenent / item VI Id(us) lun(ias) die natale Sabini epulentur*.

<sup>8</sup> Jeweils ca. 40% des Materials stammen aus Italien und Africa, daneben 15% von der Iberischen Halbinsel (hauptsächlich Baetica) und jeweils 2,5% aus Gallia Narbonensis und Dalmatien.

unserer Überlieferung und bedenkt ferner, daß es neben diesen von Privatleuten gestifteten Banketten auch solche gegeben haben muß, die von den Funktionären der Städte und Vereine im Rahmen ihrer regulären Amtsführung veranstaltet und daher in den Inschriften nicht eigens erwähnt wurden, gelangt man zu dem Eindruck, daß öffentliche Bankette in der hohen Kaiserzeit zumindest in den genannten Regionen recht häufig stattgefunden haben, eventuell monatlich oder sogar wöchentlich<sup>9</sup>.

Von den verschiedenen Begriffen, die im lateinischsprachigen Bereich des Römischen Reiches für gemeinschaftliche Mahlzeiten verwendet wurden, erscheinen in den Inschriften nahezu ausschließlich *epulum* und, freilich wesentlich seltener, *cena*; *convivium* und *prandium* kommen nur in Einzelfällen vor<sup>10</sup>. Soweit erkennbar, werden diese Termini unterschiedlos verwendet; nur in seltenen Fällen ist ein spezieller Gebrauch faßbar, etwa wenn *cena* und *epulum* als unterschiedliche Qualitätsstufen eines Banketts genannt werden<sup>11</sup>. In Italien findet man in diesem Zusammenhang vielfach den Ausdruck *crustulum et mulsum* (je nach Dialekt auch *crustum et mulsum* oder *clustrum et mulsum*), „Plätzchen und Honigwein“. Mehreren Testimonien zufolge scheint das *epulum* gegenüber dem *crustulum et mulsum* höherwertig gewesen zu sein, da es jeweils der vornehmeren Statusgruppe vorbehalten ist<sup>12</sup>.

Solche Angaben sind aber die Ausnahme. In der Regel wird nicht gesagt, welche Speisen oder Getränke bei einem öffentlichen Bankett gereicht wurden. Nur selten findet man den expliziten Hinweis auf Brot und Wein oder auf die Verteilung von Fleisch<sup>13</sup>. Ob man die Texte so interpretieren soll, daß ein durchschnittliches *epulum* seinen Teilnehmern mehr bot als Brot und Wein, etwa zusätzlich Hülsenfrüchte und Gemüse,

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Donahue 2004, 143-145.

<sup>10</sup> Die ungefähren Relationen in dem hier verwendeten Corpus von ca. 350 Inschriften lauten wie folgt: *epulum / epulae* etc. 80%, *crustulum et mulsum* (s. das Folgende) 15%, *cena* 5%, *convivium* und *prandium* unter 1% der Belege.

<sup>11</sup> So wird in CIL IX 5841 den Bürgern der Kolonie Auximum (*regio V*) eine *cena* und der übrigen Bevölkerung ein *epulum* geboten, und in CIL IX 2962 erhalten die Decurionen und Augustalen von Iuvanum (*regio IV*) mit ihren Söhnen eine *cena*, die *plebs* hingegen ein *epulum*.

<sup>12</sup> AE 2008, 524 (Tarquinii, *regio VII*): *dedicationis die decurionibus epulum / [et plebei crustulum et mulsum dederunt*; AE 1974, 329 = AE 1980, 428 (Visentium, *regio VII*): *ob dedicationem honorariam vicanis epulum populo crustulum et mulsum dedit*.

<sup>13</sup> Man beachte etwa CIL XI 4395 = ILS 6632 (Ameria, *regio VI*): *ob / statuae dedicati/onem dedit iuve/nibus s(ingulis) HS XXX n(ummum) / adiecto pane et / vino epulantibus* oder CIL IX 4251 (Amiternum, *regio IV*): *dedit plebi urban(a)e / ad {a}epulum convivi / panem et vinum tauros III[ . . . ] / verbeces XV*. Fleischverteilung wird gelegentlich auch dezidiert als *visceratio* angeführt: *viscerationem et epulum dedit*, z.B. in CIL VIII 1321; manchmal erscheint auch nur der Begriff *visceratio*.

Obst, süßes Gebäck etc., zugleich aber keineswegs immer auch Fleischkost beinhaltete, bleibt ungewiß. Sicher ist hingegen, daß die *sportulae*, mit Delikatessen gefüllte Körbchen, qualitativ deutlich über dem *epulum* standen, da sie als (zusätzliche) Gabe nur an die Angehörigen der lokalen Elite, niemals hingegen an die breite Bevölkerung verteilt wurden.

Öffentliche Bankette wurden nach der inschriftlichen Überlieferung gelegentlich von Aufführungen (*spectacula*) begleitet, besonders von Theaterstücken, Wagenrennen und Tierhetzen, nur selten von Gladiatorenkämpfen – was vermutlich mit der beschränkten Finanzkraft der Stifter zusammenhängt, da letztere im Verhältnis zu anderen Formen der Unterhaltung extrem kostspielig waren. Außerdem kam es in diesem Zusammenhang immer wieder auch zur Verteilung von Öl für die Körperpflege (*gymnasium*<sup>14</sup>), besonders in Africa, unter Umständen auch in Verbindung mit der Gelegenheit, ein Bad zu nehmen<sup>15</sup>.

Als Veranstalter oder Stifter eines *epulum* treten in den Texten fast ausschließlich Mitglieder der städtischen Elite auf, die höchste Funktionen bekleideten bzw. bekleidet hatten, sowohl politische als auch Priesterämter. In vielen Fällen ist zu beobachten, daß diese Personen von nahen Angehörigen vertreten werden. Hierbei sind grundsätzlich zwei Muster denkbar: Im einen Fall wird das *epulum* testamentarisch gestiftet und dann von den Erben veranstaltet. Im anderen Fall erweitert ein naher Verwandter die eigentliche Stiftung des Spenders, der geehrt werden soll, durch Aufstockung des Geldbetrages oder Hinzufügung zusätzlicher Spenden. Bankette galten immer als Ergänzung zu anderen Wohltaten und Ereignissen, besonders anlässlich der Einweihung von Monumenten (*ob dedicationem* oder *ob diem dedicationis*)<sup>16</sup>. Das *epulum* bot daher auch den weiblichen Mitgliedern der lokalen Eliten die Möglichkeit, als Wohltäterinnen aufzutreten und eine ähnliche Stellung in der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung für sich zu reklamieren wie ihre männlichen Standeskollegen. Bisweilen traten Frauen der Oberschicht sogar als Hauptstifterinnen auf, vor allem dann, wenn sie hohe Priesterämter bekleideten.

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<sup>14</sup> Was mit der in Africa häufig anzutreffenden Formel *gymnasium dedit* gemeint ist, läßt sich nicht sicher sagen. Die Indizien sprechen aber für eine Deutung im hier erwähnten Sinn; vgl. Wesch-Klein 1990, 27-30.

<sup>15</sup> So in CIL XI 3811 = ILS 6583 (Veii, regio VII): *epulum dedit diebusq(ue) / ludorum et epuli / viri sui balneum / cum oleo gratuito / dedit*.

<sup>16</sup> Wie sehr das *epulum* als Teil des Dedikationsvorganges betrachtet wurde, ist auch daraus ersichtlich, daß der betreffende Hinweis nicht immer im Haupttext auf der Front des Monuments erscheint, sondern gelegentlich zusammen mit der Datierungsangabe auf dessen linker oder rechter Seitenfläche (*in latere*) angebracht wurde, z. B. in der Inschrift AE 1974, 228 (137; Privernum).



Das *epulum* war immer Teil – oder besser gesagt Schlußpunkt – eines mehrstufigen Stiftungsvorganges. Hierbei lassen sich drei Formen unterscheiden. Im ersten Fall stiftete ein Honorator anlässlich der Verleihung eines Amtes oder seiner Ehrung durch die Gemeinde ein Monument oder einen Geldbetrag, um ein Monument zu errichten. Zusätzlich hierzu ließ er am Tag der Einweihung dieses Monuments ein *epulum* ausrichten, eventuell begleitet von anderen Elementen wie *ludi* oder *gymnasium*. Im zweiten Fall wurde die ursprüngliche Stiftung von einer dem Wohltäter nahestehenden Person aufgestockt, und die Dedikation dieser zusätzlichen Stiftung wiederum mit einem *epulum* begangen. Im dritten Fall schließlich wurde neben dem Monument auch ein jährlich abzuhaltendes Bankett gestiftet (*epulum annuum*), und zwar in der Weise, daß der Stifter seiner Heimatstadt einen entsprechenden Geldbetrag oder Ländereien als Stiftungskapital vermachte, aus dessen bzw. deren Zinsertrag das jährliche Bankett finanziert wurde. Auch in diesem Fall war immer auch noch ein zusätzliches Bankett am Tag der Einweihung vorgesehen. Bemerkenswert ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Tatsache, daß das jährlich zu veranstaltende Bankett vorzugsweise nicht am Tag der Einweihung stattfand, auch nicht an einem kultischen Termin oder Herrscher-Festtag (wie dem *dies natalis* oder *dies imperii* des Kaisers), sondern vielmehr auf den Geburtstag des Stifters gelegt wurde. Dies zeigt deutlich, daß das jährliche Bankett primär auf die Memorisierung des Stifters abzielte.

Die Teilnehmer an öffentlichen Banketten werden in den Inschriften nach Gruppen hierarchisch unterteilt. Zumeist steht die Elite (Decurionen und Augustalen) der gesamten Bürgerschaft (*populus*) bzw. der Unterschicht (*plebs*) gegenüber. Je nachdem, ob es sich um die Bevölkerung einer *colonia* bzw. eines *municipium*, *vicus* oder *pagus* handelt, kann die Gesamtheit der bewirteten Gäste auch als *coloni*, *municipes*, *vicani* oder *pagani* bezeichnet werden. In seltenen Fällen durften auch die am Ort niedergelassenen Personen ohne städtisches Bürgerrecht (*incolae*) teilnehmen.

Eine zweite Distinktionskriterium ist das Geschlecht. In einigen Fällen wird explizit gesagt, daß Männern *und* Frauen die Teilnahme gestattet ist. Hieraus ist zu schließen, daß die öffentlichen Bankette normalerweise reine Männersache waren. Es gibt aber auch vereinzelte Belege für Bankette, an denen nur Frauen teilnehmen durften<sup>17</sup>. In manchen Fällen werden neben Erwachsenen explizit auch Kinder bzw. Jugendliche

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<sup>17</sup> So z. B. CIL XI 3811 = ILS 6583 (Veii, regio VII): *haec sola omnium / feminarum / matribus (centum)vir(orum) et / sororibus et filiabus / et omnis ordinis / mulieribus municipibus / epulum dedit.*

miteinbezogen<sup>18</sup>. Ob hieraus allerdings zu schließen ist, daß Frauen und Kinder von den öffentlichen Banketten im Regelfall völlig ausgeschlossen blieben, oder ob sie lediglich nicht zum Kreis der Empfangsberechtigten der verteilten Speisen gehörten, am Festessen aber durchaus partizipieren konnten, ist nicht zu entscheiden. Sollte das *epulum*, wie weiter unten vermutet, im Falle der breiten Bevölkerung einem großen Picknick geglichen haben, das sich über die gesamte Stadt verteilte, so wäre wohl eher letzteres anzunehmen.

Das wichtigste Distinktionskriterium freilich ist die Qualität der Bewirtung, die den Teilnehmern an einem öffentlichen Bankett zuteil wurde. Mitglieder der Oberschicht (Decurionen und Augustalen) erhielten vielfach die bereits erwähnten *sportulae*, Körbchen mit erlesenen Speisen, der *populus* bzw. die *plebs* das wesentlich einfacher gehaltene *epulum*. Manchmal wurde, wie bereits erwähnt, zwischen einer *cena* für vornehmere Teilnehmer und dem *epulum* für die breite Bevölkerung unterschieden. Die Zuwendungen des Stifters an die Teilnehmer des *epulum* konnten auch in Geldbeträgen erfolgen, die dann ebenfalls abgestuft waren.

Ob öffentliche Gebäude, besonders die Tagunglokale der Decurionen und der Augustalen, über eine Grundausrüstung an Speisemobiliar verfügten, oder ob der Veranstalter solches Mobiliar bzw. entsprechend ausgestattete Gasträume anmieten mußte, bleibt unklar. Nur selten ist in den Inschriften explizit davon die Rede, daß der Veranstalter Speisesofas (*triclinia* und *biclinia*) zur Verfügung stellte<sup>19</sup>. In jedem Fall ist anzunehmen, daß die Nutzung solchen Mobiliars den Angehörigen der Elite vorbehalten war.

Besonders interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Unterscheidung der Formen der Bewirtung durch die Verben *discumbere*, *vesci* und *epulari*. Daß damit eine hierarchische Unterscheidung gemeint sein konnte, macht die Inschrift CIL IX 3160 = ILS 6530 (Corfinium, regio IV) deutlich:

... *dedit / decurionibus discumbentibus et liberis eorum singul(is) HS XXX nummos, sevir(is) Augustal(ibus) / vescent(ibus) singul(is) HS XX numm(os), plebei universae epulantibus singulis HS VIII nummos ...*

<sup>18</sup> CIL XI 3206 (Nepet, regio VII): *decurionibus / Augustalib(us) et plebei / coniugibusq(ue) et liberis / epulum dederunt.*

<sup>19</sup> CIL XII 697 (Arelate): *edid[it decur(ionibus)] epulum in XIII [triclin]n(iis) XXXIII [biclin]n(iis)*. Der *ordo decurionum* von Arelate könnte also zu diesem Zeitpunkt  $14 \times 3 + 34 \times 2 = 110$  Personen umfasst haben. Wenn laut CIL XIV 375 (Ostia) die gesamte Statusgruppe der *coloni* auf 217 *triclinia* bewirtet wurde (es handelte sich also um 651 Personen), so war dies sicherlich ungewöhnlich: [*idem epulum trichilinis CCXVII / colonis dedit.* Auch in diesem Fall blieb die breite Bevölkerung ausgeschlossen.

Offenkundig wurde in diesem Fall je nach sozialem Status in verschiedenen Formen und Ambienten gespeist<sup>20</sup>. Die Bedeutung von *discumbere* ist klar; gemeint ist das Speisen im Liegen auf einem Sofa. Bei *vesci* und *epulari* ist der Sinn hingegen nicht sicher festzumachen. Es besteht durchaus die Möglichkeit, daß hier einerseits das Speisen im Sitzen in einem Gebäude, andererseits das Speisen im Freien ohne vom Veranstalter gestellte Sitz- und Tischmöbel, gleichsam als Picknick, gemeint sein könnte. Für eine Deutung des Verbs *vesci* in diesem Sinn sprechen kaiserzeitliche Reliefdarstellungen von Gastmählern, in denen sowohl Liegende als auch Sitzende dargestellt sind, deutlich voneinander getrennt in Gruppen von jeweils drei oder sechs Personen; vielleicht sind damit symbolisch die Decurionen und Augustalen repräsentiert, deren tatsächliche Gesamtzahl – zumindest im Falle der Decurionen – je nach Größe der Stadt etwa fünfzig bis mehrere hundert Personen betrug<sup>21</sup>. Desweiteren ist klar, daß der *populus* bzw. die *plebs* – in jedem Fall mehrere tausend Personen – unmöglich in öffentlichen Gebäuden auf Sofas, Stühlen oder Sitzbänken bewirtet worden sein kann, da hierzu weder die Gebäude an sich ausgereicht noch eine entsprechende Zahl an Mobiliar und Bedienung zur Verfügung gestanden hätte. Zudem ist durch eine Inschrift indirekt bezeugt, daß die Angehörigen des *populus* bzw. der *plebs* ihre Rationen an bestimmten Punkten in der Stadt zu einer festen Uhrzeit abholen mußten; wer zu spät erschien, ging leer aus<sup>22</sup>. Hieraus ist wohl zu schließen, daß die breite Bevölkerung sich um ihr Speiselager selbst zu kümmern hatte. Dies wäre dann unter dem Verb *epulari* (im engeren Sinne) zu verstehen<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Hingegen zur hierarchischen Sitzordnung bei einem Gastmahl in einer aristokratischen *domus* vgl. Stein-Hölkeskamp 2005, 101-111.

<sup>21</sup> Es handelt sich um Reliefs aus Amiternum und Rom; Abb. und Deutung bei Dunabin 2003, 80-85 (mit Fig. 40) und 89-91 (mit Fig. 45). Dunabin (bes. 82-83) erwägt völlig zu Recht die Möglichkeit, daß das Speisen im Liegen oder Sitzen hier als Zeichen einer sozialen Differenzierung, und zwar genauer im Sinne einer Unterscheidung von Decurionen und Augustalen, zu deuten ist. Daß die Augustalen für ihre internen Festmähler das Verb *vesci* gebrauchten, während das öffentliche Gelage *epulum* hieß, zeigt CIL IX 4691 (Reate, regio IV): *ut ex reditu eius summae / die natali suo IIII K(alendas) Febr(uarias) / praesentes vescerentur / et ob dedicationem statuæ / decurionib(us) et seviris et iuvenib(us) sportulas / et populo epulum et oleum / eadem die dedit.*

<sup>22</sup> Im konkreten Fall, einem Text in hendekasyllabischen Versen, geht es um die Ausgabe von *crustulum et mulsum* an die *municipes* von Ferentinum (regio I): CIL X 5853 (p. 1013) = AE 1992, 252: *mulsum crustula municeps / petenti / in sextam tibi di[v]identur hora[m] / [de] te tardior au[t] piger quereri[s].*

<sup>23</sup> *Epulari* kann zugleich auch als Oberbegriff für alle Formen des Speisens dienen, wie der folgende Text eindrücklich zeigt, der im Gegensatz zu der soeben zitierten Inschrift hinsichtlich des Verbs keine Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Statusgruppen macht

Freilich ist einschränkend zu bemerken, daß epigraphische Zeugnisse für öffentliche Gastmähler vorliegen, bei welchen sowohl die *Decurionen* als auch die *Augustalen* auf Speisesofas liegend speisten<sup>24</sup>. Die oben angedeutete mögliche Unterscheidung der Formen des Speisens zwischen diesen beiden Statusgruppen war also mit Sicherheit kein einheitlicher Standard.

Um zusammenzufassen: Die öffentlichen Bankette in den Städten der westlichen Teile des Römischen Reiches, wie sie in den lateinischen Inschriften vorwiegend für Italien und Africa zu fassen sind, zielten primär darauf ab, das Bewußtsein der Mitglieder städtischer oder ländlicher Gemeinden für ihren sozio-politischen Verband zu stärken, und dies vornehmlich aus der Perspektive der freien und erwachsenen Männer als dem Kernelement dieser Verbände. Sie implizierten daher stets auch (zumindest auf der Ebene der Definition der Empfangsberechtigten) die Exklusion anderer am selben Ort lebender Personen, und zwar zunächst selbstverständlich der Sklaven, darüber hinaus aber auch – aus dem Kreis der freien Bevölkerung – der *Beisassen* ohne städtisches Bürgerrecht sowie der Frauen und Minderjährigen. Diese Gesellschaftsgruppen wurden nur selten in die Veranstaltungen miteinbezogen. Im selben Zusammenhang dienten öffentliche Bankette der hierarchischen Differenzierung innerhalb des sozio-politischen Verbandes, insofern sie die drei (bzw. vier) wichtigsten Statusgruppen des urbanen Lebens der Kaiserzeit, nämlich *Decurionen*, *Augustalen* und *populus/plebs* (sowie gegebenenfalls *incolae*) und deren Rangordnung durch die Form der Bewirtung sichtbar machten.

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(CIL IX 3842; Antinum, regio IV): *ob cuius dedica/tionem dedit decurionibus / {a}epulantibus sing(ulis) HS VIII n(ummum) / seviris Aug(ustalibus) {a}epulan(tibus) sing(ulis) HS VI n(ummum) / collegio s(upra) s(cripto) {a}epul(antibus) sing(ulis) HS XII n(ummum) / plebi urbanae {a}epul(antibus) sing(ulis) HS IIII n(ummum)*. Ebenso in CIL IX 3838 (wiederum Antinum): *cuius ob d(edic)ationem dedit dec(urionibus) epul(antibus) sing(ulis) HS XX n(ummum) / sexvir(is) epul(antibus) HS VIII n(ummum) plebi / epul(antibus) sing(ulis) HS II n(ummum)*. Unklar bleibt, wie die Verben *epulari* und *discumbere* in AE 1987, 198 (256) aus Ostia zu deuten sind; es handelt sich um eine Stiftung eines Patrons des *collegium dendrophorum*, das aus dem Kapital von 180 Denaren jährlich an seinem Geburtstag ein Mahl abhalten sollte: *ut VI Kalendas Iunias die natalis sui de denariis CLXXX usuras eorum epulentur et discumbentes sportulas partiantur*. Sollten in diesem Fall alle Angehörigen des Kollegiums ungeachtet ihrer sozialen Stellung das *epulum* abhalten und im Liegen *sportulae* verzehren, oder ist auch hier an eine Differenzierung zwischen einfachen und vornehmen Mitgliedern gedacht?

<sup>24</sup> So etwa in CIL XIV 2793 = ILS 5449 (Gabii, regio I): *ut ex / usuris eiusdem summae quodannis (!) IIII Kalendas Octobr(es) die natalis Plutiae Verae / filiae suae decur(iones) et Vlvir(i) Aug(ustales) publice in triclinis suis epulentur* sowie in der teilweise rekonstruierten Inschrift CIL IX 4971 = ILS 6560 (Cures Sabini, regio IV): *die natali eiu[s decuriones] / in publico decem trichilini[s . . . ] / et sevirales duobus trichili[nis] epularentur*.

Zugleich war das *epulum* aber auch ein bedeutsames Instrument für die Angehörigen der Oberschicht, ihre private Munifizienz im kollektiven Gedächtnis zu verankern, besonders durch die Stiftung jährlich am Geburtstag des Spenders abzuhaltender öffentlicher Bankette.

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# I banchetti religiosi nella Dacia romana. Testimonianze epigrafiche<sup>1</sup>

**Irina NEMETI**

*Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca*

**Sorin NEMETI**

*Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca*

**Abstract: Religious banquets in Roman Dacia. The epigraphic evidence.** The aim of our study is to analyze the inscriptions from Dacia containing references to ritual banquets, public or private. The information is scarce, but not negligible. Epigraphically attested are the cult buildings (temples, *aedes*) where feasting rituals were taking place (an *apparatorium* – in a *mithraeum* of Apulum, an *exedra* – in the same place, and two *culinae* in the temple of the Palmyrene gods and in the *aedes fabrum* of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa). Concerning public ceremonies, only an *epulum Iovis* is epigraphically mentioned for May 23<sup>rd</sup>. The ingredients for a banquet are listed in a wax tablet from Alburnus Maior, where the members of an association (*collegium*) had prepared the menu with bread, lamb and pork, wine and vegetables.

**Key words: banquet, ritual, epigraphy, menu, wax tablet.**

**Rezumat: Banchetele religioase în Dacia romană. Mărturii epigrafice.** Scopul studiului nostru este analizarea inscripțiilor din Dacia care conțin referințe despre banchete rituale, publice sau private. Informațiile sunt puține, dar nu trebuie neglijate. Inscripțiile latine atestă edificii de cult (temple, *aedes*) unde aveau loc ritualuri legate de banchetele religioase (*apparatorium*, într-un *mithraeum* de la Apulum, *exedra*, în același loc și două *culinae*, în templul zeilor palmyreni și în *aedes fabrum* de la Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa). În ceea ce privește ceremoniile publice este atestat doar un *epulum Iovis* în 23 mai. Ingredientele pentru un banchet sunt enumerate într-o listă de cumpărături dintr-o tăbliță cerată de la Alburnus Maior, unde membrii unei asociații (*collegium*) au pregătit meniul pentru un banchet cu pâine, carne de oaie și porc, vin și legume.

**Cuvinte cheie: banchet, ritual, epigrafie, meniu, tăbliță cerată.**

La storia della vita religiosa della provincia Dacia fu focalizzata sul ripristino della documentazione epigrafica e scultorea, che certifica la presenza di alcune divinità, e fu prestata meno attenzione all'evoluzione del

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<sup>1</sup> Progetto CNCSIS - PN - II - RU - TE - 2011 - 3 - 0131 "Digital Corpus for the Virtual Exploration of the Antiquity. Art and Text on Roman monuments from Dacia".

culto propriamente detto. Una delle ragioni risiede nella documentazione povera ed opaca, l'epigrafia registrando solo in modo indiretto le informazioni collegate al rituale. Per schizzare le dimensioni del culto sono importanti le informazioni relative al personale sacerdotale ed i luoghi del culto (archeologici ed epigrafici), ma anche al rituale, ai principali momenti liturgici<sup>2</sup>.

Abbiamo scelto, per la nostra analisi, le iscrizioni della Dacia che confermano banchetti periodici, dedicatorii e feste religiose. Come esprime anche il nome, i banchetti dedicatorii sono rari, essendo delle cerimonie che si organizzavano una volta. Più frequenti sono gli incontri regolari nel quadro dei santuari o degli edifici dei collegi religiosi o professionali, la mensa comune essendo una delle più efficaci modalità di integrazione dei membri di una comunità e di creazione di un sentimento di solidarietà<sup>3</sup>. I banchetti religiosi implicavano la presenza diretta del dio accanto ai fedeli, nei momenti dalla cerimonia, questo elemento assicurando la sacralità del momento. I banchetti del mondo romano avevano al centro le divinità classiche, del pantheon greco-romano, così come i Cavalieri Danubiani, Isis e Serapis, Iupiter Dolichenus, Mithras, ed altre divinità orientali<sup>4</sup>. È anche nota la frequenza dei culti con carattere iniziatico che prestavano una grande attenzione alla trama mitica dei banchetti, le cerimonie periodiche reiterando questi momenti con la partecipazione degli iniziati<sup>5</sup>.

Il repertorio epigrafico della Dacia che sostiene la nostra discussione non è molto generoso (sei iscrizioni che certificano in modo esplicito banchetti o elementi costruttivi collegati ai banchetti religiosi). Le informazioni contenute su questi monumenti epigrafici sono diverse. Un monumento epigrafico fa riferimento a un banchetto pubblico importante – una placca in marmo da Sarmizegetusa che ricorda un *epulum*. Il resto delle iscrizioni si riferisce ai banchetti privati dei collegi o dei gruppi di fedeli e a questa categoria appartengono tre iscrizioni che fanno riferimento agli spazi degli edifici di culto destinati alla preparazione del cibo per il banchetto (*apparatorium, culina* – due casi, *exedra*) o all'arredamento specifico (*accubitum*). Infine, una tabula cerata contiene un elenco di prodotti acquistati per il banchetto di un collegio anonimo da Alburnus Maior, da cui scopriamo il menu ed i prezzi per un banchetto di questo genere.

## I. Banchetti pubblici

Da *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* proviene una placca di costruzione in marmo, di grandi dimensioni, conservata in stato frammentario: 120 x 42 x

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<sup>2</sup> Nemeti 2010, 200-202.

<sup>3</sup> Alvar 2008, 230; Mylonopoulos 2006, 83-84.

<sup>4</sup> MacMullen 1981, 36-40.

<sup>5</sup> Burkert 1992, 99-100.

17 cm, lettere 6 cm. Il testo recita: ...[De]dicatum *epulo Iovis*/ X *k(alendas) Iun(ias)*/ [Av]iola et Severo *co(n)s(ulibus)*<sup>6</sup>.

La placca fu dedicata al banchetto di Iupiter, dieci giorni prima delle calende del mese di giugno, quindi il 23 di maggio, nell'anno dei consoli Aviola e Severus. Dal momento che la coppia consolare è ancora sconosciuta, per la data, I. Piso propone l'identificazione di Aviola con un Acilius Aviola e considera che questo fu console alla metà del secondo secolo, o intorno all'anno 180 (nipote o pronipote del console dell'anno 122)<sup>7</sup>.

Non sappiamo precisamente quale sia il significato della cerimonia celebrata in Dacia il 23 maggio. La data del 23 di maggio era una data importante nel calendario sacro romano - *tubilustrium* in onore di Marte, e poi di Volcano. *Epulum Iovis* si celebrava a Roma, sul Capitolio, nelle cerimonie dei *Ludi romani* (4-19 settembre) e dei *Ludi plebei* (4-17 settembre), le Idi essendo consacrate al dio supremo (13 settembre e 13 novembre). Nel tempo, *epulum Iovis* durante i *ludi plebei* fu imposto. Nel quadro delle cerimonie organizzate dagli *epulones*, Iupiter e le dee della Triade Capitolina partecipavano al banchetto offerto in loro onore. Iupiter era invitato a sedersi su un letto, e Iuno e Minerva a sedere sulle sedie, dei e la gente celebrando l'avvenimento alla stessa tavola comune<sup>8</sup>. Dal momento che la data di questo *epulum Iovis* della capitale della Dacia non coincide con le date delle cerimonie simili dell'Impero Romano, I. Piso propone l'ipotesi secondo la quale, probabilmente, il 23 di maggio si celebrava la consacrazione del primo Capitolio della Dacia, questo essendo il momento dell'introduzione formale del culto in Dacia<sup>9</sup>. Un argomento a tale riguardo è apportato dalla colonna votiva dedicata da C. Sentius Anicetus di Apulum a Iupiter Optimus Maximus nel 205 - *Augg(ustis) nn(ostris) Imp(eratoribus) Antonino II et [[Geta]] co(n)s(ulibus)* - esattamente nello stesso giorno, data espressa secondo il calendario romano con la menzione del giorno nel calendario mensile - (*ante diem*) X *K(alendas) Iun(ias) luna XVIII die Iovis*<sup>10</sup>.

Le due iscrizioni rendono probabile il carattere regolare di questo *epulum Iovis*. Per quanto riguarda l'organizzazione del banchetto, è possibile l'esistenza di un *collegium epulorum* a Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa che preparava la mensa in onore di Iupiter (e di altri dei), sorvegliava e gestiva

<sup>6</sup> IDR III/2, 242; Wollman 1975, 222-224; Piso 1978, 179-182, fig. 1-2; Piso 2010, 269; Piso et al. 2012, 119-121.

<sup>7</sup> Piso 1978, 179-180 (metà del II secolo, intorno al 180); Piso 2010, 270 (intorno all'anno 150).

<sup>8</sup> Val. Max. 2, 1, 7: *Iovis epulo ipse in lectulum, Iuno et Minerva in sellas ad cenam invitabantur*; DA II 1, s. v. *Epula*, p. 736-738 (Fustel de Coulanges); s. v. *Epulones*, 738-743 (R. Bloch).

<sup>9</sup> Piso 1978, 179-182, fig. 1-2; Piso 2005, 186-187.

<sup>10</sup> IDR III/5, 164.



le preparazioni e poi presidiava la festa. I. Piso considera che un simile collegio manca e dunque *indictio* e tutta l'organizzazione dalla cerimonia spettava ai duumviri che avevano gli *auspicia maxima*, tuttavia assistiti dai *pontifices*<sup>11</sup>.

## II. Gli spazi dei banchetti religiosi privati

Un'altra categoria d'informazioni sui banchetti religiosi consiste nella menzione chiara, nei testi delle iscrizioni, di alcuni spazi ed elementi costruttivi specifici per tali cerimonie. Gli edifici di culto romano consistono in uno spazio sacro che si compone della casa della divinità (*aedes*) e dello spazio accessibile ai fedeli (*templum, fanum, delabrum*), così come una serie di spazi secondari. Qui si includono anche gli spazi e l'arredamento destinati alle cerimonie tipiche dei banchetti: *apparatoria, cenatoria, coccinatoria, culinae, accubitum, triclinia, exedrae*. Costruzioni ed elementi simili esistevano anche nelle strutture dei collegi professionali e religiosi che avevano bisogno di spazi per riunioni, spazi utilizzati per l'organizzazione delle mense comuni, cerimonie religiose etc. In Dacia, i testi epigrafici attestano *apparatorium, culina, exedra, accubitum*.

Un'iscrizione di costruzione da Apulum è un primo esempio in questo senso. Si tratta di una placca (di costruzione?) in marmo, frammentaria 58.5 x 101.5 x 3 cm; lettere - 4 cm: *Pro salute [sua? et suorum] / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Comat(ius) Super de[c(urio) antis(tes)] M(arcus) / Comat(ius) Exsuperatus Petr[o]nia / Celerina mater Herennia Euresis eius /5/ filio(rum) Superiani Exsuperanti/ani Superstis Superes **cryptam / cum porticibus et apparitorio et exedra** pec(unia sua) fec(erunt) l(ibenter)*<sup>12</sup>. Marcus Aurelius Comatius Super, decurione (e sacerdote del santuario), Marcus Comatius Exuperatus, Petronia Celerina, sua mamma, Herennia Euresis, sua moglie, hanno fatto a proprie spese, per la propria salute e la salute dei propri figli Superianus, Exuperantianus, Superstes, Supera - una *crypta* con portici, una sala da mensa e una *exedra*. Non è molto chiaro se il termine *exedra* faccia riferimento a una camera con banchi circolari tipo abside, o soltanto al banco semicircolare propriamente detto<sup>13</sup>. L'enumerazione del testo dell'iscrizione ci fa supporre come più probabile l'identificazione dell'*exedra* come sala dell'insieme architettonico in questione<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Piso 1978, 181-182; Piso 2005, 45-50.

<sup>12</sup> CIL III 1096 = IDR III/5, 242 = ILS 5552 = CIMRM, II 1978.

<sup>13</sup> DA II 1, 880-883 (P. Paris).

<sup>14</sup> Per *exedra* in un *mithraeum* - CIL XIV 4722 = CIMRM 302: *Exedr(a) peculiar(is) Arpoc[ratis]*.

F. Cumont interpreta la *crypta* come uno *spelaeum* mitraico<sup>15</sup>, M. J. Vermaseren come un santuario di Diana<sup>16</sup>. Secondo I. Piso, l'iscrizione fa riferimento a un annesso del tempio di Liber Pater<sup>17</sup>, mentre per Szabó Á. M. Aurelius Comantius Super è *Yantistes* di un *locus sacer*<sup>18</sup>. *Crypta* nelle iscrizioni dell'Impero indica un corridoio coperto con una volta, generalmente come annesso di un tempio<sup>19</sup>. A volte designa in modo esplicito un *mithraeum*, come in una iscrizione da Ostia, dedicata da C. Valerius Heracles, *pater et antistes dei incorrupti Solis Invicti Mithrae*<sup>20</sup>. *Apparatorium* designa, nell'epigrafia, pure una sala annessa a un *mithraeum*, l'ingresso e la sala di culto stessa (cioè una *crypta* a volta fiancheggiata da *podia*), una sala annessa dove erano tenuti gli utensili da cucina e si preparavano le mense rituali, come la camera A dal mitreo II d'Aquincum<sup>21</sup>. In questo contesto crediamo che la cosiddetta *crypta cum ... apparatorio et exedra* può fare riferimento a un *mithraeum* e la camera annessa sia destinata alla preparazione del banchetto rituale, *apparatorium*. In Dacia non esistono informazioni dirette sul banchetto mitraico, con l'eccezione dell'illustrazione del banchetto mitico tra Mithra e Sol sui rilievi di culto<sup>22</sup>. Tra i *mithraea* conosciuti, soltanto in quello da Sarmizegetusa si menziona la scoperta da oggetti per la tavola in ceramica ed in bronzo e una grande quantità di ossa animale<sup>23</sup>. Le piante di numerosi mitrei conosciuti con i *podia* a forma di *klinai* estese e numerosi resti osteologici e frammenti ceramici qui rinvenuti, mostrano che in questi edifici di culto prendevano posto banchetti considerevoli con consumo di carne e vino<sup>24</sup>, accompagnati da inni e formule cantate come quelle conservati sui muri del mitreo di Santa Prisca<sup>25</sup>, e non delle cene con acqua e pane come sostiene Giustino nella sua Apologia<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Cumont 1896, 132.

<sup>16</sup> CIMRM II, 1978 : „I supposed that the inscriptions ... do not belong to a Mithraeum but possibly to a sanctuary of Diana”.

<sup>17</sup> IDR III/5, 242; per il pantheon di M. Aurelius Comatius Super – Nemeti 2005, 190-191.

<sup>18</sup> Szabó 2004, 798-800; Szabó 2007, 53.

<sup>19</sup> DizEp. II 2, 1910, s. v. *crypta*, p. 1278-1279.

<sup>20</sup> CIL XIV 66 = CIMRM 315.

<sup>21</sup> Clauss 2000, 45 (l'esempio di un *mithraeum* con il portico, *apparatorium* e *exedra* e quello dell'iscrizione CIL III 1096).

<sup>22</sup> Kane 1975, 313-351 (318: i tipi dei banchetti sui rilievi del culto).

<sup>23</sup> Pintilie 1999-2000, 235.

<sup>24</sup> Kane 1975, 349-350; Turcan 1978, 147-150; Turcan 1981, 357: „... pain, poulet, dés de viande en brochette, eau et vin ...”.

<sup>25</sup> Vermaseren 1962, 59-73.

<sup>26</sup> Just. *Apol.* 1, 66.

Un altro autore cristiano, Tertulliano, nell'*Apologeticum*, presenta la ricchezza dei banchetti pagani nel contrasto con la frugalità della cena cristiana: dice che per le apaturie, dionysie ed i misteri attici si sceglievano i migliori cuochi ed il fumo dei banchetti di Serapide teneva i vigili in allerta<sup>27</sup>. Si cucinava per il banchetto nel recinto dei templi, nei posti con destinazione speciale così come mostrano numerose iscrizioni che certificano una cucina (*culina*) annessa del tempio<sup>28</sup>.

Una *culina* è documentata in una iscrizione di costruzione dal tempio degli dei palmyreni di *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*<sup>29</sup>: *Dis patriis / Malagbel et Bebelha/mon et Benefal et Mana/vat P(ublius) Ael(ius) Theimes Ilviral(is) / col(oniae) templum fecit solo et / impedio suo pre se suisq(ue) omnibus, ob pietate(m) ipsorum circa se, iussu ab ipsit, fecit /et culinam subiunxit*. Publius Aelius Theimes, duumvir della Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa costruì a proprie spese il tempio degli dei ancestrali Malagbel, Bebelahamon, Benefal e Manavat, su loro ordine, e aggiunse anche una *culina*. A prescindere dall'orientamento proposto dagli specialisti per il tempio, indagato con scavi archeologici da Király Pál e Téglás Gábor in 1881, *culina* è stata identificata all'unanimità con la camera aggiunta sul lato meridionale<sup>30</sup>. Gli elementi che gli autori dello scavo consideravano fiancheggianti l'ingresso (*pronaos*) sono, secondo Al. Diaconescu<sup>31</sup>, *podia*, i banchi per il banchetto. Proprio qui nella questa zona del tempio furono scoperti, secondo la relazione di Téglás Gábor, cenere, frammenti ceramici ed ossa animali (*capra, ovis aries, bos taurus e sus scropha*)<sup>32</sup>. Grazie ai templi investigati archeologicamente nella città di provenienza di P. Aelius Theimes, il servizio cultuale per gli dei palmireni è abbastanza ben conosciuto. Il rito sacrificiale principale sembra essere l'accensione d'incensi sugli altari ma anche sacrifici di animali sugli altari dei tempi di Bel e Baalšamîn. Il sacrificio era seguito dal più importante rito palmireno, il banchetto comune, come attestano più di 1200 tipi di *tesserae* conosciute a Palmyra<sup>33</sup>. Le *tesserae* ceramiche palmyrene per gli invitati e l'ammisione al banchetto contengono il nome del dio in onore del quale si organizzava il

<sup>27</sup> Tert. *Apol.* 39, 15: *Apaturiis, Dionysiis, mysteriis Atticis cocorum dilectus indicitur; ad fumum cenae Serapiacae sparteoli excitabuntur (...)*.

<sup>28</sup> DizEp. II 2, 1910, p. 1294, s. v. *culina*.

<sup>29</sup> IDR III/2, 18 = CIL III, 7954.

<sup>30</sup> Alicu 1979, 625-629.

<sup>31</sup> Diaconescu 2011, 152.

<sup>32</sup> Téglás 1906, 321-336; Sanie 1981, 203.

<sup>33</sup> Starcky/Gawlikowsky 1985, 107-108.

banchetto, il nome del clan o della famiglia che lo organizzava ed una serie di simboli trasparenti (vasi, utensili di sacrificio etc.)<sup>34</sup>.

I banchetti religiosi prendevano posto negli spazi speciali destinati nei templi consacrati a determinate divinità, o, in mancanza di spazio, si potevano organizzare nei templi degli altri dei. Le mense in comune, riunioni solenni, prendevano posto anche in altro tipo di costruzioni, come quelle dei collegi professionali ed etnici. Queste disponevano di spazi di riunione - *scholae* - utilizzati per mense in comune, come camere di culto - *aedes sacra* - dedicate al Genio del collegio o allà divinità patrona del collegio.

Un *accubitus* ed una *culina* sono attestati in un'altra iscrizione di *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, su una placca di costruzione dell'edificio del collegio dei fabri; marmo; 30 x 31 x 29 cm; h. lettere - 1.25 - 2 cm: *Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Ianuarius / aug(ustalis) col(oniae) patr(onus) / dec(uriae) I /picturam porticus/ et accubitus item /5/ Cl(audius) Verus filius eius /ob honorem dupli / proporticus et culinam et frontalem ex sua fecerunt*<sup>35</sup>

Tiberius Claudius Ianuarius, patrono della prima decuria del collegio dei fabri, ha finanziato l'esecuzione della decorazione dipinta del portico dell'edificio del collegio (forse quello di fronte) e l'*accubitus*<sup>36</sup>, mentre suo figlio, Claudius Verus, per ricompensare *honor dupli*, ha costruito un proportico ed una *culina*. Conosciamo così i dettagli per la sistemazione del portico e della stanza per il banchetto, dotandolo con una tavola circolare e con l'*accubitus* (la cosiddetta *sigma*), un divano semicircolare la cui esistenza è provata da fonti epigrafiche e letterarie<sup>37</sup>.

In un discorso più ampio sui posti di riunione dei collegi etnici della Dacia, Alexandru Diaconescu analizza le informazioni epigrafiche offerte dall'iscrizione ricordata e le correla con la realtà archeologica nota dalle ricerche archeologiche effettuate nell'edificio del collegio dei fabri del foro

<sup>34</sup> Gawlikowski 1990, 2650-2652.

<sup>35</sup> CIL III 7960 = IDR III/2, 13; Goos 1877, 121-122; ILS 5548; Daicoviciu 1924, 248; Ciobanu 1998, 81-94.

<sup>36</sup> Il termine *accubitus* si trova in un testo di Carnuntum, databile sotto Settimio Severo - CIL III 4441= ILS 3574: *...porticum cum accubito vetustate conlla/bsum impendio suo restituit...*; una variante simile - *discubitus, -ionis* - in una iscrizione di Lugdunum, databile sempre in età severa - ILS 4794: *... loco exculto cum/ discubitione et tabula/ v(otum) s(olvit)*.

<sup>37</sup> DizEp. I, p. 23-24, s. v. *accubitus*; Forcellini 1858-1860, 47, s. v. *accubitus*; RE 4, IIA 2, 1923, s. v. *sigma*, c. 2323-2324 (Rodenwaldt); CIL III 4441: *... porticum cum accubito*; per l'arredamento di questi posti CIL III, p. 836 (*de pretiis rerum*, c. 16.9): *tapetes accubitarii*; SHA, *Vita Claud.*, 14, 10: *accubitalium*; per l'identità di *sigma*, *stibadium* ed *accubitus* si veda, per esempio, Bonfil 2009, 120.

traiano di Sarmizegetusa<sup>38</sup>. Seguendo quest'idea, l'autore interpreta altre due iscrizioni di costruzione scoperte nello stesso posto, che sebbene non menzionano in modo esplicito la costruzione di una *culina* o di una sala da banchetto, si riferiscono alla stessa attività costruttiva<sup>39</sup>. Una situazione simile si propone anche a Micia interpretando il testo dell'iscrizione di costruzione del tempio dei dei Mauri che menziona un rinnovamento, a indicare una nuova fase di costruzione dell'edificio, che include, d'accordo con la pianta archeologica, una *culina*<sup>40</sup>.

**III. Il menu di un banchetto privato.** Le iscrizioni citate ricordano soltanto gli spazi dove avevano luogo i banchetti religiosi. Un documento epigrafico eccezionale ci permette un'incursione nel mondo dei banchetti religiosi privati di una provincia dell'Impero Romano.

Il più esteso e forse il più interessante testo relativo ai banchetti religiosi della Dacia è offerto da una tavoletta cerata di Alburnus Maior<sup>41</sup>. La tavoletta, frammentaria, conserva l'elenco delle somme raccolte da un collegio e le spese per l'organizzazione di un banchetto religioso (*Index pecuniarum acceptarum rerumque emptarum*).

Pagina prior:

III non(as) April(es)	[...]	
pr(idie) non(as) April(es)	ac[cepi...]	
VII Idus April(es)	a[cepi...]	
Idibus April(es)	acc[epi...]	
5. XVII kal(endas) Maias	acce[pi]	[*]XX[...]
XV kal(endas) Maias	acce[p]it	*XXII
XIII kal(endas) Maias	pensio	*XXV
VIII kal(endas) Maia	accepi	*XXV
VII kal(endas) Maias	accepi	*XXV
10. IIII kal(endas) Maias	accepi	*XXV
[...] kal(endas) Maias	accepi	*XXV
[...] non(as) Maias	accepi	[...]
p[rid(ie)] non(as) Aug(ustas)		[*] XXIII

<sup>38</sup> Diaconescu 2011, 138-139, interpreta la pianta dell'edificio con due *accubitus* („a pair of couches”) mentre nell'iscrizione è scritto *accubitum*. Per quanto riguarda la esedra, Al. Diaconescu ritiene che „the apse might have been used by the foremost members to dine on a semicircular couch (*sigma*)”. Al nostro avviso *accubitum* del testo epigrafico si rifera alla esedra e la sua *sigma*.

<sup>39</sup> Diaconescu 2011, 138; IDR III/2, 10; IDR III/2, 6.

<sup>40</sup> Diaconescu 2011, 158-162.

<sup>41</sup> CIL III p. 933, XV = IDR I 46, Tab. Cer. XVI.

Pagina posterior		
<i>pr(idie) kal(endas) Maias ex</i>		* CLXVI[...]
15. <i>agnos n(umero) V</i>		*XVIII[...]
<b>Porcellum</b>		*V
<i>panem cand(idum)</i>		* II[...]
<i>thus prim(um) S</i>		* II
[ <i>meri?</i> ] § III		* III
20. [ <i>vini?</i> ... Q III q II]		* XCV
[...] G III		* XX[XV?]
<b>peganinum</b>		* I 2
<i>impensam</i>		* S 2
<b>aceti</b> §		* S
25. <i>salem et cep(am)</i>		*S - 2 * XCL
[...]		*II S * CLX
[...]		*II

Il testo dalla pagina prior fa riferimento alle somme raccolte da un collegio anonimo e la pagina posterior ai prodotti e alle merci acquistate per 166 o 169 denari. K. Zangemeister ha identificato la festa nella quale avrebbe avuto luogo il banchetto in quella dei Lararia<sup>42</sup>, che avevano luogo il primo di maggio (i prodotti erano acquistati il 30 di aprile, *pridie kalendas Maias*).

Sulla *pagina prior* c'è l'elenco dei contributi dei membri del collegio raccolti tra il due di aprile - (*ante diem*) IIII non(as) Apr(iles) - ed il 4 di agosto - *prid(iae) non(as) Aug(ustas)*, somme raccolte in 13 date diverse. Le somme sono di 20, 22, 23 e 25 denari, le 13 date del ricevimento dei contributi riguardano solo otto casi. Se stabiliamo una media del contributo tra 20 e 25 denari, la somma raccolta dal collegio arrivava approssimativamente a 300 denari<sup>43</sup>.

Da questa somma di 166 / 169 di denari sono spesi, per l'organizzazione di un banchetto probabilmente il primo di maggio (pensando che l'elenco di spese si dati al 30 di aprile), ma non è obbligatorio, perché i prodotti acquistati non erano deperibili e potevano essere utilizzati per un banchetto durante il mese di maggio.

Possono esistere occasioni diverse durante le quali i collegi organizzavano i banchetti, come sappiamo dal testo del collegio di Lavinium (da 136 d. Hr.), un collegio di *cultores Dianae et Antinoi*. I principali banchetti avvenivano nel giorno di Diana (13 agosto), e di Antinous (27 novembre) ed in marzo, agosto e dicembre quando erano i giorni del padrone e dei membri della sua famiglia. Ogni anno erano scelti quattro *magistri cenarum*

<sup>42</sup> CIL III p. 953.

<sup>43</sup> 293 denari a Popa-Lisseanu 1926, 235.

che dovevano assicurare, coi soldi del collegio, un minimo di alimenti per il banchetto durante il loro servizio: ogni partecipante riceveva un'anfora di vino, pane e quattro acciughe<sup>44</sup>.

Il menu dei banchetti di Lanuvio ci pare povero se confrontato con quello del banchetto di Alburnus Maior dove furono comprati cinque agnelli ed un porcellino, lattuga, cipolla, sale ed aceto, pane e due tipi di vino (*merum* e *vinum*, se accettiamo la lettura di Zangemeister)<sup>45</sup>. Dagli stessi soldi si comprava anche l'incenso per i sacrifici, prova che questo banchetto era religioso, di un gruppo di *cultores*. È difficile stimare il numero dei partecipanti al banchetto: se avveniva come a Lavinium, dove una persona doveva ricevere un pane di due assi, con i due denari si poteva comprare pane per 16 persone. Allora però, le quantità di carne e vino sono troppe.

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In un'analisi generale, il culto romano è costituito da una serie di elementi specifici. Questi sono i luoghi di culto – gli spazi sacri con tutti i loro annessi, i momenti durante i quali hanno luogo le cerimonie (i giorni festivi, regolari e irregolari), le persone che eseguono le cerimonie e i preparativi a esse collegati, gli strumenti utilizzati nelle cerimonie e nelle preparazioni, includendo anche gli arredi necessari, e poi i materiali necessari per i sacrifici, per le mense, decorazioni, atti e attività rituali. Analizzando i banchetti sacri in questo contesto generale, le iscrizioni della Dacia ci offrono poche informazioni, ma non trascurabili. Sono attestati dall'epigrafia gli annessi degli spazi di culto la cui destinazione indica lo svolgimento di alcuni banchetti: *apparatorium* – in un *mithraeum* di Apulum, *exedra* – nello stesso posto e due *culinae* nel tempio degli dei palmireni e nell'*aedes fabrum* di Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. Per quanto riguarda i momenti sacri – l'unica menzione fa riferimento a *epulum Iovis*, il 23 di maggio, in una iscrizione da Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. Le persone qui eseguono le cerimonie, gli specialisti del sacro non sono menzionati in nessuna iscrizione tra quelle presentate. Della grande categoria degli strumenti di culto sono menzionati soltanto elementi di arredo – *accubitum* nell'*aedes fabrum* di Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa. Riferendoci ai materiali necessari alla realizzazione dei banchetti, le sole informazioni provengono dalla *tabula cerata* da Alburnus Maior: agnelli, un porcellino, pane, vino, lattuga, sale, cipolla, aceto.

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<sup>44</sup> ILS 7212; un' iscrizione simile – *lex collegi Aesculapi et Hygiae* – ILS 7213; Klauck 2003, 52-53; Kane 1975, 330.

<sup>45</sup> I prezzi della carne di maiale, di agnello e i prezzi del vino sono analizzati nel Mrozek 1971, 443-446.

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*In memoriam*

**HARTMUT WOLFF**  
(1941 - 2012)



**Radu ARDEVAN**

*Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai Cluj-Napoca*

On February 4<sup>th</sup>, 2012 passed away Professor Hartmut Wolff, a highly distinguished scholar and worldwide appreciated specialist of Roman history. His unexpected demise strongly affected not only the field of the sciences of the

Antiquity, but especially the hearts of all who knew him. One can say that H. Wolff has represented, for a long time and with remarkable brilliance, a precious and today less frequent type of humanistic scientist, gifted equally with large erudition, high critical spirit and kindness – as once there were in the time of the Renaissance or of the Enlightenment<sup>1</sup>.

Hartmut Wolff originated from Oldenburg, in northern Germany, where he was born on November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1941, as the son of a teacher of artistic drawings. He grew up in an atmosphere of sensitivity, respect for culture and appreciation for the Humanities. Already in the school years he mastered several languages (English, French, Italian, Latin, ancient Greek), and familiarised himself to these cultures. Highly interested in the ancient history and civilization, he chose to pursue such studies in the University of Erlangen (1963-1967). It was the turning point of his life: there he met Professor Friedrich Vittinghoff, who represented his lifelong beloved and admired master. Under his guidance, H. Wolff became more and more involved and competent in the problems of the ancient world, dealing especially with Roman society and civilization. One has to underline that at that time around the same professor was gathered a whole team of highly skilled students, some of whom later became top specialists of these studies (like Werner Eck, Hartmut Galsterer or Brigitte Galsterer-Kroll), a brilliant generation that H. Wolff belonged to. All of them shared the passion and preoccupations of Fr. Vittinghoff and remained eternally devoted to him.

Between 1967 and 1972 H. Wolff continued to study, but at the University of Cologne (Köln), following Prof. Vittinghoff, who had moved there. In these years he deepened the study of the sources, their sharp criticism, the research methods and the specific approaches to the history of the ancient societies. His main topics of interest became social history, urbanization, the spread of Roman citizenship and the dynamics of the state administration in the Roman world during the late Republican and early Imperial period.

In 1972 H. Wolff defended his doctoral thesis, entitled *Die Constitutio Antoniniana und Papyrus Gissensis 40 I*. Actually this represented only an appendix of his achieved research on the grants of Roman citizenship in general – a huge work of more than 1000 pages, unfortunately never published. The dissertation was printed in 1976, but only as an internal publication of the Cologne University. Every reader can appreciate the author's wide erudition, knowledge of the sources, their sharp and well explained criticism, the abundance of ideas and also his

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<sup>1</sup> The few lines of this obituary could be written thanks to the generous help of several German scholars, who supported our efforts. Prof. Oliver Stoll (University of Passau) and Armin Eich (University of Wuppertal) provided us with precious data, Dr. Markus Zimmermann (University of Bamberg) informed us about many writings of H. Wolff. Highly useful were the data and the text kindly offered by Prof. Werner Eck (University of Cologne) – see below, fn. 2. For the photo we are indebted to Prof. Martin Jehne (University of Dresden). We express once more our special gratitude and consideration to all of them.

comprehensive vision of social history. These qualities remained the hallmark of all his further activity.

Between 1972 and 1978 H. Wolff worked at the same University, as Wissenschaftlicher Assistent, and gave courses also at the Rhenan Pedagogic Institute of Neuss. In all these years he pursued intense scientific research and produced a large number of papers on the same main topics. Only one of them approached, as a theme of collateral interest, the politic struggle at Athens in the difficult year 411 BC. Researching the grants of Roman citizenship, he soon realized the importance of the military diplomas for the problem and devoted more and more attention to these sources. In 1977 he habilitated at the same prestigious University, with a large thesis (more than 1000 pages) on the Roman policy of citizenship. Despite the wide field of his approach and its high appreciation in the academic environment, the author himself saw such a work as an incomplete one, intending to enlarge it sometime later with the „indirect“ citizenship grants, and also with a final synthesis. It is very sad that he never succeeded to revise and publish this impressive volume<sup>2</sup>. To that situation contributed also his total commitment to the didactic activity, which he accomplished in the best and most distinguished manner.

Soon after, in 1979, he was appointed Professor for ancient history at the University of Cologne. But in 1980 he obtained the Chair of Ancient History in the newly founded University of Passau. H. Wolff remained in this institution until his retirement in 2007 and pursued here a very consistent activity. Since 1992 he acted as interim leader of the Bavarian branch of the South-Eastern European Society. In 1991 he became associated member of the German Archaeological Institute.

It is necessary to list his teaching performance first. As professor, he held impressive lessons and could always touch the hearts of his students. Several generations of younger specialists owe him enormously. It is to be noted that some of his former pupils became outstanding representatives of these historical studies<sup>3</sup>. He loved the didactic work and dedicated himself entirely to it. One can say that he asked rather much from the students, but his critics were always well grounded, expressed with gentleness, targeted towards the progress of learning. Especially Prof. Wolff never stopped teaching the methods of research and critical examination of the sources – vital conditions for coming closer to the truth.

As first head of the Chair of Ancient History, he made constant efforts, with obvious successes, in order to endow and promote it, but always without

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<sup>2</sup> Today the situation of these researches is basically changed; in the last two decades, the number of known Roman military diplomas increased fourfold (see W. Eck, *Die kaiserliche Bürgerrechtspolitik im Spiegel der Militärdiplome – ein Thema Hartmut Wolffs*, conference held at Passau in 8 July 2012, in print).

<sup>3</sup> As examples, Professors Martin Jehne (University of Dresden) and Armin Eich (University of Wuppertal).

putting himself into the spotlight. He supported equally the University's Institute for History, or the Chair for Roman Provincial Archaeology. Such gestures show clearly his broad vision about the teaching of ancient history, and the lack of any vanity or envy. One should not forget also several disappointments and sorrows, caused by the recent negative trends in the educational system; they existed, but never stopped or disturbed either his teaching or his readiness to stand for the true values. Deprived of a family of his own, Professor H. Wolff found precisely in the school his true family, to which he offered all his energy and affection.

The second main dimension of his life and work was the scientific research. H. Wolff never practiced field archaeology, but was a historian of the Antiquity in the most classic sense, i. e. dedicated to the written sources. Of course, he used the data offered by archaeology, numismatics or art history, and was able to verify the accuracy of such researches. His approaches included also the valuation of archaeological items, museum collections, monuments etc.; several times he contributed directly in this sense. But the research of H. Wolff was orientated mostly towards the written sources of the Antiquity: literary texts, papyri, and especially inscriptions. A large part of his contributions were precisely epigraphic ones. He paid much attention to the regional ancient history of Bavaria or of the entire Danube valley, and he used all the available data to light it up. One has to emphasize his interest for the Danubian and Balkanic provinces of the Roman Empire, and his contributions to the knowledge of their civilization.

However, the top position in his preoccupations was taken by the study of the Roman army and especially of military diplomas, the main tool for elucidating the social history of these times. H. Wolff not only read and decrypted many such documents, but insisted on the deeper social interpretation of their data. He even founded in Passau a centre for the critical research of the Roman military diplomas, and involved several collaborators for this effort. The importance of his contributions in this field is shown also by the volume of studies in his honour, published by his colleagues when he retired, a volume dedicated precisely to the Roman army.

One further important topic for H. Wolff was ancient Christianity and its spreading over the Roman world, with special emphasis on southern Germany. It was not only an important way to reveal provincial society in the Late Antiquity. The skilled scientist was also a true Christian, involved in the life of the Church and of its educational institutions. But also this dimension was assumed by avoiding every ostentation.

All the published works of H. Wolff present the same basic features, which show his high qualification as a specialist and his vivid interest for humanistic sciences: wide culture and information, perfect use of research tools, strict method, deep honesty, large understanding of the historical processes. One can add a special awareness of the limits and failures of human knowledge; he saw his own approaches with critical eyes, never ceased searching for the best solutions, and was always able to revise his previous assertions in the light of newer evidence, or

listen to other opinions. This critical attitude was matched by a very obvious modesty. It was not easy to discover his rich soul and his beautiful character. He not only avoided every self-promotion and publicity; today there is no available list of all his written works, he never cared to have one<sup>4</sup>. His high exigency is also responsible for the bulk of important written pages that he never published, always looking for better documentation and solutions.

The number of his printed works is rather considerable, but precisely his main research, that he performed so rigorously and efficiently, remained in typewritten form. On the contrary, Prof. Wolff was the editor, alone or in collaboration, of unusually many volumes of papers and proceedings. It is one more feature which shows clearly his lack of care for his own personal interests and his dedication to others – colleagues, pupils or masters. As a matter of fact, beyond his reluctance for publicity, H. Wolff was a kind soul and a very generous person, who loved life and mankind. In the memory of his students and collaborators he remains as a true gentleman with old-world manners, ready to offer help and explanations, and careful not to hurt anybody even by good intentions. Not to be overlooked was also his fine humour, which included self-irony as well – a perfect way to share a deep wisdom.

Apart from the German students and scholars who benefited by his presence, Prof. H. Wolff offered collaboration and help to many European young historians, especially from Eastern Europe. Among such connections one has to remember his feeling for Romania, especially for Transylvania. He worked on inscriptions of Dacia, researched this province and wrote about it, also visited it several times. His efforts for collaboration with the Romanian specialists are quite noticeable – at that time, these gestures meant very much for us. For the academic centre of Cluj, H. Wolff was always a friend and supporter, and he deserves special gratitude for it.

In this painful moment of farewell, we turn to Prof. Hartmut Wolff with a deep feeling of affection and respect. His memory and his heritage will be cherished among Romanian scholars, too. May the Lord rest him in peace.

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<sup>4</sup> Therefore the list of his writings inserted here is also far from complete.

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**Abbreviations**

AMN

*Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca

OstbGrzm

Ostbairische Grenzmarken. Passauer Jahrbuch für  
Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde, Passau

PJ

Passauer Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kunst und  
Volkskunde, Passau (new title for OstbGrzm since  
2006)

## Book reviews

**Luca-Paul Pupeză, *Veacul întunecat al Daciei. Arheologie și istorie în spațiul carpato-danubian de la sfârșitul secolului III a.Chr. până la începutul secolului I a.Chr. (The Dark Age of Dacia. Archaeology and History in the Carpathian-Danubian Region between the End of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC and the Beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC)*, Cluj-Napoca, Mega Publishing House, 2012**

The recent paper dedicated to the 'Dark Age of Dacia' is the result of the doctoral work that the author took under the scientific coordination of Prof. dr. Ioan Glodariu at the Babeș-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca. Already by its subject the PhD paper, and particularly the published version, is a welcome contribution to the historiography of the Late Iron Age in Romania. Although it primarily addresses scientific researchers, of the Late Iron Age and in general, the construction of the text recommends it as an accessible lecture for a larger audience as well.

The term 'Dark Age' was first used to describe the sequence between the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC by V. Sîrbu and G. Florea. They characterized a time of transition from 'the golden age of the Getic aristocracy' (5<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC) to 'the silver Dacian kingdom' (1<sup>st</sup> century BC - 1<sup>st</sup> century AD). The 'darkness' of this chronological sequence is not given by the absence of ancient literary sources or archaeological finds, but mostly by the scarcity of information that they provide for a correct interpretation.

The author established a chronological frame for the book where the features of the material culture are described for each sequence and only afterwards, based on these, he tried to identify the larger processes that characterize the time span from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> until the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC in the entire Carpathian-Danubian region. Synthesizing the information, the author breaks away from previous contributions that, although numerous, were firstly interested with restricted aspects of this time sequence, lacking an overall perspective.

The paper is introduced with a short description of the subject (*I. Introducere*, p. 11-17). The first consistent part of the book (*II. Arheologia*, p. 19-236) discusses the main sites associated with the subject. The catalog is not a simple unselective list; the author chose to illustrate only significant sites, which revealed the richness of the archaeological material, preferably excavated from integral structures. The geographical order of the presentation allowed the author to identify local or regional developments within the larger area. Both habitation and funerary finds were considered, defined in three main geographical groups: the Carpathian Basin; South; and East of the Carpathian Mountains. Each site was introduced with its geographical setting and research

methodology, followed by the description of the structures identified, each presented with relevant details, using the terminology of the original documentation. The layer sequence and chronology were integrated at the end of each section. The author thus offers to the reader a synthesis of the main archaeological information, to which he brings an important contribution by illustrating the material in a coherent manner at the end of each description. Unsurprisingly, the pottery forms the bulk of the finds.

The third chapter (*III. Istoria*, p. 237-419) has four subchapters. In the first subchapter the focus is set on settlements, considered in their natural environment. The author established that during this time sequence the habitation structures have various shapes, as well as being both sunken and above the surface. However, the preference for the former type was obvious and the distribution of the latter was observed particularly south and east of the Carpathian Mountains. Alongside houses, pits for storage or deposition are frequently used in settlements. The inventory of settlements allowed the author to establish the preponderance of open settlements within the landscape, having only slight elements of internal organization, such as the existence of a more densely inhabited area, the distribution of houses in one or two parallel rows along a road or in groups of two or three houses, the latter specific to Transylvania.

More chronological remarks were possible in the case of fortifications, for which the author established two main phases: the 4<sup>th</sup> – end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC and the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC – beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The author accepts, however, that in limited cases the absence of fortifications during the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC could in fact be just a matter of research. While outside the Carpathian Mountains there are around 140 fortifications that could be dated in the 4<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, in Transylvania the large fortifications of the Early Iron Age disappear after the arrival of the Scythians. New fortifications are built at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and particularly at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The new fortified structures are both settlements and fortifications-citadels, encompassing however smaller areas than in the 4<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. The author considers the latter to be only citadels of larger open settlements, which is implied by the existence of inhabited terraces around the fortifications, sometimes with temples. These fortifications were rather seen by the author, breaking from the traditional warfare perspective, as symbols of peace and welfare, instruments of a prestigious authority that controlled the areas around the citadels. Finally, the chronological approach to archaeological landscape signaled a process of depopulation south of the Carpathian Mountains, contemporary to a massive progress of inhabitation in Transylvania, during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

The second subchapter is concerned with different economic and manufacture activities. The agriculture is shown as one of the most important aspects in the economy of the communities, proof standing the variety of seeds

discovered, as well as the metallic elements of agricultural tools. Naturally, animal breeding was practiced for consumption, archaeologically visible in the rests of bones found inside settlements, in houses and pits, and in funerary context. They show a preference for cattle, pigs, sheep and goats.

The pottery, the most numerous material from excavations, received particular attention. The time sequence between the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC is characterized by a specific set of types, however less represented in the archaeological papers in general. They illustrate the transition from the Early Iron Age and elements that will only become more popular during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Their analysis is at times difficult, particularly considering the austere display of the local pottery, with little decoration, which in turn has multiple analogies in other chronological sequences. Equally problematic are the surface finds that are generally very fragmentary. The paper discussed the technological features of the pottery and the scarcity of pottery kilns for the entire Late Iron Age in Romania, which however could be improved by future research. Handmade types of mainly local tradition were classified particularly according to their shape. Other ceramic objects, although described, could not be used for chronology. At the same time, the specific use of the pottery of the local tradition in Celtic or Bastarnae habitation and funerary environment allowed considerations on the different relations and attitudes of the local population towards the newcomers and respectively of the latter towards the former. Pottery finds influenced by other cultural and geographical milieus were in turn important elements for a more refined chronology.

The spread of metallurgy was considered, together with the use of potter's wheel, a main technological progress of the Late Iron Age. However, the evidence for the extraction and working of metal are still scarce from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. The metal finds are less frequent as well. Among a number of every day or manufacture tools, special regard was given to weapons, which were classified as assault and defense weapons. Direct evidence of precious metal extraction and working is scarce as well. These activities are indirectly suggested by found objects, such as bronze and silver, sometimes iron, adornments (brooches, bracelets, pendants, bells, needles and buttons). The absence of gold objects was explained either as the sign of a decrease in economical power, which eventually led to the disappearance of demand and local metallurgical workshops, or as the result of an interdiction, religiously sanctioned as a taboo. An analogous scarcity of gold is known for the neighboring Scordisci. The author refers as a parallel also to the monopoly that was enforced by the Dacian kingdom beginning with the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Other crafts, such as stone, bone or glass working are reflected in the finds of this time sequence. Stone was used in house building, in fortification structures, but also for smaller artefacts, such as grinders. Bone was preferred

for combs, pendants, pins, spatulas, handles, buttons or even flutes. Most of the glass finds are beads and sometimes bracelets, however their number is small.

Economic aspects of exchange are dealt with in the last section of the subchapter. Coin finds are rare in settlements compared to the isolated finds and hoards. The first local coin minting is set at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, imitating the tetradrachms of Philip II and Alexander the Great. This first phase of local minting is characterized by the diversity of coin types issued in the entire Carpathian-Danubian region by individual tribes of tribal unions. After the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the number of types decreases, but their distribution is better connected to certain areas. The foreign coins of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC are the tetradrachms of Macedonia Prima and Thasos, together with drachms issued by Dyrrhachium and Apollonia after the middle of the century. Finally, at the end of the time sequence discussed in the paper, the author remarks the entry of the Roman Republican denarius. The inflow of foreign coin issues eventually led to the disappearance of the local types.

Within the Carpathian-Danubian region the finds suggest a strong connection between the South of Transylvania and Wallachia, as well as between the east of Transylvania and Moldavia. Other goods were identified as imports from outside these areas. Some, such as pottery, were described either as imports themselves or as containers for certain goods. Here, the particular case of amphorae is evidence for consumption of oil and wine from Rhodes, Thasos, Cnidos and Cos. Their distribution proves their redistribution from larger centers towards other areas, under the control of local authorities. On the whole, the imported goods showed regional patterns of exchange. Thus, Transylvania was rather connected with western sources. At the same time, while there is evidence for a preference for bronze items in Transylvania, outside the Carpathian Mountains the predilection was towards ceramics. Despite the absence of objects produced in the Carpathian-Danubian region outside this territory, the author assumes the existence of a flow of goods towards other areas, which could be commodities such as cereal, honey, animal products or salt. Finds show that within the Carpathian-Danubian region the exchanges were made especially along the rivers Siret, Prut, Argeş, Olt, Mureş, Someş and the Danube.

In the third subchapter the author approaches the religious manifestations. Firstly, some natural elements (mountains, forests, rivers) are described as messengers between humans and different divinities, creating a sacred geography. However, given the lack of archaeological evidence, the author focused on the literary sources. Certain pits could be separated from those for everyday use as well. Pits containing intact pottery or vessels broken on the spot, together with pieces of hearth, ashes and coal were associated with religious manifestations for chthonic or fire cult. Other pits that have been dug under houses with skeletons of dogs or even children implied a special significance, foundation sacrifices or exceptional burials. Although there are no



temples associated with the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, the author opts for the possibility that some of the rectangular structures with apses excavated outside the Carpathian Mountains were used as temples at a certain point. The same scarcity of information hinders a proper conclusion regarding divinities. Except Zalmoxis, whose description is mainly based on accounts that follow the literary tradition established by Herodotus, and some general reference about Mars and Hestia, no divinity name is known.

For the funerary practices of the autochthonous population the author remarks the preponderance of incineration (90% of the burials). The analysis was based on a large number of finds from the 5<sup>th</sup> until the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, over 3000 burials, mainly grouped around the Lower Danube valley. The burials were both flat and in tumuli, isolated or within necropolises. In most cases the cinerary rests were placed in urns of local shapes. The number of finds from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC until the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD is significantly smaller. Only 100 burials have been identified, especially in the south-western sector of the Carpathian-Danubian region. The deceased buried in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC were incinerated and their rests were placed, with few exceptions, directly into the grave pit. Their inventory is characterized by warrior gear, pottery and daggers. Following previous opinions, they were considered within the Padea - Panagjurski-Kolonii archaeological group.

Some 500 other graves from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC were associated with the Celtic burial traditions. These were found in Transylvania, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş on 70 sites, both as isolated finds and within large necropolises. Over 65% of the burials were of incineration, most of them (over 60%) having the cinerary rests placed directly into the grave pit. The remaining burials were of inhumation. The burials are characterized in general by a relative richness in grave goods (pottery, jewelry, weapons and meat offerings). Another group was described east of the Carpathian Mountains in connection with the Bastarnae. Around 400 graves from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> until the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC were identified in 20 sites, but mostly in large necropolises such as Poieneşti and Boroşeşti. The deceased were incinerated and their rests were placed in an urn.

The author sees in the disappearance of the burials of the autochthonous population beginning with the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC the signs of a religious transformation that resulted in the alteration of the funerary ritual, the new practices leaving scarce evidence, if at all. The change in funerary attitude occurs at the same time with the first structures that can be associated with the Dacian kingdom, the first fortifications and the first temples. While the deceased were probably still incinerated, the author believes that the scarcity of archaeological proof reflects a new way of treating the cinerary rests, which were probably scattered into water or into the air. The questions around the 'void of burials' is shared with the Central and Western Europe, where the same phenomenon took place.

Finally, the anthropomorphic statuettes are related to phallic, and hearth and fire cults respectively. The author further associates representations of animals, such as the bull, the horse, the ram and the deer, with other cults around hunting. When these were found around hearths, the hearth and fire cult was again considered. The existence of sets of anthropomorphic, as well as zoomorphic statuettes could signal also the practice of magic.

The last subchapter discusses the relations between the autochthonous population and the newcomers in the Carpathian-Danubian region. To begin with, the author approaches the problem of the ethnic name 'Dacians', mentioned for the first time by Caesar. Based on the information known, he reaches the conclusion that the name 'Dacians' was used by the Romans to describe a spectrum of populations from a large area. However, its origin must be searched in the name of one tribe from the north of the Danube, which could be the autochthonous component of the Padea - Panagjurski-Kolonii group. Equally, the name 'Getae', mentioned much earlier by Sophocles and Herodotus in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, underwent the same transformations, after the name was borrowed from the tribes that lived near the Greek colonies of the Black Sea, in Dobruja. The author draws on the examples available in Europe to show the perception of the Romans over 'Dacia' as the territory inhabited by the Dacians and its use for the Roman province analogous to their experience in Gallia, Germania, Britannia or Pannonia. As a consequence, he preferred to name the population characterized during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC by finds developed on the local traditions as 'autochthonous'. Abandoning the ethnic names, which cannot be properly identified based on the knowledge available so far, the use of the name 'autochthonous' 'does not necessarily describe a population, but the sum of all elements of local tradition with origins in the Early Iron Age, regardless of general particularities'.

The author distinguishes in the relations between the newcomers from Transylvania, the Celts, and the autochthonous population proves both peaceful cohabitation and possible conflict, of larger width, generated at the arrival of the former (e.g. the fortification from Porș), or of local scale (e.g. the multiple burial from Berea). The relations between the autochthonous population and newcomers east of the Carpathian Mountains, the Bastarnae, appear to have been of a different kind. Although there were fewer mixed structures than in Transylvania, these are identified in all important sites, showing that the two populations were not isolated from each other. However, a clear outline is visible between the area controlled by the Bastarnae, in the center and north of Moldavia, having Bastarnae and mixed structures, and the area south to it, having only autochthonous structures. Based on the ancient records the author sets the conflicts between the Bastarnae and the autochthonous population at the arrival of the former east of the Carpathian Mountains, afterwards the two sides being mentioned as allies.

In the Conclusions (*IV. Concluzii*, p. 421-426) the author points out the main results of the research, in general already suggested throughout the paper. Finally, the appendices of the paper are useful accessories to the lecture, comprising a vast list of illustrations (*V. Lista planșelor*, p. 427-442), an English abstract (*VI. Abstract*, p. 443-459), a comprehensive bibliographical list (*VII. Abrevieri*, p. 461-465; *VIII. Bibliografie*, p. 467-494) and the index (*IX. Index*, p. 495-500).

The chronological sequence subject to the paper captures a time of transition that allowed the author to observe important transformations in all areas of life: economic, social, religious, military or political. The paper sheds more light into the 'Dark Age' of the large Carpathian-Danubian area. Furthermore, the systematic approach to finds and chronology recommends the book as an important basis for further research.

DINU IOAN BERETEU

**Peter S. Wells, *Image and Response in Early Europe*, London, Duckworth, 2008.**

Once in a while we are confronted with new and different approaches to traditional or mainstream subjects, but only few of them succeed in questioning the *status quo* of the matter and forwarding a fresh set of notions, understanding, and perspectives. I believe this is the case with Peter Wells' recent archaeological study on visuality.

Printed in a series focused on archaeological theory and methodology, "Duckworth Debates in Archaeology", *Image and Response in Early Europe* impresses by its simple and flowing structure, the personal touch of the narrative and the light use of academic references. It does however offer a very useful Index (pp. 164) and is based on a large and solid Bibliography (pp. 151). Coloured pictures are missing and one might wonder if this aspect could jeopardize the full understanding of the text, but after covering all the eight vivid chapters, it is obvious that black and white images were the perfect solution.

Unlike other volumes, this one has a real Preface (pp. 9-12), a straight-on statement regarding the aims, major principles and questions of the analysis: understanding why people created images the way that they did, by using the visuality of the past and the scientific support of neuroscience and cognitive psychology in "looking at" specific objects related to elite contexts, perhaps tracing the ideas and emotions that they generated.

The first chapter, **Image and response in Early Europe** (pp. 13-26), sets the spatial and chronological frame of the study, the temperate Europe between 600 BC to AD 800, and reveals some of the main ideas to be found in the

following pages: people in periods related to incipient use of writing saw images in a different way than we do today; images are firstly objects, so they will be analyzed by their visuality (their visual quality), not by their meaning; there are different visual experiences, largely depending on the viewer's environment; the personal response of the researcher to a past image or landscape is of great importance as well. The author responsibly draws attention on the fact that we have to study only the surviving images (pp. 24), especially on metal or stone objects, since wooden and textile discoveries are rare (but probably of higher importance than thought before). The equidistant and considerate, yet clear and sharp tone of P. Wells' discourse becomes evident when debating on the abundance of images starting from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (pp. 25-26). He concludes that the matter can be solved by understanding the different and multiple types of human interaction, not just by the theory of Greek influence (expressed through imports and their imitations).

**Vision, visuality, visual images** (pp. 27-41) is a chapter dedicated to the science of how we see. It proves to be an essential short guide on how people thought of the process of seeing and how much of this process is understood today, thanks to neuroscience and cognitive psychology. It is therefore important to know that we actually see with our brain (pp. 28) and that we all have generated cognitive maps, personal and unique visual models of the world, largely influenced by previous experiences (pp. 32). This second chapter also introduces theoretical notions such as "intentional blindness" (we do not see things that are outside the visual pattern we pay attention too) or "the constitutive aspects of representations" (images affect the way our brain works), in order to better portray the complexity of the visualization process. Another interesting argument reveals the capacity of the human brain to change in time due to experience and extensive use regarding specific visual elements (pp. 38). At last, environment plays a fundamental role in shaping one's cognitive map, with similar cognitive maps resulting from similar or familiar environments (pp. 40). The conclusion of this chapter is that the people living in the past had different cognitive maps and different visual systems, although the physical process of seeing has not changed until today; consequentially, their visual worlds would have probably been different from ours (pp. 41).

The chapter **Structuring visuality** (pp. 42-63) follows, with emphasis on the elements and techniques related to identifying visually complex objects. Using the previous mentioned scientific data and with the help of art history and "image analysis" studies, P. Wells enumerates several components that confer visual quality to a certain object: surfaces, edges, texture, decoration, glitter, colour, lighting (and movement). The author observes that pictures help us "to create our visual world" (pp. 48) and that faces are the images we tend to respond more intensely than to other (pp. 50). In this respect, visually complex items have well defined edges, highly textured (even tridimensional) surfaces, striking colours, they glitter and are decorated with images, especially eye-

catching faces (pp. 52). In addition, several visual enhancement techniques are brought into discussion: hammered relief, incised decoration, inlay, applied decoration, *a niello*, granulation and filigree etc. (pp. 53-54), or the visual puzzle (pp. 56). In the attempt to draw the visual world of early Europeans, P. Wells makes clear the fact that the environment was very different 2000 years ago than today (mainly monochrome, dark, rigid), resulting different cognitive maps and different ways of seeing (pp. 58). At this point, the visual complex objects come into discussion, being exceptional items, but being also placed in exceptional contexts (pp. 59). On this occasion, the author anticipates (a technique of relatively significant employment, which adds savour to the text) the ritual covering of such items with bright coloured textiles and the concept of "visual privilege", which will be discussed further in the volume. The chapter ends with a surprising, at least to me, intellectual exercise: P. Wells shares the idea that the researcher should also express a response to the image he or she studies, therefore he shares with the reader his impressions and emotions regarding some artifacts present in the book, from which I would like to point out the golden ornaments from the Apahida 2 grave. Even if the fragment is, as intended, highly subjective, the conclusion isn't: personal interaction with an object offers a different visual experience than the one provided by close-up photography or accurately detailed drawings (pp. 62).

The "archaeological" part of the book begins with chapter 4, **Images for individuals** (pp. 64-84). Using the framework set in the previous sections, the author presents some of the most known objects from the time and period of study, in close relationship with their discovery context, focusing on their complex visual properties. Those artifacts were of individual use and belonged to members of the social elite (like the gold ornaments from Hochdorf, the Glauberg fibula or the Sutton Hoo belt buckle). In this way, professor Wells observed that visually complex items were placed in high-focus points on the body during the burial ritual, in the upper part and framing the face (pp. 66), that colours played an essential role in the public display/covering of such artifacts (pp. 69), that lighting and distance influence reading the detailed decoration (pp. 72-73) or that visual power is conferred by design and shape as well, next to central focus points and face puzzles (pp. 77). The author also makes note of visually simple objects, meant to be read quickly and offering information on the owner (like the La Tène period sword scabbards), and other actions that demonstrate the preoccupation for creating (another) image of the body (shaping the head and the deposition of toilet implements in graves; pp. 83).

The next chapter, **Images for the group** (pp. 85-99), discusses image-bearing objects as social interactions vectors, metal and ceramic vessels and coins being chosen as examples. While pots usually imply a type of physical interaction in order to fully see the figured decoration, also placed in the best visual parts of the vessel (pp. 88), metal containers related to feasting and funeral context do not necessarily have to be manipulated by (all) the

participants. As the situations at Hochdorf or Sutton Hoo revealed, sometimes they are symbols of power (enormous sizes, almost unusable) or bearers of social decoration, meant to be seen by different viewers from different angles (pp. 91, 95). Coins on the other hand were the first mass-produced image-bearing objects and were widely distributed; in this regard, their possession might define the quality as community member (pp. 98).

**Images for magic and religion** (pp. 100-115) is the sixth chapter of Peter S. Wells' book and it gives the author the chance to bring into discussion the amulets (pp. 100), items thought to have magical powers (some with incised runic texts), and places where objects were on public display/removal from the actual world during high-drama rituals (earth enclosures, "burned offering sites", water pools, the bog deposits; pp. 103-107). An interesting note is made on the Gundestrup cauldron, seen as a display item, not as a way of transmitting stories or beliefs (pp. 108). Some Christian artifacts (like the Ardagh Chalice; pp. 110) are also presented in this section, the author remembering us the importance of the positioning and the proximity of the viewer, but also the presence of other conditions to fully "read" the images (writing or identifying specific motifs in visual puzzles; pp. 113).

I found the chapter **Images and landscapes** (pp. 116-128) very inspiring, not because of the warning that landscapes have changed and suffered many damages through the ages, so we should be careful enough when studying them (pp. 116), but due the well structured view on landscapes as surfaces (pp. 117), backgrounds (pp. 118) and as time-passing indicators (pp. 119). In any case, the researcher must interact with the landscape that he or she studies. Just like visually complex items break the monotony of life, some man-made structures interrupt the landscape's line, like the sculptured stones of the Iron Age burial mounds (pp. 121), the High Crosses of Ireland (pp. 126), or the Uffington White Horse, which was traditionally cleaned in order to be constantly visible (pp. 127).

**Images and visibility** (p. 129-144) is the final chapter of P. Wells's essay on visibility in Early Europe. It sums up all the ideas expressed in the book, just as the Preface did in short. It is clear to me that the strong point of this book's theoretical structure is the (valid) assumption that images should be, at least at first studied, as visual items (pp. 129). Other conclusions show that in the specific period and space most of the image-bearing objects come from elite contexts, but did not belong just to a small group of people: they were made to be displayed to large audiences, in ceremonies conducted by the elites (pp. 130). After all, "the ultimate purpose of creating visually complex objects was social - for building, asserting, maintaining and expressing social relationships between individuals and groups" (pp. 131).

It is in this chapter that Peter Wells decides it is the right time for some Responses (pp. 137), even though they do not leave archaeological traces. But the author thinks that studying the burial mounds erected after the rich

Hochdorf burial might teach us of the impact that memorable public ceremony had on the local community around the Hohenasperg hilltop. Further research should be directed towards written texts to see the impact of the Christian items discussed above, but also towards the church silver following the Ardagh Chalice. At the end, the author raises the question of the importance of writing in regards to visual complex items, believing that they are two different ways of communication (pp. 143). In opposition to a great conclusion, Wells invites to further study and close interaction to the input brought by the visual sciences (pp. 143-144). This is one and the final reason why I believe that his essay on visibility is a highly textured surface of simple, but well built ideas, vividly coloured with personal interventions and realistic examples, on which shines a well established theoretical pattern, with a strong focus point: humanity and its puzzles.

CĂTĂLIN CRISTESCU

**Jason König, Katerina Oikonomopoulou, Greg Woolf (eds.), *Ancient Libraries*, Cambridge – New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013.**

The hefty volume under review tackles a subject of great interest in the last decades, more precisely ancient libraries (royal, private, public) as catalysts for knowledge and power, succeeding to bring forward some new insights on the culture of the ancient world. The 21 contributors are prominent scholars from prestigious European and American institutions, who have been dealing with this subject for some time, making their joint effort a significant input on the current state of research. All of the essays here published were presented at the conference *Ancient Libraries*, held in September 2008 at the University of St Andrews, School of Classics, and organized by the volume's editors: Jason König, Katerina Oikonomopoulou, and Greg Woolf.

Released in 2013, the volume is very well and meticulously assembled and it represents the latest monumental contribution to this field of research. It starts with a *List of figures* (p. viii-x), some very useful *Notes on contributors* (xi-xvii), *Acknowledgments* (xviii), and a mandatory *List of abbreviations* (xix-xx). It continues with an *Introduction* (p. 1-20) and three main parts: *Contexts* (p. 23-81), *Hellenistic and Roman Republican Libraries* (p. 83-234), and *Libraries of the Roman Empire* (p. 235-417). The essays are unequally distributed, the first part comprising only 3 essays, and the other two each comprising 9. The contributions are organised topically and their quality is high. At the end, the volume has an invaluable and up-to-date *Bibliography* (p. 418-462), a *General index* (p. 463-473), and an *Index locorum* (474-479).

Before consulting the table of contents, one might expect something else from this volume, being misled by the title, and this is because the volume, even though it covers an extended period of time, and a significant area, does not cover all of the known ancient libraries. However the event and the subsequent volume were part of the activities of the Leverhulme "Science and Empire in the Roman World" project, explaining therefore the option and reason.

The introduction, written by Greg Woolf, sets the scene, leading off the readers to the ancient world's libraries and giving them an insight on the contributions, being almost a review *per se*.

Next comes the first part, which is a reflection on the early history of libraries, being the only part which comprises information regarding the libraries of the non-Greek and non-Roman world, more precisely on those of early Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia. This part is characterized by a vivid quest to challenge the way information is used and understood (Kim Ryholt, Eleanor Robson), but also to challenge the methods of research (Christian Jacob).

The second part is much more dynamic due to the number of essays, which cover a great range of topics, from books in fourth-century Athens, to the libraries of Alexandria, or Pergamum, and up to Republican private and public libraries. Some essays reconsider certain issues (Pasquale Massimo Pinto, Gaëlle Coqueugniot, Michael Affleck, Myrto Hatzimichali, T. Keith Dix), while others are unique in content and approach (Annette Harder, Fabio Tutrone, George W. Houston, Daniel Hogg).

The third part comprises contributions on libraries in the imperial period. The essays explore various topics, from the role of emperors in the library environment and in the cultural life (Ewen Bowie, Richard Neudecker), to the role of Roman libraries (Matthew Nicholls, William A. Johnson), without neglecting the functioning of libraries, as well as the impact the libraries had (David Petrain), and reconsidering some literary information (Pier Luiggi Tucci, Alexei V. Zadorojnyi). The two remaining essays slightly detach themselves from the others: while Michael W. Handis reassesses the mythological discourse on the Alexandrian library, Victor M. Martínez and Megan Finn Senseney look at ancient libraries through the lenses of modern ones.

Of great importance is the fact that the general trend was not to approach the topics from a positivistic point of view, but rather from an interpretative one, presenting new captivating ideas, and challenging perspectives, evidence and literary sources. For example we find legitimate reassessments on how libraries appeared, were organized and used.

Even though the volume assembles the efforts of so many scholars, it is a coherent volume and has a certain unity given by the mostly chronological distribution and by the unfolding and complementarities of the essays.

The unity of the volume is given also by the writing style which is suitable for any type of readers, either if it comes to neophytes or prominent researchers on this subject. Any respectable volume, as it is in this case, has a unifying aspect also when it comes to the spelling of Greek names and places.



The quality of the figures is generally good, but one might have expected more reconstruction proposals, especially when it comes to those libraries (i. e. The Greek and Latin libraries from Trajan's Forum) which have not found a common sense among researchers.

The text is well edited, however some minor typographical mistakes are noticeable on page 126, where there is no space between have seemed "haveseemed", and on page 130, where instead of "her" the text reads "here".

To conclude, this volume, published under the *aegis* of the prestigious Cambridge University Press, is a milestone in the study of ancient libraries, improving the cumulative and positivistic effort made by Lionel Casson in his full-scale study of ancient libraries – *Libraries in the Ancient World*, published over a decade ago (2002). Moreover, the volume deserves a place at least in every special collection.

PAZSINT ANNAMARIA – IZABELLA

**Răzvan Mateescu, *Istoriile unui templu (The Histories of a Temple)*, Biblioteca Musei Napocensis XXXVIII, Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2012.**

Interpreted and labelled in different manners over time, the great circular temple from Sarmizegetusa Regia is, beyond doubt, one of the most controversial monuments from the Romanian historiography. Such an assessment is obvious due to the multitude of theories surrounding the topic, some of them overstressing the scientific knowledge of the Dacians transposed into the architecture of the building, others wrapping in mystery or religious mysticism any kind of logical base for an interpretation. Accordingly, Răzvan Mateescu's task was neither easy, nor convenient. Although this was not the main goal of the book, the subject itself forced the author to deal with all kind of approaches and different functionalities ascribed to this structure by archaeologists, historians or, sometimes, just amateurs who conceived as a personal task sharing what they knew about the assertively deep and hidden meaning of the monument.

As stated in the introduction (p. 11-15), the book is not intended to be a monograph on the great circular temple from Sarmizegetusa Regia, which would have required a proper analysis of the archaeological material discovered here. Instead of this, it rather aims to clarify the functionality of the monument, that of a temple inside a sanctuary, on the basis of the information registered during two centuries, as a result of research visits or documented excavations. It

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also discusses step by step the main periods and phases of interpretation, "histories", crossed by the structure from the moment of its destruction and abandonment by the Romans, to the present days (p. 13).

The book is structured in ten chapters, as following: I. Istoriile unui templu/The histories of a temple (p. 11-15); II. Descoperirea templului și primele teorii/The discovery and first theories (p. 17-39); III. Cercetările arheologice sistematice/The systematic archaeological research (p. 41-60); IV. Arhitectura templului/The architecture of the temple (p. 61-82); V. *Sanctuarul de la Grădiștea de Munte/The sanctuary from Grădiștea de Munte* (p. 83-117); VI. Vechi ipoteze, noi „certitudini”/Old hypotheses, new “certainties” (p. 119-127); VII. Concluzii/Conclusions (p. 129-131). The last three include an abstract in English (chapter VIII: p. 133-143), the bibliography (chapter IX: p. 145-151) and the list of illustrations (chapter X: p. 153-157), to which it adds the plates (p. 159-207) and an index containing the names of the scholars who approached the subject. It is accompanied by a list of abbreviations placed at the beginning of the volume (p. 9).

The discovery and early interest regarding the ruins preserved at Grădiștea de Munte dates back to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the authorities, alarmed by the impressive quantity of precious objects collected by peasants from the area, ordered inquiries which resulted in a series of official reports containing the first accounts regarding the ancient “city”. In this context, the great circular temple was partially revealed, observed and researched according to the standards of the period or as part of treasure hunting activities. Starting with the first report made by J. Molitor and L. Barta on the October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1804, the second chapter (p. 17-39) follows the destiny of the monument during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, destiny marked by different interpretations (church, stonemason’s workshop, temple, circus, enigmatic construction) and great personalities of the time, as Michael Péchi, Johann Ferdinand Neigebaur, Johann Michael Ackner, Téglás Gábor, or Finály Gábor, who took interest in the site, explored it and mentioned in their publications or reports important details referring to the circular temple. Such an analysis, based on the 19<sup>th</sup> century publications and on a serious documentation in the archives, allowed R. Mateescu to extract a series of construction details, essential in interpreting and reconstructing the temple, which did not survive until today, like the presence of limestone among the andesite pillars (p. 28-29, 39) and the existence of a “stepped” central structure, interpreted at the time as the place where the altar was standing (p. 31-32, 39).

The third chapter (p. 41-60) presents a new period in the history of the research, marked by the systematic archaeological excavations undertaken during the 20<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The first excavations from the circular temple, documenting the monument in a scientific manner and followed by a publication which included a stratigraphic description, a general plan and drawings of the sections, were carried out by D. M. Teodorescu, in the

third decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, the field campaigns started by Constantin Daicoviciu (1950-1958) and continued afterwards by the members of the research team (1980, 1984, 2004, 2008) were the ones which clarified the real structure of the monument, establishing the number of blocks and pillars belonging to the external ring and their disposal, as well as the possible entrances, the ancient stepping level, the inner subdivision of the space, and the constructive characteristics of the timber pillars forming the inner circle and the apse.

In this context, a discussion regarding the architecture of the temple and the reconstruction possibilities (p. 61-82) is self-understood. The author examines from a critical perspective the various reconstruction proposals that have emerged over time, considering the main structural problem of the building and the main element which was taken as the basis for such attempts: the presence of a complete roof, of a partial one or its absence. This discussion is placed in the context of the historical debate concerning the solar or chthonian character of the god Zalmoxis, based on the existence or absence of such a structural element. As long as the data recovered from the excavations is not straightforward, R. Mateescu's attitude towards a detailed reconstruction of the monument is cautious. However, the comprehensive investigation of the archaeological evidence allowed the author to establish the main construction phases of the temple and to isolate those elements that indicate the way the elevation might have looked like. The archaeological data sustains the choice for a structure with a wooden shingle roof, of conical shape, supported by three rows of pillars, with the inner circle of wooden pillars and the apse wrapped in adobe, and provided with an entrance covered with roof tiles. It also provides solid grounds for the identification of the monument with what is considered to be a *tholos*.

In the fifth chapter (p. 83-117) the great circular temple is analyzed in a wider context, as a central component of the sanctuary located on the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> terraces from Grădiștea de Munte. The author's approach begins with a terminological discussion of the terms *temple* and *sanctuary*, used randomly over time in the literature to denominate the monument. Thus, the sanctuary is defined as the whole ensemble of structures on the two terraces, composed of a precinct, seven temples, an altar, a drainage channel, a spring, and a procession road. Each of them is discussed from the point of view of the available archaeological information, indicating one or more construction phases, and on the basis of the scarce number of artefacts which allow a chronological framing. The sanctuary, an unique example of the Dacian sacred monumental architecture, is for the first time approached as a coherent ensemble with areas and structures intended for different rituals (procession, sacrifice, offerings for the gods which formed, probably, a considerable part of the Roman booty, libations), similar to the ones existing in the Greek world.

The problems regarding the interpretations of the great circular temple as a representation or as part of a greater system related to a supposed unique

and complex Dacian calendar have not been overlooked by the author (p. 119-127). R. Mateescu outlines their development until the present times and focuses on the arbitrary usage of the archaeological data and on their lack of consistence.

The main ideas that emerged from the volume are summarized in chapter VII (p. 129-131).

Besides clarifying the functionality of the great circular temple, another great merit of R. Mateescu's contribution consists in providing, for the first time, a coherent image, based on real scientific documentation, regarding the way in which the structures from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> terraces at Grădiștea de Munte functioned as a single ensemble. The book addresses not only specialists and researchers focused on issues related to pre-Roman Dacia and the La Tène period, but also archaeologists and historians interested in the way a monument, considered to be emblematic by some or enigmatic by others, is perceived and interpreted during time regardless of the purpose it was intended for during its existence. The logical discourse, not overburden with high amounts of unnecessary technical information, the good quality of the illustration also recommends the book for the general public interested on the topic.

**SILVIA MUSTAȚĂ**